From Selfies to Celebrities: #FeministsAreUgly as Cultural Critique or Cultural Confusion?

Kristi McDuffie, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This essay investigates a recent hashtag movement where Twitter users construct, negotiate, and contest definitions and iterations of feminism. #FeministsAreUgly is a trend supposedly challenging contemporary beauty norms for women that was largely taken up with selfies and celebrity photos, perhaps unintentionally undermining the idea that looks do not matter in feminism. By performing a qualitative analysis of a sample of over 2,000 #FeministsAreUgly tweets from April 2015, when the movement resurfaced due to a Twitter algorithm error, I qualify what feminism looks like as mediated through this hashtag. I identify which rhetorical strategies comprised the movement and how these strategies can be both problematic and productive in furthering feminist goals. Ultimately, I argue that while feminist action in social media continues to be inconsistent and challenging, targeted opportunities exist for fruitful digital writing for furthering feminist goals.

Feminists in computers and writing have long debated what constitutes—and who gets to constitute—what feminism looks like, especially as it emerges in digital writing (Blair & Takayoshi, 1999; Blair, Gajjala, & Tulley, 2009). This essay takes up a recent hashtag movement where feminist communities construct, negotiate, and contest definitions and iterations of feminism using hashtag activism as their method of writing and debating. #FeministsAreUgly is a trend supposedly challenging contemporary beauty norms for women that were largely taken up with selfies and celebrity photos contesting the notion that feminists are ugly or critiquing the idea that beauty matters. By conducting a qualitative analysis of a sample of over 2,000 #FeministsAreUgly tweets from April 2015, when the movement resurfaced from 2014 due to a Twitter algorithm error, we ask: What does feminism look like, especially as mediated through hashtags? Who gets to decide? Which tactics are the most and least productive? Using a grounded theory approach, we identify and quantify the key traits of the sample. Our analysis identifies the viewpoint illustrated in the tweet (feminist, anti-feminist, neutral), the visual rhetoric included in the tweet (selfie, celebrity photo, memes, other, none), and more. Ultimately, we argue that while feminist action in social media continues to be problematic, targeted opportunities exist for productive digital writing for feminist intervention and community building.

The Exigence

In August 2014, as a response to the backlash to #YesAllWomen and #WhyWeNeedFeminism, Lily Boulourian tweeted a picture of herself accompanied with the hashtag #FeministsAreUgly (Fig. 1). Boulourian and her friend Christine Young explained in an interview that the hashtag was a way to contradict "absolutely silly and completely unattainable standards under which every single woman is [considered] ugly, especially if you're a woman of color" (Dickson, 2014, n.p.). Once the hashtag started trending in summer 2014, however, Boulourian and Young's original message began to get lost. While there were thousands of tweets utilizing the hashtag as intended, and users tweeted selfies of themselves and celebrities in a show of solidarity and feminist affirmation, there were other users who misunderstood the satire in the hashtag and responded on the defensive. Yet other users took the opportunity to insult feminists. Still others claimed the hashtag reinforced sexism and contributed to a circular kind of backlash.

Figure 1: Originating #FeministsAreUgly Tweet from Boulourian

Like many Twitter movements, the volume of and attention to #FeministsAreUgly died down until April 2015 when, in an attempt to highlight its new homepage as a fast-paced news service that pulls headlines, hashtags, and images, the Twitter interface incorrectly pulled a headline from an *Inquistr* article published in August 2014 (Martin, 2015). The headline read, "Ugly Feminists Freak Out Over #FeministsAreUgly Hashtag" (Fig. 2). How the algorithm made the mistake is unclear (Martin, 2015), but it nonetheless spurred a resurgence that reached over 180,000 tweets with similar trends to the original movement (Fig. 3). In the next section, we will articulate how we approached analyzing a sample of #FeministsAreUgly, before detailing the results.

Figure 2: Twitter Headline in April 2015 Incorrectly Claiming #FeministsAreUgly Was Trending

Figure 3: Topsy Chart Showing #FeministsAreUgly Tweet Volume in April-May 2015

The Framework

We examine the #FeministsAreUgly April 2015 resurgence within the framework of hashtag feminism. Hashtag feminism emerges from the more general digital activism, which is "an organized public effort, making collective claim(s) on a target authority(s), in which civic initiators or supporters use digital media" (Edward, 2013). Hashtag activism specifically refers to the use of hashtags for metadata tagging and searching (Losh, 2014), usually on Twitter, for the purposes of protest, community organizing, and creating social change. Scholarly conversations on digital and hashtag activism have included research on slacktivism (Vie, 2014), protest movements (Bastos, Gajjalaand, & Tulley, 2014), Black Twitter (Brock, 2012), and indigenous digital activism (Dreher, McCallum, & Waller, 2016).

Hashtag feminism focuses these movements on feminism-related issues, including gender equity, women's rights, and women's use of social media. Scholarly research into hashtag feminism has investigated storytelling in #WhyIStayed (Clark, 2016), neoliberalism in #Aufschrei and #YesAllWomen (Baer, 2016), metadata management in India (Losh, 2014), and the toxic hashtags on Twitter (Risam, 2015). Our study enters these conversations by exploring how one particular hashtag at a particular moment in time demonstrates both limitations and potentials of hashtag feminism for creating social change. The following research questions guide this study:

1. What does the #FeministsAreUgly hashtag movement reveal about the possibilities and limitations of digital activism, and more narrowly, hashtag feminism?
2. What are the most common rhetorical strategies used in the #FeministsAreUgly movement, including linguistic and visual rhetorical strategies?
3. How is feminism characterized, defined, and constructed in the #FeministsAreUgly hashtag?

After reviewing our research methods, we address how our results respond to these questions.

The Method

The #FeministsAreUgly resurgence on April 27, 2015 corresponded with our search for an organic hashtag feminist movement to study. We were searching for a movement that was born out of genuine response to current social and cultural events, rather than a sponsored hashtag, such as the #LikeAGirl feminist hashtag that was sponsored the Always brand.

We collected tweets using NodeXL, a Microsoft Excel plug-in that, at the time, allowed users to collect up to 18,000 lines of tweet data every fifteen minutes. (The free version now allows users to collect up to 2,000 lines of tweet data.) We collected over 60,000 tweets during April and May 2015, and defined our sample as the 2,027 tweets from April 27th, after removing retweets (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Raw Data Collection from NodeXL

We analyzed the sample using the qualitative approach of grounded theory as outlined by Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss (2008). Their approach consists of building theory from data by identifying concepts through coding (assigning values to units of text) (p. 21). The concepts are derived from the data itself (open, inductive coding) at a range of abstraction (from specific words to entire tweets). Therefore, in addition to looking for representations of feminism, we coded based on what came up inductively from the data.

We used the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA to code the tweets (Fig. 5). This coding was a recursive process of creating and revising codes to best capture the data. We ended up with over 50 codes, grouped together in larger categories (Fig. 6).
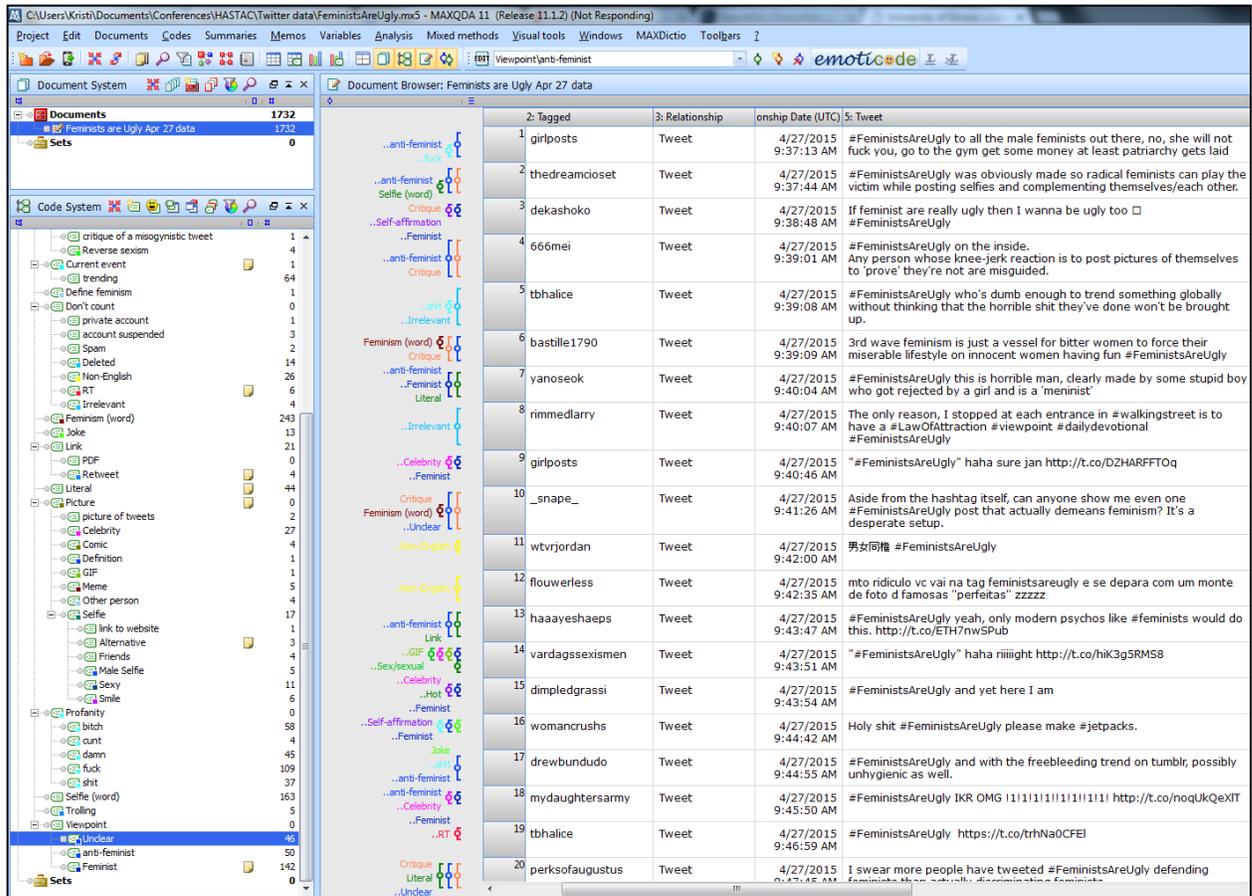
Figure 5: Screenshot of MAXQDA Coding Software

MAXQDA 3/7/2017	2026	tweets captured			
Code System [4336]	4201				
Don't count	TOTAL	% of total tweets		TOTAL	% of total tweets
Non-English	127	6.27%	FeministsAreBeautiful	37	2.17%
Deleted	84	4.15%	FeminismIsAwful	30	1.76%
Spam	34	1.68%	Meta	97	5.69%
Retweet	31	1.53%	Insult	66	3.87%
Irrelevant/Nonsensical	31	1.53%	Affirmation		
Private Account	8	0.40%	Self-affirmation	64	3.76%
Account Suspended	6	0.30%	Self-depracation	12	0.70%
	321	15.85%	Celebrity affirmation	18	1.06%
Viewpoint			General affirmation	13	0.76%
Feminist	1123	65.90%		**107**	6.28%
Anti-Feminist	476	27.93%	Critique	3	0.18%
Neutral/Informational	68	3.99%	Celebrity Culture	9	0.53%
Unclear	37	2.17%	Selfie Culture	55	3.23%
	1704	100.00%	Looks	81	4.75%
Link	126	7.39%	Reverse Sexism	13	0.76%
Video	8	0.47%		**161**	9.45%
Retweet	2	0.12%	Literal	230	13.50%
	136	7.98%	Straw Man	22	1.29%
Picture	124	7.28%		**252**	14.79%
Picture of Tweets	3	0.18%	Define Feminism	52	3.05%
Celebrity	101	5.93%	Meninist	17	1.00%
Comic	18	1.06%	Feminazis	4	0.23%
GIF	2	0.12%		**73**	4.28%
Meme	22	1.29%	In vivo (words)		
Other	45	2.64%	Selfie (word)	117	5.78%
Selfie	317	18.60%	trending (word)	43	2.12%
Alternative	8	0.47%	Bitch	40	1.98%
Friends	8	0.47%	Damn	21	1.04%
Male Selfie	31	1.82%	Fuck	82	4.05%
Sexy	20	1.17%	Shit	32	1.58%
Total Selfies	**384**	22.54%	Beauty	82	4.05%
Total Images	**699**	41.02%	Cute	32	1.58%
			Hot	23	1.14%
			Pretty	31	1.53%
			Sexy/Sexist	13	0.64%

Figure 6: Code System Results

The Results

We first tightened our sample by removing any tweets we were unable to analyze (not in English, account suspended, etc.) and tweets we did not want to include in our sample (retweets that had slipped through the original narrowing, spam, etc.). After culling the sample in this manner, we were left with 1,704 tweets to analyze (Table 1).

Culling the Sample	Number
Beginning Number of Tweets	2025
Not in English	127
Deleted (incl. private and suspended accounts)	98
Spam	34
Retweet	31
Irrelevant or Nonsensical	31
Total Removed from Sample	**321**
Ending Number of Tweets	**1704**

Table 1: Tweets Removed From Original Sample

The first item we coded was whether the hashtag presented a feminist viewpoint, an anti-feminist viewpoint, a neutral viewpoint (such as asking for clarification on the hashtag or posting a news article), or no viewpoint. Given the feminist intentions of the hashtag's originators, followed by the way the hashtag was misunderstood and used to critique feminists, we wanted to understand the overall picture of the tweets by whether they evidenced a feminist orientation. (Note that we cannot, of course, know the user intentions; rather, we are capturing the rhetorical effect of the tweet based on language and images.) We found that 66% of the sample presented a feminist viewpoint, either by users identifying as feminists, by users adhering to the genre of the original #FeministsAreUgly tweets, or by other contextual or visual cues (see below for examples). About 28% of the sample presented an anti-feminist viewpoint, indicated by pronouns (*they* being feminists), by insulting or mocking content, or by other contextual or visual cues. About 4% of the tweets presented a neutral orientation in that they asked for information or tweeted a link to an article without a visible feminist or anti-feminist orientation. Finally, we identified a small number of tweets (2%) where users only posted the hashtag. This initial viewpoint coding helped us understand the overall picture of the tweets, including how the hashtag was working as a feminist movement.

Viewpoint	Number	%
Feminist	1123	65.9%
Anti-Feminist	476	27.9%
Neutral (informational, asking clarification)	68	4.0%
Unclear (only posted hashtag)	37	2.2%
Total	1704	100.0%

Table 2: Findings Regarding Feminist Viewpoint

Examples of tweets that we labeled as feminist included those that tweeted selfies, in the genre of the originating tweets, and those that tweeted photos of celebrities who have identified as feminists to counter the myth that feminists are ugly.

Figure 7: Example Selfie Tweet

Figure 8: Example Celebrity Tweet

Examples of tweets coded as anti-feminist included users calling feminists ugly, users criticizing feminists, and users posting mocking visual images, such as absurd selfies or comics.

Figure 9: Example of Mocking Cartoon Tweet

Figure 10: Example of Mocking Selfie Tweet

Finally, examples of tweets identified as neutral included tweets with links to news articles and tweets questioning the hashtag itself. Tweets identified as neutral simply posted the hashtag.

Figures 11–12: Example of News Tweet; Example of Questioning Tweet

The next quality about the #FeministsAreUgly movement that we captured was the use of visual rhetoric, especially photos (Table 3). About 41% of the tweets in our sample included some kind of visual rhetoric. The originators of #FeministsAreUgly posted selfies and asserted their self-worth, and many of the subsequent tweets followed that format as 22% of the tweets in our sample included one or multiple selfies, sometimes with other people (Fig. 13 & 14). The selfies ranged from fun to sexy to defiant and were accompanied by a range of accompanying text. (Not captured in this figure are tweets that engaged the genre of the tweets (i.e. "FeministsAreUgly? Nah") without an accompanying photo.) The use of celebrity photos, either one photo or multiple, instead of selfies was the second most popular strategy at approximately 6% of our sample. While female celebrities were more common, including Beyonce, Taylor Swift, and Emma Watson, male celebrities like Harry Styles and Benedict Cumberbatch were also represented, as were montages of celebrities (Fig. 8, 15-16). (This category likewise excluded tweets who named celebrities without including a photo.) The "Other" category captured a range of visual rhetoric, from cartoons to GIFs to screenshots of tweets. This category also contains the tweets that included photos we were unable to categorize because they had been deleted.

Image	Number	%
No Image	1005	59.0%
Selfie(s)	384	22.5%
Celebrity Photo(s)	101	5.9%
Other*	214	12.6%
Total Images	699	41.0%
*Includes comics, memes, images of other people, images of animals, etc., as well as photos that had since been deleted		

Table 3: Visual Rhetoric Results
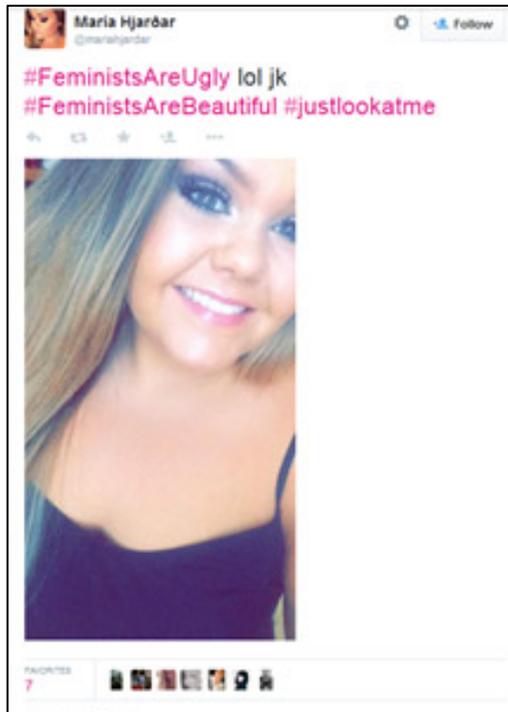
Figure 13: Example of Selfie Tweet

Figure 14: Example of Selfie Tweet

Figures 15–16: Examples of Celebrity Tweets

Critiques were a large part of the #FeministsAreUgly sample and ranged from critiquing feminism at large to critiquing the hashtag specifically. The most common critique involved users critiquing the hashtag based on a literal reading (for stating that feminists are ugly), rather than using the hashtag to satirically counter the notion (Fig. 17–18). Literal interpretations of the hashtag comprised almost 20% of our sample.

Figures 17–18: Example Tweets Critiquing the Hashtag

Users also critiqued the hashtag's focus on physical appearance. This critique came from both feminists and non-feminists and by users who seemed to understand the satire and those who did not (Fig. 19–20). Relatedly, some tweets criticized the selfie culture that the hashtag promoted, and some criticized the celebrity culture evident in the hashtag (Fig. 21–22).
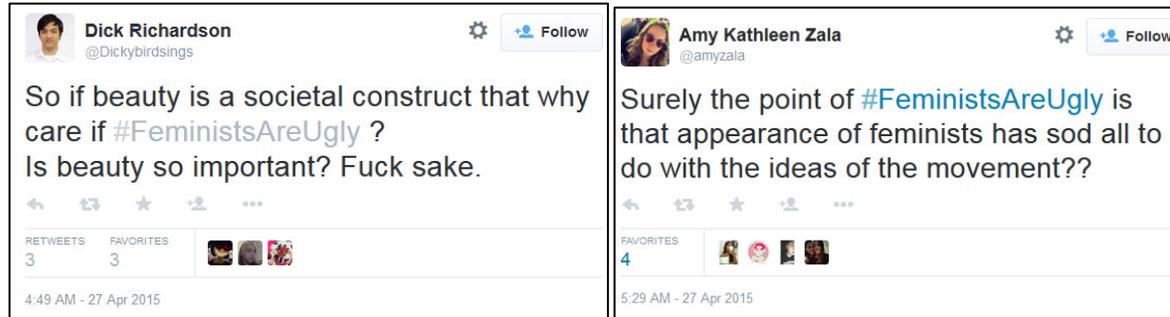
Figures 19–20: Example Tweets Critiquing #FeministsAreUgly's Focus on Physical Appearance

Figure 21: Example Tweet Critiquing Selfie Culture
Figure 22: Example Tweet Critiquing Celebrity Culture

Ultimately, the codes and examples discussed here represent only broad strokes in our analysis of the hashtag. In the interest of space, we will now move from description to what we learned about digital feminism through this hashtag movement.

Discussion

This analysis of over 2,000 tweets suggests multiple ways that this hashtag movement was problematic and demonstrates limitations for hashtag feminism. Nonetheless, we also identified some possibilities for constructive social critique and social change. We will first review the limitations before exploring the productive possibilities.

One of the first limitations that we identified in our sample was the narrow way that feminism was defined and represented. The most common rhetorical strategies used in this movement center the conversation on physical appearance—which on its surface does not seem feminist at all—individualized, based on the selfies and individual claims of feminism, and white, as the majority of tweets presented photos of white people. These limitations are ironic considering that the originating tweets intended to critique both the very notion that feminism is based on beauty and that feminism is often defined by white normative beauty standards. Boulourian and Yang identify as feminists of color and wanted to contest

unattainable (white) beauty standards. Boulourian wrote to the *Daily Dot*, "I wanted to find a way to change the narrative on that and thought I could help inspire others to reclaim that narrative and define for ourselves what 'beautiful' or 'ugly' mean" (Dickson, 2014).

Current intersectionality movements in feminism, where activists argue for feminists to do their work at the intersection of multiple aspects of identity (race, sexuality, ability, class, and more in addition to gender), deem the focus on white, often middle-class women as problematic (Smith, 2014). This representation of individualized, white feminism likewise ignores feminist attention to systemic sexism, such as the ways gender inequality is built into our institutional practices. This hashtag invoked these limited representations of feminism despite intentions to the contrary, which suggest that hashtag feminist movements are uncontrollable and maybe unable to achieve certain goals given the Twitter platform and Twitter culture this movement is working within. For example, individual self-focus and selfies are such a large part of Twitter culture that perhaps hashtag movements will always be limited to a focus on individuals. Similarly, the vast celebrity culture on Twitter likewise makes it difficult to imagine a hashtag feminist movement that does not involve representations of celebrities and also prioritize celebrity Twitter users (Marwick & boyd, 2011). For example, the most followed Twitter users are celebrities (Katy Perry and Justin Bieber were #1 and #2, respectively, at the time of this writing), only rivaled by companies like YouTube and Twitter itself.

Finally, the various ways that #FeministsAreUgly was taken up demonstrate the inability of social movements to predict or control the trajectory of their movements. Boulourian found herself defending her origination of #FeministsAreUgly, going as far as writing an article for *Model View Culture* in 2015 titled "Beauty as Safety: Why #FeministsAreUgly Is More Than Meets the Eye." In addition to the thousands of tweets criticizing the hashtag and its imagined interpretations, popular culture critics and journalists likewise criticized the movement. EJ Dickson (2014) wrote,

> Of course, if you look at the #FeministsAreUgly selfies, it's hard to argue that most of them don't, in fact, conform to what we think of as Western beauty standards. Most of the women are wearing makeup or pouting sexily, and some look virtually indistinguishable from a photo of a bikini model you'd see on some teenage boy's Instagram.

Dickson points out how the hashtag seems anti-feminist given its focus on looks and limited representation of diverse feminists, despite Boulourian's intentions to challenge normal beauty standards. While this may be a problematic judgment on behalf of the originators, these intensions are certainly limited by Twitter mechanics and its culture.

Despite these problems with the ways #FeministsAreUgly was taken up, we still found some productive possibilities for social change. Our main argument for the productive possibilities is that despite its problems, #FeministsAreUgly facilitated an important conversation in an online public about the definition of feminism. Twitter facilitated a discussion among thousands of users around the world that challenged traditional definitions of feminism (both popular and scholarly) and rearticulated who even got to participate in that conversation. Many users were able to negotiate the very definition of feminism and challenge who got to define it, even if that conversation more often than not was limited to a conversation about what feminism looks like. #FeministsAreUgly captured a more grassroots negotiation about who a feminist is and how they demonstrate that commitment.

Another productive outcome of the #FeministsAreUgly movement is that it provided considerable evidence of young women identifying, in public, as feminists. There is an existing debate about whether—or why—young women are failing to identify as feminists, presumably in contrast to previous generations. This debate includes examinations of why women are disinclined to identify as feminists (Erens, 2013) and claims that young feminists exist, they just define feminism differently (Powroznik, 2014). Despite the difficulty in knowing what the trends and supporting reasons really are, thousands of young women claiming feminism in an online public seems nothing but important.

In addition to these overall benefits of the #FeministsAreUgly movement, there are specific rhetorical strategies that can facilitate social activism. In addition to the numerous sexy selfies, there emerged some selfies showing diverse definitions of beauty that can challenge normative beauty standards. For example,

women with gothic or emo-type images challenged the bikini model representations that Dickson (2014) pointed out in the quote above. Selfies also showed women in everyday attire and poses in ways that celebrate their everyday lives.

Women (primarily young women) also asserted their feelings of self-worth through this hashtag. Confirmations of self-worth take the movement from beauty norm conversations to building women's confidence and self-esteem (Fig. 23). Some tweets affirmed the worth and importance of women and feminists generally.

The final productive rhetorical strategy we want to point out is the way that some posts promoted female solidarity and community building. The main example of this is group selfies that demonstrated friendship and female support (Fig. 24).
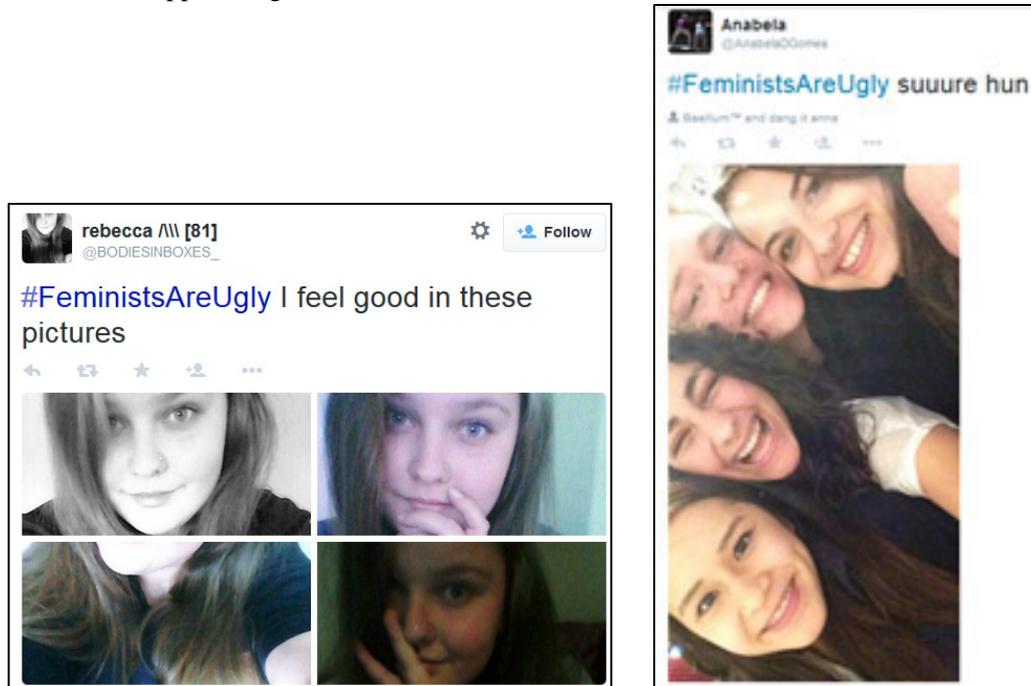

Figure 23: Example of Self-Affirming Tweet Figure 24: Example of Female Solidarity Tweet

Moving Forward

Our investigation into the ways that #FeministsAreUgly, particularly during the resurgence in April 2015, demonstrated both productive and problematic representations of feminism, especially when compared to the original intentions for the hashtag. By analyzing a sample of over 2,000 tweets for their representations of feminism and for the rhetorical strategies used within those representations, we leave activists and researchers with some thoughts that might help shape future hashtag feminism movements and related research. One of the major implications from this study is the limitation of satirical hashtags for the ways that they are misinterpreted and responded to on Twitter. While any feminist hashtag is likely to incur insults and trolling, more straightforward hashtags may reduce the confusion and insults from feminists themselves.

A second implication is for activists to recognize and learn about the current selfie and celebrity culture and take that into account when advocating for social change. For example, the #WomensMarch hashtags that accompanied the physical Women's Marches around the world on January 21, 2017, had celebrity participation that greatly increased the reach of important information and consciousness-raising tweets.

A final takeaway is that activist movements for diversity and inclusion may have to work to make space for that diverse audience to participate in the negotiation of feminism, from definitions to

representations. Researchers and activists can create and take advantage of opportunities to educate users about histories of feminism, persistent gender inequalities, and more. But they can also make space for new generations to work through contemporary culture and their own experiences. To be honest, this hashtag movement was initially disappointing and discouraging for its focus on physical appearance and the beauty pageant selfies that seemed to define this hashtag. But the more we reflected and worked through the data, the more we realized that we were prioritizing our own definitions of feminism over others'. Who gets to decide what young Twitter users' engagement in feminism looks like? At what point does critique of a problematic hashtag turn into a method of disciplining women's digital writing? Flawed engagement of feminism does not need to be dismissed outright. Rather, we can appreciate the way that hashtag feminism can challenge not only what feminism looks like, but also who gets to decide what it looks like. Moving forward, we encourage activists and researchers to continue these critical conversations about defining and enacting feminism in digital writing.

Acknowledgement

References

Baer, Hester. (2016). Redoing feminism: Digital activism, body politics, and neoliberalism. *Feminist Media Studies 16*(1), 17–34.

Bastos, Marco T., & Mercea, Dan. (2015). Serial activists: Political Twitter beyond influentials and the Twittertariat. *New Media and Society*, 1–20.

Blair, Kristine, & Takayoshi, Pamela (Eds.). (1999). *Feminist cyberscapes: Mapping gendered academic spaces*. Stamford, CT: Greenwood Publishing.

Blair, Kristine, Gajjalaand, Radhika, & Tulley, Christine (Eds.). (2009). *Webbing cyberfeminist practice: Communities, pedagogies, and social action*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Brock, Andre. (2012). From the Blackhand side: Twitter as a cultural conversation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56*(4), 529–549.

Bolourian, Lily. (2015, May). Beauty as safety: Why #FeministsAreUgly is more than meets the eye. *Model View Culture*. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from https://modelviewculture.com/pieces/beautyassafetywhyfeministsareuglyismorethanmeetstheeye

Corbin, Juliet, & Strauss, Anselm. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research*. 3rd ed. SAGE, 1998.

Clark, Rosemary. (2016). 'Hope in a hashtag:' The discursive activism of #WhyIStayed. *Feminist Media Studies*, *16*(5), 1–17.

Dickson, EJ. (2014, August). #FeministsAreUgly does not mean what you think it means. *The Daily Dot.* Retrieved May 26, 2016, from https://www.dailydot.com/irl/feminists-are-ugly-hashtag/

Dreher, Tanja, McCallum, Kerry, & Waller, Lisa. (2016). Indigenous voices and mediatized policy-making in the digital age. *Information, Communication & Society 19*(1), 23–39.

Edwards, Frank, Howard, Philip N., & Joyce, Mary. (2013). Digital activism & non-violent conflict. *Digital Activism Research Project*. Retrieved May 16, 2016, from http://philhoward.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Digital-Activism-and-Non-Violent-Conflict.pdf

Erens, Pamela. (2013). How feminism fell into disrepair among American teenagers. *Aeon Essays*. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from https://aeon.co/essays/howfeminismfellintodisrepairamongamericanteenagers

Losh, Elizabeth. (2014). Hashtag feminism and Twitter activism in India. *Social Epistemology Review and Reply Collective, 3*(3), 11–22. Retrieved from http://wp.me/p1Bfg0-1Kx

Martin, Stevie. (2015). #FeministsAreUgly hashtag was removed by Twitter (but it was actually celebrating women). *The Debrief.* Retrieved July 1, 2017, from http://www.thedebrief.co.uk/news/opinion/feministsareugly-hashtag-removed-by-twitter-20150441090

Marwick, Alice, & boyd, danah. (2011). To see and be seen: Celebrity practice on Twitter. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 17*(2), 139–158.

Powroznik, Karen. (2014, January). Feminism thriving on college campuses today. *Gender News.* Stanford University. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from http://gender.stanford.edu/news/2014/feminismthrivingcollegecampusestoday

Risam, Roopika. (2015) Toxic femininity 4.0. *First Monday 20*(4). Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/5896

Smith, Sharon. (2014). Black feminism and intersectionality. *International Sociality Review, 91.* Retrieved from https://isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality

Vie, Stephanie. (2014). In defense of 'slacktivism:' The Human Rights Campaign Facebook logo as digital activism. *First Monday, 19*(4). Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/article/view/4961/3868