

Public Feminism in Times of Crisis

**From Sappho's Fragments to
Viral Hashtags**

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LEXINGTON BOOKS

Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

86-90 Paul Street, London EC2A 4NE

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Cover image of *extreme lyric I*, a dance theater collaboration between Maxe Crandall and Hope Mohr, featuring Anne Carson's translations of Sappho and projection design by Ian Winters. Dancers pictured: (L to R) Tara McArthur, Suzette Sagisi, Jane Selna. Not pictured: Karla Quintero. Photo by: Robbie Sweeny.

A version of chapter six first appeared as "Overwriting the monument tradition: Lists, loss, and scale" in *Res: Anthropology and aesthetics*, volume 75/76, 2021, President and Fellows of Harvard College. Published by The University of Chicago Press for the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. <https://doi.org/10.1086/717461>, reprinted with permission.

"128 [here now]," "60 [having encountered]," "147 [someone will remember us]," "74 A, B, C [goatherd/roses/longing/sweat]," "118 [yes! radiant lyre speak to me]," "176 [lyre lyre lyre]," "25 [quit]," "114 [virginity]," "184 [danger]," "185 [honeyvoiced]," "186 [Medeia]," "187 [of the Muses]," "188 [mythweaver]," "92 [robe]," "94 [I simply want to bedead]," "191 [celery]," and "189 [sodal]" from *IF NOT, WINTER: FRAGMENTS OF SAPPHO* by Sappho, translated by Anne Carson, copyright © 2002 by Anne Carson. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, an imprint of the Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House LLC, and Little Brown Book Group. All rights reserved.

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Easa, Leila, author. | Stager, Jennifer, author.

Title: Public feminism in times of crisis : from Sappho's fragments to viral hashtags / Leila Easa and Jennifer Stager.

Description: Lanham : Lexington Books, [2022] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022023551 (print) | LCCN 2022023552 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781793648105 (cloth : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781793648112 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Feminism--History. | Feminism and mass media. | Feminism and art. | Feminism and literature.

Classification: LCC HQ1150 .E27 2022 (print) | LCC HQ1150 (ebook) |

DDC 305.4209—dc23/eng/20220519

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022023551>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022023552>

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Introduction *(excerpt)*

On the morning of October 22, 2018—about halfway, as it turned out, through the Trump presidency—law student Laurel Raymond encountered something that had not been there the evening before. Someone had used large stencils to paint a quotation in white capital letters across the flagstone entrance to Sterling Hall at Yale Law School. Raymond snapped a picture of the scene and posted it to Twitter.¹ The white paint read: “Indelible in the hippocampus is the laughter . . .”² Flecks of spray can paint had settled around the edges of the stenciled letters to frame the quotation that appeared before the heavy wooden door of the building like a welcome mat.³ Christine Blasey Ford had spoken these words the previous month during the confirmation hearings for Brett Kavanaugh, a man who—along with a friend—had sexually assaulted Ford at a party when the three of them were teenagers and whom Trump had appointed to the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy left by Anthony Kennedy. To give her wrenching testimony of the assault and its impact on her life, Ford had to relive this trauma on live television, under hostile questioning from senators, and in the court of public opinion.⁴ Despite Ford’s sacrifice, Kavanaugh was confirmed to the bench to serve a lifetime appointment. In contrast, Ford and her family were forced into hiding.

When Ford described the way that Kavanaugh and his friend’s laughter had inscribed itself in her brain the night that they assaulted her, she also offered her listeners words for the ways in which trauma endures. In painting Ford’s words onto the steps of Yale Law School—from which Kavanaugh had graduated and from where many students sought prestigious clerkships with the Supreme Court—the painter overwrote the unchecked prestige and power the school (and institutions like it) afforded its graduates through high-level placements in government and the private sector with evidence of the collateral damage such power all too often demands. Although her bravery

cost her greatly and did not derail the machine of white male privilege, speaking these words in and to the public etched what had been indelible in her own hippocampus into the public sphere. While the painter's choice to close the quotation with ellipses might have intended to signal that Ford's testimony continued beyond the words quoted, it also marks the truth that the work to which she contributed remains unfinished. The ellipses hold space for words, acts, and histories to follow. Within the framework of this book, each engagement with these words—Ford's testimony, the anonymous spray can artist's nighttime intervention, and Laurel Raymond's photograph and subsequent social media post—are acts of public feminism.

Public Feminism in Times of Crisis examines the public practice of feminism in the age of social media and analyzes the deep histories threaded through this new(er) enactment. Although many feminist acts take place in private, public feminism refers to feminist interventions carried out in some form of public sphere. As the internet has moved conversations that were previously shared in closed spaces or as private interactions between individuals into the public, the pre-internet contours of what counts as "public" have changed. We now understand contemporary public space to constitute both virtual and physical spaces.

In this book, we explore the dynamics of this feminism committed in public through the lens of history, and we use history as a framework from which to understand its current and potential future dynamics. We do this to illuminate the ways in which contemporary public feminism acquires its shape and associations. History also, in some manner, teaches us how to perform public feminism. Additionally, our contemporary moment's access to the tools of global communication—provided in part by social media—radically expands historic possibilities, giving a platform to a wide range of voices while increasing access to information about the historic past beyond the traditional boundaries of academic institutions. This, in turn, changes what we see and value from the past in the present, as well as the ways in which virtual spaces now also circulate and mobilize historical examples in the service of contemporary arguments, whether to advance feminism or to undercut it.

In the face of these phenomena, our book seeks to connect deep history with the contemporary moment using cultural, historical, and academic lenses to analyze the opportunities that virtual spaces have opened for feminism in recent years while also tracking the long history of regulating women's bodies and voices. We assert that exploring this lineage is critical in combatting erasures of the history of feminist activism. Such erasures are often mobilized to render activism illegitimate in the present and to claim history for self-described victors. Contemporary resistance often faces a process of being "made new" in order to be dismissed, but if we can discern its antecedents we

can, in certain ways, bolster its staying power and dismantle facile critiques against it.⁵ Ultimately, the present volume seeks to outline the shape of public feminism today by tracing its flare-ups and refractions through time.

Along with these issues, we are also concerned with the possibility of feminism as a force during crises in particular, whether global or local, momentary or perpetual. With other recent texts that investigate this current moment, we attempt to understand the tension exerted on intersectional feminism by contemporary politics and pressures.⁶ In our book, we focus in particular on the years of the global COVID-19 pandemic and the Trump years that preceded them, yet while Trump's election can be framed as an inflection point of crisis, we also understand that what makes something a "crisis" may be less a change in circumstance and more an unveiling of what was there all along but became newly visible. For example, many theorists endeavor to remind us that Trump is a symptom of some of the most oppressive structures of the United States. Duchess Harris notes the "hereness" of such structures, explaining that, in the aftermath of Trump's election, "the answer to the question—'How did we get here?'—was all too easy to identify and articulate. There was no shocked bewilderment, for there was no transition to 'here'. The 'here' had always been there, at least for Black Americans."⁷ Similarly, Bonnie Honig frames Trump's reign semiotically: "Like many things Trump, Trumpism is just a name slapped onto things that were already out there."⁸ Honig goes on to say that "Trumpism will have other names in the future" and that it "names a kind of male entitlement for which it feels like freedom to just be able to say what you think and grab what you want."⁹ In this context, we see these years as exposing the multilayered crises underlying them: toxic masculinity, profound inequality, racial reckoning, and the stratified experience of women in both the household and the workforce, among others.

At the same time, there is no doubt that Trump himself and the particular historical moment that elevated him to the highest office in the United States do deserve consideration. Ta-Nehisi Coates contextualizes Trump's election as a violent opposition to the Obama presidency: "Trump truly is something new—the first president whose entire political existence hinges on the fact of a black president. . . . He must be called by his rightful honorific—America's first white president."¹⁰ Harris also situates Trump in this opposition:

For the majority of Black Americans—and, it must be said, for plenty of other Americans of color and for many white Americans, too—the transition of presidential power that occurred on January 20, 2017, was a devastating socio-political, cultural, and historic moment. . . . President Obama was leaving the Oval Office, handing over its literal and metaphorical keys to a man who would come to be nicknamed—and not unfairly—by many individuals, organizations, political analysts, and even media outlets as the white-supremacist-in-chief.¹¹

The disparities embodied in this presidential transition deserve further investigation, especially in light of their ties to the public feminism that emerged in response.

Public feminism during and beyond the years of Trump must have been shaped, then, by the conditions that were there all along but that became legible—and even semiotically named—by the phenomenon of Trump’s rise to power and the daily reminders of his despotism, evidenced even by his tweets.¹² We also note material shifts in the lives of women as Trump’s aforementioned ideology threatened the safety of some women even as others were used as spokespeople and tools of Trump’s regressive policies.¹³ Additionally, we observe the tragic process by which the pandemic—like Trump’s oppression—widened existing inequalities along all fault lines, with differential burdens born by Black, Brown, and Indigenous people, working-class people, and women across lines of race and class, following what Honig names the “asymmetrical vulnerability to the virus.”¹⁴ What we understand to be contemporary public feminism was shaped by all of these stressors and thereby responds within their contexts and often directly to them. Thus, while we situate these responses in historical terms, we also examine them through the specifics of the current moment.

Finally, we trace a shift in feminist movements partially evoked by the changing access to platforms provided by social media and other internet-based discursive tools. Trump’s manipulation of Twitter itself highlighted the paradox that the same platforms that support some aspects of public feminism also enable misinformation as well as facilitate some of the worst abuses found online. Such online abuses parallel real-life abuse. Christine Blasey Ford was driven into hiding in the real world; public feminists have been driven into hiding from social media and even doxed, blurring the lines between virtual and real life and demonstrating the impact both systems have on women’s lives.

Yet while social media tools were radically abused by Trump, they were also powerfully engaged by public feminism. When feminists take up the same tools, they do so in the context of a battle over the fate of public dissemination of information, as seen in the work of public historian Heather Cox Richardson, whose “Letters from an American” were initiated on September 15, 2019, to help readers understand the historical context of US politics as they unfolded.¹⁵ Additionally, actions like the #MeToo movement, #BlackLivesMatter, and #SayHerName as well as other forms of activism organized by hashtags continue to demonstrate the empowering potential of having a public voice.¹⁶

With Roxane Gay, who argues in “When Twitter Does What Journalism Can’t” that the power of social media lies in making more voices heard, we have watched transformation happen through these public channels. As the

conversation broadens, more people express arguments and amplify issues that were previously strictly regulated by traditional media.¹⁷ And yet, we have also seen how social media can silence and deflect. For example, the #MeToo movement, started by Black feminist Tarana Burke, was co-opted by a range of mostly white celebrities who amplified the message with the hashtag #MeToo and became the movement's public face. However, outcry over Burke's erasure on the very social media channels that had perpetrated it eventually reestablished her role as a founder. Therefore, while the benefits of open access platforms are nuanced and complex, the overall flow of dialogue into a more public forum and into the hands of everyday people—often through the tools of social media—clearly marks an important change.

Most of all, our hope in this book is to bridge academic feminist theory and the everyday feminisms of the public and, through this process, to consider what the future might mean for feminism. How might public feminism evolve, leveraging its networks in a world that, while clearly divided, can also be seen as connected? In the words of Gay:

Social networks are more than just infinite repositories of the trivial, snap judgments or convenient outlets for mindless joy and outrage. They are more than the common ground and the solace we may find during culturally significant moments. Social networks also provide us with something of a flawed but necessary conscience, a constant reminder that commitment, compassion and advocacy neither can nor ever should be finite.¹⁸

In light of these words, we suggest that feminism might find some sort of infinite, recursive purchase moving between real and virtual public spaces so that its ideas and debates can lift an array of voices and produce communities of care.

SOCIAL MEDIA AS PUBLIC FEMINIST TOOL

During the election period of 2016, people on the internet embraced and circulated Zoe Leonard's 1992 piece "I want a president," an essay that opens with the lines: "I want a dyke for president. I want a person with aids for president and I want a fag for vice president and I want someone with no health insurance."³³ Initially written during the 1992 election cycle and later circulated as a postcard by feminist genderqueer journal *LTTR* in 2006, Leonard's essay made waves that reverberated for decades, though its mode of distribution evolved through time. Prior to the postcard run, Leonard's essay had passed organically from hand to hand but had not been formally published as the journal for which she had originally composed it had folded prior to the text's planned publication, itself an indication of the way the collapse of independent journals limits the circulation of vital feminist ideas. In the wake of the essay's viral turn in 2016, Leonard's words moved back into real space. The arts institution The High Line in New York commissioned and displayed a blowup of her essay at Twelfth Street in New York less than a month before the election. The arc of Leonard's essay—moving from hands to postcards to internet vitality and then into (institutionalized) public space—tracks some of the ways digital tools have newly catalyzed public feminist practice.

Throughout the book, we pay careful attention to such stories, many of which highlight the possibilities of short-form social media—as well as essay-based social media platforms—as particularly fruitful tools for public feminism. We even, in chapter 4, narrate the way several scholars helped us fill in gaps in our access to historical archives in a thread on Twitter about papyrologist Medea Norsa. Despite such examples, we do not see social media as an unvexed good. Our goal is to recognize that public feminists can carve out spaces on social media and, through these platforms, shine a populist light. At the same time, there is always the danger that taking on the spotlight of a public feminist platform might also consolidate power, especially given the tendency of social media to create and shape star culture and other forms of elitism. Consider, as an example, the "blue check" of Twitter accounts. This badge, meant to verify the authenticity of the account holder, quickly shifted instead to convey status. In addition, there are potentially damaging aspects to the endless immediacy of public writing, not the least of which is the way the speed of conversation prevents deep reflection prior to response. We experienced this in writing this book: perceiving our work as time sensitive meant it had to be produced more quickly than some of our other modes of writing.³⁴ And significantly, as the 2016 election demonstrated, social media can quickly create echo chambers.³⁵ If nothing else, the move to social media presents the citational risk of forgetting meaningful voices from the past—or those from the present that are not as publicly accessible as, for example, the uneven gender distribution of Wikipedia entries makes visible.³⁶

The anglocentricity of social media is also a risk. While such tools can be democratizing, most of those with the highest number of users worldwide emerge in some form from Silicon Valley and its outposts, representing a trajectory of linguistic colonization. And while social media may be more inclusive than traditional academia, clear inequities of power and access still exist. Even more nuanced questions arise in terms of the labor required to participate in social media at all. For example, using social media to educate others on issues of social justice requires precisely the form of free labor so often demanded of people with marginalized identities. One can't do every-thing, and the same people are consistently asked to balance a vast array of responsibilities, making the addition of yet more unpaid labor potentially unwelcome.

Within the broader category of social media as a feminist tool, we are particularly interested in the specific phenomenon of hashtags. Chris Messina, whose 2007 proposal for using the pound symbol to increase “contextualization, content filtering and exploratory serendipity” on social media became the modern hashtag, sought a tool to facilitate getting the right information into the hands of the people who needed it in order to create a “better eavesdropping experience” on the web.³⁷ The evolution of this information-filtering tool—in essence, a tool to promote more efficient searching—into what might be one of the most powerful weapons of public feminism today (as seen in tags like #BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName, and #MeToo, among others) looked less significant until the Trump years. Then hashtags became tools of mapping, networking, relational citation, and activism in earnest. Of course, hashtags can also be co-opted—by corporations seeking to sell or brand, by hate groups hoping to silence, and sometimes, when we're very lucky, by activists taking back the narrative.³⁸ In the end, we believe that the positive impact of hashtags far outweighs their drawbacks; we see the hashtag as a kind of metaphor for the most powerful possibilities of contemporary feminist movements due to their interlocking connections as much as to their status as public speech.

(from) THE CHAPTERS

In this book, we theorize public feminism as historically situated in very recent times, but we search for its antecedents throughout history. While both the project and the concept of public feminism emerge from a moment of acute crisis (the Trump years and the COVID-19 pandemic as described above), to theorize this crisis, we locate the foundations for current public feminism in our observation that public feminists are often engaging across time to meet the current moment. As we examine the way that these years of crisis created conditions that necessitated the evolution of public feminism into its current form, we also begin a journey through broad swatches of historical time looking for connections across the centuries via art and literature and culture. With Bonnie Honig, who argues that “feminist criticism is oriented to the time of now while connecting to larger patterns, contexts, and timelines,” we analyze particular details of public feminism across a deep history.⁴² Each of the chapters that makes up this book is therefore an assemblage of past and present—often the very distant past of the ancient world, which we put in dialogue with contemporary examples—inspired by these crises as well as their layered historical frames. In short, while we are interested in the immediate public feminist response to these crises, we also seek to contextualize such responses into their historical lineages and direct parallels. We locate fruitful intersections between the practice of writing history and the current operations of public feminism that so often involve writing, overwriting, or otherwise recording statements and names. As we navigate this parallel, we strive to attend to the material conditions of writing histories in the past and to our own writing of this book in the present, along with those shaping a variety of public feminist acts and protests. Sculpting, painting, translating, performing, carving, and weaving all craft the public feminism that we write here, and we move among these pursuits and others in a series of chapters that analyze overlapping and interwoven themes in ways both discrete and continuous.

As we move through time, connecting moments of broad history together, our focus remains on public feminism itself. For millennia, feminists have confronted oppressive structures and pushed back against them, seeking change. Like the activists who projected the words and portrait of Harriet Tubman over the Richmond, Virginia, confederate statue of Robert E. Lee in the summer of 2020 (Fig 0.1), contemporary public feminists find new—and often newly productive—ways to resist. From Artemisia to #MeToo, from Sarah Baartman to #BlackLivesMatter, from enslavement in the *Odyssey* to the memorial of Zong!, the projects of feminism continue to transform our world.

NOTES

1. Laurel Raymond (@RayOfLaurel), “Entrance to the Yale Law School this Morning,” *Twitter*, October 22, 2018, 6:14 a.m., <https://twitter.com/RayOfLaurel/status/1054360220971995137>.

2. Jasmine Webber, “A Tribute to Christine Blasey Ford Appears at the Entrance to Yale Law School,” *Hyperallergic*, October 22, 2018, <https://hyperallergic.com/466934/a-tribute-to-christine-blasey-ford-appears-at-the-entrance-of-yale-law-school>.

3. The spray can intervention paralleled Black Lives Matter protesters who spray-painted on top of confederate statues and empty plinths—and who left cans of spray paint for others to use. Our photo for this chapter (Fig 0.1) captures a related practice of projection onto these statues.

4. Bonnie Honig, *Shell Shocked: Feminist Criticism After Trump* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021), 92–7.

5. Scientist Chanda Prescod-Weinstein identifies the weaponizing of dehistoricization in response to the 2021 suggestion that Black people have only recently begun paying attention to track with the success of Sha'Carri Richardson. Prescod-Weinstein traces in her rebuttal her own childhood as a track star; Florence Griffith Joyner's stellar career; Black Olympians Tommie Smith and John Carlos raising a fist on the podium in the 1968 Olympics; and Olympian Carl Lewis's success in the 1936 Olympic games in Munich under Hitler. Chanda Prescod-Weinstein (@IBJIYONGI), "I'm a Second Generation Track Athlete, and I Medaled at the National Championships as a Kid and Also Ran in the Regional Junior Olympics.," *Twitter*, July 2, 2021, 5:12 a.m., <https://twitter.com/IBJIYONGI/status/1410934459914932225>.

6. See, for example, Duchess Harris, *Black Feminist Politics from Kennedy to Trump* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018) and Honig, *Shell Shocked* (many thanks to a generous anonymous reviewer for bringing these publications to our attention) as well as Valerie Bryson, *The Futures of Feminism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021) and Jessalynn Keller, "A Politics of Snap: Teen Vogue's Public Feminism," *Signs* 45, no. 4 (2020): 817–43.

7. Harris, *Black Feminist Politics*, 185.

8. Honig, *Shell Shocked*, xiii.

9. Honig, *Shell Shocked*, xiii–xiv.

10. Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The First White President: The Foundation of Donald Trump's Presidency is the Negation of Barack Obama's Legacy," *The Atlantic*, October 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/10/the-first-white-president-ta-nehisi-coates/537909>.

11. Harris, *Black Feminist Politics*, 182. In contrast to Obama—who, as Zadie Smith has argued, could speak the diversity of American ("Obama can do young Jewish male, black old lady from the South Side, white woman from Kansas, Kenyan elders, white Harvard nerds, black Columbia nerds, activist women. . . . This new president doesn't just speak for his people. He can speak them.")—Trump employed one voice whose goal was to silence dissent. Zadie Smith, "Speaking in Tongues," *New York Review*, February 26, 2009, <https://nybooks.com/articles/2009/02/26/speaking-in-tongues-2>.

12. As Harris narrates: "From the inauguration onward, the assaults on decency, diplomacy, and facts haven't just been daily. They have been ongoing, all day, every day. They start at the moment Trump wakes up and starts tweeting foreign policy blunders, conspiracy theories, and vacuous 'thoughts and prayers' about the latest school shooting, to the moment he goes to bed, still tweeting." Harris, *Black Feminist Politics*, 184–5.

13. For a tracing of the rise of hate crimes specifically on college campuses and a corresponding shift in pedagogy for classes focusing on gender, sexuality, and

race following the election, see Nathian Shae Rodriguez and Jennifer Huemmer, "Pedagogy of the Depressed: An Examination of Critical Pedagogy in Higher Ed's Diversity-Centered Classrooms Post-Trump," *Pedagogy, Culture, and Society* 27, no. 1 (March 2019): 133–49.

14. Honig, *Shell Shocked*, xiii.

15. For more on the past two years of her letters, see Heather Cox Richardson, "September 15, 2021," *Letters from an American*, September 15, 2021, <https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/september-15-2021>.

16. At the same time, we note that the benefits of online platforms are far from straightforward. As José van Dijck expertly summarizes, "Social scientists and journalists have argued that social media open up a new private sphere or are at least an exciting experiment in mixing private and public. For instance, communications scholar Zizi Papacharissi (2010) argues that social media platforms have introduced a space where boundaries between private and public space have become fuzzy, claiming that this imprecision opens up new possibilities for identity formation. Jeff Jarvis (2011) also cheers this ambiguity; he attributes its redeeming potential to Facebook's and other sites' ideal of openness and connectedness. On the other end of the spectrum, we find two types of detractors. Political economists assailed the incorporation of social media, labeling them as failed experiments in democratic participation or dismissing them as dependent on a naive belief in the possibility of developing a new or alternative public sphere alongside the existing public, private, and corporate spheres (Milberry and Anderson 2009; de Peuter and Dyer-Witford 2005; Skageby 2009). The incorporation of platforms, some critics contend, hampered the development of Web 2.0's full potential as an instrument for participatory culture, self-regulation, and democracy. Instead, commercial platforms introduced new modes of surveillance, bartering privacy for the accumulation of social capital (Cohen 2008; Haythornthwaite and Kendall 2010). Other critics of platforms object to users' being doubly exploited, both as workers—deliverers of data to UGC and SNS platforms—and as consumers forced to buy back their own processed data by relinquishing privacy (Terranova 2004; Petersen 2008). More profoundly, some observe that the selling of privacy may be mistakenly viewed as the natural consequence of users' eagerness to connect and promote the self, rather than being understood as the corollary of a political economy deeply rooted in audience commoditization (Fuchs 2011a)." José van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

17. Though regulation by social media also persists: "Twitter's history revolves around a double paradox: first, the functions of following and trending presume a neutral technological infrastructure where all users are equal and all content is carried indiscriminately. In practice, Twitter's filtering mechanisms inscribe more weight to some twitterers and tweets, thus promoting the creation of big followings and popular trends. Second, Twitter presents its network as an online 'town hall' for networked communication, but the platform has manifested itself as a potent instrument for manipulating opinions. In light of this paradox, we need to interpret how Twitter changed its initial ambitions from wanting to be a 'utility' to becoming an 'information networking company.' Using instruments like predictive analytics, the

site increasingly aims at capitalizing the flow of tweets rushing through its veins.” Van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity*, 68.

18. Roxane Gay, “When Twitter Does What Online Journalism Can’t,” *Salon*, June 27, 2013, https://www.salon.com/2013/06/26/when_twitter_does_what_journalism_cant.

33. Zoe Leonard, "I Want a President," *High Line*, October 11, 2016, <https://www.thehighline.org/art/projects/zoeleonard>.

34. And yet the slowness of academic publishing can hamper productive conversation. At the time of our printing, almost no scholarly work in the humanities has been published about Roxane Gay's 2017 memoir *Hunger*, a text we explore in depth in chapter 1. Multiple essays, however, look at Gay from a medicalized lens, presumably because scientific publications tend to publish more quickly than humanities work. At times, this slowness drives scholars to more immediate media like Twitter. We believe that the humanities must speed its pace of publication if it wants to continue being a vibrant site of academic exchange.

35. For a fascinating look at this phenomenon, see the infographic "Red Feed, Blue Feed," *Wall Street Journal*, archived 2019.

36. Francesca Tripodi, "Ms. Categorized: Gender, Notability, and Inequality on Wikipedia," *New Media and Society*, June 27, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211023772>.

37. Chris Messina, "Groups for Twitter; or A Proposal for Twitter Tag Channels," *Factory Joe*, August 25, 2007, <https://factoryjoe.com/2007/08/25/groups-for-twitter-or-a-proposal-for-twitter-tag-channels>.

38. For a classic corporate hashtag fail, see Alexia Tsotsis, "Entenmann's Hashtag Surfing Fails Hard with #NotGuiltyTweet," *Tech Crunch*, July 5, 2011, <https://techcrunch.com/2011/07/05/entenmanns-hashtag-surfing-fails-hard-with-notguilty-tweet>. For hate groups using hashtags to silence, see Elizabeth Weise, "Trending Hashtags Co-Opted by Pro-Terrorist Accounts," *USA Today*, September 11, 2015, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2015/09/11/pro-isis-twitter-commandeering-hijack-hashtags/72078270>. For activists taking back the narrative, see Justin Curto, "K-Pop Stans Continue to Run the Internet, Flood Racist Twitter Hashtags," *Vulture*, June 3, 2020, <https://www.vulture.com/2020/06/kpop-stans-fancams-racist-hashtags-twitter.html>.

42. Honig, *Shell Shocked*, 7.