Chapter Four

Virtual Dwelling

Feminist Orientations to Digital Communities

Brianna I. Wiens

REFLECTIONS ON VIRTUAL DWELLING

On October 15, 2017, I was sitting at the very back of a Toronto streetcar after squeezing through the crowded front doors, feeling someone's hand on the back of my upper thigh. 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 just made at a fitness studio. I paused, scrolled back up, and re-read each tweet. Some of them were a short 140 characters, some had parts one through seven. I switched over to Facebook. Long posts where some of my women and trans friends detailed their own experiences of sexual assault, and shorter posts that simply read, "me too." I tried not to think of my own experience, from only a moment ago, to another some seven years prior. 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. Perhaps you felt something similar. This chapter encourages you to pursue those individual tugs of affect, those bubbles of emotion that feel compelling or out of place, and to follow the example of the many feminists before us in sitting with feelings and bodily knowledges as acts of resistance and as sources of data.

This chapter is concerned with those #MeToo hashtags, the communities, and the affects they can create by developing a conceptual framework called *virtual dwelling*: focusing on what it is, what it does, and how it can move people towards action. In this chapter, I demonstrate how #MeToo created and continues to create a distinct kind of space for online dwelling that highlights both personal and collective affective lingerings as sites of political transformation. #MeToo and other feminist hashtags highlight how people can and have co-opted the white supremacist and misogynistic spaces of the internet via the use of hashtags for intersectional feminist and queer resistance against gender and sexual-based violence. Yet knowing how to co-opt these technological spaces, or when to do so, is not necessarily clear. Thus, what is required are acts of virtual dwelling, which ask that we linger in online spaces to sit with ideas, find out how tools work, how different tactics can be tools, and how they can be used in counter hegemonic ways to center marginalized voices and bring forth new ways of engaging in the world. Understanding virtual dwelling as a tactic helps us to better understand the significant impact of movements like #MeToo, #ShoutYourAbortion, #BlackLivesMatter, or #IdleNoMore. Activists dwell in these virtual spaces to better understand these movements, the technology they are circulated through, and the conditions that make the movements work. This dwelling 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, and following it through, perhaps, to an "illogical" end. It entails going beyond what is considered standard, or "normal," because it is these norms that we wish to interrogate and be able to see through.

By situating myself and the individual subjectivities of social media posts and comments within broader sociopolitical and technocultural assemblages, I argue that the process of recognizing and documenting an orientation to these digital data is important for focusing attention on: (1) the relationship between or "intra-actions" (Barad 2003) of the researcher, research scene, participants, data, affects, and sociopolitical context; (2) the individual stories found through these data, not just the broader themes or trends of the aggregate; and (3) better conceptualizations of the interconnected domains of influence between individual spheres and their relationship to collective and then structural levels. As Patricia Hill Collins (1990; 2017) asserts, the individual level is just one of four areas (interpersonal, hegemonic, disciplinary, and structural) where domination and resistance occur, with each level contributing to existing power relations. Within this framework, I focus on individual or interpersonal acts to demonstrate how virtual dwelling offers a way to engage with and reveal complex relationships and responses to power within digital activism. Importantly, the social media posts that I highlight in this chapter come to me through my own interactions on social media. My

dwelling begins subjectively, at the individual level, by following the metaphor of the witch and its very material impacts for women and women's resistance around. Although digital content can be analyzed via generalized trends and large randomized datasets, virtual dwelling refocuses attention to what might otherwise be lost or glossed over in big data. Practices of dwelling, although seemingly simple, matter for the ways in which they create opportunities to settle into smaller sets of data, recall past instances of related methods and practices, and to work with data on the research scene to follow them through to new ends.

VIRTUAL DWELLING AS FEMINIST PRAXIS

I and many others remember the experience of seeing #MeToo on social media for the first time so clearly not because we all have the exact same experience of assault, but because many have either experienced sexual violence of some kind or know someone who has, or because the stories we were seeing on social media forgot our communities and our people. From a hand on your ass 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)—they're 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 now, in theory, 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 assertations of "me too" a little longer. Although I couldn't find all of the tweets, and I'm sure that Facebook's and Twitter's 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. Posts on my Twitter and Facebook feeds 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 & I'm still scared to tweet this. (October 18, 2017)[1]

> @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 must 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:

@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)

Others showed a more subtle misogyny that still reinforced rape culture:

Facebook User: We have to 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 labor required to formulate a response and instead sharing the labor 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/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 me too. (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. In response to the participant on Twitter speaking to the need for education to end sexual assault, people on Twitter shared the following:

> @TwitterUser: Powerful thread. Thank you for your courage. Peace to all. #NeverAgainIsNow. (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 can feel like it is overflowing with misogyny, racism, and homophobia. Because of this, there is a clear lack of space for marginalized voices to safely come together without the threats of racism, sexism, ableism, homophobia, and transphobia. But, 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.

Dwelling is like "staying with the trouble" (Haraway 2016), it's about assuming a responsibility and relationship to the present moment in order to be open to new ideas and knowledges 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 can also be about tracing the histories that inform the present moment and actions that seem novel but are really 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 news 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 living, working, and playing in response-ability to the events unfolding around us. Through dwelling it becomes possible to see lines of communication between actants, connections and relationships of effect and affect between humans, ideas, technologies, and other things. Thus, in staying with the trouble—that is, in dwelling—Haraway calls for a praxis of "tentacular" thinking similar to that of assemblage or networking thinking that embraces presence and attention to the moment, for sticking it out in the "here and now" to trouble the waters of entrenched capitalist models that contribute to the destruction of collective organizing and change.

Here, we are pointed towards dwelling as a way of thinking, a way of changing our orientation to the current moment and place to consider in new ways 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. 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, especially as I found in following 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 and change as their conditions do. The first questions of reflection we might consider when dwelling, then, are: how are the mayhem, confusion, and glitches indicated in the data changing the ways that people are relating to one another in affective and embodied ways on the research scene, and how are the data and the research scene creating a relationship with the researcher?

Simultaneously, dwelling 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 opinion on that work,

dwelling demands a deeper, more proactive engagement with the subject of interest, its uses, the context, and the ways the subject has been 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, but also action. 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 we might ask when dwelling on the research scene is: how are data indicating what practices and tools are being taken up by participants to create or disrupt relationships?

Dwelling is, thus, also praxis: an action 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 the artistic research method, 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 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 histories and experiences, and how those experiences have shaped other shared and individual stories.

Dwelling becomes a reflexive process, a tentacular theoretical intervention, 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 research scene, identifying (1) the personal relationship to the research in order to highlight (2) the importance of the individual behind each piece of data. Although dwelling may start off as a personal practice through lingering with different modes of thought, it allows for the creation of intimate connections. 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 people, data, cultures, organizations, 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 communities. Dwelling also offers a way to take up and form relationships with space when that space has been denied within the institution—as a way to make yourself present in order to resituate, and to recast colonial, sexist, racist, and/or ableist histories.

In part, then, dwelling is also 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 and collective 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 and bringing attention to interrelated spaces; it is simultaneously a process of coping and working through the challenges that are sure to arise when there is a relationship between the researcher and the data. Thus, the third questions we can ask while virtually dwelling are: (a) how are social media participants reflecting on, building on, and/or drawing connections across sociopolitical, technocultural, and/or historical concepts, ideologies, and/or relationalities in the present moment? (b) how are both the researcher and social media participants coping with/on/through the research scene and the digital intimacies formed?

By theorizing feminist hashtag practices as spaces where virtual dwelling can be cultivated, I seek to contribute a more holistic understanding of our sociotechnical culture to underscore the importance of bringing together individual dwelling points to the collective in order to mobilize more inclusive, intersectional openings within our present moment to reimagine feminism's potential in the digital era. Each move is really a move to uncover another layer as I sit with these tools (hashtags, news media, journal articles) to think about their uses and their effects. 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 #MeToo movement is a witch hunt. I follow the figure of the witch around to draw a theoretically and politically informed cartography of knowledges, histories, subjects, power relations, affects, and discourses that emerged through my relationship with the data. I illustrate this practice of dwelling by focusing on the figure of the witch, a highly political figure that has become prominent in discourses of #MeToo and feminist resistance more broadly.

WHOSE WORST NIGHTMARE?

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 digital research scene and impelling me into the #MeToo counter-public 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, 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 one cannot be so easily woken 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 took up the theme of the nightmare. And, for me, this is where the data glitched, causing confusion and mayhem in the ways that participants were able to relate to one another and to the social media scene: 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 ways that the #MeToo witch hunt became about re-traumatizing survivors of assault through claiming that they were falsely accusing men of assault 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 favor of those in power. This historical intensity of feminist work speaks to the current activist moment, contributing to the development of the assemblage I began 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)

With same day responses including:

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

> 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.

At the same time that this conversation was happening, others weighted 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 #IBelieveChristineBlasey-
> Ford 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, and perhaps to extend beyond their own conversations. Further, it was this particular conversation that led to my own fascination with the #MeToo witch hunt, prompting me to dwell with these ideas and to interrogate the witch's power both historically and in the contemporary moment. This interaction also reaffirmed the discourse of the nightmare and drew my attention back to that Twitter post of nightmares and monsters from October 23, 2017—most likely because of my own experience of sexual violence.

Stories of harassment, and stories of disbelief at such harassment (of the witch hunts), continue to pour out across social media. The ways that stories move and affect people individually necessitates a greater understanding of the digital platforms and cultures that make individual testimony possible. In what follows, I demonstrate how dwelling with the idea of the witch opens up new questions about power dynamics. I start with a feminist response to the idea of "me too" as a witch hunt or nightmare, which was just one of many misogynistic reactions to #MeToo, 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. Feminist responses to white supremacist capitalist patriarchal motions to harm are significant for the ways that they encourage individual and collective restorative solidarity. I also start with this response

to misogyny rather than the instigating moment because: (a) there are too many instigating moments to count, and (b) in focusing on one particular response first it becomes clearer how each moment of misogyny necessitates new, context-dependent, and constantly evolving ways to think about responses, healing, and community. That is, how can intersectional feminists work with, transform, and utilize practices available within the leaky boundaries of social media spaces and rigid oppressions of the technologies themselves?

GETTING WITCHY WITH IT

On October 18, 2017, a mere three days after the viral spread of the #MeToo movement on Twitter—a movement that was founded by organizer and activist Tarana Burke for Black women and girls before being taken up by white celebrities—articles in *Chatelaine, Maclean's*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post*, had already dispelled, critiqued, or analyzed the relationship between witch hunts and #MeToo, agreeing that it was an increasingly popular way to cite the movement. One article 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, 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 the 45th 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, of unjust persecution. Here it is significant to note that even before the reappearance of #MeToo on social media, Donald Trump 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 #MeToo resurfaced on the Internet in October 2017, "witch hunts" had been already tweeted about by the American president over two dozen times and vocalized aloud in the news even more.[2] This tactic, a strategy called "fire-hosing," has been used to "quell dissent and control the political landscape" through, essentially, lying in order to inundate discourse with falsehoods to distract and mislead the general population (Paul and Matthews 2016 in Tran 2019, paras. 4–5). As of November 14, 2019, Trump had tweeted of a witch hunt over 300 times to denigrate political events ranging from talk show interviews to the Russia inquiry, to, yes, 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 Trump 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.

As more and more people publicly acknowledged "me too," misogynists continued to loudly claim that the "me too" movement was a type of witch hunt. 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 instances, women become targets by challenging the status quo. Ignoring the actual history of witch hunts, their use of the concept became a commonplace metaphor for unjust accusations, seemingly having nothing to do with the real-life witch trials of days past.

And yet, through the repeated rhetorical linking of "harassment" and "witch hunt," "Allen and other men" appropriate the language of #MeToo to craft their own version of events where it is abusers who are the victims of #MeToo's unfolding events. In part, the use of this language works to remove gender and class as key factors in the historical pursuit and torture of witches. That is, in taking up this discourse of a witch hunt, "Allen and other

men" erase the figure of the witch, the resister of heteropatriarchal norms, who has been held captive by the same sexist systems that uphold men like them. Calling on 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 accuser as wrongful. Interestingly, as the forty-fifth president of the United States faced an impeachment inquiry (one that acquitted him from abuses of power), he continued his claims of 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). Clearly, invoking the figure of the witch is a political rhetorical tool. Forty-five's twisting of the story is yet again a twisting of history. But feminists have long been dwelling in the political and social moments they find themselves in, always using the tools available to them for their resistance.

WITCH, PLEASE

Dwelling with the history of the figure of the witch reveals a history steeped in resistance, protest, and revolt. Witches were people associated with femininity and nature, with repudiations of the masculine. Witches were women seen as having "too much" power (Rowlands 2013; Gasser 2017). Childbirth, menstruation, contraception, abortion, gynecology, healing, and herbology—work often considered to be in the realm of the feminine—were associated with witchcraft. Under patriarchy, witches were situated in opposition to men. Groups of women governing themselves matriarchally,[3] 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 engaged in practices that emerged during enslavement and colonialism, like Santería, Voodoo, and Candomblé, have been labeled witches and violently persecuted (Joho and Sung 2020). Those who engaged in the work of the "feminine," who opposed patriarchal rule, or who defied what white supremacy dictated was acceptable have been criminalized, arrested, executed, or otherwise punished—to the degree that their histories have been strategically altered or, in some cases, completely erased (Gasser 2017). This has undermined the resistive, knowledgeable, powerful, and, in Indigenous and Black communities, self-determining nature of spirituality, "witchcraft" and magic, and the people who practiced those crafts.

Fundamentally, this was the goal of witch hunters as they hunted those with the least power, those who were already marginalized: women and other feminine presenting people and racialized people. For instance, the term "witchcraft" was used by European colonizers in an act of cultural genocide

in order to demonize the traditions and spiritual practices of Indigenous peoples and Black people who had survived the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Joho and Sung 2020). Further, between 1638 and 1725, a period of time in New England when witch hunts and trials were a regular occurrence, an estimated 78 percent of those accused of witchcraft and executed were women and feminine presenting people, with men and enslaved people facing accusations and death 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.

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. Think of this in contrast to the presumed "father" of gynecology, J. Marion Sims, who performed hundreds of nonconsenting surgeries on enslaved women for the sake of medical "innovation." Or, perhaps, 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.[4] 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-relegated figures who did not and do not conform to the kinds of patriarchal standards of their time.

And yet, from within these heteropatriarchal structures, activists have embraced the feminist power, like the power that the witch symbolizes, in order to speak back to such structures, challenging the white supremacist and heteropatriarchal standards of their time through feminist organizing. In the 1890s, African American women led by Ida B. Wells organized 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). And, more recently, in 2006 activist Tarana Burke founded the original "Me Too" movement, which focused on fostering solidarity among girls and women of color at her co-founded non-profit, Just Be Inc. (North 2018). Importantly, current feminist critiques of rape culture are part of this larger lineage of feminist political, medical, and social initiatives. The #MeToo movement advances these histories, acting as a networked social movement (Rentschler 2014; Clark 2016) that uses digital technologies to articulate lived experiences of sexual harassment and assault.

AND NOW, TECHNOLOGY'S DISAPPEARING ACT

However, despite the success of these technologies in circulating stories that help push for vital change, they 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)

Through my dwelling here, what has become clear is that the neoliberal racist sexist backlash to justice uses the same tools as feminist resistance (i.e., the witch) but different techniques, and that feminist organizing has always been about using the tools at hand, even as we queer those tools by using different techniques. Dwelling in spaces where digital activism is frequent is key for understanding the embodied and affective components to this claim. Through engaging in this particular process of dwelling, it may encourage 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. The longer or more concentratedly that we dwell within virtual spaces, the more information we're able to accrue and the better we are able to consider how our individual acts of dwelling serve, reflect, or intervene into the sociotech-

nical, political, and/or cultural scene which can prompt the process of moving from individual thought towards action, individually and collectively.

For me, in following the figure of the witch and its paratextual discourses in social media spaces and news sources, the experiences of dwelling that I lay out in this section demonstrate just how deeply infused technologies and platforms are with the political contexts from which they emerge, pointing to the ways that virtual dwelling can speak to not only interpersonal but hegemonic, disciplinary, and structural levels. In the days following the social media re-birth of #MeToo, 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 of Facebook's algorithms here reflect the dark side of social media and the biases inherent in algorithms. Social media curates content based on what the platform assumes you want to see given what you have clicked on previously, all the while sorting out content considered unpopular. What is considered "unpopular" is up to the creators of such algorithms. Scholars and activists have been making similar observations for the past several years, arguing that we must be more aware of the ways in which data politics adversely affect Black, Indigenous, and racialized people and queer, trans, intersex, and gender non-conforming communities and women, particularly given the quickly shifting digital landscape where biometric, health, location, conversational, financial, and habitual data are easily stored, sold, and used (e.g., Noble 2018; Duarte 2017; Brown 2015; O'Riordan and Phillips 2007).

When Lindy West observed the link between social media's design politics and what social media participants experience, I saw the link between the sexist design of the platform and mainstream narratives about sexual assault, perpetuated by Facebook's algorithm. When a *New York Times* Gender Letter asked if algorithms could be sexist, I asked how the algorithmic favoring of mainstream narratives of the witch as predominantly white, full of corruption and malice *couldn't* be sexism and white supremacy. And so, while the witch was my anchor, the sexist and racist politics of technology became my wave. Through dwelling with technologies, we can start to see and articulate more clearly the power dynamics at play. If we brush off the glamor and look past the glow of enthusiastic discourses of technological ubiquity, we begin to see it: digital surveillance in border security; the performances of 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. Technochauvinism, the belief that technology is always the answer

(Broussard 2018), and mediated misogyny (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016) are hard at work. False dichotomies between public and private, consent and privacy, and subjective and objective are re-worked to maintain age-old power dynamics in new-age form. The increased digitization of feminist and antifeminist movements has led to cyberbullying, censorship, and the silencing of marginalized groups including LGBTQ+; Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities; and women online.

Arguably, one of the reasons for this divisive digital landscape is the androcentric, racist conditions in which dominant media platforms are produced. As Judy Wajcman (2004, 2010) has argued, technical spaces have historically been created by men for men. The tech industry is overwhelmingly male: in 2015, men made up 90 percent of Twitter's engineering staff, and 85 percent of Facebook and 83 percent of Google's tech staff (Rushe 2014; Chemaly 2015). In 2017, the year that the MeToo hashtag would go viral, 63 percent of Facebook's staff, 56 percent of Google's staff, and 59 percent of Twitter's staff were white (Donnelly 2017). Evidently, there is a gendered and raced digital divide that polices the online world, where boundaries are based on the desires of those who design them. And yet, it seems to be that only once the most privileged of us speaks up against the sexism of technology that the media begins to really take notice.

Notably, statistics shared by these corporations don't bother to account for intersections of ability or sexual orientation. When (white) men create mediated spaces they inevitably create them for other men, predicating the exclusion of others. To put it bluntly, mediated misogyny and other forms of discrimination have existed as long as the internet, and its antecedents have existed for centuries longer. Algorithms weed out dissenting voices, particularly when those voices are marginalized. Take, for example, Apple's accusations of algorithmic sexism surrounding its credit card, the Apple Card. On November 15, 2019, Alisha Haridasani Gupta writing for the *New York Times* Gender Letter asked the question: are algorithms sexist? To which many of us even remotely interested in the intersections of gender studies and technology/digitality could respond: yes. Gupta outlines the "tweetstorm" brought on by a distinguished Danish software developer, David Heinemeier Hansson, when he called attention to the sexism underlying the Apple Card's programming after he had been given a credit line 20 times higher than his wife's—even though her credit score was better than his. Ironically, this is not a one-time affair, with Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak also confessing that his credit limit was 10 times that of his wife's. When New York State regulators opened an investigation, Apple, of course, pointed fingers at its banking partner, Goldman Sachs, and Goldman Sachs blamed the algorithm.

There is a history of recent research that outlines this kind of unassuming mediated discrimination. 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, similar to the oppressions their material bodies face offline (Gosine 2007, 144). 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 color (type "Black girls" into Google, she suggests, and critically reflect on what you find). Thus, it should have come as no surprise that the Apple Card was also created with sexism and racism as its base. Two things are notable here: first, in blaming the algorithm as the culprit of sexism, as a crafty little formula it discursively constructs the algorithm as objective and apolitical. That is, it cannot be to blame for its subjective and material consequences in the world. 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. Returning to Alisha Haridasani Gupta's question in the *New York Times* asking if algorithms sexist, we should be able to even more soundly reply, "yes."

This rather bleak scene is one that feminist hashtag activism and #MeToo intervene into, with a hashtagging tactic and practice that can help us virtually dwell. Our current material-phenomenological conditions of oppression lead to particular material-phenomenological conditions of response, which currently includes a technological response. However, as we've seen above, digital technologies continue to create and re-create the gendered, raced, patriarchal aspects of its social world because of how the tech segregates based on data-gathering and targeting of bodies. This offers even more of a reason to dwell in spaces to then imagine together what best practices and orientations can be learned. And yet, the question remains, how do we challenge the discrimination and oppression right at the heart of a technology if even the co-founder of Apple can't seem to put his finger on it? What becomes clear is that each individual moment of virtual dwelling, even each layer as we go deeper, is not enough. We need to gather these individual dwelling spaces, home in on them, and then bring them together as a collective brood to indicate the importance of multiple perspectives so that us feminists can best determine how to re-tool and respond. While I have offered my version of dwelling, your version is different. What could happen if we brought our experiences of dwelling in the same spaces together?

By dwelling we can find ways to intervene into the history of male dominated control over technologies by better understanding the sociotechnical relations between assemblages and finding points to intervene along the way.

Knowledge in this context and history itself is white and male dominated. It is part of a larger epistemology, and as such we have to challenge the white supremacist patriarchal ways of knowing in order to challenge the technology. The affective material approach of virtually dwelling can help recognize the tactics used by racist capitalist cisheteropatriarchy, evidenced in my dwelling with the figure of the witch. Through lingering with the idea of #MeToo as a witch hunt, I was able to interrogate the politics of technology that enabled such misogyny to circulate. Since I dwelled there, I considered the history and activism of the witch, and am now able to better see what resistance to white supremacist and misogynistic forces can look like. Because the witch operates outside or in opposition to patriarchal space, this figure begs us to imagine what matriarchal space might be. If technology replicates patriarchal forms, how might we make or use technology to replicate matriarchal forms? Thus, although we began dwelling at an interpersonal level of power, this process enables us to think through other collective and structural domains. Virtual dwelling can help identify our different ideas and questions, finding different tactics and also more problems that we will need to mobilize solutions for in order to change the structures through which misogyny is perpetuated.

CONCLUSION

Hashtag activism is broad and the issues it contests are many. I've focused this chapter around #MeToo in the hopes that my conceptual orientation and analysis can also speak back to other hashtag movements, and in doing so continue the work of exploring the ways that such activisms create space. I take up #MeToo because, despite the "watershed" moment of its Twitter virality in 2017 (Ransom 2020; North 2018), I think there is more to be learned, especially given how easily white celebrities appropriated Tarana Burke's movement in those initial days, and the force with which Black social media participants righted that wrong. In 2021, almost four years after #MeToo's viral circulation on social media, we are grappling with a global health and economic pandemic due to the COVID-19 virus and a concurrent crisis of discrimination, domestic homicide, and racist and sexual violence as we abide by shelter-in-place regulations (Bain, Soore Dryden, and Walcott 2020; Qasim 2020; Patel 2020; Taub and Bradley 2020). Moreover, as those invested in a feminist politics of technology know, technologies and their data gathering, algorithmic filtering, surveillance tracking efforts are not neutral and have sociopolitical, technocultural, and corporeal consequences (Benjamin 2019; Browne 2015; Nakamura 2014; Noble 2018; O'Riordan and Phillips 2007).

I've offered here an example of the practice of my own virtual dwelling with #MeToo because by dwelling within feminist hashtag spaces we can better consider the material affective elements of feminist hashtag resistance, especially within the technical spaces of both constraint and possibility. 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 onto-epistemologies 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.

Virtually dwelling as a way to orient ourselves to digital spaces is important for the ways that it creates spaces to respond to and create new openings for resistance against the white supremacist heteropatriarchy. Feminist hashtagging is a particularly important site because it stands as an affective dwelling place, bringing together individuals into a collective gathering. Such performances of feminist hashtagging are located within temporal relations that reveal new ways of being, modes of organizing, and social relationships that did not exist before, even as they echo former movements and practices. In this way, dwelling with feminist hashtag campaigns offers insight into the embodied nature of our digitally constructed communication practices and the forms of memory, affect, performativity, and relationality they encompass—they not only interrogate what kinds of truths have been accepted, reified, and circulated in a culture that has long forgotten what truth might actually look like (e.g., "fake news"), but also creates and provide a springboard from which different sets of cultural truths can be revealed and disseminated.

It is no doubt that something about #MeToo "stuck"; the message resonated, it brought people together online, propelling action in the virtual and physical streets—it stuck so much that we saw violent responses to such moments. 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" (bell hooks 2012). It is a protest that continues to conjure different ways of transgressing the androcentric norms of the times we live in. This is more than just a representation of "witchiness"; this calling up of the witch does something: it calls people to action (whether for or against protest), crafts stories about who and what constitutes resistance and what that resistance looks like, and situates people in a moment within a larger movement.

The widespread public reach of the Internet makes access to information about online movements possible and participating in and spreading the message is a tweet away. The emancipatory possibilities of a hashtag speak to its affective stickiness, as hashtags are circulated by feminist and queer users who seek to intervene into hegemonic on/offline public issues. It is crucial to identify where, when, and how something like #MeToo sticks. The kinds of histories and memories that are recalled, like the witch hunt, do something. Using virtual dwelling as an orientation for analyzing online social movements helps highlight both their possibilities via their affective "stickiness" and modes of critical praxis and the constraints posed by the embedded structural inequalities of the platform itself, including who is able to participate in this movement via access and who can navigate the largely white, male domain. Through dwelling in virtual spaces where #MeToo stories have been shared, we can better trace and orient ourselves to how hashtags, discourses, memes, photos, and texts gain and lose traction across different public, private, and global networks, media platforms, and offline communities. Virtually dwelling in these spaces over time helps to attune us to the spaces in order to learn, respond, and ultimately create new openings for resisting harmful norms because it asks that we slow down rather than speed up, which in itself is a way of slowing the capitalist machinery and subverting the goals of hegemonic white supremacist technologies. The practice of dwelling and imagining alternative logics is itself a redistribution of power: it suggests that the tools needed for resistance aren't so far out of our reach—they may already exist, out there to be reclaimed, co-opted, and wielded.

NOTES

1. Given the possibility of harm due to doxing, 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 chapter (unless they come from a celebrity or activist account) so that posts cannot easily be traced back to the participants.

2. See the Trump Twitter Archive to search through the forty-fifth president of the United States' tweets, including mentions of "witch hunt." http://www.trumptwitterarchive.com/.

   3. Ironically, Google Docs is telling me that "matriarchally" is not a word, suggesting that I instead use "patriarchally."

   4. See Feminists Do Media, @aesthetic.resistance, on Instagram for other detailed accounts of these witchy figures and other amplifications of marginalized voices.

REFERENCES

Amnesty International Press Release. 2009. "Gambia: Hundreds Accused of 'Witchcraft' and Poisoned in Government Campaign." *Amnesty International*. March 18, 2009.

Bain, Beverly, Omi Soore Dryden, and Rinaldo Walcott. 2020. "COVID-19 Discriminates Against Black Lives via Surveillance, Policing, and Lack of Data: U of T Experts." *University of Toronto News*. April 21, 2020.

Banet-Weiser, Sarah. 2018. *Empowered: Popular Feminism and Popular Misogyny.* Duke University Press.

Banet-Weiser, Sarah and Kate Miltner. 2016. "MasculinitySoFragile: Culture, Structure, and Networked Misogyny." *Feminist Media Studies* 16(1): 171–74.

Barad, Karen. 2003. "Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(3): 801–31.

Benjamin, Ruha. 2019. *Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Polity Press.

Broussard, Meredith. 2018. *Artificial Unintelligence: How Computers Misunderstand the World*. MIT Press.

Browne, Simone. 2015. *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*. Duke University Press.

CBC News. 2019. "Trump complains about 'witch hunts' to oil and gas conference crowd.' *CBC News*. October 23, 2019.

Chemaly, Soraya. 2015. "Silicon Valley Sexism: Why It Matters that the Internet is Made by Men, for Men." *NewStatesman*. February 24, 2015.

Clark, Rosemary. 2016. "'Hope in a Hashtag': The Discursive Activism of #WhyIStayed." *Feminist Media Studies* 16(5): 788–804.

Demos, John Putnam. 2004. *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England.* Oxford University Press.

Donnelly, Grace. 2017. "Google Diversity Report Shows Progress Hiring Women, Little Change for Minority Workers." *Fortune*. June 29, 2017.

Duarte, Marisa Elena Duarte. 2017. *Network Sovereignty: Building the Internet Across Indian Country.* University of Washington Press.

Gasser, Erika. 2017. *Vexed with Devils: Manhood and Witchcraft in Old and New England.* New York: New York University Press.

Garza, Hedda. 1994. *Women in Medicine*. New York: Franklin Watts.

Greensite, Gillian. 2003. "History of the Rape Crisis Movement." In *Support for Survivors: Training for Sexual Assault Counselors*. California Coalition Against Sexual Assault.

Gupta, Alisha Haridasani. 2019. "In Her Words: Are Algorithms Sexist?" *New York Times Gender Letter.* November 15, 2019.

Haraway, Donna J. 2016. *Staying With The Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene.* Duke University Press.

hooks, bell. 2012. *Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice*. Routledge.

Joho, Jess and Morgan Sung. 2020. "How to be a witch without stealing other people's cultures." *Mashable*. October 31, 2020.

Karlsen, Carol F. 1998. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*. W.W. Norton & Company Ltd.

MacDonald, Shana. 2018. "The City (as) Place: Performative Re-mappings of Urban Space Through Artistic Research." In *Performance as Research: Knowledge, Methods, Impact,* edited by Annette Arlander, Bruce Barton, Melanie Dreyer-Lude, and Ben Spatz, 275–96. New York: Routledge.

MacDonald, Shana and Brianna I. Wiens. 2019. "Mobilizing the 'Multimangle': Why New Materialist Research Methods in Public Participatory Art Matter." *Leisure Sciences* 41(5): 366–84.

McGill, Mary. 2016. "Wicked W.I.T.C.H.: The 60s Feminist Protesters Who Hexed Patriarchy." *Vice Media*. October 28, 2016.

McLaren, Leah. 2017. "Me too: It's not just Hollywood, it's Canada." *MacLean's*. October 18, 2017.

———. 2017. "This Is Not A Witch Hunt—Sexual Harassment is Utterly Ubiquitous." *Chatelaine*. October 18, 2017, updated December 21, 2017.

Migiro, Katy. 2017. "Despite murderous attacks, Tanzania's 'witches' fight for land." *Reuters*. March 21, 2017.

Nakamura, Lisa. 2014. "Indigenous Circuits: Navajo Women and the Racialization of Early Electronic Manufacture." *American Quarterly* 66, no. 4: 919–41.

Noble, Safiya Umoja. 2018. *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. New York University Press.

North, Anna. 2018. "The #MeToo Movement and its Evolution, explained." *Vox*. October 11, 2018.

O'Riordan, Kate and David J. Phillips, eds. 2007. *Queer Online: Media Technology & Sexuality*. Peter Lang Publishing Inc.

Patel, Raisa. 2020. "Minister says COVID-19 is empowering domestic violence abusers as raters rise in parts of Canada." *CBC*. April 27, 2020.

Pedwell, Carolyn and Anne Whitehead. 2012. "Affecting Feminism: Questions of Feeling in Feminist Theory." *Feminist Theory* 13(2): 115–29.

Qasim, Salaado. 2020. "How Racism Spread Around the World Alongside COVID-19." *World Economic Forum*. June 5, 2020.

Ransom, Jan. 2020. "Harvey Weinstein Is Found Guilty of Sex Crimes in #MeToo Watershed." *New York Times*. February 24, 2020.

Rentschler, Carrie A. 2014. "Rape Culture and the Feminist Politics of Social Media." *Girlhood Studies 7*(1): 65–82.

Rowlands, Alison. 2013. "Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Europe." *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*.

Rushe, Dominic. 2014. "Twitter's Diversity Report: White, Male and Just Like the Rest of Silicon Valley." *Guardian*. July 25, 2014.

Sharma, Sarah. 2020. "A Manifesto for the Broken Machine." *Camera Obscura* 104–35(2): 171–79.

Taub, Amanda and Jane Bradley. 2020. "As Domesic Abuse Rises, U.K. Failings Leave Victims in Peril." *New York Times*. July 2, 2020.

Tran, Lucky. 2019. "Firehosing: The Systemic Strategy that Anti-Vaxxers are Using to Spread Misinformation." *Guardian*. November 7, 2019.

Wajcman, Judy. 2004. *Technofeminism.* Polity Press.

———. 2010. "Feminist Theories of Technology." *Cambridge Journal of Economics 34*(1): 143–52.

West, Lindy. "Yes, This Is a Witch Hunt. I'm a Witch and I'm Hunting You." *New York Times*. October 17, 2017.

Wiens, Brianna. I, Stan Rucker, Jennifer Roberts-Smith, Milena Radzikowska, and Shana MacDonald. 2020. "Materializing Data: New Research Methods for Feminist Digital Humanities." *Digital Studies/Le Champ Numérique* 10(1): 1–22.

Wilson, Rachel. 2015. "How to Run a Back-Alley Abortion Service." *Vice Media*. November 12, 2015.