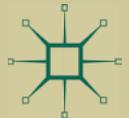
A close-up photograph of a bundle of multi-colored cables (red, yellow, green, blue, purple, grey) plugged into a grey plastic connector. The cables are bundled together and fan out from the connector. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

DIGITAL DILEMMAS

TRANSFORMING GENDER IDENTITIES AND
POWER RELATIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Edited by Diana C. Parry, Corey W. Johnson and Simone Fullagar



Digital Dilemmas

Diana C. Parry • Corey W. Johnson
Simone Fullagar
Editors

Digital Dilemmas

Transforming Gender Identities and
Power Relations in Everyday Life

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Diana C. Parry
University of Waterloo
Waterloo, ON, Canada

Simone Fullagar
Department for Health
University of Bath
Bath, UK

Corey W. Johnson
Department of Recreation & Leisure
Studies
University of Waterloo
Waterloo, ON, Canada

ISBN 978-3-319-95299-4 ISBN 978-3-319-95300-7 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95300-7>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018959108

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: FactoryTh

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

For all those in the world working for social justice one click/swipe at a time.

Acknowledgements

The terrain of this text was certainly an unpredictable, but delightful one. It started with a small amount of funding from the University of Waterloo International Partnership grant, the desire to connect three scholars in three countries, and keep pace with research on gender and leisure in the digital landscape. That inspiration has produced so much more: new colleagues, institutional affiliation changes, a conference, graduate student funding, new mentor-mentee relationships, keynote talks, and ultimately the text you hold in your hand. None of this comes without labour—labour of love. Consequently, there is the need for much gratitude. The book grew out of a conference that was funded by a Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) connection grant, which brought together the authors with the likes of other presenters, including our keynotes Aimée Morrison and Brittney Cooper; we appreciate their inspiration. Special thanks to our chapter authors for committing to such unique, thoughtful, and timely contributions. Thanks to our partners Troy, Yancey, and Gill for their support and the real labour (childcare, baking cakes, and working registration tables), while we were burning the midnight oil. Most importantly, our huge gratitude to Luc Cousineau. He has been our event planner, author coraller, indexer, contributor (plus so much more), and could not have been more thoughtful, faithful, and diligent.

Contents

Digital Dilemmas: Transforming Gender Identities and Power Relations in Everyday Life	1
<i>Diana C. Parry, Luc S. Cousineau, Corey W. Johnson, and Simone Fullagar</i>	
Section I Theory in Digital and Leisure Contexts	21
Laughing at Injustice: #DistractinglySexy and #StayMadAbby as Counternarratives	23
<i>Aimée Morrison</i>	
Digital Black Feminism	53
<i>Ashley Love</i>	
Section II Methodological Discussions and Guideposts	73
Online Qualitative Methods: Confronting New Possibilities and Challenges Within a Social Justice Perspective	75
<i>Dawn E. Trussell, Jen Apgar, and Laura Kovac</i>	
	ix

Appnography: Modifying Ethnography for App-Based Culture	95
<i>Luc S. Cousineau, Harrison Oakes, and Corey W. Johnson</i>	
Section III Dilemmas at the Intersection of Gender, Gender Identity, and Digitality	119
Writing Recovery from Depression Through a Creative Research Assemblage: Mindshackles, Digital Mental Health, and a Feminist Politics of Self-Care	121
<i>Simone Fullagar and Iesha Small</i>	
Playing with Zombie Problems: Exploring the Gender-Digital-Play Assemblage in Online Mental Health Campaigns	143
<i>Teresa Swist and Philippa Collin</i>	
The Impact of Digital Culture on Women in Sport	163
<i>Katie Lebel, Ann Pegoraro, and Alanna Harman</i>	
This Girl Can? The Limitations of Digital Do-It-Yourself Empowerment in Women's Active Embodiment Campaigns	183
<i>Annaleise Depper, Simone Fullagar, and Jessica Francombe-Webb</i>	
Making Gender and Motherhood Through Pedagogies of Digital Health and Fitness Consumption: 'Soon It Made Us More Active as a Family'	205
<i>Emma Rich</i>	
Digital Dilemmas Through Networked Assemblages: Reshaping the Gendered Contours of Our Future	225
<i>Simone Fullagar, Diana C. Parry, and Corey W. Johnson</i>	
Index	245

Notes on Contributors

Jen Apgar is an elementary teacher, working as a twenty-first-century technology coach for a school board in Ontario, Canada. A happily married lesbian mom with a daughter, Jen is an optimist and critical thinker who loves connecting with people with the hopes of making positive change.

Philippa Collin is a senior research fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University. She researches the role of the digital in the social, cultural, and political lives of young people, with a focus on the implications for the promotion of mental health, well-being, and citizenship. Her work is also concerned with method and how participatory and co-design approaches contribute to new forms of political participation, identity, and governance.

Luc S. Cousineau is a PhD candidate in the Department of Recreation & Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. Luc's research is focused on gender and power relations in work and leisure spaces, with a particular focus on anonymized online leisure and the effects of this leisure participation on masculinity. Using feminist theory, leisure theory, and new media/internet studies to ground his work, Luc's primary focus is men's involvement in men's rights activism—its roots, propagation, and transition from anonymous participation to identifiable personal ideology.

Annaleise Depper is a PhD candidate in the Physical Culture, Sport and Health research group at the University of Bath. Her research explores young people's experiences of embodied mobility and inequality in communities of

disadvantage. Annaleise is particularly interested in using participatory, youth-led approaches to explore the affective, material, and discursive contexts of everyday lives.

Jessica Francombe-Webb is a lecturer at the University of Bath. Her research explores the contested politics of the (in)active body in relation to health practices, physical, and digital cultures and issues of power, gender, social class, and (dis)ability. Her work has been published in a variety of interdisciplinary journals.

Simone Fullagar is a professor and Chair of the Physical Culture, Sport and Health research group at the University of Bath. Simone is an interdisciplinary sociologist who has published widely using feminist post-structuralist and new materialist perspectives to critically explore active living policy, women's depression and recovery, and alternative physical cultures (from cycle tourism, parkrun to roller derby).

Alanna Harman is an assistant professor at Wilfrid Laurier University in the division of Kinesiology & Physical Education. Harman's research interests include the construction of gender in sport, psychological contracts, and organizational behaviour.

Corey W. Johnson is a professor in the Department of Recreation & Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. His theorizing and qualitative inquiry focuses its attention on the power relations between dominant and non-dominant populations in the cultural contexts of leisure.

Laura Kovac is an MA student in the Social Justice and Equity Studies programme at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. She is interested in adolescent females' participation in aesthetic sports and critically examines the ways in which a post-feminist girlhood culture shapes their experiences. Her research advocates for a diversity of gender expression.

Katie Lebel is an assistant professor at Ryerson University in the Ted Rogers School of Management. Lebel specializes in the area of sport marketing, with a particular focus on gender, digital image management strategies, and consumer engagement.

Ashley Love is a doctoral candidate at the University of Georgia in Critical Studies in Education. Her research encompasses the impact of digital discourses as public pedagogy and teacher education through the lens of study abroad experiences.

Aimée Morrison is Associate Professor of English at the University of Waterloo, specializing in new media studies, concentrating on social media as a mode of everyday life writing. She has recently published on virality in academic media, personal disclosure and new media, and conflict management in personal blogging.

Harrison Oakes is a PhD student and Vanier Scholar at the University of Waterloo. Trained in social psychological experimental methodology, he has recently begun diving into qualitative inquiry in an attempt to supplement not only his methodological tool belt, but also his understanding of psychological processes at the individual level. Outside of academia, Harrison is an avid coffee drinker, tropical plant enthusiast, and the world's biggest fan of his darling puppy, Zara.

Diana C. Parry is the Associate Vice-President, Human Rights, Equity and Inclusion at the University of Waterloo. As part of this portfolio, Diana leads the United Nations Women's HeForShe IMPACT 10 x 10 x 10 commitment on campus, including creating the strategy to ensure that the university obtains long-term, comprehensive, sustainable gender equity. A professor in Applied Health Sciences, Diana's research utilizes a feminist lens to explore the personal and political links between women's leisure and women's health, broadly defined. Diana's research privileges women's standpoints and aims to create social change and enact social justice by challenging the medical model of scholarship.

Ann Pegoraro is the Director of the Institute for Sport Marketing (ISM) and an associate professor in the School of Human Kinetics at Laurentian University.

Pegoraro focuses her research on the intersection of sport and social media from various lenses, including marketing, communication, and social issues.

Emma Rich is a reader in the Department for Health at the University of Bath. Her research examines sport, physical activity, and physical/health education from a critical/socio-cultural perspective. Her two main areas of expertise include critical perspectives of obesity, eating disorders, and weight-related issues and digital health technologies (e.g. mobile and digital health, big data, wearable technologies). Much of her research is focused on education and young people.

Iesha Small is a documentary photographer based in the South East of England. Her interest in mental health is shaped by personal and family experiences, and the building of Mindshackles was a way to move conversations about mental health issues into the open. In early 2013, Iesha decided to help tell the stories

of ordinary people who have experienced depression at some point in their lives, or continue to do so, through photography and their own words.

Teresa Swist is Engaged Research Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University. She researches the complexity and power relations of knowledge and cultural practices in the digital age, with a particular focus on creativity, co-design, technology, and well-being. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Youth Studies*, *New Media and Society*, *Communication and the Public*, and *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*.

Dawn E. Trussell is an associate professor at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. Her research focuses on leisure and sport culture in the lives of individuals, families, and communities. She seeks to understand diverse social contexts and issues of power and social inclusion, particularly related to family, children and youth, gender and sexual diversity, and rurality.

List of Figures

Laughing at Injustice: #DistractinglySexy and #StayMadAbby as Counternarratives

Fig. 1	@vagendamagazine 10 June 2015	27
Fig. 2	@rat__spit 10 June 2015	28
Fig. 3	@baileysutton 17 June 2015	30
Fig. 4	@csmesher 19 June 2015	32
Fig. 5	@Next_of_KinYA 10 Dec 2015	38
Fig. 6	@nollywood_Q 10 Dec 2015	40
Fig. 7	@AhsanteB 10 Dec 2015	41

Online Qualitative Methods: Confronting New Possibilities and Challenges Within a Social Justice Perspective

Fig. 1	<i>New Tricks</i> . (Jen Apgar)	80
Fig. 2	<i>Are you a Robot?</i> (Jen Apgar)	83
Fig. 3	<i>The mobile network</i> . (Jen Apgar)	89

Writing Recovery from Depression Through a Creative Research Assemblage: Mindshackles, Digital Mental Health, and a Feminist Politics of Self-Care

Fig. 1	Woman with Fan. (Photo: Iesha Small)	128
--------	--------------------------------------	-----

**Digital Dilemmas Through Networked Assemblages: Reshaping
the Gendered Contours of Our Future**

Fig. 1 @rosemcgowan Twitter suspension notice. (McGowan, 2017) 226

List of Tables

The Impact of Digital Culture on Women in Sport

Table 1	Athlete rankings on social media	168
Table 2	Athlete digital self-presentation	170



Digital Dilemmas: Transforming Gender Identities and Power Relations in Everyday Life

Diana C. Parry, Luc S. Cousineau, Corey W. Johnson,
and Simone Fullagar

Every day, we are urged to turn more of the management of our lives over to technology and the corporations which develop it. From the measurement of our fitness, to the music we listen to, we trust the algorithms and programming in these technologies to help us know when we are hip, happy, and healthy. Beginning with Apple's Siri, the "digital assistant" has been gradually incorporated into the normative parameters of everyday life, and these digital helpers have now become desirable features of homes with products like the Amazon Echo and Google Home. But what

D. C. Parry (✉)

University of Waterloo, Waterloo, ON, Canada

e-mail: dcparry@uwaterloo.ca

L. S. Cousineau • C. W. Johnson

Department of Recreation & Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, ON, Canada

e-mail: Luc.cousineau@uwaterloo.ca; corey.johnson@uwaterloo.ca

S. Fullagar

Department for Health, University of Bath, Bath, UK

e-mail: S.P.Fullagar@bath.ac.uk

dilemmas are posed through the use of these technologies? Data are transmitted through (often poorly secured) internet connections, to major corporations to be processed, stored, acted upon, and sold through global networks that entangle gendered labour and leisure. In exchange for their convenience, personal information is extracted from the ebbs and flows of everyday activity. Perhaps this is why, as Kate O’Riordan (2006) demonstrated, these service technologies are imbued with historically feminine characteristics and voices, so that they feel less like HAL from *2001—A Space Odyssey* and more like Rosie from *The Jetsons*.

In this chapter, we will explore the nature of digital spaces and the connected and compounded effects that those spaces can have on shaping digital embodiments. Using various feminist theories, we discuss the discursive and ideological formation of gender imbricated in gender injustice, and outline how the intersection of gendered understandings with technological fluidity creates spaces where individuals can be simultaneously empowered and subjugated. In doing so, we will draw upon existing work that has explored elements of these dilemmas and bring those works together to examine the interrelationships of gendered leisure, advocacy, and civic engagement. We seek to advance new approaches to understanding, critiquing, and mobilizing action within the complex gendered relations that are entangled in leisure spaces and digital practices.

The proliferation of digital technologies, virtual spaces, and new forms of engagement raise key questions about the changing nature of relationships and identities within democratic societies. Scholars, policymakers, and activists have only begun to understand how everyday life is being transformed by technology in ways that inform and challenge social dynamics and norms, which govern our selves, our communities, and the spaces we inhabit. Nowhere are these issues more salient than when we explore the formation, regulation, and contestation of digital gender identities. The problems and paradoxes created through the intersection of gender ideology and the possibilities of digital environments create both spaces of positive explorations and embodiments, as well as sites of gender injustice. These opportunities and dilemmas, produced through leisure-related practices and digital public culture, are where attention is needed to produce cultural and critical inquiry. It is upon those dilemmas

at the intersections of gender, oppression, opportunity, and digitality where we focus this book.

Our aim in compiling this book is to contribute to current debates in digital humanities and social science (digital sociology, science and technology studies, cultural studies, leisure studies, and pedagogy) through a focus on key dilemmas occurring at the intersection of public culture, policy, practice, and everyday gender relations. Specifically, we aim to generate new conversations across two broadly defined bodies of scholarship—gender studies/social justice and digital sociology/leisure studies. To date, there has been limited attention paid to questions of gender and power as they manifest in our digital leisure lives in relation to changing notions of freedom, choice, and social well-being. Gender issues have yet to be comprehensively addressed within the emerging focus on digital technologies, despite special issues of key journals, like *Leisure Studies* (2016), which focused on promoting the digital in leisure studies and building a “lively leisure studies that can make sense of the constantly changing worlds of lively devices and lively data” (Lupton 2016, p. 711), the *Leisure Sciences* (2018) special issue on popular leisure in a digital age, and texts such as Spracklen’s (2015) *Digital Leisure, the Internet and Popular Culture*. We aim to begin the labour of ensuring that gender, and gender-related issues, are addressed in this literature. Exploring leisure-related digital practices that are virtual and visceral, the book is broadly oriented around three digital dilemmas:

- How do we theorize the influence of diverse virtual voices at the intersection of gender and (in)justice?
- How can innovative methodologies enable new insights into the social transformation of gender relations, digital cultures, and social justice?
- How is digital technology shaping relationships between diverse publics—citizens, communities, activists, policymakers—in terms of transforming gender injustice?

The exchange and flow of ideas between these different areas has yet to be fully explored (Johnson & Parry, 2016). There is a need to take stock of recent feminist research insights in both policy, activist, and academic arenas, and to identify the areas that still require greater research attention

and policy debate. This edited collection seeks to share these insights among academics, policymakers, activists, and practitioners. This knowledge integration and synthesis is crucial to reshape the literature on gender and to inform future national and international debates. These debates include important ideas like technological access as a human right, public versus private data, how the data we generate is managed, disseminated, bought and sold, and net neutrality (the concept that all traffic on the internet should have equal value and that corporations should not limit, police, or enhance one type of traffic over another). Each of these, along with being technical issues, have deep social roots in who is valued and what is valuable about them. Issues of difference and inequality, user-generated content, and neoliberal economic policies do not create the same level of opportunity for everyone. They do not foster equitable distributions of power. The ubiquity of our technological connections subjugate us in ways that most individuals do not fully understand, while they also fuel forms of resistance, inventiveness, and feminist subversion.

Feminist Theories and Digital Contexts of Gender Injustice

Research on the digital contexts of gender injustice is rapidly evolving, and cutting edge conceptual work is taking place in both academic and non-academic arenas (government, think tanks, industry, etc.). Much of the critical work in this area has been undertaken by feminists and there is a growing global community of feminist scholars who are exploring questions of power, social justice, and change in leisure-related practices (Fullagar, Pavlidis, & Francombe-Webb, 2018; Harvey & Shepherd, 2017; Johnson & Parry, 2016; Lupton & Thomas, 2015; Morrison, 2014; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014; Rich, 2018). This scholarship has brought to the fore a strong focus on women and changing digital contexts through which girls are engaging with feminist practices. For example, Keller's (2016) book on American girls' feminist blogging, Dobson's (2015) Australian work on post-feminist digital cultures, Smith-Prei and Stehle's (2016) Canadian book on technologies of transnational pop-

feminist activism, as well as the UK work produced by Retallack, Ringrose, and Lawrence (2016) on girls' digital and creative engagement with feminism through school-based theatre. Building upon this work we add to this important body of research by foregrounding the question of intersectional power relations and bring into view ableism, racism, classism, and heterosexism as they play out through the mediated contexts of everyday life (Durham, Cooper, & Morris, 2013; Jones & Hughes-Decatur, 2012; Williams, 2015).

Cyberfeminism and Networked Leisure

Since the early writing about networked computer systems, virtual worlds, cyberspaces, and digital environments have been heralded as new landscapes, filled with possibility and promise about the role they might play in emancipation and empowerment. Early users and theorists saw the virtual worlds of networked computing as potential utopias (Turkle, 1996; Warf & Grimes, 1997), and this perspective was taken up by feminist authors and gender theorists in a significant way. They saw blank slates in the multi-user dungeons¹ (MUDs) and bulletin boards, which housed the text-based communications of these early digital-world systems and developed utopic theories about how they might bring about change.

The emancipatory potential of the new worlds of the net and web were expounded by cyberfeminist researchers and other authors (cf. Rheingold, 1993) who saw the internet as a technology that could facilitate gender and racial equality, through work on political economy and internetworked global feminism (Daniels, 2009). Authors like Norris (2001), Sassen (2002), and Eisenstein (1998) explored how, as the internet began to develop as a driving economic and social force in Western culture, individuals in developing societies, and particularly women, were less likely to have access to technologies and therefore

¹ Multi-user dungeons (MUDs) were text-based, online spaces where multiple users could create personal identities and interact with one another through a multi-user interface, normally moderated by the users themselves. Some MUDs had very long lifespans with users developing and interacting with the space for years.

less likely to reap the benefits of those technologies. Some 20 years after Eisenstein's work, as connectivity becomes more and more essential to life in a global community, the idea of internet access as a human right continues to proliferate; take, for example, the non-binding resolution at the United Nations in 2016 (United Nations, 2016) while individuals in developing countries, or even the poor and marginalized in Western countries, continue to struggle for simple connectivity, let alone equitable access. In 2003, Radhika Gajjala cautioned that

[i]f cyberfeminist agendas are to produce subversive countercultures or to succeed in changing existing technological environments so that they are empowering to women and men of lesser material and socio-cultural privilege the world over, it is important to examine how individuals and communities are situated within the complex global and local contexts mediated by unequal relations of power. (p. 54)

Gajjala's concern is about both the colonialist notions of Westernized technological adoption in other parts of the world, particularly South Asia, as well as the liberal feminist trappings of celebrating technology as liberating to *all* women. However, these critiques should not undercut the important effects that global or quasi-global interconnection have had on bypassing local, state, and mass media resistance to feminist causes globally (Everett, 2004; Sassen, 2002).

The intersections of gender and technologies have also been taken up by authors outside of feminism. Wajcman (2000, 2010) has written extensively on how gender interfaces with the technologies that we use every day, from our taken-for-granted assumptions about the technological acumen of men, to the co-mingling of technological development and gendered lives through domestication technologies like washing machines, and media like daytime television. There is current work exploring how our use of social media and its pervasive nature in our lives are affected by gender, not just in the ways that we interact with the technologies, but in the ways that those technologies code us knowingly and unknowingly (Bivens & Haimson, 2016; Bivens, 2017; Carstensen, 2014; Shepherd, 2013).

We are, through our engagement with social media and other interactive technologies, categorized, grouped, and reduced to discrete variables stored in databases. Some of these data points we provide willingly, like our name, or the high school we attended, but others are generated through complex algorithms which group us in ways we don't know about; they can even predict our behaviour. As we continually give up our (personal information) data in exchange for the use of these technologies, we must engage with the dilemmas of simultaneously being the user and the product, or face the repercussions of opting out. Work exploring both the surveillance and gendered implications of big data and technologies watching us as we use them is already underway, and their findings provide us with reason to question our technological choices (D'Ignazio, 2016; Noble, 2016; Whitson, 2014).

For early users and theorists of virtual communities and networked lives, the opportunities presented by the digital landscape were large in number and constantly evolving in nature, and the web has remained a space of perceived opportunity as it has developed. Although the utopic visions of a new digital social order may have faded, the web still represents opportunities for individual and social gain for users and consumers. Linking our offline and online lives, and allowing us to more easily coordinate social events or gain notoriety, we are consistently presented with the allure of being "internet famous" and becoming "real-life" rich, like Bethany Mota, a California teen whose shopping YouTube channel has over ten million subscribers and almost one billion views since 2009 (YouTube, 2018).

Particularly in our leisure, digitality has become an irrevocable part of how we communicate (Facetime, SMS messaging, Skype), coordinate (Eventbrite, Doodle, Facebook events), and mobilize meaning (phones, tablets, wearable tech). It provides the opportunity for large and small-scale real-time organization around social issues; movements like the Arab Spring, Black Lives Matter (BLM), or #idlenomore are good examples. These movements, along with being powerful calls for social justice, and individual and collective rights of citizens, are propagated by the intersections of technology and leisure for participants and supporters. Links between leisure, technology, and social movements have always been prescient, and the ability of digital technologies to link these

elements together is rivalled in history only by the printing press (Goldin & Kutarna, 2016). Although the core and founding protestors in each of these movements spur initial interest, it is the proliferation of their messages through social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook (sites of dedicated leisure involvement for many people (Rose & Spencer, 2016)), which generate attention and public support. In the case of the Arab Spring, Twitter served as both a rallying cry and a means of coordination. Because of the decentralized nature of spreading messages on the platform, as well as the ability to use non-personal accounts managed by several people, protests' coordination on Twitter proved far more difficult to limit and manage than individual, identifiable, charismatic leaders would have been (Howard et al., 2011; Khondker, 2011). The Idle No More movement in Canada, which began as “teach-ins throughout Saskatchewan to protest impending parliamentary bills that will erode Indigenous sovereignty and environmental protections” (IdleNoMore, 2018), spread through both media coverage and social media across the country, linking Indigenous and non-Indigenous people together to support their cause. Likewise, the global network of social media and advancing technological capabilities allowed pictures and videos of incidents like those of the death of Michael Brown to circulate and provide unequivocal support to the assertions of #BlackLivesMatter. Black Feminists have also intervened in digital spaces to make visible the lesser known lives and violent deaths of Black women through the hashtag #sayhername (Mohrman & Fischer, 2016). Now a “member-led global network of more than 40 chapters”, BLM is a “Black-centered political will and movement building project” started by three Black women and propelled by technology and sharing (Black Lives Matter, 2018).

Technology, and in particular social media, presents an open platform for the development and dissemination of ideas and the challenging of social norms (issues of gender, sexual identity, race, and privilege to be presented in this book notwithstanding for the moment), where movements, which begin as small ways of protest can catch larger public attention and help usher in public discourse to make gender inequity visible in new, collectivized ways.

The #everydaysexism and #metoo movements are perhaps the most quintessential example of this power in this contemporary moment.

#metoo was created in 2007 by civil rights and sexual abuse activist Tarana Burke as a way to help victims understand that they were not alone in their sexual victimization. The movement was popularized by actress Alyssa Milano in October 2017 when she encouraged women to tweet “me too” as a way of demonstrating the extensive and pervasive nature of the problem (Garcia, 2017). Since October 2017, countless women and men, celebrities and not, have used the hashtag, as well as the collective power of the movement to express, sometimes for the first time, their experiences with sexual violence (me too movement, 2018). The movement, and those who have broken their silence about sexual misconduct, were named TIME magazine’s 2017 person of the year (Zacharek, Dockterman, & Sweetland Edwards, 2017). It has facilitated victimized women and men to come forward and has brought to light persistent and egregious sexual violence committed by very powerful players in Hollywood and elsewhere, including most notably Harvey Weinstein and Kevin Spacey.

The #metoo movement, even as young as it is, has created some dilemmas of its own. After the initial flurry and subsequent steady flow of accusations and support, whispers of backlash appeared. Not long after the strong support shown at the 75th Golden Globe awards with a near-uniform adoption of Black fashion and the donning of “Time’s Up” pins (in support of the Time’s Up Legal Defence Fund, which pledges to provide support to women and men who have experienced sexual harassment, abuse, or assault in the workplace (Time’s Up, 2018)), conversations in some circles have turned to whether the #metoo movement has gone “too far”. This accusation teems with a type of aggrieved entitlement Kimmel (2013) attributes to the powerful facing change, where those who have had and maintained privilege in a space (like men in Hollywood, or the arts more broadly) begin to lose the absolute power they once enjoyed and respond by claiming that the work being done to limit that privilege is itself prejudiced (e.g. reverse racism). It does beg the question of how we manage the power and potential of digital movements with wide uptake, especially in the face of critiques like having “gone too far”.

At the same time that new digitally integrated reality provides so many opportunities, it presents challenging personal and cultural dilemmas. The gender and power relationships we live with offline have supplanted

the utopic visions of a new cyber social order, and in their move online, they have become even more complex. This complexity emerges from the anonymity and personal disconnection available on the web, and although it provides positive self-expression opportunities for some, it permits a new kind of destructive rhetoric and leveraging of gender and power dynamics by others. The same mechanisms that might allow for production and dissemination of educational materials about gender expression for trans-high schoolers (Singh & Johnson, 2018), also permits the transmission and dissemination of anti-feminist or alt-right messaging (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016), as in the case of extreme men's rights activist (MRA) websites where "women and homosexuals are discouraged from commenting" (Return of Kings, 2017). Where the internet, and particularly social media, permits the dissemination of ideas and critical social commentary, it also permits comments in response, which might include sexual assault or death threats. Such is the case with the now-famous #GamerGate, where the thinly veiled accusations of a jilted ex-partner caused a surge of near-anonymous and vitriolic backlash against female journalists and developers in games (Braithwaite, 2016; Burgess & Matamoros-Fernández, 2016; Massanari, 2017). What complicates the issue of #GamerGate even further is that discussions of the incident in an academic context were quickly and easily roped into discourses and conspiracy theories about the changing landscape of game and game development culture, because of the academic use of technology as a tool for theorization and scholarship (Chess & Shaw, 2015).

Where our new digital reality allows for grassroots social organization in the face of injustice or tyranny (see examples above from #BLM, #metoo, #idlenomore), it also provides the means to monitor, police, or influence the maintenance of the status quo by governments, corporations, and even individuals (Roberts, 2016). For instance, much of the discourse around the release of sexually explicit materials from celebrity cloud accounts (Marwick, 2017; Massanari, 2017), has been about how the female celebrities in question should have "known better", or that it "serves them right" for taking the photos at all. A discourse of ownership and "rights" emerges in the online conversations about these illegally obtained pornographic images, which place the women in question as both lacking agency and intelligence about who should possess the