Introduction

Assemblies of Resistance

Feminist Stories, Protest, and Dissent in the Digital Age

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Stories and storytelling are by no means new to feminist epistemology and methodology—neither to ontology nor axiology, for that matter. Indeed, storytelling, stories, and their politics, standpoints, and affects have been central to feminism for over five decades, with their antecedents in oral histories and traditions going back much further (see, e.g., Haraway 1988; Harding 1993; Hemmings 2011; Ilmonen 2020; Lindstrom, Baptiste, and Shade 2021; Mahuika 2012; Tomlinson 2013; Sangster 1994). The ways that stories shape our political worlds are especially important given the ways that the use of and access to technology and media for the purposes of circulating stories differs based on geographical location and political atmosphere. Equally as noteworthy is the role that these technologies, including social networking sites, play in circulating media toxicities (e.g., Benjamin 2019; D'Ignazio and Klein 2020; Nakamura and Chow-White 2012; Noble 2018) and prompting polarization, effectually operating just as they were designed to (Chun 2021). Within these spaces, though, the circulation of feminist narratives amplifies important protest and resistance work, speaking directly to Whitney Phillips and Ryan M. Milner's (2021) urgent call for new stories within the current network crisis of disinformation and online hate (6). Writing, reading, circulating, analyzing, and bearing witness to feminist stories begins the work of unpacking, as Sarah Sharma (2021) writes, the "medium-specific techno-logics of how power operates in culture" (8), transforming digital spaces into sites of feminist resistance against political and social inequities.

Indeed, mainstream stories tell us one thing, but stories of feminist protest reveal another.

To this day, stories of protest and resistance remain key elements for voicing dissent and, within this digital moment (one that is sure to last), the circulation of such stories undoubtedly helps to further feminism's project. And yet, as has become abundantly clear over the last decade of networked feminisms and digital activism, feminism's calls to action have long been co-opted by white colonial neoliberal forces that benefit from the current unjust status quo. It thus remains important to embrace intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, 1991) as a field of study, an analytic strategy, a social theory, and a critical praxis, paying attention to intersectionality's "attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities" and its recognition of how "race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age are reciprocally constructing phenomena" (Collins 2015, 3). Gail Lewis (2013) has noted, however, the genealogy of intersectionality has become "a well-rehearsed story" (871), one that we might recognize as "invit[ing]" intersectionality to "settle down within" the "established frames of knowledge production" (Collins and Bilge 2016, 87). To this point, it continues to be imperative that, as researchers, teachers, and feminists, we reject the siloing of intersectionality within the academic institution that Patricia Hill Collins warns (2015) against and, instead, embrace intersectionality as a "multifaceted broad-based knowledge project" (3). As Kimberlé Crenshaw (2012) reflects, "the need to work intersectionality and to develop methods that are both recognizable and insurgent within different disciplines is part of intersectionality's travel log" (231).

The contributors to this collection attempt to do this in various ways, outlining intersectional feminist activist practices, methodologies, and theorizations that cut across disciplines, practices, and experiences. Feminism, we recognize, is not only about women and gender, but about power more broadly—who holds and wields power and who does not and cannot within the current matrix of domination (D'Ignazio and Klein 2020, drawing on Collins 1990). Drawing on the spirit of feminist activism and of those who have contributed to the success of this and other social movements through their stories, this edited collection foregrounds the importance of storytelling practices for coalitional purposes and performative assembling, spanning Nigerian, Iranian, Mexican, Russian, Canadian, and American contexts. Storytelling has been an incredibly valuable strategy for sharing and cocreating knowledges, addressing and surviving power imbalances, encouraging participation, passing on traditions and histories, and finding one's individual and community voice. Sharing stories also speaks to why certain people are drawn to certain other people, stories, and movements.

As such, this book approaches the concept of stories broadly, understanding them as "the non-linear lived, and living, histories that have led

to moments of personal or other disclosure, whether those disclosures are textual, visual, verbal, or all of the above, and the possible futures that may come to be through such disclosures. Importantly, experiences and possibilities always precede and follow textual and uttered assertions, no matter how brief those assertions may be" (Wiens 2021, 10). This collection first aims to survey, analyze, and suggest tools for how a range of feminists share stories of resistance. Second, it seeks to center intersectional digital activisms and transgressions that mobilize lived experiences, personal stories, and individual craft as tactical tools of assembly for collective justice. And third, this book considers how feminist protest and resistance use conventions of assembly, performativity, and theatricality to counter the paradox of increasingly individualized and problematic approaches to activism that also draw on performance and spectacle.

CONTEXTUALIZING *STORIES OF FEMINIST PROTEST AND RESISTANCE: DIGITAL PERFORMATIVE ASSEMBLIES*

Throughout this book, we collectively frame digital feminisms as forms of public assembly that are performative and theatrical; that is, performative in that they can offer "a process, a praxis, an episteme, a mode of transmission, an accomplishment, and a means of intervening in the world" (Taylor 2003, 15), and theatrical in that they are events that may include characters, plot, the invocation of an audience, and the collective labor of multiple collaborators. As editors, we bring this framing to our previous definition of networked activisms, "the various activist forms that take place through online networks and that have material and affective impacts in both mediated and unmediated arenas, from hashtag activism to social media campaigns to hacktivism" (Wiens, MacDonald, MacArthur, and Radzikowska 2022, 4), in order to both strengthen and thicken how we approach stories of digital feminist protest and resistance. We locate feminist online activist movements as fostering counterpublics, or communities that enable "exchanges . . . distinct from authority" that "have a critical relation to power" (Warner 2002, 56). Through various forms of feminist media mobilizations, from hashtags like #MeToo, #NiUnaMenos, and #SayHerNameNigeria, online social media communities, personal blogs, and meme accounts, this book argues that digital feminists use the long-standing feminist tactics of storytelling to counter the dominant narratives of white supremacy, colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and the variety of oppressions that accompany such structures, both online and offline.

In *Hashtag Activism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice*, Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault Welles (2020) remind readers that "as technologies

change, so do the methods those at the margins use to make claims of belonging and for justice" (200). Through bringing together the essays in this collection, we extend Jackson, Bailey, and Foucault-Welles's (2020) claim to focus on the stories that various networked feminist communities use to not only raise their own voices, but to find their own sense of belonging, justice, and operation through methods of public assembly (Butler 2015). In *Notes Towards a Theory of Performative Assembly* (2015), Butler advances the importance of bodies assembling in space as a form of protest that performatively asserts both "the right to appear" and demands "a more livable set of lives" for those in varying positions of precarity (25). For Butler, these assertions counter dominant institutional power insofar as they produce an "alliance among groups of people who do not otherwise find much in common" (27). Butler situates performativity as a tool of resistance that names the "power language has to bring about a new situation or to set into motion a set of effects" (28), linking this framework to protest movements such as the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street. While Butler looks specifically at protests in the streets, both the Arab Spring and Occupy employed digital platforms in their organization and mobilization strategies. This suggests the value of considering how performative assemblies are enacted in online spaces, and specifically, how they offer "an insistent form of appearing precisely when and where we are effaced" so that "the sphere of appearance break[s] and open[s] in new ways" (37).

Take for instance, the hashtag #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, started by blogger Mikki Kendall in 2013, which has, for many years now, opened a necessary public dialogue on the ways in which white feminists have failed to support Black and other racialized feminists. The hashtag and the debates that surround it performatively insist on greater recognition for Black feminist perspectives and their undeniable right to appear, take up space, and be supported within social media, physical spaces of protest, and beyond. As Tara Conley (2022) writes, "Black feminists have a long tradition of rejecting white feminism as a liberatory strategy for a select few and for its one-size-fits-all vision for the colonized subject. Black feminists continue this tradition across digital spaces to bring attention to white feminism's ineffectiveness as an organizing strategy as an ethos" (40). Within this context, the hashtag, alongside many others originating on Black Twitter over the last decade, have taken on new urgency within the last few years. Certainly, this is apparent in how popular feminism has failed to challenge the "political economic conditions that allow that inequality be profitable," ensuring the "political and material advancement of some privileged white cisgender women who are conscripted into the successful navigation of both capitalism and the sex/gender system" over and above differently situated feminists (Banet-Weiser and Portwood-Stacer 2017, 886). The reality of online spaces

as sites of constraints and erasures of Black, Indigenous, and racialized people, queer, trans, and nonbinary people, and disabled communities within popular feminism speaks directly to questions of who has the right to appear in online spaces of assembly, which are already constrained by misogynist and white supremacist technologies, histories of representation, and dominant media structures. Considering these limitations, this book is guided by the overarching question of how online feminist assemblies function as vital counter-practices to these other exclusionary enactments.

While feminist visibility in the broader public eye has produced important dialogues, this politics of assembly simultaneously begs the question: "What about those who prefer not to appear, who engage in their democratic activism in another way?" (Butler 2015, 55). There are many valid reasons why feminist activists may not want, or may not be able, to appear, given the dangerous social and political climate of online spaces, rife with the violent misogyny and racism of trolling culture. "Sometimes," Butler suggests, "political action is more effective when launched from the shadows" (55). Here, we might consider the ways that feminist activism, while sometimes loud, meant to grab and hold attention, also moves consciously in the shadows—perhaps what Halberstam (2011) in *The Queer Art of Failure* alludes to as "shadow feminism": a feminism that operates out of refusal or a disavowal of certain forms of external frames of identification. For Halberstam, shadow feminism is resistance by failing to perform in ways that are self-affirming, socially acceptable, or even gender conforming. This is counterintuitive because it considers the possibility of resistance to patriarchal power through forms that appear to offer no resistance at all but are, in fact, radically passive. One area where we might locate such an aesthetic of refusal as feminist dissent is in the spaces of our secret virtual feminist communities—in online spaces closed to the public that provide a necessary space for feminists to work through issues of misogyny, white supremacy, and other responses to everyday life contexts and cultural phenomena more broadly, within a safe and supportive community space and without the prying eyes of the rather large digital public.

Given the risk of working through struggles with sexism, racism, ableism, and other intersecting oppressions in the public spaces of social media, where the potential for virulent forms of harassment and doxing is high, the option not to appear, or to not always appear in those highly visible spaces, is a necessary one. As just one example, secret virtual groups offer a mediating space that is both public and private, a space that lends opportunity for support as feminists negotiate both their public and private lives. We might, then, seek out such feminist shadow networks—those that operate under the radar—that do not seem, at first, to resist or that seem radically passive. Feminist shadow networks can be these secret or closed virtual groups, or they may be the whisper networks that exist in almost every institution and

on every platform to warn people who not to go to meetings alone with or who to block and report. They might also be those that whisper to you to use the policy of the platform against itself for feminist ends. Feminist shadow networks queer the "master's tools," to use Audre Lorde's (1984) infamous phrase, to think differently about these tools—to find queer uses for them, as Sara Ahmed (2019) might say. In reworking these tools, in finding new and queer uses for them, we may, indeed, come upon a "revealing of things," where new uses can "involve heightening our awareness of things" (Ahmed 2019, 21), or realizing how the normative use of a platform is, perhaps, no longer useful. Feminist shadow networks help us to do this by offering spaces of support and information—they uncover the hidden curriculum, so to speak, and make it overt. These kinds of publicities, erasures, and ways of being in the shadows deserve consideration within current reflections on emergent feminist practices online.

This book thus gathers analyses, creative explorations, personal stories, and case studies of digital feminist activism that speak to the many ways and reasons that feminist communities assemble from a range of disciplinary perspectives, including media studies, film studies, critical cultural studies, communication studies, gender and sexuality studies, performance studies, and Indigenous studies. By critically examining a range of digital feminist activist examples of protest and resistance from various disciplines and perspectives, we encourage other scholars and activists to share their stories, research, and experiences and support them to move in new and lively ways. As scholars and activists in positions of power, we believe that it is incumbent upon us to create the kinds of spaces that center people who have been marginalized without pathologizing their everyday discrimination so that their stories that have been erased can gain momentum and flourish. These stories need to be validated and affirmed, reclaimed from the hegemonic frames that confine them, so that these experiences contribute to not only imagining but crafting and bringing to fruition more equitable and sustainable futures. By sharing stories of intersectional feminist assembly, we assert that current structures do not afford safety to all; by bringing together stories we instigate larger conversations that can begin to establish different ways of seeing and being in the world and invite others to assemble with us.

SITUATING *STORIES OF FEMINIST PROTEST AND RESISTANCE:* CHAPTER PREVIEWS

Against this backdrop, core themes of this collection reflect contemporary feminist digital coalitional methods, theories, and practices, revolving around feminist protest, resistance, persistence, and transgression—focusing on

matters of intersectional feminism, anti-colonialism, Indigenous feminisms, storytelling, networked social movements, feminist activism, transgender inclusion, and queer feminism—in the face of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, colonialism, and neoliberalism. Media studies scholars have argued for the last two decades that there is no "real" separation between "online" and "offline" spheres, and as harassment against marginalized groups amplifies, proliferates, and intensifies in coordinated ways it becomes clearer how hierarchical gendered and racialized power relations shape all digitally mediated spaces (Hine 2000; Sills et al. 2016). As such, the themes of this collection stand to not only speak to internet spaces, but also to other "offline" spaces. Ultimately, through the stories shared in this collection, we seek to push back against the neoliberal individualism that advance particular tellings of history, present, and future over others, and we seek community among other an ever-growing collective of feminists.

To address these themes, the essays in this collection, in their own unique ways, consider the following questions: for those who are marginalized based on, for example, ability, racialization, gender identity, and sexual orientation, what are their concerns about their presence (or lack thereof), experience, and perceptions in digital culture? How do feminists create, use, and circulate digital artifacts that contribute to the formation of their own communities and digital assemblies? How do these digital artifacts circulate among a variety of digital platforms, and to what ends? What examples of feminist digital culture exist online and to what effect? How are feminists performing protest and resistance online, and in what ways are they fostering collective action and coalitional affinities? And, what kinds of stories are feminists telling online, what modes are feminists telling stories through, and how are these stories working for the purposes of assembling people together?

In the opening chapter of this collection, Francesca Dennstedt challenges the presumed "global reach" of the #MeToo movement and its eclipsing of the long history of activism around gender and sexual violence undertaken in Latin America. Using as her case study #NiUnaMenos, she argues that the popular movement "urges us to reimagine the global histories of feminist solidarity by challenging the current flows of feminist movements and urging us to rethink feminist epistemologies from g-local positionalities." Dennestedt applies a cultural and area studies perspective to examine the roles of art and culture in shaping the flow of knowledge and building feminist solidarities. Rather than relying on empirical methodologies, this newer approach proposed by Dennestedt allows her to track a "recurrent triangulation" between hashtags circulated on social media, cultural production such as music, and the uses of public spaces within Ni una menos in Mexico. Dennestedt elucidates practices of feminist disappropriation and communality, showing how they create affective networks through these three triangulated factors.

She argues, "*Ni una menos* proposes a radical form of feminist praxis and decolonial solidarity by creating affective networks that challenge the flows of capital."

Like Dennstedt, Gabrielle E. Lindstrom, Sierra Shade, and Sofia Baptiste intervene in colonial framings of feminist digital activism and solidarities. In "Storying Blackfoot Resilience in the Digital Age," the authors examine the ways in which digital technologies can be used for Indigenous self-determination. The authors begin their chapter by asserting that "The default national narrative of Canada tells a story of Indigenous peoples from a deficit perspective that reinforces imagined stereotypes, often preventing Indigenous women from being anything more than problems to be solved." Drawing on autoethnography, the authors explore their own interactions with social media to create spaces to share their personal stories of settler colonial violence; counter narratives of Indigenous women rooted in the deficit model; transmit Indigenous knowledges, cultural traditions, and languages; and inspire Indigenous girls and young women by presenting images of strength. A key focus is resilience, and how, contrary to popular understandings, it is not something developed in reaction to oppression but rather something with which Blackfoot women are born. Reframing resilience online pushes back against settler understandings of Indigenous women and empowers the next generation.

Ololade Faniyi, Angel Nduka-Nwosa, and Radhika Gajjala's chapter traces the transnational feminist networks connected to #SayHerNameNigeria and #AbujaPoliceRaidOnWomen, which emerged in response to a 2019 night-club raid in Abuja that resulted in the arrests and violent assaults of seventy women. While the authors are careful to underline the need for further action and progress in regard to gendered violence in Nigeria, they stress the importance of these hashtag movements as sites "of listening, believing, trusting, naming, and making visible the women who became victims and survivors of violence and a heritage site of young Nigerian feminist resistance against the police and the state on their own terms." Further, they write that their mixed methods approach, bringing together Twitter network analytics and textual analysis with interviews, "signals our approach to not just amplify activists' storytelling and rhetorical agency but also to see them as legitimate researchers in their own right, whose labor must not be exploited or undermined." We see resonances of this feminist approach in later chapters, including the citation practices in Lesinski, Matthews, and Drumright's chapter about birth-focused blogs and podcasts and Zaiontz and Cochrane's chapter on feminist memes, both of which center activist voices as important sources of knowledge.

Mina Momeni's chapter revisits the Green Movement in Iran through the lens of the theory of affordances, which tracks the potential actions emerging from the interaction between a user's intentions and a technology's capabilities. Focusing on the affordance of identifiability on Facebook and Twitter, Momeni examines how activists inside and outside Iran exploited this affordance to share information, build networks, and evade government surveillance. Green Movement social media activists drew attention to the authoritarian regime's myriad injustices, including its many gender-based injustices, by adopting anonymous identities and/or assuming a group identity through their social media profiles and changing their location to Tehran to confuse authorities seeking to track and punish dissidents. Pushing back against Western assumptions about the inability of social media to affect political change, Momeni compellingly argues that "it is essential to explore more intently how users in varying locales and political situations are using and interacting with these platforms and employing their communicative features in practice—especially in societies where media and communications are severely under authorities' control."

Like Momeni, Kristin Comefero examines how Facebook users are uncovering the platform's political potential despite its capitalist aims. Focusing on the emergence of "butch feminism" within butch and butch/femme Facebook groups, Comeforo shows how the social media platform can be used to achieve similar aims to consciousness-raising groups in the analog second wave. Sharing knowledge and experience through memes, posts, photos, and comments, the butch-identified users in Comeforo's chapter expressed an increased sense of self-confidence in occupying their identities in public spaces. This points to the transformative power of these Facebook groups, which provide a platform for community members to develop and express their butch identities. Though the butch-identified users in Comeforo's study do not explicitly use the f-word, as the author notes, "their activity is marked with feminist tenets and ideals," beginning with the "embodied politics" of their "transgressive gender presentation." Bringing together grounded theory with textual analysis and applying them to groups to which they belong, Comeforo models an approach to feminist autoethnography that runs through this book in chapters by contributors, including Lindstrom, Baptiste, and Shade in chapter 2 and Zaiontz and Cochrane in chapter 8.

Julie Ravary-Pilon revisits Pussy Riot and the global activism incited by the high-profile arrest of five of its members in 2012. Through an analysis of Canadian multidisciplinary artist Peaches' *Free Pussy Riot,* cowritten with Simmone Jones (2012), Ravary-Pilon elucidates what she calls the Digital Assembly Video or DAV. Ravary-Pilon traces the emergence of this genre through the fourth wave of feminism and its intersection with Web 2.0 while connecting its formal traits to earlier feminist movements and tactics.

Characterized by its DIY aesthetics and use of digital signs and conversational images, DAV "allows people to overcome a range of restrictions associated with street assembly and to find forms of public gathering spaces in which more bodies can appear." In the case of *Free Pussy Riot*, Peaches' call to action issued on her Facebook page gathered participants across borders both online and in person in a show of solidarity. The resulting video, posted on Peaches' YouTube account, features a fast-paced montage of user-submitted videos and footage of a demonstration staged in Berlin in response to the artist's call. Extending Butler's concept of performative assemblies to develop her definition of DAV, Ravary-Pilon argues, "The collective-participative process used in *Free Pussy Riot* speaks loudly to the potentials of the web as a space that can offer multiple creative possibilities for bodies to stage themselves, as well as major opportunities for people prevented from appearing in flesh in street rallies. The Digital Assembly Video thus unveils an important extension of a cultural form of resistance developed specifically within the potential of the online social networks and the bodies that need, and deserve, to appear."

In her chapter, Morgan Bimm takes a nuanced look at the invocation of pop music in digital and in-person feminist activism, tracing the "closed loop of digital mediation": "the content, memes, and music that inform protest signs are gathered via various digital networks and, similarly, are reproduced and performed in the political space of the protest with the knowledge that further sharing and mediation is inevitable." Using protest signs from the 2019 Women's March featuring Cardi B and Ariana Grande's lyrics, Bimm analyzes how the affects underpinning the politics of the march are circulated within activist remix practices that create networks and extend the event beyond its temporal and geographical bounds. She advances theory on celebrity feminism by showing how Cardi B and Grande are invoked at the march despite their physical absence and examining their role in recirculating the protest signs through their social media presence. Comparing the two artists also allows Bimm to make some important observations about their differences, particularly around the double standards applied to Black celebrity feminists and white ones. Bimm importantly refuses to dismiss the pop protest signs because of their connection to celebrity feminism, and instead highlights their potential to increase the accessibility of the march and amplify its message. She argues, "Accounting for continuously newer, queerer, and messier modes of protest opens up space for imagining how the digital might undermine the spatial, temporal, and racial logics that narrow the possibilities of more corporeal modes of protest (like the sit-in, the walkout, or the march) that remain confined to the literal street."

Keren Zaiontz and Kristen Cochrane look at digital feminist remixing of a different kind as they examine the practices of feminist meme-makers

including Cochrane herself. They begin their chapter with the provocative reminder that, "Digital feminism in all variations was never born free and unlike the coterie of largely male abstract expressionists who negated the barbarism of war and capitalist markets by focusing on the formal power of brushstrokes, the feminists we discuss here must claim autonomy over their craft (i.e., memes, blogs, podcasts) by other means." The digital feminisms in their study, they remind us, are not "a mechanism for political action" but rather "a means of economic survival and the strengthening of affective bonds between creatives and their followers and/or subscribers." Nevertheless, as Zaiontz and Cochrane show, feminist meme-makers generate powerful political critique through their playful subversion of material drawn from pop culture. Through their use of social media tools such as geotagging, avatars, and the Instagram close friends list, as well as their strategic deployment of irony, the digital creators featured in this chapter test (gendered) assumptions about intimacy and labor in online spaces. Theorizing microcelebrity meme-makers by weaving critical theory with examples of memes themselves and Cochrane's own experience, the authors illustrate a collaborative approach to writing between analyst and participant that resonates with Faniyi, Nduka-Nwosa, and Gajjala's chapter earlier in the book.

Micki Burdick's chapter on the Art+Feminism Wikipedia edit-a-thon examines how this form of collective knowledge production can be used to create community through its emphasis on embodiment. Burdick argues, "The Art+Feminism campaign works inside rather than outside of the masculine-dominated canon of Wikipedia to transform digital activisms and their gendered baggage. These practices of editing craft new stories and ways of living in the world outside of gendered binaries—revealing new constructions of identity and embodiment within feminist activisms." As participants gather in person to create entries for Wikipedia focused on women and other equity-seeking groups, there is a queering of the digital space by emphasizing the visibility of cis and trans women and nonbinary folks (in this case as editors of Wikipedia, where only 10 percent of contributors are nonmen) and a queering of the shared physical space where the edit-a-thon takes place. Like Ravary-Pilon, Burdick historicizes their study within the context of DIY feminist activism, showing how digital activisms draw on more analog forms of feminist resistance from the past, from independent feminist publishing to consciousness-raising circles. Rooting their argument in the theory of collective rhetoric, Burdick demonstrates how edit-a-thons can push back against postfeminist, neoliberal conceptions of activism by focusing on the collective rather than the individual.

Shaylynn Lynch Lesinski, Tammy Rae Matthews, and Kelly J. Drumright's chapter on birth-focused blogs and podcasts underlines the importance of knowledge sharing in challenging dominant epistemologies rooted in

colonialism, white supremacy, and cis-sexism. In their focus on embodied experience, the authors join other contributors, including Comeforo and Burdick, in examining how users can exploit popular online platforms to produce counter discourse and community. They argue that "sharing birth stories online privileges the experiential knowledge of birthing bodies themselves, thereby disrupting the hierarchy of knowledge in so-called Western medicine that positions birthing bodies' lived experience last." Pushing back against reductive and harmful depictions of birth circulated by the mainstream media and medical discourse, the blogs and podcasts at the center of this chapter educate and empower birthing bodies, particularly those belonging to marginalized individuals. As birthing bloggers and podcasters share their stories, they expose how biopower and biopolitics operate within Western medicalized systems and provide readers and listeners with the tools needed to advocate for themselves and their desired (and safe and healthy) birthing experience.

Like Bimm and Zaiontz and Cochrane, in their chapter Minna Aslama Horowitz and Neil Feinstein examine the intersections between popular feminism, digital activism, the economy of visibility, and celebrity. Using as their case study Susan Fowler's public sharing of her experience of harassment at Uber and the response it precipitated on social media, Horowitz and Feinstein compellingly ask what makes a collective activist movement. In so doing, the authors unsettle some of the assumptions underlying feminist activism in the digital age, in particular the idea that individuals sharing political hashtags are automatically engaged in collective activist work. Arguing for the necessity of a "multidimensional approach" to understanding digital activism in today's media landscape, the authors propose an analytical framework with which to understand actions like Fowler's, which was bolstered by the #DeleteUber and #MeToo movements. They conclude, "Not everyone is or seeks to be an activist or advocate, but we must learn how to use and connect powerful stories such as Fowler's to form more coherent, more diverse, more collaborative, and sustainable conversations, networks, alliances, actions, and even movements." The authors' warning that this may force us to rethink some of the assumptions underlying activism in the digital age and instead consider networks "as neoliberal, market-driven, data-hungry, and attention-seeking," reflects the difficulty, expressed throughout this book, of disentangling feminist activism from the broader sociopolitical and economic contexts in which it occurs online.

In "'I Want Us to Own the Goddamned Servers': The Feminist Principles of Archive of Our Own," Sid Heeg traces the history of the fan-run site Archive of Our Own (AO3) and its emergence in response to the censorship of several fan fiction sites in the mid-2000s. Heeg contrasts fan communities' frequent centering of women's and queer voices with the corporate and

often heterosexual male interests intervening with content on sites like FFN, LiveJournal, and FanLib. Heeg frames these interventions as attempts to control female and queer desires, self-expression, and labor. AO3, Heeg argues, "not only provides a functional space for a wide variety of fan fiction, but it provides functional space in a way that other fan fiction websites do not through the ways that the foundation values the privacy and safety of fans first, ensuring their content and their communities are protected." It is fitting that Heeg's chapter concludes the book given its focus on fandom cultures. Fans, as Heeg shows, operate from a place of love, reworking popular stories across media to generate new meanings. Similarly, many of the chapters in this collection reflect on how feminist activists take mainstream platforms and materials from the dominant culture and transform them in an effort to create community and incite change—online and off.

ONWARD: STORIES, SOLIDARITIES, AND FEMINIST SURVIVAL

Assembling an edited collection is a hugely collaborative—and intensely rewarding—effort, which informs a key takeaway of both this and our last collection, *Networked Feminisms: Digital Practices and Activist Assemblies* (Lexington, 2021), and that is the importance of intersectional solidarity. Solidarity can be a method for anti-racism and for fighting white supremacy and imperialism; solidarity is a tactic for opposing misogyny and trans and queerphobia. Solidarity is also what drives feminist shadow networks. It is what enables us as feminists to highlight that which resists—because we've fostered solidarity, mutual support, and care. But that solidarity has to be grounded in intersectional feminism to resist its tokenization and the over-reliance on white feminism that hinges on a binary focus on gender to the neglect of other intersecting systems of oppression. As Sara Ahmed (2017) writes in *Living a Feminist Life*, "to be committed to a feminist life means we cannot not do this work; we cannot not fight for this cause. . . . Survival thus becomes a shared feminist project" (235–36). If we think about solidarity as a shared feminist project—as, together, finding new ways forward—then we can, even in small ways, find modes of pushing back. These small moments of solidarity matter as they begin to unravel what solidarity looks like at the everyday micro level, giving us insights into larger scale protests and movements as we push onward for more just, more intersectional, futures. We can't wait for those stories to unfold.

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