

# **Online Anti-Rape Activism**

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# Online Anti-Rape Activism: Exploring the Politics of the Personal in the Age of Digital Media

BY

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Praise for *Online Anti-Rape Activism: Exploring the Politics of the Personal in the Age of Digital Media*

“Dr Loney-Howes’ thoughtful and thought-provoking work on digital feminist activism around sexual violence is sorely needed. Where most accounts focus on prominent moments and famous hashtags, this book offers the voices and perspectives of activists who working far from the spotlight to support survivors, raise consciousness and change minds. Based on careful and extensive empirical work, it offers reflections on the strengths and limitations of this activism that will be useful for anyone interested in contemporary feminism, sexual violence or digital organizing. The book is impressive in its scope, placing contemporary activism in a historical context of feminist organizing on sexual violence, and offering unique insights into the extraordinary work that goes into trying to change sexual cultures and achieve justice for survivors of sexual violence.”

—*Tanya Serisier, Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminology,  
Birkbeck College, University of London, UK*

“In the wake of mainstream movements such as #MeToo, this timely book showcases the important contribution of anti-rape activist initiatives which came before, paving its way. Drawing from eight case studies and 10 years’ research of digital anti-rape activism from around the world, this rigorously researched book highlights the importance of listening and recognition when it comes to rape testimonies, and the power that speaking and listening hold for finding healing, solace and the search for justice. For anyone interested in the role that digital technologies can and have played in online anti-rape activism, this book is a must-read. Highlighting the important work activists and survivors have done to bring (and keep) sexual violence at the forefront of public and political agendas, Loney-Howes leaves readers in no doubt about the usefulness of online spaces and tools for furthering anti-rape politics.”

—*Kaitlynn Mendes, University of Leicester, UK*

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## About the Author

**Dr Rachel Loney-Howes** is a Lecturer in Criminology in the School of Health and Society at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Her work explores the use of digital media for anti-sexual violence activism, including mapping the digital footprint of the #MeToo movement in collaboration with other leading international scholars. Alongside Dr Bianca Fileborn, she is the co-editor of the collected edition *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change* (2019).

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# Acknowledgements

This book began its life as a PhD thesis on Wurrundjeri land and was completed on Dharawal Country. As part of my commitment to social justice, I would first like to acknowledge the traditional sovereign owners on whose land I was able to carry out and complete this project, as well as remind readers of the tireless work carried out by Aboriginal, Indigenous and First Nations women around the world to keep their communities free from violence. We must not lose sight of the enduring impact of colonisation in relation to women's experiences of sexual violence and need to find better ways to create space for their voices to be incorporated into prevention strategies.

In the months that followed the completion of my PhD, the #MeToo movement happened, and suddenly, everyone was talking about the power and potential of digital media for feminist activism. This presented a great challenge for me. I was unsure if publishing the PhD in the form of a book was a good idea – there seemed to be so much chatter in the wake of #MeToo that I thought my contributions would get lost in the frenzy. However, what the data I had collected revealed to me was importance of listening to and honouring the voices of those who were doing this work long before #MeToo emerged; to focus on the voices and efforts of activists and survivors who were, and will continue to remain, in the trenches long after sexual violence is off the public agenda. I am, therefore, deeply indebted to those activists who gave up their time to speak about their work and to complete surveys. Without you not only would this book not be possible but indeed the #MeToo movement itself.

This book is the product of nearly a decade of researching and critically thinking about the nature and use of digital media for anti-rape activism. As such, numerous people must be thanked for their support, generosity and intellectual stimulation. First, I would like to thank my family, friends and partner for their endless encouragement and stability. Second, a very warm and gracious thank you goes to Associate Professor Nicola Henry and Dr Tarryn Phillips, who continue to nurture my academic growth and whose friendship remains very important to me. Dr Bianca Fileborn, with whom I have collaborated on numerous projects, continues to be a source of inspiration. Thank you to Dr Kirsty Duncanson for introducing us, and thank you to Bianca for your investment in my intellectual capacities and friendship. A special thank you goes to Dr Liz Chapman, Dr Maria Davidenko, Elizabeth Knowles, Natasha Graham, Dr Anastasia Kanjere, Dr Kirsty Duncanson, Dr Rachel Killean, Dr Amanda Kramer and Amy Boyle, for your continuing friendship and support. I would also like to extend a

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When I wrote my PhD thesis, I dedicated it to the memory of my grandmother who passed away shortly before it was completed. I decided to do that based on a conversation we had had before she died: one day during lunch, she asked what my PhD was about. I said in very simple terms that it's about how people use the internet to talk about rape. Her response was to suggest that anyone who has been raped should be ashamed of what happened and to therefore never speak of it. In the intermediary years, I have thought a lot about the power of listening – and how powerful simply listening to survivors and activists without judgement can be. One of the outcomes from the #MeToo movement was the validation that (some) survivors received when they spoke out, many doing so for the first time, about their experiences of rape and sexual assault. People listened (again, I say this not uncritically) to and believed them. Therefore, I want to dedicate this book to those who listen to and believe survivors. In particular, I want to thank those who believed me without questioning what I had to say – my mum, my sister and my best friend. Thank you.

 *The ebook edition of this title is Open Access and is freely available to read online.*

## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Keeping Rape on the Public Agenda

It's nearly 30 years since that happened to me and society is still blaming women for rape, instead of blaming men. My daughter is facing the same dangers I faced: a 25% likelihood that she will be raped or sexually assaulted in her lifetime. If that does happen to her, like her mother, she's statistically unlikely to report it – only 10–15% of rape victims file a report. If she does, she's got only a 6% chance of seeing her rapist found guilty in a court of law. When it comes to rape, not much has changed for women in nearly three decades.

(Hypatia, author of the blog: *Herbs and Hags*)

Rape is a discourse that incites outrage, trepidation and disbelief. There can be no doubt that feminist activists have carved out substantial space for the recognition of rape as an abhorrent wrong in the public sphere since at least the 1970s. However, legal, political and sociocultural responses to victim-survivors who speak out about their experiences or feminist arguments about the existence of rape culture continue to be viewed with caution, suspicion, denial and blame. While most people would not admit to being pro-rape, they may outwardly hold rape-supportive attitudes, as evidenced by long-standing community attitudes surveys in Australia and around the world about gender-based violence. These attitudes persist despite decades of activism seeking to end sexual violence as well as reform criminal justice institutions - reporting rates remain low, attrition rates high, and cases that do enter the criminal justice system continue to be harrowing experiences for many victim-survivors (Campbell, 2006; Gotell, 2012; Jordan, 2008; Millstead & McDonald, 2017). In addition, statistics from the 1970s that first sought to capture the prevalence of rape remain close to contemporary ones, with

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## 2 *Online Anti-Rape Activism*

the World Health Organization (WHO, 2018) estimating that one in six women globally have experienced at least one completed or attempted rape in their lives since the age of 18.

In this sense, as the above quote from Hypatia – who was involved in this project – reflects, the anti-rape movement has been a ‘successful failure’ (Corrigan, 2013). Although activists have fought hard to challenge social, cultural, political and legal responses to rape, and to demonstrate that *personal* experiences of sexual violence are caused by the *political* conditions of women’s lives in which they lack sexual autonomy, very little has apparently changed. These claims speak to suggestions that anti-rape activism has ceded ground to a neoliberal carceral agenda, whereby the initial goals of the movement that sought to ‘eliminate rape’ have been replaced with an overemphasis on criminal justice reforms and increasing convictions (Bumiller, 2008; Gotell, 2012).

However, these arguments fail to acknowledge the broad spectrum of efforts involved in keeping rape on the public agenda. The anti-rape movement, which emerged with initial goal of ‘abolishing rape’, now encompasses a ‘wide constellation of actions, activities, activists, organisations and writings’ that centre specifically on ‘eliminating, attenuating, preventing or responding to rape’ (Bevacqua, 2000, p. 8), and has brought about numerous changes at the level of the law, victim-survivor support services and sociocultural attitudes. Certainly in relation to the criminal justice system, feminist-inspired law reforms have led to redefinitions of rape and the criminalisation of rape in marriage in many (but certainly not all) jurisdictions. In addition, improvements have been made regarding the treatment of victim-survivors engaged with criminal justice institutions, and there has indeed been a significant amount of law reform in most Western contexts that has sought to shift the definition of rape and sexual assault as well as what constitutes consent (although this is not universal). Concerning support services, activists have been successful in setting up and maintaining crisis centres to help support victim-survivors who have experienced rape (although funding remains precarious). Activism too has been instrumental in shifting public and political consciousness about victim-survivors as well as the causes of rape. More recently, the prevalence and uptake of digital technologies to engage in anti-rape activism helps, as Hypatia has done with her blog and as the #MeToo movement has to some extent encouraged, to demonstrate the connection between personal struggles and experiences to broader, networks of power and inequality.

Thus, while some may claim that the anti-rape movement has been a ‘successful failure’ (Corrigan, 2013), there has been sustained pressure placed on public and political agendas to address sexual violence, and the ways in which activists and survivors respond to rape, generate discussions and mobilise their claims have undergone significant transformations – bolstered now by the use of digital media. This book therefore explores the nature, use and scope of online spaces, including the *Herbs and Hags* blog authored by Hypatia introduced at the beginning of this chapter, for anti-rape activism. I position them as ‘creative possibilities’ and projects that ‘challenge the centrality of law reform’ in anti-rape activism (Gotell, 2012, p. 244), paying particular attention to the tensions underscoring the politics of the personal in the age of digital media. This introductory chapter canvases the background against which this book is situated.

A quick note on language: By focussing on ‘anti-rape activism’ in this book, I do not mean to reinforce rape’s exceptionalism or deliberately focus on what is sometimes considered the ‘worst of crimes’ (see Halley, 2008). Rather, I use ‘anti-rape activism’ and the ‘anti-rape movement’ in the online sphere as a vehicle for exploring the extent to which these digital campaigns create spaces for discussions about a spectrum of sexually violent experiences, and the complexities regarding how or whether these campaigns also reify hegemonic assumptions about rape, trauma and victimisation. This includes, for example, examining how these spaces represent experiences of and engage in discussions about extended histories of violence and abuse, including child sexual abuse, intimate partner violence and sexual harassment. In this sense, I seek to understand how online anti-rape activism in the case studies presented in this book open up and close off the potential for capturing the ‘continuum of sexual violence’, which describes how all forms of gender-based violence are derived from attitudes and assumptions that normalise and enable them to occur (Kelly, 1988). This process is supported by the ‘cultural scaffolding of rape’ whereby rape and other forms of sexual violence are positioned as ‘normal’ or ‘just sex’ (Gavey, 2005). Throughout this book, I refer to ‘victim-survivors’ and ‘survivors’ interchangeably to reflect the spectrum and fluidity of self-identification relating to these labels, as well as to avoid gendering all victim-survivors as women. This is not to deny the fact that women are overwhelmingly represented as victim-survivors of sexual violence, but rather to foster a sense of inclusivity and highlight the broad spectrum of individuals who have experienced rape and sexual violence.

### **Anti-Rape Activism in the Age of Digital Media**

When second-wave feminists declared that the ‘personal was political’, they were doing two things: they were exposing a previously concealed reality of a political economy based on the subjugation of women, and they were also announcing a radical feminist politics that would change the meaning of what it means to *be* political. Although, as Alison Phipps (2016) notes, this sentiment was not necessarily original, the emphasis placed on personal experience by second-wave feminists as the source of truth offered an emancipatory political promise for women’s liberation. In relation to rape, the notion that the personal is political sought to illustrate the ways in which personal experiences of violence, inequality and subordination were not just individual had but part of a boarder sociopolitical fabric in which violence against women is condoned – or at the very least tolerated. Underscoring these feminist efforts to demonstrate that the personal is political was their attempt to reveal a pervasive culture of victim-blaming that perpetuates assumptions that victim-survivors are ‘asking for it’, fuelled by a denial of the existence of rape culture.

The politics of the personal in relation experiences of rape and the significance of digital media in bolstering anti-rape activism manifested most prominently in the #MeToo movement, which emerged on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 2017. Hollywood actress and self-proclaimed feminist, Alyssa Milano, issued the following tweet on Twitter to draw attention to the widespread problem of sexual harassment and assault:

#### 4 Online Anti-Rape Activism

If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet.

Me too.

Suggested by a friend: If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem.

Over 500,000 tweets and 12 million Facebook comments, reactions or posts were made within 24 hours from around the world highlighting that rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment remain common experiences in women's lives, and that men continue to remain unaccountable for their actions (CBS, 2017). The resonance of the #MeToo movement manifested in the translation of the hashtag into multiple languages and its use in over 83 countries (Lekach, 2017) and was described as a watershed moment for igniting a global consciousness about the widespread nature of sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape (Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2019).

However, putting aside the significant public response, the #MeToo movement was not the first time that digital media was used to draw attention to the pervasive nature of rape and persistent presence of rape culture. In 2011, for example, the *SlutWalk* movement emerged in response to comments made by Toronto Police Constable, Michael Sanguinetti, who stated that 'women should avoid dressing like sluts in order not to be victimized' (Kwan, 2011, cited in Mendes, 2015, p. 1). Although the movement culminated in mass off-line protests around the world, *SlutWalk* also went 'viral', attracting significant publicity on popular feminist blogging sites, such as Jezebel and Feministing, which helped to generate renewed discussions about sexual violence and feminism online (McNicol, 2012; Mendes, 2015).

Shortly thereafter, other examples of survivors and activists harnessing the power of digital media and communications technologies emerged around the world for personal and political purposes (see Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2020 for a timeline). The same year that *SlutWalk* emerged, Savanah Dietrich utilised Twitter to garner public support following the lenient sentences given to two young men from her high school who raped her, recorded the assault and distributed the offence online (Salter, 2013). In a different case, the hacker group 'Anonymous' threatened to expose online the extent to which a school in Steubenville Ohio had protected perpetrators in a case similar to that of Dietrich. Other examples of the use of digital technologies to facilitate discussions about 'rape culture' – a term I unpack in more detail in Chapter 2 – include the hashtag #WhatIWasWearing from 2014, in which @steenfox asked her followers on Twitter to respond to the question of what they were wearing when they were raped. Many responded with images or comments indicating their clothes had been very ordinary – pyjamas and track suit pants, for example – rather than the 'slutty clothes' envisaged by those who believed that survivors were "asking for it" because of how they were dressed at the time. Also in 2014, the hashtag #BeenRapedNeverReported emerged, in which survivors revealed why they chose not



to formally report their experiences of sexual assault to the police highlighting the prevalence of victim-blaming and disbelief underscoring frontline criminal justice responses to rape survivors. The tweet was used over 8 million times in the first 24 hours of circulation (Gallant, 2014). Lastly, and post-#MeToo in 2018, following the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court in the United States, the hashtag #IBelieveHer circulated on social media in support of Professor Christine Blasey Ford who testified that Kavanaugh had raped her when they were in college. Many people, including the US President Donald Trump, asked why she did not report her experience at the time, prompting a heated debate about whether Ford was lying – and if she was not lying, why did she take so long to speak out about what happened?

In addition to these very popular hashtags, there are hundreds, if not thousands, of anti-rape campaigns and sites of resistance to rape culture taking place in digital spaces all over the internet. However, little is known about the practices and processes that sit behind the use, nature and scope of digital platforms for engaging in anti-rape activism. Nor is the potential, nuances and complexities of online anti-rape activist praxis from large-scale movements such as #MeToo, to smaller everyday efforts to speak out about experiences and challenge rape culture fully understood. This book fills this gap drawing on eight case studies of digital anti-rape projects from around the world, acutely highlighting the fluid and shifting nature of contemporary social movements and the diversity of online feminism.

## Contemporary Social Movements

The social movements that emerged in the 1960s were charged with an ‘emancipatory promise’ (Fraser, 2000, p. 107). As opposed to earlier forms of collective action that focussed on employment conditions or other elements associated with the redistribution of resources and capital, these ‘new’ social movements sought to uncover and reconfigure relations of power in terms of access to social and political resources, and control over the appropriation of discourses (Melucci, 1985, 1989). New social movements were and remain characterised by a desire to challenge the logics that govern the ‘production and appropriation’ of social codes seeking to expose the power structures that determine:

Who decides on codes, who establishes rules of normality, what is the space for difference, (and) how can one be recognised not for being included but for being accepted as different ... Movements present to the rationalising apparatuses questions that are not allowed. (Melucci, 1985, p. 810)

New social movements thus seek to make power and the production and reinforcement of hegemonic discourses visible, and ‘announce to society that something else is possible’ (Melucci, 1985, p. 812). The anti-rape movement has historically

(and continues) to challenge the ways in which the criminal justice system, for example, has denied victim-survivors of rape access to justice, as well as reconfigure the causes of rape by highlighting and attempting to subvert the existence of ‘rape culture’ and ‘rape myths’. In addition, activists remain steadfast in pushing back against attitudes about ‘real’ rape and ‘real’ trauma because they perpetuate narrow and problematic assumptions about victims, violence and perpetrators that do not reflect the dynamics of sexual violence. In this way, the anti-rape movement propagates another way of understanding and responding to sexual assault.

Social movement scholars typically focus on the causes, emergence and outcomes of social movements, specifically analysing the civil unrest and mass mobilisation following a breakdown or crisis in the social or political order (Melucci, 1985, 1989). Yet, this kind of approach tends to position an understanding of social movements in terms of ‘success’ or ‘failure’ and overlooks the deeper dynamics, continuities and challenges social movements face as they evolve over time (Gornick & Meyer, 1998). In this sense, social movements are more than just an empirical concept that refers to moments of mass protest. Social movements also involve forming, maintaining and sustaining networks between individuals (Diani, 1992, p. 17). By focussing only on periods of mass mobilisation, scholars ignore the importance of networks that sustain social movements when they have gone into abeyance (Melucci, 1985; Taylor, 1989). It is therefore necessary to explore the ‘submerged networks’ associated with social movements which help to sustain conversation and actors’ engagement with the issue between periods of mass mobilisation (Melucci, 1989). These networks are embedded in everyday life and made up of formal and informal relationships as well as ‘systems of exchange’ (Melucci, 1985, p. 800).

The rapid changes in digital communications technologies over the past 20 years have dramatically altered the way social movements organise, mobilise and sustain collective action (Wolfson, 2012). While social movements, particularly online social movements, ‘may energise disorganised crowds’, their power resides in their ability to ‘activate the in-between bonds of publics, and ... enable expression and information sharing that liberate the individual and collective imaginations’ (Papacharissi, 2015, pp. 8–9). In other words, it is the generation and sustaining of ‘submerged networks’ which transcend time, space and place, as well as their capacity to foster an emancipatory collective imagination, that make digital social movements significant, compelling and important sites of inquiry.

The case studies presented in this book were mobilising between two significant periods of mass protest on sexual violence: *Slut Walk* (est. 2011) and *#MeToo* (est. 2017). As such, this book goes beyond examining pockets of mass mobilisation and widespread public interest in sexual violence to explore the “in-between-moments” – or submerged networks – in digital social movements, demonstrating the challenges associated with keeping discussions about sexual assault on the public agenda once social and political interest fades away. Throughout this book, I demonstrate the variety of ways these in-between-moments and submerged networks influence the way people talk about the causes of sexual violence, generate cultures of support and solidarity within and across these activist spaces and

unpack the politics of recognition within online anti-rape campaigns, much of which takes place in counter-public spaces.

## **Networked Digital Counter-publics**

Online spaces offer a unique opportunity to examine the complexities associated with social movement networks, particularly digital spaces that disrupt or subvert the dominant 'social codes' and established hegemonic norms, through the principles associated with 'subaltern-counter publics.' Coined by social theorist, Nancy Fraser (1990), the term 'subaltern counter-publics' is used to describe sites of discussion that fall outside of, or are in direct opposition to, the dominant discourses circulating in the 'public sphere'. At its most basic level, the 'public sphere' refers to the coming together of private citizens to form a public outside the gaze of the state, to discuss and debate matters of public concern (Habermas, 1989). These matters of public concern refer to the impact of decisions made by the state on public and civic life, such as laws and policies, as well as economics. The public sphere 'is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs' (Fraser, 1990, p. 57); an autonomous space and an integral element of civil society whereby new forms of discourse and solidarity are formed in order to challenge modalities of power and the production of knowledge (Cohen & Arato, 1992).

The constituents and even the location of the 'public sphere' have changed over time. Historically, the 'public sphere' was comprised of social institutions such as coffee houses and salons, in which individuals physically met to discuss matters of public interest or philosophical ideas (Habermas, 1989). The development of the printing press and the relatively quick dissemination of news media enabled the 'public sphere' to diversify its reach beyond physical interactions and encourage broader participation in civic life (Habermas, 1989). In the contemporary context, the internet, as the latest rendition on the 'public sphere', has been praised by some for its inclusivity and ability to transcend time, space and place in ways that have been previously impossible (Dahlberg, 2007), paving the way for a democratic utopia. Social media by extension is considered to be instrumental tools for 'help[ing] strengthen civil society and the public sphere' (Shirky, 2011, n.p.).

Habermas' concept of the 'public sphere', however, has been subject to significant critique – the most notable of which surrounds its exclusionary nature that only included men (Fraser, 1990). The notion that the 'public sphere' is singular or unified category is also limiting, because it fails to account for the multitude and unequal status of a variety of publics that exist in civil society (see Fraser, 1990). Nor does it speak to the dynamics underlying how and why some publics become more visible or popular than others do. Moreover, the 'public sphere' also reifies legal, political and economic discourse in a way that only serves the interests of (mostly) white, middle-class, European/Anglo-Saxon men. In this sense, feminist discourse and activism is inherently 'counter-public' because of their agonistic challenges to hegemonic power relations (Shaw, 2012). Subsequently, the nature of counter-publics, specifically networked counter-publics (Keller, 2012; Papacharissi, 2015), is central for understanding the use and use

and potential of digital technologies used by feminist activists, as well as the development of anti-rape networks more specifically.

According to Michael Salter (2013, p. 226), online counter-publics used for anti-rape activism function as spaces ‘in which allegations of sexual violence are being received, discussed and acted upon in ways contrary to established legal and social norms’. Online counter-publics are therefore important sites for challenging dominant public and institutional assumptions of sexual violence (Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2020; Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2019; O’Neill, 2018; Powell, 2015; Rapp, Button, Fleury-Steiner, & Fleury-Steiner, 2010; Rentschler, 2014; Salter, 2013; Sills et al., 2016). What is also significant about online counter-publics used for speaking out about sexual violence is the diversity that exists in relation to their level of ‘publicness’. Although some counter-publics operate within the public sphere itself, others are more hidden intimate counter-publics, some of which require passwords or permission to participate (see Harrington, 2018; Khoja-Moolji, 2015; O’Neill, 2018; Powell, 2015; Salter, 2013, for examples). The ‘publicness’ of these online counter-publics plays a significant role in the way the politics of the personal play out, particularly around visibility and ‘going viral’, which I discuss in Chapter 3.

## **Digital Protests, Discursive Activism and Online Anti-Rape Activism**

Much scholarship investigating the use of digital media for mobilisation is concerned with how this translates into offline action. In this sense, the emphasis is less on the sites of online assembly and more on the possibilities afforded by digital tools to facilitate activism and protest offline. The upshot of such approaches reinforces assumptions about the corporeal nature of activism involving mass crowds and demonstrations as *real* activism (Mendes, 2015). This is in part due to some of the criticisms levelled at online activism as ‘clicktivism’, ‘slacktivism’ or ‘armchair revolutions’ (Gerbaudo, 2012; Glenn, 2015). In addition, many digital protests, particularly ‘twitter storms’, can be ephemeral – as quickly as they may ‘go viral’ they disappear into the ether. Similar concerns have been raised about the direction and impact of digital feminist activism (Gill & Scharff, 2011), with feminist scholars also questioning the long-term efficacy of online feminism given that it routinely fails to critically reflect on and connect with historical claims-making (Fenton, 2008). These are coupled with arguments that suggest neoliberalism has ‘sold’ women empowerment in ways that ultimately reinforce their subordination reflected in online (and offline) movements, such as *Slut Walk*, because of the ways popular culture rewards women for promoting their sex appeal (Baer, 2016). Certainly, these are important observations and should not be dismissed. However, such perspectives overlook the variety of forms of activism taking place online and the diversity of digital platforms being used to cultivate and disseminate feminist ideas and identities (Mendes, Ringrose, et al., 2019; Shaw, 2012), as well as foster networks of solidarity and communities of support (Fileborn, 2014; O’Neill, 2018; Rentschler, 2014; Wångren, 2016). In this sense, online spaces do important