

**MOVING WITH STORIES OF “ME TOO.”:  
TOWARDS A THEORY AND PRAXIS OF INTERSECTIONAL ENTANGLEMENTS**

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation offers a critical-theoretical intervention into how we approach the study of mediated phenomena. Using the example of the #MeToo Movement, I bring together intersectional feminism and new materialism to delineate “intersectional entanglements” in order to formulate the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring and to analyze the ways that stories from the “me too.” Movement flow throughout individual, collective, and structural domains of power. I begin from the understanding that spaces are porous, challenging the assumption of an oppositional binary between digital and non-digital spaces. I argue that we need to envision spaces and relationalities through the lens of intersectional entanglements in order to better attune to power imbalances and abuses and to more holistically attend to the motions of the “me too.” Movement’s stories. As such, I follow #MeToo and its digitally-born artifacts as they travel within and between various spaces to trace links, histories, and possible futures, looking towards individual posts, hashtags, comments, images, media stories, the sociopolitical and technocultural contexts from which data emerge, and the relationships between these pieces of data.

Within the current technologically motivated big data moment of hashtag research, I take a specifically situated feminist perspective to this work, turning to the ways that the “me too.” Movement circulates between different domains of power and various mediated spheres to focus on smaller curated sets of data that may be lost within larger abstracted aggregates. Reflecting the ethos of the #MeToo movement, this dissertation hinges upon personal stories, including some of my own interactions with these stories, and I follow hashtagged posts on my own social media feeds as they travel within and outside social media platforms. Because, in true feminist fashion, the personal (and, I argue, the collective and the structural) is political, I derive data

from my own long-term online observation and everyday interactions on Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, and from the larger complex technocultural and sociopolitical landscape that the hashtagged stories connect and feed into, including news stories, interviews, and blog posts. Throughout, this dissertation suggests that as stories from the “me too.” Movement travel between various temporally and spatially mediated spheres and between domains of power, they reveal new opportunities for critiquing and intervening into white supremacist heteropatriarchal systems. Ultimately, as I develop the approaches of virtual dwelling at the individual level of power, vibrant ethos at the collective level, and vital structuring at the structural level for analyzing #MeToo’s intersectional entanglements, I argue that following digital phenomena throughout culturally and digitally mediated spaces provides crucial insights of intersectional protest and resistance beyond the hashtag.

This work is dedicated to my sisters:  
Mackenzie, Taylor, and Jessica,  
who live their feminism so boldly and so brightly  
that I cannot help but do the same.

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## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Dedication .....	iv
Acknowledgments .....	v
Dissemination of Dissertation .....	vii
Preface: #MeToo and Me .....	1
Chapter One: Introduction – Beyond the Hashtag .....	4
Stories Matter: A Way into Intersectional Entanglements .....	15
Storying #MeToo .....	17
“me too.” Counterpublics and Rape Culture .....	21
Chapter Previews .....	26
Chapter Two: Mobilizing Digital Feminisms .....	35
Literature Review .....	35
Mediated Misogyny and Racism in the Digital Landscape .....	37
Feminist Digital Responses .....	45
Conclusion .....	56
Chapter Three: Intersectional Feminist Foundations for Entangled Futures .....	58
Theoretical Approach: Towards Intersectional Entanglements .....	60
Troubling the Status Quo: Intersectional Feminist Foundations .....	60
Troubling the Discursive: Interlocking (New) Material and Posthuman Foundations .....	64
Situating Material Feminist Posthumanities: Ontoepistemology and Axiology .....	69
Building Queer Affective Feminist Resistance .....	74



Onto-Epistemological and Definitional Encounters with Affect .....	75
Queer and Feminist Affective Possibilities .....	77
Intervention: Intersectional Entanglements .....	81
Conclusion .....	93
Chapter Four: Methodology, Methods, and Data .....	97
Vibrant Approaches to Data for Vital Times .....	97
What Data Counts when Counting #MeToo: Appreciating Small Data .....	99
Methodology and Methods .....	107
Analyzing Entanglements of Data .....	118
Conclusion .....	124
Chapter Five: Virtual Dwelling as an Exploration of Individual Entanglements .....	127
Situating the Individual .....	127
Virtual Dwelling: Dwelling as Embodied and Situated Reflection .....	129
Engaging Virtual Dwelling through Reflection .....	142
Individual Entanglements of Constraint and Creation .....	147
Getting Witchy With It .....	157
Conclusion .....	163
Chapter Six: Vibrant Ethos as an Exploration of Collective Entanglements .....	165
Situating the Collective .....	165
Vibrant Ethos: Re-Attuning through Acknowledgement, Openness, and Responsibility .....	168
Engaging Vibrant Ethos through Re-Attunement .....	178
Collective Entanglements of Constraint and Creation .....	188

Conclusion.....	195
Chapter Seven: Vital Structuring as an Exploration of Structural Entanglements .....	197
Situating the Structural.....	197
Naming Structures .....	199
Vital Structuring: Re-Futuring through Will and Memory .....	208
Re-Naming Structures: Vital Structuring as Re-Futuring .....	208
Engaging Vital Structuring through Re-Futuring.....	214
Structural Entanglements of Constraint and Creation .....	222
Conclusion.....	234
Conclusion: Entangled Feminist Futures .....	237
Situating the Individual, Collective, and Structural .....	237
Research Contributions .....	240
Significances and Broader Impacts .....	253
Limitations of Research.....	262
#FeministFutures: Hopes, Dreams, and Possibilities for Future Work.....	264
Entanglements of Instagram, Research, and Creation: @Aesthetic.Resistance .....	266
Conclusion.....	271
References.....	274

## **Preface: #MeToo and Me**

Over the last few years, I have come to know a great deal about the “me too.” Movement, its individual and global reach, and its various iterations through popular news articles and other widely circulated, now famous, stories. This kind of knowledge was, for the most part, quite easily accessible to me because of my own intersecting identities that enabled me to not only get the information, but to understand and be able to put it into context. As a PhD student, I had access to databases, journals, conferences, and academic talks that others interested in #MeToo may not be able to access, and I have the educational background to make sense of the information. As a mixed-race bisexual woman and a survivor of sexual violence, I empathized with the stories of assault from racialized and queer women shared in books, news sources, and journal articles. At the same time, I’ve sometimes been afforded white-passing and straight-passing privileges, which have kept me relatively safe in recent years to pursue this research regardless of the harms of erasure that accompanies this kind of passing.

I, alongside others who have actively sought out details to recognize #MeToo’s intersectional beginnings, have only come to know these things given my own stakes in the aims of the movement. I have read, by now, hundreds of articles either critiquing, describing, analyzing, or reporting on the “me too.” Movement. I have read books on the breaking of high-profile cases in the United States and Canada and listened to interviews with Tarana Burke, the founder of the original movement, and with survivors of sexual violence, spokespeople for the movement, and people who argue that the movement is a witch hunt that has gone too far. I have read and shared social media posts that highlight the insidiousness of sexual violence and the complicity of the legal system in covering up, misfiling, and/or blatantly disregarding reports. I have commented on Facebook posts that describe experiences of sexual abuse, liked Instagram

posts on how to heal and how to report, and amplified resources. I have engaged in discussions both academic and colloquial, and attended solidarity marches. I have centered this very dissertation on the “me too.” Movement. This is not to say that I have exhausted all research avenues, read nearly enough (there is always more to learn, more to read, more to research), or been in all the support groups, but instead is to say that I have a vested interest in the movement, an interest that is academic, personal, social, and systemic, that motivates my knowledge and desire to know more and to do more. It is to say that I have done both quite a lot and not enough.

No one’s individual experiences of encountering “me too.” can compare nor should be compared, although everyone’s individual experiences deserve attention and acknowledgement. My circumstances, experiences, and support-systems are undeniably different than Tarana Burke’s when she founded the “me too.” Movement. Nonetheless, watching and experiencing the “me too.” Movement unfold has hit me, at times, in “the deepest, darkest places in my soul,” a sentiment articulated by Burke in the forming of “me too.”<sup>1</sup> This is to say that writing about the “me too.” Movement has been highly personal and, for me, highly tied to my feminism. Importantly, as you will see again in Chapter Three, when I write about feminism in this dissertation, unless specified to indicate problematic non-inclusive movements that call themselves feminist (for example, postfeminism and celebrity feminism), I refer to a movement that is not only about women and gender, but also about power more broadly—who holds and wields power and who does not and cannot within the current matrix of domination (D’Ignazio and Klein 2020, drawing on Collins 1990). It is inclusive of queer, trans, Black, Indigenous, crip, and eco feminisms. This intersectional feminism is rooted in Black feminism and was primarily charted by The Combahee River Collective (1975-1981), Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1993),

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<sup>1</sup> On the “me too.” Movement’s website Burke shares that the movement “started in the deepest, darkest place in my soul” <https://metoomvmt.org/get-to-know-us/history-inception/>

Patricia Hill Collins (1990), Angela Davis (1981, 1990), Audre Lorde (1984, 1997), and bell hooks (1981, 1990, 1993), among others. It considers how our social locations like “race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age [are] reciprocally constructing phenomena” (Collins 2015, 3). Our social locations tell stories that change across space and time, where the meanings of our social locations shift, are experienced differently in different historical moments, and in different geographical locations to different degrees. Recognizing these living histories, from The Combahee River Collective to Crenshaw and Collins and forward, this dissertation and other work I engage in is necessarily about imagining more sustainable, just futures, whatever those futures might look like.

## Chapter One: Introduction – Beyond the Hashtag

It's beyond a hashtag. It's the start of a larger conversation and a movement for radical community healing. Join us. #MeToo

— Tarana Burke, @TaranaBurke (Twitter), October 15, 2017, 7:22pm

Even from the beginning the “me too.” Movement<sup>2</sup> was never just about #MeToo. From the first moment of hearing a story of abuse, a story to which Tarana Burke and many others wished to respond with “me too,” Burke recognized the necessity of relationships, dialogue, and healing through community. Understanding and living out the movement always included more than a hashtag on Twitter. Looking beyond the hashtag reveals a diverse collection of personal stories of resistance and transgression, dominant and marginalized histories, networks of community, materially and culturally situated bodies, and negotiations of power that travel within and across individual, collective, and structural technological, political, and cultural domains. In this dissertation I argue for the importance of, as Burke asserts, looking beyond the hashtag and in attending to the intricate ways that digital phenomena and stories move within and between these technocultural, sociopolitical, material, and power-laden spaces, and I use the #MeToo movement as an exemplar to do so.

Within the last decade, activist-academic work (e.g., Baer 2015; Banet-Weiser 2018; Benjamin 2019; Brock 2009, 2012, 2020; Conley 2014, 2017; Daniels 2016; Gajjala 2017, 2019; Noble and Tynes 2016; Noble 2018; Singh and Sharma 2019) has paved the way to consider expansive approaches to feminist media studies. Considering this work, this dissertation

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<sup>2</sup> As I discuss later, I write out “‘me too.’ Movement” because this is how Tarana Burke writes out the name of the movement when she references “me too.” I use this way of writing “me too.” unless I refer to the hashtag movement (#MeToo) to explicitly credit Burke and her work—a decision that reflects my commitment to the women who have been organizing since before the movement gained greater visibility on Twitter in October 2017.

proposes a holistic approach that acknowledges the ways that failures in technology can lead to ruptures of possibilities (i.e., the concept of *pharmakon*, drawing on Abbinett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2011, 2012), which, to date, remains under-theorized. This indicates an opportunity for theoretically informed research practices (i.e., praxes) that can leverage theories that have been applied across other domains to understand the complex relationships ranging from personal affective encounters to global movements relying on corporate, technological infrastructure. Using #MeToo as an exemplar, I argue that synthesizing an orientation to theory that bridges feminist new materialism (Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Bennett 2004, 2010; Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012), feminist posthumanism (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Barad 2003, 2010, 2015; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Haraway 1988, 1991, 2016), and intersectional feminism (Collins 1990, 2017, 2019; Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) from a queer affect lens (Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) and uses a transformative paradigm to do so can: (a) contribute to the important scholarly strives for social and political justice and (b) create a foundation for research praxes that identify new openings for the study of online and offline relationships within spaces that are always already digitally and culturally mediated.

Feminist media studies approaches to hashtag activism have contributed important knowledge around digitally mediated social movements, analyzing how feminists use digital technologies and platforms to document and respond to discrimination and oppression across networked contexts (Baer 2015; Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016; Conley 2014, 2017; Daniels 2016; Keller 2012; Rentschler 2014, 2017; Singh and Sharma 2019; Singh 2018, 2021). Feminist scholars working within the contexts of feminist hashtag activism (Conley 2014, 2017; Horeck 2014; Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles 2020; Khoja-Moolji 2015; Rentschler 2017;

Williams 2015), feminist platform studies (Anable 2018; Singh and Sharma 2019; Singh 2018, 2021), and feminist postcolonial media studies (Chopra and Gajjala 2011; Gajjala 2012, 2017, 2019; Hegde 2011; Kumar and Parameswaran 2018; Shome 2019) have argued that we need to continue analyzing the entanglements of power, privilege, and possibility that exist in online spaces and that materially affect daily life, especially for people who are marginalized.<sup>3</sup> The diversity of methodologies and areas of focus across these domains of research again highlights the need to develop practices that attend to the complexities of mediated space and place in holistic ways, resisting the reduction of digital phenomena to mere text, object, or event to consider these entanglements of inquiry, power, and materiality at play, thinking through the queer affective relationships that hold them together. This dissertation offers one such approach for how to orient to the ways that affects move and effect material change, queering heteropatriarchal and white supremacist norms within and across entanglements. I suggest that this approach and its praxes can be paired with a variety of communication and media studies methods to complement ongoing scholarly work in hashtag and networked feminisms and digital activism.

I begin from the understanding that spaces are porous, challenging the assumption of an oppositional binary between digital and non-digital to instead recognize various temporally and spatially mediated spaces (see, e.g., Couldry and Hepp 2013; Hepp and Krotz 2014; Hine 2000; Lundby 2009; Singh 2018). These intertwined phenomena and spaces require multifaceted ways of thinking beyond the hashtag to acknowledge the complexities of “me too.” and its stories of healing and disclosure. To this end, this dissertation suggests that we need to pay attention to how digital stories move through spaces, which can be understood through *intersectional*

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Two for a fuller account of these works.



*entanglements*, a critical-theoretical approach to the study of digital phenomena at the nexus of new materialist (Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Bennett 2004, 2010; Coole and Frost 2010), feminist posthumanism (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Barad 2003, 2010, 2015; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Haraway 1988, 1991, 2016), and intersectional feminist (Collins 1990, 2017, 2019; Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) scholarship, drawing on queer affect studies (e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) and the concept of pharmakon (Abbinett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2010, 2011). I bring together these areas of research through intersectional entanglements to expand the conversation around these critical fields of study within the context of the “me too.” Movement, and I rely on intersectional feminism—a theory, practice, and politic created by Black women—as a key theoretical backbone. As a theory and a phenomenon, intersectional entanglements highlight how humans are embroiled in intricate affective and material relationships (see, e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010, 2014, 2017, 2019; Berlant 2011; Clough and Halley 2007; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015) within a highly mediated world and emphasize the need to pay attention to the connections and tensions between sociopolitical, embodied, and technocultural actions, influences, and ways of knowing and communicating.

This theory offers a way to orient to “me too.” through the impacts of power, resistance, and possibility on not only human bodies but also bodies of knowledge and technology as they interact on a material plane, paying special attention to what Patricia Hill Collins’s (1990, 2015, 2017, 2019) calls the “matrix of domination” as it produces variations of queer affective relationships (Ahmed 2004, 2010, 2014, 2019; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2012). While new materialism and feminist posthumanism pay attention to the ways that various networks and ideas come together and impose on each other, intersectional feminism necessarily focuses on

interlocking systems of power and its effect on people. A theory of intersectional entanglements demonstrates how we might look to where various human and nonhuman phenomena come together within mediated systems of power at individual, collective, and structural domains to see which opportunities are foreclosed and which remain open in the pursuit of more equitable and sustainable feminist futures, thinking through the pharmacological nature of digital media (Abbinnett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2011, 2012). Intersectional entanglements foreground the “me too.” Movement’s capacity to critically and practically re-orient how we use and understand the complex social, political, technological, and cultural systems that stories of “me too.” flow through and that we are enmeshed within. They recognize the power of the “betweenness” of our sociopolitical and technocultural spaces—specifically, the knowledges and relationalities that exist between the material realities of hashtags, stories, technologies, people, communities, and institutions.

To attend to these spaces of betweenness, this dissertation offers three praxes that orient researchers to the intersectional entanglements within and among individual, collective, and structural domains of power that operate in the “me too.” Movement: virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, which I explain below in the Chapter Previews. I offer virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring as orienting praxes because, as Michael W. Quigley and Anthony B. Mitchell (2018) suggest, praxes, rather than models or prototypes, are strategic and intentional, directed at structures that need to be changed, requiring action, reflection, and criticality (82). In developing three praxes for how to attune to the intersectional entanglements of “me too.”, I contribute a critical-theoretical intervention for approaching the work of digital phenomena as they move between individual and collective experiences to address structural causes of violence. Because of the diversity of social locations, embodied histories, activist

goals, and academic pursuits that scholars bring to the study of hashtag feminisms and networked activisms, we need to look to a whole variety of digital technologies within digitally and culturally mediated spaces—not just online, not just on social media platforms, and not just in hashtags, because phenomena are moving through these offline and online spaces as they interact with each other and meet.

Like Hester Baer (2015) has argued, we should emphasize the process of searching for new paradigms that combat the neoliberal reduction of the political to the personal—which is why this dissertation, in keeping with Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and Collins’s (1990, 2015, 2017, 2019) work on intersectionality and the matrix of domination, embraces the collective and structural in addition to the individual. These moving parts indicate the complexity of digital phenomena, reiterating Tarana Burke’s point that #MeToo needs to be beyond the hashtag, and beyond just the digital, offering an expansive orientation to digital culture. Because of this, this dissertation’s contribution is theoretical to consider another approach for how to engage with digital phenomena. I follow #MeToo as it travels within and between various mediated spaces to trace links, histories, and possible futures, looking towards a variety of data that include individual posts, hashtags, comments, images, media articles, the sociopolitical and technocultural contexts from which stories emerge, and the relationships between these hashtagged moments of a larger story. I do this to highlight the processes of participation and community building that are taking place across different mediated spheres using material tools, and how, through and orientation to intersectional entanglements, we can see the opportunities for creating new tools for resistance in the spaces between individual reflection, community discussion and connection, structural critique and analysis, and back again. Notably, I use “me too.” rather than simply the hashtagged #MeToo for two reasons: first, because the organization

that Tarana Burke founded refers to the movement and its organization in this way; and second, to draw attention the ways that #MeToo stories of sharing or disclosure are always speaking to larger “me too.” stories. While “me too.” stories may appear as a hashtag in one instance, they already existed elsewhere beyond the hashtag.

Although feminist theories recognize the politics of stories (see, e.g., Hemmings 2011; Ilmonen 2020; Tomlinson 2013; Stone-Mediatore 2015), this dissertation highlights the need to document the complex fluidities of stories from the hashtag activism of “me too.” as they travel within and across social, political, cultural, and technological arenas. Plot lines are interconnected, they merge and flow, their contexts are layered, their emotions are thick, characters change, and stories transform with no definite beginning and no specific end. In keeping with a new materialist ontoepistemology (Barad 2003, 2010, 2012; 2017; 2019; Colebrook 2008; Frost 2011; Haraway 1996, 2016; Kell 2015; MacLure 2013abc; Stewart 2007; van der Tuin 2013), I use the word “story” broadly to denote the non-linear lived, and living, histories that have led to moments of disclosure, whether those disclosures are textual, visual, verbal, or all of the above, and the possible futures that may come to be through such disclosures. Importantly, experiences and possibilities always precede and follow textual and uttered assertions, no matter how brief those assertions may be. Hashtagged disclosures of “me too.” signal that a story is in motion, a plot already exists. To focus on only the hashtagged post offers one perspective at a specific moment in time, eclipsing the possibility of a plurality of truths and relationships for those impacted by sexual violence. Each confession of “me too.” even if it only consists of those two words, is part of a longer story with a lived past, present, and future that connects to others’ stories with hashtagged posts, each with their own trajectories and outcomes. Stories of “me too.” necessarily transcend their digital platforms, travelling and picking up

traction, getting lost and then re-found to re-formulate or re-member previous stories that were formed through hegemonic structures. Importantly, these stories have material and affective histories and plot lines that may have been erased or appropriated, and these histories cannot be so easily understood from just one social media post. This is why, drawing on the relationship between new materialisms, posthumanism, intersectional feminism, and queer affect, we can focus on intersectional entanglements in order to create approaches for exploring different individual, collective, and structural loci and domains of power, reflecting on where and how they intersect to see where stories and hashtags emerge, and how they create space for stories to unfold within different temporally and spatially mediated spaces.

Feminist new materialisms and posthumanism position us to follow these broad stories with their various time and plot lines and characters as they move throughout and between spaces via different kinds of assertions (textual, verbal, or something else altogether), while intersectional feminism demands that we simultaneously focus on the ways that race, class, gender, and other categorizations are situated within interlocking systems of power, privilege, resistance, and oppression. As an approach to critical-theoretical intervention of intersectional entanglements highlights the importance of acknowledging and following the fluidity of stories from social justice movements<sup>4</sup> like “me too.” as they circulate and become entangled within overlapping mediated spheres of power, politics, and community. Stories work to reproduce or challenge dominant individual, collective, and structural systems of power. By examining the movement of stories from the “me too.” Movement, I illustrate the relationships between these individual, collective, and structural spheres to reveal not only how inequitable relations are

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<sup>4</sup> Sidney Tarrow (2011) describes social movements as “collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities” (57), which is how this dissertation understands social movements, regardless of the degree of mediation.

perpetuated, but also how inequitable heteropatriarchal white supremacist ideologies can be resisted.

In following the intersectional entanglements of stories that form movements and their attendant hashtags, I extend the work of feminist media studies scholars to offer an opportunity to create expanded tools and practices for countering heteropatriarchal white supremacist hierarchies that reinforce oppression and discrimination. By white supremacy, I mean a system of beliefs that positions the socially constructed category of whiteness as superior to other races, ethnicities, and cultures, centralizing and standardizing whiteness as the norm. By heteropatriarchal, I refer to a system that favours cisgender heterosexual men above other genders and sexual orientations, normalizing cisgendered masculinity and heterosexuality as the standard to which all others are held. The intersectional entanglements of stories within “me too.” circulate feminist critiques of heteropatriarchy and white supremacy that prop up sexual violence and rape culture, offering the possibility for alternative, more feminist, futures.

Stories from networked social movements are broad and the issues they fight against are many, but I focus this project around the “me too.” Movement in the hopes that this critical-theoretical intervention can speak to other social movements to continue the work of exploring the ways that such movements circulate and function. I take up “me too.” and its hashtagged accomplice #MeToo because, despite this “watershed” moment, more can be learned. From the protests of the late 1800s, to the women’s liberation movement in the mid 1900s, to women hexing the patriarchy through various iterations of W.I.T.C.H., to yearly pride parades and the hashtag feminisms of the 2010s, a long history of feminist and queer mobilization exists, and these histories offer lessons to be learned. Even now as I write, we have been grappling with the global COVID-19 pandemic and a concurrent crisis of discrimination, domestic homicide and

abuse, and racist and sexual violence as we have abided by shelter-in-place regulations and lockdowns (Bain, Dryden, and Walcott 2020; Qasim 2020; Patel 2020; Taub and Bradley 2020). Notably, we are hearing of these forms of violence four years after #MeToo's viral circulation on social media and rising awareness of sexual harassment and violence. We still have far to go, and we still have much to learn. Learning takes time, reflection, and space, especially as we seek to cultivate new habits. #MeToo in its viral form is not yet four years old, while patriarchal systems and practices have existed for over 6000 years (Lerner 1986; Kraemer 1991; Harris 1993). Although #MeToo seemed to have gone viral on Twitter almost instantly, the movement didn't happen overnight: years of resistance and the long, hard work of queer, feminist, trans, and Black organizers brought us to that moment of "virality." The "me too." Movement was decades in the making, always operating beyond the hashtag. Stories need to be told, re-told, remembered, and re-membered to begin doing the work of breaking white supremacist heteropatriarchal habits, and I argue that noticing and breaking these habits can be achieved through a critical theory of intersectional entanglements.

The breadth of work around "me too." has created ripples, demonstrating that the movement has made cultural impacts. Simply type "#MeToo" into your favourite newspaper's online archive and you are bound to receive hundreds of hits—*The New York Times*, for example, offers 3852 articles related to #MeToo.<sup>5</sup> Yet, despite incoming news articles and literature on #MeToo, I argue that it is imperative to continue to focus attention on these incremental shifts for the very reason that change does not happen instantly. Marginalized people have been finding ways to resist domination, and yet gender and racial inequity persists. As such, we must continue to research the effects of misogyny and white supremacy, especially given the

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<sup>5</sup> As of July 20, 2021.

move to the digital where marginalized people continue to have to find their footing in a system made for someone else. As Anne Kingston (2019) observes, despite the “first crop of #MeToo books” reflecting “the movement’s complexity,” sexual assaults still happen, “abetted by silence” (para. 14). As activists and academics in positions of influence, we must continue to speak to and challenge the conditions that lay the groundwork for the perpetuation of violence not just against the rich or the white or the famous, but especially against voices always already marginalized given the complex network of white supremacist heteropatriarchal oppressions at play.

Within these contexts, I ask, first, how do stories of disclosure from the “me too.” Movement (within and beyond the hashtag) provide opportunities across mediated spheres to oppose and resist heteropatriarchy and white supremacy? Second, I ask what sets of practices can best situate and analyze stories from the “me too.” Movement? Third, because these practices inevitably emerge from within spaces where power and politics are constantly negotiated at individual, collective, and structural levels, I ask, how can we analyze the precarity of intersectional divides and the possibilities for justice within the “me too.” Movement, including the conditions under which it operates?

This dissertation’s theoretical intervention and associated praxes offer alternative ways of orienting to the study of networked social movements and the stories and digital phenomena that emerge and circulate. Focusing on intersectional relationalities at individual, collective, and structural sites within entanglements elucidates new possibilities for intervention and action. In doing so, I contribute to the work of responding to the call to theorize a creative and not simply reactive politics (Ahmed 2010), considering the capacities of theory to “unsettle” in order to “open up static fields of habit and practice” as it rejects generalizability, abstraction, and



reductions (MacLure 2010, 277-278). My focus on tracing the movement of stories and phenomena through intersectional entanglements contributes critical but generative intersectional feminist and queer affective perspectives to new materialist and posthuman inquiry within feminist media studies. By critically examining the circulation of “me too.” stories across interpersonal, community, and systemic spheres through social, political, technological, and cultural mediations we encourage others to share their stories and allow them to move in new and lively ways. We need to create the kinds of spaces that center people who have been marginalized without pathologizing their everyday discrimination so that their stories that have been erased can gain momentum and flourish. These stories need to be validated and affirmed, reclaimed from the hegemonic frames that confine them, so that these experiences contribute to not only imagining but crafting and bringing to fruition more equitable and sustainable futures. By telling our stories we assert that current structures do not afford safety to all; by mapping and mobilizing these stories we instigate larger conversations that can begin to establish different ways of seeing and being in the world.

### **Stories Matter: A Way into Intersectional Entanglements**

Drawing on the spirit of “me too.” and of those who have contributed to the success of this movement and other social movements through their stories, in this dissertation I follow the lead of other racialized women such as bell hooks (2003), Sara Ahmed (2004), Roxane Gay (2017), Tanya Talaga (2017), Chanel Miller (2019), Mikki Kendall (2020), and many others who engage in storytelling through their work. These women share their experiences, both personal and community-centered, to speak to the formation of their subjectivities and to bring attention to the communities and instances that shape them. Storytelling has been an incredibly valuable strategy for sharing and co-creating knowledges, addressing and surviving power imbalances,

encouraging participation, passing on traditions and histories, and finding one's individual and community voice. Sharing stories also speaks to why certain people are drawn to certain other people, stories, and data. It is for these very reasons that storytelling informs my own feminist praxes.

Stories matter, and here is part of my own: I am a feminist activist-scholar, settler in Canada, and the daughter of Chinese and German immigrants. Chinese on my mother's side, who immigrated to Fort McMurray, Alberta, Canada from Kuala Belait, Malaysia where her family lived after being displaced from China, and German on my father's side, whose family eventually immigrated to Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada after they had immigrated to and lived in Brazil for decades. The ways that I have come to learn and understand my own histories comes from the stories I've heard, filtered through the experiences of different family members and friends and from their varying relationships to power and privilege. The complexity, richness, and also erasure of a mixed-race heritage was something I knew and felt from a young age, and it was the start of my journey to unpack the betweenness of stories that often go untouched. I've often felt in-between, unable to fit one category or the other—mixed-race, bisexual, able-bodied but living with chronic pain from scoliosis and a spinal fusion, a survivor of sexual violence. Stories, my own and others, have helped to shape and solidify the instability of feeling category-less, to queer the boundaries of the categories themselves, and to articulate the importance of the in-between. Stories like these transcend domains of power, becoming simultaneously personal, communal, and political.

The risks of erasure are high within the singular stories told by dominant media and heteropatriarchal white supremacist discourse, especially within economies of visibility (Banet-Weiser 2018) on social media that favour popular representations and binary categorizations over

the uncertain or unknown. But many people live in the unknown and in-between spaces in some way or another, and so this kind of situating matters. Our lived experiences shape our knowledge frameworks, and this is why I situate my own experience here: to make clear my ontoepistemological commitments and to theorize an ethos of betweenness. Ultimately, this is what intersectional entanglements are doing in attending to the relationalities of affect, materiality, and mediation and the networks of power that stretch across them. They are offering an epistemology of the in-between.

### Storying #MeToo

Not every story has an instigating moment, that moment that you can put your finger on and say, “here is where it all began.” The story of the “me too.” Movement is one such story. Many of us came to know the “me too.” Movement through its instigating hashtag, a tweet from celebrity Alyssa Milano asking for mass participation from those who had experienced sexual harassment. In the late afternoon of October 15, 2017, #MeToo, the hashtag form of “me too.” that offered one method of individual and collective storytelling, began making its rounds on social media as a way of holding powerful men in media industries accountable:

@Alyssa\_Milano: If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write “me too.” as a reply to this tweet (October 15, 2017, 4:21 pm).

This instigated a flood of 30,000 responses overnight and over 12 million uses of the hashtag across Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram in less than a week (Zacharek, Dockterman, and Sweetland Edwards 2017, para. 30; A&E Biography Editors 2018, para. 9). While responses shed light on the magnitude of the problem, larger structural issues of erasure associated with the hashtag and, indeed, of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy more broadly, became clear:

@DanielleMuscato: #MeToo. And the cops tried to talk me out of pressing charges, because everyone would know I’d been raped, & how embarrassing would THAT be? (October 15, 2017, 9:34 pm).

@TwitterUser: #MeToo but let's remember to not center this around white cis women and to uplift marginalized folks (October 16, 2017).

The widespread sharing of personal instances of assault, as seen ever so briefly in these posts that will be taken up more in Chapter Seven, was an important moment in the use of social media, particularly as a form of activism for political and social change against gender-based violence. But the story of “me too.” really begins years prior with American civil rights activist and community organizer Tarana Burke—a principal point of erasure in the beginning days of #MeToo’s 2017 Twitter circulation and conversations beyond:

@TaranaBurke: A year ago today I thought my world was falling apart. I woke up to find out that the hashtag #metoo had gone viral and I didn't see any of the work I laid out over the previous decade attached to it. I thought for sure I would be erased from a thing I worked so hard to build (October 15, 2018, 7:22 am).

@TaranaBurke: The short answer, No. But I was definitely in danger of being erased if YOU ALL Black women and our allies and friends, didn't speak up. But something else happened too. I watched for hours that first day as more and more stories poured out across social media from survivors (October 15, 2017, 10:30 am).

Burke’s movement, with its roots in community, was focused on the stories of Black women and girls. In 2003, with her not-for-profit Just Be Inc., Burke began helping young Black women and women of colour share their experiences of trauma and assault, eventually becoming the “me too.” Movement in 2006. Burke’s experience with “me too.” began before this, before she was able to utter the phrase “me too,” over twenty years before the hashtag with her own experiences of sexual assault and, more specifically, with a young girl named Heaven’s story of suffering sexual abuse—a story to which Burke wished to respond, but could not in the moment, with “me too” (Alexander 2020, para. 3).

Those who have followed the “me too.” Movement and #MeToo are often at least somewhat familiar with this inception story and Burke’s organization’s focus on Black girls and

women. Those familiar with the movement also know of the initial eclipse, although unintentional, of Burke and her decades-long non-profit and community activism work by white celebrities, predatory famous men, and viral hashtag stories. Some may also know of the efforts to re-center Burke's efforts and the numbers of articles and books now emerging on the movement often speak to this. The story of "me too.," however, is even more extensive than this. It is a story that intervenes into a longer narrative of hundreds of years of sexual harassment, exploitation, and power struggles. As Sarah J. Jackson, Moya Bailey, and Brooke Foucault Welles (2020) write, "discourse constructs reality by making ideas and events meaningful in particular ways that uphold or challenge cultural ideologies" (xxxviii). The discursive construction of both the "me too." Movement and the material reality that it intervenes into, including its founders, the hashtag and its networks, and its participants and witnesses, has instigated a different kind of story that is distinct from ones that have come before it, in that it has compelled a larger, world-making conversation: a conversation of hope, of community, and, as Burke says, of healing. We now need to push past these discursive confines to explore what other realms of resistance become possible when we follow "me too." and look within and between material and affective spheres at the intersection of new materialism and intersectional feminism.

The work of the "me too." Movement, of determining ways of finding joy and of healing together, was happening long before the hashtag, and its influence has been astounding in the years following the hashtag's emergence in social media spaces. Yet, despite the preoccupation with Hollywood assaults and stories of trauma, both of which are important, the core of Burke's work with "me too." has been to connect survivors of sexual harassment and assault to healing resources and community. Rather than focusing on trauma, it is stories of healing, coping, and

creating joy out of suffering, as Burke has suggested (Harris 2018, para. 5), that bring people together to think more collectively about shifting from the individual harms done to the larger unjust social and political standards that enable such harms to happen.

On the note of world-making, this dissertation conceptualizes “me too.” as a counterpublic (Warner 2002) that transcends digital/non-digital divides, encompassing different temporally and spatially mediated spaces. The creation of digital publics has been theorized across communication studies (e.g., Bruns et al. 2016; Bruns and Burgess 2015; Burgess and Crawford 2011; Howard 2008; Rambukkana 2015) drawing from foundational work on public spheres (e.g., Asen 1999; Fraser 1990; Habermas 1974; Hauser 1999), and here I focus on counterpublics through the lens of queer affect theory (Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) as it relates to feminist media studies (e.g., Florini 2019; Gajjala 2012, 2017, 2019; Hegde 2011; Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles 2020; Sills et al. 2016). Counterpublics “come into being through an address to indefinite strangers,” where “me too.” discourses circulating online “also [address] those strangers as being not just anybody. Addressees are socially marked by their participation in this kind of discourse; ordinary people are presumed not to want to be mistaken for the kind of person that could participate in this kind of talk, or be present in this kind of scene” (Warner 2002, 424). As a counterpublic engaged in world-making, #MeToo offers discourses, experiences, and affects via storytelling posts that bring about and shape different possibilities of more equitable feminist futures for our sociocultural and political world. “Strangers” addressed by #MeToo participants are a specific and diverse audience: those who have experienced sexual assault and/or harassment and those who seek to bring attention to the enormity of the problem. #MeToo participants signal their counterpublicity by using language that other survivors of assault or

those sympathetic to this language would understand; they do not mince words or sugar-coat the magnitude of the issue. At the same time, as suggested earlier, #MeToo conversations happen under the gaze of more dominant publics in order to bring those publics (comprised of those who have normalized or become apathetic to sexual assault) into conversation for greater awareness. In this way, #MeToo participants do more than signal their counterpublicity; they authorize discursive and material actions both within the bounds of their public and with other broader publics, and they bring the hashtag out of the limits of social media spaces to do so.

Seeing value in the messy intermediaries and struggles for authority between diverse publics, counterpublics, hashtags, and stories as they influence each other across mediated spaces extends Warner's (2002) work into the realms of new materialism and intersectional feminism through my theorization of intersectional entanglements. Within the intersectional entanglements of the "me too." Movement, counterpublicity can take on new meaning. Public and counterpublic blur as stories become entangled and move through domains of power, complicating the conceptualization of addressees and strangers, how they are read by other publics, and how power and privilege are afforded.

#### "me too." Counterpublics and Rape Culture

Perhaps most importantly, the formation of a #MeToo counterpublic allows alternative imaginaries to emerge for how sexual assault is handled and how survivors are recognized, while also making clear how misogyny has contributed to a culture that normalizes sexual violence. This is particularly important within the current moment, where misogyny and racism spill between mediated spheres and take on new forms with ease. Indeed, within the last decade mediated misogyny and racism have become larger topics of conversation both inside the academy and outside, with research suggesting that mediated violence happens in response to

feminist activism and, more generally, in response to women and non-binary people simply participating in online spaces (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016; Ging 2017; Jane 2014). With contempt aimed at women and non-binary people, including threats of rape, death, and physical assault, what becomes clear is that sexual violence is enacted in order to control, manipulate, and coerce marginalized people into compliance, to exert power over them. As Leah McLaren (2017) writing for *Maclean's* so clearly articulates, “sexual harassment is utterly ubiquitous and endemic to the culture we live in. This [the “me too.” Movement] is not a witch hunt, it’s a statement of pure, inescapable truth” (para. 3). McLaren’s statement, research on rape culture and mediated misogyny, and, of course, the “me too.” Movement all underscore the complex networks of sexual assault that not only exist but thrive in our workplaces, schools, streets, and homes. These kinds of stories and experiences contribute to a particular kind of world-making that suggests that sexual violence is normal. A shift to encompass the spaces between is needed to contend with the years of abuse, of individual stories untold, and of collective pain.

As examples of misogyny, these instances of sexual assault are more than just single moments within a long history of workplace, academic, and public-private abuse; they are symptomatic of the rape culture we are living in—that is, a culture or system that supports and has normalized the pervasiveness of rape and sexual harassment. Emerging in the 1970s, rape culture was a term coined by feminist activists to encapsulate a social and cultural context “in which sexual assault is not only seen as *inevitable* in some contexts, but *desirable* and *excusable* as well” (Mendes 2015 emphasis in original), primarily because “women are constructed as *enjoying* being aggressively pursued, and in some cases, *overpowered* by men” (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2016, 23 emphasis in original). As Jessalynn Keller, Kaitlyn Mendes, and Jessica Ringrose (2016) also suggest, drawing on Mendes (2015), rape culture manifests in toxic



practices like “rape jokes, sexual harassment, cat-calling, sexualized ‘banter’; the routine policing of women’s bodies, dress, appearance, and code of conduct; the re-direction of blame from the perpetrator in an assault to the victim; and impunity for perpetrators, despite their conduct or crimes” (24). Tarana Burke, the founder of the “me too.” Movement, explains rape culture as “the way we think, speak, and move that normalized sexual entitlement and violence, while deprioritizing consent. Rooted in patriarchy, power, and control, rape culture can look like street and workplace harassment, unwanted nonsexual touch, victim shaming and blaming, and more” (Instagram post, @taranajaneen, August 11, 2021). In keeping with these definitions, this dissertation understands rape culture as including the ways that women are framed as provoking rape and sexual violence through actions like drinking too much, wearing certain clothes, walking alone at night, speaking with men one-on-one, or otherwise seen as unsuccessfully acting in pure or chaste ways. These harmful practices both contribute to and maintain legal and cultural structures that uphold the pervasiveness of sexual violence. Rape culture also exists in the spaces between, leaking between technologies, mediations, and domains of power.

Consider the following: according to Canada’s 2018 report on gender-based violence, 32% of self-identified women and 13% of self-identified men have been sexually harassed or assaulted in public; 18% of women and 14% of men have experienced harassment in online spaces and, as a result, 28% of women reported blocking accounts or deleting their own accounts to alleviate harassment; 29% of women and 17% of men reported being the targets of sexual harassment at work; and over 11 million Canadians reported that, since the age of 15, they had been physically or sexually assaulted, with 30% of this number being women and 8% of this number being men who had reported sexual assault. But, perhaps unsurprisingly, only 5% of this 30% of women who had reported sexual assault in this survey actually brought their accusations

of sexual assault to the police, and only 26% of women and 33% of men who had been physically assaulted reported likewise (Cotter and Savage 2019). And, again, perhaps unsurprisingly given the normalization of assault, 20% of all victims, “both women and men,” experienced victim blaming—being blamed for the ways that others had targeted them—and, often, it was either the perpetrator of violence or the friends and family of the survivor of assault who incited this victim blaming (Cotter and Savage 2019, para. 1). Numbers like these indicate the gravity of the problem, especially within a culture that actively normalizes rape and sexual assault—a normalization that can be seen in the alarming apathy with which I wrote those statistics.

These numbers signal just how invested society is in maintaining the normalization of rape culture and of heteronormativity—4,180,000 Canadians willingly shared that they had been sexually assaulted and were asked to subscribe to a binary category of gender and I didn’t even flinch writing that number. This is the work of rape culture and of the intimate partnership between heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, and neoliberalism. There should be shared outrage that over four million Canadians—excluding those who chose not to participate—have been experienced sexual violence, and yet it may have come as no shock that these statistics exist. These observations indicate a centuries-long narrative of the normalization of violence and while it is in the process of being interrogated, these pillars of the “modern world” are, to use Sara Ahmed’s (2004, 2010) words, “sticky” and “sticking.” These habitualized feelings about rape and sexual harassment connect us to particular kinds of values that stick us with certain ideas about rape and harassment. A sticky cycle. While they may not be our own values, they are ideas that are highly valued by powerful systems, nonetheless.

All versions of saying “me too,” as a hashtag in written form or verbally as part of the movement, seek to attend to individual stories of abuse and collective pain, bringing these stories into relationship with other stories and people to focus on unjust structures that seem invisible and offering an outlet for storytelling. All versions seek to create an alternative vision of the world where the ubiquity of sexual assault and the assumptions made about survivors are entirely different. By dwelling in space to consider individual stories and their histories in order to bring together a community, we can better grasp the kinds of feminist futures we need for greater equity—futures that materialize from following intersectional entanglements in the moments of betweenness where people’s stories of negotiating precarity make use of problematic technologies to be heard. These individual stories matter because they contribute to the formation of different structures and they slow the reproduction of unjust systems.

Unjust systems like heteropatriarchy and white supremacy maintain their hold because of how effortlessly their ideologies and impacts circulate within individual interpersonal relationships, collective groups, and structural institutions and policies. Against this backdrop, examining the intersectional entanglements of “me too.” stories is a crucial component of revitalizing the vibrancy of betweenness in order to broaden traditional conceptualizations of counterpublicity and re-envision feminist world-making possibilities. Stories and their fluidity<sup>6</sup> matter for the ways that they resist dominant narratives of rape culture simultaneously at individual, collective, and structural levels. In her discussion of the difficulties of making sexual harassment matter, Sara Ahmed (2014a) writes:

Calling out an individual matters, even when the system is also what is bruising: the violence directed against you by somebody is a violence that leaves a trace upon you

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<sup>6</sup> Fluidity in both the structure of a story and the circulation of stories.

whether that trace is visible or not. And: there is a system which creates him, supports him, and gives him a sense that he has a right to do what he does. To challenge him is to challenge a system (para. 32).

Speaking out can be hard—particularly for those of us who have been trained by society that bodies are for absorbing, not for espousing, beliefs, regardless of which domain of power we’re currently inhabiting. In many cases and in many different ways, women, non-binary people, trans people, racialized people, disabled people, and poor people are trained to have their bodies violated on a daily basis, to absorb pain and shame. Those recessions are held in our bodies with the expectation that at any moment, on any day, we might be overpowered. “me too.” and other movements like it help to disrupt this fear, fostering communities of support for those affected and imagining different presents and different futures. Current research on “me too.”, including this dissertation, contributes to this imaginative and interventionist work.

### **Chapter Previews**

In their book *Hashtag Activism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice*, Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles (2020) remind readers that “[a]s technologies change, so do the methods those at the margins use to make claims of belonging and for justice” (200). I develop intersectional entanglements in response to the rapidly changing digital media environment as a critical-theoretical intervention into the study of the “me too.” Movement and #MeToo. Within the framework of intersectional entanglements, I offer three theoretical praxes for approaching the entanglement of stories at and between individual, collective, and structural sites. I suggest that the circulation of stories from “me too.” offers: (a) forms of physical and affective severing from patriarchal constraints; (b) important acts of remembering past modes of resistance, past experiences, and collective movements; and (c) crucial gestures towards feminist futures.

Throughout this dissertation, I argue that as stories from the “me too.” Movement move between various temporally and spatially mediated spheres and between domains of power, they impel new opportunities for how to approach critique and intervention into white supremacist heteropatriarchal systems. Networked social movements like “me too.” and their storytelling capacities illustrate forms of affective dwelling that assert and circulate attendant memories, complexities, and embodied experiences. Ultimately, as I develop the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for considering the circulation of stories and their entanglements at individual, collective, and structural levels, I argue that following the intersectional entanglements of the “me too.” Movement provides crucial insights into oppression, protest, and resistance that necessarily deviate from mainstream absolute, singular truths about the nature of rape culture and sexual violence.

In Chapter Two, “Mobilizing Digital Feminisms,” I review the relevant literature, focusing on scholarship from feminist media studies and technology studies using news media sources to formulate the relationship between the two fields. I begin by laying the political-technical groundwork that feminists are intervening into, illustrating how technologies and the algorithms that people engage with in order to participate in #MeToo are designed with the biases of their creators (e.g., Benjamin 2019; Browne 2015; Noble 2018), including the misogyny and white supremacy that the “me too.” movement seeks to work against. When these technologies disguise themselves as new and exciting, the data-plundering, algorithmic-filtering, capitalist-fuelling features of these technologies render invisible who is harmed and who benefits from their design. It is these political consequences that we need to be aware of and more familiar with so that we can better understand the racist, imperialist, and misogynistic digital landscape that a variety of feminists are responding to (e.g., Banet-Weiser 2018; Conley 2014,

2017; Gajjala 2017, 2019; Hegde 2012; Rentschler 2014, 2017; Shome 2019). From within this context, I describe recent research on feminist hashtag activism in order offer the current status of hashtag research to frame #MeToo as a networked social movement (e.g., Clark 2016). I then highlight that, while important, this work often relies on big data to make its claims, obscuring the agencies and complexities of small data and alternative critical social qualitative approaches that need to be taken more seriously (Borgman 2015; boyd and Crawford 2012; Gieseeking 2018).

Chapter Three, “Intersectional Feminist Foundations for Entangled Futures,” reviews the theoretical foundations that ground this dissertation, bringing together intersectional feminist work (e.g., Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990, 2015; 2017, 2019), queer affect studies (e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012), new materialism (e.g., Alaimo and Heckman 2008; Bennet 2004, 2010; Coole and Frost 2010), and posthumanism (e.g., Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Barad 2003, 2015; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Haraway 1988, 1991, 2016) to formulate this dissertation’s critical-theoretical contribution of *intersectional entanglements*. Intersectional entanglements offer researchers a theoretical approach for approaching the analysis of networked social movements, and attend to the ways in which power and privilege are afforded and circulate within communities, technologies, and digital platforms. Through intersectional entanglements, researchers can read and feel different tensions and points of the research scene through affect to better understand power, how it circulates, and how and who it affects. Intersectional entanglements attend more fully to the sociotechnical, political, corporeal, and affective relationships between social media participants, hashtags, posts, variously mediated communities, including the larger sociopolitical contexts through which stories circulate and that inform the creation of these stories Through analyzing intersectional entanglements scholars are

able to uncover contentious spaces between domains of power that simultaneously constraint and create possibility, as expressed through Jacques Derrida (1981) and Bernard Stiegler's (1998, 2011, 2012) conceptualizations of *pharmakon*. I argue that by examining the circulation of stories within pharmacological hashtag movements and technologies, scholars can better understand these tensions to articulate and establish what feminist futures could look like. For activists and researchers alike, intersectional entanglements elucidate the ways in which feminist digital activism necessarily operates within the design structure of the technologies used for activism, while also contributing to possible individual, collective, and structural transformation through co-opting the material functions of the platform.

In Chapter Four, "Methodology, Methods, and Data: Vibrant Approaches to Data for Vital Times," I set up my approach to collecting and analyzing data. I use feminist practices of reflexivity, standpoint, and situated knowledges (Collins 1990; Costanza-Chock 2020; D'Ignazio and Klein 2020; Haraway 1988; Harding 1993; Hartsock 1981, 1983; Hekman 1997, Luka and Millette 2018) to recognize that my own situated knowledges and lived experiences shape my understanding of the data. Data consists of individual posts, contextualizing media articles, and personal stories, which can be found linked through hashtags, and were derived from "long-term online observation" of my own Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter feeds (Latzko-Toth, Bonneau, and Millette 2017, 199) and related contextual articles from contemporary news sources like *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Atlantic*. Importantly, this data collection and analysis is oriented around the affects, materialities, and social and technological networks of "me too." and the stories shared through the hashtag and media sources online—that is, it is oriented around entanglements. Because of this, I adopt a posthuman qualitative, or postqualitative, methodology that relies on affect, materialism, decolonialism, and assemblage theory to collect

data (Fox and Alldred 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020; Greene 2013; MacLure 2013abc; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Niccolini and Ringrose 2019; St. Pierre and Jackson 2014). In practice, this follows a non-random critical case sampling approach (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, and Murdock 2021; Lindlof and Taylor 2011; Palinkas et al. 2015), since the purpose of this exploration was to create these praxes using particular examples. I then analyze the stories collected through the research scene (MacDonald and Wiens 2019) using Hauser and McClellan's (2009) framework for the analysis of vernacular rhetorics in social movements.

Following scholars like Christine Borgman (2015), danah boyd and Kate Crawford (2012), J.J. Gieseeking (2018), and Roopika Risam and Susan Edwards (2017), I focus on small, curated datasets or what André Brock (2015) calls “deeper data” to best illustrate the relationship between situated knowledges (Haraway 1988), affect, and materiality, occasionally returning to my lived experience to ground key points of the praxes. The use of smaller digital datasets is important for focusing attention on: (a) the relationship between or “intra-actions” (Barad 2003) of the researcher, participants, stories, affects, and sociopolitical and technocultural contexts; (b) the stories found through small data, not just the broader themes or trends; and (c) better conceptualizations of the interconnected domains of influence between individual spheres and their relationship to collective and structural levels. This speaks to the need to develop alternative, more “flexible and expansive” social and qualitative approaches to theory, method, and analysis (Tracy 2012, 111), and also responds to Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles (2020) call to adapt our methods to our technologies in the pursuit of justice (200). The affective and material methodological and theoretical foundations outlined in both Chapter Three and Chapter Four undergird the entire dissertation, coming to bear through data collection, the



theorization of intersectional entanglements, and the stories of “me too.” that this dissertation traces.

In Chapter Five, “Virtual Dwelling as an Exploration of Individual Entanglements,” I offer the first of three theoretical praxes for analyzing intersectional entanglements, what I call *virtual dwelling*, which develops an approach for exploring the circulation of stories and power at an individual level. Through dwelling with stories to analyze their ebbs and flows throughout differently mediated spheres via reflection, I consider how participants of the “me too.”

Movement iteratively bring into broader discourse their everyday lived experiences. To do so, I trace a series of stories as they intersect through the metaphor of the “me too.” Movement as a witch hunt and the associated feminist embodiment of the symbolism of the witch to illustrate what virtual dwelling looks like and how it functions to map erased histories and offer context for “me too.” stories. Here, I argue that the use of the witch in the “me too.” Movement deserves our consideration because the metaphors that are used to describe women and their endeavours matter affectively, emotionally, and physically, with material consequences for shaping and responding to the world.

Comparisons to a witch hunt that equate holding powerful men accountable with the persecution of people in precarious locations are dangerous, especially when those powerful people are, in fact, guilty of the crimes they have been accused of committing. Virtual dwelling with the seemingly contrasting metaphors of the power of the feminist witch and the #MeToo witch hunt illustrate what some of these consequences are. The slips between the metaphor of the witch for feminist purposes and the metaphor of the witch hunt for decidedly non-feminist purposes matter and demonstrate again how #MeToo functions as pharmakon. Through my own dwelling in virtual space, I demonstrate why this matters and how different strands of

scholarship can work together to cultivate alternative ways of seeing these stories that span across different technologies, platforms, media sources, and stories. This chapter illustrates how individually virtual dwelling with specific tensions, like the witch and the so called #MeToo witch hunt, within intersectional entanglements as they cut across different mediated spheres and timelines can nurture different perspectives on dominant storylines and revitalize overlooked histories.

Building on virtual dwelling, in Chapter Six, “Vibrant Ethos as an Exploration of Collective Entanglements” I introduce the second theoretical praxis for attending to intersectional entanglements, *vibrant ethos*, which reveals how stories coming together at a community level creates sites of collective ethical responsibility through the practice of reattuning. Vibrant ethos highlights processes of (re)attunement and is grounded in Jane Bennett’s (2010) “vibrant matter” to extend ideas of agency and action to account for the political contributions of human and nonhuman actants, and Michael Hyde’s (2012) argument that openings in communication demand an ethos of acknowledgement. I argue that “me too.” stories operate within this ethos of acknowledgment, opening spaces to disclose truths and recognize one another’s being. I then offer an example of vibrant ethos through an analysis of the effects of the “feminist snap” (Ahmed 2017ab), extending the breadth of the witch’s entanglements to highlight how emotions are affectively channelled into community-building power through the witch’s presence at the 2017 Women’s March. I argue that this community-building power can be both energized by and analyzed through vibrant ethos, which attends to the collective locus of intersectional entanglements. Because virtual dwelling asks that we become familiar with ideas and spaces in their current states, examining how previous interactions have produced and impacted them, it creates the conditions for reaching out to others

to find access to new people, data, affects, cultures, organizations, and systems. This chapter argues that in looking at spaces through vibrant ethos, that is, in identifying collective spaces of openness for stories to be acknowledged, we gain a more holistic understanding of our technocultural and sociopolitical culture in order to mobilize more inclusive, intersectional openings for connection and solidarity from within our current entanglements.

In Chapter Seven, “Vital Structuring as an Exploration of Structural Entanglements,” I build on virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos to offer a third praxis for focusing on the systemic or structural sites where stories circulate within intersectional entanglements, *vital structuring*, through re-futuring. Re-futuring carefully considers #MeToo and its influencing structures as pharmakon, encapsulating the ways that it constructs and constrains future feminist possibilities. In acknowledging #MeToo’s pharmacological tendencies, vital structuring analyzes how “me too.” participants’ stories critique larger governing structures, whether institutional or technological, and in doing so make space for the imagination of alternative feminist futures. To do so, I draw on ideas of will (Ahmed 2014) and memory (Barad 2015) to articulate the importance of tracing stories as they critique structural inequities, as it is the willfulness of “me too.” stories that prompts them to be remembered and then re-membered or re-told from previous stories that were formulated and disseminated through heteropatriarchal structures. Examining the intersectional entanglements of digital platforms and movements offers an opportunity to articulate their pharmacological characteristics. I suggest that new feminist possibilities for expression and action, for re-futuring, must be understood in relationship to the intersectional structural limits of what the hashtag movements that circulate through platforms can include—even as they offer important insights into how feminists take on structural inequalities.

Given the theoretical praxes for examining intersectional entanglements that this dissertation proposes, I conclude by offering a brief example of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring together via an example of the intersectional entanglements of one story from #MeTooChina. I provide this example to indicate what reflecting, re-attuning, and re-futuring within the entanglement looks like, looking to how space constrains and creates openings for stories and thus for alternative intersectional feminist futures to emerge. I then offer limitations of the research and I gesture towards where future scholarship is needed, offering three examples of how to approaching the study of stories through intersectional entanglements via virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring through my own current collaborative research with my research labs, the qCollaborative and Feminist Think Tank. My goal in offering these examples is to clearly draw the connections between virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring to signal how this work is already happening both in practice and analysis, and what else needs to happen.

## Chapter Two: Mobilizing Digital Feminisms

### Literature Review

On January 22, 2018, Abby Ohlheiser, writing for *The Washington Post*, noted that “MeToo is an old idea: that survivors, sharing their stories of sexual harassment and abuse, can change society for the better” (para. 1). And this is true. There is a long and rich lineage of resistance fuelled by people speaking out against injustice through sharing personal testimonies: Ida B. Wells in the 1890s organizing against the rape and lynching of Black women and men in the United States (Greensite 2003), Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera using their experiences to advocate for social and economic justice during the 1960s and 70s to demand rights for sex workers, queer and trans communities, and youth experiencing homelessness due to gender violence (Jacobs 2019), and the digital activism of #MeToo, #ShoutYourAbortion, and #SayHerName of the 2000s that has seen thousands of people share stories of sexual violence and experiences of having abortions—there is a history here of activism through personal anecdotes and stories. Within contemporary media practices, digital activism mobilize a particularly poignant iteration of the ‘personal is political’ as they evoke the materiality of lived experience within their digital circulation, using hashtags, memes, videos, blogs, and other media tactics to create communities online and create spaces for airing grievances, engaging in the feminist act of complaining, and calling attention to misogyny—all to ask for action.

And yet, from within digital spaces, racism, sexism, misogyny, queerphobia, and other forms of violence and discrimination continue to exist, furthering racial, gendered, and sexual orientation-based inequalities. Technologies, including the digital spaces of social media, reflect historic and socially ingrained biases, and as such the contexts in which technologies are created contribute to their effects. For instance, as the internet has grown in popularity and use for a wide

variety of sectors (leisure, social, business), the known discrimination of the tech industry has followed (Benjamin 2019; Broussard 2018; Browne 2015; Nakamura and Chow-White 2012; Noble 2018; Noble and Tynes 2016). In response, a variety of intersectional feminist political and media initiatives have contributed to ways in which feminist activism has recently spoken back to this problem. Digital feminism is thus an important site for further consideration, both for what feminists can offer as well as the exclusions that can occur.

This chapter thus surveys literature from feminist digital media studies, communication studies, information studies, and science and technology studies, as well as popular news media sources, to capture the contemporary academic and public moments that speak to these considerations and contributions from feminist activism and scholarship online. Within the fields of media studies, communication studies, women's and gender studies, sexuality studies, sociology, anthropology, legal studies, science and technology studies, and information studies, there has been a great deal of research on feminist responses to misogyny and white supremacy over the last few years, speaking to the significance of the topic. Because of the breadth of this research, I necessarily limit my focus to research that directly and critically takes up digital feminist hashtag activism and the effects of that activism on people who have been marginalized in order to centre the people that hashtag activism is actively working for and to emphasize scholarship that directly takes up digital approaches to sexual violence and rape culture.

In order to set the stage for the critical theoretical intervention that can orient scholars to more expansive digital feminist activist and academic work that I discuss in Chapter Three, here I outline the current status of hashtag research. I look to digital feminist media studies, science and technology studies, and information studies, focusing on these three related fields for the ways that they speak to the intersection of feminist digital activism and the politics of

technology. Setting this stage includes first understanding the mediated misogyny and racism that feminist activists intervene into online, including postfeminism and its neoliberal, individual leanings. From within that context, I then recognize recent feminist digital activist research undertaken to think through how #MeToo and other hashtag campaigns function as networked social movements. Using this framework, I survey literature that addresses the normalization of misogyny, which manifests through the perpetuation of rape culture. I then discuss digital feminist responses to mediated misogyny and racism to highlight predominant approaches to data, modes of analysis, and themes and findings in current hashtag research. As feminist research is doing important work to document and intervene into problematic social and technological structures, this chapter concludes by acknowledging the usefulness of current big data approaches, while also noting the lack of methodologies, methods, and practices for specifically understanding feminist small data approaches to and analyses of hashtag activism. Overall, this chapter speaks to the ability of digital activism to amplify separate individual affective histories and memories so that, when spoken together in mass public forms, they produce greater awareness and dialogue around the pervasiveness of sexual violence and intervene into the current racist and misogynistic digital landscape.

### **Mediated Misogyny and Racism in the Digital Landscape**

In the last decade, and especially within the last five years, important scholarship has brought to light the uneven distribution of power and access inherent to the design of technologies and platforms (see, e.g., Benjamin 2019; Broussard 2018; Costanza-Chock 2020; D'Ignazio and Klein 2020; Noble 2018; Shome 2019). Indeed, those invested in critical feminist information studies and technology studies understand that current technologies and digital cultures are overflowing with forms of mediated misogyny and racism that promote intimidation,

harassment, and “alarming amounts of vitriol and violence” online (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016, 171). Moreover, platforms and those who use them function as gatekeepers in who they cater to, what they value, and what they present to us as viewers and participants. Not only are algorithms filtering out what social media participants do and not see, but the online groups that these participants choose to engage in create the digital conditions for algorithmic learning and the content that participants can interact with. For example, if participants choose to join a particular group, and only that group, then only the content posted by members of that group will be viewed, and then subsequently interacted with and understood.

Given the history of whiteness and patriarchal control over technologies (Benjamin 2019; Nakamura and Chow-White 2012; Nakamura 2014; Noble 2018; Noble and Tynes 2016; Wajcman 2004, 2010) including their theorization and their use, how can we understand current feminist efforts to challenge these normative and hierarchical relations and ways of thinking? A feminist approach to the politics of technology offers a critical investigation of the gendered, racist, and colonial underpinnings within human and nonhuman sociotechnical assemblages (Suchman 2009). Working at the intersection of feminist theory and STS, feminist technoscientists (e.g., Haraway 1988, 1996; Suchman 2009; Wajcman 2004, 2010) have made the foundational observation that common research approaches to STS, the likes of actor-network theory and the social construction of technology, too often focus on the most visible, influential users and creators of technology, contributing to the ways in which technologies are socially shaped (Wajcman 2004, 2010). Marginalized groups, those who are unable to use such technologies, are excluded from these sociotechnical relations.

From this observation, a critical reflection and recognition of who controls the sphere of technoscience is crucial for understanding the power dimensions at play. In other words, often,



the ideologies of white supremacy, toxic masculinity, sexism, and ableism “dominate scientific and technological fields and institutions,” defining what languages, skills, and practices are taken up as technologically proficient and thus producing a very “different impact on men and women” (Wajcman 2004, 42), as well as Black, Indigenous, and racialized and queer, trans, intersex, and gender non-conforming people, and disabled people. It is worthwhile to keep in mind that “it was only with the formation of engineering as a white, male, middle-class profession that ‘male machines rather than female fabrics’ became the markers of technology” (Oldenziel 1999 quoted in Wajcman 2010, 144). As mechanical and civil engineering came to define what technology was during the late nineteenth century, artifacts and knowledges associated with femininity lost significance in the public sphere, resulting in the elitism of male-dominated engineering claiming “exclusive rights to technical expertise” (144). Femininity quickly came to be interpreted as irreconcilable with technology, and “technology” took on a taken-for-granted association with the tools of men, “industrial machinery and military weapons, the tools of work and war,” instead of home and communication technologies like the oven, washing machine, and telephone (143).

Similarly, as Ruha Benjamin (2019), Meredith Broussard (2018), and Safiya Noble (2018) demonstrate, the ways that technologies are permeated with bias work to reinforce whiteness. From a robot-judged beauty contest that chose all white finalists except for one woman with darker skin, to a risk algorithm that incorrectly predicted that previously arrested Black defendants were more likely to reoffend (Benjamin 2019), and the association of the search “Black girls” with porn websites as the top search results on Google (Noble 2018), the perpetuation of racial inequality persists. In contemporary Western society, hegemonic forms of (toxic) masculinity and whiteness are still very much associated with technical proficiency and

power. To be clear, this is about who has power and who does not in a society that has historically privileged whiteness, able-bodies, and masculinity. A feminist perspective broadens our understandings of what technology is to include not only the artifact, the technical object itself, but “also the cultures and practices associated with technologies” (Wajcman 2010, 143). Under a feminist lens, the sociopolitical economic assemblages that technological systems represent are inseparable from the technical object. This inevitably contributes to its normalization and establishment. While such systems target individuals as the source of our cultural problems, it is incumbent upon us to account for the ways in which technological systems draw on social ideologies and larger systems of power, easily normalizing themselves as part of the status quo.

Technologies are always more than one single device or entity, and this consideration is an important one—there are raced, classed, and gendered biases that effect the relationships between the corporate, human, machine, and affective networks involved in the production, marketing, and use of such technologies. As has been articulated above, there is a history of male-dominated control and a privileging of whiteness which sets up a gendered and racialized hierarchy where women, particularly Black women, Indigenous women, and women of colour, are systematically “absent from sites of observable conflict over the direction of technological developments” (Wajcman 2010, 7). Technology is both a source and a consequence of gender relations, where gender relations are “materialized in technology, and masculinity and femininity in turn acquire their meaning and character through their enrolment and embeddedness in working machines” (7). Although it is believed that we are entering a “new” mediated era, technologies carry with them baggage from our social realities that cannot be shed.

Benjamin (2019) makes clear the relationship between sociotechnical and cultural dynamics in her concept, “the New Jim Code,” which describes “the employment of new technologies that reflect and reproduce existing inequities but that are promoted and perceived as more objective or progressive than the discriminatory systems of a previous era” (5-6). Benjamin argues that the galvanization of progress and the technical innovations that accompany it are often weaponized against people who are marginalized under current systems of oppression, especially when those ‘innovations’ obscure, accelerate, and deeper entrench inequities. As danah boyd and M.C. Elish (2018) suggest, “[t]he datasets and models used in these systems are not objective representations of reality. They are the culmination of particular tools, people, and power structures that foreground one way of seeing or judging over another” (para. 5). Through interrogating rhetorics of progress and of objectivity and neutrality, researchers can shed light on the social and political dimensions of our technical landscape, while, as Benjamin (2018) says, working against the judgements encoded into our technologies.

In their work on race and digital technology, Lisa Nakamura and Peter Chow-White (2012) further demonstrate the relationship between technology, unequal systems of power, and people who have been marginalized, arguing that the “digital is altering our understanding of what race is as well as nurturing new types of inequality among racial lines” (2). Understanding racism as a technology, that is, a systematic way of doing things that operates by mediating between techniques and users to create specific forms of oppression and discrimination, we can see how the enforced forgetting of the familial or historic past is a key component of the way that technologies work. For example, the neoliberal ideology that defines our current political, economic, and sociocultural movements move race, like other forms of personal identity, into the realm of the personal rather than the collective responsibility. Further still, we should refine

questions of access to digital technologies, examining how computers enable new forms of social sorting (Nakamura and Chow-White 2012). We need to interrogate the ways in which, for instance, data-mining practices reproduce racial inequality and generate new mechanisms of racial discrimination as corporations gather user data to select desired and undesired groups of people for products. This “matrix of manipulation” creates a stark and cumulative disadvantage for people of colour (12). Analyses of media must do more than simply read what is visible in these interfaces—they must do more than read the screen as text. Scholars have to acknowledge and work with the global entanglements and digital networks to better understand how race operates as a set of parameters and affordances, ideological activities, and programmed codes. As Nakamura and Chow-White emphasize, “the Internet and other computer-based technologies are complex topographies of power and privilege, made up of walled communities, new (plat)forms of economic and technological exclusion, and both new and old styles of race as code, interaction, and images” (17). The digital is not an escape; race and gender more than representation, more than “screen deep”; they are part of the algorithmic logic and effects of digital media themselves.

Such issues of gender and racial inequity within digital culture have been marked in recent years by paralleled discourses of feminist digital activism and mediated misogyny in online spaces (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016; Banet-Weiser 2018; Berridge and Portwood-Stacer 2015; Ging 2017; Kendall 2020; Portwood-Stacer and Berridge 2014). On one side, speaking specifically to the onslaught of gendered violence online, Sarah Banet-Weiser and Kate Miltner (2016) observe, “[w]e are in a new era of the gender wars...” and, as I quote above, these “gender wars” are “marked by alarming amounts of vitriol and violence directed at women in online spaces” (171). Evidence of the negative impact of the violent trajectory of technologies

lies in the sexist, racist, antifeminist pronouncements of online ‘trolling culture,’ including doxing, meme circulation, 4chan, incels, and other sub-reddit communities.

This “networked misogyny” responds to a perceived threat that feminists are encroaching on men’s “rightful place in the social hierarchy” and more specifically “the incursion of women and people of color into what were previously almost exclusively white, male spaces” (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016, 172). For instance, groups of 4chan participants, defining themselves as the disenfranchised victims of feminism, employed the platform to “organize a campaign of revenge against women, ‘social justice warriors’ and the ‘alpha males’ who had deprived them of sexual success” (Ging 2017, 3). These current forms of popular misogyny continue to ensure that “rape culture is normative, violent threats against women are validated, and rights of the body for women are either under threat or being formally retracted” (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016, 172). The reach of misogyny’s gendered violence online and the retraction of bodily rights extends to non-binary and trans people, made abundantly clear in the recent rollbacks of transgender health care protections in the United States and related attacks on trans people online. Notably and not coincidentally, the transphobic announcement of healthcare cuts came during Pride Month, and specifically on the four-year anniversary of the deadly shooting at Pulse, a popular queer nightclub in Orlando (Cole 2020). Although this is particularly shocking, as Jennifer Jenson and Suzanne de Castell (2016) put it, the misogyny of “violently silencing women” and, I add, queer, gender non-conforming, trans people, and racialized people, “whether in *The Odyssey* or *Call of Duty*, is as old as the hills” (194). Recent episodes of violence against marginalized people speaking out in public are not new; they simply re-emerge in new forms.

As just one now well-known example of “networked misogyny” (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016), Gamergate exploded in the summer of 2014 as coordinated public harassments of

prominent feminist critics of sexism in gaming culture. Emerging as a backlash to perceived bias within video game journalism, Gamergate quickly became synonymous with a violent form of trolling against women who are vocal about abuse, feminist critics of the games industry, and their allies and supporters, all of which is reinforced through the masculinity of Silicon Valley (Gajjala 2019; Jenson and de Castell 2016). Doxing, rape threats, and death threats used by self-identified members of the gaming community to explicitly silence feminist critiques signal that this outpouring of mediated misogyny has no fear of ramifications, precisely because of the pervasive patriarchal culture we live in. Every recent feminist happening (e.g., #MeToo, memes and hashtags countering #NotAllMen, #TimesUp, various iterations of the Women's March, #BlackLivesMatter protests, #IdleNoMore, and the red dress campaign for Missing and Murdered Indigenous women, etc.) has garnered a misogynistic and racist response as a violent reaction to women and racialized people speaking in public (e.g., Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016; Banet-Weiser 2018; Clark 2016; Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2016; Ging 2017; Rentschler 2014, 2017; Williams 2015), with the internet standing as a visible public that many men as the previous sole occupants are not accustomed to sharing. Despite actions ranging from political laws to social movements to simple utterances of “no,” understanding violence against women as non-normative has been overshadowed by a dominant complicity with structures of rape culture.

On the other side, there is a growing number of feminist conversations unfolding online that are informed by how “traditional gendered power relations that shape ‘offline’ spaces are replicated online” (Sills et al. 2016, 936). These feminist voices online have offered powerful responses to both online and offline harassment by various antifeminist and racist groups. And, despite the emotional and physical labour of responding to antifeminist hate online—a sentiment

that has long existed on the internet because of its design, as Benjamin (2019), Broussard (2018), Noble (2018), and Wajcman (2004, 2010) have outlined—the emergence of feminist hashtag activism within the last decade is new and exciting. The nature of the conversations unfolding across mediated spheres places greater emphasis on how gender-based harassment and sexual violence are manifest in both online and everyday offline spaces in equal measure (Jenson and de Castell 2016; Keller and Ryan 2018; Sills et al. 2016). Media studies scholars have argued for the last decade that there is no “real” separation between on/offline spheres (e.g., Couldry and Hepp 2013; Hepp and Krotz 2014; Hine 2000; Lundby 2009). And as harassment against marginalized groups amplifies, proliferates, and intensifies in coordinated ways, we cannot dispute this. As such, new forms of critical language are needed to equip ourselves with intersectional feminist tactics to face the everyday misogyny and white supremacy in a moment when online and offline are inexorably intertwined.

### **Feminist Digital Responses**

From within such sexist and racist digital spaces, #MeToo, which I understand as a digital social movement (Tarrow 2011) and feminist counterpublic (Florini 2019; Gajjala 2017, 2019; Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles 2020; Hegde 2011; Sills et al. 2016; Warner 2002), and other hashtag movements are actively “capable of triggering sociopolitical change...” (Shaw 2012 quoted in Clark 2016, 792). As Clark (2016) argues, the shift to the digital includes both a discursive and increasingly inclusive focus within contemporary feminist social movements and activism. With smartphones in hand, Twitter, Instagram, Tik Tok, and Facebook are quite literally a click away, encouraging feminists’ social media activism. For Clark (2016), importantly it is “a hashtag’s narrative logic—its ability to produce and connect individual stories” that “fuels its political growth” (2). Drawing on Stacey Young (1987), Frances Shaw

(2012) demonstrates how such “discursive activism” understands discourse as always already political, thus enabling new ways of speaking and new social responses and paradigms to emerge. Shaw suggests that the emergence of paradigms and new modes of speech can lead to collective action and movement through the ways in which discursive activism highlights how the sentiment itself is political by virtue of being uttered.

Even as we are seeing startling increases in mediated misogyny, racism, and other forms of violence and discrimination, many of us who are attuned to the arena of popular culture are privy to the feminist resurgence that has been building across various spheres of media production, demonstrating the effects of contemporary feminism’s digital response. The renegotiation of intersectional feminist politics is actively unfolding in public and popular culture, as seen through viral memes of witches hexing the patriarchy and witches against white supremacy, GIFS of how to “sit like a lady” showing the celebrity Rihanna fabulously clothed sprawled in a chair, and the growing number of films (e.g., *Black Panther*, *Birds of Prey*, *Crazy Rich Asians*, *Harriet*, *Mulan*) and television shows (*#BlackAF*, *Dear White People*, *Family Reunion*, *Insecure*, *Kim’s Convenience*) featuring Black, Indigenous, and racialized women as protagonists, as well as the social media activism of campaigns like #MeToo and #SayHerName. This resurgence is, in part, a response to the continued erosion of queer, trans, non-binary, Black, Indigenous, and racialized, and women’s rights under neoliberalism, as well as the further entrenchment of postfeminism as a gendered outgrowth of neoliberalism (De Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg 2019; Gill 2007, 2017; McRobbie 2004; Rottenberg 2014). This kind of digital resistance is particularly pressing given the erasure of Black, Indigenous, and racialized women’s rights by white “feminists” who conveniently obscure the plights of non-white women and non-binary people.



On social media, for example, feminist media scholars have noted the trend of postfeminism that has dominated women's media environments over the last three decades (Banet-Weiser 2018; Gill 2007, 2017; McRobbie 2004; Rottenberg 2014). As Rosalind Gill (2007, 2017) notes, the problem with postfeminist media is primarily located in its "claiming [of] a feminist identity" while sidestepping any real commitment to political action. For Gill and other critics of postfeminism, this version of "popular feminism" (Banet-Weiser 2018) is "championed as a cheer word, a positive value—yet in a way that does not necessarily pose any kind of challenge to existing social relations" (Gill 2017, 619). Here, a postfeminist perspective on social justice eschews a responsibility to care for others and our communities in favour of a limited self-focus (Wiens and MacDonald 2021) that does not encourage or support the social and political change necessary for more equitable, sustainable futures.

Important research on digital responses to gendered and racialized violence has highlighted these kinds of complexities in the relationship between hashtags and feminist activism (Berridge and Portwood-Stacer 2015; Portwood-Stacer and Berridge 2014). For example, social media hashtags have become effective ways of talking about Black women's issues when mainstream media outlets will not. In her 2017 essay on processes of decoding as becoming in Black Feminist hashtags, Tara L. Conley describes how Black feminist hashtags like #WhyIStayed, #YouOkSis, #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, and #BlackPowerIsForBlackMen reimagine or queer the human, thinking through how Black women's "encounters, desires, articulations, and bodies" are "entangled among sociopolitical processes of domination and authority," both online and offline, through their "renewal and strategy, mediation and embodiment, and as sites of struggle over representation, as becoming" (23). The work of decoding, Conley argues, contributes to intervening into assemblages of dominant ideologies that

uphold “white privilege, racial paternalism, misogyny, and sexual and gender violence” (24). Hashtags as sites of becoming thus offer the potential to address forms of racial, gendered, and sexual violence.

To this point, as Sherri Williams (2015) writes, “Black feminists’ use of hashtag activism is a unique fusion of social justice, technology, and citizen journalism.... Twitter is often a site of resistance where black feminists challenge violence committed against women of color and they leverage the power of Black Twitter to bring attention and justice to women who rarely receive either” (343). Hashtags enable affective and technological solidarity to express a range of reactions to rape culture and occlusions from mainstream media, including feminist rage, irony, and humor. Feminists are thus able not only to expose rape culture and systems of oppression but share their own experiences with an invitation for response (Rentschler 2014). Moreover, scholarship has recognized emerging opportunities for social justice, commenting on the transnational reach of feminist hashtagging for women’s rights activism. “For those who have access to them,” observes Eleanor Tiplady Higgs (2015), “social and digital media provide unparalleled opportunities for crossing borders of all kinds, allowing advocates for women’s rights to organise around, through, and despite national and cultural divides” (344). Nevertheless, it is these very acts of “border crossing” (Higgs 2015), both physical and digital, that continue to reveal the kinds of power and privilege inherent to online spaces, even when fighting from intersectional perspectives for justice against sexual violence.

As Jessie Daniels (2016) has articulated, white feminism in digital activism presents a problem, even as she argues that digital feminism is “the most important advance in feminism in fifty years” (21). Twitter campaigns like #JusticeforLiz and #BringBackOurGirls, though important for bringing awareness and possible change, underscore the prevalence of a white

savior complex that plays into dominant stereotypes of Black and Brown bodies perpetuated by white feminist, neoliberal, and colonial frameworks and threatens possibilities for genuine solidarity (Higgs 2015; Khoja-Moolji 2015), where white women's voices were held above the experiences and actions of Black and Brown women. Within this context, Williams (2015) underscores how "[w]hen white feminists miss opportunities to stand with their black sisters and mainstream media overlooks the plight of nonwhite women," as has been the case with dominant coverage of #MeToo campaign, "women of colour use social media as a tool to unite and inform" (342). This can happen because, as Sarah Florini (2019) argues, the heterogeneity of Black digital counterpublics comes from the variety of networks used beyond Twitter to generate more nuanced understandings of cultural events, including podcasts, blogs, and other social networking sites. Evidence of this is found in how the broader public came to be informed that Tarana Burke was the originator of the movement through Black feminists on Twitter who re-centred the conversation to her work and intentions. While a necessary corrective emerged by the efforts of intersectional feminists to counter the ways in which #MeToo became tied to celebrity feminist visibility, we should continue to question whose shoulders this work continues to land on.

In response to questions of access, labour, and globalization postcolonial feminist media studies scholars have called for a centering of South Asian experiences and postcolonial theories. For example, Sangeet Kumar and Radhika Parameswaran (2018) have called for a stronger affinity between postcolonial communication and media studies. This pairing, they argue, allows for a "historicized approach to global power, conflict, culture, politics and economics" (347) that can speak to the erasures of postcolonial identity, caste, migration, and difference. Along these lines, Raka Shome (2019) has argued that there is a need to think about how to engage and work

with “media practices, cultures, and objects” from the Global South and other postcolonial (i.e., non-Western) contexts that complicate what many scholars believe media to be. Shome asks the important question of what new media objects become visible when we re-consider the Western reliance on electricity that constitutes our conceptualization of media, instead looking towards the practices that emerge when we center a lack of access to electricity. Because the contexts that we live, work, and play in are sites of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari quoted in Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) and articulation (Grossberg 2010 quoted in Shome 2019), postcolonial contexts indicate the need to re-articulate the connection between access (to electricity, for example) and media in different ways, as this relationship is negotiated within the time-history-economic-political-cultural assemblage. Taking this seriously means considering “what shadowy lives” might “rise up and illuminate our scholarly screens in media studies,” and “what desires and despairs, what communities and communications, might become visible” (Shome 2019, 320). These communities and their affects might emerge within what Radhika Gajjala (2019) has called spheres of “digital domesticity” and “digital streets”: two ways to conceptualize Internet use within South Asian digital diaspora that describes, respectively, private, often gendered, digital publics and public social justice, corporate, and/or charitable digital publics. These conceptualizations have contributed to analyses around how online interactions and identities are “shaped by histories of colonialism” and the assumption of access (16). As such, we need to continue to reflect on the ways that social media activism, the platforms it is performed on, and histories of media access differently affect social justice, and how this changes what justice might look like.

Current digital feminist practices and activisms, including posts, memes, hashtags, GIFs, and their paratextual discourses, are significant for how they “mediate new social relationships

and forms of resistance to... inequalities... through critical engagement” (Zarzycka and Olivieri 2017, 528). This critique or disturbance of dominant culture brings attention to the concerns of marginalized communities, some of which have been outlined above, but many of which are not ways brought to the forefront, as Black and South Asian media studies scholars have highlighted. Within the context of feminist activism, Samantha C. Thrift (2014) frames #YesAllWomen as “a mimetic disruption of dominant discourses denying the prevalence of misogynist violence” such as the Isla Vista shooting (1091), arguing that the hashtag “asserts a counter-narrative to exceptionalist discourses” that are complicit in “normalizing gender violence and sexual entitlement” (1019). Carrie A. Rentschler (2014) highlights the “affective and technological deployment of the testimonial tradition” of feminist social media responses to rape culture, noting how this tradition offers the grounds through which people can respond to the cultural supports available (66). Jessalynn Keller, Kaitlynn Mendes, and Jessica Ringrose (2018) detail how digital mediation of the #MeToo movement has opened new modes through which to create relationships to reconceptualize boundaries around sexual violence, harassment, and sexism. And Sarah J. Jackson, Moya Bailey, and Brooke Foucault Welles (2020) illustrate how hashtags like #SurvivorPrivilege, #MeToo, #WhyIStayed, #YesAllWomen, and #TheEmptyChair further the work of feminist political projects, extending feminist counterpublicity (xi). Evidently, feminist hashtags are helping participants and witnesses to both reflect on and contribute to social media activism, demonstrating the ways that feminists engage their social networks to mobilize against the normalization of sexual violence.

Specifically, digital activism like hashtag campaigns, feminist memes, and activist TikTok videos offer important examples of the kinds of tactics that intersectional feminists are using to speak back to structural oppressions, with hashtag movements in particular continuing to

gain traction and prominence on social media. What should be underscored here is the significant and necessary role that previous hashtag movements and their creators have played in carving out digital space and sociopolitical awareness and presence for the future of current movements and where they can go, and what impact they can have. As Jackson, Bailey, and Welles (2019, 2020) point out, the important reckoning force of #MeToo could not have been made possible without the work done by its predecessors like #YesAllWomen, #SurvivorPrivilege, #WhyIStayed, and #TheEmptyChair, since each of these hashtag networks was already publicizing the interpersonal and structural violence experienced by women. The compounding efforts of what Deen Freelon, Meredith D. Clark, Sarah J. Jackson, and Lori Lopez (2018) call “Feminist Twitter,” a community influenced by Black women, Indigenous women, and racialized women, has brought to the forefront subaltern communities and conversations that were originally insular.

While the work of Feminist Twitter was ground-breaking, these conversations still risk misrepresentation and appropriation even as #MeToo became the “tipping point of visibility” (Bailey, Jackson, and Welles 2019, para. 32) that demonstrated the power of “cross-identity solidarities” (para. 36). Bailey, Jackson, and Welles (2019) illustrate how the personal is still political, with the hashtags that people use contributing to a larger political power. Despite their shortcomings, including the ways they can distort or misinterpret complex issues, feminist hashtags have been incredibly effective at providing “easy-to-digest shorthands” (para. 37) that speak back to dominant ideologies surrounding violence against women, queer, and trans people and narratives of victimhood. Here, the hashtag encourages a specific naming of the challenges that marginalized groups are up against, bringing into broader circulation issues that have long

been silenced. Hashtags collectively “name what hurts” (hooks 2012), articulating aloud the harm done in order to draw attention to the matter.

In tagging individual posts and bringing them together in a collective naming of what hurts, hashtags are articulating and amplifying experiences of misogyny, rape culture, racism, and harassment that are structurally, collectively, and individually perpetuated. Notably, much of the research on feminist hashtags—while significant in academic and activist ways—depends on big data gathering to assess the current trends and patterns in digital feminist media work. Through using APIs, random sampling, quantitative content analysis, case studies, and big data visualizations (e.g., Bailey, Jackson, and Welles 2019; Brown, Ray, Summers, and Fraistat 2017; Clark 2016; Clark-Parsons 2019; Conley 2014; Keller, Ringrose, and Mendes 2018; Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018), traction has been gained in acknowledging the need to study digitally mediated social movements. This has been foundational in making clear the ubiquity of rape culture, in outlining the violence enacted upon people who are already marginalized in this system, and how feminists use media and digital technologies to document and respond to rape culture.

But, as boyd and Crawford (2012)—big data users themselves—emphasize, big data need to be critically interrogated. “Big Data is less about data that is big than it is about a capacity to search, aggregate, and cross-reference large data sets,” which has resulted in the myth that “large data sets offer a higher form of intelligence and knowledge that can generate insights that were previously impossible, with the aura of truth, objectivity, and accuracy (663). As sociotechnical phenomenon located at the intersection of technology, analysis, and mythology, big data’s rise in popularity should necessitate critical questions, including “what all this data means, who gets access to what data, how data analysis is deployed, and to what ends” (664). While this

dissertation does not claim to answer these questions, within the current obsessive context of big data and social media research it does offer an orienting framework for an alternative approach: three intertwined praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for orienting to the study of digitally and culturally media phenomena.

This is not to say that big data approaches should not be used and, indeed, big data are here and they are here to stay. Big data have created a radical shift in the ability to collect and analyze data, “reframe[ing] key questions about the constitution of knowledge, the processes of research, how we should engage with information, and the nature and the categorization of reality” (boyd and Crawford 2012, 665). To this point, Chris Anderson (2008), the Editor-in-Chief of Wired has claimed, “[t]his is a world where massive amounts of data and applied mathematics replace every other tool that might be brought to bear.... With enough data, the numbers speak for themselves” (para. 7). But the numbers, as boyd and Crawford (2012), Catherine D’Ignazio and Lauren F. Klein (2020), and Sasha Costanza-Chock (2020) have argued, do not and cannot speak for themselves, and they must be deeply contextualized by the groups of people that these numbers are about. As Lisa Gitelman (2011) suggests, “every discipline and disciplinary institution has its own norms and standards for the imagination of data” (quoted in boyd and Crawford 2012, 667). This emphasizes the fact that for data to exist they must be first framed as data through a framing process that is, in fact, interpretative and inherently prone to bias

Digital feminist media research that does not use big data approaches, like interviews, surveys, assemblages, and textual analyses to social media activism (e.g., Conley 2017; Rentschler 2014, 2017; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Thrift 2014), has also made clear that data are interpreted through a specific situated knowledge (Haraway 1988), which speaks to the



capacity for personal stories to, in fact, create stronger objective truths (Harding 1993). However, much of this research, if not almost all of it, does not specify that they are working with small data (interestingly, those working with big data tend to foreground this). Within the emerging field of data feminism during this era of big data, we need analyses and approaches to research that look to the complexities of smaller pieces of digital data and their contexts within larger repositories, extending the work of postcolonial feminist media scholars who are considering the relationship between cultural power, locale, and globalization (Chopra and Gajjala 2011; Gajjala 2012, 2017, 2019; Hegde 2011; Kumar and Parameswaran 2018; Shome 2019) and feminist media scholars engaging with assemblages to intervene into dominant ideologies (Conley 2017; Renold and Ringrose 2014). Citing a tweet from Lori Kendall on November 2, 2013, STS and André Brock (2015) makes the case for “deep data” rather than “small data” to emphasize the significant labour, analysis, and relationships that goes into working with small datasets. “To diminish such work by labeling it as ‘small’ reinforces a perjorative positivist view of interpretive inquiry” (1085), Brock argues. As such, focusing on smaller data sets to highlight the relationships between single social media posts, associated comments and images, the paratextual discourses that precede and succeed posts, and the networks that enable posts and digital conversations to take place is important in in this moment of big data scholarship. Within digital feminist media studies, leaning into smaller or, as Brock suggests, “deeper” datasets can enable the learning of stories of social media participants as they move among and between different spaces online and “offline,” into different temporal periods and mediated spheres, where each post is a story connected to another story.

Moreover, thinking critically and carefully about the role of the researcher during the research process, as much feminist work (e.g., Alcoff 1988; D’Ignazio and Klein 2020; Haraway

1988; Harding 1993; Luka and Millette 2018) and posthuman work in qualitative methods (e.g., Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012; Fox and Alldred 2014, 2015, 2015, 2018, 2020; MacDonald and Wiens 2019; MacLure 2013abc; Youngblood Jackson 2013) has called for, needs to be brought to social media research to account for the algorithmic oppression (Noble 2018), digital redlining (Gilliard 2016), and “New Jim Code” (Benjamin 2019) that occur when aggregated data are used to decisions about individuals. Across digital feminist media studies, and specifically within data feminism, we need to continue to develop approaches to research that acknowledge these kinds of interpretive biases and that value alternative and imaginative processes to big data that embrace and validate smaller subsets of data and processes of digital care that they can lead to. This is necessary for speaking back to heteropatriarchal structures that seek to obscure individual voices; we need it for small data practices, like the individual posts and hashtags, as well as big data practices.

### **Conclusion**

Speaking to feminism’s critical edge, Joan Wallach Scott (2008) reminds us that, “[t]he point of critique is not to tear down or destroy but...to open up new possibilities, new ways of thinking about what might be done to make things better. Critique does not offer a map that leads to a guaranteed future; rather, it disturbs our settled expectations and incites us to explore, indeed to invent, alternate routes” (7). Hashtag feminisms have contributed to the momentum for such possibilities to emerge, offering further visibility for the activist work that is happening on the ground and broadening the parameters of who can (and also cannot) participate in these counterpublic spaces. But using the feminist digital tools at our disposal requires an understanding that while technology has enabled more people to participate, platforms and technological devices themselves act as gatekeepers through the racism, sexism, ableism, and

ageism built right into their designs. As such, digital feminist media studies and science and technology studies perspectives offer insights for cultivating digital methodologies and tools for feminist and queer resistance, considering events, actions, and contestations that influence our processes of data-production, analysis, and remediation.

As networked entities that (re)produce misogyny and racism, individual, collective, and structural examinations of popular technologies and platforms can help to better understand techno-corporeal-affective relationships and the ways in which misogyny and racism affects human and nonhuman bodies—areas of research that deserve critical attention as the technological reach of multinational corporations becomes global in scope. Technologies reinforce sexism and racism, relying on gendered and racialized tropes and assumptions as they seek to offer new futures. It is incumbent on us to recognize the kinds of futures such technologies put forward and offer our own potential futures as a counter. To do so, however, we have to understand the intricacies and different levels through which technologies operate so that we might effectively suggest alternatives, whether through using new practices or through queering the practices and technologies we have at hand.

To address this gap in the research, in the next chapter I offer a theoretical framework that brings together intersectional feminist materialism, feminist new materialism and posthumanisms, queer affect, and pharmakon arguing that, together, these perspectives elucidate the ways in which feminist digital activism necessarily operates within the design structure of the technologies used for such activism, while also contributing to individual, collective, and structural transformation through co-opting the material functions of the platform.

### Chapter Three: Intersectional Feminist Foundations for Entangled Futures

This dissertation offers an orientation to studying digital phenomena at three related levels, the individual, collective, and structural, and uses the “me too.” Movement as an example to explore sites of both domination and resistance. Through doing so, I develop the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for approaching stories at these levels that prioritize an intersectional feminist new materialist approach. In this chapter, I lay the groundwork for understanding *intersectional entanglements* as a way to approach the movement of “me too.” stories from the nexus of intersectional feminism (Collins 1990, 2017, 2019; Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) and feminist posthumanism (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Barad 2003, 2010, 2015; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Haraway 1988, 1991, 2016) and new materialism (Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Bennett 2004, 2010; Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012), drawing on queer affect (Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) and pharmakon (Abbinett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998; 2011, 2012). Considering an alternative orientation to the circulation of digital phenomena, offers opportunities for transgression and resistance to what bell hooks (2012) calls the “imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy,” and opens possibilities for everyday life to be transformed by such resistance to an unjust status quo. I first review intersectional feminism—which explicitly considers how each of our identities, including race, class, and gender, mutually inform each other as identity builders, as a field of study, as an analytical strategy, and as critical praxis (Collins 1990, 2015, 2019)—and then new materialism—focusing on ontoepistemology and axiology to describe the ways that matter acts in lively, vibrant, and vital ways—in order to build a foundation for the critical-theoretical intervention and phenomenon of intersectional entanglements. I then discuss queer feminist work on affect to ultimately suggest

that that we can read and feel entanglements through affect to better understand power, how it circulates, and how and who it impacts, moving then to how technologies and networked social movements act as pharmakon.

In this dissertation, power is informed by the “matrix of domination” (Collins 1990) that looks across structure, discipline, hegemony, and interpersonal domains to examine how power accumulates, organizes, and is then experienced. Drawing on Catherine D’Ignazio and Lauren F. Klein (2020), who rely on the foundational work of Patricia Hill Collins, this dissertation understands power as describing “the current configuration of structural privilege and structural oppression, in which some groups experience unearned advantages—because various systems have been designed by people like them and work for people like them—and other groups experience systemic disadvantages—because those same systems were not designed by them or with people like them in mind” (24). As I mention in the preface, when I reference or talk about feminism, I refer to a movement that is not only about women and gender, but about these power dynamics more broadly—who does and does not hold and wield interpersonal, disciplinary, hegemonic, and structural power within the current matrix of domination.

In bringing together these different strands of scholarship, this project does not seek to disregard or criticize previous work, but instead seeks a “hermeneutic of generativity.” A hermeneutic of generativity, a term coined by Jennifer Roberts-Smith in her work with the qcollaborative, a critical feminist design lab, stands in contrast to the “hermeneutic of suspicion” that Paul Ricoeur (1965) once described Freud, Marx, and Nietzsche as mastering. A hermeneutic of generativity is intellectually, creatively, and interpersonally generous in its aims to create new relational paradigms and encourage multiple perspectives for more equitable futures. These are futures that celebrate difference and amplify marginalized voices with trust,

admiration, care, support, and affirmation, and that seek e/affects of wonder, sovereignty, reconciliation, wisdom, and joy. I work within Roberts-Smith's hermeneutic of generativity by extending important feminist work to develop praxes for approaching the complexities of bringing together different scholarship that may not seem to "fit" together.

### **Theoretical Approach: Towards Intersectional Entanglements**

In their work on why data science needs feminism, D'Ignazio and Klein (2020) remind readers that the basic premise of feminism "...begins with the belief in the 'political, social, and economic equality of the sexes,' as the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines the term—as does, for the record, Beyoncé" (3). Colloquially, feminism is a belief, an organized activity for justice for women. It is a theory of political, economic, and social equality. Feminism's popularity and celebrity approval in recent years, as D'Ignazio and Klein highlight when they reference Beyoncé's buy in to feminism, has led to a widespread acceptance of the concept (if not a true embrace of the movement's aims), leading to heightened visibility in media coverage, especially on #MeToo (De Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg 2019). While broader attention is important, popular neoliberal approaches to feminism center whiteness in their attempts for equality between men and women, contributing to greater inequality through a binary focus on gender with little regard for other intersecting identities (e.g., Bae 2011; Cooper 2018; Kendall 2020). The prominence of these kinds of discourses is troubling, with material and affective effects on different people.

### **Troubling the Status Quo: Intersectional Feminist Foundations**

To seek greater solidarity and organization against unjust systems of power and to better speak to these material and affective consequences, we need to understand power and its workings from an intersectional feminist perspective. As a field situated within the power

relations that it studies, as an analytic strategy that provides new angles of vision on social phenomena, and as a critical praxis that informs social justice projects, intersectionality's "essence lies in its attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities" (Collins 2015, 3). Moreover, as Collins (1990) writes, intersectionality asks us to acknowledge that "people experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions. Black feminist thought emphasizes all three levels as sites of domination and as potential sites of resistance" (223).

The legitimization of intersectionality within academia and elsewhere helps to invite different people from different disciplines and career paths to take up its ideas. However, while its travels from social movements into the academy have enabled the analysis and theorization of intersectionality to flourish, the on-the-ground practice-based work of intersectionality risks being ignored as it tries to better "fit" into the academy (Collins 2015). Noting that intersectionality constitutes a broad-based knowledge project, Collins describes intersectionality as explaining how "race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age are reciprocally constructing phenomena" (3). Drawing on Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw's (1989, 1991) foundational conceptualization of intersectionality, Collins outlines how these mutually constructing, related categories underlie and shape intersecting systems of power that catalyze the "social formations of complex social inequalities that are organized via unequal material realities and distinctive social experiences for people who live within them" (16). As Collins (2015) points out, definitions of intersectionality constitute starting points for exploration, and not end points of analysis. This, I suggest, indicates that intersectionality is an ontoepistemological framework for knowledge building projects, calling attention to the ways

that epistemology works in tandem with ontology (Puar 2007, 2011). What this means is that feminist ways of understanding the nature of the world and those in it cannot be untangled from feminist approaches to understanding knowledge production practices; they necessarily mutually inform each other.

Knowledge production and feminist praxis come together again when bell hooks (2000) reminds us that intersectional feminist work must not forget that a commitment to feminism is a connection to political action, reiterating the necessity of a direct relationship between theory and practice (6). Learning about feminism takes place both inside and outside academic settings; it is thus incumbent upon scholars to recognize that feminism cannot stay in the academy—it should be given back to the communities from which it came to renew commitment to political solidarity. This work stems from hooks's ongoing claim that sexism, racism, classism, capitalism, and colonialism in the United States promote oppression by idealizing oppressive values and characteristics:

Feminism is anti-sexism.... Significantly, the most powerful intervention made by consciousness-raising groups was the demand that all females confront their internalized sexism, their allegiance to patriarchal thinking and action, and their commitment to feminist conversion. That intervention is still needed. It remains the necessary step for anyone choosing feminist politics. The enemy within must be transformed before we can confront the enemy outside. The threat, the enemy, is sexist thought and behavior (12).

In this way, hooks critiques power struggles with the women's movement—struggles among highly literate, well-educated, and materially privileged women and materially disadvantaged women who do not have access to class power, calling for a feminism without divisive barriers, but with rigorous, non-hierarchical discussion and debate.



As one example of the implications of this, within the context of #MeToo's highly broadcasted campaign, the voices of people who have been marginalized have been far and few between. As the hashtag assembled counterpublics via stories of hope, rage, recognition, and solidarity, powerful statements of missing voices and issues within the dominant discourse of #MeToo began to emerge within the larger conversation. As one Twitter participant called out in a tweet that I mentioned in the Introduction and take up more fully in Chapter Seven:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo but let's remember to not center this around white cis women and to uplift marginalized folks (October 16, 2017).

An intersectional perspective requires an understanding of the social and material constructions of gender, race, class, nation, ethnicity, and ability to name and explain forces of oppression that actively seek to maintain power and silence marginalized experiences. As the post above from Twitter shows, in response to select voices like those of Alyssa Milano and other already visible people that were highlighted in media coverage of #MeToo, intersectional feminists pushed for necessary correctives to counter the ways in which #MeToo had become tied to white feminist and celebrity feminist visibility. Being able to point out and comprehend how dominant forces, like whiteness or binary conceptions of gender, exert power enables us to more easily move towards different possible, more just futures. Feminisms that are aware of how different forms of power, like white and cis privilege, can dominate activist practices can help us individually and collectively by making clear how white feminism, a feminism that upholds and benefits from neoliberalism and whiteness, perpetuates harm. Being aware of different forms of power can make it easier to see how power circulates in online spaces, reflecting its various mediated forms and the effects on bodies.

It is only by calling attention to power struggles and actively forging paths and collective spaces for conversations and for dialogue that we can celebrate, in hooks' (2000) words, life and

love, working against dehumanization and domination. True revolutionaries, hooks argues, must anchor their efforts in an act of love of people and life. Making clear the intersecting forces that work to oppress communities in the pursuit of making life better is an act of love and solidarity. However, while we see these intersecting forces, we must also acknowledge the affective consequences of these forces. This, I suggest, we can do through a feminist affective material approach to digital activist work that attends to the affective and material affordances of digital platforms in ways that a discursive approach alone cannot and that asks us to think about how different domains of power open questions about other interconnected systems.

#### Troubling the Discursive: Interlocking (New) Material and Posthuman Foundations

While many scholars draw on affect for their own methodologies and analyses (see, e.g., Berlant 2011; Blackman 2015; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Puar 2007, 2011), which have yielded important insights, a feminist affective material approach that recognizes and appreciates affect, while also acknowledging the affordances of the resistances, oppositions, and solidarities of the material plane (e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010, 2014, 2017; Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Niccolini and Ringrose 2019). This kind of critical-theoretical approach is attuned to power, which is at times unseen and affective, and thus contributes to making clear intersecting forces that both hinder and encourage solidarity and love and points out affective and physical infrastructures as they interact and construct each other in configurations of power. Within the framework of a feminist affective material approach, I bring intersectional feminist scholarship into conversation with new materialism, drawing on an understanding of both feminist (new) materialism and posthumanism to fill out the ontological and epistemological considerations involved in an analysis of the fluidity of mediated spaces and

the stories that circulate. This helps to better conceptualize the relationships between bodies, subjectivity, technology, and politics as we move towards intersectional entanglements.

In what follows, I briefly discuss materiality as an extension of the linguistic turn in order to consider the material components of the human body, technology, and the natural world. I then explain the interlocking nature of the material and the posthuman so that we can best understand how their theorizations and methods can work together for feminist resistance. I set this up to explain this dissertation's engagement with a feminist new materialist approach informed by posthumanism, arguing that we need understandings of the entanglements of these intersectional issues. Here, I continue the work of establishing a foundation for bringing together seemingly disparate theories in the service of conceptualizing intersectional entanglements.

In asking a seemingly simple question, N. Katherine Hayles (1995) radically challenged conceptions of relational ontological politics and the connections between bodies and subjects, objects, and technopolitics: "What happens if we begin from the premise not that we know reality because we are separate from it (traditional objectivity), but that we can know the world because we are connected with it?" (48). This provocation succinctly echoes Donna Haraway's (1991) plea to pay attention to the ways in which humans are entangled in intricate relationships with the world and reflects the need to pay closer attention to sociopolitical, embodied, and technocultural interactions. More recently, the stakes have been raised once again when Cecilia Åsberg and Rosi Braidotti (2018) argue that, in an age characterized by intense biological, climatic, social, and geological change, "we live and die, play, thrive, and suffer by each other" (1). In other words, people are co-constitutively connected in a fluid assemblage of nature and the environment, other human and nonhuman animals, medicine, technology and science, and politics. Various marginalized communities, like racialized and queer communities, have been

espousing similar sentiments for decades, with activist Marsha P. Johnson declaring that “you never completely have your rights, one person, until you all have your rights” (*Stonewall, Coming Out For LBGT*). This suggests that, as Åsberg and Braidotti argue, we rely on each other, our actions, and the consequences of those actions or inaction for fundamental collective change.

Although the turn to the linguistic and discursive has been productive, offering feminists ways to link gender with articulations of class, race, and sexuality, the material helps to explore interconnections of culture, history, discourse, technology, biology, and the environment without privileging one over the other (Alaimo and Hekman 2008, 7). Emerging in the early 1990s, the term “new materialism” describes an ontological reorientation informed by natural science that rejects the dualisms in modern and humanist traditions and turns instead towards biopolitical and bioethical issues concerning the status of life and the nonhuman (Coole and Frost 2010). “New” materialism can be understood as a return to historical materialism’s concern for embodied circumstance and subject formation. Yet, while historical materialism follows “the trail of human power to expose social hegemonies,” new materialisms recognize that “there is also public value in following the scent of a nonhuman, thing-power, the material agency of natural bodies and technological artifacts” (Bennett 2010, xvii). Beginning with human *and* nonhuman actants, rather than taken-for-granted social groups and ideas, a material approach allows for the formation of unexpected coalitions and alliances (Alaimo and Hekman 2008, 7). These new coalitions and alliances, forged through materially based stories and relationalities, embrace both the material and the discursive as co-constituting each other, setting the very conditions for the posthuman.

As humans became more entangled in relationships with science, technology, and the environment, the posthumanities emerged out of (new) materialisms as a response to the “vulnerable embodiments of both human and nonhuman kinds,” “at the convergence of different strands of scholarship and activism” (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018, 10). Observing the rise of new media interfaces and forms of digital communication, J.J. Halberstam and Ira Livingston (1995) argued that the human body, its abilities, and its experiences of itself and other bodies has been radically altered by the technologies it interacts with (4-5). To “keep up with the present” and process the intersecting identities that “rub up against the body,” Halberstam and Livingston craft a narrative that suggests that posthuman bodies are the causes and effects of postmodern relations of power and pleasure, virtuality and reality, sex and its consequences (2). Posthuman bodies do not adhere to dominant “discourses but emerge at nodes where bodies, bodies of discourse, and discourses of bodies intersect to foreclose any easy distinction between actor and stage, between sender/receiver, channel, code, message, context” (2). Citing Haraway (1991), they contend that “posthuman embodiment, like ‘feminist embodiment, then, is not about fixed location in a reified body, female or otherwise, but about nodes in fields, inflections in orientations.... Embodiment is significant prosthesis’” (Halberstam and Livingston 1995, 2). Under these conditions, the posthuman body is, they argue, a queer body: a technology, a screen, a projected image. For instance, as Halberstam and Livingston illustrate, a body under the sign of AIDS is heteronormatively seen as a contaminated body, a deadly body, a techno-body. The posthuman and its bodily forms are recognizable because they occupy the overlap between the “now” and the “then,” the “here” and the “always” (3); it is queer not as an identity but because it *queers* or troubles a present that reflects the status quo (Butler 1990). The posthuman is

simultaneously “a set of conditions and bodies that open up possibilities for resisting hegemonic singularities and binaries” (Halberstam and Livingston 1995, 19).

N. Katherine Hayles (1999) also critiques the belief that the body is primarily a discursive and linguistic construction, blaming postmodernism for concentrating on discourse rather than on embodiment. Countering claims that the body has disappeared, Hayles seeks to outline how new subjectivities emerge in the posthuman era. Rather than reasserting the naturalization of the body, she calls attention to how embodied humans interact with the material conditions in which they live. Drawing a distinction between “body” and “embodiment,” the body is conceptualized as an abstract idealized form (that is, a discursive universal construct), and embodiment as always temporally, spatially, historically, and contextually enmeshed with its environment. Embodiment is performative and “subject to individual enactments, and therefore always to some extent improvisational” (Hayles 1999, 197). While the body “can disappear into information . . . embodiment cannot, for it is tied to the circumstances of the occasion and the person” (197). Hayles traces the erasure of the body to the history of cybernetics, arguing that by recreating the human as an entity that may be seamlessly articulated with intelligent machines, computation obscured individualism as the focus of human identity.

The posthuman subject, then, is a negotiating entity that can coordinate cognitive systems to enhance the survival of artificial life-forms—both ourselves and others with whom we share the planet. This conception positions the posthuman as an era where “emergence will replace teleology; reflexive epistemology replaces objectivism; distributed cognition replaces autonomous will; embodiment replaces a body seen as a support system for the mind; and a dynamic partnership between humans and intelligent machines replaces the liberal subject’s manifest destiny to dominate and control nature” (Hayles 1999, 288). Thus, human beings are

first and foremost embodied, and that embodiment and its consequences are located and specific, intertwined materially and affectively with technology.

Although discussions of the body vs. the machine and a focus on techno-bodies resisting the status quo contribute to important theorizations of posthuman resistance, they are limited in their technological approach to the body. This is not to say that postulations of subjectivity or embodiment should be abandoned, but that a still more holistic approach should be considered, one that does not position technologies above nature and the environment, or sociopolitical and economic conditions. Scholarship like Jasbir Puar's (2007) "terrorist assemblages" has sought to "exhume the convivial relations" between ideas, technologies, and systems of power to disrupt what she calls "homonationalism" (39) but has done so from a decidedly queer poststructuralist perspective. I suggest that a material feminist approach to posthumanism helps to further address this gap and speaks to the theoretical underpinnings of intersectional entanglements.

#### Situating Material Feminist Posthumanities: Ontoepistemology and Axiology

Motivated by the presence of intertwined systems of power and a limited conception of the self, Rosi Braidotti (2013) writes:

[W]e need to devise new social, ethical, and discursive schemes of subject formation to match the profound transformations we are undergoing. That means that we need to learn to think differently about ourselves. I take the posthuman predicament as an opportunity to empower the pursuit of alternative schemes of thought, knowledge, and self-representation. The posthuman condition urges us to think critically and creatively about who and what we are actually in the process of becoming (12).

This version of the posthumanities emphasizes new materialist approaches in feminist epistemology, emerging "*in medias res*" to offer "a different starting point" (10). Sharing an

agenda with new materialisms, feminist posthumanities also seek a repositioning of the human among nonhuman actants, see matter as lively and exhibiting agency, and advocate a critical materialist attention to global economic, environmental, and political effects (Coole and Frost 2010). Material feminist posthumanities are, as Åsberg and Braidotti (2018) highlight, especially equipped to engage the “age-old feminist question” of “who gets to count as human, and at the expense of whom?” (14). In looking at this question, I assert that intersectional entanglements are key to examining interlocking systems of power that have reified who have not only been valued but who have benefited from the subjugation of others and who have not, within and among various domains of power and across temporal and mediated spheres.

In mapping links between intersectional forms of oppression, discourse, (non)human bodies, histories, experiences, and the environment, intersectional entanglements shift the focus on ethical principles to encompass emerging ethical practices that take into account their consequences, broadening the range of purview. The key here is the recalibration of “the humanities so as to attend to the specific human and more than human interests while accounting for power differentials” (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018, 10). In answering this call, new materialism with feminist posthumanities are “inclusionary and non-reductive, yet targeted, practices of attentive consideration” that are created “transversally in knowledge conversations at various crossroads of human and nonhuman co-constitution” (4). While climate sciences and the life sciences seem to complement many well-established efforts to deconstruct the solid and autonomous human individual, the new tasks of the “more-than-human humanities scholar” are to offer “guiding stories with which to tell these stories, and to present adequate maps to the specifically situated historical locations” (5). The overlapping spheres of science, technology, history, biology, the environment, discourse, and popular culture already demonstrate a need for



understanding intersectionally situated power that is accountable for the politics of the posthuman condition. Material and posthuman feminists can explore these interactions without privileging any one of these elements. How feminists think matters, especially when calling for an intersectional material feminist approach to media studies.

Situated along intersections of race, gender, social and economic class, ability, and ethnicity, a posthuman subject is constituted in relationship with a world in flux; it is “materialist, vitalist, embodied, and embedded” (Braidotti 2013, 188). This observing, relational subject is enmeshed among humans and nonhumans, culture, history, discourse, technology, biology, and the environment where subjectivities are entangled with nonhuman agents, based on existing relations. However, to be posthuman “does not mean to be indifferent to the humans, or to be de-humanized,” rather, it entails broadening our ideas of community to consider more-than-human connections and extend our ethical responsibilities (Braidotti 2013, 190). Just as intersectional feminism (Collins 1990, 2015; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) highlights the intersecting and reciprocally constructing phenomena of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age, a posthuman approach names the forces, events, and actions that shape our experience of the white supremacist and misogynistic world we move within. A new materialist perspective fills out this posthuman approach by rejecting an ideology of matter as inert, positing instead that matter is dynamic, agentic, chaotic, and self-generative (Bennett 2010; Frost 2011). A common denominator for an intersectionally informed posthuman condition is an assumption about the vital, self-organizing, non-naturalistic structure of living matter itself (Braidotti 2013, 2) as it informs how people experience the world around them. New materialist scholarship testifies to a critical and non-dogmatic re-engagement with political and social economies, where

the nature of and relationship between material details of life (everyday, geopolitical, socioeconomic) are explored.<sup>7</sup>

Critically, Braidotti (2013) argues that posthumanism, with “vital materialism” at its core, forges relationships with “life in its non-human aspects,” what she calls the “immanent force of zoe” (66). Things are assembled within a web that itself allows for the noticing of them to occur—it is not that our human-based noticing of things empowers them with agentic forces in the world, but rather the “vibrant” ecologies of matter empower those within their networks (Bennett 2010). According to Bennett, “the political goal of a vital materialism is not the perfect equality of actants, but a polity with more channels of communication between members” to enhance receptivity (104). Reading difference “horizontally” does not mean erasing all difference: the point here is to dissipate the naturalized hierarchies of difference to see their complex, interlocking material and posthuman entanglements in making things happen, and

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<sup>7</sup> To explore the relationship between these material details of life, the “golden rules” of posthumanism not only deconstruct the subject, but also help to reassemble traditional forms of methodology to account for assemblages of subjectivities and multiple alliances and suggest what is valued within this framework (Braidotti 2013). These golden rules focus on “cartography accuracy, ethical accountability, trans-disciplinarity, the importance of combining critique with creative figurations, the principle of non-linearity, the powers of memory, and the imagination and strategy of de-familiarization” (2013, 163). Maps are, at their core, ways of storytelling. Cartographies offer “maps of the power relations that are operational in and immanent to the production and circulation of knowledge” (Braidotti 2019, 2). This kind of posthuman cartographic mapping that relies on new materialist infrastructure encourages alternative trajectories to share the forgotten memories and stories that systems of oppression have silenced. Cartographies are theoretically based, politically informed accounts of the present conditions that aim to track the production of knowledge and subjectivity, and to expose how power can function as entrapment. Cartographic mapping places our objects of study within the systems of power that hold us in suspension. It can recognize and speak to individual and collective social positions within these systems of power to effectively address and characterize knowledge practices in circulation and contextualize the consequences of such systems. Something to note in Braidotti’s material feminist use of cartographies is how this focus on power relations is particularly significant given recent colonial underpinnings of mapping. Consider the Eurocentric, anthropocentric nature of many mapping systems’ histories of cartography, focusing on marking dominion, drawing borders, claiming rule and control (of people, animals, and nature), naming lands and waters, and so on, all in the name of Western “progress.” Another way of understanding mapping, especially early versions, places humans in relations to the world about them—a method of intertwining ourselves with spaces beyond our immediate surroundings, like when humans mapped the stars, something the earliest humans did, and something that is now taken for granted. Or, as another example, Indigenous cartographies supporting and mapping territorial rights and land claims that exceed colonial nation boundaries and are participatory and based on Indigenous ecosystems and relations to land, space, place, time, culture, species living on the land, and tribe.

making each other possible. This “thing-power” materialism illustrates the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, and to produce effects that are both dramatic and subtle (Bennett 2004, 351). The lively energy and/or resistant pressure that issues one point of the entanglement and is received by other points courses through humans and cultures without being exhausted by them, emphasizing the closeness and intimacy of humans and nonhumans.

Just as an intersectional feminism cannot be articulated without its resistance to an unjust status quo, including the racism, sexism, and ableism that upholds it, digital technological resistance cannot be articulated without awareness to its global, corporate, and human relations that reinforce and perpetuate that status quo. And while the kind of networked framework outlined above has been useful, if not critical, thus far in articulating the many levels involved in the creation, use, and reception of technologies, I argue that it is still not enough. A more holistic comprehension of the stories that feminist digital activism circulate requires a more nuanced approach, especially when articulating the feelings and emotions that contribute to scaffolding individual, collective, and structural points of the entanglement. Intersectional feminist and queer engagements with feelings reveal the seemingly invisible workings of contemporary power as they bring into focus the shifting co-constitution of emotional subjectivities and encounters, and sociopolitical, historical, and economic relations and structures. A more thorough, revitalized understanding of these levels of power thus requires an *affective* material approach in order to recognize structures of feeling (Williams 1977) and feelings of structure (Ahmed 2010) and the ways that dominant structures of feeling configure the internet to enable and constrain the kinds of action possible.

## Building Queer Affective Feminist Resistance

In response to some of the limitations of new materialism and posthumanism, I suggest that feminist and queer affect thinkers can help us to theorize social movements more fully. Under posthumanism and new materialism, human agency is replaced with affect, which offers an ethical and political counter to the humanism of the social sciences and works to reintegrate humans within the environment (Fox and Alldred 2016, 2018). This, in turn, offers the groundwork for more a more positive posthumanism (Braidotti 2006, 37), helping to establish a relationship between humans and non-humans—i.e., Braidotti’s (2006, 2013) *zoe*, or the immanent life force. This understanding of affect in relationship to agency cuts across many of the conventional social theory dualisms that posthumanism is faced with in research, including a variety of binaries like agency and structure, micro and macro, and reason and emotion (Fox and Alldred 2016). Because of this, Braidotti (2013) suggests that posthuman empirical projects should focus on experimenting with what bodies are capable of doing, and that experimenting with posthuman subjectivity should actualise the virtual possibilities of an “expanded self” that that is “technologically mediated” (61). Drawing on Spinoza and Deleuze and Guattari, Braidotti argues that all matter has an intrinsic capacity to self-organize, similar to Deleuze and Guattari’s (1994) contention that there are limitless lines of flight possible. However, as people who have been marginalized know well, there are, indeed limits to these lines of flight or self-organizing potentials, and a queer feminist approach to affect is well situated to articulate this.

To work with feminist posthumanism and attend to the matrix of domination (Collins 1990) that exists, even as posthumanists seek a flat ontology, Sara Ahmed (2004, 2006, 2010, 2014), Lauren Berlant (2011), and Ann Cvetkovich’s (2003, 2012) queer theorizations of affect are an important addition. Their respective articulations of how feelings of structure and affective

economies, cruel optimism, and archives of feelings impact material realities ground posthuman theorizations. Whereas a posthuman affect is invested in moving forward—in, as Braidotti (2006, 2013) says, actualizing the virtual—queer affect helps us explain the *why* of why we feel the way we do. As such, queer affect, channelled within and across media with political consequences, is ripe for (a) strategically theorizing digital social movements, and (b) creating and using tools to acknowledge and dismantle racist, classist, heteropatriarchal within our variously mediated spheres. Here, I first outline some of affect’s definitional dilemmas to discuss how queer and feminist affect theory brings together different strands of affect to theorize affective resistance. I then comment on why affect theory is best suited for a study of the digital and how queer and feminist thinkers help to best theorize the intersectional entanglements of networked social movements. I focus on how a multifaceted resistance calls for a multifaceted theory, speaking to the ways that feminist affect theory gives us a way to understand the embodied consequences of power that circulates affectively and materially as we approach the movement of “me too.” stories.

#### Onto-Epistemological and Definitional Encounters with Affect

Within the (post)humanities, the “turn to affect” is not one single turn. Rather, this turn is “one of multiple entangled research traditions and agendas” that coincides with other turns in cultural theory like the somatic, corporeal, material, and nonhuman terms, each exploring ontological questions of anthropocentrism, embodiment, the sensory, and vitality (Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015, 5). In their introduction to *The Affect Theory Reader*, Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (2010) emphasize this overlap by commenting on how the affective turn is a reorientation and amalgamation of different theoretical traditions, including feminist, queer, and subaltern politically engaged work with materiality; pluralist approaches to materialism,

(post)phenomenological theories of embodiment; and explorations of the human-machine within cybernetics, artificial intelligence, neuroscience, and robotics (6-8). Indeed, affect is not particularly new.

The widespread use of affect leaves room for many definitions. Spinoza's interest in affect reflects his anti-Cartesian interest in the ways bodies shape, modify, and affect themselves and other bodies as they encounter each other, affirming or undermining their life forces (Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015, 11). New materialists further developed Spinoza's philosophy of affect. Influenced by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, affect here is understood as a "non-subjective and impersonal potentiality, intensity, and force that cannot be attributed to any particular bodies or objects" (Deleuze and Guattari quoted in Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015, 9). Here, affects are impersonal and autonomous. Psychological derivatives of affect, on the other hand, find their roots in Silvan Tomkins's work and are defined broadly as a "biological system of input and output that is hardwired in the human body, much like the system of the drives for breath, thirst, hunger, and sex" (Tomkins quoted in Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015, 9). Affects are distinguishable as physiological reactions of "disgust, enjoyment/joy, interest/excitement, anger/rage, shame/humiliation, surprise/startle, fear/terror, distress/anguish, and 'dis smell' (i.e., reaction to malodor)" (9). For Tomkins, there is no causal link between specific objects and the identifiable affects that are evoked—the embodied capacity to be affected and effect can attach itself to any body, object, or impulse. Here, affects are biological and definable.

In recent years, feminist and queer work on affect has highlighted the ways that bodies meet and move, what their capacities afford, and how bodies are entangled in their worldly encounters (e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010, 2014, 2017, 2019; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012). Bodies that are affected and affect one another can "equally be human, animal, individual,

collective, linguistic, social, as well as bodies of thought” (Paasonen, Hillis, and Petit 2015, 10). Affects become evoked as active, dynamic, and relational, orienting interpretations in embodied ways. Yet, for some, a turn towards affect might imply a turn away from the linguistic and discursive, which risks dismissal instead of productive, if not critical, dialogue. I do not seek to disregard topics of mediation or signification, but instead seek to integrate such matters to investigate the more complex political, emotional, social interconnections among them. As Sara Ahmed (2008) argues, “we should avoid establishing new terrain by clearing the ground of what has come before us” (36). Indeed, affect theory is most productively framed as opening spaces to think differently and more broadly about social and political life, and not through discounting past analyses and contributions.

### Queer and Feminist Affective Possibilities

Feminist and queer affect theorists explore “the way feeling is negotiated in the public sphere and experienced through the body” (Pedwell and Anne Whitehead 2012, 116). Feminist and queer affect thinkers do not just “add affect” into their research agendas, but carefully consider the long-recognized connections between affect and the gendered, sexualized, racialized, and classed relations of power to explore affect’s transformative implications. In investigating the alternative, transformative ways of thinking offered by affect theory, feminist and queer scholars can critically attend to how power circulates through feeling, being, and knowing not as a way of regulating discourse, but as a way of exploring possibilities for “becoming otherwise” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994 quoted in Pedwell and Whitehead 2012, 116) and subverting the hegemonic status quo. As Pedwell and Whitehead highlight, feminist and queer theorists have always worked to move past the status quo and engage alternative ways of

thinking in order to explore different political potentials. In this way, queer and feminist approaches give us ways to mobilize affect to better understand the workings of power.

To think differently “we have to feel differently,” which requires a “concern with the relationships between affect, knowledge, and power” as fundamental to this resistance (Pedwell and Whitehead 2012, 119). Because engagement with affective politics requires attention to the ways in which feelings can (re)produce dominant social and geo-political hierarchies and exclusion, the focus on affect, feeling, sensation, and emotion is particularly important as one way through which power is felt, mediated, negotiated, and opposed (120). This embodied knowing through affective resonance offers alternative forms of storytelling and being that can function outside of hegemonic power structures and representation. Rather than valuing the personal or the emotional above structural inequality, recent feminist and queer approaches analyze their entanglements. Through analyzing these formations, however messy and complex they may be, feminists and queer approaches suggest that they are able to differently articulate desired futures for marginalized communities.

According to Sara Ahmed (2010), exploring the entanglements of the affective and structural requires examining both “the structure of feelings” (Williams 1977) and “the feelings of structure,” as “feelings might be how structures get under our skin” (216). For Ahmed (2004), affect is grounded within the construction of affective economies wherein feelings circulate as a means of creating the surfaces and boundaries that both define and connect us to other people and things (8-10). Affect is “sticky,” sticking or connecting values, ideas, and objects. In her 2010 work, Ahmed explicitly explores happiness as an example of how affects can be mechanisms of discipline or governance that foster oppression and inequality. To be affected by happiness, in this example, requires certain things (i.e., happiness objects) to be in place that



dispose us to be affected in one way, as happy, rather than as another (as angry, sad, afraid, or unhappy in general). Happiness is not merely an emotional response; it involves affect, intentionality, and evaluation or judgement, and we should ask what happiness *does* rather than what happiness *is*.

Taking the trope of “the happy family,” Ahmed (2010) illustrates the profound ambivalence of the directive to be happy: happy families are not merely assumed sites of happiness, they are also a “powerful legislative device, a way of distributing time, energy, and resources” (45). To belong to a “happy family” is to be oriented towards specific objects as the cause and expression of that happiness, such as family photos or occupying a particular place at the “kinship object” of the family table (46). Here, it is in the family and at the family table where children learn the “right” happiness habits, where they are disciplined to live a particular kind of life. Being part of a happy family depends on doing the “right” things in the “right” ways, conditional upon specific kinds of objects, choices, and orientations. If members of the family learn to value and “share this orientation,” the family becomes a happy object itself (48). Happiness is thus a learned mode of bodily orientation towards specific objects that have already acquired positive value as social goods because they are already allegedly productive of happiness. Because it is so entangled with norms of behaviour and specific heteronormative life choices, to be happy effectively rests upon making the “right” choices and in being directed towards specific “happiness objects” to follow certain “happiness scripts” (17).

Affect is not only about making emotions, feeling, and sensations the focus of scholarly inquiry, but is also about new ways of doing criticism, acknowledging the “vernacular quality that lends itself to exploring feelings as something we come to know through experience and popular usage... a conception of mind and body as integrated” (Cvetkovich 2012, 4). Moreover,

“attention to affective politics is a way of trying to come to terms with disappointment, failure, and the slowness of change” (7). Understood in relation to these blockages or impasses, creativity is a key methodological point and can be thought of as a “form of movement” that produces forms of emotional and sensory agency. This motion is informed by queer temporalities that move backward and sideways rather than just forward; it “encompasses different ways of being able to move: to solve problems, have ideas, be joyful about the present, make things. Conceived of in this way, it is embedded in everyday life, not something that belongs only to artists or to transcendent forms of experience” (21). Feminist and queer engagements with feelings thus reveal the affective workings of contemporary power as they bring into focus the shifting co-constitution of emotional subjectivities and encounters, and socio-political, historical, and economic relations and structures

Speaking to this embeddedness of affection, Ann Cvetkovich attends to “public feelings” in her work on depression as a socio-cultural phenomenon, thinking through ways of doing feminist and culture studies work that exceeds simple critique or social construction. Exploring depression as a public feelings project “linked to structural legacies of colonialism, slavery, and racism,” Cvetkovich emphasizes depression as ordinary in an “effort to describe the present through attention to the felt experience of everyday life, including moments that might seem utterly banal in comparison with the moments of shock or ordinary extraordinariness” (2012, 12). Depression here is an entry point to map affective life in its complexities, a way of tracing assemblages that not only offers alternatives to a medical understanding of depression, but also produces new vocabularies of hope and happiness that avoid “naïve optimism that does not address the past and its violence adequately and that is too easily celebratory” (Pedwell and Whitehead 2012, 122). In focusing on the ordinary, Ann Cvetkovich calls for the reinforcement

of “the personal is political,” a sentiment that #MeToo seeks to reiterate through a focus on everyday harassment and the pervasiveness of sexual assault. Moreover, this work offers a turn away from the celebrity focus dominating social media conversations back to “ordinary” voices that might have otherwise been overshadowed by Hollywood narratives.

From these queer affect thinkers, we can see how queer affect finds what is queer within the present and uses that queerness to make different points than what we are currently used to. Bringing queer affect into conversation with posthumanism and intersectional feminism enables scholars to articulate the “why” of the present to forge different paths forward if what we seek is an actualization of the virtual possibilities of an “expanded self” (Braidotti 2013). Using queer approaches to affect helps to open the possibilities for engaging with posthuman mediations and expansions as they intersect with the matrix of domination. As such, in exploring how to approach the circulation of “me too.” stories among entanglements, I call for acknowledging how the personal (individual), collective, and systemic are all political.

### **Intervention: Intersectional Entanglements**

With these theoretical interventions, from Collins and Crenshaw, Braidotti and Bennett, and Ahmed and Cvetkovich, we now have a set of possibilities and tools for understanding digital entanglements, global networks, and material and affective consequences, and for mobilizing affective and material understandings of power. The task of intersectional entanglements, in bringing together intersectional feminism, new materialism, posthumanism, and affect, is to reach out across disciplinary boundaries to promote greater forms of intersectional community, broaden conceptions of publicity and counterpublicity, and rearticulate well known histories to reshape the singular colonial, gendered, and racialized story we have heard for so long. As Collins (2015) writes, “intersectionality’s essence lies in its

attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities” (3). Intersectional entanglements thus directly interrogate the relationalities of power, people, practices, and technocultures that make up the “me too.” Movement. Because justice is a more-than-human effort, it involves acknowledging the frictions and affective intersections between humans and nonhumans, culture, history, discourse, technology, biology, and the environment.

Intersectional entanglements—my critical-theoretical approach to understanding the interlocking nature of intersectional feminism, affect, the material, and the posthuman—offer an important foundation for developing creative praxes (virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring) that pay attention to how stories circulate within different (and differently) mediated realms. These praxes re-center embodied, embedded ways of knowing that do not rely on the hierarchical order that has become entrenched with the hegemonic status quo and perpetuated through structural, disciplinary, and interpersonal arenas, and they recognize the pharmacological (Derrida 1981; Stiegler 2011) characteristics of mediated spheres.

Often, data analyses with embodiment, even when claiming an embodied approach, tend to rely on discursive and linguistic explanations, which could be considered a weakness of feminist posthumanists who rely on the discursive realm that they critique. Embodiment is always in some way a translation; it’s difficult to measure, transcribe, or quantify embodiment, and there is no unified or verifiable approach. Because embodiment is subjective to the specific body and the web of relations that it is enmeshed with, embodiment will necessarily miss things. Common data collection methods that scholars often employ will not suffice because the tools we expect to use within an academic institution do not align with an embrace of embodiment, making it difficult to know what to do with it or if scholars are understanding it.

In her early work on embodiment, as articulated above, Hayles (1999) made the case that while bodies can go into the virtual space and be absorbed into the information circulating, physical bodies, those embodied in the world, cannot. Here there is a negotiation between the virtual and the physical where embodiment replaces the Cartesian mind-body dualisms that have persisted because of the fact that, thanks to the technological advancements of the posthuman era, the body will always be enmeshed. Hayles argues that human beings are first and foremost embodied, adding that embodiment and its consequences are located and specific, intertwined with technology. In her follow-up work, Hayles (2002) begins to focus on relations as key for embodiment, i.e., you become embodied by being in your body. Like Barad and her posthuman performativity (2003), she moves to the claim that we come to be by being in the world, moving away from the philosophical question of where embodiment starts and where it comes from. Instead, embodiment is always in flux and in relationship. And yet, how can scholars we analyze embodiment in flux?

For Braidotti (2011) and the relationship between embodiment and gender, there is a need for more complexity than standpoint theory has afforded, and there is more to gender performativity than being in flux. Braidotti wants an idea of embodiment that relies on experience, thinking through transgenerational belongings, a lack of linearity, and an embrace of ancestral experience in the body, which is rooted in decolonial and Indigenous knowledges. To these points, queer and feminist conceptualizations of embodiment (e.g., Ahmed 2006; Butler 1990; Young 1980) offer the understanding that not only do we embody our situated relationship to the world, but our material realities (of ourselves and of objects around us) embody social, cultural, and political realities. As Judith Butler (1990) and Iris Marion Young (1980) argue, embodiment is a

performance, pre-empting specific gendered roles and expectations that can, and should, be disrupted.

What this points to is a conceptualization of embodiment that challenges what scholars think of as data and knowledge production. While we can collage, create films, create participatory art, or materialize digital data through creation, when reported on, these processes are still interpretations of embodiment, making it difficult to extrapolate commonalities or generalizability across these approaches because of their differences. And yet, this emphasizes the beauty of embodiment: we open ourselves up to alternative ways of knowing, which can lead to decolonial futures rooted in more expansive ways of seeing the world. Because of this, the strength of an embodied approach to exploring intersectional entanglements lies in its ability to deliberately situate scholars in the research scene within a web of various phenomena, as someone with a particular history and way of seeing the world based on social location. As a theory and a phenomenon, intersectional entanglements acknowledge how things are always already enmeshed with each other and with power and, as such, they must be approached from an entangled theory to best understand them. Crucially, intersectional entanglements offer different ways of seeing the social, political, and mediated contexts and relationships at play as “me too.” stories circulate. From an entangled standpoint, Åsberg and Braidotti’s (2018) claim that “we live and die, play, thrive, and suffer by each other” (1) offers a fundamental reminder of the need to value our connections to communities, space and place, technology and mediation, and more, and stands as an intersectional feminist call for action. As such, a personally embodied approach to exploring intersectional entanglements encourages a journey of coming to know your own subjectivity within that space and what action can look like.

Within the context of the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, which the following chapters will unpack, embodiment is addressed in three ways. First, I acknowledge that embodied practices, especially for marginalized people, have been overlooked and unseen, meaning that queer, trans, and gender non-conforming people, Black, Indigenous, and racialized people, disabled people, women, and others face barriers that others do not (think here, for example, of Oliver's 1990 social model of disability that describes being disabled by society, rather than disabled in society). Virtual dwelling is focused on the relationship between subjectivity, materiality, and the surrounding world as it is mediated in a variety of ways. This can be a step towards more fully understanding the relationships that we are enmeshed with and the way that power circulates throughout these relationships, particularly with a diverse team of researchers working to bring together their experiences of virtually dwelling. To this point, however, it should be noted that virtual dwelling may not be the space for each person to begin, because of these very same reasons: embodiment means dwelling in the body, and, for many, this means dwelling with the racism, misogyny, ablism, and queerphobia of the world. Dwelling, then, may not be an actionable praxis for everyone.

Second, then, the second praxis for approaching the study of intersectional entanglements as digital phenomena move asks for a collective embodiment. Vibrant ethos encourages scholars to notice the many kinds of collectives that exist through an embodied attunement to space. Because feminism is a shared project (Ahmed 2017), vibrant ethos is about knowing that, as a scholar, you are not expected to be engaging in this work alone, nor should be you be engaging in this work alone. These praxes are not advocating for a singular embodied approach, but for embodiment generally and across communities where people can bring approaches to embodiment that are specific to their research scene and specific to their own subjectivities. This

suggests that knowledge production and understanding do not happen in isolation. From a data collection perspective, applying engaging vibrant ethos and virtual dwelling can encourage scholars to begin thinking about other relationships and dynamics to bring together multiple perspectives. As such, the third, we might begin to see how embodiment within intersectional entanglements an opportunity for more expansive, decolonized knowledges that require a reconceptualization of knowledge in the academy. Asking something as simple as “what is a research space?” is a way to decolonize the academy. Or, perhaps, asking if knowledge production can be a story that we tell and share, or is it a paper that we write and then disseminate to only a select few? Embodied practices are an opportunity to re-think how to produce, circulate, and conceptualize knowledge.

In thinking about embodiment and the enmeshed nature of mediated spaces as stories move among different domains of power, Kristen Arola’s (2010) argument that interfaces do rhetorical work (7) illustrates the utility of intersectional entanglements. Arola suggests that the design of the space shapes a certain degree of understanding of the space based on a split between the content (i.e., the post) and the template (i.e., the design of the site). In thinking about this through intersectional entanglements, we might look to how and why ideologies of white supremacy, masculinity, sexism, and racism continue to dominate within technological domains (Wajcman 2004). As Ruha Benjamin (2019) and Safiya Noble (2018) demonstrate, the ways that technologies are designed contribute to their inherent biases that work to reinforce whiteness. From a robot-judged beauty contest that chose all white finalists except for one woman with darker skin, to a risk algorithm that incorrectly predicted that previously arrested Black defendants were more likely to reoffend (Benjamin 2019), and the association of the search “Black girls” with porn websites as the top search results on Google (Noble 2018), the



perpetuation of racial inequality persists in mediated spaces. In contemporary Western society, hegemonic forms of (toxic) masculinity and whiteness are still very much associated with technical proficiency and power. To be clear, this is about who has power and who does not in a technocultural society that has historically privileged whiteness and masculinity. From the perspective of intersectional entanglements, understandings of “technology” are necessarily broadened to include not only the artifact, the technical object itself, but “also the cultures and practices associated with technologies” (Wajcman 2010, 143), in addition to the affects and material consequences of those practices. Intersectional entanglements demand that we pay attention to the sociopolitical and economic power relations that technological systems represent as they are inseparable from the technical object, illustrating how spaces between domains of power simultaneously constrain and create possibilities.

In looking at the pitfalls and promises of #MeToo, Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller (2018) argue that “although it may *technologically* easy for many groups to engage in digital feminist activism, there *remain emotional, mental or practical* barriers which create different experiences, and legitimate some feminist voices, perspectives and experiences over others” (237, emphasis in original). Extending this work, I suggest that in carefully and critically theorizing the limiting and enabling, harmful and harm reducing potentialities within intersectional entanglements where #MeToo stories circulate, *pharmakon* (Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2011)<sup>8</sup> offers a vocabulary for analyzing the tensions between entanglements as we reflect on the constructing and constraining forces that shape feminist hashtag movements and the platforms that they move within. Intersectional entanglements elucidate the ways that feminist

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<sup>8</sup> Pharmakon, the Greek root of “pharmaceutical,” is understood to signify a drug, which can be a toxin or the cure, or the toxin and the cure, or a substitute or cover-up, but all centring around something that simultaneously offers support or a remedy.

hashtag movements and the stories they circulate operate within—but also challenge, reconceptualize, and change—spaces that are simultaneously oppressive and emancipatory. As such, in exploring the intersectional entanglements where stories move, we can understand #MeToo as a pharmacological practice in two ways: (1) through its use of digital technologies and platforms to circulate stories from the movement, for better and for worse; and (2) through the hashtag movement itself as it draws together individual memories into a collective consciousness, eclipsing some stories and highlighting others. By acknowledging how pharmakon is inherent to intersectional entanglements, we can more fully attend to how the “me too.” Movement functions as a networked counterpublic and social movement that re-employs tactics of naming repertoires of embodied experiences as it publicizes personal stories that evoke affective responses among individual, collective, and structural spheres. At the same time, stories reveal that the movement and the platforms it employs denies access to people who, for example, have experiences of sexual assault that differ in any slight ways from the mainstream or who do not have access to technology.

Taken up as “‘poison’, ‘drug’, ‘remedy’, ‘potion’, [and] ‘philtre’” among other things (Abbinnett 2015, 65 drawing on Stiegler 2011), pharmakon has been used to conceptualize contradiction, which is an integral component for characterizing the tensions within intersectional entanglements. For Derrida (1981), it is pharmakon that draws someone out of their current state of being, a state of being or action that might be poisonous to the self and propels them towards something different. It can be a withdrawal from the toxin, a productive next step—even as that same thing might be infectious in other ways. Using Plato’s dialectic between Phaedrus and Socrates, Derrida demonstrates the effects of pharmakon, showing how it can be understood not just as medicine or remedy, but also as occult, as something that can

change minds and offer alternatives.<sup>9</sup> While Plato saw writing as a technology that would not assist memory and that could not encourage discussion or logic, Derrida shows that speech, too, is shown to hold elements of *pharmakon* because of its possibilities for inaccurate representation, and if not written down, it may be forgotten. And so, dialectics and writing are both *pharmakon*, methods pitted against each other and each perhaps scapegoated (*pharmakos*) for the other.<sup>10</sup> Speaking and writing, like oratory and knowledge, are needed and the relationship between these methods, both of which hold remedying and problematic forces, matter.

While Derrida (1981) reveals the indeterminacy of *pharmakon* as a problem and a solution to the relationship between writing and knowledge, Stiegler (1998, 2011) builds on Plato's *pharmakon* to consider how human life is encoded through the virtual and technological. For Stiegler, *pharmakon* captures the limiting and productive tensions between humans and technology, thinking through the ways that life has diminished to “capitalized desire and the expressive forms of cathexis (love, spirit) that have been made possible by the technology-hybridization of human beings” (Abbinnett 2015, 66). Stiegler argues that technicity—humans' relationships to tools (i.e., technologies of writing and other forms of communication)—have always been pharmacological in that technics are constitutive of time, of social processes, even at the same time that they exist in a realm independent of humanity: the cultural mediation of time

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<sup>9</sup> The occult, sets of practices understood as alternative and outside hegemonic ways of doing, should be reminiscent of the witch and accusations of witchcraft for engaging in practices thought to be non-patriarchal, as we'll see in Chapters Three and Four.

<sup>10</sup> While Plato does not use *pharmakos*, Derrida brings it out from Plato's argument that poetry and painting, like writing, should be disregarded because of their inability to capture true *eidos*, or truth or essence. Socrates held steadfast to his quest to discover and protect truth (essence or form, found inside) from the outside, which painting and poetry corrupt. And so, while writing can be forgiven for its limitations, poetry and painting cannot and should be cast out. Derrida relates this idea of “casting out” to the side of *pharmakon* that can be translated to occult. As I mention in an earlier footnote, the occult, like the witch, is that which is often feared and shunned. It is commonly cast out, done away with, or destroyed, as accusers of the #MeToo movement as a witch hunt sought to do to the movement and those who brought forth their experiences of assault.

has to be understood through the tools produced in that “the virtual machines that have transformed both the objective structure and subjective experience of the real... have radically altered the temporality of reflection and desire through which the experience of the social is constituted” (77). Because of these processes, Stiegler suggests that the only way to make life better is to re-conceptualize the future through constant re-thinking. But what is missing here is any specificity about the kinds of futures that are being envisioned, and why specifically articulating more equitable and just futures for more people is important, even if we cannot name exactly what those look like.

Intersectional entanglements grapple with these complexities through their recognition of the movement as *pharmakon*, examining the movement of stories to reveal the ways that people respond, recognize, and speak back to the structural factors that are always present within individual and collective action, even as those stories enact erasures, oppression, and discrimination. This enables scholars to begin to engage in the difficult work of recognizing the constraining and enabling components of story circulation through media activism. If we are to critically engage with discourse on social media, we must pay attention to how the discourse and platforms are shaping our interactions and ourselves in simultaneously constricting and creative ways. To better understand how hashtag feminisms are enabled and constrained by their broader sociopolitical mediated and unmediated environments, a new material and intersectional feminist perspective contributes a better sense of how power is upheld and maintained within mediated spaces, as it relates to affective and digital networks and their individual, collective, and structural manifestations. These understandings of the world, both the state of being and existence and how we come to know those states, are defined and constrained by relationships to broader systems of affective and material power and control.

Returning to the digital life of feminist hashtag movements and the vitriol feminists face online, Ahmed's imperative to explore both the structure of feelings and the feelings of structure orients us towards an analysis of the space of the internet itself, similar to her analysis of the structure of the happy family, happy home, and the feelings they instil. Structurally (and thus individually and collectively), technical spaces have been created by men for men, where a socioeconomic, gendered, and racialized digital divide monitors the online world. These boundaries are based on the desires of those who design them. When (largely white) men create mediated spaces, they inevitably create them for other men, predicated on the exclusion of others. Under Ahmed's theorization of feelings of structures and structures of feeling, how the internet is structured matters for how affects can circulate and "stick" within intersectional entanglements.

Let's return to the Twitter post from earlier in this chapter and in the Introduction:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo but let's remember to not center this around white cis women and to uplift marginalized folks (October 16, 2017).

Consider the pharmacological intermingled human and nonhuman entanglements at play that brought this specific tweet into being. Networks formed on Twitter and Facebook were crucial in organizing core groups of activists and allies, allowing for the millions of #MeToo tweets and other social media posts of advocacy, solidarity, allyship, critique, and attack to circulate; media focused heavily on white cis women and celebrities and their stories to the detriment of many others who had in the past shared, were currently sharing, or who were considering sharing their stories; and increased attention was placed on the roles of celebrity activism, citizen journalism, and internet access to mobilize participation. At the same time, systems of heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and white supremacy have created dangerous and violent living and working conditions, specifically for people who do not fit into specific heteronormative, ability, gender,

and/or racial frames, lending to current (and historical) inequitable and tumultuous sociopolitical conditions. Considered alongside the development of new digital communication technologies, like smart phones and social media platforms, and internet infrastructure—and the rise of celebrity feminism—the conditions were both ripe for an intervention into current structures and for the exclusion of those who suffer the most under such structures, resulting in mass online participation of #MeToo including posts like the tweet above.

Something about #MeToo stuck. The message resonated, bringing people together in solidarity online and propelling action. But the way that the internet and digital technologies are structured matters for the kinds of affective resonances that are possible and highlight how we need to pay better attention to who is harmed and who benefits from these affective and technological infrastructures:

@TwitterUser: A reminder, #MeToo might not appear on all your social media feeds because survivors might still be virtually connected to their abusers (October 16, 2017).

@TwitterUser: #MeToo is just tip of the iceberg. There are millions without any computer, internet access who have worse experiences of daily abuse (October 16, 2017).

Reminders of unequal access to technologies and to the varying considerations of participation are crucial when considering the emancipatory possibilities of a hashtag, which in turn speak to its affective stickiness as hashtags are circulated by feminist participants who seek to intervene into hegemonic on/offline public issues. Where, when, and how something sticks, like “me too.”, matters. Yet, the simultaneous exclusionary structure of the internet poses an issue for who can navigate the networked terrain; it should be no surprise that the “me too.” Movement did not gain significant viral traction until well-known white working women picked it up as #MeToo, despite its inception in 2006 by Tarana Burke, a Black woman:

@TwitterUser: This one goes out to all the working women whose #MeToo you’ll never read cause they’re too busy cleaning your home or serving you food. The ones who’ll

never be online, the ones who have no legal rights the ones who just have to take it, the ones who are invisible” (October 24, 2017, 2:04 pm).

The internet was not created as a space for marginalized people, so the ways in which people from communities who have been marginalized use the space and its affordances are limited and helps to explain the erasures and/or violence faced by these people online. Thus, an analysis of “me too.” should include not just its possibilities via its affective “stickiness” as hashtags, memes, photos, and texts gain and lose traction across different public, private, and global networks and media platforms, but also the constraints posed by the embedded structural inequalities of the platform itself. This should include who is able to participate in the movement via access and who can navigate the largely white, toxically masculine, postfeminist domain. An analysis of intersectional entanglements offers one way to do so.

### **Conclusion**

The convergence of diverse social histories of resistance and protest, changing technological conditions, and the digital amplification of political voices in action resulted in the movement of human, culture, technology, and politics on a global platform through #MeToo. Given these complex networks of embodiment, technology, politics, discourse, and (im)materiality, intersectional entanglements offer a way to strengthen methodological approaches, praxes, and modes of theorizing to take seriously these entanglements and their consequences. Intersectional entanglements’ focus on the nexus of intersectional feminism and materiality suggests alternative ways of conceptualizing the ontoepistemological, where reality is understood as co-constituting affective and material relationships to resist the status quo and intervene into current hegemonic hierarchies. Intersectional entanglements offer a critical-theoretical orientation for approaching stories from the “me too.” Movement, and the following chapters offer the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring to explore the

individual, collective, and structural entanglements of power where stories move. Attending to stories within intersectional entanglements contributes to opening space for more ethical non-hierarchical practices and embodied, embedded ways of knowing. This acknowledges the affective and material intensities that emerge between and among complex entanglements of nature and the environment, human and nonhuman, technology and science, and politics, which help us to better disentangle interlocking systems of power. Scholars need to be equipped to read, trace, and feel power through affect and materiality at individual, collective, and structural levels in embodied ways, and a conceptualization of intersectional entanglements offers the building blocks for this.

Because of the complexities of reading, tracing, seeing, and feeling power, in the following chapters I focus on three specific levels of the matrix of domination, separating them out into individual, collective, and structural spheres to develop the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring. Although a new materialist orientation to data may indicate that such spheres cannot be separated, Patricia Hill Collins (2017) clarifies the utility and, in fact, the importance of attending to specific arenas from an intersectional feminist perspective, suggesting what she terms a “Domains-of-Power Framework”:

... the simplicity of the domains-of-power heuristic helps navigate the complexity that accompanies intersectional analyses of power. The framework enables us to bracket domains based on the needs of specific intellectual and political projects, to focus on one or more domains, all the while cognizant that the others are there. This is the same kind of conceptual bracketing that sheds light on the priority granted specific forms of oppression within a particular matrix of domination. Prioritizing systems of power based on their saliency for particular historical and social settings means that one can begin



analyzing racism or sexism without the burden of considering all systems of power at the same time (28).

As such, this dissertation formulates related individual, collective, and structural praxes for approaching the analysis of intersectional entanglements that, while focusing attention on one sphere, remain acutely aware of the other spheres involved. In other words, in considering how “me too.” stories speak to one kind of oppression or resistance (e.g., at an individual level) these praxes underscore and comment on how domains of power mutually construct one another across systems power, pointing to how the individual is also affected and constructed by collective and structural entanglements of power. The many domains that exist require a set of praxes for orienting to stories of “me too.” and their circulation at individual, collective, and structural sites of the entanglement, while neither privileging one of these sites over the others nor suggesting that these sites exist in silos.

For instance, in Chapter Seven I discuss the following tweet, among others, from civil rights activist and self-identified trans woman Danielle Muscato:

@DanielleMuscato: #MeToo. And the cops tried to talk me out of pressing charges, because everyone would know I'd been raped, & how embarrassing would THAT be? (October 15, 2017, 9:34 pm).

I take up this post via the praxis of vital structuring, which is to say that I conceptualize and then analyze its affective and material impact at the structural point of the entanglement within the context of state violence and the heteropatriarchal systems of oppression that it intervenes into. However, this post, and others that I include in this dissertation, also points toward underlying related individual and collective forces—not just the structural. Through virtually dwelling to explore individual entanglements, employing vibrant ethos to consider collective entanglements, and orienting to structural entanglements through vital structuring, I argue that scholars can more

closely attend to each domain of power and as it intersects with and influences other domains of power. Here, the goal is not to stop at a structural analysis, but to more holistically work out and articulate the specific intersecting powers at play that create unjust realities and to be able to effect change at each level to ultimately create ripples at other levels.

In the next chapter, I outline my methodological approach to data collection and analysis in pursuit of developing virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, foregrounding how an understanding of intersectional entanglements guides this process. A focus on non-linearity, on queer temporalities, also helps us to understand how #MeToo functions and how it might be taken up differently within different contexts, times, and sociopolitical conversations. This is especially pertinent as queer, trans, intersex, and gender non-conforming and Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities and women are now recalling memories and experiences from decades past, piecing together their stories as their sociopolitical conditions allow. Diverse voices and diverse uses of the platform are emblematic of creativity as a form of movement that queers the platform in ways that makers of the platform could not have imagined, as working within a collective hermeneutic of generativity. In this dissertation, my use of non-linearity and queer and feminist temporalities manifests in my focus on small, curated or “deep” (Brock 2015) datasets and in following the vibrancy of these data. Through using an intersectional feminist new materialist lens to collect and analyze different pieces of small data (i.e., posts, videos, hashtags) it becomes possible to attune to the ways that #MeToo participants are individually using social media to speak to a collective with the aims of pointing out larger structural issues. An intersectional understanding of the entanglements involved and that play out in digital spaces allow us to trace, feel, and read power through affective lingerings, which then make clearer the material consequences for bodies that have been marginalized.

## **Chapter Four: Methodology, Methods, and Data**

### **Vibrant Approaches to Data for Vital Times**

In this dissertation, I attempt to work through the tensions that emerge as stories of “me too.” move between domains of power by focusing on smaller curated digital datasets (of social media posts, comments, hashtags, and their sociopolitical and technocultural contexts), which can offer more personal and individualized snapshots of how people use stories and hashtags for activist organizing, and by conceptualizing another way of working through intersectional feminist analysis—intersectional entanglements—that ties together academic and the activist uses of hashtags. This dissertation, including its approach to data collection and analysis, is thus oriented around queer affect and matter through the lenses of new materialism, feminist posthumanism, and intersectional feminism to contribute to ongoing research in feminist media studies. As my previous chapter demonstrated, it is necessary to approach data at the intersection of these lenses for two main reasons. First, to highlight how our everyday understandings of rape culture, propped up by heteropatriarchy and white supremacy, manifest within the counterpublic stories of the “me too.” Movement and, second, to account for the ways that “me too.” stories and their affective material qualities move between intersectional entanglements. To attend to the ways that stories move and to develop praxes for this movement, I suggest that smaller datasets of individual posts, linked through hashtags to larger stories and contexts, offer more focused opportunities for analyzing their unique affective characteristics within sociopolitical and technocultural spaces.

As Tarana Burke, founder of the “me too.” Movement reminds us, “every hashtag is a human being and we tend to forget that. Every time you see somebody put #MeToo, there’s a human being behind a keyboard who made a decision to put out into the world some of the

darkest things they've ever experienced" ("Professional Troublemaker" with Luvvie Ajayi Jones, podcast, Episode 7). Focusing on smaller datasets enables feminist media studies researchers to better respond to both the stories of "me too." and to the rising popularity of and exclusive reliance on big data. Research focusing on smaller datasets from the perspective of materialism and intersectional feminism emphasizes a need to re-examine what matters when analyzing hashtag movements. The theoretical foundations in the previous chapter demonstrate the importance of attending more fully to the sociopolitical, technocultural, corporeal, and affective relationships between social media participants, hashtags, posts, mediated communities, and the larger mediated spheres through which posts circulate and that inform those who post. Within this context, even as individual hashtags may be "archivable bits" that are part of the "data of culture" (Gitelman 2006, 12), many simultaneous and complex relationships contribute to how stories move.

The research questions driving this dissertation underscore the importance of these relationships and seek to expand our understandings of them. In the spirit of looking at data that, as Maggie MacLure (2013a) suggests, can "provoke and glow," I frame my key methodological inquiries around "understanding how affect works in the social" (MacLure 2013a, 661) to reflect on the affective and material "intra-active" (Barad 2003, 801) relationships between gendered, raced, and classed components used to discuss and circulate "me too." stories. I ask: how do stories of disclosure from the "me too." Movement (within and beyond the hashtag) provide opportunities across mediated spheres to oppose and resist heteropatriarchy and white supremacy? What sets of practices can best situate and analyze stories from the "me too." Movement? And, how can we analyze the precarity of intersectional divides and the possibilities for justice within the "me too." Movement, including the conditions under which it operates?

To better understand these intricate relationships, this chapter first outlines the benefits of a more focused, bounded approach to data (Borgman 2015; boyd and Crawford 2012; Gieseeking 2018) for analyzing #MeToo, shifting the focus from the notions of generalizability that undergird big data social media research (see, e.g., Brooker et al. 2018; Housley et al. 2018; Kim et al. 2018). This bounded approach informs my new materialist methodological orientation to data collection, which engages affect to guide the process (Fox and Alldred Fox and Alldred 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020; Greene 2013; MacDonald and Wiens 2019; MacLure 2013abc; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Niccolini and Ringrose 2019; St. Pierre and Jackson 2014; Youngblood Jackson 2013). I then describe how I employ the method of following data “glows” (MacLure 2013ab) to collect data by following stories as they move through intersectional entanglements. To analyze data, I apply the method of discursive and visual rhetorical analysis (Hauser and McClellan 2009; Ono and Sloop 1995, 2002). Taken together, my methodology and the methods I apply provide an important critical perspective through which to develop the theoretical praxes of virtual dwelling (Chapter Five), vibrant ethos (Chapter Six), and vital structuring (Chapter Seven), ultimately contributing a foundation for the analysis of the circulation of “me too.” stories within intersectional entanglements.

#### What Data Counts when Counting #MeToo: Appreciating Small Data

This dissertation responds to two overarching concerns in media studies research: first, that “traditional research methods may not capture the nuanced nature of these online interactions,” when “technological advances have made it possible for people to interact with each other and environments differently” (Blackmon 2017, 193); and, second, that the rise of and reliance on big data as a “socio-technical phenomenon” for social media research is inherently biased and, as such, “it is necessary to critically interrogate its assumptions” (boyd and Crawford

2012, 662). Although ethnographic approaches like “thick data” have begun speaking to the necessity of collecting stories within big data (Wang 2013), feminist orientations to big data provide a broader foundational intervention by acknowledging that all research is, to a degree, subjective, prone to bias, and laden with power relations (D’Ignazio and Klein 2020; Thylstrup, Agostinho, Ring, D’Ignazio, and Veel 2021). Using a feminist lens, the complex and value-based intentions and experiences that inform how hashtags are produced, circulated, and/or achieve virality require that we continue to consider and value smaller datasets of digital media, recognizing these posts as more than mere static text. Moreover, there is an urgency to understanding data like hashtags and their feminist movements outside of their big data aggregated forms in order to better speak to the dangers of false senses of objectivity and security that can arise, and that result in phenomena like the “New Jim Code” (Benjamin 2019), digital redlining (Gilliard 2016), and algorithmic oppression (Noble 2018). In this dissertation, the curated datasets I use are a specific response to large data output and collection and the nuances that big data social media research obscure in a technocultural society.

The datasets in this dissertation include the dynamic particularities and relationalities between individual #MeToo posts and hashtags, comments to these posts, and images, memes, and gifs, in addition to the specific paratextual social, political, and technological contexts. This approach focuses on lived realities, stories, and individual consequences that might otherwise be represented in big data as broad trends and universal objectivities. Recent scholarship has gestured towards how we might better take up embodiment, materiality, affect, and representation within big data (e.g., Fotopoulou 2019; Roberts-Smith, Ruecker, and Radzikowska 2021; Vallee 2020; Wiens et al. 2020). Situated in relationship to broader sociopolitical and technocultural contexts, this prior research positions smaller sets of digital data

as crucial towards providing insights into the ways that social media participants understand and resist power and oppression at individual, collective, and structural levels.

Whereas big data encapsulate both the size and the capacity with which data are searched, aggregated, and cross-referenced (boyd and Crawford 2012), a focus on smaller datasets for analyzing hashtag activism focuses not on large volumes or patternable varieties of data but attends instead to affective micro-level, on the ground actions like singular posts and specific accounts, comments, and images that are more openly accessible to everyday people. We all create data each time we browse, search, or post on social media. Curiously, while danah boyd and Kate Crawford (2012) have argued that it is “increasingly important to recognize the value of ‘small data’” because “in some cases, small is best,” very little work has been done that highlights the significance of “small data” or even claims to be using small data (670).

In her book *What's the Use? On the Uses of Use*, Sara Ahmed (2019) comments on how usefulness tends not to become obvious until that thing is no longer useful. In that sense, while smaller sets of data have, in the past, been useful, within the current big data context and its seeming totality and vastness, smaller data sets are framed as no longer useful. The situated knowledges and contexts of smaller datasets have been denied and derided. We have (big) data about the enormity of sexual violence, spurred on by the prevalence of rape culture, even as we know that those numbers are not accurate. And in fact, those numbers are not big enough given that we—individual people as part of collectives within larger systems—know that many survivors of sexual violence do not report their experiences, as we also know from the hashtag #RapedButNeverReported started by journalists Sue Montgomery and Antonia Serbisias. In contrast, smaller pieces of data, as seen through personal stories shared in journals, magazines, zines, and on social media, have taken down rapists and initiated nation-wide conversations on

the influence of rape culture, as seen from Chanel Miller's (2019) memoir, *Know My Name*. They have told the stories of racism, police injustice, and of Indigenous youth in Northern Ontario who are no longer with us, as Tanya Talaga (2017) shows us in *Seven Fallen Feathers*, her history of Thunder Bay and its violations against Indigenous communities. Using curated datasets can be a "revealing of things; use can even involve heightening our awareness of things" (Ahmed 2019, 21). I thus use smaller datasets in order to directly engage with the movement of "me too." stories as I develop praxes for attending to their intersectional entanglements, and to explore how participants negotiate precarity of various temporally and spatially mediated spheres of individual, collective, and structural power.

It is increasingly important to be aware of how access to big data is privileged and reinforces systems of oppressions. Gieseeking (2018) argues that "the objective and scientific claims of big data gain validity through the measuring stick of masculinist, racist, colonialist, ableist, and heteronormative structural oppressions. Society's obsession with big data further oppresses the marginalized by creating a false norm to which they are never able to measure up" (150). And, as Lev Manovich (2012) observes, "only social media companies have access to really large social data.... An anthropologist working for Facebook or a sociologist working for Google will have access to data that the rest of the scholarly community will not" (5). boyd and Crawford (2012) maintain that "some companies restrict access to their data entirely; others sell the privilege of access for a fee; and others offer small data sets to university researchers. This produces considerable unevenness in the system: those with money—or those inside the company—can produce a different type of research that those outside" (673). Until access to big data is accessible to all researchers, whether independent, academic, or industry, more value



needs to be given to small data approaches, and media studies research should continue to focus on small data in order to contextualize much of the current large-scale research taking place.

As Christine Borgman (2015) points out, regardless of the approach to or quantity of data, having the right to data is more important than being able to accrue more data, especially because little data and big data should be understood as equally as valuable. “Distinguishing between big and little data is problematic due to the many ways in which something can be big,” Borgman writes, “... [d]ata are big or little in terms of what can be done with them, what insight they can reveal, and the scale of analysis required relative to the phenomenon on interest...” (6). In isolation, she argues, data have no meaning and must be understood with “knowledge infrastructures” of networked people, practices, technologies, institutions, material objects, and relationships. Thinking about data’s relationship to the researcher, in their article on reframing big data to reflect situated knowledges and a feminist ethics of care, Luka and Millette (2018) underscore that:

Data are commonly understood as the trace of an immediate relationship with a phenomenon. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines data as “facts or information used to calculate, analyze, or plan something; information that is produced or store by a computer” (“Data,” n.d.). Here lies the very heart of the problem: understanding data as a fact or as zeroes and ones, flattens their constructed, situated, and timely aspects.... Data are not neutral (Mulder, Ferguson, Groenewegen, Boersma, & Wolbers, 2016), and they cannot be an *objective* trace of a phenomenon, even in social media research where it is tempting to reduce a complex social experience to its digital traces (1).

Here, Luka and Millette’s work explicates how “ethical social media research in the era of big data” requires a “methodology of speculation” that makes space for questions and that strives to

acknowledge intersectional situated knowledges (Haraway 1988). Particularly within the current moment, we are in need of methodologies that, as Haraway (1988) argues, give us the “ability to partially translate knowledges among very different—and power-differentiated—communities” (580), whether that data is big, small, or somewhere in between. As Giesecking (2018) writes, datasets that are not one abstracted aggregate of data are useful and are needed to “call out the voices of the marginalized,” while also “refus[ing] to be made small ever again” (154). We thus need orientations to analysis that do not rely on the randomization, scaling, coding, and flattening of algorithmic and big hashtag data, which can overlook the communicative acts of solidarity and sociopolitical contexts that are integral to hashtag activism and the power dynamics that influence this activism.

Considering the following series of events, we can begin to see the importance of smaller datasets for highlighting the names and stories of people who may otherwise be just a number. On October 5, 2017, Jodi Kantor and Meghan Twohey published their *New York Times* article that would eventually see sexual predator Harvey Weinstein behind bars, naming Ashley Judd, Emily Nestor, Lauren O’Connor, Laura Madden, Zelda Perkins, Rose McGowan, and Ambra Battilana as targets of Weinstein’s abuse. A few days later, on October 15, 2017, in a tweet now so infamous that it feels almost mundane, Alyssa Milano posted “#MeToo,” asking followers who had experienced sexual harassment to do the same if they had also experienced sexual harassment. Just under one year after its surge, the hashtag had been used 19 million times on Twitter alone, averaging out to 55,319 uses of #MeToo per day (Anderson and Toor 2018, para. 3).

Soon after, Ronan Farrow (2017) broke his story on Weinstein in *The New Yorker*, and *TIME Magazine* named The Silence Breakers the 2017 person of the year. This story featured

actors Ashley Judd, Selma Blair, and Terry Crews; activist Tarana Burke; Plaza Hotel Plaintiffs Veronica Owusu, Gabrielle Eubank, Crystal Washington, Dana Lewis, Paige Rodriguez, Sergeline Bernadeau, and Kristina Antonova; Oregon state senator Sara Gelser; an anonymous hospital worker; singer Taylor Swift; former dishwasher Sandra Pezqueda; director Blaise Godbe Lipman; artist and activist Rose McGowan; former Fox News contributor Wendy Walsh; food blog editor Lindsey Reynolds; strawberry picker Isabel Pascual; entrepreneur Lindsay Meyer; housekeeper Juana Melara; journalists Sandra Muller, Megyn Kelly, and Jane Merrick; former Uber engineer Susan Fowler; university professors Celeste Kidd, Jessica Cantlon, and six other current and former members of the brain and cognitive sciences department at the University of Rochester; producer Zelda Perkins; British Parliament member Terry Reintke; charity worker Bex Bailey; art curator Amanda Schmitt; lobbyist Adama Iwu; and an anonymous former office assistant (Zacharek, Dockterman, and Sweetland Edwards 2017). While we may now know of these stories given TIME's exposé, I wonder how many knew of each of these individual names and stories prior to the focus on their digital dissemination apart from the larger aggregates of data on #MeToo.

When researchers focus on small datasets, we embrace the opportunity to untangle the relationships between data pieces, people, and the various contexts to which they are connected: a #MeToo post on Twitter from Milano necessarily opens questions and relationships to media coverage, to Burke's original aims of the "me too." Movement, and to what is included and excluded from cultural knowledge. Tracing relationships between small datasets tells important stories about what's missing and these stories are important. For example, in one year there were 19 million uses of #MeToo. Many know of Tarana Burke's story, one that has become more widely circulated after Milano acknowledged Burke's work. But even details of her story and her

“me too.” Movement’s aims were foggy for the general public and those not paying close attention to the movement. “Empowerment through empathy” remains Burke’s movement’s original purpose, but it is often left out of articles is its direct affirmation of “community-based action,” where “work is survivor-led and specific to the needs of different communities (“History and Vision,” *metoomvmt*). As the movement has become more visible, gaining more traction, and expanding, so too have its purposes. While it still focuses on making resources for healing readily available, Burke has called for concrete law and policy change. These calls include processing rape kits across the United States that have yet be tested (for some Canadian context, in her 2019 book on how sexual assaults are handled by police, *Globe and Mail* reporter Robyn Doolittle details how 20% of cases and their evidence are dismissed as “unfounded” or baseless); better school policies for screening teachers; putting forth a U.S. #MeToo Congress bill to remove the 90-day “cooling-off period” required for Capitol Hill employees before filing a sexual harassment claim; requiring every professional who works with children to be fingerprinted and background checked; and advocating for earlier and more comprehensive sex education that includes how to report predatory behaviour (Warfield 2018; Snyder and Lopez 2017). Much of this was occluded from common cultural knowledge about the initial aims of “me too.” or has been attributed to celebrity activists because of the focus on reach, in part because of the limitations of technology and in part because of the initial attention paid to the widespread reach of the campaign, seemingly instigated by Judd. The affective material small data approach I employ in this dissertation works to follow how stories like these move among public, private, and differently mediated spheres, while acknowledging that, of course, I alone cannot address all the stories circulating in these spaces.

## **Methodology and Methods**

Overall, following Maclure's (2013abc) "wondrous quality of data," this work seeks to both recognize and emphasize "that when data glow they instill in us a curiosity, a fascination that impels us as researchers to follow where the data may take us" (MacDonald and Wiens 2019, 368). As a researcher and an individual, I am invested in the ways that "me too." stories move and resonate with social media participants, myself included, how affects surrounding #MeToo play out in the social material world, and how stories move from verbal to hashtag form and circulate throughout different domains of power. In practice, this parallels a non-random critical case sampling approach to data collection (Deacon et al. 2021; Lindlof and Taylor 2011; Palinkas et al. 2015). To account for both range and specificity, I moved multi-platformally, across Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, blogs, and the articles outlined above, rather than focusing on solely one platform. I did this not to make generalizable claims, but to look for the range of possibilities for disrupting and resisting social and normative discourses of rape culture and sexual harassment and abuse, to observe the ways that different platforms were engaged for the purposes of "me too.", and to follow intersectional entanglements to find stories that stood as examples to illustrate the creation of my theoretical praxes.

To develop the theoretical praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for approaching the analysis of "me too." stories within intersectional entanglements, this dissertation employs a situated (Luka and Millette 2018; Haraway 1988; Harding 1993), new materialist postqualitative approach to data (Fox and Alldred 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020; Greene 2013; MacDonald and Wiens 2019; MacLure 2013abc; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Nicolini and Ringrose 2019; St. Pierre and Jackson 2014; Youngblood Jackson 2013). I do this in order to (a) account for the complexities of intersectional entanglements; (b) actively carve out

room during the data collection and analysis steps for critical reflection that seeks transparency for data bias and un/fairness that directly draws on the experiences of those participating (Costanza-Chock 2020) in the #MeToo movement; and (c) aim to better contextualize data via “manual data collection,” and “long-term online observation” (Latzko-Toth, Bonneau, and Millette 2017, 199). For this project, data were derived from “long-term online observation” of my Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter accounts for almost three years (October 2017 to September 2020), and include social media textual, visual-textual, and visual posts; links to news articles and blogs from social media; and contextual articles from newsletter email subscriptions. Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter were chosen for three reasons: (1) they are platforms that I personally engaged and still engage each day; (2) they are platforms that friends, colleagues, and family members who had encountered #MeToo were using upon their first interactions with the hashtag; and (3) taken together, using my own social media platforms reinforces, as Cvetokich (2012) and other feminists have reiterated, that the personal is political. As such, because this dissertation hinges upon personal stories, including my own interactions with these stories as discussed in chapter four, I follow the hashtags and posts on my own Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter feeds.

In following stories from my own feeds to gather data, I acknowledge that there is, of course, bias—and this is part of the point. This research does not seek generalizable results outside of these sources, and the point of the first praxis, virtual dwelling, is to recognize the limitations and possibilities of our own social media feeds, which requires developing these praxes from the stories on my own newsfeeds. This is also why I also include contextualizing data with other news sources: to further strengthen the stories that I was gathering, looking at who is prominently represented across social media and in mainstream media, as well as people who are

not prominently represented. To that point, today's versions of feminist positionality must include our digital presence. Not only do I include my own social location as part of my own reflexive process, but I also make clear through using my own newsfeeds that my own digital self and digital presence as interrelated, which speaks to this dissertation's concern with how stories and digital phenomena are moving throughout variously digitally and culturally mediated spheres. Here, vital structuring, the third praxis for exploring intersectional entanglements that I outline in Chapter Seven, becomes crucial for creating awareness of how digital and platforms are shaped before we arrive and as we interact with them. Because we know there is algorithmic bias from the work of Simone Browne (2015), Meredith Broussard (2018), Safiya Noble (2018), and Ruha Benjamin (2019), vital structuring helps point us to the kinds of algorithmic bias that is in our feeds and how the infrastructure of the platform affects what you post and what you see. This kind of reflexivity would not normally be remarked upon outside of autoethnography, but an approach of intersectional entanglements suggests that this is an important component of digital work.

Within these environments, my data collection was purposeful. The intention was to get at the specific complexities of the individual, collective, and structural layers involved in a digital post, which I could not examine without a non-random critical case sampling approach that would allow me to best select cases that would demonstrate these layers (Deacon et al. 2021; Lindlof and Taylor 2011; Palinkas et al. 2015). Through glows, I approached data collection to identify and select key examples that were, as Lindlof and Taylor say (2011) in relation to non-random critical case sampling, "information-rich" (130) and concerned with, as Deacon et al. (2021) suggest, the phenomenon of interest (67). Specifically, my research sought data sets that were "characterized by their generally limited volume, non-continuous collection, narrow

variety, and are usually generated to answer specific questions” (Kitchin and Lauriault 2015, 1). In selecting my samples, I looked at cases that included Tarana Burke, founder of the “me too.” Movement, and celebrity Alyssa Milano who tweeted about #MeToo in 2017, both of whom are key actors in the #MeToo movement. From there, I selected specific examples to demonstrate that there is more at stake in the particular social media posts than a random approach would suggest (Deacon et al. 2021), selecting examples to attend to the layers involved and to explore social media posts that were not highly cited or re-posted. In accordance with a non-random critical case approach, what this sample indicated was that more social media posts exist that are also deeply complex, and that travel among on and offline spaces. In alignment with the research goals of the dissertation, non-random critical case sampling highlighted how the social media posts selected as part of the sample were emblematic of the complexities of a single social media post as it connected to other phenomena, underscoring the need to develop a set of praxes for exploring the complexities of digital phenomena as they’re moving throughout domains of power and digitally and culturally mediated spheres.

My key methodological inquiries are framed around understanding how affect works in the social and material world, throughout domains of power. While big data is trying to remove bias, I began this dissertation with a short foray into my own journey, with these data sets also symbolizing parts of my journey to develop these praxes. In this way, following data glows through non-random critical case sampling was a way to capture a moment in a time that is not simply one point in time; rather, these frames move forward and influence other moments in time to highlight different voices that need to be given space and indicating who and what gets lost in the wash of big data. Each of the above platforms were first manually scrubbed (Voss, Lvov, Thomson 2017) for posts and stories relating to “me too.” using #MeToo, #MeTooWitchHunt,



#RapeCulture, #BelieveSurvivors, #MeTooTrans, and #SurvivorHealingSeries as they appeared on my Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter feeds and as keyword searches. These keywords were chosen after the first two months of initial observation (October to December 2017) based on how frequently I noticed their use in posts about “me too.” (i.e., #MeToo, #RapeCulture, #BelieveSurvivors) and noting that many posts used a combination of #MeToo and other hashtags, which led me to #MeTooWitchHunt, #MeTooTrans, and #SurvivorHealingSeries. These hashtags also signaled themes identified in current scholarship on exclusions in the movement, the role of witnessing, and the complexities of speaking back to mediated misogyny and racism (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2016; Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018; Rentschler 2014, 2015, 2017), all of which speak to the necessity of individual, collective, and structural approaches to more holistically understanding, analyzing, and engaging in action for issues related to the “me too.” Movement.

On Facebook, posts including any of the above hashtags were first “liked” so that I could go through my own recent activity to keep track of them and then screenshot and saved in a file on my computer as backup. On Twitter, I also “liked” tweets that used the above hashtags to archive them in my own Twitter activity tab and on Instagram I would select the “save for later” option, which collects posts in a separate tab on the app. Using these hashtags as keyword searches on the platforms also linked to news stories, personal experiences, videos, memes, and other similar media, which were consulted during analysis to add context to the curated posts. Given the possibility of harm due to doxing, death, and rape threats against people who speak out against rape culture and other forms of discrimination, I do not include the names of Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter participants who post about #MeToo unless those participants are celebrities, well-known activists who have previously spoken to the media about sexual

harassment or have verified social media accounts.<sup>11</sup> As suggested by the AoIR Ethics Committee's 2019 report on ethical decision-making and internet research,<sup>12</sup> I did this to protect social media participants' privacy and safety, even though the stories they shared were on a public facing platform. In accordance with the AoIR report, I have also made subtle changes to the spelling and grammar of tweets and posts included in this dissertation (unless they come from a celebrity, activist, or verified account) so that posts cannot be traced back to the participants. Moreover, no saving of personal data took place during this study—that is, I did not process data from any social media accounts in any databases or coding systems and I did not save the names of social media participants in any documents that were also saved online.

In the first year and a half (October 2017 to June 2018), as noted, data collected came from my personal feeds, following “conversation threads” on Twitter and following participants' comments on Facebook and Instagram to understand the fuller picture behind a post. In the second year (July 2018 to September 2019), this search was expanded beyond my social media feeds as I sought to gather more contextual information, which helped to confirm themes of individual, collective, and structural critique across popular culture and popular media and to follow hashtag stories as they opened larger social, political, and technological entanglements. My choice to look at mainstream media's responses to “me too.” offers a picture of what sentiments and perspectives were being picked up, widely circulated, and debated in dominant discourse. This was an attempt at pushing beyond the algorithmic echo chambers of my own explicitly feminist media feeds and to explore what popular news deemed “newsworthy” in their

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<sup>11</sup> I use “participants” rather than “users” to describe people who engage with social media to highlight the ways that our technologies and media platforms impact us just as we impact them. In this way, humans do not simply use technology, but are able to participate in the larger technocultural and sociopolitical world through technology. At the same time, tech corporations gather information about human beings through their technologies, which we opt into through terms-of-use agreements and privacy settings, implicating us in the ongoings of corporations through our (willing or unknowing) participation on various platforms.

<sup>12</sup> See the 2019 AoIR Committee's report on ethical internet research: <https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf>.

coverage of “me too.” Following hashtags into these spaces was also, as MacLure (2013a) notes, a way to engage the affective materiality of language and to contextualize it within the greater conversations taking place. Additionally, I subscribed to a series of newsletters from traditional news outlets to contextualize social media data, which included: *The New York Times*’s “The Morning,” “Gender Letter” and “On Tech” newsletters; *The Guardian*’s “This Week in Patriarchy” recaps; *The Atlantic*’s “This Week” and “The Atlantic Daily” that highlight stories that will “spark conversation” and “help you discover new ideas” with “the biggest stories of the day” (*Atlantic Daily Newsletter*). These news briefings do not suggest a comprehensive list of all “me too.” related information in the English-speaking world but do offer a range of opinions and actions from these media outlets that present interesting and sometimes competing ideas of sexual harassment and the influence of rape culture on everyday life.

Using an affective material framework in my methodological approach to data collection and analysis, I draw on postqualitative methods (Fox and Alldred 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020; Greene 2013; MacLure 2013abc; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Niccolini and Ringrose 2019; St. Pierre and Jackson 2014) to employ the method of tracing data “glows” as I scrubbed media articles and platforms, which follows Maggie MacLure’s (2013ab) argument that data will stand out based on their affective resonances to the researcher, suggesting that data that glimmer or shine out from the rest instill a curiosity and a fascination that impels the researcher to follow where the data leads them, to ask what data signal rather than simply what they may mean (658). In practice, across Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, any time a hashtag incited a particular emotion in me, like, for example, anger or melancholy or humour, I made written note of it, including the platform, day, and social media post in the note. In this way, data were understood as a “sense-event,” which acknowledges language’s materiality and its affective relationship to

the researcher, allowing for an attention to feelings, sensations, and bodily entanglements while researching. In practice, not all posts resonated or “glowed” with me, and while I would save or like them, I would not textually comment on this lack of resonance or provocation, which may suggest apathy—an emotion that, as discussed in the introduction, is indicative of the reach and hold of rape culture. This method of data collection does not claim to have an impartial or objective perspective, and the purpose of the analysis (detailed in the latter half of this chapter) is to unpack these relationships and situate the data within the broader cultural and technological spheres that it circulates within. While this is a new materialist approach to data, my approach also speaks the importance of situating the researcher within the research process from a feminist perspective. Understanding our relationships to data and data’s relationships to its contexts is never neutral.

When I received a newsletter “briefing” from *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, or *The Atlantic* I also manually scrubbed each of these email newsletters (over 1650 emails over a year and a half) for any “me too.” related content, using the same keywords as above and adding ‘sexual harassment,’ ‘sexual assault,’ ‘rape,’ and ‘consent’ as keywords within these emails. If these keywords were found, I would open the associated article in my internet browser and bookmark the article. I then searched the news outlet’s social media sites for posts about the story to see how the story was framed, making notes when the article evoked some sort of feeling. I then combed through the comments for links to other stories or personal experiences or responses. Extending data glows found in hashtags, although I searched using the hashtags listed above as keywords, if a headline or a post on social media gestured toward gendered, racialized, or class-based violence that was not related directly to “me too.” but struck a chord with me, I

would make note of the article or post. Mobilizing data glows thus entails leveraging our reactions to data for the purposes of collection and tracing non-linear events and entanglements.

Here, recalling Ahmed's (2010) example of the happy family, as discussed in Chapter Three, can clarify the ways that affect was used to support the selection of small data samples via glows and hot spots and to discuss the materiality of affect, including how affect is used as an interpretive tool for critical means. Ahmed's happy family around the family table illustrates how mundane objects like the kitchen table become culturally situated, and how material artifacts represent larger social dynamics. Our affective relationship to that object is emblematic of our social relationships, which exist in a material world with material consequences. In the family and at the family table is where children learn the "right" habits for a "good" life, where they are disciplined to live a particular kind of life. Being part of a happy family depends on doing the "right" things in the "right" way (Ahmed 2010). Applying this queer orientation to a social media post, we can begin to see similar affective relationships when we turn to the materiality of the hashtag.

Although hashtags are digital, there are still material consequences of what the platform allows and who is allowed to come, based on the design of the platform. As Safiya Noble (2018) argues, algorithmic oppression persists, where new technical systems promote themselves as progressive and unbiased when, really, these technologies "reflect and reproduce existing inequities" (3). While an analysis of platform affordances could help to answer the question of what the platform allows participants to do based on its design, intersectional entanglements bring equal attention to the affective and material components of the hashtag, social media post, and image that go beyond the affordances of the platform. For example, if I looked at the affordances of Ahmed's (2010) table, I could analyze how it is a structure I can sit at, work on it,

or lean against it. However, this does not tell us about the meaning behind the patriarch who sits at the head of the table, or who is always being asked to set the table, or who made the meal that goes on the table. Deploying affect through glows to collect data thus contributes to the articulation of queer temporalities and interventions that are possible.

Throughout this data collection process, it should be clear by now I did not seek saturation or randomization of data. To be explicit, I am not interested in abstracted trends or patterns, but in how relationships between people, hashtags, technologies, affects, places, and other things shape each other in their own existing and shifting organizations in order to develop the three praxes offered in this dissertation—an entanglement of #MeToo research that highlights the mutually constituting effects of the data, data environments, and the researcher's affective responses. In collecting data from my own feeds, media stories, and email newsletters, my goal was not to derive validation or saturation about the “me too.” Movement. As Alicia Youngblood Jackson (2013) argues, essentialism implicates qualitative research methods by assuming that people who speak give us rational and coherent truths that act as the foundation for data analysis and interpretations. The practice of coding until saturation, for example, is often one that replicates the belief in universal, abstract, and structural characteristics of the research topic in question. Instead of saturation, data collection was for the purpose of gathering a variety of stories within #MeToo to develop the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring. These data were material in that they held ideas and bodies together on a page (individually, structurally, and collectively) in both real and symbolic ways, and they became a material and affective place that incited social media participants to advocate for themselves. Although this work of data collection is not exhaustive, it was exhausting on both a mental and emotional level. I mention this because a feminist approach to data collection must acknowledge

the role of the researcher, directing us to think of agency as dialectical and produced from tensions between affective and material realms.

During this process I was and am still aware of the ways that Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter's algorithms sort comments, creating the conditions for the possibility that comments that exist on my personal accounts may never be seen again (see Noble 2018 for an account of how this takes place on Google). Thus, given how each platform refreshes itself and re-sorts comments, manual scrubbing will inevitably miss some comments and posts, underscoring Manovich (2012) and boyd and Crawford's (2012) point that access to data are privileged, whether those data are big or small. This also reinforces the need to fully embrace the "lively" data that we do have from a position of care, drawing on Luka and Millette's (2018) call to contemplate, reflect, conceive, and deliberate not as "a set of rules but a gathering of possibilities" (5). This asks that we work from a situated approach, as I have done here, to be sensitive to our own "biases, power, and identity positions, thereby compelling each to unpack or even give up preexisting conceptual frames and labels" (Luka and Millette 2018, 5). Because I work from a situated approach, I also understand social media as practices instead of merely tools, since this affords activists the ability to develop "performance maintenance practices" to evaluate the limitations of hashtag campaigns (Clark-Parsons 2019). What this means is that activists, scholars, and other social media participants can use strategies or praxes (like virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring) for engaging with content online based on what they encounter on the scene within the entanglements of data, rather than only needing specific tools at the disposals for specific times. These methodological considerations necessarily inform my approach to analyzing data.

## **Analyzing Entanglements of Data**

Data that I highlight within this project take individual stories (posts) and situate them within collective and structural networks, reflecting the entanglement, in two ways. First, social media posts become part of the public sphere via the fact that they are posted to public forums to begin with. Second, data become collaborative through the ways they are put into conversation with each other and influence readers and social media participants and thus influence our own experiences and ideas of sexual assault and the ways in which it is discussed in the public sphere. #MeToo posts and contextualizing articles analyzed here are stories that I have encountered, grappled with, and followed since Tarana Burke's "me too." campaign went viral on Twitter on October 15, 2017.

Positioned within the theoretical framework of this dissertation, the complexities of the data that I gathered require a variety of analytical approaches, including an analysis of the research scene (MacDonald and Wiens 2019) as a research assemblage (Ringrose and Renold 2014) for exploring the circulation of "me too." stories and an analysis of vernacular rhetorics (Hauser and mcclellan 2009; Ono and Sloop 2002) to explore the effects of "me too." stories. An emphasis on how people use social media as an everyday action for sharing stories and responding to sexual violence and harassment is particularly pertinent for examining how #MeToo intervenes into dominant narratives of rape culture, as it (a) is a performance of solidarity that constitutes the project as a feminist movement, (b) reveals "those in movements sometimes have negative bonding with authority;" and (c) contains "markers of positionality" where differences between "self and other...are performed in codes of language, dress, and public behaviour" (Hauser and mcclellan 2009, 36-7). Social media posts that I analyze signal the repertoires of meaningful embodied actions drawn on by participants and the digital archives



that form as they circulate. That is, the hashtags and posts analyzed as examples both index these repertoires and are themselves archived and canonized without consideration of what then is lost, erased, and silenced. As Chapter Five demonstrates, I believe it to be incumbent upon researchers, myself included, to virtually dwell, to sit with data, and to trace the entanglements to recall, gesture towards, and record these memories.

As such, on one level, I locate posts and hashtags within the “research scene” (MacDonald and Wiens 2019) to articulate the relationships between people, places, hashtags, technologies, feelings, and affects. In being present on the scene, researchers can pay closer attention to the “layered sites of events, actions, and contestations that play out at various moments” (369). Moreover, this kind of presence encourages the observation of research assemblages: “complex social configurations through which energy flows and is directed” to “underscore the relationality of affect” flowing “through bodies and things” (Ringrose and Renold 2014, 773). Ringrose and Renold’s research assemblage helps to understand agency as “a confederation of human and nonhuman elements” because they are “ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts” (Bennett 2010, 23). Mapping these social configurations indicates “how affect flows through our research assemblages and when and where it intensifies” (Ringrose and Renold 2014, 774). Digital technologies continue to create and re-create the gendered, raced, patriarchal aspects of their social world because of how technology segregates based on data-gathering and targeting of bodies. Situating hashtag activism, bodies, technologies, spaces, and research as part of an intra-active research assemblage reveals how such movements create understandings of the world, and how we are embedded within those assemblages.

Against the backdrop of feminist queer affect theory and postqualitative methods, affect can be deployed as a method to understand social media posts in their relationship to power. In keeping with how data was collective via affective data glows, this way of engaging with affect begins to attend to the criticality of the data and their relationship to power within the research assemblage or research scene. Because I engage with Ahmed (2004, 2006, 2010), Berlant (2011), and Cvetkovich (2003), I employ a similar interpretive approach to analysis. Ahmed frequently uses an interpretive queer phenomenological (2006) approach to analyze feelings of structure and affective economies, Berlant (2011) grappled with cruel optimism, which allows us to think through why people choose not to resist but instead “ride the wave” of the system that they are used to even when this system is failing them, and Cvetkovich (2012) has documented an archive of queer feelings to articulate a different set of public feelings. With this queer interpretive approach, one of the goals is to identify acts of deviance, going against the grain, and more particularly, things like the “feminist snap” (Ahmed 2017), which is a moment of rupture where we see a blockage in the flow of the heteronormative river, which causes the rest of the river’s ecosystem deviate.

On another level, I engage in a rhetorical analysis of #MeToo posts and other vernacular “me too.” stories as they move within and between layers of the research scene. In speaking to #MeToo’s ability to draw on ordinary and everyday technologies to emphasize ordinary and everyday misogyny I frame #MeToo as a vernacular rhetoric that constitutes a counterpublic (Warner 2002). Gerard Hauser and erin mcclellan (2009) explain vernacular rhetoric as the distinct language and performance of a specific cultural inscription in everyday interactions (29). To analyze vernacular rhetorics (i.e., everyday discourses), they offer the following four part heuristic to explore the production of rhetorically salient meaning to interrogate current

structures and the ways in which hashtag discourses are intervening into them: “(1) *polyvocality*, which makes it possible for vernacular discourse to (2) *appear under the surface—not always in full view of the ‘official discourse,’* where it can (3) *perform an interrogation of ‘official’ discourse in ways that challenge or resist it*, and thus (4) *perform power in mundane, often unnoticed, ways*” (30, emphasis in original). Importantly, rhetorics of the everyday often appear in juxtaposition to their “official” counterparts, although not necessarily in ways that are recognized as contrary or resistant by those in power.

With a queer affective interpretive lens, throughout the research process the role of the researcher is to identify the feelings, objects, or structures that stop the flow of the river, that deviate from the mainstream, or that might keep people riding the wave of the system that is failing them even as they try to resist. Therefore, the first question produced from the praxis of virtual dwelling, which is the focus of Chapter Five, centers on moments of confusion and of glitch to consider how, within the research scene, the Feminist Killjoy, to use Ahmed’s (2010, 2017) words, is causing disruption. Similarly, the researcher might reflect on what Sarah Sharma’s (2020) Broken Machine looks like here. While Ahmed and Sharma use these as metaphors to describe the effects of moments of rupture, there are not clear ways to identify them. Deploying affect through the data collection and analysis phase, I develop praxes that orient researchers towards how to do so. Within the research process itself, we can identify these moments of rupture through this queer affective interpretive approach, and by asking the questions that I provide for virtual dwelling (Chapter Five), vibrant ethos (Chapter Six), and vital structuring (Chapter Seven), which are asking us to sit with the materiality of the text on the platform, identify who and what is involved (which is why my conceptualization of “participants” is so broad), and also look at the technocultural and sociopolitical contexts to be

able to articulate the affective economies and material consequences. As such, I deploy a queer interpretive lens alongside material and affective considerations to identify the moments of disruption and their consequences in embodied, collective, and systemic ways. In practice what this means is looking for oppositions to the “norm” at the individual, collective, and structural levels, focusing on the affective and material and their relationships to each other, as well as the barriers that people face if they seek to oppose this hegemonic norm.

In analyzing #MeToo data, #MeToo posts and other forms of counterpublic digital feminist activism function as forms of vernacular rhetoric that appropriate or queer the structures that dominant discourses have used to oppress a marginalized group, adapting and adopting them for their own purposes. For example, the appropriation of Instagram or Twitter as a social media outlet to mediate the voices of marginalized communities demonstrates the polyvocal nature of discursive-technological forms (i.e., images, captions, comments, hashtags) to circulate feminist hashtags, posts, and other voices of dissent. These challenge dominant discourses that allows a break with Foucault’s conceptualization of a panoptic society to theorize a space where discourses “rub up against one another in fundamentally different ways that can produce genuinely new alternatives to existing power structures” (Hauser and mcclellan 2009, 32). This is important because, as Tara Conley (2014) argues, “hashtags compel us to act. They ... represent evidence of women and people of color resisting authority, opting out of conforming to the status quo, and seeking liberation...” (1111). #MeToo posts selected for analysis thus stand as evidence of both the repertoires of embodied actions and discursive archives that circulate and form simultaneously. Although #MeToo and the posts I analyze indeed index repertoires, they are complicated by the fact that they quickly become discursively archived and canonized without consideration of what then is lost, erased, and silenced. This recognizes the necessity of

analyzing the pharmacological (Abbinnett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2011) nature of #MeToo in order to better grapple with what is lost by focusing on the prioritized archives within digital culture.

Using vernacular rhetoric to analyze #MeToo does not conceptualize “*the* public” as some steadily existing creature who lives to legitimize all public matters; rather, this framing pluralizes the idea of the public, shifting the conceptual focus to the formation of *publics* (Hauser and mcclellan 30) and counterpublics (Warner 2002). Such publics can be moved through alternative methods and counter-hegemonic means to adopt different views of rape culture, which, as I discuss in the introduction, is why I conceptualize #MeToo as a counterpublic. #MeToo works through complex networks to make clear what current publics believe about rape culture and offers examples of what different futures might look like. An emphasis on the vernacular allows for active analysis of a broader range of expression, orienting researchers towards the discourse of the people, which Hauser notes includes but does not privilege spokespeople, accounting for public opinion with sensitivity to the dialogic aspects by which negotiations are conducted (100). A framing of vernacular rhetoric thus pushes for a rehabilitation of public opinion as a concept that is sensitive to and informative of what publics actually think, which serves to emphasize alternative everyday discourses around rape culture and sexual harassment rather than simply the dominant narrative.

As participatory websites, social media “have the potential to be more empowering than other kinds of media objects because they offer network locations where local agents can express themselves” (Howard 2008, 492). Howard conceives Internet-enabled participatory media as “a vernacular web of communication performance that hybridizes the institutional and noninstitutional” (491). It is precisely these participatory media that “hybridize multiple agencies

in the texts that they produce. Rejecting reified notions of pure or authentic vernacular, participation in this web can be seen to open up new venues for transformative public discourse” (492). Based on these cues, we can see that vernacular emerges when discourses are marked as alternate to the institutional, as counterpublics. Kent Ono and John Sloop (1995, 2002) call for critics to explore these vernacular discourses, as they “resonate within and from historically oppressed communities” (20), defining discourses as those that “emerge from discussions between members of self-identified smaller communities within the larger civic community” (13). Discourses that speak back to dominant narratives, which Ono and Sloop (2002) call “outlaw rhetorics,” are “found in the vernacular, the practice of everyday life, that oppose or are separate from dominant discourses.... Regardless of intent, then, at times vernacular discourses disrupt dominant discourses and take possession of dominant communities” (60-1). According to this perspective, vernacular discourse is a discourse that is produced by those who differentiate themselves as alternate to the larger “civic community” by identifying with a historically subordinated community. Social media posts that I select for analysis are analyzed for the ways that they give us insights into the ways that individual, collective, and structural struggles are underway, and thus offer examples through which to develop praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for exploring the movement of “me too.” stories.

## **Conclusion**

Bringing together the theoretical and methodological foundations outlined in both Chapters One and Two, this dissertation is premised on the claim that that analyzing intersectional entanglements provides crucial insights into oppression, protest, and resistance that necessarily deviate from mainstream absolute, singular truths about the nature of rape culture and sexual violence. Processes of collecting and analyzing data from an intersectional feminist new

materialist lens was used in each thematic chapter (Chapters Three, Four, and Five) to develop this dissertation's contribution of praxes for exploring individual, collective, and structural points of the "me too." Movement's entanglements. Within these contexts, data become collaborative through ontoepistemologically situating them within the entanglements of the research scenes. What this means is that working within and from the perspectives of intersectional entanglements suggests no distinct separation between data collection and analysis: as I collected data I was reflexive about what I was collecting and how it fits into a larger context, and how that context necessarily reflects on the data. As such, while I collected data I was intentional in reading the comments of posts for the individual experiences, especially when posts came from popular news outlets. I was also deliberate in reflecting on standpoint: who are the people commenting based on the information they offer on their own social media pages and how might this influence their ability to post and the content they post? Although commentators' standpoints are not often described in this dissertation as a means of keeping social media participants' identities anonymous, this practice helped to make connections between individual comments, the collective experience, and the larger networked and structural systems under which these data circulate—in other words, this practice helps to reveal intersectional entanglements of the "me too." Movement.

Intersectional entanglements offer a foundation for analyzing the individual, collective, and structural domains of power, and speak to the ways that the praxes that I develop enable researchers and activists to mobilize affective and material understandings of power through exploring entanglements at each of these levels. As discussed in Chapter One and in Chapter Three, these individual, collective, and structural levels are fluid and intersecting—what might be categorized as structural is also individual because structural issues affect people on an

individual level. In the next chapter, I develop the first of three praxes: *virtual dwelling*, which offers a praxis for exploring the circulation of stories and power within individual entanglements through generating an intimate relationship to the data at hand. In doing so, virtual dwelling explores how we can begin to recognize historical and contemporary patterns that contribute to maintaining power from an individual standpoint.



## **Chapter Five: Virtual Dwelling as an Exploration of Individual Entanglements**

### **Situating the Individual**

On October 15, 2017, a little over one year into my doctorate program, I was sitting at the very back of Toronto's 504 streetcar after squeezing through the crowded front doors, feeling someone's hand on the back of my upper thigh, and, because this happens all too often on crowded transit cars, it was easy enough to walk to a different part of the vehicle. Rather than dwell on what happened in the physical space, I dwelled in virtual space. It was there, on Twitter, that I saw it for the first time: #MeToo. I scrolled past the first tweet from someone I went to high school with without feeling it sink in, but I saw it over and over again in my feed: from someone I went to undergrad with, from a childhood friend, from celebrities, and from a friend I had recently met in spin class. I paused, scrolled back up, and re-read each tweet. Some of them were short, less than 140 characters, some had parts one through seven. I switched over to Facebook. Long posts where some of my friends who were women and one who was trans detailed their experiences of sexual assault, and shorter posts that simply read, "me too." I tried not to think of my own experience, from the casual one only a moment ago, to another some seven years ago prior, and the ones in between.

I remember wanting to laugh at all these confessions. Not because I thought they were funny. Not at all. But because I was so relieved. Because I knew it, we all knew it—it was something so common that in some cases it hardly phased you, while other times it was slightly irritating, and in other situations it felt like it changed the entire course of your life. But with these social media posts I knew for a fact, and not just speculation or assumption, that it happened to many others. Before the weight of it could settle heavily onto my shoulders it was a relief to know that solidarity was brewing. Perhaps, in seeing those first stories of "me too.," you

felt something too. This chapter encourages you to pursue those individual bubbles of emotion that feel compelling or out of place and to dwell with feelings and embodied knowledges as acts of resistance and sources of data.

Mobilizing those feelings and embodied knowledges, this chapter focuses on stories shared through #MeToo and the histories these stories draw on to develop the praxis of *virtual dwelling* for exploring individual sites of entanglements within the “me too.” Movement. The lack of methodological and theoretical understandings for approaching how stories move suggest the need to spend time with hashtagged posts and feelings—to dwell—at the individual level, a crucial component of the matrix of domination where domination, but also resistance, can take place (Collins 1990, 2015, 2017). In short, virtual dwelling is a praxis for reflecting on and tracing a component of a story that resonates with the individual researcher. Virtual dwelling enables scholars to begin the process of tracing the uses, histories, and possibilities for stories as they move through various mediated and temporal spaces from an individual standpoint.

In this chapter, I demonstrate how dwelling with stories of “me too.” offers an opportunity to highlight personal, individual affective lingerings as sites of political transformation, and I offer a series of #MeToo posts that “glowed” (MacLure 2013ab) for me to do so. I then discuss virtual dwelling as a praxis that resists the common trope of “moving on” or “letting it go,” and I offer three sets of questions to guide the use of this praxis within the context of intersectional entanglements. These are questions that I came to ask myself as I was sitting with the stories that I share here; working within intersectional entanglements from an affective, material, and situated methodological standpoint led me to provide the questions that I used to reflexively create (and use, through analysis) this praxis. Next, I demonstrate the importance of virtual dwelling through my own praxis of dwelling with #MeToo, using the questions I provide.

I describe how virtually dwelling led me to the controversial figure of the witch as it manifested within the “me too.” Movement, and I think through the feminist figure of the witch in conversation with the accusations of a #MeToo witch hunt. I follow this witchy figure and related discourses that sparked curiosity and glowed to highlight events, social media posts, and experiences along the way from others who were also compelled by similar ideas. I conclude with a brief discussion of why these invocations and appropriations of witchiness matter, and what these discussions illuminate for virtually dwelling with stories at an individual site of the entanglement.

### **Virtual Dwelling: Dwelling as Embodied and Situated Reflection**

I, and many others, so clearly remember the experience of seeing #MeToo on social media for the first time because of the ubiquity of sexual violence: many have either experienced sexual violence of some kind or know someone who has. From a hand on your thigh on public transit to a catcall when you’re walking home at night, to that time you try to forget (although it’s more than likely that you try to forget each and every time)—these are the experiences we brush off because we don’t think we’ll be believed, because we’re in too much shock, or because we’ve been told they’re not serious enough, even though we know that every single time is serious enough, and our perpetrators will most likely never be held accountable.

The day after my first encounter of #MeToo I tried to go back and save all those tweets and Facebook posts from the previous day on that streetcar. I wanted to sit with those acknowledgements and self and public assertions of “me too” a little longer. Although I couldn’t find all of the tweets, and I’m sure that Facebook and Twitter algorithms have buried them for good, what felt like a hundred more were in my social media feeds—and, indeed, 24-hours following the inciting tweet from celebrity-activist Alyssa Milano there were 109,451

#MeToo posts on Twitter (Main 2017 cited in Clark-Parsons 2019) and #MeToo was used or implied in over 12 million Facebook posts and comments (Park 2017 cited in Clark-Parsons 2019). I tried to read as many of them as I could, including the comments and who else had liked or retweeted the posts. One post on my Twitter feed read:

@TwitterUser: The first time I was sexually assaulted, I was 13 years old. The last time it happened was one month ago, at work. I'm 52 years old #MeToo (October 15, 2017),<sup>13</sup>

with the response:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo this tweet has raised another memory from when I was a young teen. My brain had forgotten this. I can even remember their name (October 16, 2017).

Other posts on Twitter and Facebook read:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo He didn't get that he'd done anything wrong, that he broke me. I lost a friend. Education is vital. It's been years and I'm still scared to tweet this (October 18, 2017).

@TwitterUser: #MeToo because when I was 18, starting my first year of college, a friend raped me while I was in and out of consciousness. I decided to not report it because I know it would have been an exhausting process for me to go through, and I couldn't handle that on top of the stress (October 19, 2017).

Facebook User: As someone who is transgender— #MeToo—it's difficult to own your story and trust yourself when someone in a committed relationship commits these acts against you, but we have to keep speaking (October 17, 2017).

Facebook User: It might actually be harder to find a woman who hasn't been sexually harassed or assaulted. Now think about women with different ethnicities and races and disabled women. This needs to change #Truth #MeToo (October 18, 2017).

Of course, some of the comments were incredibly misogynistic, perpetuating rape culture:

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<sup>13</sup> As outlined in the previous chapter, given the possibility of harm due to doxing as well as death and rape threats against people, particularly women and gender non-conforming people, who speak out against rape culture and other forms of discrimination, I do not include the names of Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter participants who post about #MeToo unless those participants are celebrities or well-known activists who have previously spoken to the media about sexual harassment. I have also made subtle changes to the spelling and grammar of tweets and posts included in this dissertation (unless they come from a celebrity or activist account) so that posts cannot easily be traced back to the participants.

@TwitterUser: There is only one man on Earth who is desperate enough to sexually assault (posted with a meme of Bill Clinton asking, “I didn’t rape that ugly one did I?” and Chelsea Clinton responding, “that’s mom”) (October 19, 2017).

While others showed a more subtle misogyny through victim-blaming:

Facebook User: We must think more critically. It’s just sexist to say that all boys are rapists. Women are silenced by their own doing. From my personal experience, women should report the assaults. No one is preventing women from reporting assaults to the authorities. I know strong women, and these women have reported the assaults. Nothing will change if you don’t report the assaults (October 18, 2017).

Other posters commented back to these misogynist posts, alleviating the emotional and physical labour required to formulate a response and instead sharing the labour among many. Responding to the offensive meme of the Clintons, people on Twitter wrote:

@TwitterUser: Let’s take a roll call of the men who have not inappropriately approached a girl or woman at some point in their life? (October 19, 2017).

@TwitterUser: I’m sorry. Women deserve better. I’m sad that women have to put up with this BS. May you be healed and grow stronger through this (October 19, 2017).

@TwitterUser: Women and their attractiveness are not the cause of sexual harassment or assault. Men and society are the cause. Plain and simple, men need to respect, cherish, and honor women more and society needs to allow that to happen. Oh yeah, and #MeToo (October 20, 2017).

However, despite misogynistic comments and their responses, most of the posts worked to encourage those posting and joined with them in solidarity, offering words of support, love, friendship, and allyship (recalling Chapter Three, this is emblematic of bell hooks’s writings on what she sees as the aims of feminism). In response to one participant on Twitter speaking to the need for education to end sexual assault, others shared the following:

@TwitterUser: Powerful thread. Thank you for your courage. Peace to all.  
#NeverAgainIsNow (October 18, 2017).

@TwitterUser: Please never think of yourself as broken. You are not broken. You may need some help to heal, but who you are will never be broken (October 18, 2017).

@TwitterUser: I was moved by a beloved boss from my [job] post when I told him that a co-worker was punishing me because I refused. I felt alone. Thank you for doing this! (October 18, 2017).

@TwitterUser: I think this [post] alone is a big enough statement. Now there are thousands speaking. I admire everyone on here who is speaking up, as well as those who are not (October 18, 2017).

Before that day, I knew that social media's claim to fame was connection, but in the days following October 15, 2017, I felt it for the first time.

The internet is overflowing with misogyny, racism, and homophobia. Because of this, there is a clear of lack of space for marginalized voices to safely come together without the threats of racism, sexism, ableism, homophobia, and transphobia. But, as seen through reflecting on this sample of posts, the internet can also be a place of hope, a space to connect, confess, share, witness, educate, and learn with people across a variety of geographical, racial, gendered, ability, and, to a degree, class-based lines. #MeToo specifically speaks to me in ways that #BlackLivesMatter or #ShoutYourAbortion or #DisabledTwitter speaks to others, and I thus focus my attention and this entire project around the #MeToo movement because of these affective resonances. Each person has their own affective response to online spaces, and those individual responses are important for gesturing towards collective action. #MeToo and other feminist hashtags highlight how people can and have co-opted spaces of the internet for intersectional feminist resistance against gender and sexual-based violence.

Virtual dwelling is an effort to critically reflect with and through (or on our use of) technology, with the tools and practices at our disposal, in order to both imagine and propose change. Virtual dwelling enables the learning of new ontoepistemologies for engaging with digital technologies, since those platforms and devices are racist, sexist, and ablest in design. Through spatially and temporally digitally dwelling in these online spaces, people can become

open to reconsidering the kinds of logics they have become accustomed to in order to think about what new or different kinds of logics might also exist. It is possible, then, that we may find that these new or different logics are in fact the feminist, queer, crip, anti-racist, decolonial, eco logics that we've been told are "illogical" by current systems of domination, and that these logics are intertwined. As this post on the "me too." Movement's official Facebook page points out,

Me Too Movement—#MeToo: Our fight to end sexual violence is intertwined with our fight to protect Black lives from police brutality. Racism is systemic and impacts many different facets of life for Black communities—specifically Black women. Whether it's excessive force or sexual violence, Black women continue to be silenced and made invisible. This must stop.

Black survivors deserve justice.  
Black survivors deserve to be heard.  
Black survivors deserve to heal.

Breonna deserves justice.  
Breonna deserves to be heard.  
She should still be here.

#SayHerName #BlackLivesMatter #WeAsOurselves (March 13, 2021, the one-year anniversary of Breonna Taylor's death by police shooting in her own home while she was sleeping).

The post above highlights how individual people and their stories are influenced by structural forces, and how rape culture and misogyny are inherently linked with police brutality and white supremacy. Tracing how stories and domains of power are related within intersectional entanglements is important for understanding the ways that technologies and digital culture uphold the matrix of domination so that we can resist unjust dominant ideologies different levels as they intersect. In dwelling in communal spaces, ways of thinking that have been diminished as "alternative" or "radical" or "unconventional," like the call to recognize the ways that sexual violence and misogyny are deeply connected to police brutality and white supremacy, might come to be understood more accurately as ways of thinking in more equitable and sustainable

ways. This can become a way to embrace logics outside of the strict norms that govern most societies and to embrace more inclusive and equitable ways of being, starting with understanding the individual locus of the entanglement where we encounter stories. Virtual dwelling via a refined practice of reflection allows us to trace where and how stories and their feelings, discourses, and posts circulate online. Dwelling thus becomes a crucial step for becoming attuned to how matrices of power circulate at and among various levels, affecting people, practices, and institutions through, as Sara Ahmed (2010) drawing on Raymond Williams (1977) says, the structure of feelings and the feelings of structure.

Dwelling is like “staying with the trouble” (Haraway 2016). It’s about assuming a responsibility and relationship to the present moment to be open to new knowledges that stories offer us within our networks of places, times, matters, and meanings—even if those ideas contradict other ideas we have previously held or ideas that seem antithetical to current power structures. Dwelling asks that we trace the histories that inform the present stories we’re faced with that seem novel but really may be manifestations of earlier practices, as I illustrate later in this chapter with my own practice of virtually dwelling with the so-called #MeToo witch hunt. Haraway writes that “our task is to make trouble, to stir up potent responses to devastating events, as well as to settle troubled waters and rebuild quiet places” (1), encouraging a reconceptualization of what it means to “make kin” so that we can recognize “the dynamic ongoing sym-chthonic forces and powers of which people are a part, within which ongoingness is at stake” (101). For Haraway, to “make kin” is to establish new lines of “response-ability” between beings to see the ways that they think and make together. Dwelling offers sanctioned time for learning to stay with the trouble of the stories offered within the “me too.” Movement. Through dwelling it becomes possible to see lines of communication between plot lines,



characters, and settings and the ways that these components travel into different mediated realms as the story circulates. Thus, in staying with the trouble—that is, in dwelling—we can employ a practice of “tentacular” thinking (Haraway 2016), like that of assemblage or networked thinking, that embraces presence and attention to the moment, for sticking it out in the “here and now” to trouble the waters of entrenched hegemonic models that contribute to the destruction of collective organizing and change.

“Troubling the waters” points towards dwelling as a way of reflection and thinking, a way of changing our orientation to the current moment and place to consider anew the ideas laid out before us. Dwelling can encourage us to think with the moment, against the moment, or with the moment as it moves to new moments across mediated and temporal spheres. Dwelling makes clear what Sarah Sharma (2020) calls “a feminism of the Broken Machine,” which highlights and “uses the logic of the machines” to focus on “current power dynamics that are otherwise hard to pinpoint” (174). For Sharma, the Broken Machine, like Sara Ahmed’s Killjoy and Donna Haraway’s Cyborg, becomes worthy of attention once it begins to glitch, making itself known as it points out gendered power differentials and other hierarchical structures. As does dwelling, Sharma’s Broken Machine creates space for new perspectives as they “flicker and burn out,” becoming “powerful purveyors of mayhem and confusion” (174). These moments of glitch, demonstrated in the next section as I follow the figure of the witch in the #MeToo movement and the many ways it was used by both detractors and activists, initiate uncertainty and chaos and point towards layered and complex social and interpersonal relationships that become otherwise, changing as their conditions do. In engaging with a praxis of virtual dwelling to explore stories at the individual locus of the entanglement, the first set of questions that we might consider are: how are the confusion and glitches indicated in stories changing the ways that people are relating

to one another in affective and embodied ways on the research scene, and how are stories and the contexts from which they emerge creating a relationship with the researcher?

Simultaneously dwelling with stories in space can be understood as a way of being in flux, open to movement and change—the mayhem, confusion, and glitches—as we immerse ourselves into the scene and sit with the changing technological and natural landscape—whether that change happens on its own or through our doing. Different from critical analysis, where the goal is to evaluate a body of work (an artifact, a text, a film) and express an informed opinion on that work, dwelling demands a more proactive engagement with the content of interest, its uses, its contexts, and the ways the content of research and the researcher are taken up on embodied, affective, and intellectual levels, seeking an understanding of where we dwell. Dwelling is more radical in that it asks that we take up space and that we orient towards not just understanding the story, but towards acting on what we learn in the story. Through dwelling, we can see the tools at our disposal, how they have been used, and how we might use them differently in the future to provoke alternative programs and methods. As such, the second question that can be considered when dwelling on the research scene is: how are stories indicating what practices and tools are being taken up by participants to create or disrupt relationships?

Dwelling is, thus, praxis: a theoretically-informed practice undertaken with the tools observed and acquired to sift through the scene, collect information, and then begin to understand that information. As an integral part of artistic research methods, dwelling also asks that we “pay attention to the specificities of the space that are overwritten by dominant perceptions and uses of it” (MacDonald 2018, 279). Dwelling is concerned with “access[ing] and convey[ing] [the] layered nature of space,” and is “an embodied act that we do on a regular basis” (279). Such uses of dwelling include lingering with stories and data to reconceptualize

research as layered “scenes” (MacDonald and Wiens 2019) where research can be understood as “collections of material objects for researchers to study” while “also acknowledging researchers’ bodies, voices, and gestures as essential forms of material data” (Wiens et al. 2020, 22). It is also a way to see how people have thought about and spent time with their own stories, and how those experiences have shaped other shared and individual stories.

For example, Aditi Jaganathan, Sarita Malik, and June Givanni (2020) describe Givanni’s Pan-African Cinema Archive as a “diasporic feminist dwelling space,” emphasizing relationships between the UK’s art and culture scene and Givanni’s personal and professional relationships with African and Asian diasporic film, with other curators and directors, with museums that house and have housed the archive, and with the movements, marginalized cultures, and histories that are represented in the archive. Archives are not only document artifacts and stories from specific moments of time, but also come to embody researchers’ relationships to dwelling with the intersecting factors of time, place, space, self-history, and self-reflexivity, both at the time of dwelling and at the time of archivization. Dwelling becomes a process of reflexivity, a web-like praxis for highlighting different relational networks or assemblages that currently exist and that are actively coming into being, in order to better understand experiences through affective and embodied time in a scene. This reflexive process helps to situate the researcher within the scene, identifying the personal relationship to the research to highlight the importance of each individual story.

Although dwelling may start off as a personal practice through lingering with different modes of thought, it allows for the creation of intimate connections at the individual level that tendrils out to other points of the entanglement. Because dwelling asks that we become familiar with a space in its current state, examining how previous interactions have created that space, it

creates the conditions for reaching out to others through the space to find access to new stories, communities, and systems. In this way a variety of different kinds of relationships can be formed, helping in the formation of new communities, as seen in online hashtag counterpublics. Dwelling also offers a way to take up and form relationships with space when that space has been denied within the institution—a way to make yourself present, resituate, and to recast colonial, sexist, racist, and/or ableist histories. With Givanni's Pan-African Cinema Archive, Jaganathan, Malik, and Givanni (2020) argue that as a "diasporic dwelling space," the archive was "foundational" in "preserving a breadth and range of diasporic cultural histories, creating space for those who have been marginalized to, as Flinn, Stevens, and Shepherd (2009) argue, 'exercise some control over its representation and the construction of its collective and public memory'" (100). In part, then, dwelling can also be a method of coping. In sitting in spaces, it is inevitable that we will dwell with past and present erasures, violences, and hurts of our own and/or others' stories and histories. Through preservation of representation in archives and in online spaces, which can be considered archives through the preservation of virtual data, and through agency in crafting current public discourses, dwelling can contribute to reckoning with individual hurt, and, in taking time to recognize the pain and to hear stories, we may begin to be able to reconcile those past hurts and find ways to better cope within the present moment to envision different futures. The goal here is understanding how stories create and take up space as they glow for individual scholars, constituting one of many individual sites of the entanglement while also gesturing towards others. Thus, the third set of questions we might ask while virtually dwelling is: (a) how are social media participants' stories reflecting on, building on, and/or drawing connections across sociopolitical, technocultural, and/or historical concepts, ideologies,

and/or relationalities in the present moment? And (b) how are both the researcher and social media participants coping with/on/through the research scene and the digital intimacies formed?

In online spaces we actively see how people who have been marginalized approach social media platforms through the lenses of their lived experiences, sharing their stories to challenge past wrongs and to witness others' stories. On Facebook, part of one friend's post read:

Facebook User: I woke up today knowing it was time. I publish this because I would do anything to have had these words at 16 (October 18, 2017).

Comments included "it's your truth and no one can take that away from you," and "thank you for sharing your story," and "#MeToo, I was blamed." Through engaging in this process of dwelling with stories, it encourages others who approach the space to also dwell and, in doing so, to also begin their own processes of thinking differently and subsequently acting differently as they encounter new forms of relationality and different kinds of relationships. Dwelling with stories as a praxis of being in space and place over a period of time allows scholars to attune to the ways that relationships are in flux as they come into being, exist, and transform. Dwelling is where the intricacies of our own experiences brush up against the experiences of others who have also been in that space, and where those experiences can come together to form a collective consciousness that can deviate from current ways of thinking and being that maintain a white supremacist heteropatriarchal status quo. In understanding how dwelling emboldens alternative modes of thought and praxis, there is a hope for embracing collective conditional futures and possibilities. As a way of thinking, dwelling opens possibilities for considering new onto-epistemologies that can help to recast knowledge structures. As praxis, it makes clear the openings for connection and how those connections work within the current make-up of the space.

Crucially, dwelling is a direct practical and thoughtful response to the common mantras of "moving on" or "letting go" that undergird the shockingly high numbers of sexual assault

cases that are deemed to be groundless, and that work to reinforce shame, fear, and guilt. Indeed, as *Globe and Mail* reporter Robyn Doolittle (2019) found in her investigation of how police in Canada respond to sexual assault cases, if an officer deems a sexual assault claim to be baseless or “unfounded” then, in many cases, no investigation will follow. This resulted in only 1400 convictions out of the 26,500 reports of sexual assault in Canada in 2015 and shelves overflowing with molded rape test kits that were never, and will never be, sent to processing. This information only came to light because Doolittle was struck by “unfounded” as a term for dismissing rape and other sexual assault cases, following this curious concept and dwelling on investigative scenes and with the data found. While not termed as such in her work, I would intuit that it was dwelling that moved Doolittle to stick with the stories that emerged from her fascination with the idea of “unfounded” to explore consent: what it means, what people are confused about, and the shocking ways that the legal system does not understand, and in some cases outright ignores, consent law, falling into traps laid by rape culture that blame the accuser for drinking too much, wearing too little, sleeping with too many people, not fighting back enough, not calling loudly enough for help, or for not “just ‘keep[ing] your knees together’ to avoid being raped” (41).

Dwelling with stories deemed “unfounded” led Doolittle to uncover that police have castoff 20 percent—one in five sexual assault cases—as “bogus” without filing the report, even though “numerous academic studies have shown that the false-reporting rate for sexual assault is, *at most*, 8 percent, which is *less than* the false-reporting rate for auto insurance claims” (20, emphasis added). Dwelling was a crucial step for the response that followed Doolittle’s initial reports of Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s pledge of \$100 million to tackling violence from gender inequality, when Statistics Canada vowed to collect data around how many cases

and in what situations reports had been labelled “unfounded,” and after almost a third of Canada’s police forces promised to re-visit over 10,000 sexual assault cases from 2010 onwards (40). Dwelling with stories on consent and ignorance in the justice system laid bare how the patriarchal epistemology of rape culture has not only guided but created the conditions for survivors of sexual assault to be traumatized again and again within the system. Dwelling with stories enabled Doolittle to offer different rationales to offset the status quo set by rape culture. And dwelling with stories like Doolittle’s on the digital scene during data collection inspired this individual process of deep reflection to trace the material and affective lines of energy, seeing and feeling how they spill over into collective and structural realms to change the social, as we’ll see in the following chapters.

Dwelling in virtual spaces can help us to better understand movements like #MeToo. It is a praxis for co-producing knowledge and better understanding the ranges and layers of experiences that exist within the entanglement, beginning with our own individual responses. We dwell at this level of the entanglement to better understand the movements we are engaged with and what we are working against, to get to know the technology and platform the movement is being circulated through, and the conditions that make the movement, and other future movements, possible. Dwelling with stories is affective, personal, physical, and analytical. It’s about paying attention to something for longer than someone may think we should be paying attention to it for, going against the flow, staying with something a little too long, following it through, perhaps, to an illogical end. Dwelling entails going beyond what is considered standard, or “normal,” because it is these norms that we seek to interrogate and be able to see through.

In the next section, I outline what a reflective process of virtual dwelling could look like using my own example of virtually dwelling with the claim that the “me too.” Movement is a

witch hunt. I dwell on the figure of the witch to draw a theoretically- and politically-informed cartography of knowledges, histories, subjects, power relations, affects, and discourses that were highlighted through my emergent relationship with the stories I interacted with. This entanglement demonstrates how virtual dwelling is: (1) a praxis for documenting the researcher's individuality and relationship to the research scene and stories, and (2) a process for documenting individual examples of other individual people's relationships to the research scene and stories. I start this story on the digital scene, since the digital scene is the where #MeToo gained momentum globally and where I first encountered the movement. I begin with a tweet that led me to think about the figure of the witch in the "me too." Movement through its appropriation of the history of the witch and witchcraft. Through this example of virtual dwelling with the witch, prompted by the backlash that the #MeToo movement is a witch hunt, I show how of the matrix of domination works to occlude certain histories for the benefit of a select few and how feminists claim the history of the witch to resist the matrix of domination within this formation of power. This becomes clear through an examination of the intersectional entanglements surrounding stories of the witch as we see this figure actively called upon in hashtags, texts, media articles, and the sociopolitical and technocultural contexts in which the figure glows over time, despite attempts of erasure.

### **Engaging Virtual Dwelling through Reflection**

In the weeks following the initial explosion of #MeToo posts, primarily on Twitter and Facebook between 2017 and 2018, I stayed tuned into the stories that were spilling out across social media platforms. On Twitter, a post in response to Alyssa Milano's October 15, 2017 #MeToo post caught my attention and held it, initiating the research bond of virtual dwelling



between me and the research scene and impelling me into the “me too.” counterpublic at an interpersonal level:

@TwitterUser: It’s a real tragedy how common it [sexual assault] is. For the monsters it’s only a matter of minutes, for us, it’s a lifetime of nightmares #MeToo (October 23, 2017).

This lifetime of nightmares and the stuff that fills them—stuff like monsters, witches, darkness, and shadows—speaks to a fear that cannot be so easily quelled. The fear evoked from these nightmares is not a fear that can be separated from everyday life; these are dreams that aren’t so easy to wake up from. Curiously (or, perhaps not so curiously given the history and symbolism), in the year following #MeToo’s viral surge on social media, posts on Facebook and Twitter that glowed for me took up the theme of the nightmare through repeated references to witch hunts. And, for me, this is where the data glitched, causing confusion in the ways that participants were able to relate to one another and to the social media scene, as the first question of virtual dwelling asks us to consider. In some cases, this became about the nightmare of the perpetrator of assault and not the waking nightmare of those who had survived sexual violence, harkening back to witch hunts and the terror that associated these quests for “justice.” The #MeToo witch hunt became about re-traumatizing survivors of assault, claiming that they were falsely accusing men of assault. In turn, this caused a well-known history of witch persecution, the hunting and torturing of women assumed to have too much power and those who did not conform to gender standards, to flicker and be re-cast in favour of those in power. This historical intensity of feminist work speaks to the current activist moment, contributing to the development of the entanglement I was dwelling in here.

Conversations of a #MeToo witch hunt seemed to spike around the time of Brett Kavanaugh’s nomination and eventual confirmation to the Supreme Court, and Dr. Christine

Blasey Ford's testimony of sexual assault at the hands of Kavanaugh. These claims misappropriate the history of the witch, taking the gendered and racialized violence against women perceived to have power out of historical and cultural context (more on this to come):

Facebook User: This is a nightmare. As a mother who loves her boys, it TERRIFIES ME that at ANY time ANY girls can make up ANY story about ANY boy that can be neither proved or disproved, and completely RUIN any boy's life. THAT. IS. SCARY. (September 17, 2018, emphasis in original post).

With same day responses including,

Facebook User: This is spot on, it is terrifying. It's the #MeToo witch hunt.

Facebook User: I know, my nine-year-old pushed a girl down on the playground and we now have it documented, had a lawyer certify his actions today, and it's been added to his permanent record. Hope we covered all the grounds.

Facebook User: Absolutely, it's scary. No one thinks of the boys anymore. Very little social activity is supervised either. It's time to bring back chaperones.

Facebook User: Hopefully by the time that your boys are old enough to deal with this sort of lunacy the hate for white heterosexual males will have come to an end. I know young men questioning their values as I write this. No more white guilt! #MeTooWitchHunt

While this conversation was happening, others weighed in to reject the claims of a #MeToo witch hunt that supposedly attacked innocent boys and men, responding with:

Facebook User: Being falsely accused of rape is not as bad as actually being raped. Just see #MeToo or #WhyIDidntReport or #IBelieveChristineBlaseyFord on Twitter. Not just #MeTooWitchHunt.

Facebook User: Nor is it as systemic, or as pervasive, nor is it to be conflated with, prioritized over, or is as bad as living in paranoid ideation of, or as fucking bad as actually being raped. #BelieveWomen #BelieveSurvivors.

Based on the lack of response to the two participants above pointing towards hashtags like #WhyIDidntReport and #BelieveSurvivors, it's likely that the conversation here did little to change the mind of the original poster or the commenters agreeing with the poster—at least not to the point of confession online. However, the importance of the conversation lies in the bridge

that was built between echo chambers. It was an opportunity to follow a different set of hashtags that may not have come across these individuals' Facebook and Twitter feeds to perhaps see outside of the conversations taking place on individual social media feeds. Further, in reflecting on my own relationship with the stories on the research scene, it was this particular conversation that reaffirmed the trope of the nightmare, fright, and, predominantly, witches, and drew my attention back to that Twitter post from October 2017. This, alongside the cultural resurgence of witch culture and symbolism following the 2016 U.S. presidential election, led to my own fascination with the #MeToo witch hunt and to investigate more closely the figure of the witch, to dwell with these ideas and to interrogate the witch's power both historically and in the contemporary moment. Stories of harassment and stories of disbelief at such harassment continue to pour out across social media, and as such we should be aware of the ways that stories move and affect people individually, necessitating a greater understanding of the digital cultures that make individual testimony possible on digital platforms.

In what follows, I trace part of the story of "me too." as a witch hunt or nightmare, which was just one of many misogynistic reactions to #MeToo. I start this story with the feminist response because far too often the reaction is seen as secondary, as if the move to dwell and to heal is not as important as the intent to wound. Despite the feminist symbolism and powerful (and painful) history of the witch, detractors of the "me too." Movement have clung to the belief that accusations of harassment can be classified as a witch hunt. In the face of this misappropriation of the witch's history, feminist responses to white supremacist heteropatriarchal motions to harm are significant for the ways that they encourage individual and collective restorative solidarity. I also start with this feminist response to misogyny rather than the instigating moment because there are too many instigating moments to count within the

entanglement of “me too.” stories, and because, in focusing on this particular response that resonated with me on an individual level, it becomes clearer how each moment of misogyny necessitates new, context-dependent, and constantly evolving ways to think about responses, healing, and community. In other words, dwelling makes clear the need to explore how scholars can work with, transform, and use the practices available within the leaky boundaries of social media spaces and rigid oppressions of the technologies themselves.

In demonstrating my own praxis of dwelling here, I highlight ongoing stories of feminist resistance to misogyny throughout time within different mediated spheres within the context of the witch, from my own situated position. Each move is a move to uncover another layer as I sit with these stories of practices, strategies, and resources (hashtags, news media, journal articles, other feminists) to think about their uses, their effects, and their values. Throughout, the witch is the data “hotspot” where stories of the witch “glowed” (MacLure 2013a) for me as I dwelled with digital data within these research scenes and uncovered more about this highly political and charged figure that has become prominent yet again within the “me too.” Movement and contemporary feminist resistance more broadly. The use of the witch in the “me too.” Movement deserves our consideration because the metaphors that are used to describe women and their endeavours matter affectively, emotionally, and physically, with material consequences for shaping and responding to the world. Comparisons that equate holding powerful people accountable with the persecution of those less powerful are dangerous, especially when those powerful people are, in fact, guilty of the crimes they have been accused of committing. Virtual dwelling with stories of the witch illustrates what some of these consequences are, demonstrating the usefulness of this praxis for exploring individual intersections of the “me too.” entanglement.

## Individual Entanglements of Constraint and Creation

Embracing the pharmacological strands of the “me too.” Movement’s intersectional entanglements reveals both opportunities for self-expression and the white feminism and misogyny that constrain the aims of the movement. On October 18, 2017, a mere three days after the viral spread of the #MeToo movement on Twitter, a movement founded by activist Tarana Burke in 2006 for Black girls and then appropriated by white celebrities, articles in *Chatelaine*, *Maclean’s*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*, to name a few, had already started debating the possibility of #MeToo as a witch hunt. At this point, these news outlets had already either observed, dispelled, critiqued, or analyzed the relationship between witch hunts and #MeToo, noting it as an increasingly used way of citing the movement. Returning to a quote highlighted in the introduction to this dissertation, one article in *Maclean’s* reminded readers, “It is Canada. It’s the office you work in. The school you go to. The café you are sitting in right now. It’s the streets you walk on every day. It is every industry.... Make no mistake: Sexual harassment is utterly ubiquitous and endemic to the culture we live in. This is not a witch hunt, it’s a statement of pure, inescapable truth” (McLaren 2017, para. 3). Another article from writer Lindy West, in response to a well-known director’s statement that the #MeToo movement, a witch hunt, was “sad for everyone,” declared,

When [Woody] Allen and other men warn of “a witch hunt atmosphere, a Salem atmosphere” what they mean is an atmosphere in which they’re expected to comport themselves with the care, consideration and fear of consequences that the rest of us call basic professionalism and respect for shared humanity... Setting aside the gendered power differential inherent in real historical hunts... and the pathetic gall of men feeling hunted after millenniums of treating women like prey, I will let you guys have this one.

Sure, if you insist it's a witch hunt. I'm a witch, and I'm hunting you (West 2017, paras. 4, 6).

When "Allen and other men," including other film directors and the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, publicly condemn the naming of sexual abusers as a witch hunt, as harassment, their claims tap into a social consciousness and historical memories of false trials and of unjust persecution. But, even as West pithily concedes that looking past gender and power still does not render this allegory fitting, I'd suggest that we need to foreground gender and power within the intersectional entanglements that these stories move through. When we shine light on the workings of gender and power here, the impertinence of men claiming themselves the victim of a witch hunt is all the clearer.

It is significant to note that even before the reappearance of #MeToo on social media, 45<sup>14</sup> had tweeted multiple times of being the subject of a witch hunt. These tweets date all the way back to his pre-inauguration days, where a witch hunt supposedly targeted Trump University, before ramping up once he took office to describe the investigation for Russian interference in the election. Repetition is key for persuasion, and by the time that Tarana Burke's "me too." Movement surfaced virtually on the internet in October 2017 as #MeToo, "witch hunts" had been already tweeted about by the 45<sup>th</sup> American president over two dozen times and vocalized aloud in the news even more.<sup>15</sup> This tactic, a strategy called "firehosing," has been used to "quell dissent and control the political landscape" through, essentially, lying in order to

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<sup>14</sup> Here I use "45" instead of the name of the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States because he has received enough press. It was one of his media strategies to get his name mentioned in the news, and to use his own name as many times as possible, including referring to himself in the third person. The use of "45" is also an effort to call back to the history of the office that he holds, including the 44 presidents that came before him and those that come after him, their achievements *and* disastrous policies, and what that democratic office is ideally supposed to stand for.

<sup>15</sup> See the Trump Twitter Archive to search through the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States' tweets, including mentions of 'witch hunt.' <http://www.trumptwitterarchive.com/>

inundate discourse with falsehoods to distract and mislead the general population (Paul and Matthews 2016 in Tran 2019, paras. 4-5). As of September 15, 2020, 45 had tweeted of a witch hunt 385 times to denigrate political events ranging from talk show interviews to the Russia inquiry to the #MeToo movement. Through doing so, 45 offered a familiar language to others through which to categorize news that they, too, dislike and believe to be untrue, or want to convince others to believe as false:

@TwitterUser: This “movement” called #MeToo is clearly a #SympathySeeking movement! #MeTooWitchHunt (September 18, 2018).

@TwitterUser: Sure, every woman has a right, in my opinion, to be heard. But no one has a “right” to be believed #MeTooLiars #MeTooWitchHunt #Defamation (September 19, 2018).

Because this rhetorical association to witch hunts was already in motion, and because 45 had endorsed and used the language of the witch hunt to discuss #MeToo, the groundwork was already laid for “Allen and other men,” including the two who posted to Twitter above, to also implement that language as their own.

The fear of being exposed as a sexual abuser sent many men running to cover their tracks or point the finger elsewhere. As Sarah Sharma (2020) writes:

What is remarkable about the #MeToo movement is not just the number of women who have been assaulted, a truth most Broken Machines already know, with little left to share or find shocking. #MeToo revealed that perpetrators of sexual violence didn’t think their women—as machines in relatively good working order—would talk among themselves or turn against them. What greater threat to the abuser than to learn that their machines would talk to other machines? You can almost hear the haunting sound of the true new machine learning going something like this: “Me too, me too, me too” (175).

As more people publicly acknowledged “me too,” laying the groundwork for others to also say “me too,” those who benefit from the current system continued to loudly claim that the “me too.” Movement is a witch hunt as an attempt to subvert the cultural reckoning taking place and to dissuade others from coming forward. Ignoring or outrightly misappropriating history, their use of the witch hunt has become a commonplace metaphor for unjust accusations, seemingly having nothing to do with the cultural and political contexts of real-life witch trials of days past.

Through the repeated rhetorical linking of “harassment” and “witch hunt,” stories like those from McLaren, West, and Twitter participants indicate how detractors of the “me too.” Movement try to slip from abuser to victim, appropriating the language and practices of #MeToo and the history of witch hunts to craft their own version of events. Virtual dwelling allows us to see how these practices work, as the second question prompts. In part, the use of this language works to remove gender, class, and the unequal distribution of power as key factors in the historical pursuit and torture of witches. In other words, in taking up this discourse of a witch hunt, prominent misogynist figures work to erase the figure of the witch, the resister of patriarchal norms, who is held captive by them, and disrupt the relationships this feminist figure enables. Casting the witch as heretical and hysterical implies instead that the hunter, a figure of power, is the target of this unfair fight. This discursive reversal works by focusing only on the accusation, and by conflating both the accusation and the one accusing as wrongful. But the witch hunt and subsequent uses of the concept are necessarily tied to a history of women who were arrested and killed for engaging in activities deemed unfit by patriarchal standards. In both historical and contemporary instances, women become targets by challenging the status quo. And although it seems that we have made more progress, within our current matrix of domination, women speaking back to patriarchal standards does still challenge the status quo:



@TwitterUser: No, it's not a "witch hunt," it's men behind held a-fucking-countable for decades of systemic abuse. Get in the fucking bin (January 12, 2018).

This Twitter post emphasizes the histories of misogynist abuse, beginning to draw connections across the current sociopolitical and technocultural landscape from which allegations of the witch hunt emerge. Interestingly, as the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States faced an impeachment inquiry (one that acquitted him from abuses of power), he continued to claim a witch hunt in which he was the victim of a new accusation every week, while simultaneously positioning himself in the role of hunter pursuing anyone who opposes his racist and sexist political views (CBC News 2019). Invoking the figure of the witch is a political and rhetorical tool. 45's twisting of the story is a twisting of history.

Notably, it is not only men who have taken up this mantle, speaking to the ways that patriarchal discourses proliferate and become commonplace, and demonstrating the ways that those are marginalized can internalize misogyny and white supremacy. On January 9, 2018, a few months after the Twitter virality of #MeToo and the initial accusations of the movement as a witch hunt, a public letter circulated in newspapers making North American and European headlines.<sup>16</sup> Written by five French women and signed by one hundred influential French women, including actress Catherine Deneuve and writer Catherine Millet, and other actors, writers, psychologists, professors, doctors, singers, and curators who together call themselves the Collectif, the letter begins with the acknowledgement that "rape is a crime." Quickly, though, it shifts, diminishing the importance of consent and equity, drawing inconclusive connections between career, leadership, consensual sex, salary, and molestation: "A woman can, in the same day, lead a professional team and enjoy being the sexual object of a man, without being a 'slut,'

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<sup>16</sup> See *Le Monde* (2018) for the original opinion piece in French. See also articles by Valeriya Safronova (2018) in *The New York Times*, Agnès Poirier (2018) and an article from the Agence France-Presse (2018) in *The Guardian*, Lauren Collins (2018) in *The New Yorker*, and Doreen McCallister (2018) in *NPR* reporting on the letter in English.

nor a cheap accomplice of the patriarchy” (para. 11). A few lines later they write, “she can ensure that her salary is equal to a man’s, but not feel forever traumatized by a man who rubs himself against her in the Métro” (para. 11). The letter, written by mostly, although not entirely, white women with professional working backgrounds, clearly ignores intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990, 2015, 2017) as key for understanding people’s differing experiences while belittling the traumas of people who have been assaulted. This was not the first time that the voices and words of white women had been privileged over and above the stories of racialized and queer women, speaking to the ways that configurations of power have opened various possibilities within different mediated spheres based on the sociopolitical moment and the histories fueling the moment.

Stories do political work and have consequences, and the affective intensities within this scene outline how one specific entanglement is drawn to neglect interpersonal power dynamics. The feminism espoused in the letter first rejects that power is currently wielded unfairly and is not readily available to everyone, while also failing to understand the ways that assaults build up and effect people. As such, the women in the Collectif fail to recognize the racial, class, and other privileges of their own positions of power within French society, seemingly assuming that their experiences can speak to all women’s experiences. As Lauren Collins (2018) writing for *The New Yorker* observes, “it’s the small jabs that betray a hostility to the entire #MeToo project, not just its excesses... consensual sex is no more akin to being rubbed up against in the subway than drinking wine is to being roofied. A woman can fight for equal pay and not like assault... There’s no connection” (para. 3). Even as the letter states “rape is a crime,” acknowledging the importance of recognizing it as such, the ways that the letter demeans people who speak out individually against their sexual assaults signals a refusal to take seriously rape culture as a

problem, reinforcing that control of and violence towards marginalized bodies only constitutes wrongdoing when the law, a patriarchal white supremacist system, decides to label it as such. Thus, while discounting consent and misunderstanding the importance of intersectionality, the letter from the Collectif actively worked to disqualify the motivations and integrity of people who spoke out.

The letter from the Collectif called for freedom from the excesses of the #MeToo crusade, which the group claims relies on a feminism that inherently hates men and has devolved into a witch hunt that leads men like pigs to the slaughterhouse (“à envoyer les ‘porcs’ à l’abbatoir”). Moreover, the group writes that the current movement does not empower or help women, instead serving the interests of the “enemies of sexual freedom, religious extremists, and the worst reactionaries” (“... loin d’aider les femmes à s’autonomiser, sert en réalité les intérêts des ennemis de la liberté sexuelle, des extrémistes religieux, des pires réactionnaires...”) (para. 4). This particular iteration of aligning #MeToo with the witch hunt seeks to diminish the gravity of rape culture and the effects of sexual assault by suggesting that those who pushed back against their assaulters and rapists by writing #MeToo<sup>17</sup> were rendering themselves and others who spoke out “eternal victims, poor little things under the influence of demon phalocrats, as in the good old days of witchcraft” (“... pour mieux les enchaîner à un statut d’éternelles victimes, de pauvres petites choses sous l’emprise de phalocrates démons, comme au bon vieux temps de la sorcellerie”) (para. 3). In labelling #MeToo participants “eternal victims,” the letter sought to

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<sup>17</sup> Or, in France, #BalanceTonPorc—‘squeal on your pig’ or ‘expose your pig’—the antiharassment hashtag created by French journalist and *Time’s Magazine* ‘silence breaker’ Sandra Muller in 2017. That year Muller had accused Eric Brion, a media consultant and executive at France Télévisions and Equidia, of inappropriate sexual advances in the workplace during interviews at the Cannes Film Festival (what is an appropriate sexual advance in the workplace though?). Brion sued for defamation but did not deny making the comments, instead alleging that Muller was mistaken to feel harassed by his comments. In September 2019, Muller was court ordered to remove all Twitter posts related to Brion and pay 15,000 euros in damages and 5000 euros to cover Brion’s legal fees. Brion’s lawyers argued that his comments were a “poor attempt at flirting” (Aurelien Breeden 2019, para. 10). I argue that his comments were an attempt to harass Muller into having sex with him.

disempower women who had either found or given themselves the freedom to come forward, emboldened by #MeToo. A victim is understood to be someone who has been harmed, damaged, or tricked, and eternal victimhood implies a lifetime of helplessness, an inability to ever ease or ameliorate the situation.

To be labelled an eternal victim suggests that those who come forward believe they are forever marred by incidences of sexual assault, disregarding the ways that survivors of sexual assault can find their own methods of healing. Here is where the narrative of the Collectif merges with other stories encountered on the research scene, coming to bear within an entanglement of social, political, and historical witchy proportions: this terminology mistakenly suggests, too, that, historically, witches or those accused of witchcraft could not make their own decisions, informed by their own varying beliefs, and instead fell prey to supernatural powers outside of their control. This works to undermine the resistive, knowledgeable, and (in Indigenous and Black communities) self-determining nature of spirituality, “witchcraft,” and magic, and the people who practiced those crafts, which witch hunters themselves sought to do as they hunted those with the least power.

The term “witchcraft” was used by European colonizers as an act of cultural genocide in order to demonize the traditions and spiritual practices of Indigenous people and those who had survived the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Joho and Sung 2020). Between 1638 and 1725, a period in New England when witch hunts and trials were a regular occurrence, an estimated 78% of those accused of witchcraft and executed were women and feminine presenting people, with men and enslaved people facing accusations because of their associations to women deemed guilty (Demos 2004; Karlsen 1998). Those accused of witchcraft were those who lived, even scarcely or through affiliation, outside the bounds of prescribed racialized and gendered social roles.

Empowered women are women with power; witches were seen as figures who acknowledged and wielded that power, much to the dismay of those around them who benefitted from women's and racialized peoples' subjugation and marginalization. The letter from the Collectif calls on a similar theme to shame women who decided that they could make their own decisions and that quietly bearing the weight of sexual assault was no longer a facet of their social roles that they wanted to accept.

But feminists, like witches, have long been dwelling in the political and social moments they find themselves in, always using the tools available to them to resist. Again, these tools become clearer through dwelling with stories, as the second question of virtual dwelling asks and as we've seen previously with the tools used by detractors of the "me too." Movement. Feminist (and misogynist) responses to the letter online were swift and, while angry and exasperated, quite feisty. Twitter misogynists wrote:

@TwitterUser: Right, and why is a woman in a men hotel room while he's taking a shower. If it was a young man and a woman was [taking] a shower it [meant] he's getting lucky. Double standard?... French women are not stupid. They know if you're in a man's room while he's taking a shower you are inviting him to make a pass (January 10, 2018).

@TwitterUser: I got a solution. Next time women go to the club or bar just wear a #rosemcgowan shirt and I can assure you that not one man will even look your way (January 11, 2018).

@TwitterUser: Thank god some women are still reasonable (January 11, 2018).

And feminists responded with gifs, memes, and hashtags. In one gif, the character of Donna (played by Retta) from *Parks and Recreation* (NBC) is shown wide eyed and shocked, and asks in her archetypal Donna voice: "Excuse me?" (January 10, 2018). In another, Queen Elizabeth is photoshopped to give misogynists and the Collectif perpetual middle fingers, reading "Bye Felicia" across the bottom (January 10, 2018), and a meme of the character Gina Linetti (played by Chelsea Peretti) from *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* (NBC, Fox Broadcasting Company) asks, "Damn,

who raised you?” (January 10, 2018). One post showed a meme of a pearl-clad Hilary Clinton smiling with “No.” printed in a large, bolded font across the bottom, and others gave us gifs of Rihanna offering a slow head turn–side-eye combo with the caption, “go sit the f\*ck down somewhere, lady” (January 10, 2018) and Beyoncé blinking in surprise saying “Bitch, please” (January 10, 2018). As ways of punctuating these stories of “me too.” gifs and memes are a particularly productive practice here for their ability to be parodied and remixed, inspiring affective surges of feminist energy for politically aligned social media participants. Well-known celebrities and popular television characters enter these important political conversations through memes and gifs, broadening the conversation by drawing in more diverse crowds who may not have been familiar with the issue but are invested in the celebrity or character. By using these kinds of digital story-telling devices, social media participants popularize complex issues and make important feminist conversations more accessible to public audiences.

Using another tactic for encouraging the proliferation of feminist discourses, one Twitter post drew on a shared rage surrounding the control of women’s bodies to respond to the Collectif, stating:

@TwitterUser: If you want to allow people access to your body without clear consent that’s fine, more than fine, I support what you want to do with your body without shame or stigma. But DON’T. YOU. DARE. advocate and encourage free access to bodies that aren’t yours, I’m disgusted #TimesUp #MeToo” (January 11, 2018, emphasis in original post).

On Facebook a fiery friend linked us to the letter and wrote:

Facebook User: Read the actual letter. It defines textbook sexual harassment and then openly endorsed it (January 10, 2018).

And on Instagram a post was captioned:

Instagram User: Disappointed, but HARDLY surprised (January 10, 2018, emphasis in original post),

under an image showing a giant white number zero reading, “Days without white nonsense.” A comment under this post read:

Instagram User: We do not need white French women talking over a movement spearheaded for working class women of color, mainly Black women. She can suck her dirty socks (January 10, 2018).

Social media participants on my feeds were not about to accept the white “feminism” of the Collectif’s letter that scoffed at the deep pain and fear of so many survivors of sexual assault. Using the practices and power at their disposal—their wit, their sass, their anger and rage, and their social media skills and connections—they refused the narrative of #MeToo as a witch hunt, an historical event that sought to “correct” wrong attitudes by further persecuting already marginalized people.

### Getting Witchy With It

The history of the figure of the witch is a history steeped in this kind of resistance, protest, and revolt, drawing our research scene wider than the current social media landscape and bringing us into the past to consider another set of narrative relationships. Witches were people associated with femininity and nature, who we might perhaps understand then as repudiations of the masculine, those seen as having “too much” power (Rowlands 2013; Gasser 2017). Childbirth, menstruation, contraception, abortion, gynecology, healing, and herbology—all work often considered to be in the realm of the feminine—were associated with witchcraft, even when no magical or spiritual practices were called upon. Under patriarchal arrangements, which are no doubt the conditions under which we live and have lived for centuries, witches and witchcraft were situated in opposition to men and to whiteness. Groups of women governing themselves matriarchally, who organized separately from men’s control, or who could not be disciplined by the patriarchy were called covens of witches. Black and Indigenous peoples who practiced rituals

that emerged during enslavement and colonialism, like Santería, Voodoo, and Candomblé, have been violently persecuted (Joho and Sung 2020). Those who engaged in the work of what was deemed feminine, who opposed patriarchal rule, or who defied what white supremacy dictated was acceptable have been subsequently criminalized, arrested, executed, or otherwise punished—to the degree that their histories were strategically altered or, in some cases, completely erased (Gasser 2017).

Consider midwives, who were accused of being witches to redirect authority to the Christian church and dismiss their expertise learned through oral histories (think: “old wives’ tales”) since women were not allowed into institutions of formal education. In contrast to the presumed “father” of gynaecology, J. Marion Sims, who performed hundreds of non-consenting surgeries on enslaved women for the sake of medical “innovation,” consider Agnodice of Ancient Greece. Although known to be a practitioner of medicine, her very existence is debated. She is said to have disguised herself as a man, caring for women who were unfairly treated by male physicians during childbirth, becoming increasingly popular with her patients—so much so that, while still presenting as male, she was charged with adultery for engaging in affairs with her patients, for which she was later acquitted when her female patients came to her defense (Garza 1994). Recall also the iconic figure of Joan of Arc, who led French armies against the English and was ultimately burned at the stake at nineteen years old after a sentence of life imprisonment for dressing in what was considered men’s clothing, and because of her presumed connection to male-dominated authority of the church.<sup>18</sup> To this day, witches and those accused of being witches face violence. Still, we see witch trials, resulting in violence and the murder of women and children (Amnesty International 2009; Migiro 2017). Witches were, and are, feminine-

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<sup>18</sup> See Feminist Think Tank, @aesthetic.resistance, on Instagram for other detailed accounts of these witchy figures and other amplifications of marginalized experiences and projects.



relegated figures who did not and do not conform to the kinds of patriarchal standards of their time.

And yet, following the entangled story of the witch gestures towards other sites of the entanglement, like the collective and structural, reminding us of the ways that these sites are always enmeshed within larger stories and domains of power. The story of the witch, which begins with dwelling with a tweet, points us towards the interlocking nature of the entanglement and the ways that systems of power affect the ways that communities function, influencing the ways that individuals relate and situate themselves. From within the heteropatriarchal structures that cast witches as outcasts, activists have embraced the feminist power that the witch symbolizes and the embodied resistance the witch effects in order to speak back to such structures, challenging the white supremacist and heteropatriarchal standards of their time through feminist organizing.

As outlined earlier in this dissertation, in the 1890s, Ida B. Wells led African American women to organize campaigns in the United States against rape and lynching, laying the groundwork for national organizations, like the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, to emerge in later years (Greensite 2003). In 1968 W.I.T.C.H., Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell, also called Women Inspired to Tell their Collective History (and a number of different names, changing their name to suit the issue) stormed the streets of New York and later Chicago to "hex the patriarchy," catcalling men who had made unwanted sexual moves on them, critiquing capitalism, and speaking out against marital rape (McGill 2016). Between 1969 and 1973 before *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal across the United States, the Jane Collective, a feminist community of over one hundred women in Chicago, carried out an estimated 11,000 illegal abortions, learning through other women how to perform the procedures

(Wilson 2015). In 1978, the first “Take Back the Night” march in San Francisco brought together over 5000 women from thirty states (Greensite 2003). More recently, of course, in 2006 activist Tarana Burke founded the original “me too.” Movement, which focused on fostering solidarity among racialized girls and women at her co-founded non-profit, Just Be Inc. (North 2018). And in 2017 the Women’s March on Washington brought together over 600,000 people to protest the misogyny and white supremacy of the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, with an estimated 3.3 and 4.6 million people marching nationally (Chenoweth and Pressman 2017; Waddell 2017). Importantly, current feminist critiques of rape culture are part of this larger lineage of feminist political, medical, and social initiatives.

The “me too.” Movement brings together and advances these various histories, relationships, and critiques, acting as a social movement of networked stories that uses digital technologies to articulate and share experiences of sexual harassment and assault (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2016; Rentschler 2014, 2015, 2017; Clark 2016, 2018). However, despite the success of these technologies in circulating stories that help push for vital change, these technologies still need to be interrogated, just as the systems that perpetuate misogyny and white supremacy need to be interrogated:

@TwitterUser: When the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence walk free, calling #MeToo a witch hunt is tone deaf. We’re in this situation because our justice systems have been failing victims since the beginning (January 16, 2018).

The above post speaks to the third set of questions for virtual dwelling, noting the connection across sociopolitical, technocultural, and historical relationalities that the witch hunt metaphor is calling on here and asks other Twitter participants to also reflect on the complicity of the justice system and its supporting ideologies in harming and re-harming survivors of sexual violence. This is an example of how the individual level intersects with the structural, which I explore

more in Chapter Seven. Through my dwelling here, what has become clear is that the neoliberal racist sexist backlash to justice uses the same practices as feminist resistance (i.e., the witch) but with different techniques. We have also seen that feminist organizing has always been about using the practices at hand, even as we queer those practices. This figure of the witch is important for the ways that it has been historically and contemporarily called upon, even as that figure is contorted and taken out of context. The visibility of the feminist power of the witch within political and popular culture matters, as we'll see in the next chapter, with strong magical leads coming to feature largely in recent television shows (e.g., Netflix's *The Order* 2017, *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* 2018, *The Witcher* 2019, and *Cursed* 2020), non-fiction books (e.g., *Witches, Sluts, Feminists: Conjuring the Sex Positive* by Kristen J. Sollée 2017; *The Witches Are Coming* by Lindy West 2019; *Becoming Dangerous: Witchy Femmes, Queer Conjurers, and Magical Rebels* by Katie West and Jasmine Elliott 2019), and fiction books (e.g., *Akata Witch* by Nnedi Okorafor 2017, *Children of Blood and Bone* by Tomi Adeyemi 2018, and *The Once and Future Witches* by Alix E. Harrow 2020) with a feature in *The Oprah Magazine* on "The 22 Best Books About Witches for Adults, Teens, and Budding Practitioners" (Nicolaou 2020). In social media spaces, the witch has made present by a range of communities, from those interested in astrology and the occult, to feminists appropriating the power of the witch's resistance, to those who fear that power and use the witch to instill doubt, panic, and anger within the public conscience.

Engaging in this process of dwelling and reflecting encourages others who approach the space to also dwell and, in doing so, to also begin their own processes of thinking differently and, subsequently, acting differently as they encounter new forms of relationality and different kinds of relationships. In my process, in starting with a tweet that referenced nightmares and

witches, I was led to the how detractors of the #MeToo movement misappropriated the history of the witch hunt to position themselves as victims, which led to the Collectif's display of white feminism, which ultimately offered me a glimpse into feminist counter attacks, personal responses from friends, and longer histories of organizing. This is a praxis that brings us back to the individual level; even as we follow the story broadly virtual dwelling deliberately asks us to reflect on our own relationship to the stories shared and brings us to the affective, lived impacts of what might be seen as an individual story shared with in a hashtagged tweet but that lead us elsewhere. The longer or more concentratedly that we dwell within virtual spaces, the more information we're able to accrue, the more connections between the individual, collective, and structural we're able to make, and the better we can consider how dwelling to explore individually situated entanglements enables reflexive process that intervene into sociopolitical and technocultural spaces between sites of the entanglement.

The characterizations of the #MeToo movement as a witch hunt are not new, and these invocations of witchiness matter. With the contemporary resurgence of witch culture, what remains clear is that what is unknown or conceived of as undesirable under hegemonic conditions becomes feared and rejected. This fear or dislike of such activities is categorized as dangerous and unnatural, ultimately resulting in persecution. Invoking the witch hunt to describe the ways that #MeToo names abusers invokes a political history of resistance and revolt against the "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (hooks 2012), a protest that continues to conjure different ways of transgressing the misogynistic norms of the times we live in. This is more than mere representation of witchiness. Moving with the story of the witch does something: articulating these entanglements from an individual site instills in people an urge to mobilize the power of the witch against calls of a "#MeToo witch hunt," calls people to action (whether for or

against protest), it crafts stories about who and what constitutes resistance and what that resistance looks like, and it situates people in a moment within a larger story of knowledges and affects. Although my process of virtually dwelling has explored the witch hunt and the power of the witch to break through and reframe this metaphor, a different researcher examining the witch hunt would have seen different relationships between ideas, using different stories to derive different sets of insights as they intersect within the entanglement. Or, perhaps, they may have found a different entry point or story altogether. Virtual dwelling is not about replicability but is instead about intimate relationships to lively stories that consider the visual, textual, paratextual, and contextual mediated components of stories as they circulate, illustrating the connections between different intersecting stories as they move within entanglements.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has contributed the praxis of virtual dwelling for orienting to the entanglements of power, privilege, possibility, and constraint at the individual level, expanding current feminist posthuman work to explicitly attend to the matrix of domination and engaging queer affect theory to document how we can find and articulate moments of individual rupture. To virtually dwell asks first that we slow down rather than speed up, which is a way of slowing the capitalist machinery and subverting the goals of hegemonic white supremacist technologies. Using the questions of virtual dwelling developed in this chapter can guide us in this pursuit: how are the confusion and glitches indicated in stories changing the ways that people are relating to one another in affective and embodied ways on the research scene, and how are stories and the contexts from which they emerge creating a relationship with the researcher? How are stories indicating what practices and tools are being taken up by participants to create or disrupt relationships? How are social media participants' stories reflecting on, building on, and/or

drawing connections across sociopolitical, technocultural, and/or historical concepts, ideologies, and/or relationalities in the present moment? And how are both the researcher and social media participants coping with/on/through the research scene and the digital intimacies formed? By dwelling in mediated spaces over time, we are able to answer these questions to reconsider the kinds of logics we at the individual level of the entanglement that we have become so accustomed to because of their repeated collective and structural use in order to reconceptualize *ethos*: what new kinds of beings can we be and how can we *be* differently in our mediated and unmediated worlds if we think a little ‘illogically’ according to the epistemological standards of cisheteropatriarchy, to sit in the in-between in order to effect social and political change?

Lingering in online spaces to sit with stories as they individually affect us, see how stories and their themes move, and explore how different digital tactics can become our own to use in counter hegemonic ways allows us to bring forward stories that get lost in the messiness of the entanglement. However, documenting this individual thread of the entanglement is only the beginning of the work needed to elucidate the broader collective and structural effects of stories within entanglements. As such, in the next chapter I build on virtual dwelling to introduce *vibrant ethos*, the second praxis that attends to entanglements at the collective level. This praxis helps us to take the information found through dwelling to mobilize solutions and suggests ways to approach to the structures that perpetuate misogyny through turning towards others and learning from their experiences of dwelling. Vibrant ethos orients researchers towards collective modes of analysis and ways of turning to each other in space, underscoring why a material ethic matters given the current work on and current use of feminist hashtags for sharing stories.

## Chapter Six: Vibrant Ethos as an Exploration of Collective Entanglements

### Situating the Collective

On January 21, 2017, a group of over 300 self-proclaimed witches marched in the U.S. Women's March. In their Facebook group called "Witches Contingent at Women's March on Washington," group members left celebratory posts, congratulating each other for the lively spirit, intention, and vigour with which attendees, both witch and otherwise, brought to the march. One group member wrote,

Facebook User: Sounds like due to the massive underestimation of the crowd size... most of us couldn't get anywhere near each other in time. But that's ok—we were unified by intention and collective presence! It was an honor to have you all, seen and unseen, marching with us (January 21, 2017).

Other group members who could not attend the march in D.C. left posts offering support:

Facebook User: With you in spirit. Sing loud and proud! (January 21, 2017).

Facebook User: [Image of text on a home-made sign] Be the kind of woman that when your feet hit the floor each the Devil says, "Oh crap, she's up" (January 21, 2017).

Facebook User: You all inspire me. I will be with the Witches Contingent in spirit. In my spiritual search, nothing has ever felt more like home, and it especially feels that way at this moment in history (January 20, 2017).

Facebook User: I'm not going to make it... I will be casting Circle at 10am and I will hold space for my brother and sister Witches. Thank you and be safe out there! (January 19, 2017).

Others posted links to articles and blog posts discussing the symbolism and power of witches within the context of the women's march. One group member shared a blog piece by Peg Aloï (2017) called "Witchery and the Women's March" that expressed gratitude for the many witches who have activist and organizing experience, and also shared several solidarity events that would be taking place leading up to and on the day of the march. Another group member circulated an article published the same week of the march in *Bustle* titled, "What Witches Can Teach Us

About Fight Back Against Trump,” written by Catie Keck (2017). Presenting interviews with women who belong to contemporary communities of witches, the article outlines how, for women marginalized by differing forms of exclusion, the symbol of the witch acknowledges these ranges of marginalization and offers an identity, a call to action, a symbol of power, and a community.

Much of my reflection on the symbol of the witch, its use for feminist resistance, and the misappropriation of the history of the witch hunt has come to be through virtual dwelling. As seen in the previous chapter, in virtually dwelling with “me too.” through an exploration of individual entanglements and their intersecting stories I was led to the figure of the witch to acknowledge how a precedence has been set for this activism, from Ida B. Wells to the Women’s International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell to Tarana Burke’s “me too.” Movement and the Women’s March. In this chapter, I explore how following stories of the witch among collective entanglements brings us to actions like the ones seen at the Women’s March. These entanglements lay out a collective snap of resistance and transformation—of breaking patriarchal composure and retaliating against an unjust status quo—through acts of acknowledgement and space-making. Drawing on this ethos of acknowledgment, this chapter thus articulates the second praxis, *vibrant ethos*, for analyzing the collective intersectional entanglements of “me too.” stories as they circulate among mediated and temporal spheres. While virtual dwelling explores the individual entanglements where stories of “me too.” settle by embracing specific stories that glow, vibrant ethos examines collective entanglements to trace stories as they move within and influence communities. Vibrant ethos offers a praxis for analyzing how stories move within collective realms of the entanglement to highlight how “me too.” participants bear witness to the



stories shared within digital spaces, calling on communal ties and reciprocity via a process of re-attuning to the space and to the stories shared through more open forms of acknowledgement.

This chapter demonstrates the importance of story circulation through feminist communities, developing two sets of questions that scholars might use to drive the use of vibrant ethos. I then demonstrate how to use the praxis of vibrant ethos through analyzing a set of community-circulated stories that demonstrate the affective potentials of digital feminist protest, thinking through the “feminist snap” (Ahmed 2017ab) as one way that stories make themselves known in the collective site of the entanglement. Next, I extend the example of the witch and its affective funneling of rage into material community-building power from the previous chapter to demonstrate how, through vibrant ethos, we can analyze the relationship between current collective events and stories like the Women’s March and the forms of witchiness that emerge, drawing on recent events and media coverage of these events. This discussion of affective feminist community formation offers a foundation for better understanding vibrant ethos through illustrating the role that affective and pharmacological relations and structures of feeling play as they circulate around events, people, places, and things.

As a praxis, vibrant ethos is a process for recognizing and documenting an orientation to stories that focuses attention on the relationship between collectives (collective people, media, locations, events, and so on) and draws attention to the importance of these collectives within stories to illustrate how affect and power are mobilized through multiple avenues. Vibrant ethos encourages scholars to better understand the interconnected domains of influence where stories circulate, focusing on collective nodal points of the entanglement. Overall, in this chapter I build on the praxis of virtual dwelling articulated in the previous chapter to argue that by first dwelling with stories as they emerge at the individual level of the entanglement, we can engage in a

second praxis of vibrant ethos that (re)attunes more carefully to the circulation of stories as they gain traction at the collective level and effect change within communities.

### **Vibrant Ethos: Re-Attuning through Acknowledgement, Openness, and Responsibility**

Within the context of the “me too.” Movement, witnessing rape culture from a feminist position draws on the co-creation of responsibility to address and respond to others’ stories, building on individual recognition. Reflecting on the virality of “me too.,” Tarana Burke, founder of the movement, has expressed her concerns that by only participating in #MeToo survivors of sexual violence would not have the necessary support networks after disclosing stories of assault.<sup>19</sup> As prefaced in the Introduction to this dissertation, for Burke “me too.” was always meant to be a community-focused resource for healing so that survivors would have that support. However, in sharing stories online, Carrie Rentschler (2014) highlights the processes of responsibility and co-creation that emerge and the possibilities for “alternative economies of online culture” (Brown and Gregg 2012 cited in Rentschler 2014, 76) to emerge that embolden others to share their own stories of sexual violence. Extending Rentschler’s argument, vibrant ethos constitutes the second of three praxes for approaching the intersectional entanglements where “me too.” stories circulate. Vibrant ethos builds on virtual dwelling within the research scene to highlight dwelling as a site of ethical responsibility that necessarily moves people towards a spirit of collective engagement with stories of “me too.”. Here, mediated moments of time and space are understood as open for the disclosure of stories and an acknowledgement of one another’s (vibrantly networked) being, including their personhood, traumas, and embodied and affective experiences. In doing so, vibrant ethos orients scholars and participants towards the kind of reciprocity that is needed for more equitable digital practices within feminist hashtag

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<sup>19</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=elmDsXOAm7E> and <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/the-founder-of-metoo-doesnt-want-us-to-forget-victims-of-color> where Tarana Burke speaks to this concern.

spaces in spite of, and in resistance to, problematic technologies. This orientation, this way of turning towards one another, is grounded in Jane Bennett's (2010) "vibrant matter," which extends ideas of agency and action to also account for the political contributions of human and nonhuman actants, and Michael Hyde's (2012) contention that openings in communication demand an ethos of acknowledgement.

The "me too." Movement operates within this ethos of acknowledgment at the collective site of the entanglement. In embracing intersectional entanglements and their intricate relationships of lived gendered, racialized, and sexualized experiences, turning to others' stories through the praxis of vibrant ethos asks that we critically attend to how power circulates through feeling, being, and knowing not as a way of regulating discourse, but as a way of exploring possibilities for "becoming otherwise" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994 cited in Pedwell and Whitehead 2012, 116) and for subverting the hegemonic status quo. As Sarah J. Jackson, Moya Bailey, and Brooke Foucault Welles (2020) argue, through Twitter people who have been marginalized from elite spaces are able to offer counter-narratives to dominant ideologies, anticipate and prevent propaganda and other forms of political spin, and build more diverse communities of dissent. Vibrant ethos offers one way of tracing how these kinds of counterpublic stories from the "me too." Movement circulate and impact their communities.

As a way of analyzing the collective spaces within intersectional entanglements of "me too.," vibrant ethos is oriented around matter and the ways in which that matter changes our very being—in particular, the materialities of hashtag movements, which include on/offline spaces and communities of support created, bodies, and the materials/relationships/resources used to engage with spaces and bodies. This orientation around matter and the texts, discourses, people, and sociopolitical and technocultural contexts that gather around and inform "me too." reiterates

the responsibilities that collective affective dwelling impels and stresses the need for more ethical and open responses. Through the use of the hashtag #MeToo each individual response becomes part of a collective response; the responsibility is not just what we do for others, but also what we do for those individuals who have disclosed and who only have a virtual community of support. Here, each site in the entanglement offers the potential for new openings for stories to be shared and new ways to speak back to rape culture and sexual violence. In exploring collective entanglements, a praxis of vibrant ethos asks how we might begin to see how stories come together in collaborative ways to produce different social imaginations and prompt people to turn towards each other, through mediated time and space, in open and responsive ways. To attend to the collaborative encounters between stories and participants, the first question that we might ask when employing vibrant ethos is: How are participants on the research scene (including ideas, energies, people, and hashtags) bearing witness to and opening space for each other?

For instance, on the “me too.” Movement’s official Twitter page, @MeTooMVMt,<sup>20</sup> the hashtag #SurvivorHealingSeries is used publicize the ways that people heal after experiencing sexual assault. #SurvivorHealingSeries encourage community discussions of healing to normalize the varying timelines, pathways, and methods of healing in the face of dominant ideologies that seek to diminish if not completely erase the consequences of rape culture. Based on the organization’s virtual programming of the same name, Survivor Healing Series, the hashtag amplifies the stories of those who participate in their online workshops. #SurvivorHealingStories demonstrates the ways that healing requires turning towards each other and to ourselves with an openness to acknowledge the experience and those involved in the

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<sup>20</sup> See <https://twitter.com/MeTooMVMt>.

workshops. In a series of tweets highlighted under the hashtag, one participant amplified by the “me too.” Movement’s account shared the following:

@MeTooMVMT: Building that community and finding those support systems in your life and the people on your path today might change and might transition over time, because what you need now versus what you need in the future may be different. And that’s OK. #SurvivorHealingSeries (November 19, 2020).

What this suggests is that while people within our networks do assume a responsibility for each other, to care for and provide for each other, what this sustenance looks like may change depending on new contexts, past and future experiences, and changing boundaries and networks of care. To this point, Tarana Burke has consistently reiterated that survivors of sexual violence are not obligated to disclose if they do not yet feel ready (Brockes 2017). Acknowledging this, another participant added:

@MeTooMVMT: Healing is a process, so be gentle to yourself and others #SurvivorHealingSeries (November 19, 2020, 7:56 pm).

Recognizing the importance of this tweet, one Twitter participant replied:

@TwitterUser: If anyone needs a friend or support please find a local support group. I started one in my city and it changed my life (November 19, 2020).

This post was linked to a previous tweet posted ten days earlier sharing their story, calling attention to #DomesticViolence, #WomenSupportingWomen, and #MeToo, among other hashtags.

In another series less than a month later, stories of healing that ask participants and online witnesses to reconsider the ways that being in community can change our orientations to ourselves and to each other continued to be shared. At the #SurvivorHealingSeries, Prentice Hemphill, Director of The Embodiment Institute and previously Healing Justice Director at the Black Lives Matter Global Network, refers to the boundaries between relationships, time, feelings, and affects within the current sociocultural moment to contemplate the following:

@prentishemphill: (Part 1) What is a boundary: It's not about being perfect. We have boundaries to keep us intact, keep our integrity and to help us keep our time and life energy. Also they are about loving oneself and allow us to be in a caring relationship with someone else (December 3, 2020, 7:58 pm).

Further, Hemphill adds,

@prentishemphill: As survivors, that trauma has taken away our boundaries and we've been socialized to not have any... and boundaries recently for me... working from home, there is this idea that you should be available all hours of the day, and no. Setting boundaries is about navigating time" (December 3, 2020, 8:02 pm).

@prentishemphill: "By not talking to my father for 10 years, who abused me, I became the loudest voice in the room, the loudest breath in the room... I choose to talk to him now, but when I want to. It's up to me, that's the boundary I create" (December 3, 2020, 8:20 pm).

Here, responsibilities to time, energy, and self are highlighted as ways of building community with yourself and with others. Opening space to a discussion of boundaries creates an atmosphere for participants to feel that their own boundaries can be articulated and acknowledged, which often does not feel like the case for many people who have been marginalized by their cultural and working conditions, including women; people with disabilities; Black, Indigenous, and racialized people; and queer, trans, intersex, and gender non-conforming people. As another participant confessed,

@MeTooMVMT: setting boundaries, after my heart stops racing, makes me feel like a badass #SurvivorHealingSeries (December 3, 2020, 8:14 pm).

And, as they acknowledge,

@MeTooMVMT: What you are willing to do with a certain person, is gonna be different with another person, the same day. These boundaries are for you, and you don't have to feel bad about yourself when you evolve in and through them #SurvivorHealingSeries (December 3, 2020, 8:28 pm).

Creating boundaries individually and then collectively, and articulating what those boundaries are, helps to lay the groundwork for the normalization and popularization of speaking back to abusive power dynamics. These confessions of shifting boundaries and of negotiating what limits

look like in varying contexts show what an ethical responsibility to others can look like, where each person, with their feelings, experiences, and bodily responses, contributes to the ongoing conversation on the nature of their own relationships and the power and agency they have to claim that responsibility.

As seen through the series of tweets shared through the “me too.” Movement’s official Twitter page, acts of witnessing can prompt others to engage in forms of negotiation, confession, and community. It was, in fact, my own witnessing of confessional events like these as they unfolded in digital space that contributed to the articulation of this praxis of vibrant ethos and to the development of vibrant ethos’s first question. Confession produces a kind of narrative, an ownership of experience, and plays a substantial role in both personal and interpersonal development because it aligns us with a sense of a more authentic becoming (Hyde 2012, 136). Participants in the #MeToo movement reveal a collective set of processes for bringing forth stories of gendered and sexual violence through online disclosures, contributing to the formation of #MeToo counterpublics as people come together to share. By doing so, participants demonstrate a mediated form of developing new structures of feeling that “break from the common sense” and “open us to the truth of matters like never before and thus to extend what eventually may become common sense” (152). For example, as one participant wrote,

@TwitterUser: Best Thing: Finding out we are not alone and have all dealt with this.  
Worst Thing: Finding out we have all dealt with this #MeToo (October 15, 2017).

The confession in this post moves conversations around #MeToo from the individual to the collective, one of the major goals of the movement, to touch upon how, until to this point, dominant discourses have actively engaged in (and encouraged) slut-shaming, victim-blaming, and the minimization of victim experiences in order to keep those subjected to sexual violence and harassment quiet. Beyond bearing the burden of public shame, the effect of such silencing

was often isolation and shame for those subject to abuse. In its best forms, #MeToo offers a collective assertion that these are not isolated events, but rather culturally sanctioned practices that are rarely resolved in ways that benefit those who are abused, shamed, and silenced. Confessions of relief and of knowing one is not alone, tied to the recognition of rape culture's enormity and the realization that creating boundaries can become normalized and welcomed, are affectively charged complexities within #MeToo's collective entanglements that deserve greater attention. In looking at these collectives through vibrant ethos, these complexities can be distilled into greater clarity.

As scholars and/or participants in the "me too." Movement, we come to know stories of confession through the ways that they make themselves known at collective sites of the entanglement as we observe #MeToo counterpublics. Vibrant ethos enables scholars to specifically name how these events and stories create openings for discussion and movement, including what kind of movement is happening—even if we feel that movement is small. Articulating boundaries through sharing stories, in the example offered here, is movement that opens space for others to share. In thinking through how the materiality of stories shared contributes to how space is made and how stories move, Jane Bennett (2010) writes that the "political goal of a vital materialism is not the perfect equality of actants, but a polity with more channels of communication between members" (104). This asks the question of how people might "learn to hear or enhance our receptivity for 'propositions' not expressed in words" (104). A distributed agency of this kind calls for a new model of political responsibility where responsibility is already attributable to relationships between actors within entanglements, and not a single autonomous subject. Perhaps, then, as Bennett suggests, the ethical responsibility of an individual human resides in our response to the entanglements in which we find ourselves



participating. Employing this praxis of vibrant ethos—working to attune and open oneself to the data: the environment, the media infrastructure, the array of human and non-human participants, and discourses already in place—within “me too.” spaces where stories are shared is the lens through which we notice, point towards, and name the specific “propositions” and calls for acknowledgement within entanglements.

#MeToo offers a speculative mediated space for first virtually dwelling and second for vibrant ethos: a space to respond to oppression at individual and collective spheres and a space to create new openings for resistance in and against white supremacist heteropatriarchal life as it asserts and circulates attendant memories, complexities, and embodied experiences. #MeToo opens a place in space and time where being itself (personhood, trauma, and bodily and affective experience) is given a chance to be acknowledged and appreciated—and, indeed, recognizes that it must be. Through employing vibrant ethos, we can recognize how, as a space of connection, #MeToo’s counterpublicity encourages the creation or revival of memories, experiences, and associations that for some participants validates experiences that were formerly dismissed. Certainly, then, we have an ethical responsibility to respond to these openings, as the interruptions that they make possible are “privileged moment[s] for coming to realistic terms about the meaning of life. Such... interruption[s] and the pause [they] initiate work together as a call of conscience” (Hyde 2012, 42). #MeToo demands an openness to ethical and moral spatial, temporal, and networked affective responses, where each space in the entanglement creates the potential for new openings to imagine alternative social realities. If dwelling is an important praxis for sitting with a problem, a tool, or a practice, vibrant ethos proposes that the collective encounters where stories meet help to answer questions that remain unanswered in our individual dwellings and contributes to tracing how stories move between domains of power.

In attending to #MeToo's circulation, employing vibrant ethos as both praxis (of turning to the stories on the research scene in radically open ways) and as an orientation to analyzing stories (reflecting on the degree to which participants open to each other through sharing stories) highlights how the relationships between people, places, spaces, social media posts, and memories processually shape each other within ongoing and shifting formations. Experiences and memories are central to the virality of the hashtag campaign in that they usefully defamiliarize the taken for granted pervasiveness of sexual assault and misogyny. Through vibrant ethos we can explore how #MeToo operates in an ethos of acknowledgement within collective entanglements that, at its best, creates environments of openness and care; stories shared through social media posts offer a means through which to engage in modes of critical thinking that can offer emancipation, and acknowledge to each other that we exist as feminists operating under the untenable conditions of heteropatriarchy.

These moments, events, social media posts, responses, and participants contribute to the ways that movements begin to move and how those things move us as scholars, participants, and activists. While #MeToo did attune people inside and outside of its counterpublic to the prevalence of sexual violence, it also called for a process of continually attuning—re-attunement—to the various and compounding intersectional dynamics that affect people's experiences of violence and their capacity to participate in digital #MeToo counterpublics. The second set of questions we might, then, ask while putting into practice vibrant ethos is: How are participants on the research scene transforming through collective witnessing and space-making? Or, how are participants re-attuning in space, time, and place in relationship to each other?

As “me too.” and its hashtagged or otherwise mediated stories generate contingent, shifting, and affectively constituted conversations, they collectively bring forward a range of

complex experiences and perspectives on contemporary issues. Bringing together these experiences and perspectives contribute to the formation of digital feminist counterpublics that create space for collective witnessing. In analyzing stories that first emerged from acts of virtually dwelling within digital #MeToo counterpublic spaces, it becomes clear that the collective feminist conversations that take place enable resistance through sharing personal experiences that often offer a counter narrative to those considered normal by the matrix of domination (Collins 1990). The recognition and analysis of those stories, brought together into a collective, is a method for challenging the erasures that can occur within the dominant ideas, perspectives, and practices that uphold structures like misogyny, heteropatriarchy, and white supremacy. The acknowledgement witnessed through “me too.” stories is crucial for opening space to recognize each other’s humanity and orienting to the experiences that people bring to the larger collective.

In the next section, I use the two sets of questions outlined here to demonstrate how to employ vibrant ethos through an example of what Sara Ahmed (2017ab) calls the “feminist snap,” indicated in the collective stories of frustration and anger that turned to productive affective rage, bringing feminists together in solidarity. The momentum from movements like #MeToo and from movements like #BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName, and #YesAllWomen lead to the accumulation of affect that mobilized the organization of the U.S. Women’s March on Washington in 2017. Both the #MeToo movement and the Women’s March sought to empower women to speak up against sexual violence, the impediment of bodily consent, the material consequences of saying “no,” and the normalization of rape culture. Using the example of the Women’s March, I examine the collective feminist snap that signaled years of collective trauma that came to a head in late 2017 with the emergence of the viral #MeToo and #TimesUp

campaigns. Using vibrant ethos, I illustrate how the collective stories of rage against the outright white supremacy and misogyny of the Trump Administration manifested in the #MeToo movement and, subsequently, in the #TimesUp movement that fuelled the Women's March. Building on my own processes of virtual dwelling by spending time in spaces and coming to better understand the context from which I collect and analyze the ways that "me too." stories move, I engage vibrant ethos, the second praxis for attending to the intersectional entanglements of the "me too." Movement at the collective level. While virtually dwelling with stories of "me too." in the previous chapter showed us the relationship between "me too." and the figure of the witch, engaging with vibrant ethos points us towards how a range of feminist communities mobilized for the Women's March through their stories of collective rage, drawing on the cultural and spiritual practices of the witch to do so.

### **Engaging Vibrant Ethos through Re-Attunement**

Over the last decade, stories shared and acts of dwelling have catalyzed a series of feminist snaps, a "breaking point that brings about a greater feminist urgency within us" (Ahmed 2017b, 188). Tracing the animations and vitality of these feminist snaps, their consequences have been seen through movements like #MeToo, #TimesUp, #BlackLivesMatter, #YesAllWomen, #SayHerName, #IdleNoMore, #MMIW, #ShoutYourAbortion, and others. An image shared by the official Twitter account of the Women's March reiterates the importance of story circulation for the "me too." Movement, and for greater equity and solidarity for people impacted by gender inequity. Alongside an image reading, "We make the world safer when we speak up," the post urges people to continue sharing their stories:

@womensmarch: Today's #SignOfResistance is by Cleo Wade. Keep sharing your stories. Keep speaking up #MeToo (October 15, 2017, 7:38pm).

In her work on living a feminist life, Ahmed (2017a) articulates why speaking up and sharing stories, as in the case of “me too.” and the Women’s March, is crucial for bringing people together and instilling a sense of solidarity and community:

But it is not just that feminist ears can hear beyond the silence that functions as a wall. I referred earlier to how working on the problem of sexual harassment led me to my own act of feminist snap. Once it is heard that you are willing to hear, more people will speak to you. While a snap might seem to make the tongue the organ of feminist rebellion, perhaps snap is all about ears. A feminist ear can provide a release of a pressure valve. A feminist ear can be how you hear what is not being heard (203).

While snapping may seem to focus on what has been said, it is equally about what we hear and, more precisely, what we are listening to and what we listen for, what we are open to and what we can then open up to.

Within the current moment, the stories of frustration and anger at the injustices faced by women and Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities are becoming louder, opening others to the snaps taking place and leading them to share their own snappy stories. Much has been written about how women’s rage has fuelled a new wave of protests, with discussions of the importance of this affective state becoming commonplace in everyday conversation since the 2016 U.S. presidential election (Keller and Ryan 2018). Speaking to this, *The New Yorker* has suggested that this post-2016 affective state is tied to a “recurring figure of American history: the woman whose activism is fuelled by anger” (Cep 2018, para. 3). The election of 45 was, for many, a moment when cracks in the system became visible as the failures of neoliberal patriarchal institutions became clearer to a larger (whiter and richer) audience and entered more mainstream discourses.

The election of 45 and the subsequent infringements on human rights by his office have now been discussed, analyzed, and/or critiqued in more news headlines than need to be counted, contributing to the affective intensities of various media and their capacity for impact. On *CNN*, “Trump” comes up in 101,182 headlines; in *The New York Times*, 53,845; and in *The Guardian* over 3.6 million Trump headlines exist.<sup>21</sup> Leading up to the 2016 election and certainly during his presidency, there was and has been a preoccupation with 45, given the tumult seen worldwide over the last few years. And this is rightfully so given the harms specifically enacted by 45. To offer a only a few examples, these include: the dozens of sexual assault accusations made against 45; the reversal of sexual assault guidelines that forced universities and colleges to immediately investigate sexual assaults on campus; the reversal of labour and civil rights laws that enabled those who had been sexually harassed or discriminated against to bring the accusations to court or other public forums with pay—U.S. law now stipulates that federal contractors do not need to be transparent with how employees are paid, which means companies can lay off employees who bring forward sexual assault complaints, and also dissuades companies from closing the gender or racial pay gap; the systematic rollbacks of reproductive health protections, restricting federal protections for trans, gender non-conforming, and non-binary students; and the medical right of doctor’s to discriminate against queer, trans, non-binary, and gender non-conforming people (Burns 2020; Klain 2017; Beckman 2017; Nelson and Crockett 2017).

The quick succession of laws meant to placate those who currently benefit from the current political and social system and further harm those already marginalized resulted in large scale resistance that included hundreds of protests, so much so that those protests garnered their

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<sup>21</sup> As of November 30, 2020.

own Wikipedia page<sup>22</sup>—protests and accusations to which 45 has notoriously claimed he was the victim of an unending witch hunt (Hirschfeld Davis 2017; Johnson 2020; Schoen 2018). And yet, failures like these have been known by Black, Indigenous, and racialized; queer, trans, and nonbinary people; people with disabilities; and women for decades, as these are the people who have been marginalized repeatedly by this system as the feelings of structure (Ahmed 2010) that support those laws continue to be built and re-built through the perpetuation of dominant stereotypes, biases, and prejudices. Feelings and emotions, after all, do not belong to institutions, objects, or people, but function to assign affective values and then take on certain meanings through the ways that they circulate.

Derived from compounded feelings of anger, fear, shock, and intense frustration—at the explicit sexism leveraged against women and the racism espoused during 45’s campaign, and the ease with which a small group of elite government officials could pass judgement on and make choices about the bodies of marginalized people without their input—this tipping point quickly turned into a collective feminist rage that can be felt to this day. It is these moments, these surges of energy that rupture historical and contemporary boundaries and affective resonances with white supremacy and heteropatriarchy, that Ahmed would term a feminist snap. These feminist snaps are often quite personal, happening at different moments in different places for different people. Feminist snaps happen at distinctive times on our own journeys of feminist discovery as we learn when and how to be the “feminist killjoy,” killing the patriarchal white supremacist capitalist joy that affords a heteronormative, racialized, and classed version of happiness to only a select group of women; or the “melancholic migrant” who questions why multiculturalism

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<sup>22</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protests\\_against\\_Donald\\_Trump](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protests_against_Donald_Trump), which covers information like political rallies, international reactions, Women’s March, Day Without Immigrants, Day Without A Woman, Resist Trump Tuesdays, Not My President Day, People’s Climate March, the 2020 elections, and more.

requires fidelity to established national ideals; or the “unhappy queer” that critiques heteronormative happiness at the cost of queer joy (Ahmed 2010). The snap is a realization of the unjust terms that you have been forced to play by: a waking up to the patriarchal racialized heteronormative reality of the nation state, and then a feminist outburst, a surge, upon coming to this awareness.

As Ahmed (2017a) writes, “[s]enses can be magnified, sometimes after the event, in a way that one may not just touch lightly upon the issue, but *cling on* the detailed recollection of components ‘too overwhelming to process’” (23, emphasis in original). Importantly, these individual processes of realization become collective when we find ourselves unable to work through the event on our own, unsure of how to connect this situation to the rest of our experiences, and then, as such, focus on others’ snaps as a catalyst for learning how to rework the logics we’ve been asked to grow accustomed to. Or the snap can be collective through being in conversation with others who have had their own memorable moments of feminist snap, as feminists come together to connect and conspire, as we will see in the following example of the Magic Resistance. The snap, then, might come because of virtually dwelling, either on our own or through turning towards the dwelling of another via vibrant ethos. Through embracing the possibilities of intersectional entanglements, feminist snaps can be where data coalesce and “glow,” becoming “hot spots” (MacLure 2013ab) for how people come to bear witness to one another in acknowledgement, opening space to shift current entanglements.

In the case of 45’s election, feminist snaps of collective rage can be seen across the internet, through op-eds in news sources, and posts on social media including hashtag protests like #NotMyPresident and #LoveTrumpsHate, encouraging feminists to carve out new, reimagined, or continually growing digital identities from their different experiences and coming



together for the greater goal of feminist resistance. Fuelled by affective states of rage and frustration, what makes these snaps particularly noteworthy is the scope of this rupture and the international intensities that went so far as to instigate the Women's March, its 600 "sister" global protests (Booth and Topping 2017), and other protests in recent history, each catalyzed through social media. To make visible the power of physical and digital feminist space, the now infamous 2017 Women's March on Washington, organized online and then brought to the streets, gathered together almost 600,000 people to protest 45's first day in office. Across the United States it is estimated that between 3.3 and 4.6 million people participated in the March (Chenoweth and Pressman 2017; Waddell 2017). Among those who participated were witches and people embracing the powerful resistance of what witches have come to symbolize. Pointing to a historical, pop cultural, and spiritual tradition, Sady Doyle (2019) suggests that "[t]he witch has always been the feminist monster of choice" (para. 4). And, indeed, the evening before the Women's March writer and co-founder of Bitch Media, Andi Zeisler, confided to *Elle* that she does "feel like this is the time for getting scary. We need to go *full witch*. We really need to scare some folks" (Kahn 2017, para. 6). In short, what Doyle and Zeisler were calling for was a collective feminist-witch snap born of the initial outcries and stories of sexual violence and misogyny. As Ahmed (2017a) points out "[a] snap is not a starting point, but a snap can be the start of something" (194), suggesting the importance that a series of snaps revealed through story-sharing can have for drawing people into feminist community.

The capacity of intersectional entanglements to recircuit understandings of rape culture and power is important here, with the circulation of feminist stories of the witch emblematic of one form of feminist snap that has provoked others to question current configurations of power. In the context of 45's election, the "me too." Movement, and the Women's March on

Washington, feminist snaps have been marking the successes of networked social movements for publicizing the complexity of marginalized peoples' relationships to power as their stories move through online and offline spaces, drawing others into the conversation and validating the weight that participants of the movements carry. This demonstrates the importance of attending to the ways that stories and affects travel through mediated space. As the witch moves among different political, social, and technologically mediated spheres, its circulation brings together an entanglement of historical, contemporary, and future-forward possibilities for remixing how we understand power, privilege, resistance, and oppression—the very goals of intersectional entanglements, seen through vibrant ethos. Feminist snaps, like the ones seen at the Women's March on Washington, at some point or another draw others to their cause as the snap and its various affective and everyday impacts create different glowing moments and hotspots that appeal to other marginalized communities.

While 45's election was a tipping point for many, for others this process of snapping had happened long ago, with the march offering a glimpse of what a large-scale collective snap could look like regardless of when the first snap occurred. In a similar way, the march also functioned as a "feminist awakening" on a global level (Wall 2017, para. 5), indicating the ways that the march was not only a culminating snap, but an instigating snap. Although snaps may have been happening all around, as in the case of the power of the witch and its apparent resurgence at the dawn of 45's administration (as seen in the previous chapter, the witch as a feminist symbol has been around for decades with the persecution of women with power happening for centuries), it may take a later snap to catch the attention of others, including your own attention. "Say you hear the sound of a twig snapping," Ahmed (2017b) writes, "You might not have noticed the twig before; you might have not noticed the pressure on the twig, how it was bent, but when it

snaps, it catches your attention. You might hear the snap as the start of something. A snap is the start of something because of what you did not notice, the pressure on the twig” (para. 9).

These snappy moments indicate waves of people turning towards each other with more openness and acknowledgement than had seemed possible in the past, using the figure of the witch in many cases as the feminist touchstone. Different people with different experiences were able to come together for the Women’s March, in part because of the symbol that the witch offered, drawing on its historical and contemporary significances. The figure of the witch resonated deeply with people on both cultural and spiritual levels, and as stories of this powerful metaphor circulated, more people joined its cause. At the march, signs reading “we are the granddaughters of the witches you weren’t able to burn,” “hex white supremacy,” “witches against white supremacy,” and “WITCH: We Interrupt Those Choosing Hate” could be seen flying above the crowds (Lazzaro 2017). This signage asked protesters to recall social histories to identify with people, often women, who had been unfairly persecuted, like the women punished for witchcraft, and with those are who powerful, capable of tapping into a deeper knowledge to combat the situation at hand. On a spiritual level, the march catalyzed the formation of the Magic Resistance, the 13,000-member collective of self-proclaimed internet neo-pagans, Wiccans, and hedge witches. Beginning the month of the Women’s March and continuing to the end of his presidency, this collective comes together to perform a binding spell on 45 each month so that “he may fail utterly/that he may do no harm” (Burton 2017, para. 3). Identifying as neo-pagan, committed activists, the resistance witches explore forms of inclusive community-building and activist practices, while performatively channeling a sense of loss and grief under 45’s administration. Because the Magic Resistance has “its roots in internet culture,” many coming together through Facebook and Instagram to share their stories, this mode of

protest has encouraged witch-activists to “reimagine the binding spell to suit their own needs” through the online promotion of their practices (Burton 2017, para. 7). Some cast their binding spells from their own individual locations, communicating with others through Facebook Messenger each month, and others gathered in local spots, like Trump Tower in New York City, to cast their spells and broaden the feminist counterpublic.

Regardless of the magical tradition that participants come from, it is the belief in the collective piece of their practice that members describe as “a reviving sense of community and ritual” that they feel missing in their day to day lives (para. 5). Notably, the power and the kinship found within the Magic Resistance evoke both present and historical witch culture, situating them within the current sociopolitical landscape through feminist identity-making, activist participation, and community-building. As one of the organizers and co-creators of the binding spell describes, “one very powerful element of the spell is its ability to allow participants to take back their power from the out-of-control administration” (para. 9). And, as another resistance witch reflected, “... for me, the practice of a community getting together for a common goal... it kind of filled something in me” (Burton 2017, para. 18). The intra-active (Barad 2003) capacity for this collective magic to acknowledge others and signal new possibilities for resistance and community-building suggests that participants are, indeed, turning towards one another and attuning to the space, as vibrant ethos asks.

The formation and maintenance of witch-activist communities online and the monthly binding spell rely on the internet’s “remixing” abilities, encouraging significant forms of “bottom-up expression” that bring together “popular culture, politics, and participation in unexpected ways” (Shifman 2014, 4). The Magic Resistance’s binding spell remixes “elements of different faith traditions and pantheons...[and] emphasize[s] a pragmatic, personal approach

to the occult” (Burton 2017, para. 6) that largely relies on digitally networked discourse and sharing. This is central to understanding the contemporary digital media culture (Börzsei 2013) that they emerge from and that sustains them, which also works to “underscore the social dynamics” in our different mediated spheres (Shifman 2014). As social issues and questions shift, so too do the issues that the community takes on, contributing to the affective force that sustains, powers, and attunes the group to each other.

Vibrant ethos allows us to explore collective entanglements that helps us see how understandings of power can be remixed and re-interpreted as we follow different stories as they move throughout different domains of power. For instance, throughout the summer of 2020 members of the Magic Resistance gathered on TikTok to hex white supremacists and cast protection spells for protestors at Black Lives Matter demonstrations, using their collective strength, anger, and hope to do so. Then, as the 2020 U.S. presidential election drew nearer, the collective began to focus their “magical online activism” on binding, hexing, cursing, and exorcizing 45 from the White House (Ellis 2020, para. 6), calling on their mutual rage and affinities for magical intervention. The political coalitions and magical communities created through the Magic Resistance indicate an investment in attuning to the greater social conditions and a continual re-attunement in their desire to improve these realities. This demonstrates one way in which the Women’s March was successful in its capacity to draw together groups of people around the country, offering a foundation for maintaining and nurturing those groups and a common feminist snap to draw energy from. Moreover, we see how, in coming together and acknowledging others both within and outside of their own communities, the Magic Resistance sought to center and uplift other communities adjacent to theirs and refocus and redirect power—both magical and cultural—in those directions.

## Collective Entanglements of Constraint and Creation

While the Women's March became a space of attunement and for transformation, the march was criticized for its binary conception of women, highlighting one contentious example of how the movement operated as *pharmakon* at the collective site of the entanglement. It was, after all, called the "Women's March" and many white women wore pink "pussy hats," conflating genitalia with gender to reinforce the historical exclusion of transwomen in "women's" spaces. But participants of the march still sought to come together under the pillars of intersectionality and inclusivity. This led to yet another example of the march's pharmacological aspects: even under the banner of intersectional feminism, whiteness and heteronormativity worked to obscure the work of feminists affected by patriarchy and, in this case in particular, the consequences of 45's administration. Despite best intentions, whiteness remained a problem at the march. Even though the organizers, Vanessa Wruble, Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, Linda Sarsour, and Bob Bland,<sup>23</sup> were intent on ensuring a diversity of voices, both through their own representation as organizers and through those who spoke at the event (including Angela Davis, Senator Tammy Duckworth, Senator (now Vice-President) Kamala Harris, Janet Mock, Janelle Monáe, and Gloria Steinem), deeply entrenched structures of oppression ensure that such tasks are difficult to accomplish (more on this to come in Chapter Seven). Much of what was seen at the march seemed to reflect a singular voice and a singular issue—a reminder that knowledge production and analysis, whether those entanglements of knowledge and analysis are announced via protests and marches or addressed in academic

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<sup>23</sup> Vanessa Wruble, who is Jewish, is a journalist and activist and co-founded OkayAfrica, Tamika Mallory is a Black activist named the "Sojourner Truth of our time" by *Jet* magazine, Carmen Perez is a Mexican-American political organizer and was named in *Fortune* as one of their 50 World Leaders, Linda Sarsour is a Palestinian-American activist who was named a "champion of change" by the Obama administration and is the former header of the Arab-American Association of New York, and Bob Bland is a sustainable fashion designer and the name behind the "Nasty Women" shirts, who was also the "white mother" that spearheaded the idea of the march (Bari Weiss 2017).

research, are affectively and materially situated (Haraway 1988; Harding 1993) and have histories and futures of their own outside of their intended outcomes.

For example, although the Women's March sought to protest the election of 45 and the inequitable values supported by his office, 53% of white women still voted for him (Pinkus and Blumenthal 2017, para. 1 and chart 1). It is then, perhaps, puzzling that an informal poll of marchers suggests that protesters were disproportionately white (75% of self-reported marchers) and mostly identified as female (70%) (Pinkus and Blumenthal 2017, para. 1 and chart 1). As Angela Peoples (2017) wrote, "For many white women, it's racial identity, not gender or party, that guides their choices in the voting booth" (para. 4). At the march, she carried a sign that read, "Don't Forget, White Women Voted for Trump," reminding other participants that diverse feminist gathering spaces must acknowledge diverse feminist needs. Reflecting on the election and other protests, Peoples writes that "[i]f I had to make another sign... it would say this: 'Bet on black women. Follow black women. Give power to black women'" (para. 7), pointing to the ways that Black women are highly aware of what effects their communities, as are Indigenous women and other racialized women, and as such should be promoted to leadership roles, especially when it concerns their communities.

Within vibrant ethos and a turning towards the collective, the foundations of intersectional entanglements and its use of pharmakon reveal who is or is not included in these spaces. In addition to the racism and transphobia of the march, seen through pink pussy hats and the sentiments espoused through these artifacts and the demographics of participants, following the march four of the original organizers (Bland, Mallory, Perez, and Sarsour) were criticized for their failure to reject anti-Semitism as they embraced Nation of Islam leader, Louis Farrankhan who is notorious for anti-Semitic and homophobic comments. This ultimately led to their

replacement on the board of the Women's March organization. Wruble, who had initially brought Mallory, Perez, and Sarsour on, eventually left the board of the Women's March to form March On, an organization dedicated to creating political change through the campaign, "March on the Polls." Incidences such as these can cause instability within organizations and can thwart progress, but within the current structures of feeling and the laws that uphold such configurations, it should not be surprising that the feelings that structure white supremacy and heteropatriarchy enable racism, transphobia and homophobia, and white supremacy to "stick" (Ahmed 2010) more than others. Resistance, protest, community conversation, and emergent relationships are crucial for making stronger the pillars of intersectionality and inclusivity that current structures are not organized to uphold. The criticisms of anti-Semitism and homophobia are important parts of this entanglement to recognize. Moments of acknowledgement, of turning towards one another as communities come together, demand that the feelings that structure white supremacy and heteropatriarchy are articulated so that they can become less sticky within this structure of feeling. Feminist protest, resistance, activism, and research needs to recognize the relationships between space, place, personhood, hashtags, ideologies, and affects in order to effectively determine how the entanglement is transforming and enabling or constraining re-attunement and collective action.

Although the entrenchment of habits that sustain marginalization are deep, community movements are larger than their individual organizers as they find power in the collective momentum and solidarity. The incidences of racism and transphobia that took place at the march and the actions of the organizers following the march are distressing, and to dismiss them would be a mistake. But, because of the momentum gathered by all of those involved within different mediated spheres and the recognition that harmful practices took place and must be addressed,



the march has continued with demonstrations held in 2018, 2019, and 2020 to date. In the face of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy, collective snaps led to communal gatherings of feminist witches and calls for Black feminist leadership. In turn, this prompted journeys of feminist self-discovery and coalition building, which helped create communities to counter larger structural instances of misogyny, racism, and transphobia in the broader public sphere. These events are only able to counter these violences insofar as they aim to take on an intersectional approach.

Within digital feminist spaces we should look towards actions that are decentring white supremacy, white feminist frameworks, through their activism—strands of the entanglement that move away from these structures of feeling and instead have as their starting points Black, Indigenous, and/or other racialized knowledges and frameworks, affecting the rest of the entanglement as merge with different strands. On October 7, 2020, in another gesture of witch activism and community building leading up to the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election, an illustrator posted an image on Instagram of a drawing of a coven of three witches, clothed in black hats and black cloaks with their backs to the viewer, sending up a spell that reads, “hex all fascists.” As part of the #inktober challenge on social media, a challenge that seemed ordinary in that it asked social media users to draw a picture in ink for every day of October, the image was circulated under various hashtags that included #WitchesOfInstagram, #WitchesAgainstFascism, #Witches, #HexAllFascists, and #WeirdWitchtober. The everydayness of the challenge was not ordinary, though.

Drawing on the momentum from #inktober and #WeirdWitchtober, this Brooklyn-based animator, illustrator, and designer took on the prompt to draw their coven (those in your circle who offer support and uplift you), engaging in an exercise in community building and magical resistance against the structures that work to suppress protest, resistance, and happiness. The

image they drew of “hex all fascists” acquired a number of likes and requests for prints to be available for purchase, demonstrating the resonance of the image with viewers. Soon after, the image was turned into a meme and was highly circulated in feminist and occult circles. Shortly after the image was posted on Instagram, the illustrator announced that they would be selling versions of the print with all proceeds going to National Bailout, a Black-led, Black-centered abolitionist collective.<sup>24</sup> The choice to donate to National Bailout underscores an important choice to embrace intersectional advocacy and recognize that the mutually constructing, related categories that underlie and shape intersecting systems of power produce and reinforce social inequalities that must be collectively tackled. Here we see an example of what decentring whiteness can look like, where the goal of actively intervening into the police state and the white supremacy of the structures that uphold that state can go forward to affect other communities, practices, and ways of knowing.

The ways in which the community responded to the illustrator’s announcement, affirming the choice to donate to National Bailout, further suggest that the affects running through this community and those spurred on by yearly actions of the Women’s March highlight the necessity of new feelings that can restructure and intervene into the current structures of feeling. Anger and frustration gave way to a productive rage that fuelled the establishment of the Women’s March and provided a steppingstone for other feminist digital groups, like the Magic Resistance, to come together to generate different events on individual and collective levels. Moreover, it encouraged the creation of other witchy groups and affective artifacts like the illustration of “hex all fascists.” Current structures of feeling like misogyny and white supremacy that impede the

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<sup>24</sup> See [www.nationalbailout.org](http://www.nationalbailout.org).

advancement of equity and justice are difficult to counter; they are habits, affects, and ways of being that are rewarded within the current system.

Like the previous chapter on virtual dwelling, although this chapter on vibrant ethos has focused on the witch, including its power, symbolism, and community-building appeal, a different research project engaging vibrant ethos would have gone through different examples to gain different insights. The focus here on the feminist snap, the Women's March, and the collective of witches that congregated against forces impeding on women's bodies and the right to consent may be specific to this space, but they are important parts of the entanglement to uncover. Vibrant ethos affords researchers a praxis for following stories like these as they circulate within collective spheres of the entanglement, uncovering ways of communicating and layers of affects as they inform how communities form and act. The current captivations with witch culture are premised on centuries of social, political, and spiritual persecution, resistance, and revolution from people who have been marginalized by society, informing the ways it's taken up today. As seen through virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos, the witch both metaphorically and literally subverts power structures, aiding those who cannot find help elsewhere and offers power to those without. In spite, or perhaps because, of its historical significances and manifestations over the last century, the witch has featured largely in political and social discourse. It has always been, and still is, a political if not controversial figure, called on by people on different sides of the story.

In exploring intersectional entanglements, we become privy to the ways that, while these witch gatherings are all well and good, it is not often clear how they respect or make ties to their histories. In many of these cases, the witch is white, drawing on Celtic traditions to manage whiteness within neopaganism rather than acknowledge that many of these Celtic traditions

come from Indigenous, Native, Buddhist, and Hindu practices (Gottlieb 2017, 32), which need to be recognized and critically thought about in order to avoid spiritual appropriation. While this is not the focus of this dissertation or chapter, addressing the cultural/spiritual appropriation of Black, Indigenous, and Native and Buddhist and Hindu practices is an important facet of contemporary neopaganism and wicca to speak to. Black, Indigenous, and racialized practitioners call on those interested in the spiritual, holy, and medicinal practices of witchcraft or other folklores to approach such beliefs with openness, purity, healing, humility, and community, rather than for profit or personal power, which exploits ancient and sacred traditions and falls into capitalism's traps (García 2020; Gottlieb 2017; Joho and Sun 2020).

Moreover, a thorough understanding of the land/territory from where one seeks to practice and the languages associated with healing and magics helps to avoid misappropriation, and instead demonstrates a humble willingness to learn. Black, Indigenous, and racialized practitioners ask that white practitioners think specifically about where the roots of words come from (e.g., smudging and spirit animals are sacred to Indigenous and Native tribes, and thus should not be used in neopaganism and wicca; voodoo is a specific practice that was born from Black practitioners who were enslaved) in order to show an appreciation of what neopaganism and wicca can offer, while acknowledging that these practices are never truly decolonial and are always drawing on historically and socially situated Black, Indigenous, and/or other racialized practices (Gottlieb 2017; Joho and Sun 2020). Some current practices, like the womb-healing that Brooklyn-based Afro-Dominican sisters Griselda and Peace perform,<sup>25</sup> are linked to territories but have moved across the world as diasporas take up practices from lands where they previously lived (García 2020). Knowing the histories and ethnic and spiritual cultures should be

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<sup>25</sup> See <https://aldianews.com/articles/culture/social/magic-witchcraft-and-curanderismo-lets-talk-about-cultural-appropriation> for more about these sisters.

foundational in approaching “contemporary” practices like (neo)paganism and wicca as they are encountered. Cultural representations draw their own symbolism and power from their historical significances, and, so, in thinking about the current cultural, political, and spiritual obsession with witches and witchcraft we must recognize the entangled ways that magic, spirituality, and tradition, have crossed borders and cultures.

As such, the circulation of feminist digital artifacts, as seen through this chapter, is tied to a range of pharmacological affective and political responses that are crucial for further mobilizing the politics they express and encourage, both inside and outside feminist media cultures. Evidently, emotions like frustration and anger fuelled a productive action-inducing rage that has been highly effective in forming alternative structures of feeling to the status quo. In addition to being a praxis for scholars, vibrant ethos is also an orientation that can lead to instances like the digital support seen on Instagram through the donation to National Bailout and the mass activism of the Magic Resistance. In exploring the collective through intersectional entanglements, scholars see more than a rosy picture of community activism; we see the norms and exclusions that take place, as well as the ways forward.

### **Conclusion**

As a praxis for exploring collective entanglements, vibrant ethos contributes an orientation to analyzing how people engage with digital materials to circulate stories that bring people into community and prompt acknowledgement, illustrating how collections of stories and their technocultural and sociopolitical contexts can create communities. Vibrant ethos offers an approach for how to broaden our ideas of community to take into account the entangled connections, feelings, and affects and to extend our ethical responsibilities. This praxis asks us to name the forces, events, and actions that shape our experience of the white supremacist,

misogynist world we move within, and offers the following questions for doing so: How are participants on the research scene (including ideas, energies, people, and hashtags) bearing witness to and opening space for each other? And, how are participants on the research scene transforming through collective witnessing and space-making? Or, how are participants re-attuning in space, time, and place in relationship to each other?

In following stories at the collective site of the entanglement, vibrant ethos testifies to a critical and non-dogmatic re-engagement with the political economy, where the nature of and relationship between material details of life (everyday, geopolitical, socioeconomic) are explored. As such, through using vibrant ethos, scholars are able to trace stories to discover: (1) the ways in which two or more affectively related individual posts can form a collective; (2) how multiple forms of communication and various affects intersect to produce these collectives, while grappling with the pharmacological complexities that exist within entanglements; and (3) how stories at a collective level illuminate other levels of analysis that need further research, like the individual and structural levels. Attending to individual and collective spaces, virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos reveal the broader systems that these actions are working with and against. In the next chapter, I offer the third praxis for analyzing the movement of stories, *vital structuring*, which looks at the structural systemic level of analysis. I consider how the structural spaces of intersectional entanglements where stories circulate influence digital practices, including hashtag movements, both enabling the creation of alternative feminist futures and constraining what these futures might look like given the misogyny and white supremacy of these same practices. To develop vital structuring, the chapter offers feminist possibilities that emerge, focusing on re-futuring in order to prompt the work necessary for taking on structural analyses and to bring together virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos.

## Chapter Seven: Vital Structuring as an Exploration of Structural Entanglements

### Situating the Structural

Over the last four years, #MeToo has inspired millions of people to speak out against rape culture—a monolith of intertwined systems of power enacted through sexual violence that once seemed impenetrable. These dominant systems of power, like heteropatriarchy and white supremacy, dictate that abuse should remain a secret and thus we cannot forget that the simple act of publicly sharing stories about “private” events, especially by members of marginalized groups, is profound. As such, the magnitude of how many of these stories became highly public accounts of abusive private actions that were intended to stay behind closed doors is momentous. Abusers expect abuse to be kept secret, to stay off public scripts, because we have been taught to live within heteropatriarchal structures that intend for only some to assume power—there are very real material and affective effects of structures on bodies. Old discriminatory ideologies continue to be woven into what we see as contemporary problems, and these current problems are reiterations of previous contestations of power that work to keep power relegated to the hands of the few. Practices used to hoard power serve white supremacist capitalist heteropatriarchal aims, even as people use the same structures, like digital platforms and technology, that maintain power to break those structures down.

This chapter grapples with these complexities in its development of *vital structuring*, the third praxis for attending to intersectional entanglements. In the previous two chapters, I developed individual (virtual dwelling via reflection) and collective (vibrant ethos via re-attunement) praxes for orienting towards how “me too.” stories circulate. Both these praxes offer processes for uncovering the interrelated individual and collective dynamics of the “me too.” Movement’s entanglements, where stories move and take on new meanings. Vital structuring

orients scholars to how stories circulate at the structural level of the entanglement, considering the systemic factors that are present across the individual and collective. This praxis necessarily considers how possibilities for sustainable and more equitable futures operate within systems of power that work against transformation, indicating how any intersectional analysis of the digital must consider its pharmacological dynamics. This chapter thus begins by articulating the kinds of structural inequities that this chapter is addressing, which becomes clearer through a consideration of the current digital landscape where feminist hashtag movements circulate, and I offer three sets of questions to guide the process of vital structuring. Notably, the forms that structural forces take will inevitably change based on the systems of power we bump up against within our own research scenes, and it is through virtually dwelling that we come to better understand what kinds of structural forms we are bumping up against. Based on this, I explain how vital structuring opens space for the emergence of feminist alternatives to current inequities, and I employ vital structuring to trace how stories move within the structural spaces of the entanglement. This analysis demonstrates how digital platforms act as *pharmakon* insofar as they both enable new feminist possibilities for expression and action, while also operating within larger structural systems of power that constrain what and who these hashtag movements include.

In exploring the structural site of the entanglement, I think through willfulness and memory to offer an orientation for analyzing systems of power and control that are present but not always as easily visible on the individual and collective levels. Within the “me too.” Movement, this becomes clear when encountering stories from trans and gender non-conforming people and people with disabilities, whose stories are not as well shared within mainstream #MeToo discourses. Focusing on the pharmacological components of these systems and



structures acknowledges the ways that feminist perspectives and actions can prompt change even when using tools that also do harm—our present conditions are not simply good or bad, but a more nuanced entanglement of good and bad that open different sets of possibilities. In employing vital structuring, scholars can explore and mobilize the contentious and fluid in-between spaces to analyze the spaces of intersectional entanglements where structural power is both upheld and dismantled in order to articulate more equitable, sustainable futures.

Overall, I argue that we need to focus on re-futuring if we hope to reveal the structural interventions and opportunities for change that are present within stories of the “me too.” Movement. Importantly, re-futuring via vital structuring is not concerned with articulating what that future will be; rather, its focus is in actively making space for more equitable and sustainable futures to unfold. This is complementary to queer, Afro, and Indigenous futurisms, carving out affective, digital, and physical space for various modes of futurism to co-exist and come to be. In doing so, I offer vital structuring as a praxis that focuses attention on: (1) the interconnected structural domains of influence across the individual and the collective within the entanglement; and (2) the importance of the structural within stories to illustrate how the individual and collective both work within and against larger structures and systems. Ultimately, vital structuring mobilizes the analysis of the structural levels where stories move to actively carve space to contemplate how better practices can be formed for feminist activism from within the current system.

### Naming Structures

In the face of opposition, we have seen how the stories from the “me too.” Movement offer forms of solidarity, consciousness-raising, and connection at the individual and collective levels. As seen in Chapters One, Three, and Four, these actions build feminist communities of

support and form their own entangled counterpublics, offering highly visible forms of organizing and story-circulation that shift the terms of contemporary discourse at individual, collective, and structural levels (e.g., Clark 2016; Higgs 2015; Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2016; Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018; Rentschler and Thrift 2014; Rentschler 2014, 2015, 2017). #MeToo has offered a reorientation of the boundaries and expectations for gender equity and sexual violence within our sociopolitical relationships. This has, in turn, provided practices and relationships through which women and queer and racialized communities bring into being new ways of engaging the world through visual, textual, and on the ground resistance. At the same time, for all the work that #MeToo has done to change perspectives on gendered violence and to create awareness, it still works within power structures that have excluded people from the movement. “me too.” counterpublics, structured through digital technologies and brought together through the “intersection of people, technology, and practice” (boyd 2010, 39), must then contend with these tensions.

In the days following the surge of #MeToo on social media, writer Lindy West (2017), reflecting on the absurdity of #MeToo as a witch hunt, wrote the following:

I keep thinking about what #MeToo would look like if it wasn't a roll call of people who've experienced sexual predation, but a roll call of those who've experienced sexual predation and actually seen their perpetrator brought to justice, whether professionally, legally or even personally. The number would be minuscule. Facebook's algorithm would bury it (para. 9).

West's speculations on Facebook's algorithms here reflect the structural problems of social media and the biases inherent in platforms, algorithms, and our social and political technocultures at large. West's conjectures here also bear keeping in mind that, sometimes, we

do not recognize these structural issues until they are pointed out. Social media curate content based on a variety of individual actions and behaviours that companies log, collect, and analyze, all while sorting out content considered unpopular. What is “unpopular” is up to the creators of these algorithms. As discussed in Chapter Two, scholars and activists have been making these observations for several years, arguing that we must be more aware of the ways in which data politics adversely affect women and queer, trans, gender non-conforming, and racialized communities, particularly given the quickly shifting digital landscape where biometric, health, location, discourse, financial, and habitual data are easily stored, sold, and used (e.g., Browne 2015; Duarte 2017; Noble 2018; O’Riordan and Phillips 2007). This kind of surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2019) and its associated racialized and gendered dynamics reflect larger intersecting systems of power that organize our social, political, and economic worlds.

The structural power found within different research scenes can vary from political structures to ideological structures, from physical institutions to the affective states that surround and uphold those organizations. In this case, looking beyond the enthusiastic discourses of technological ubiquity, we can begin to see the sets of digital structural issues that the entanglements within this research scene are grappling with: namely, gendered violence and rape culture (both of which are preserved and encouraged by heteropatriarchy and its complicity with white supremacy) and the algorithmic oppression that privileges stories that feed these systems over others. However, on other digital research scenes, entanglements might point us towards systems of power that structure digital surveillance and performances in border and airport security; the biopolitics of pharmaceutical companies; predictive policing; sexist, racist and homophobic policies by technology and telecommunications companies; and the proliferation of digital health and administrative records. In these cases, and on our research scene,

technochauvinism, the belief that technology is always the answer (Broussard 2018), and networked misogyny (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016) are hard at work. The increased digitization of feminist and antifeminist movements has led to cyberbullying, censorship, and the silencing of marginalized groups, reflective of the racist, sexist, and queerphobic intents to harm in unmediated spheres. Arguably, one of the reasons for this divisive digital landscape is the androcentric, racist conditions in which dominant media platforms are produced, and, as seen throughout this dissertation, my research scene is focused on these structural issues in particular. Vital structuring requires that we first outline the current systems or structures of power that we are faced with, and, as such, this set of reflections, initiated through dwelling on the research scene and re-attuning to communities and to stories via vibrant ethos, sets the stage for the first question we might ask when employing vital structuring: What systems of power are participants on the research scene facing in terms of both domination and their resistance to this domination?

Because of its mediated nature and the use of technologies to circulate its stories, #MeToo has perpetuated erasures set up by systems of oppression that exist because of technology's androcentric white supremacist beginnings and the white feminist, colonial, neoliberal, and misogynistic frameworks circulated online (e.g., Clark-Parsons 2019; Keller, Mendes, Ringrose 2016; Khoja-Moolji 2015; Portwood-Stacer and Berridge 2014). As a brief example of these intertwined systems of power, we can consider how, three years after the viral launch of the "me too." Movement, 45's viral COVID-19 diagnosis and Twitter's subsequent defense of him showed both progress and a lack of progress. On October 2, 2020, many took to Twitter to react to an announcement made early that morning that 45 had tested positive for COVID-19. Their comments pointed to the irony of his diagnosis—ironic, that is, given the ways that he had used the platform to spread disinformation about the virus, contributing to vaccine

hesitancy and diminishing the experiences of the millions of Americans who had tested positive, and the over two hundred thousand who had died. In a tweet that was liked 14.7k times one

Twitter participant wrote,

@TwitterUser: I was just told by some people that it's wrong to be happy that the president who said that COVID is a hoax has COVID and to them I'd like to say, from the bottom of my heart, fuck you (October 2, 2020).

Channeling collective feelings of grief into humour after Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader

Ginsberg's passing, another participant wrote,

@TwitterUser: Looks like RBG successfully argued her first case before God (October 2, 2020).

Someone else commented,

@TwitterUser: This is literally the moment everyone on earth has waited for since March (October 2, 2020).

Others were more direct with their desires, with many tweeting their wishes for the virus to take 45 once and for all, with others countering that they hope he recovers but only so that he can be held accountable for the atrocities committed during his presidency. By the evening of that same day, Twitter Comms, the official communications account for Twitter, released the following announcement to inform Twitter participants that those who wished harm against 45 were violating the company's terms of use:

@TwitterComms: Tweets that wish or hope for death, serious bodily harm or fatal disease against \*anyone\* are not allowed and will need to be removed. This does not automatically mean suspension (October 2, 2020, 7:09 pm).

With this tweet, Twitter once again revealed the reach of their mediating control in in another instance of the platform's systemic discrimination. Responses to the tweet reveal that there is much more here than just company policy—it is evocative of larger forms of structural discrimination, and Twitter participants were having none of it.

Across social media platforms that same day, participants pointed out what should be clear: the hypocrisy of Twitter's statement was all too loud given the ways in which the platform continues to remain silent when marginalized people are subject to violence, contributing to the harms they face. On Instagram, posts were shared by different participants that showed a screenshot of the tweet with a series of laughing emojis that made clear the incredulity of it all. Meme responses included a gif of Kim Kardashian sitting with her arms crossed and rolling her eyes, and US Congresswoman Ilhan Omar speaking into a mic to say "it's complete hypocrisy" before turning away. On Facebook, a participant wrote, "you can't be serious" accompanied by a meme of Beyoncé staring into the camera, slowly blinking her eyes in astonishment. On Twitter, Emily Dreyfuss, a fellow and senior editor for the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy at the Kennedy School immediately responded to the original post after only three minutes.

@EmilyDreyfuss: Now that this rule is so public, you might want to get a team to go through and remove all the 'I hope Obama dies' that are still up on this site, along with threats to [Hillary] Clinton, etc., not to mention against so many women whose names I couldn't search individually (October 2, 2020, 7:12 pm).

Ned Pyle, a principal program manager for Microsoft, added,

@NerdPyle: Looks like no one at Twitter Comms is a woman, Black person, brown person, gay person, trans person, disabled person, liberal person, progressive person, non-religious person, or actual person (October 2, 2020, 7:49 pm).

And filmmaker Ava DuVernay made headlines in *The Guardian*, *The Huffington Post*, and *The Washington Post*, among others, when she wrote,

@ava: Does this also go for Black and Brown women who have long been and continue to be harassed and threatened with assault and death on this platform or nah? I think no. Because I see those same accounts still up. Still causing harm. Your \*anyone\* is disingenuous (October 2, 2020, 11:04 pm).

DuVernay's sentiment loudly resonated across Twitter. Within two weeks of the initial post 11.5k other participants retweeted and 53.3k participants liked the tweet. In response, actor Poorna Jagannathan wrote,

@PoornaJags: oh exactly. Where's this freaking notice when all the rape threats pile on???? (October 3, 2020, 12:43 am).

A Twitter participant commiserated with the actor, commenting:

@TwitterUser: The audacity... The vitriol that women face on this platform every day is incredible. But I s'pose that is ok (October 3, 2020).

Still yet, other participants responded to the shared feelings of anger, grief, and exasperation to point out that this is just another example of "Twitter's systemic patriarchal message" and that,

@TwitterUser: Trump is \*anyone\*, but Black & Brown women are 'all people'? Twitter is really (inadvertently) educating people how systemic, operation racism works in practice (October 3, 2020).

As Twitter tried to reinforce the protection of someone who was one of the most protected people in the world, especially in a society that privileges whiteness, richness, able-bodiedness, and (toxic) masculinity, the emptiness and hypocrisy of the platform's announcement rang out among those who had been repeatedly marginalized by the platform and by society more broadly.

This event was not the first time that Twitter had revealed an unabashed complicity in broader forms of systemic discrimination. As one participant replying to Ava DuVernay's post reminded us:

@TwitterUser: Oh, when #MeToo happened they \*said\* they were serious...for three days. Then it stopped (October 3, 2020).

Indeed, rather than coming to the aid of people being sexually harassed on its platform, five days after #MeToo gained traction within social media spaces in 2017, Twitter Support announced,

@TwitterSupport: While #MeToo goes viral and everyone is outraged about Weinstein, @TwitterSupport does not consider rape taunts a violation of their Terms of Service (October 20, 2017, 2:54 pm).

What this circulation of stories should prompt us to ask are questions of whose interests are being served and who is harmed during these processes, reflecting Twitter's structural designs and culture. In response to DuVernay's critique of Twitter's announcement and Jagannathan's comment on Twitter's complicity in rape culture, one participant commented:

@TwitterUser: Worse than being disingenuous it's protective of white supremacy. They're circling the wagon around a man who fuels hate and vision for his own self-interest. They're protecting his white privilege to secure theirs (October 3, 2020).

This post clarifies that individual and collective interactions taking place within digital culture often reflect the systems that structure our sociopolitical spheres, despite conversations of progress and the hopes of the internet as the "great equalizer." We can see how online interactions mirror threads of previous exchanges of erasure and violence, using the very practices used to oppress people (e.g., the case of #MeToo and the witch hunt as we have seen in previous chapters) to mirror harmful conversations held in different spaces. This example—from 45 to DuVernay to Twitter Comms—illustrates how, while social media platforms house important feminist conversations and stories like the ones between DuVernay, Jagannathan, and others, the companies that create and maintain the structure of these platforms continue to not only support but embody discrimination.

Thus, while #MeToo made clear the ways in which heteropatriarchal discourses have been normalized and celebrated in public and private spheres, hashtag movements like #MeToo need to be understood as contributing to further marginalization given their reliance on the platform they use, and the time, money, and material devices required for participation—factors which reflect technochauvinism, neoliberalism, and networked misogyny, as well as other



interrelated race, class, and ability-related factors. Analyzing the movement of stories from “me too.” uncovers how this is happening, while illustrating how their circulation creates change within these larger systems. As such, the next set of questions we might ask when employing vital structuring is: which participants (including, but not limited to, stories, affects, people, and hashtags and the relationships between these participants) flourish and which do not on the research scene? How is this enabled or constrained by the previously articulated systems of power, including social media platforms, institutional policies, and ideologies?

The next step in developing vital structuring considers embodied, affective, and pharmacological relationships to technical structures and the will to refuse those structures, critically considering how to make space for various futures: a re-futuring. This recognizes the structures in place that limit and encourage action to make space to imagine alternative futures. In the next section, I suggest that the willfulness of feminists to remember and re-formulate memories that are different than current hegemonic public memories offers ways to resist and critique systems of power that create the structures that need to be intervened into. I highlight how, to follow stories within intersectional entanglements, vital structuring emphasizes the importance of dwelling to reflect on our own individual and larger collective feminist memories to identify the structures of feeling that uphold dangerous ideologies. Vital structuring provides a lens to interpret and examine the ways the danger of current structures, drawing on reflection and re-attunement to articulate the goals of intersectional feminist activism more clearly and to ultimately create space to imagine alternative futures.

## **Vital Structuring: Re-Futuring through Will and Memory**

### **Re-Naming Structures: Vital Structuring as Re-Futuring**

The “me too.” Movement has been both an intervention, a rupture into the systems of power that normalize structures of rape culture and the practices that uphold rape culture, and a counterpublic community. As a movement of entangled stories, contexts, and technologies, the use of digital practices was critical for the success of the movement—even as we recognize the ways that these practices constrain the full potential of the movement. Feminist digital organizing practices recognize the possibilities that emerge from treating women and gender non-conforming people, their experiences, and their memories as the jumping point from which revolution might take place. Current systems of power that obscure the harms of sexual violence recall white supremacist capitalist colonial heteropatriarchal norms and memories, systems that lend themselves to the construction of the present conditions that perpetuate violence. Vital structuring asks that we draw our attention to these systems of power as stories circulate throughout them and to the ways that they undergird our sociopolitical culture. It embraces the premise that the creation of new practices, or the queering of previous practices for new uses, offers possibilities for instigating transformation, reframing memory, and re-constituting the ways that we understand the past, present, and possible futures.

As discussed above, within the context of digital activism and hashtag feminism, design structures like algorithmic bias and the policies and cultures of social media companies are just two examples of how social media become uneven terrain. Because they are entangled with our social and political worlds, digital technologies (re)create gendered and racialized dynamics because of how tech segregates based on data-gathering and the targeting of bodies (e.g., Benjamin 2019; Noble 2018), and because of the “intra-actions” (Barad 2003) between the

gendered/raced/classed components used to create the technology. All entities are shaped through ongoing material and discursive processes where reality is made up of co-constitutive relationships of matter where phenomena materialize and agencies become possible through intra-actions. In other words, our understandings of the world merge through co-constitutive material-discursive relationships that are enacted rather than pre-existing.

There is a history of recent research that outlines this kind of unassuming mediated discrimination and systems of power, as mentioned in this dissertation over the last few chapters. In 2007, Kate O’Riordan and David J. Phillips’s collection of essays highlighted both the persistence of racism in online interactions and the constant homophobia that queer youth face in social interactions online, like the oppressions they face in everyday life. A few years later Simone Browne (2015) brought to light the ways in which surveillance is practiced on and resisted by Black bodies through surveillance technologies’ long histories of policing those very bodies. Through an investigation of Google, Safiya Noble (2018) similarly reveals how algorithms are based on histories of racism and sexism, especially against women of colour (type “Black girls” into Google, she suggests, and critically reflect on what you find). Two things are notable here: first, algorithms are often blamed as the culprits of sexism and racism, as a crafty little formula, which discursively constructs the algorithm, which is a key feature of the structure of platform, as objective and apolitical. That is, it cannot be to blame for its subjective and material consequences in the world, even as it is the supposed perpetrator of discrimination. Second, in ending the blame at the algorithm itself we are asked to forget, if not willfully ignore, the creators of such an algorithm, who have baked their own biases right into their product. Sexist and racist biases become, then, the foundation for technologies—the norm, the everyday lived experience.

As we've seen, digital technologies reify the gendered, raced, patriarchal dynamics of its social world. What should be noted here is that the moment you enter any sphere, you are already participating; the act of entering changes the intra-actions between agents, opening and closing possible futures. Things, actions, and communication are co-creating our social realities, and these things interact differently for different people. We can thus intervene into the history of white supremacist, patriarchal, capitalist control over technological structures by better understanding the sociotechnical relations that we are operating within. This can help us to find points to analyze in order to continue to challenge dominant ideologies and intervene along the way. Dominant ways of knowing are built on racism and patriarchy through the canonization of specific kinds of memories. Memories and ways of knowing are part of a larger ontoepistemology, and we have to challenge the systems that uphold white supremacist misogynistic domination in order to challenge the technologies that come from these knowledges and to cultivate the critical vocabularies needed for a more equitable mediated world.

Challenging memories and ways of knowing requires remembering previous experiences with a new lens. In thinking through the concept of remembering, Karen Barad (2015) argues for the material importance of memory:

Memory is a field of enfolded patterns of differentiating-entangling. Remembering is not a process of recollection, of the reproduction of what was, of assembling and ordering events like puzzle pieces fit together by fixing where each has its place. Rather, it is a matter of re-membering, of tracing entanglements, responding to yearnings for connection, materialized into fields of longing/belonging, of regenerating what never was but might yet have been (407-8).

From this perspective, an important component of vital structuring is re-membering to re-future, which subverts the status quo: power is taken out of the system of oppression and rearticulated to be distributed among those doing the (re)organizing work, suggesting to those who thrive under the normalization of rape culture that there are multiple forms of expertise that do not lie solely in their domain.

Ruptures into the status quo are crucial for feminist practices and feminist organizing in that they offer new organizations of memory. The more carefully and intentionally—the more willfully—that this is done, the more clearly new ways of understanding the past, present, and future can come to be. This re-membering is not straightforward or easy. As Sara Ahmed (2014) argues in her work on willful subjects, “certain forms of will seem to involve the rendering of other wills as willful,” and that “one form of will assumes the right to eliminate the others” (2). For Ahmed, will is done to “will about” a particular object or ends through embodied practice: “willing is corporeal: a willing is a bodily turn” (35). When people become impediments to the will of the status quo, force is often used to make that person willing; this we see over and over again through the use of violence to will about ends that keep power in the hands of the few, and to keep the power of will out of the reach of others. For those who have been marginalized, willfulness is something that must be eradicated, or at the very least, “straightened out” by the “steady hand” of structural power and force (75) in order to maintain white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and misogyny.

Within the context of “me too.” and the stories shared, willfulness is a rupture, a liberation from heteropatriarchal structures and institutions, and vital structuring seeks the vibrancy of this will against the systems of power to articulate how this comes to be. The willful are those who do not perform the assumed duty, rebelling against white supremacy, misogyny,

heteropatriarchy, and capitalism. Those who are willful refuse to be told to remain stagnant, threatening reproduction of the social body and the networked systems of power that circulate. The willful refuse, despite the high price, to be put in their place according to the current structure of feeling. Will opposes these structures and, when willfulness tries to be straightened out, it marks where there are weaknesses in the structures of heteropatriarchy and white supremacy, calling for others to also assert their willfulness here:

@TwitterUser: (Part 1) #MeToo—I was also told: do you know how this is going to look for our family? You can't press charges. I did anyway.

@TwitterUser: (Part 2) I was also told on #convictionday 'Good thing that's over'—not even—'you will be ok', or 'you saved someone else' or 'we love you.' (October 15, 2017).

In these posts, we see the willfulness that Ahmed is speaking to. As she writes, “we are *willing not* to be willing: *not willing* translated into *willing not*” (154). These are “striking bodies, bodies that go *on* strike” in order “to aim *for* obstruction” engage in a willingness to mark the body—for those bodies that are already marked and stigmatized (by race, by ability, by sexuality, for instance), these bodies must be willing to bear stigmatization over again (161). One Twitter participant who had previously felt silenced attests to this, writing:

@TwitterUser: it's their way of dismissing us. By negating the reality of the pain, they caused us and denying us the right to feel that pain. WRONG” (October 26, 2017).

To which another participant responded,

@TwitterUser: Absolutely.

This show of community, of concretely and willfully refusing to be silenced, highlights the vitality of the #MeToo counterpublic as it claims its refusals. These tweets and their show of willfulness and of re-membering lead us to the third question for consideration for vital structuring: How are lines of power moved from totalizing systems of oppression and re-

distributed or re-organized among participants opposing the systems? That is, what kind of re-futuring space and potential work are unfolding within stories shared?

Vital structuring recognizes how #MeToo calls on these memories that are asked to be buried to produce alternative memories that enable different forms of will in order to intervene into these power structures. The use of memory brings forth a shared reckoning of will and through sharing memories that have been silenced or completely erased. It is the shared experiences, the lasting values, and the affective resonances that make possible such retentions, with posts shared via #MeToo allowing for reflection and thus modification of previous perceptions as we affectively remember and critically dwell with that remembering. In this way, as Clark (2016) argues, the practice of hashtag resistance “empowers its users to take control of the sociocultural narratives associated with their identities and subjective experiences” (798). Gathering individual and collective memories through virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos offers the ability to participate in important forms of caring for one another. Vital structuring, in drawing on the affective and material vibrancy and vitality of the work done at individual and collective levels, mobilizes these memories and the will to see the systems of power that try to hinder such care, visualizing the heteropatriarchal structures that encourage only particular gendered, raced, and classed forms of being.

The externalization of our memories through the practices used and the stories shared demonstrates how we are sutured into a historically continuous set of structures and value systems, brought to us through and created by the relationship between culture, technology, and power. Because it is the norm, because it is upheld by the governing hegemony of our current conditions, (un)mediated misogyny has lasting effects. These are an amalgamation of technical objects that embody the knowledge of past cultures. Devices and networks that feminists work

within are constantly shifting and merging because of their androcentric beginnings and their subsequent feminist reappropriations. As a praxis, vital structuring asks that we critically assess what structures “me too.” breaks with and how it aims to reconstitute shared communities of power in different ways.

In the next section, I demonstrate the use of vital structuring by highlighting a series of social media conversations and the possibilities they enable outside of the bounds of the platform, examining how the work of dismantling misogyny and white supremacy is being done within broader networks of power and across different mediated domains. Using the praxis of vital structuring, I illustrate how to begin to see structural critiques within stories as they move between spheres of power, and how #MeToo participants are working with the system to oppose the system. Specifically, I demonstrate how the “me too.” Movement has created ruptures into the complacency of rape culture at large. I emphasize how vital structuring reveals work that strives towards re-futuring, which helps us to see past the false dichotomies within the individual, collective, and structural to notice the innate relationship between and among these spheres. Stories that tackle shame and rape culture specifically point towards these structural considerations, re-orienting to the status quo through showing us hidden (algorithmic, structural, and hierarchal) aspects that need further attention if we are to imagine and bring to fruition alternate futures.

### **Engaging Vital Structuring through Re-Futuring**

Stories shared and circulated by feminist hashtag campaigns offer significant insights into the embodied nature of our digitally constructed communication practices and the forms of memory, affect, and relationality they encompass. The re-organization of memory through the willfulness cultivated within these #MeToo counterpublics is profound in its use of the feminist



adage “the personal is political,” asking participants to reflect on their own experiences and then become attuned to the experiences shared within media spaces. This is critical for orienting to structures that seek to erase these stories from the public memory. From the very onset of the “me too.” Movement’s viral online presence, the tweet that incited #MeToo’s virality from Alyssa Milano in October 2017 reflected a structural critique of the relationship between memory and will, asking for participants to make their personal experiences political. Despite the erasures that came from this tweet and the erasures that followed it, Milano’s post includes an imperative that is contingent upon the recalling of memory and the use of digital practices that speaks to the process of feminist re-futuring within the context of the pharmacological intersectional entanglements within which the “me too.” Movement operates.

Attached to an image reading, “Me too. Suggested by a friend: ‘If all the women and men who have been sexually harassed, assaulted or abused wrote “me too.” as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem.’ Milano wrote:

@Alyssa\_Milano: If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write “me too.” as a reply to this tweet. (October 15, 2017, 4:21 pm)

While Milano’s post begins with the seemingly simple pronouncement of “me too,” locating the assertion in the personal and specific lived experience of each possible responder, she follows this with the acknowledgement in the original tweet that the instructions to share and support the hashtag are working upon the suggestion from a friend, indicating a network, a community, a shared act that situates the utterance of “me too” through these two sentences as both located in the “I” and the “we.” The reiteration of the personal is political, an important tactic in North American feminist activism since the 1960s, works to foster dwelling to incite acts of re-attunement within the community through featuring experiences as points of connection. This initial use of vibrant ethos points us towards the need for vital structuring to explore networks,

cultures, and systems. It also points towards the amendment of the personal is political to include that the collective and structural are also political.

Milano's post and its circulation underscore that she and others are not on their own in making these statements but are rather spurred on by a collaborative effort that operates in tandem with other social media #MeToo participants in an emergent network. The request for others to shift their social media status was a request for people to collectively index the broad reach and scale of sexual harassment—to reflect on nature of the rape culture we live in and to dwell with others online who have decided that this culture must change. This gesture requires that participants visualize the “magnitude of the problem,” while, as the first question of vital structuring requires, explicitly naming the systems of power being faced: rape culture upheld by institutions that value white supremacy, colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy above the lives of their people. Within the context of vital structuring, this naming also begins the work of pointing out what spaces within larger systems of oppression we might be grappling with and the distinct form(s) of discrimination that participants are seeking to rally against. Here, the post orients social media participants around sexual violence and the sexism and misogyny that enable the normalization of sexual violence, while also recognizing that white supremacy, queerphobia, and ableism prop up the sexual violence of rape culture. Although vital structuring acknowledges that these systems are, by their very name, complex networks of intersecting oppressions, this first step of articulating the specific forms of systemic power that participants within the entanglement are facing is important for recognizing the kinds of resistance that are also taking place.

Mass response to Milano's request meant that within 24 hours, 109,451 posts were circulating on Twitter (Main 2017 cited in Clark-Parsons 2019) and #MeToo was used or

gestured towards in over 12 million Facebook posts and comments (Park 2017 cited in Clark-Parsons 2019). Many responses touched on how violently rape culture permeates everyday life for many people marginalized by gender. For example, a Facebook post that was cross posted to Twitter highlighted the normalization of violence in the case of willing about love and heteropatriarchal complacency:

Facebook User: Don't tell a girl that when a boy hits her or is anyway rude to her it's because he has a crush on her. Abuse is not a sign of love #MeToo (October 16, 2017).

A response to this post demonstrated the effects of force in stamping out will in others:

Facebook User: #MeToo, several times, various degrees of it, unfortunately... over 15 years later, still struggling with PTSD (October 16, 2017).

Conversely, ideas of good will are intimately tied to obedience, duty, and law, used for gathering a diverse population into one consistent crowd, and used to uphold the structures that maintain the status quo. These structures are then used against these same people, surveilling masses into acting certain ways. When individuals or small groups act otherwise, the will or force of these structures straightens out the individual will to adhere once again to the will of the dominant group, as articulated above. This results in the consequences that social media participants are sharing here, like PTSD or abuse.

Recalling Ahmed's (2010) explanation of will and the role of will in opposing violent structures, we see how when one wills against structures of the status quo there are consequences. This becomes particularly clear as people are shamed into silence after experiencing sexual assault or harassment. Danielle Muscato, a civil rights activist and host of the podcast RESIST, speaks to this when she shares:

@DanielleMuscato: #MeToo. And the cops tried to talk me out of pressing charges, because everyone would know I'd been raped, & how embarrassing would THAT be? (October 15, 2017, 9:34 pm).

Responding to her own posts a few minutes later she added:

@DanielleMuscato: #MeToo. And I still can't have sex, 12 years later. The thought of it now makes me feel disgusted, ashamed, perverted, degraded (9:36 pm).

In sharing the explicit lack of institutional support she was offered after reporting her assault, Muscato succinctly calls attention to how tactics of slut-shaming were used against her by the police, who represent the power and authority of public colonialist structures, in an attempt to dissuade her from pressing charges and the effects of her assault and silencing years later. Again, we see the articulation of the specific form of violence that “me too.” counterpublics are rallying against, this time coupled with the institutional magnitude of rape culture and misogyny’s reach. Shame is a tactic used to keep Muscato and others from shattering the illusion of another structure, heteropatriarchy’s, greatness. Rape culture is a consequence of heteropatriarchy: it makes us believe that heteronormativity and masculinity imbue innate power, and that this power deserves to be wielded in whatever ways are desired; shame here is leveraged against survivors to scare them away from re-attuning to communities and re-futuring in more just ways.

Situating her lack of institutional support after her experience of gendered violence within #MeToo underscores that Muscato’s story is not an isolated incident. Another Twitter participant shared a similar story of shame:

@TwitterUser: I can relate. I lost friends, I was refused therapy, I wasn’t believed, I thought it was my fault. I only sought help after being diagnosed with PTSD and couldn’t take my own anxious thoughts any longer. And this is only a quarter of the story (October 16, 2017).

These experiences point towards the ubiquity of sexual assault and harassment, located within inequitable systems of power that require broader public conversation around how penal and legal systems fail those who are raped and/or subjected to other gender-based violence:

@TwitterUser: Rape is the only crime in which the victim becomes the accused. #MeToo (October 15, 2017).

And then, a year later, that same participant reminded people on Twitter:

@TwitterUser: You should check out the current #WhyIDidntReport hashtag. You will find many different experiences of why the #MeToo movement began (September 21, 2018).

Posts like these make clear the insidious nature of rape culture's systemic silencing of those who have experienced sexual assault and harassment. In a follow-up post by Milano on October 24, 2017, she cites that the #MeToo movement, only ten days later, included "1.7 million voices from 85 countries" (Prokos 2017), indicating just how powerfully the hashtag resonated with those who had been affected by sexual violence. By breaking through the silence around gender-based violence, #MeToo inspired an expression of willfulness that opened global space for others to share. The broad affective resonances across so many countries indicates the systemic nature of these structural problems.

This series of events opened discursive and material space in which to take seriously the mass testimonies of survivors, demanding critical reflection and feminist re-attunement to current structures that are positioned to minimize, deflect, excuse, and deny experiences of sexual harassment and assault. Without requiring social media participants who said "me too" to go into any details if they did not wish to, this event highlighted the normalcy and reach of sexual harassment and assault, illustrating how all industries, as well as public and private spaces, are propped up by structures that support or implicitly condone rape culture. Vital structuring draws attention to this structural resistance, looking also at the platforms and practices that make these conversations possible and the systems of power like heteropatriarchy and white supremacy that circulate.

#MeToo's networked counterpublicity affords participants an environment through to which to bond via shared experience to discuss how these systems have done harm at personal,

collective, and structural levels. This intervenes into patriarchal structures and transmits different forms of practiced knowledges and lived realities through digital channels that were originally meant to reify the status quo. Tanya Horeck (2014) notes that “social media...has opened up important opportunities for feminists to talk back to cultural depictions of rape and to interrogate rape culture,” which include an immediacy of response that has shifted the political terrain considerably, raising new questions about our personal and affective relationship to representations of sexualized violence” (1106). What is significant about this moment is how it has created spaces for survivors of sexual violence to be heard and to feel a sense of justice from within systems of power that seek to obscure those stories. This begins to speak to the second question of vital structuring, as participants of the “me too.” Movement begins to be able to find spaces to share stories and flourish within the entanglement, where previously this may not have been able to be the case.

By acknowledging the relationships between humanity and technology, including the ways that technologies enable and constrain, vital structuring suggests that we need to reflect more seriously on how our lived experiences are deeply affected structuring forces. Considering what technologies do, and how technical practices work to reinforce a dogmatic status quo materially and ideologically helps to bring to light actions that have changed how we think about rape culture. In understanding how discursive claims reflect material conditions, we can better understand how movements like #MeToo can directly affect social and political ideologies to create more equitable futures. For example, a widely circulated tweet from the hashtag campaign posted by Canadian poet and activist Najwa Zebian reads:

@najwazebian: #MeToo And I was blamed for it. I was told not to talk about it. I was told that it wasn't that bad. I was told to get over it (October 15, 2017, 7:09 pm).

Highlighted in initial reports of the movement in *The New York Times*, the tweet was framed alongside its responses as “bearing witness” to lived experiences of sexual assault and their consequences (Codrea-Rado 2017, para. 2), underscoring the community-making capacity of social media. Zebian’s tweet exemplifies the tension between her lived experience and the imperatives from official discourses that silence, erase, and make invisible her experience. Her public documentation describes the forms of victim-blaming that took place to minimize her assault and highlights the discrediting of memory that is often leveraged against survivors who speak out.

Same day responses to Zebian’s post read:

@TwitterUser: We are victimized twice. Once by the predator and then by those we trust and believe will have our backs. I’m sorry #MeToo.

@TwitterUser: Same. I was blamed by family and told I had ruined his life. That I shouldn’t be sleeping around, but I had every intent on staying a virgin.

@TwitterUser: Them: ‘You are fine.’ ‘You don’t have to ruin his life over this.’ ‘Get over it.’ For the record, I was not fine. It changed me #MeToo.

@TwitterUser: Same. I was also told I wasn’t that pretty so no one would believe me. That he was pretty cute so I should actually be thankful.

These responses to Zebian’s post reveal an ongoing conversation between her and others who have experienced harassment as she offers supportive and affirming responses to others who shared their experiences of facing dominant heteropatriarchal ideologies and violence, thanking them and providing her regret to each person who added to the thread that day. In the context of the hashtag campaign, Zebian’s and others’ articulations of their dismissal and erasure both confirm the widespread nature of such experiences and point to the failure of social structures to provide the necessary support needed. It is through this recollection of individual repertoires of experience and memory that allowed the collective movement to emerge.

As Zebian tweeted later that month,

@najwazebian: When you say #MeToo, you're no longer alone in the struggle to be heard. You're now part of #WeToo. And we can change the world together (October 24, 2017, 12:15 pm).

The thread's dialogue focuses on lived experiences as a form of politics and demonstrates the modes of collectivity and solidarity that can be fostered by the hashtag by taking on structural oppressions. As a site of connection, it is also a creation of new memories, experiences, and associations that for some participants validates experiences that were formerly dismissed by systemic forces that permeate the individual and collective levels. Yet, in thinking through how the "me too." Movement is enmeshed within intersectional entanglements, we also need to reflect on how, who, and what the movement excludes given the centring of white celebrities' stories as the symbol most often associated with #MeToo.

### Structural Entanglements of Constraint and Creation

Alongside the hashtag's early and continuing assembling of voices via feelings of hope, recognition, refusal, and solidarity among those who have experienced forms of harassment and assault, equally powerful statements of what is missing in the dominant discourse of #MeToo gained prominence. A consideration of the constructive and limiting forces of social media and social media activism is crucial for effective future actions. This is particularly the case within the "economy of visibility" (Banet-Weiser 2018) of social media given the emphasis that is placed on popularity and taking up space with the goal of being seen and to make an impact. While perhaps bringing attention to issues of inequality, activism within an economy of visibility sees very little active follow-through and, as Clark-Parsons (2019) notes, "does little to transform structures of inequality" (3). Within an economy of visibility, vital structuring helps to show what steps are taken to push ahead, to separate from the unjust status quo and call attention to



individual actions taken. Within the #MeToo movement, especially within the beginning days of its viral uptake on social media platforms, white cis celebrities were seen as the spokespeople for the movement, leaving behind the experiences of others.

Adhering to the second question of vital structuring, we can begin to see where entanglements make known their pharmacological tendencies, the digital culture of social media platforms affecting whose voices and experiences flourish. On social media, especially in 2017 when #MeToo went viral, the voices of white celebrities were centered. As a result, the foundational work of Tarana Burke, who had started the efforts of #MeToo eleven years prior to the hashtag's take-off on social media, and her work within Black communities was largely erased during the initial stages of #MeToo's rise to prominence. On the one-year anniversary of #MeToo's viral appearance on Twitter, Burke wrote:

@TaranaBurke: A year ago today I thought my world was falling apart. I woke up to find out that the hashtag #metoo had gone viral and I didn't see any of the work I laid out over the previous decade attached to it. I thought for sure I would be erased from a thing I worked so hard to build (Twitter, October 15, 2018, 7:22 am).

Although the whitewashing of #MeToo began with the silencing of Black voices like Burke's, the oversight gave way to larger discussions of the history of whitewashing in media, including the normalization of ignoring racialized, queer, trans, and disabled women and the appropriation of racialized women's work by white women. As activist-scholar Dr. Stacey Patton wrote,

@DrStaceyPatton: Black women have been saying #MeToo since slavery (October 27, 2017, 7:24 pm).

This continues to demonstrate the ways that structures of heteropatriarchy and white supremacy are deeply intertwined and work together to maintain power. Within digital spaces this becomes further entrenched through the compounding effects of marginalization.

Indeed, following the intersectional entanglements of “me too.” illuminates how heteropatriarchy, including its normalization of rape culture and sexual violence, is intertwined with many axes of oppression, including white supremacy and transphobia, and social media took note of #MeToo’s erasure of trans people:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo but let’s remember to not center this around white cis women and to uplift marginalized folks (October 16, 2017).

To this day many of the conversations taking place around #MeToo focus on ciswomen, ignoring gender non-conforming, non-binary, intersex, and trans people who experience heightened rates of gender violence—a problem #MeTooTrans has been working to bring attention to since November 2019. The above tweet reflects an intervention into the reliance on white cis-feminist perspectives in understanding the stakes and conditions of the movement and a call to share space. D’Ignazio and Klein (2020) make clear why this is the case, as “seeing oppression is especially hard for those who occupy positions of privilege,” even more so, perhaps, when those positions of privilege still result in some forms of discrimination, for instance, being the target of sexism as a white woman (24). Many white cis feminists involved in the early moments of the campaign may not have noticed the centring of white cis voices and it is likely that reading the tweet above might have stung a bit within the context of a highly charged political, social, and emotional moment.

The surveillance and regulating of trans bodies, of willful bodies, is an oppressive structural regulation. Recognizing transphobia and other oppressions within the movement is critical for reflecting on and gesturing towards where the movement can go, which the first and second set of questions from vital structuring seeks to recognize. On Twitter, the 25-year-old French person who started #MeTooTrans wrote the following:

@TwitterUser: (Part 1) Faced with transphobic attacks, individual or collective, personal or state, which are on the rise, I invite you to share your experiences of transmisogyny and transphobia under the hashtag #MeTooTrans.

@TwitterUser: (Part 2): Modeled on the denunciation model that was #MeToo, this hashtag aims to free speech from the attacks that we, trans people, live in a system that is ever more prone and favorable to our discrimination and our attacks (November 10, 2019).

In the thread they add,

@TwitterUser: And to start the dance, yeah, #MeTooTrans when I was nabbed by two guys in a unisex toilet trying to figure out if I was ‘male or female’. Feeling up my body and my private parts to ‘know’ (November 10, 2019).<sup>26</sup>

People on Twitter responded to further confirm experiences of transmisogyny, including within the #MeToo movement, and to add their own encounters of violence:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo is about sexism. #MeTooTrans is about transphobia. We are raped. We are sexually assaulted. We are permanently sexualized. We are under the violence the medical institutions. We are not covered up by justice... (November 10, 2019).

@TwitterUser: #jesuisunevictime<sup>27</sup> I was sexually assaulted 2 years ago. Took the subway in daylight. Felt a hand on my bottom. When I turned around, I saw this man smiling at me. I got off and he followed me. I ran away to the unknown. I managed to escape. I will never forget that smile #MeTooTrans (March 2, 2020).

Others made clear the ways that cis bodies feel entitled to surveil and control trans bodies, conflating genitalia with gender:

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<sup>26</sup> The original thread on Twitter in French reads: Face aux agressions transphobes, individuelles ou collectives, personnelles ou étatiques qui se multiplient, je vous invite à partager vos expériences de transmisogynie et de transphobie sous le hashtag #MeTooTrans; Calqué sur le modèle de dénonciation qu’était le #Metoo, ce hashtag a pour but de libérer la parole des agressions que nous, personnes trans vivons dans un système toujours plus enclin et favorable à notre discrimination et à nos agressions; Et pour commencer la danse, oui, le #MeTooTrans quand j’ai été chopée par deux mecs dans des toilettes unisexes pour savoir si j’étais “un homme ou une femme”. Palpage de mon corps et de mes parties intimes pour “savoir”.

<sup>27</sup> #jesuisunevictime translates to #IAmAVictim

@TwitterUser: When a guy grabbed my crotch in the evening several times in a row to verify that I really had ‘balls’ and then told me that I was a real guy... #MeTooTrans”<sup>28</sup>  
<sup>29</sup> (November 10, 2019)

@TwitterUser: #MeTooTrans When at the beginning of my transition I went to the men’s bathroom to find myself in front of a guy ‘The toilet for dykes is not here’ and when I went to the women’s bathroom out of fear I was yelled at inside and pushed. I left with a bruise”<sup>30</sup> (November 10, 2019).

Bringing attention to the prevalence of transmisogyny here is especially important, particularly given the lack of reporting on the sexual assault of trans people and subsequent lack of convictions because of transphobic policies and laws, something that dominant discourses surrounding #MeToo do not often comment on but that we are able to see through these posts.

Using a pen name, one Twitter participant wrote:

@TwitterUser: (Part 1) I was 18 when this happened, and it took me four years to talk about it on record. I was raped by the ones who were meant to protect me, and I never had a law protecting my rights. And I still don’t see one. #MeTooIndia #MeTooTrans #MeToo #StopTransBill2019.

@TwitterUser: (Part 2): Let me remind you, even after having laws that punish rapists of ciswomen for 7 years, we still have a nation where gang rape cases appear on our phone feeds as frequent as notifications of sales from Amazon or Flipkart (December 2, 2019).

Even from this sample of posts, the pervasiveness of sexual assault, and particularly sexual assault and misogyny leveraged against trans and nonbinary people, should be cause for serious consideration of the structures that uphold and encourage rape culture and the use of sexual violence to exert power. #MeTooTrans is a constant reminder of the ways that structures

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<sup>28</sup> The original post on Twitter in French reads: Quand un mec m'a attrapé l'entrejambe en soirée plusieurs fois D'affilée pour vérifier que j'avais biens “des couilles” pour ensuite me dire que j'étais un vrai mec ... #MeTooTrans.

<sup>29</sup> When confirming the most accurate French to English translation of the tweet using Google Translate, Google reminded me of its racist roots by translating “un mec” to the n-word the first time it appears in the tweet and then “guy” (the correct translation) for the second appearance of “mec” again demonstrating the ways that technology can uphold systemic racism even as it provides tools to improve communication.

<sup>30</sup> The original post on Twitter in French reads: #MeTooTrans Quand au début de ma transition je suis allé dans les toilettes des hommes pour me retrouver devant un gars “Les toilettes pour gouines c'est pas ici degage” et quand je suis allé chez les femmes par peur on m'a hurlé dessus en me poussant. Je suis sorti avec un bleu.

exclude; #MeToo does not include or represent all experiences and, often, when searching #MeToo it is incredibly difficult to find #MeTooTrans because of the platform's algorithmic sorting. This underscores the need to understand the tensions within intersectional entanglements, where social media platforms and the movements that circulate within and across can be characterized as pharmakon. In this example, while Twitter does offer a platform for making visible power structures that have become so normalized that they seem invisible, magnified through the stories here from Twitter participants, it also maintains those structures of domination—for example, their own policies—through the ways that it algorithmically and conceptually excludes the voices that seek spaces to share.

Like the erasure of trans and gender non-conforming people within mainstream #MeToo discourses, the experiences of people with disabilities have not been highly broadcast, even though, according to the University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, people with disabilities are twice as likely to face sexual abuse than people who are not disabled (Newman 2015, para. 1). Drawing on research shared in *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*, one Twitter participant shares how, for women who are vulnerable, rape has essentially been “decriminalized” (Newman 2015, para. 1):

@TwitterUser: Disabled women in the UK who report rape to police are 40-67% less likely to have case referred for prosecution than non-disabled (40% mental illness, 67% learning difficulties) (April 3, 2018).

These kinds of numbers indicate that people who are more vulnerable or more marginalized by society are not perceived to be as credible as those who fit within standard norms. In this case, disabled people who experience sexual assault or harassment are not considered reliable, which effectively protects abusers from being reported, making conviction near impossible. Emily

Ladau, social justice advocate and cohost of The Accessible Stall Podcast, highlights the ways #MeToo has failed to adequately account for people with disabilities:

@emily\_ladau: #MeToo and #TimesUp have been inclusive of disability only at the surface level. 'Disability' is often a word added among a list of marginalized identities that a movement claims to represent, but substantive dialogue/allyship are missing (February 21, 2018, 7:06 pm).

This is clear in the 2019 case of a woman in the private Arizona Hacienda Healthcare nursing facility whose sexual assault only came to light after she became pregnant and gave birth, despite being in a coma. And this was not the first time that this facility had come under fire: in 2013, the Department of Health Services found that an employee had consistently made sexually explicit remarks about some patients, and in 2017 the facility was under pressure for the lack of privacy given to patients by staff while they were showering or changing (Romo 2019). Taking to Twitter, one person reflected on the assault:

@TwitterUser: Sexual abuse in the community with disabilities is really common and rarely discussed. A woman in a vegetative state being raped and impregnated at a private nursing home is horrific #MeToo #DisabilityToo #Women (January 8, 2019).

Given the heightened visibility of the #MeToo movement within both mainstream and alternative discourses, more diverse representation within the movement is crucial for shedding stigma not only around surviving sexual assault, but also for moving past ableist (and cis-heteronormative) stereotypes. As the third question of vital structuring asks scholars to pay attention to, this can begin the work of moving lines of power from totalizing systems of oppression, even within a movement that seeks to combat these oppressions, and re-organizes that power among people who have been marginalized by the system.

Alongside the work done to bring attention to and re-distribute power and agency among more participants of the #MeToo movement, public conversations quickly recognized that there were people in the workplace who could not speak out of a very real fear that they may lose their

jobs, that people may be connected to their abusers, or that people did not have to speak aloud harassment to validate their experience:

@TwitterUser: #MeToo is just tip of the iceberg. There are millions without any computer, internet access who have worse experiences of daily abuse (October 16, 2017).

Other Twitter participants added:

@TwitterUser: This one goes out to all the working women whose #MeToo you'll never read cause they're too busy cleaning your home or serving you food. The ones who'll never be online, the ones who have no legal rights the ones who just have to take it, the ones who are invisible (October 24, 2017).

@TwitterUser: Reminder that if a woman didn't post #MeToo, it doesn't mean she wasn't sexually assaulted or harassed. Survivors don't owe you their story (October 16, 2017).

These posts signal the necessity of re-distributing power within virtual spaces to recognize the ways that social media do not offer equal platforms for its users or for the causes that circulate. This should remind participants (and scholars as participants within the entanglement) that some do not have the opportunity to even enter the digital playing field. Despite #MeToo's space as a counterpublic, its networked features mean that those who do not have access to the network to share stories cannot participate in the community affordances of the networked counterpublic, despite seeing themselves as representative of (or represented by) the cause. This is a direct cause of the blurring of public and private spheres, the contextual collapsing of spatial, temporal, and social boundaries, and the ease with which imagined audiences or participants are erased. Vital structuring is key for seeing that these are not individual or community weaknesses but are instead symptoms of the systems of power that surveille and restrict bodies throughout various mediated spheres.

Vital structuring elucidates how the internet grants a particular kind of visibility (to use Clark-Parsons's language) based on the algorithmic filtering and design of the platform, as well as based on those who choose to post. At the same time, these factors also signal a lack of access

and invisibility, since platforms favour certain posts and accounts over others based on the ingrained assumptions and biases of the designers themselves, which show up in the design of the platform and its algorithms. These kinds of biases influence how people can participate in social media activism, and on social media sites more generally, and point towards factors that influence how participants of social media come to understand campaigns like #MeToo.

Recalling pharmakon, the idealism of naming hurts and experiences and witnessing stories of confession and disclosure is necessarily challenged when we consider the assumptions that we make when we engage in our social media feeds—feeds that have been customized based on what prejudicially-created algorithms decide you want to see.

Here also lie assumptions about class mobility and the ability to participate in the movement, while also indicating that the movement must continue for the same reasons.

@TwitterUser: A reminder, #MeToo might not appear on all your social media feeds because survivors might still be virtually connected to their abusers (October 16, 2017).

Not all people who have been sexually abused or harassed are able to leave the spaces that put that at risk of abuse, including material structures like workplaces and family homes, since people still need incomes to sustain themselves and people still need homes to shelter themselves. The ability to leave a situation is also not easy; because of the system of rape culture we operate within it can be individually emotionally, physically, and economically damaging, even while at the same time it can be empowering on individual and community scales. It is not that those who leave situations have made the easy decision, or even that they are privileged enough to walk from one home or workplace to another without fear. These situations ask that we recognize the multiple dimensions at play that work to make it so that some can find alternatives, while others may not have the same opportunities.



Employing vital structuring demonstrates that even as #MeToo utterly changed the conditions under which we can now talk about the workplace, gender, assault, harassment, and agency, encouraging many people to share their stories and embrace breaking a normalized silence, for many others it reinforced the historical and systemic exclusion of so many people's experiences: Black, Indigenous, and racialized people; queer, trans, and gender non-conforming people; poor women, and disabled women, as well as the assault that men and boys have also experienced, and the humiliation and guilt associated with sexual violence.

@TwitterUser: There's so much shame around sexual abuse/assault/harassment. What you see publicly here is just a sliver of #MeToo (October 15, 2017).

Despite gaps in who could and could not speak out at the time, social media remain important spaces for intersectional feminist work. As Sherri Williams (2015) notes, despite dominant media coverage there remains great potential for hashtag activism to "bring attention to black women's issues when traditional mainstream media newspaper articles and television stories ignore black women's concerns as they have for decades" (42). Similarly, hashtag activism has helped to account for queer, trans, and disabled people's experiences with #MeToo, giving space for voices that have not been amplified in dominant media and helping to connect people.

In a series of tweets in a response to her own anniversary thread of #MeToo's viral circulation on October 15, 2018, Tarana Burke reflected on what we can frame as the pharmacological impacts of constraints and creation as features of #MeToo. In this same thread, Burke begins to point to how power can be distributed along different lines of potentiality, suggesting the kinds of re-futuring space that can be made.

@TaranaBurke: I didn't know that @Alyssa\_Milano sent out the first tweet until the following day. And that is when she found out about @MeTooMVMt and reached out to me. She tweeted an apology and posted out website and asked how she could amplify our work.

@TaranaBurke: The most interesting thing happened over the next 24 hours. I posted a video of me giving a speech about #metoo from 2014 and that went viral. And then people began to get confused—had “white hollywood” tried to steal this from a Black woman?!?

@TaranaBurke: The short answer, No. But I was definitely in danger of being erased if YOU ALL Black women and our allies and friends, didn’t speak up. But something else happened too. I watched for hours that first day as more and more stories poured out across social media from survivors.

@TaranaBurke: One story in particular hit me hard. It was a woman’s story [of] being assaulted on her college campus and it resonated so deeply with me. I was on the one hand fielding calls from my girls like “whatchu wanna do??” they were ready for a fight to make sure I wasn’t erased.

@TaranaBurke: On the other hand—I was watching thousands of survivors pour their hearts out across social media with no container to process, no support and no one really helping to walk them through disclosure or uplift the power of community for survivors.

@TaranaBurke: My work has always centered Black and Brown women and girls. And it always will—but at the heart of it all it supports ALL survivors of sexual violence. And I committed to that work a long time ago so watching people open up with what felt like no covering online was hard.

@TaranaBurke: The whole time I was fretting about saving my work and I didn’t realize that “my work” was happening right in front of me (10:29-10:32 am).

As Burke points out, social media, particularly the voices of “YOU ALL Black women and our allies and friends” helped ensure that celebrity figures like Alyssa Milano did not overshadow Burke’s original labour and her expertise, fueling the work of bringing power back to the Black women and girls that the movement was originally created for. In re-centring the conversation to Burke’s work and intentions, the origins of the movement were brought into popular discourse to offer a critical amendment to the hashtag that was mindful of the actors, actions, and milieu involved so that one version of the movement’s history would not be privileged over another, and so that the community structures that Burke had been putting in place to help those affected by sexual assault were not forgotten. While Burke laments the original erasure of her community-building work with the “me too.” Movement, she notes that

the work of dismantling rape culture was still being done and that silenced voices were being amplified, creating space to think about where the future of the movement might go and the networked coalitions that might be formed. Focusing on Burke and Black women and girls, as well as making clear the structures and discourses of rape culture that uphold white supremacy and heteropatriarchy, was work that came to be through the social media practices and digital methods of Black women.

Vital structuring, with its focus on attending to how stories circulate throughout structural realms of the entanglement where systems of power dominate, sheds light on how the practices used to engage in feminist hashtagging contribute to constituting the ways that we engage in differently mediated spheres and domains of power. Here, it is not just that we use or misuse practices, but rather we “become otherwise” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994 quoted in Pedwell and Whitehead 2012, 116) through the experience and technologies themselves as we practice dwelling and attune to others in order to see the systems of power that structure our everyday activities. As such, mobilizing a politics of visibility (Clark-Parsons 2019), rather than falling into performative activism that centers individualism within an economy of visibility, requires that we become attuned to the effects of our use of social media for activism, shifting from a focus on intention and individuality to a focus on elevating the community. The individual popularity of white and celebrity participants is privileged, and power and empowerment are premised on heightened representation within individual exchanges—what we might also understand as popular feminism or postfeminism (Banet-Weiser 2018; Gill 2007, 2017; McRobbie 2004; Rottenberg 2014). Despite this visibility, these forms of “feminism” counteract the important intersectional feminist work that #MeToo can do to articulate inequities and

violences, particularly when it comes to making visible the economies of power that further mediate violence to communities who are already marginalized.

Recalling the narrative of the witch hunt seen in both Chapters Three and Four, much of the discourse around the #MeToo witch hunt understood that social media activism operates under the spotlight of visibility to bring structural inequalities out from the shadows and into the light, and as such denouncers of #MeToo sought to scapegoat the movement as pandering to an economy of visibility. And yet, the feminist backlash to the misuse of the witch hunt and the feminist refusal to hand over the figure of the witch to critics of #MeToo highlighted a politics of visibility, wherein collective voices were used to articulate individual oppressions in order to remove the glamour from power structures that encourage misogynist norms. Weighing these complexities, an entangled perspective holds these multiple forces accountable to each other and, in doing so, can mobilize mediated actions that lead towards more just feminist futures based on the work of intersectional feminists happening. These acts of creating space through re-distributing various threads of power, no matter how small those threads may be, are crucial components of vital structuring.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has offered the third praxis for approaching intersectional entanglements to follow digital phenomena as they move throughout various digitally and culturally mediated phenomena. In doing so, I have shown how “me too.” stories engage in affective work to re-organize cultural ideologies through re-membering experiences and actions that have been long silenced and discredited, bringing forth memories that are direct refusals of dominant narratives and practices. To be able to examine how this unfolds, I have offered the following questions and used them in the formation of the praxis to then employ vital structuring: What systems of power

are participants on the research scene facing in terms of both domination and their resistance to this domination? Which participants (including, but not limited to, stories, affects, people, and hashtags and the relationships between these participants) flourish and which do not on the research scene? How is this enabled or constrained by the previously articulated systems of power, including social media platforms, institutional policies, and ideologies? And, how are lines of power moved from totalizing systems of oppression and re-distributed or re-organized among participants opposing the systems? That is, what kind of re-futuring space and potential work are unfolding within stories shared?

Like the previous two chapters, the presence of these structural themes is not specific to the “me too.” Movement or to the stories I share. Rather, the emergence of these themes illustrates two key motivations for vital structuring: (1) because hashtag movements work within broader structures that can be both empowering and disempowering, there is a need to look beyond binaries to better understand how individual and collective actions navigate these relationships; and (2) because stories at individual and collective levels both work within and against the larger structures, a feminist interpretation emphasizes the personal, intersectional, embodied, and communicative factors that define the ways that people challenge the structures and systems of power they’re up against. Vital structuring, along with virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos, offers ways to identify the systemic and structural factors that are at play when tracing the movement of stories in and around hashtag movements.

Considering the systems of power at play, vital structuring contributes a way to consider where interventions for change may be within present oppressive systems, looking towards stories that suggest where this is. Possibilities for sociocultural change or rupture rest on the understanding that there must be an alternative organization of public memory that challenge

current and historical patriarchal white supremacist organizations of memory, because these are the dominant colonial, racist, and sexist memories and histories that already inform our systems of power. By bringing forth the buried memories of those who have been historically marginalized—memories that construct different histories about our past than the colonial and patriarchal histories touted—the questions proposed by vital structuring allow researchers to follow affective entanglements to articulate where and how dominant and oppressive systems of power inform our organizations and have directly worked to bury these alternate memories. By forming alternative organizations of memory through the stories shared and relying on those affected by marginalization as the experts to share their stories for this formation, vital structuring offers a way of orienting to different sets of histories that highlight different timelines and constructions of memory to bring about more sustainable, inclusive structures.

## **Conclusion: Entangled Feminist Futures**

### **Situating the Individual, Collective, and Structural**

On October 15, 2017, the same day that the “me too.” Movement went viral as the hashtag #MeToo, Wagatwe Wanjuki, known for her work as an anti-violence activist on campuses and creator of the hashtag #SurvivorPrivilege, wrote the following post on Facebook:

I won't say “Me, too.”  
Partially because most of you know that already.  
But mostly because we shouldn't have to “out” ourselves as survivors.  
Because men have \*always\* seen the gendered violence happening around them (and/or being perpetrated by them)—they just haven't done anything about it.  
Because it shouldn't matter how many women, femmes, and gender neutral & non-conforming folk speak their truths.  
Because it isn't about men seeing how many of us have been hurt; they've been seeing it for a long time.  
Because it shouldn't be on our shoulders to speak up. It should be the men who are doing the emotional labor to combat gendered violence.  
Because I know, deep down, it won't do anything. Men who need a certain threshold of survivors coming forward to “get it” will never get it.  
Because the focus on victims and survivors—instead of their assailants and enablers—is something we need to change.  
Because we've done enough. Now it's \*your\* turn.

Rather than personally claiming #MeToo in a straight-forward way, Wanjuki offers a reminder of the harms and risks of erasure that remain, even as stories of #MeToo pour out across social media platforms. In addition to the interpersonal risks involved in public acts of disclosure, including erasures of the collective experiences of marginalized people within current systems of power, Wanjuki emphasizes that there is still the risk of overlooking the danger and precarity that we place others in by upholding and recognizing only one type of story or lived experience. #MeToo made clear that regardless of sexual orientation, race, ability, or socioeconomic status, sexual harassment is endemic to the culture we live in and, despite the stories of confession witnessed here and shared in this dissertation, there are still others who have experienced, and will continue to experience, sexual violence.

In empathizing with survivors, Wanjuki's post simultaneously takes care not to negate the catharsis experienced by those who share their stories and refocuses the onus of action on perpetrators and bystanders of sexual assault—those who are complicit in the trauma felt on personal and community scales by survivors of sexual violence and who are rewarded by current unjust systems of power by doing so. The post does not condemn others for sharing their own personal stories; there is, however, a reminder that multiple truths exist within the collective stories that are emerging, and there are multiple ways of honouring stories as dominant histories and modes of remembering are re-worked. As the post articulates, one of these ways is through remembering that the anxiety, fear, and shame of sexual assault must also be shouldered by those with privilege and power, those who won't be re-traumatized, and/or those who can influence change.

As systems of heteropatriarchy, neoliberalism, and white supremacy uphold rape culture, the responsibility of combating sexual harassment and abuse cannot simply lay with those who are marginalized because of differing intersectional identities, but also with those who have the power and the capacity to do the work. Wanjuki's post is not an admonishment of #MeToo, but a reminder that consent undergirds the entire #MeToo movement and that we need more holistic ways of approaching the movement: every survivor of sexual assault has the option to consent to participate in sharing #MeToo, including the individual, collective, and structural degrees to which they decide to participate and the domains where their stories will inevitably circulate. Social media stories like the one shared by Wanjuki highlight how empowerment manifests differently for people along different social axes, and that empathy, participation, and analysis similarly manifest in a variety of ways that require further investigation as we move among the intersectional entanglements of the “me too.” Movement.



As seen in the Chapters One, Two, and Three of this dissertation, to date we have yet to see an approach for attending to the movement of digital phenomena and stories among domains of power that extends new materialism (Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Bennett 2004, 2010; Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012) and posthumanism (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018; Barad 2003, 2010, 2015; Braidotti 2013, 2019; Haraway 1988, 1991, 2016) into the realm of intersectional feminism (Collins 1990, 2017, 2019; Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) through queer affect (Ahmed 2004, 2010; Berlant 2011; Cvetkovich 2003, 2012; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012) and pharmakon (Abbinett 2015; Derrida 1981; Stiegler 1998, 2011, 2012) to more seriously consider the matrix of domination as it informs everyday life. I have thus offered intersectional entanglements as a critical-theoretical intervention into how we approach digital culture, using the “me too.” Movement as an example, so that scholars can analyze digital phenomena through the impacts of power, resistance, and possibility on human bodies, bodies of knowledge, technological bodies, and affective bodies as they encounter each other. Following Patricia Hill Collins’ (2017) call to analyze tensions within interpersonal, disciplinary, hegemonic, and structural domains, intersectional entanglements enable us to look to where various human and nonhuman phenomena come together through a new materialist and posthuman lens within systems of power at individual, collective, and structural domains. This gives scholars the resources to see which opportunities are foreclosed and which remain open in the pursuit of more equitable and sustainable feminist futures as we analyze digital media as pharmakon. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, intersectional entanglements recognize the spaces between our sociopolitical and technocultural arenas, looking towards the histories, knowledges, and relationalities that exist between hashtags, stories, technologies, people,

communities, and institutions, linking intersectional feminism and posthumanism through queer affect theory.

In this chapter, I conclude this dissertation by bringing together virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring on the research scene. I first offer the contributions made by this dissertation, highlighting how intersectional entanglements equips scholars and activists with a set of praxes for aligning with stories as they circulate within intersectional entanglements. Analyzing stories within and across these sites signals new opportunities for feminist interventions, as each of these levels is intersecting rather than separate, although analysis can focus on one level at a time depending on the object of study while still considering the influence of the other spheres. Next, I discuss the significances and broader impacts of the research with an example of the coalitional work of #MeTooChina, illustrating the use of all three praxes to focus on the insights that “me too.” stories reveal. Taking our knowledges of the politics of technologies for people who are marginalized and of the resistance happening at various levels of the entanglement, this example offers one possibility for what digital alliances and solidarity might look like in the pursuit of more democratic communities. My goal in offering this brief example is to draw the connection between virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring to signal how this work is already happening, and what else needs to happen. I then consider the limitations of this research and conclude with opportunities for future work, offering a final example of what virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring could look like in a knowledge mobilization project.

### **Research Contributions**

Throughout this dissertation, I have made the case for the need to attend more carefully and more holistically how digital phenomena circulate throughout mediated and culturally

domains of power in material and affective ways, particularly within the context of the “me too.” Movement. In developing intersectional entanglements as a critical-theoretical intervention for approaching research and in following the intersectional entanglements of stories, I have contributed a framework for attending to the relationships between individual, collective, and structural spheres of digital culture as phenomena ebb and flow and change form. Intersectional entanglements reveal not only how inequitable relations are perpetuated simultaneously across mediated spheres and domains of power, but also how heteropatriarchal white supremacist ideologies can be resisted at these levels. Beginning from the foundation that spaces are porous (Couldry and Hepp 2013; Hepp and Krotz 2014; Hine 2000; Lundby 2009; Singh 2018), intersectional entanglements offer another way to challenge assumed oppositional binaries between digital and non-digital, recognizing instead various temporally and spatially mediated spaces and the forms of both domination and resistance that take place across them. Confronting the rigidity of space from an entangled perspective speaks to my first research question that asks: how do stories of disclosure from the “me too.” Movement (within and beyond the hashtag) provide opportunities across mediated spheres to oppose and resist heteropatriarchy and white supremacy? Through bringing together intersectional feminism and new materialism to formulate intersectional entanglements, I have offered an approach for illustrating and analyzing how participants of the “me too.” Movement use the betweenness and fluidity of mediated space to share their stories to follow erased histories, reach across networks to bear witness to confessions, and rally against inequitable systems of power and oppression, resisting and confronting heteropatriarchy and white supremacy in the process. The layers involved here are an individual, collective, and structural journey of deconstructing and then reconstructing the importance or the “glow” (MacLure 2013abc) of a particular story through a queer affective lens

that embraces the researcher's embodied position. This framework calls for situating the researcher within the scene to orienting us to the kinds of lively and vibrant data we encounter within our research and that brings communities together.

The second research question driving this work asked: what sets of practices can best situate and analyze stories from the “me too.” Movement? To answer this question, I developed virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring as praxes to for exploring the intersectional entanglements where participants of the “me too.” Movement resist and oppose domination. Virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring highlight the processes of history-making, participation, community building, and systemic critique that are taking place across different mediated spheres, as evidenced through stories of “me too.” Through analyzing the intersectional entanglements of the “me too.” Movement where stories circulate, we can see the opportunities for creating new tools for resistance in the spaces between individual reflection, community discussion and connection, and structural critique and analysis. This set of praxes reveals erased knowledges, communities, and memories, offering practices of reflecting through virtual dwelling, re-attuning through vibrant ethos, and re-futuring through vital structuring for determining what work is happening in the stories of the “me too.” Movement.

Because these practices inevitably emerged from within spaces where power and politics are constantly negotiated at the levels of the individual, collective, and structural, my third research question asked: how can we analyze the precarity of intersectional divides and the possibilities for justice within the “me too.” Movement, including the conditions under which it operates? As a response to this question, I argued that a key component of intersectional entanglements is its embrace of pharmakon. Pharmakon offers a language for analyzing the tensions between entanglements as scholars reflect on how hashtag movements and the stories

they circulate operate within and challenge, reconceptualize, and change spaces that are always already both oppressive and emancipatory, constraining and world-creating. By acknowledging pharmakon as vital to intersectional entanglements, I critically examined how “me too.” functions as a networked counterpublic and social movement that uses practices of naming embodied experiences and sharing these experiences among individual, collective, and structural spheres—an amendment to the personal is political to include how the collective and structural are also political. At the same time, I demonstrated how these stories of personal embodied experience reveal that the movement and the platforms it employs denies access to people who, for example, have experiences of sexual assault that differ in any slight ways from the mainstream or who do not have access to technology. In exploring the intersectional entanglements where stories move, I thus suggested that we should understand #MeToo as a pharmacological practice in two ways: (1) through its use of inequitable digital technologies and platforms to circulate stories of disclosure and resistance from the movement; and (2) through the hashtag movement itself, which is exclusionary based on its centring of white celebrity and heteronormative voices, as it draws together individual memories into a collective consciousness for emancipatory aims.

My intersectionally entangled approach to studying the movement of stories from “me too.” is increasingly important to the study of #MeToo and to feminist hashtag movements more broadly. As humans become more entangled in relationships with science, technology, and the environment, intersectional entanglements can respond to the “vulnerable embodiments of both human and nonhuman kinds...at the convergence of different strands of scholarship and activism” (Åsberg and Braidotti 2018, 10). Each individual story and its associated hashtags, images, and comments pass on knowledge through action and feeling, bringing belonging into

being—they enact belonging through offering ways of participation online where embodied and networked practices exemplify how ways of knowing are bound up with other ways of knowing. In bringing together intersectional feminism and new materialism to develop intersectional entanglements and the three praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring for analyzing the entanglements where stories move, this dissertation has sought to respond to Sara Ahmed's (2010) call to theorize a creative and not simply reactive politics.

As I suggested in Chapter Three, a more lively, creative politics lies at the nexus of intersectional feminist work (e.g., Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990, 2015; 2017), affect studies (e.g., Ahmed 2004, 2010; Pedwell and Whitehead 2012), new materialism (e.g., Bennet 2010), and posthumanism (e.g., Braidotti 2013, 2019). At the site where these bodies of knowledge meet, a theory of intersectional entanglements can emerge. I suggested that, as this dissertation's theoretical contribution, intersectional entanglements highlight how humans are enmeshed within complex affective, material, and pharmacological power relationships in a highly mediated world, and that a theory of intersectional entanglements emphasizes how we can pay attention to these relationships while navigating the connections between sociopolitical, embodied, and technocultural actions, influences, and ways of knowing and communicating. I have argued that, for activists and researchers alike, the critical-theoretical contribution of intersectional entanglements elucidates the ways in which feminist digital activism necessarily operates within the design structure of the technologies used for activism, while also contributing to possible individual, collective, and structural transformation through co-opting the material functions of the platform.

Relying on these theoretical foundations, Chapter Four outlined my methodological and analytical approaches to data. Data collection and analysis were oriented around the affects,

materialities, and social and technological networks of “me too.” and the stories shared through the hashtag and media sources online. In other words, my methodology, method, and analysis were oriented around entanglements. This work relied on smaller curated datasets, comprised of individual posts, media articles, and personal stories, which were found linked through hashtags on social media. Feminist affective and material foundations grounded the entire dissertation and, as such, this dissertation also offers a contribution to the field of media studies by (a) introducing affect as a means to orient to the collection and analysis of digital data in order to (b) consider data’s embodied, material, affective, and technological relationships and contexts at different analytical levels, while (c) suggesting equal consideration be paid to the various forms of data that emerge within intersectional entanglements to acknowledge how data are in relationship with each other and with the contexts they are found within.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven form the practical contributions of this dissertation. In each of these chapters I developed a praxis for approaching the intersectional entanglements of the “me too.” Movement, first by developing the praxis through theory and then by employing it. In Chapter Five I offered the first praxis of virtual dwelling, which suggests a practice of slow reflection for tracing stories as they settle at an individual locus of the entanglement. Virtual dwelling resists the urge to “move on” or “let it go,” phrases often told to survivors of sexual violence; it encourages researchers to remain in spaces, using tools and practices that are readily available but not perfect to linger or stay in space in order to reflect on and learn past, present, and future possibilities for the mobilization of a story’s fluidity. Virtual dwelling prompts researcher-participants to consider the following sets of questions as they encounter stories within the entanglement: (1) How are the confusion and glitches indicated in stories changing the ways that people are relating to one another in affective and embodied ways on the research

scene, and how are stories and the contexts from which they emerge creating a relationship with the researcher? (2) How are stories indicating what practices and tools are being taken up by participants to create or disrupt relationships, and how are social media participants' stories reflecting on, building on, and/or drawing connections across sociopolitical, technocultural, and/or historical concepts, ideologies, and/or relationalities in the present moment? (3) How are both the researcher and social media participants coping with/on/through the research scene and how are digital intimacies formed? Through virtually dwelling, I offered a praxis for exploring these questions at the individual level to both reflect on and nurture different perspectives within the research scene, even as those perspectives reveal tensions that become visible as material relationalities and realities via posts and hashtags. This explicitly recognizes the time spent with stories and the ways that the individual researcher and those posting their stories on social media are complicit in forms of meaning making, especially in forming meaning within the research process.

Virtual dwelling, although seemingly simple, matter for the ways in which they create opportunities to settle into stories at individual points of the entanglement and to work with these stories on the research scene to follow them through to different ends. This enables scholars to settle in the betweenness of intersectional entanglements to contribute to efforts to break open binary values of private and public, male and female, subject and object, and individualized and collaborative. In doing so, this approach offers a way to recognize the fluidity of these categories, to queer the categories themselves, and to identify and appreciate the connections between and among categories. Dwelling is where these kinds of rigid classifications confront each other and begin to disentangle themselves from binary ideologies to establish different kinds of relationalities that can remain in flux. Because of this, virtual dwelling contributes a



way of discovering and articulating broader themes and connections to the collective and the structural. In online spaces, these themes and connections contribute to discovering new ways for virtual interacting and being, including how to appropriate these spaces for different means given the racist, sexist, and ableist foundations of the design. Yet knowing how to co-opt these technological spaces, or when to do so, is not necessarily clear and even the knowledge that co-opting virtual space for alternate storytelling is possible may not even be present or available—it is a privileged knowledge. To this point, virtually dwelling is also a privileged position, and it may not be a viable entry point for all researchers. People who have been marginalized by race, sexuality, gender, ability, or other social locations have long dwelled in bodies that have been the targets of hate and discrimination, even as these identity markers bring communities and rituals of joy, and to dwell longer and more purposefully with that hate is not a necessary route to take.

In part, because of this, Chapter Six offered vibrant ethos, the second praxis for exploring intersectional entanglements, which highlights how the merging of stories and digital phenomena at a community level creates sites of collective ethical responsibility through the practice of re-attuning. Here, the collective orientation to grappling with stories and digital phenomena offers a more supportive and encouraging approach to engaging data and can act as another entry point into intersectional entanglements that centers community-formation and communities of support. I argued that viewing hashtag activist research from a framework of intersectional entanglements via vibrant ethos reveals that these movements and their artifacts operate within an ethos of acknowledgment that opens spaces to disclose truths and recognize one another's being. Vibrant ethos, through a practice of re-attunement, examines: (1) How are participants on the research scene, including ideas, energies, people, and hashtags, bearing witness to and opening space for each other? (2) How are participants on the research scene transforming through collective

witnessing and space-making? Or, in other words, how are participants re-attuning in space, time, and place in relationship to each other? Feminist hashtag movements like #MeToo or the #TimesUp hashtag of the Women's March provide participants, scholars, and activists with an important understanding of the ways that mediated communication practices circulate stories that benefit the community.

Understanding the phenomena like stories and artifacts that make up networked social movements illustrates how their complex gatherings helps feminists further understand the forms of power that constrain us and the collective practices that make feminist work possible. These performances of feminist storytelling are located in temporal and mediated relations that reveal new ways of being, modes of organizing, and social relationships that did not exist before, even as they are resonant of former movements, communities, and practices. These stories rely on the relationship between embodiment, affect, memory, relationality, and materiality, prompting self-reflection to consider dominant ideologies have become invisible, overshadowing other possibilities for truth, and how alternative sets of truths can emerge and circulate. The emancipatory possibilities of a story speak to its affective resonances; identifying where, when, and how something like #MeToo sticks speaks to how the histories and memories that are recalled, like the witch hunt, are doing something in the social world. Using vibrant ethos to as an approach to collect data and analyze stories helps to include not just a story's community-building possibilities or its potentiality for affective resonances, but also the ways that turning towards a story to witness its confession can change how people see themselves within a community space. By attuning to the communities where stories have been shared and circulated, vibrant ethos offers an approach for more fully tracing and orienting ourselves to how digital phenomena move and effect their networks across different individual, collective, and structural

sites of the entanglement. Through developing vibrant ethos for attending to the movement of stories at the collective site of the entanglement, this chapter contributes a more holistic understanding of our sociopolitical technical culture in order to mobilize more inclusive, intersectional openings within our present moment to rally feminism's potential within current digital cultures.

In Chapter Seven I offered vital structuring, the third praxis for approaching the exploration of the structural site of intersectional entanglements. Vital structuring offers researchers the following questions for orienting to the systemic relationships that uphold structures: (1) What systems of power are participants on the research scene facing in terms of both domination and their resistance to this domination? (2) Which participants (including, but not limited to, stories, affects, people, and hashtags and the relationships between these participants) flourish and which do not on the research scene? How is this enabled or constrained by the previously articulated systems of power, including social media platforms, institutional policies, and ideologies? (3) How are lines of power moved from totalizing systems of oppression and re-distributed or re-organized among participants opposing the systems—in other words, what kind of re-futuring space and potential work are unfolding within stories shared? Through the practice of re-futuring, vital structuring considers #MeToo and its influencing structures as pharmakon to speak to the ways that it constructs and constrains future feminist possibilities.

In the context of the “me too.” Movement, vital structuring offers a praxis for understanding how and when stories can suggest alternative ways of seeing and re-membering that change how we think about and respond to the heteropatriarchal views and actions that uphold misogynistic structures. Flows of feminist re-futuring are located in temporal relations

and gesture towards different futures that reveal new ways of being, modes of organizing, and social relationships that did not exist before, while drawing on former movements and practices. Vital structuring prompts feminist re-futuring through offering a process for examining the ways that people respond to larger structural systems, which can be used to inspire hopeful action and acknowledge that this hope requires action to envision and make space for different futures. The vitality and the vibrancy of coming together to make note of the complexity of these structures indicates the need for praxes that can contribute to producing alternative futures where intersectionality and new materialism as practices and theories are central to change. Through vital structuring we can analyze the complexities of how social media structures have simultaneously erased and made visible stories as they circulated throughout individual, collective, and structural levels of the entanglement. This offers scholars a process for documenting the ways that systems of power and their infrastructural reach are influenced, impacted by, and interrelated with a range of different stories.

Because stories within hashtag movements depend on these technological systems of power and influence, since they assert influence on and circulate within these systems, explicitly recognizing these factors of the entanglement is vital for acknowledging the work of these stories not only at the structural level but also as they move within and across all domains of the “me too.” Movement’s intersectional entanglements. Vital structuring reveals how the performative iteration and circulation of #MeToo provides the larger public with vocabularies, frames, and, importantly, permissions and encouragements to engage in discussions around rape culture, sexual harassment and assault, consent culture, and the intersecting forces of racism, ableism, classism, misogyny, and heterosexism—all conversations that push towards a re-futuring that could look vastly different than the current landscape. As such, in acknowledging how digital

media function as pharmakon, vital structuring offers an approach to analyzing how digital phenomena and stories, especially within the context of the “me too.” Movement, critique larger governing structures through a queer affect lens that bridges intersectional feminism and new materialism and posthumanism, whether institutional or technological, and in doing so make space for the imagination of alternative feminist futures. This chapter thus contributed both a praxis for attending to the structural dimensions of the entanglement and an orientation to research on hashtag movements that advances a practice of creating space for re-futuring.

Together, Chapters Five, Six, and Seven on virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring further articulated an answer to my first research question of how stories from the “me too.” Movement provide ways of resisting white supremacist heteropatriarchal structures to bring people together across mediated spheres. Through dwelling in spaces and orienting to others through an ethos of acknowledgement, these praxes offer an way to orientation towards how feminists use the digital practices available to them, like hashtagging and social media posting, to share individual stories that connect them to others and that intervene into the dominant story to enable reflection (via virtual dwelling) and re-attunement (via vibrant ethos) in order to critique systems of power that maintain rape culture and create space within current structures for re-futuring (via vital structuring). Interventions like these highlight the importance of not only providing avenues for storytelling in social justice movements, but for paying attention to how these stories move throughout mediated spheres and domains of power. In alignment with methods that can pay close attention to power, the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, as an orientation to data collection and analysis, can be used with a variety of methods that would be dependent on the overarching goal of the research, relying on the questions this dissertation has provided to steer the work of dwelling with data so

that research teams can collectively attune to the theme at hand to determine structures of change. Possible methods for application include, but are not limited to, André Brock's (2015, 2018) critical technocultural discourse analysis, Tara Conley's (2017) decoding as becoming, sentiment analysis via Brand24 or Sysomos, D. Soyini Madison's (2019) critical ethnography, autoethnography, or Laurie Gries's (2015) new materialist visual rhetorical analysis. What I aim to underscore here is that the point of these praxes is not to determine what methods you might use, but rather to emphasize specific points of an orientation to the data and to the research scene.

As acts of world-making, stories shared and circulated can work to intervene into deep-seated ideological and hegemonic struggles to relay important social knowledges, memories, and senses of identity from within the framework of the immediate environment and the issues sounding the counterpublics from which they materialize. Stories from the "me too." Movement are intimately tied to their material and affective surroundings, and intersectional entanglements directly emerges from and speaks to the important analyses and praxes that surface in these in-between spaces. Social justice work involves acknowledging these intersections between entanglements; the attention to affect, materiality, pharmakon, and power that my theoretical intervention and praxes offer contributes important practices for facilitating more dynamic, life-affirming engagements with our variously mediated spheres, which can highlight new world-creating possibilities. Taking these contributions together, the next section provides an example of the broader impacts of intersectional entanglements by showing how virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring might be applied beyond this dissertation's predominantly Western focus, which will then be expanded upon to discuss the limitations of this research and the opportunities for future work based on the outcomes of this dissertation.

## **Significances and Broader Impacts**

In contributing a set of feminist practices for attending to the circulation of “me too.” Stories, I offer a final example of Zhou Xiaoxuan’s #MeTooChina case. I suggest that this case indicates how empathy, participation, and analysis can emerge through the use of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, and I gesture towards what kinds of possibilities these praxes might uncover. While I offer only an overview of where each of these praxes might be applied rather than diving deep into the example, the recent protest and trial that instigated China’s #MeToo movement still brings an informative case in the power of intersectional entanglements. Here we see the importance of community networks of solidarity, the material and affective impacts of citizen support, and the capacity to open channels of communication.

On December 2, 2020, more than two years after the initial accusation and four years after the assault, Zhou Xiaoxuan, who is known more widely on social media and by friends as Xianzi, finally had her day in court. This day in court was a challenging journey, spurred on by social media and in-person encouragement. But it did not end the way that Xianzi and the many who showed up to support her outside the Beijing courthouse had hoped. It did, however, create new windows of opportunity for bringing attention to gender-based harassment and sexual violence and for supporting other survivors of sexual assault in China.

Encouraged by the take down of serial sexual harasser Harvey Weinstein after #MeToo went viral in the U.S. and Canada in October 2017, in the summer of 2018 Xianzi wrote about her own individual experience of harassment in a 3000-word essay that she posted on WeChat. Reading these #MeToo posts was perhaps Xianzi’s own moment of virtual dwelling: of data glitching as Sarah Sharma (2020) describes it, and causing confusion within the status quo of silencing women, and of beginning to draw connections across various sociopolitical and

ideological landscapes. While this was an act of confession, of owning the experience and taking charge of the narrative, it was also an act of bearing witness, as I found through virtually dwelling with #MeToo posts on social media. It was an act of standing in solidarity with a childhood friend who had confessed that she had been a survivor of sexual assault (Ni 2020, para. 7) and with those across the globe who were also beginning to be able to articulate their own #MeToo stories, as vibrant ethos can demonstrate. A moment like this signals further opportunities to engage in deeper virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos, where the goals are to focus on specific stories, to see what and where people specifically share and what histories can be traced, to find and reflect on the other layers at play that connect us to the individual, and to discover the ways that these sites open spaces for acknowledgement to attune to the space and to each other. As such, further virtual dwelling would reveal other layers at play here, with vibrant ethos helping to orient us to how connections are being made.

What we can see based on brief moments of reflecting and re-attuning is that Xianzi's confession and shows of support created cracks, if not ruptures, in the monolith of memories surrounding sexual violence in China, speaking now to the importance of vital structuring for looking towards re-futuring possibilities. Xianzi's act of penning and sharing her experiences began the work of creating space to consider what different futures may look like, while also instigating the re-distribution of power within workplaces. In the essay Xianzi writes of how she was sexually harassed by Zhu Jun, a high-profile television host, while she was interning at China's state broadcaster, CCTV. Shortly after being written, the essay was publicly posted on Weibo (a popular social networking site similar to Twitter in China, which is monitored by the Chinese government) by her friend and NGO worker Xu Chao where it quickly gained virality. Its virality energized the growing discourses around sexual assault in China which had



previously been almost nonexistent.<sup>31</sup> Until 2005, for example, “sexual harassment” was not included in the national law put in place to protect women and in over 50 million Chinese court cases from 2010-2017, only 34 were concerned with sexual assault (Ni 2020, paras. 20-1). Local police and Xianzi’s internship supervisor urged her to drop the case because of Zhu’s social and political popularity, media widely censored coverage of the story, social and legal pressure from defamation cases was leveraged against her, social media harassment ensued, and Zhu’s legal team attempted every avenue of gaslighting (Chen 2020, Ni 2020, Su 2020). Still, Xianzi persisted in bringing the case to court and she persisted in making her story heard.

Although both Zhu and Xianzi had requested a public trial, the hearing was scheduled as private. And so, on the day of Xianzi’s hearing, people clustered outside of Haidian People’s Court early in the morning to support, with signs reading “#MeToo,” “together we ask for an answer from history,” “must win” (in reference to the “case won” scroll that Japanese journalist Shiori Ito held after winning her 2019 rape case), “we are the people on your side #ChinaMeToo,” and “Xianzi, add oil,” a Chinese phrase of encouragement (Ni 2020; Su 2020). Demonstrators wore masks with “Me2” written in lipstick across the front, and food and bubble teas were delivered to the group from online supporters. While physically about 100 people were gathered in front of the courthouse, online presence was even larger with an estimated 2500 people joining WeChat groups organized by activists Liáng Xiǎomén and Xiào Měilì so that they could follow the case throughout the day. This digital gathering was particularly important, since heightened police presence at the demonstration was a danger for many, including those who had already been ticketed or had their information taken at the pro-democracy rallies in Hong Kong over the summer of 2020. As a tech reporter in the WeChat group, “Friends supporting Xianzi

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<sup>31</sup> See the story written by Jiayun Feng (2018) for a more detailed account of Xianzi’s WeChat essay: <https://supchina.com/2018/07/26/tv-host-zhu-jun-accused-of-sexual-harassment/>

No.2.” said, “I felt present, just through the power of the internet” (Chen 2020, para. 22). The mediated shows of support and solidarity communicate to other survivors of sexual harassment that they can speak up and that people will show up for them—even if, in the end, Zhu Jun, the man accused of sexual assault, did not show up to the court hearing that day (Chen 2020; Su 2020).

Shows of online and in-person community open spaces where people, both survivors speaking up and those witnessing, can be acknowledged—are actions that can be further explored through vibrant ethos. A demonstrator on the scene outside of Haidian People’s Court confessed that, “at the end of the day, what got me crying was the strength of the community. Xianzi and her friends [who accompanied her to court] are a source of courage wherever they are. That we were able to gather and peaceably demonstrate for over 10 hours is a miracle, and it was our shared vulnerability that got us together” (Chen 2020, para. 24). It was, indeed, this shared vulnerability and shared courage that spoke to supporters, as another demonstrator pointed out: “in China, fighting for such things brings no results. [But] she gives us all the courage to protect ourselves” (Su 2020, para. 12). The affective qualities of the hashtag online and at the demonstration at the courthouse can speak back to governing patriarchal structures, which we can examine via vital structuring, resulting in material and very tangible consequences. Considered within the context of other recent cases, the affective intensities that surged in the circulation and reception of Xianzi’s essay and court case have been pivotal for instituting laws that seek to structurally protect people against sexual assault.

In May of 2020, for example, a civil code was introduced into Chinese law (which came into effect January 1, 2021) that specifies that sexual assault is something “carried out against the will of another by means such as speech, text, images, or physical conduct,” clarifying that

governments, schools, and companies are responsible for preventing assault (Ni 2020, para. 23). While this is not sufficient protection against sexual harassment and assault, since it's not clear what consequences there will be for governments, schools, and companies that fail to put measures in place to prevent assault, Xianzi's case demonstrates several entanglements of communication (individual, local, nation-wide, and global mediated communication on various networking and news sites; smaller scale community communication that brought together supporters to the courthouse; laws and other political modes; and changes in actions, attitudes, and orientations towards sexual assault and those who speak out against it) that are crafting new social realities, illustrating the affective and material forces of the #MeToo hashtag. In reflecting, re-attuning, and then re-futuring through vital structuring for this case, we might ask: what kinds of structural surveillance, including algorithms and government monitoring, are at play that keep us from seeing certain posts? In what ways are people coming together through these confessions and stories? What are the social, cultural, political, and technical elements of our institutions? How are people noticing particular forms of structural inequality and how do people speak back to these systems of power?

This recent 2020 example of #MeTooChina is also evidence of the widespread, global impact of the hashtag activism that is entangled with the "me too." Movement: despite intense censorship and tightening restrictions, #Wysoshei and #MeTooChina have been circulating with tangible results given the allegations made against high profile figures. Further examples also illustrate the importance of attending to the relationships between individual, collective, and structural spheres and critiques within the entanglement: for instance, it is the individual sexual harassment claims that were finally filed against giant American companies Walmart and McDonalds, companies well-known for their abhorrent working conditions, following #MeToo's

virality on social media that instigated collective action (Westwood 2018). Tuk tuk taxi drivers in Egypt, notorious for harassing female passengers, have been recruited and trained as advocates for women's rights with the UN's Cairo Safe City Programme (Nunn 2018; UN Women 2018). And, in Ecuador, domestic workers have been unionizing through labour unions and women's associations (Huang 2018). As willful assertions are made individually and then move into collective spaces through their movement within the entanglement, new criteria are set for what is and is not acceptable at a structural level.

Employing virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos asks us to reflect and attune us to the individual and collective levels of critique that the "me too." Movement has brought forward, and then, in setting new criteria via vital structuring's re-futuring, to the structural level. As one Twitter participant imagines,

@TwittersUser: I hope I live long enough to see the day when my female friends are writing #MeToo on social media to mean 'I finally feel safe in the world' (October 15, 2017).

While this post offers an example of breaking with the norm and remembering experiences that expose the operations of rape culture at large, it also reveals a recuperative use for the hashtag that gestures toward a more utopic, alternative future. This process lends participants a method through which to reflect on the many meanings of the post, attune to the affective possibilities of action, and then imagine a different future. Analyzed through the iterative praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring, hashtag movements reflect intentions and practices that are "grounded in our capacity to fantasize beyond our experience, and in our ability to rearrange the world around us" (Sargisson 1996, 1). These praxes suggest that to "rearrange the world around us" we must keep in mind that the futures and transformative possibilities that come to be through current technologies will unavoidably have flaws. If we want transformative

possibilities, we need to be able to recognize the constraints and possibilities that emerge through technology use. The quest for better, more equitable, and sustainable futures cannot come at the cost of algorithmic oppression and the sexist, racist and homophobic policies of technology and telecommunications companies, biometric surveillance; the biopolitics of pharmaceutical companies; or predictive policing. An analysis of intersectional entanglements makes this clear and points to where these tensions arise as individual, collective, and structural forms of power encounter each other.

Another Twitter participant gestures towards this future-facing desire when they make a public demand for a dialogic afterlife to the initial #MeToo wave of tweets and social media posts:

@TwitterUesr: don't let this hashtag be just that. Talk in person, in real life. Let it live beyond the internet. Let it be a tv special report (October 15, 2017).

The reflection and individual pushes for the necessary reckonings of #MeToo to move beyond social media frames indicates a collective desire for tangible, structural change: space for feminist re-futuring. Protest, resistance, unification, and activism spark affective happenings that branch out, fueling the development of one another to continue to incite change. The “me too.” Movement offers a way of restructuring dominant feelings that favour rape culture in the service of more livable, feminist futures, exposing these abuses and the ways in which they ensure the perpetuation of misogyny and white supremacy. As acts of feminist reflection, “me too.” And its hashtagged version #MeToo create different openings as spaces shift and attune community members to each other, lending themselves to the imagination of alternative, more sustainable, futures. The mediated dwelling spaces created by #MeToo spurred the fissures for movement in the streets and the affective configuration of people in solidarity. This alternative structure of feeling is crucial for a speculative feminism that holds on to a preferred future, a re-futuring.

Situating #MeToo as participating within transformative forms of empathy that operate from “self-reflexivity and [the] potential transformation of one’s own assumptions” (Rodino-Coloncino 2018, 97), we can recognize how the movement fosters communities of support for women’s lived experiences of assault and abuse while also underscoring forms of systematic oppression on a broader scale. We need to create the space to center the experiences of people who have been marginalized without pathologizing or over-simplifying their everyday discrimination. In following the leakages that seep between our differently mediated feminist spheres, times, and spaces, we recognize the need for new sets of practices (i.e., expectations, knowledges, languages, and supports) to equip ourselves in a world where the online and offline are so inexorably intertwined, where misogyny has run rampant, where mediation inherently excludes certain socioeconomic groups, and white celebrity feminism upholds neoliberalism.

Through intersectional entanglements, we can begin to see how the “me too.” Movement not only questions what kinds of truths have been accepted, reified, and circulated in a culture that is struggling to determine what truth looks like (e.g., “fake news” and dis/misinformation), but also creates and provides a springboard from which different sets of cultural truths can be revealed and disseminated. This means of critical reflection and re-attunement lends itself to a re-imagination or a re-futuring of the public sphere where sexual violence and associated oppressions like sexism, racism, classism, and ableism can be recognized and not pathologized. #MeToo represents a shared understanding of the culture we live in and a projection of what this society could, and must, be. Each time a march takes to the streets, a speech is made, or a voice is heard, the meaning of what it is to exist in this heteropatriarchal global society is inherently changed. Practices of feminist reflection from the #MeToo campaign help to name the injustices of the world based on the lived experiences of those involved, upending this dismissal of

embodied and affectively charged knowledge and advancing a re-thinking of what intersectional feminist futures can look like.

The “me too.” Movement, which seeks “empowerment through empathy,” counters the cruelty of sexual harassment and assault, while posing a “challenge [to] the very systems of power that underlie harassment, discrimination, and assault by promoting empathy from the ground up (among individuals and in our political-economic system)” (Rodino-Colocino 2018, 96). Taking into account #MeToo’s characteristics as *pharmakon*, the necessary caveat that “[o]rganizing movements on the basis of empathy are both promising and risky endeavours” (96) must be remembered. Ultimately, through my own processes of dwelling and employing vibrant ethos and vital structuring, I am suggesting that the value of the “me too.” Movement is in how it employs transformative forms of empathy that operate from this orienting frame’s emphasis on reflection, re-attunement, and re-futuring. Tarana Burke’s mandate for the “me too.” Movement is to foster communities of support for women’s lived experiences of assault and abuse, while also underscoring forms of systematic oppression on a broader scale (98). With the virality of the hashtag campaign, there is concern that Burke’s initial imperatives for transformative empathy will not remain. However, what #MeToo scholars and participants can focus on in order to better foster bonds based on a productive, intersectional feminist ethics is a practice of transformative ethics, an engaging of the critical-theoretical intervention offered here that is open to reflecting, re-attuning, and re-futuring. Virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring do this work as individual feminist acts in the service of larger collective feminist movements and structural critiques. Through applying these praxes, it becomes possible to see that futures that come to be are not necessarily utopic—especially if we are opening these futures and transformative possibilities through technology because of technology’s pharmacological features and the ways

they are entangled within larger social and political contexts. If we want transformative possibilities, we need to be able to recognize the erasures, vulnerabilities, visibilities, and possibilities that simultaneously come to be—we cannot take for granted the possibilities of new technologies at the risk of the structural and algorithmic oppressions.

### **Limitations of Research**

Throughout this dissertation I have argued the need to take seriously the circulation of stories within the “me too.” Movement as they move between and among domains of power. As I highlight in Chapter Four, “every hashtag is a human being and we tend to forget that. Every time you see somebody put #MeToo, there’s a human being behind a keyboard who made a decision to put out into the world some of the darkest things they’ve ever experienced,” as Tarana Burke has insisted (Professional Troublemaker with Luvvie Ajayi Jones, podcast, Episode 7). Together, virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring offer a set of praxes for attending to the contentious and shifting spaces between intersectional entanglements so that we can bring together our individual stories of virtual dwelling to orient to each other in vibrant, open ways and recognize and challenge structural power differentials.

The development of these praxes and my analysis, however, are necessarily limited. In working with social media data from my own news feeds, I have been explicit about my own subjective role as researcher and the feminist standpoint from which this choice stems (Collins 2015; Harding 1993). Inevitably, then, in focusing on my own social media feeds and interpreting the stories on those feeds through my own experiences and knowledge the research is unavoidably biased. Because the platforms explored and the posts chosen for analysis are selected through my own interpretive perspectives, some forms of data are missed—either through interpretation or limited searches. Many of the examples used in this dissertation also



come from the Global North, predominantly because of the stories on my own feeds. This speaks to the need to engage more researchers in the processes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring to bring together more perspectives.

Moreover, while I have offered my limited versions of dwelling and reflecting, attuning, and thinking through the structures to imagine alternative futures, other versions will be different, as will be the sites of analysis. Activist-research scholarship is always personal because, as I've reiterated many times over in this dissertation, the personal (as well as the collective and structural) is political. #MeToo was personal for me, just as #BlackLivesMatter, #ShoutYourAbortion, #FreePalestine, #IdleNoMore, #MMIW, and #EveryChildMatters are highly personal for others and deserve focused and sustained attention. This dissertation is limited by my personal and political endeavours, but that is also the point—these praxes do not ask for generalizability or objectivity, and the processes are highly personal. However, even though I do focus on smaller curated digital datasets in the hopes of drawing attention to the importance of individual posts, there is some universalizing that inherently happens as I highlight themes, because of the methods undertaken. In this way, in taking care to anonymize social media participants to protect their identities, I have not been able to fully incorporate each poster's intersectional identity and how that identity affects their post. This speaks to the need for future work in developing more specific methods alongside these praxes to address this, especially if we aim to couple small digital data research with big data research, in addition to engaging in mixed-methods to pair this small data approach with methods like interviewing or small-group workshops. In the next section, I discuss different opportunities to extend this research, pointing towards the need to continue to create spaces that center and value marginalized experiences in all their complexities.

### **#FeministFutures: Hopes, Dreams, and Possibilities for Future Work**

In following the leaks between our mediated feminist spheres, times, and spaces, we need to continue to test the practices we have at our disposal and create new ones (i.e., expectations, knowledges, languages, and supports) to equip ourselves in a world where the “online” and “offline” are so entangled (and, indeed, may not exist), where misogyny has run rampant, where mediation inherently excludes certain socioeconomic groups, and white celebrity feminism upholds neoliberalism. While affect and materialism help to crack open the misogynistic faults of the internet, the kinds of affective resistances we seek struggle to come to fruition under the neoliberal heteronormative regime. This section offers an example of how we might use these praxes for not only analysis, as seen through the examples shared in this dissertation to evaluate the different layers at play, but also for practice and the creation of online spaces.

While the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring present a way for approaching the circulation of stories within intersectional entanglements that illustrate how feminists are resisting, other specific methods, practices, and tools are still needed, in addition to determining how current methods may be adapted. Sara Ahmed’s (2017a) feminist killjoy survival kit provides a useful starting point for the further imagination of what tools and practices might be needed for virtual response. Ahmed reminds us that “survival can also be about keeping one’s hopes alive. Survival can...be what we do for others, with others” (235). Crucially, #MeToo was and is a communal call that harnessed affective lived experiences and queered the internet to catalyze feminist entanglements of relationships, people, technologies, politics, and cultures. These new organizations of memory can only survive in community and with continually evolving practices, tools, and methods, which is why they require further research.

While engaging in the labour of feminist upheaval, Ahmed (2017a) reminds us, “we need each other to survive; we need to be part of each other’s survival. To be committed to a feminist life means we cannot not do this work; we cannot not fight for this cause, what it causes, so we have to find a way of sharing that work. Survival thus becomes a shared feminist project” (235-6). #MeToo and other online movements are efforts to reach out for community, to remind each other that we are still here and we have not forgotten. #MeToo is a feminist call to gather whatever we have in our toolkits, to adapt these toolkits to the present moment, and to mobilize them online. Part of the work now is to further develop Ahmed’s toolkit for the virtual, while turning our focus towards the inclusion of our marginalized community members who are the first to suffer under the weight of the white supremacist heteropatriarchy. This suggests that future work is also needed to apply the praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring within the entanglements of other hashtag movements. While I take on intersectional entanglements at the nexus of intersectional feminism and new materialism to analyze the “me too.” Movement, other hashtags will likely require other specific theoretical lenses. For example, #BLM of the Black Lives Matter Movement might engage critical race theory with new materialism and posthumanism. #IdleNoMore, #MMIW (which raises awareness about Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women), and #EveryChildMatters (that calls attention to the deaths of thousands of Indigenous children at residential schools) may engage decolonial theories and Indigenous methodologies. The praxes of virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring can be adapted or expanded upon to work with stories as they circulate among different hashtag movements.

The ongoing challenges of hashtag feminism and digital activism, including, for example, increased misogyny and white supremacy manifesting through anti-Black and anti-Asian racism,

point to the need to continue investing in small- and large-scale research. The contemporary context, particularly the global COVID-19 pandemic which has forced much of our daily lives to be online and exacerbated existing crises like domestic abuse and racial violence, further attests to this need. To address one aspect of what future research that engages these praxes might look like, I offer a brief research example of a current collaborative feminist media practice that I am engaged in to prompt a consideration of the ways that we, as scholars, activists, and social media practitioners and participants, can contribute to building alternative futures in what we might consider small-scale ways. This example also highlights how this dissertation's theoretical contribution of intersectional entanglements might be applied for practice-based knowledge mobilization, expanding its use beyond the analysis that I've outlined in this dissertation.

#### Entanglements of Instagram, Research, and Creation: @Aesthetic.Resistance

Outside of this dissertation, my work is always collaborative—it's part of my feminist ethos—because knowledge production and justice are both shared feminist projects, as Ahmed (2017) says in the quote above. Collaboratively, Feminist Think Tank, the research team that I co-facilitate with Shana MacDonald at the University of Waterloo, has applied my orientation of intersectional entanglements and its praxes to our current project, which is situated as part of our work as co-founders and co-directors of the qcollaborative ([www.qcollaborative.com](http://www.qcollaborative.com)), a feminist design lab dedicated to developing forms of relationality through technologies of public performance. Over the last two and half years, Feminist Think Tank has been thinking about what community dialogue and relationships can look like within social media spaces, even as we acknowledge that these spaces are, as I've argued, entangled with racism, sexism, ableism, and ageism by design (Benjamin 2019; Broussard 2018; Noble 2018; Noble and Tynes 2016). Social media platforms actively work against the kind of coalitional work that we're trying to do. As

discussed in this dissertation, those invested in feminist media literacies are well aware that current technologies and digital cultures are overflowing with forms of networked misogyny that promote intimidation and harassment (e.g., Baer 2015; Banet-Weiser 2018; Benjamin 2019; Brock 2009, 2012, 2020; Conley 2014, 2017; Daniels 2016; Gajjala 2017, 2019; Noble and Tynes 2016; Noble 2018). Platforms and those who use them function as gatekeepers in who they cater to, what they value, and what they present to us as viewers and participants (Anable 2018; Singh and Sharma 2019; Singh 2018, 2021; Wajcman 2004, 2010). In our response to mediated misogyny, our research team has developed an Instagram account, Feminist Think Tank (@aesthetic.resistance), as an Instagram hack. This hack is a cultural, and not yet so much a technical, hack.

@aesthetic.resistance was developed to function primarily as: (a) a design intervention into prevailing Instagram culture that amplifies voices that have been marginalized by the white supremacist colonial cis-heteropatriarchal system; (b) a digital database of feminist historical and contemporary media practices, as well as current activist movements, looking specifically at creative expressions that employ formal techniques and technologies to produce recognizable and often affectively charged experiences for collective audiences; and (c) an online space for discussions about these topics. Here, we dwell with data that represent (to us) feminist media activism from 1960 to the present. We dwell individually online, with social and political contexts, and with our own personal experiences to acknowledge the connections being made. We then re-attune to our experiences and to the group via collective group discussion and sharing, and we seek re-futuring through Instagram hacks of a neoliberal platform, through joining other Instagram accounts in circulating activist themes.

In working towards these goals, the account has become a space to dwell with and reflect on various digital activist movements and the tools used for this kind of feminist and queer resistance, considering events, actions, and contestations that influence our processes of data collection, analysis, and remediation. Sara Ahmed's (2017) feminist survival toolkit has been a grounding motivation for this work in helping to align intersectional feminism and feminist technoscience within our digital feminist practices. Our account is an attempt to respond to Ahmed's call of shared feminist survival. We try to use popular social media platforms to intervene into different digital cultures and the systems that structure these cultures, including Instagram's influencer culture, white neoliberal feminism, and mediated cis and transmisogyny. Themes we are focus on include rape culture; everyday sexism and racism; unrealistic, objectifying, and stereotypical cultural representations of marginalized bodies; structural criticisms of patriarchal systems and white supremacy; and a focus on the collective "we." At the same time, we look to how these histories include sites of blatant exclusion that need to be exposed and addressed—what we might consider the tendencies of pharmakon of the entanglement.

Since 2019, we've formed a team of undergraduate, master's, and doctoral students that collaborate on the scope and tone of the campaign. We meet often to discuss direction of the account and future themes, taking turns as moderators of the account, and we use my praxes to scaffold our processes of content production and mobilization (see MacDonald and Wiens 2021<sup>32</sup> for a more thorough account of this methodological process). In the middle of my data collection period for this dissertation, for example, I was invested in networked social movements, and, as such, the account featured a series of posts on the themes I was dwelling with,<sup>33</sup> looking at

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<sup>32</sup> See <https://handbook.pubpub.org/pub/case-aesthetic-resistance/release/1>

<sup>33</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5YztYzgYgp/>

movements like #BlackLivesMatter,<sup>34</sup> #MeToo,<sup>35</sup> and #IdleNoMore,<sup>36</sup> and commenting on our personal investments with the movements and what this relationship brings up in embodied and disruptive ways. In practice, we apply diverse methods to the praxis of dwelling, relying on the questions I provide through my praxes to steer virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring so we can collectively attune to the theme at hand. As just one example, in a post on the game *Life is Strange* (developed by Dontnod Entertainment and Deck Nine and published by Square Enix's European subsidiary), we used a games studies approach to textual and visual analysis to account for the interplay between interaction and storytelling.<sup>37</sup> While the main text was written by one of our MA Research Assistants, we work together on Slack to collaboratively edit and offer feedback.

This collaborative work ethic speaks to our team belief that it is our joint responsibility to understand our relationships to each other and our audiences. It is not only the content that we put out, like re-conceptualizing time,<sup>38</sup> but also our orientation to each other as an embodiment of these praxes. Embracing and encouraging the uncertainties of our very different lived experiences is a means of holding ourselves accountable to our digital public, and to each other. This is an act of re-futuring. Necessarily, then, the project aims to decentre white liberal feminist ideals in favour of amplifying the work of those most affected by systems of oppression like sexism, racism, classism, and colonialism. This collaborative dimension of the project also sets out a useful pedagogical model where joint responsibility for content creation requires us to

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<sup>34</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5laQF-Aqv4/>

<sup>35</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5tDRpmAtm8/>

<sup>36</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5dlZAfA7p2/>

<sup>37</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/B0OzddPAKgt/>

<sup>38</sup> See <https://www.instagram.com/p/CL4xI0lA6U-/>

reflect on our own positionalities, while also understanding our relationships to each other and our audiences—two moments where virtual dwelling and vibrant ethos may be applied.

Fundamentally, @aesthetic.resistance was designed with the intent of co-opting the functions of Instagram itself via a decidedly aesthetic mode of exploratory knowledge production that does not have a predetermined, tangible deliverable—a queer feminist Instagram hack. These digital feminist practices and the kinds of queer and feminist solidarities that can emerge here are important sites for further consideration—in terms of both what intersectional feminists can offer and the exclusions that we see under the digital feminist banner. More recently, our team has been experimenting with these praxes as they relate to our own methodological pursuits, and we have turned towards how to materialize the digital data that we dwelled with, re-attuned to, and sought re-futuring with (see Wiens et al. 2020). This data, drawing on our research process with @aesthetic.resistance, consisted principally of our own bodies, gestures, and voices, as these repositories of tacit knowledges had the potential, when remediated into the @aesthetic.resistance repository, to help conceptualize these mediated research scenes as inclusive environments that recognize people and their experiences as data, and employs collaborative dwelling, re-attuning, and re-futuring as ways to intervene into prevailing normative academic and social cultures. This is inevitably small, messy, and unpredictable work, since it is invested in the details of individual lived experiences as they come up against the collective and the structural, and it opens us to the difficult and necessary collective conversations that arise from difference and facing structural oppression. In doing so, my praxes offered an orientation to data to support a multi-generational, gender and racially diverse group of researchers to explore data in the context of a research mandate oriented towards social justice.



As such, in thinking of stories shared on this account and the methodologies and praxes that we use to orient to the data, questions that this Instagram-hacking research raises that future research might take up include: (1) How can social media function as both pedagogical and research tools of practice-based analysis?; (2) What are the potentials for social media as sites of practice and analysis for building significant forms of collaborative community?; and (3) What can virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring look like in practice for a team to engage with together? These questions suggest the possibility of extending the orienting frame developed here to include both analysis and practice, gesturing towards wider uses of these intertwined methodologies within a variety of intersectional feminist projects.

### **Conclusion**

When we acknowledge that the presence and power of “me too.” Movements travels and rests in and among varying spheres of power, we also acknowledge that #MeToo addresses and characterizes the practices of survivors, allies, and activists as they resist at and between those very spheres. In closing this dissertation, I find it pressing to note that in attending to spaces between and among the individual, collective, and structural, and in considering the consequences of these practices of protest and resistance, our commitments should also lie in fostering these relationships between and among people. This is what #MeToo has done in drawing people together through its networked counterpublicity, demonstrating the ways in which our communicative acts are establishing and de-establishing relationships. As we have seen through the stories that I discuss in this dissertation, knowledge and power lie between people relationally, and these relationships are envisioned and performed through moments, memories, community practices, and actions that respond to and interact within discriminatory

systems and structures. The stories that move through #MeToo offer important insights into the political transformation that becomes possible when people come together to share stories.

Recognizing the ways in which practices of feminist storytelling are oriented around this bringing together of people also raises important questions about the kinds of matterings that create spaces and opportunities for individual and collective action. In particular, this includes the materialities of hashtag movements, different mediated spaces, communities of support, bodies, and the materials, relationships, and resources used to engage with spaces and bodies. As feminists working to challenge normative and hierarchical relations and ways of thinking, we need to look towards entanglements of matter and meaning, the meeting of the discursive and affective, time and space, global and local where different ways of knowing are simultaneously opened and foreclosed. The critical-theoretical intervention of examining intersectional entanglements that I delineate offers a starting point to engage with and acknowledge the challenges of these complex and contradictory relationships.

On October 15, 2017, the day that #MeToo took off on social media, Tarana Burke urged those on Twitter to remember that the “me too.” Movement is “beyond a hashtag. It’s the start of a larger conversation and a movement for radical community healing. Join us.” This larger conversation is still happening—between temporally and spatially mediated environments, people, policies, ideologies, and spheres of power. As survivors, activists, and allies, as people hoping to do more, there are still opportunities to participate in the storytelling and circulation of “me too.”: to reflect, to re-attune, and to re-future. Through using intersectional entanglements as an orientation to research, we can see that the promise of #MeToo is multifaceted and complex. “me too.” Is a response in motion that engages personal, collective, structural levels and the spaces between. Virtual dwelling, vibrant ethos, and vital structuring provide praxes for

engaging this work. The promise of the “me too.” Movement is in continuing to critically and practically re-orient to how we use and understand the networks we are entangled in. It is yet another reminder of the importance of attending to an ethos of betweenness, that the personal, collective, and structural are all political, and that there is a widespread and global need to expose abuse and to confront discrimination. Engaging with the circulation of stories that form movements and hashtags is an opportunity to gather our experiences, knowledges, expertise, commitments, and communities to together bring about more just feminist futures.

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