

***Out Of The Kitchen, Onto Your Screen, Into The Ether:  
A Case For An Online Art and Feminism Social Movement***

Angela Washko

The internet has always been and continues to be a boys club. Women who choose to delve deeper into the net than amazon.com don't have to look far to find themselves bombarded by the proliferation of archaic negative gender-based stereotypes in virtually every space including online games (40,59), meme culture (30,31,32), forums, online journalism, YouTube, and beyond. Every major platform and communication model online appears to be a megaphone for men to remind women that they don't belong or that they're only allowed to participate if they accept their role as objects of admiration or quiet non-opinionated users in the event they aren't deemed attractive enough (23). It is not uncommon for women online to be stalked, receive death threats, and be doxed (66)...and it is implicitly accepted that women will be under constant scrutiny in most digital spaces - especially if they dare to question these pervasive misogynistic field conditions (49). These threats can still be haunting even when exclusively digital - as women have been raped in online spaces as early as 1993 (just search: "A Rape In Cyberspace") (17). Fortunately tides are turning. More and more female cultural producers are carving out safe spaces for their voices, work, and forming solidarity networks among each other online. When traditional models of presentation outside the screen excludes them, these women have found methods for distributing their work online and produce pieces that explicitly respond to and resist the oppressive climate therein. Self organized all-female online publishing projects like The Illuminati Girl Gang and Girls Get Busy (20,27), all-female social media based discussion groups and email listservs like FACES and [secret girl group] on Facebook (19,29), academia-based feminist online art and technology networks like FemTechNet (38,39), feminist online video channels like ArtFem.tv, women's indie game making collectives like Toronto's Dames Making Games (15), feminist online apps and participatory websites like Hollaback!, The Everyday Sexism Project and Stop Street Harassment (25,55,56), feminist podcasts and tumblrs like *Women As Objects* (43,63), as well as individual artists, critics, curators, writers, academics, and supporting institutions are all a part of what I would like to consider a new social movement to shift acceptable behavior on the internet toward greater inclusivity for women. We are in the midst of an internet-based feminist movement (or as Dazed Digital recently pronounced it: a "digi feminist movement") (33).

To make the case for this as a social movement, I'd like to immediately outline how to define and analyze the movement as well as the scale in which to determine success and failure. Because of

the widely distributed political power structure in America and the internet users' resistance to policing internet use (64) (despite the fact that net neutrality no longer exists and we now know that the NSA spies on just about all of our internet behavior) it is hard to track who maintains the power to change the gendered climate of the internet (57,65). With no visible center to target and goals that are not clearly state-oriented, the political process model endorsed by Doug McAdam is not very helpful for an analysis of this movement (35). According to Alberto Melucci: "We know that contemporary 'movements' increasingly address cultural issues and tend to differentiate themselves from the model of political action" (36, pg.78). Some elements from McAdam's book, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*, certainly do apply including the fact that most leaders that emerge in this movement have already been leaders in their own micro communities; the importance of communication networks to propel the movement; and the "cognitive liberation" that this movement's participants experience. "Cognitive liberation" is Melucci's term to describe an awakening of an individual's awareness of the issues surrounding a movement (in this case: a realization that the internet is not a safe space for me) and a reframing of the world through that issue (there are bigger reasons why I feel the way I do when I use the net than just one mean comment). This leads to the realization that one is not alone- inspiring a collective demand for change, hope and action (35). The mass recognition of the systemic issues responsible for maintaining this status quo oppression can be measured in terms of both consciously recruited participants mentioned throughout this essay and also the intense backlash movements including counterfeminist groups on reddit, 4chan, and not exclusively internet-based antifeminist movements like Men's Rights Activists or MRA (6,44,48). These factors indicate that there is an online feminist movement happening and that a large portion of the people making work with issues surrounding women's access to online spaces recognize themselves as part of this larger movement.

To effectively analyze this contemporary internet feminist movement, we have to look at solidarity, goals/demands, and mobilization. I am asking that we allow the demands (most generally: a more inclusive internet for women) to be contained within the realm of the internet and ignore the scope and impact of the movement beyond the screen. There are many documented cases of feminist online activism employed to make changes in physical public space (42), but I am asking that we allow this movement to be analyzed for its impact and functionality within digital spaces.

Alberto Melucci's criteria for a social movement outlined in his book *Challenging Codes* is quite helpful for explaining this art and feminism net activism as a social movement. By his standards, a social movement must be defined by "specific solidarity among members," must be "engaged in a

conflict with an adversary over control and use of resources valued by both parties," and must have experienced "a breach in the limits" of the hegemonic system in which the collective action takes place (36, p.28). One might argue that these cultural producers are actually participating in "individual mobility," however the nature of social media and other internet communication networks turn these seemingly aggregate behaviors into a streaming collective narrative. The rapid, incessant flood of stories of women responding to unchecked male net aggression melds into one distinct tale of unjust internet sexism in dire need of an overhaul. Due to shortened attention spans, information overload and constant connectivity, narrative is important to these net feminists largely in the distribution and summation of repeated stories of misogynistic transgression and their impact on creating stronger identification in individuals with the movement and its other participants (solidarity). This is consistent with literary critic J. Hillis Miller's stance on stories and social movements described by Francesca Poletta - "The impossibility of logically explaining events compels us to tell stories...we always need more stories because in some way they do not satisfy." (47, p.43)

Whether or not these stories of misogynistic behavior in digital spaces are compelling, participants' identification with the movement and solidarity does not occur instantly.

"Constructing a collective identity entails continuous investment and unfolds as a process: identity crystallizes into forms of organization, systems of rules and leadership relationships the closer the action draws toward the more institutionalized forms of social behavior." - Alberto Melluci (36, p.67)

Unlike physically observable protest movements which manifest in picket lines, civil disobedience, organizational infrastructure with recruitment campaigns, and political petitioning - it is harder to trace this as a social movement as the formation of the movement's collective identity is largely based on its deeply intertwined digitally networked existence. In my experience, once you are initiated into or seek out the movement, you are potentially instantly linked to hundreds of others working in the same arenas. Even more difficult to trace as an outsider, the group's activities and recruitment of membership is happening on a global/local scale. As press and networked enthusiasm regarding like-minded feminist online projects circulate through one's curated social network- one becomes connected to someone with similar working methodologies living in a completely different country. Triple Canopy writes in their text *Pointing Machines*: "This is what it's like when distance collapses. Everything is near, and nothing that is not can be perceived" (58). In order to analyze the movement further, we must understand that members of this movement are on a battleground of anonymity (though this is shifting),

that lacks accountability and a physical location to air grievances: the infrastructure of the internet. We must consider both formal and informal umbrella organizations founded online to be institutions, we must allow Facebook groups and multi-user Google Docs to be town halls, we must allow critical journalism responsive to these issues and collectively made feminist online zines/independent video games/tumblr and their subscribers and subsequent comment sections to be protest movements without a physical manifestation.

As stated earlier, there are risks to participating in this movement. How is anyone recruited to a cause that will likely result in harassment even in daily life outside of digital space (23,34,41,48,49, 50,66)? Recruiting of the movement has a lot of the same appeal that Kathleen M. Blee describes in her case study of women in organized racist movements (though clearly this a vastly different movement). The online feminist movement teaches ways in which women can learn to understand why their online experiences can be so saturated with gender discrimination and frames these behaviors as systemic, giving these women something to unite around and react against (7, pg.82). The more those recruits feel the sense of US (women/feminists/victims) vs. THEM (misogynists/MRAs/trolls/attackers etc), the more likely collective identity will lead to collective action, reducing ambivalence toward the conditions and ultimately propelling action (36, pg.83).

Social media is undeniably being employed in new social movements as they move into action. How it is used and whether or not it is effective is the concern of texts by Segerberg and Bennet, Theocharis et al, Castells, Gitlin and many others. But what about a movement that is already online? *All* action in this online feminist movement is coordinated through social media, email, and browsers. The networks of these movements are made almost entirely online. There are physical hubs that pop up - but they do so largely *after* solidarity is made online. Several physical manifestations of the movement including all-women text compilations, female-only performance events and exhibitions, as well as conferences and "meatspace" gatherings in major cities have all occurred - but only in response to organizing activity happening on the internet (1,19,20,27,29,60). If these physical realizations of online practices have impact on the movement it might be in bringing awareness of the practitioners and activists to other publics, potential funders and like-minded organizations, in increasing solidarity within the existing group and in bringing offline "legitimacy" to the online movement.

Tactically the movement takes physical protest strategies and translates them to the digital realm. Social media replaces both traditional meetings and protests. Actions are coordinated in

Facebook groups and events. Journalists participate in those groups and publish articles on news blogs announcing them. Ultimately more press cover the actions afterward. The recent ArtAndFeminism Wikipedia Edit-A-Thon is a notable example of this process in action (22,26,27,54). How did one Facebook event become a massive 30+ institution online action? The achievements of this event were possible through the incredible coordination, extensive networks, and solidarity of this online feminist movement (deemed ArtAndFeminism in this particular event's case). Initially organized by Sian Evans, Jacqueline Mabey, Laurel Ptak, and Michael Mandiberg with institutional support from Eyebeam Art and Techology Center and the Art Libraries Society of North America's Women and Art Special Interest Group - the impulse to edit Wikipedia to create an art history that includes women spread to other networks like wildfire (10). Universities, libraries and art spaces hosted physical locations to encourage informed participation in this digital action in response to the fact that less than 13% of Wikipedia editors and contributors are women. Even in an knowledge database open to public contribution, women feel threatened to participate (13). In this highly organized action, 101 women artists were added to Wikipedia and over 80 more entries on women were expanded- adding not only more worthy historical female subjects to Wikipedia's account of history but also training more women to be approved contributors (10). The calls to participate and satellite locations were all coordinated and distributed through social media, a Wikipedia Meetup page, email listservs, and online press (my invitation to participate in the New York City event at Eyebeam came through Facebook). The event was a clearly concentrated attack on the male skewed "free encyclopedia that anyone can edit" (61). The overwhelming mass participation evidenced the growing power of the online feminist (art) movement. Additionally the arc of the planning, rapid spread, and execution of the ArtAndFeminism Wikipedia Edit-A-Thon makes for great storytelling and almost instantly propelled the planning of another event a month later. The appearance of spontaneity in the language used to describe the event on the ArtAndFeminism Wikipedia Edit-A-Thon's own Wikipedia page uses terminology like "viral," "sprint," "immediate" and "came together in a matter of minutes" (62). Utilizing this language to describe the accumulation of participants, solidarity and spread of this direct action is consistent with Polleta's analysis of storytelling in civil rights and anti war movements; expressing the immediacy and spontaneity of direct action communicates that action as "expressive and powerfully moral" (47, pg.47).

Many members of the online feminist movement are storytellers whose tales contribute to the stream of proactive unrest backing actions like the feminist Wikipedia swarm edit. The internet itself has become a place for women to carve out autonomous spaces for themselves that aren't available to them in the material public sphere. Aside from the publishing niches for women I've already mentioned, many of the artists and writers I cite as participating in this movement create highly diaristic work -

responding to gender-related injustices and trauma they've experienced (now through a feminist lens, recognizing these injustices as a product of institutionalized patriarchy). These artists rapidly produce selfies and video blogs online as a way to have visibility and take back control over representation of themselves and their experiences (15,24). The public's voyeuristic investment and simultaneous discrediting of these broadcast chronicles of the (typically young) woman reveal further evidence of the gendered climate of the internet. Others attempt to capitalize on, criticize, and demand changes from the women who participate in these practices (5). The persistence of these selfies and feminine tumblrs despite public demonization of the so-called narcissistic young-girl confirms that these spaces carved out for women and by women are going to stay (and only get bigger).

Obviously these selfie tumblrs on their own do not constitute a social movement (4,6,37). It is the mass culmination of these impulses combined with critical writing, artistic work, networking, building of safe spaces, and ultimately the cognitive liberation of members of the group identifying themselves with the movement that carries out actions which change the climate of the internet. More and more larger institutions recognize the efforts of these online feminists and the existence of a movement, providing support for them in a variety of ways. According to their website, FemTechNet is a cross-university "activated network of scholars, artists and students who work on, with, and at the border of technology, science and feminism" (39). Through networked education programs, FemTechNet both teaches a new generation of students tools and approaches to participating in digital feminist activism and also connects feminists "across the globe," producing an academia oriented master frame which asserts online feminist activism as necessary to combat dominant, exclusive, normative male dominion over the net (39,51 pg. 387 - 391). FemTechNet supports many micro online feminist activist groups and individual actors - providing a clearer narrative context and umbrella network- consistent with Snow's description of master frames (51, pg. 391). More DIY, organized "secret girl groups" on social media illustrate the personalization of politics outlined by Bennet in "The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation" (29). The participants of these groups are more committed to making expressive personal works (art, writing etc.), but they still function collectively as much more than a support group or safe space. The secret girl group I participate in fundraises for grants for women artists, create exhibitions comprised of exclusively women, and create informal direct action (often responded to individuals and institutions that support all-male exhibitions online and in physical space), working documents that outline female cultural producers with digifeminist interests, and recruit others deemed like-minded or worthy.

Another organization contributing to the ethos of the movement is Hollaback!, a networked on and offline non-profit with a mission to end street harassment. They take offline street harassment experiences in 71 cities and 24 countries and use their online website and phone app as a space to share them with women who've had similarly threatening encounters (25). Although sexist street hassling is not an online issue (though the tactics and approaches do appear similar to harassment of women online), the internet becomes a haven for sharing these stories and creates greater solidarity with online feminists and inspires both other networked actions and also a culture of "saying something" rather than ignoring these issues (52,55). What about all of the individual artists, writers, and cultural producers making work that focuses on women's issues and the climate of the internet? Are their actions just efforts of "individual resistance" or "individual mobility" (36, pg.31)? Do individual works of art made in a vacuum contribute to reducing misogynistic behavior? No. But due to their networked existence, they *are* making a difference.

While these artists are acting individually, the proliferation of their contributions to discourse around the issues through the web make it obvious that they are conscious of the movement and have some solidarity with it - whether explicitly announced/dogmatically described or not. The issues around women and men's disparate power relationships in digital spaces have been so pervasive in their lives that they make focused bodies of work about it. The nature of the global/local art world makes them additionally highly networked with other artists working similarly - increasing the chances that they will recognize their personal struggle as a collective struggle. Jennifer Chan makes videos and web-based work from a feminist perspective responding often to masculinity tropes and gendered expectations online. In addition to her own work, her contributions to writing about these issues (11,12), and organization of feminist events (including a Chicago satellite event of the previously mentioned ArtAndFeminism Wikipedia Edit-A-Thon) is evidence of a keen awareness of and commitment to this feminist online social movement. Earlier cyberfeminist artists like Faith Wilding engaged these issues not only with their personal art practice but also by organizing events and producing critical writing and were essential to paving the way for web 2.0 feminist artist/organizer/writers like Evelin Stermitz, Ann Hirsch, Gabby Bess, Laurel Ptak, and Caroline Woolard just to name a few.

How can we measure success or failure in this social movement (assuming at this point we agree that it is a social movement)? Anita Sarkeesian's Kickstarter fundraising campaign for her educational online video series deconstructing the reinforcement of negative female stereotypes in video games is a captivating case study. Sarkeesian turned to crowd-funding platform Kickstarter to raise \$6000 to produce a series of web videos called *Tropes vs. Women in Video Games* (53). Due to

the goals of her project, the climate of online gaming communities and her outspoken feminist position, Anita Sarkeesian became the subject of extremely brutal harassment (including the creation of a series of games made by her "critics" in which players had to beat up her face until it was black, blue and bleeding as well as hundreds of image macro memes designed to discredit, insult, or humiliate her [34]). Ultimately people were moved by both the critical feminist content she proposed to create and the obscene amount of harassment and visible threats of violence she endured, as her Kickstarter campaign far exceeded the amount she asked for. *Tropes vs. Women in Video Games* earned \$158,922 in crowd-funded donations from 6,968 people. That's 26.487 times as much as Anita Sarkeesian asked for - quite the backlash to online sexism. Additionally, writers like Leigh Alexander who advocate for greater inclusivity for women in video games are earning high ranking positions in major news publications in their fields (Gamasutra and Kotaku in Alexander's case) (28). In their positions they're afforded essentially a qualified and far-reaching voice to recruit and empower other women. The fact that Alexander and other movement participants are being placed in positions of power is evidence that the system is changing and that the movement is having at least some success in both bringing these issues into public dialogue and putting its participants into positions to make changes in a myriad of public institutions outside of the screen - museums, written publications, universities, non-profits and more. There is still no shortage of hostility toward the feminist platforms of these public figures (a forum topic on Leigh Alexander's writing is titled "Leigh Alexander being a dumb bitchy cunt" [45]), but the support for wider online distribution and visibility of gender sensitive, critical indie games and more diverse game makers like Anna Anthropy (whose book *Rise of the Videogame Zinesters: How Freaks, Normals, Amateurs, Artists, Dreamers, Drop-outs, Queers, Housewives, and People Like You Are Taking Back an Art Form* is also an indication of the kind of maker-led activism I've described earlier) make it clear that these online feminist cultural producers are winning.

"At any rate, they're losing. They had the delusion of grandeur gleaned from the past decade's economic growth, but the commercial games business is shrinking again, because everyone but these people are now grown-ups who aren't still obsessed with how they were picked on in high school. Games will absolutely have to reject their hostile little niche and appeal to more people if they want to be financially viable. The core gamer just isn't relevant anymore, which is probably why he's pitching such a fit." - Leigh Alexander (9).

Culture Hub calls 2014 "The Year of Digi Feminism" (14). Essays are coming out left and right about "the art world's feminism" (1,29,33) and magazines, blogs, online tv stations, and journals are springing up all over the place wholly devoted to discussing feminist issues online (3,8,18,21). Looking at this movement from Armstrong and Bernstein's "Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social

Movements," we move beyond the idea that power is controlled exclusively by the state and recognize that there are many institutions and systems at play that reinforce existing meaning systems - making the prospect of changing the prevailing sexist environment an incredibly difficult task to undertake as it is designed economically, politically and socially to stay the way that it is (2, pg81-84). Members and organizers involved in this digi feminist movement recognize and respond to these challenges by taking on a multi faceted approach - targeting diverse fields from journalism to YouTube to poetry to sex work to phone apps to Facebook to the university to video games to museums to trade networks to conferences to tumblr and beyond. Influenced by the issues and potentials raised in 1990's cyberfeminism, the energy and reach of the Riot Grrrls, and the tactics of the Guerrilla Girls, as these women recruit more to their ranks: *there will be a revolution and it will be online.*

## Bibliography

01. Alvarez, Ana Cecilia. "The Artists of gURLS." *The Daily Beast*. Web. 22 Sept 2013. <<http://www.thedailybeast.com/witw/articles/2013/09/22/feminist-online-art-and-the-women-of-gurls.html>>
02. Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Mary Bernstein. "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements\*." *Sociological Theory*. American Sociological Association. March 2008. 74-99.
03. Art and Feminism TV (ArtFem.TV). Feminist Video Art Website. Web. 2014. <<http://artfem.tv>>
04. arvida bystrom. Tumblr. Web <<http://arvidabystrom.tumblr.com/>>
05. Berlatsky, Noah. "Selfies Are Art." *The Atlantic*. Web. 22 Nov 2013. <<http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/11/selfies-are-art/281772/>>
06. Blais, Melissa & Francis Dupuis-Deri. "Masculinism and the Antifeminist Countermovement." *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*. Vol 1.1. January 2012. 21-39.
07. Blee, Kathleen M. *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002
08. Bluestockings Magazine. Online Journal Home Page. Web. 2014. <<http://bluestockingsmag.com/>>
09. Brin, Sarah. "Feminism and Videogames: A Look at Anita Sarkeesian's 'Tropes vs. Women' Series." *The Creator's Project*. Web. 10 May 2013. <<http://thecreatorsproject.vice.com/blog/feminism-and-videogames-a-look-at-anita-sarkeesians-tropes-vs-women-series>>
10. Cembalest, Robin. "101 Women Artists Who Got Wikipedia Pages This Week." *ARTnews*. Web. 06 Feb 2014. <<http://www.artnews.com/2014/02/06/art-and-feminism-wikipedia-editathon-creates-pages-for-women-artists/>>
11. Chan, Jennifer. "Community Without Community: Net Art and its Micro-spheres." *West Space Journal*. Issue 1. Winter 2013
12. Chan, Jennifer. "Why Are There No Great Women Net Artists? Vague Histories of Female Contribution According to Video and Internet Art." *Pool Journal*. Web. Sept 2011. <<http://pooool.info/why-are-there-no-great-women-net-artists-2/>>
13. Cohen, Noam. "Define Gender Gap? Look Up Wikipedia's Contributor List." *New York Times*. 30 Jan 2011. <[http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/business/media/31link.html?\\_r=2&hpwDefine&](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/business/media/31link.html?_r=2&hpwDefine&)>
14. Culture Hub Facebook Page. Facebook. Web. 27 Jan 2014. <[https://www.facebook.com/CultureHubNYC/posts/10200906667103511?stream\\_ref=10](https://www.facebook.com/CultureHubNYC/posts/10200906667103511?stream_ref=10)>
15. Dames Making Games. DMG About Page. Web. 2012-2014. <<https://dmg.to/about>>
16. Darling, Jesse with Rosemary Kirton and Molly Soda. "Girl Swarm and The Soda Stream." *Cluster Mag*. Web. 2013. <<http://theclustermag.com/2013/04/girl-swarm-and-the-soda-stream/>>
17. Dibbell, Julian. "A Rape in Cyberspace." *The Village Voice*. Web. 18 Oct 2005. <<http://www.villagevoice.com/2005-10-18/specials/a-rape-in-cyberspace/>>
18. dpi Journal of Feminist Art and Digital Culture. Online Journal Home Page. Web. 2004-2013. <<http://dpi.studioxx.org/en>>
19. FACES. Listserv Homepage. Web. <<http://faces-l.net/>>
20. Girls Get Busy. Online Zine. Web. 2010-2014. <<http://girlsgetbusyzine.tumblr.com/>>
21. Girls of the Internet Museum. Tumblr. Web. 2013-2014. <<http://gim-museum.tumblr.com/>>

22. Hallett, Alison. "Wikipedia Arts + Feminism Edit-A-Thon." *The Portland Mercury*. Web. 15 Jan 2014. <<http://www.portlandmercury.com/BlogtownPDX/archives/2014/01/15/wikipedia-arts-feminism-edit-a-thon>>
23. Hess, Amanda. "[Why Women Aren't Welcome on The Internet](#)." *Pacific Standard Magazine*. Web. 06 Jan 2014.
24. Hirsch, Ann. "bebe zeva and overcoming the hatred of the american teenage girl." Web. <<http://therealannahirsch.com/writing.html#zeva>>
25. Hollaback!. Hollaback! Home Page. Web. 2014. <<http://www.ihollaback.org/>>
26. Howard, Dorothy. "Wikipedia Meets Feminism." *The Daily Beast*. Web. 05 Feb 2014. <<http://www.thedailybeast.com/witw/articles/2014/02/05/wikipedia-meets-feminism.html>>
27. Illuminati Girl Gang. Writing Blog. Web <<http://illuminatigirlgang.com/>>
28. Isaacson, Betsy. "Leigh Alexander On The Biggest Problem With Video Games Today." *The Huffington Post*. Web. 11 Oct 2013. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/11/leigh-alexander-video-games\\_n\\_4032080.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/11/leigh-alexander-video-games_n_4032080.html)>
29. Kirsch, Corinna. "The Digital Art World's (Secret) Feminism." *Art F City*. Web. 04 Oct 2013. <<http://artfcity.com/2013/10/04/the-digital-art-worlds-secret-feminism/>>
30. Know Your Meme. Get Back To The Kitchen. Web. 2010. <<http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/get-back-to-the-kitchen>>
31. Know Your Meme. Make Me A Sandwich. Web. 2011. <<http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/make-me-a-sandwich>>
32. Know Your Meme. 2/10 Would Not Bang. Web. 2011. <<http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/210-would-not-bang>>
33. Kretowicz, Steph. "Our ten favourite digifeminist artists." *Dazed Digital*. Web. Feb 2014. <<http://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/article/18432/1/our-ten-favourite-digifeminist-artists>>
34. Lewis, Helen. "This is what online harassment looks like." *NewStatesman*. Web. 06 Jul 2012. <<http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/internet/2012/07/what-online-harassment-looks>>
35. McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999. Second Edition.
36. Melluci, Alberto. *Challenging Codes*. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1996.
37. Molly Soda. Tumblr. Web. <<http://mollysoda.tumblr.com/>>
38. Naili, Hajer. "Feminists Launch Model for Online Learning." *Women's e-news*. Web. 15 Aug 2013. <[http://womensenews.org/story/education/130814/feminists-launch-model-online-learning#.Uylq\\_IX6\\_el](http://womensenews.org/story/education/130814/feminists-launch-model-online-learning#.Uylq_IX6_el)>
39. New School. FemTechNet Home Page. Web. <<http://femtechnet.newschool.edu/>>
40. Not In The Kitchen Anymore. Project Website. Web. <<http://www.notinthekitchenanymore.com>>
41. O'Meara Sarah. "Internet Trolls Up Their Harassment Game With 'Beat Up Anita Sarkeesian.'" *The Huffington Post UK*. Web. 06 Jul 2012. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/07/06/internet-trolls-online-beat-up-anita-sarkeesian-game\\_n\\_1653473.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/07/06/internet-trolls-online-beat-up-anita-sarkeesian-game_n_1653473.html)>
42. Plank, Elizabeth. "23 Inspiring Feminist Digital Campaigns That Changed the World." *Policy Mic*. Web. 17 Feb 2014. <<http://www.policymic.com/articles/80229/23-inspiring-feminist-digital-campaigns-that-changed-the-world>>

43. Radio Show: A Cups. Podcast. Web. 2013 - 2014.  
<<https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/a-cups/id664314007>>
44. Reddit. MensRights Page. Web. 2014. <<http://www.reddit.com/r/MensRights/>>
45. RPG CODEX. "Leigh Alexander being a dumb bitch cunt." Discussion Forum. Web. 14 Aug 2011.  
<<http://www.rpgcodex.net/forums/index.php?threads/leigh-alexander-being-a-dumb-bitchy-cunt.63066/>>
46. Rosemary Kirton. Grossmary Tumblr. Web. <<http://grossmary.tumblr.com/tagged/gpoy>>
47. Polletta, Francesca. *It Was Like A Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
48. Reinsberg, Hillary. "4Chan Hacks Feminism.org to Make Rape Jokes." *Buzzfeed*. Web. 18 Jul 2012.  
<<http://www.buzzfeed.com/hillaryreinsberg/4chan-hacks-feminismorg-to-make-rape-jokes>>
49. Roy, Jessica. "What Happens When You Taunt 4chan: The Story of Lacey Vicich." *BetaBeat*. Web. 10 Sept 2012.  
<<http://betabeat.com/2012/09/what-happens-when-you-taunt-4chan-the-story-of-lacey-vicich/>>
50. Sarkeesian, Anita. "Image Based Harassment and Visual Misogyny." *Feminist Frequency*. Web. 01 Jul 2012. <<http://www.feministfrequency.com/2012/07/image-based-harassment-and-visual-misogyny/>>
51. Snow, David A. "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields." *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. December 2007. 380-412.
52. The Everyday Sexism Project. Home Page. Web. 2013. <<http://www.everydaysexism.com/>>
53. Tropes Vs. Women In Video Games. Kickstarter Campaign. Web. May 2012  
<<https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/566429325/tropes-vs-women-in-video-games>>
54. Stoeffel, Kat. "Closing Wikipedia's Gender Gap - Reluctantly." *NY Magazine*. 11 Feb 2014.  
<<http://nymag.com/thecut/2014/02/closing-wikipedias-gender-gap-reluctantly.html>>
55. Stop Street Harassment. Stop Street Harassment Home Page. Web. 2014.  
<<http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/>>
56. The Everyday Sexism Project. "The Everday Sexism Project: A Year of Shouting Back." *The Guardian*. Web. 16 Apr 2013. <<http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/the-womens-blog-with-jane-martinson/2013/apr/16/everyday-sexism-project-shouting-back>>
57. "The NSA Files, Decoded." *The Guardian*. Web. 2014.  
<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/the-nsa-files>>
58. Triple Canopy. "Pointing Machines." *Triple Canopy*. Web. 07 Mar 2014.  
<[http://canopycanopycanopy.com/contents/pointing\\_machines](http://canopycanopycanopy.com/contents/pointing_machines)>
59. Washko, Angela. The Council on Gender Sensitivity and Behavioral Awareness in World of Warcraft. Web . 2012-2014  
<[http://angelawashko.com/section/304188\\_In\\_Game\\_Video\\_Documentation.html](http://angelawashko.com/section/304188_In_Game_Video_Documentation.html)>
60. White, Rachel Rabbit. "Oh gURL: It's so good to finally meet u IRL." *Rhizome*. Web. 16 Sept 2013.  
<<http://rhizome.org/editorial/2013/sep/16/oh-gurl/>>
61. Wikipedia. Home Page. Web. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main\\_Page](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page)>
62. Wikipedia. ArtAndFeminism Wikipedia Edit-A-Thon FAQ Page. Web.  
<<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Meetup/ArtAndFeminism/FAQ>>
63. Women As Objects. Tumblr. Web. <<http://womenasobjects.tumblr.com/>>

64. Wu, Tim. "Network Neutrality, Broadband Discrimination." *Journal of Telecommunications and High Technology Law*. Vol. 2. New York: Columbia University, 2003.
65. Wu, Tim. "Who Killed Net Neutrality?" *The New Yorker*. 15 Jan 2014.  
<<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/elements/2014/01/who-killed-net-neutrality.html>>
66. Urban Dictionary. Dox. Web. Nov 2012. <<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=doxed>>