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Decoding Black Feminist Hashtags as Becoming

TARA L. CONLEY

In late summer of 2015, three black men ran after a black woman around Marcus Garvey Park in Harlem, New York. Gentrifiers walking their dogs watched as she stumbled across the lawn, flailing her arms and cursing through the hot air. She ripped off her clothes. The three men laughed as she ran naked. This was not the first time I saw the woman and her male companions. They usually sat on the benches near the baseball field in the afternoon. Sometimes they slept, most times they argued. They were clients at the methadone clinic on 125th Street.

The woman stomped toward me. (I traveled to that scene from *The Color Purple* when Sofia, played by Oprah Winfrey, made her way through the cornfields to confront Celie). My sandals dug into the dirt. Her eyes cut through me as we stood within inches of one another. I gripped my dog's leash. For a split second, I thought she might spit in my face. Two white male police officers approached her from behind. Before one of the officers grabbed her, I asked, "You OK, sis?" She responded, tight-lipped, "Are you OK?" She was present, not someplace else as I had thought. One of the white officers drooped a purple blanket over her body and took her away. She did not resist.

I logged on to Twitter to tweet what I encountered: her body covered in dirt, the purple blanket, *The Color Purple*, white officers dressed in black, the audacity of men,

the baseball field, hot air, withdrawal, fear. My memory could not be trusted, so I attached the hashtag #YouOkSis to the tweet.¹

This encounter happened one year after two black women, Feminista Jones and @BlackGirlDanger (Twitter profile names), introduced the hashtag #YouOkSis during a conversation on Twitter. Jones is credited with starting a public conversation about black women's experiences of street harassment and bystander intervention after @BlackGirlDanger hashtagged Jones' question, "You OK, sis?"² The hashtag #YouOkSis transformed into a national rallying cry for women of color to share intimate stories of witnessing and experiencing dehumanization by way of sexual violence in public view.

Whenever I write about processes among assemblages, I start with a vignette of thick descriptions ("the doing of ethnography")³. I begin here with a non-fictive encounter of witnessing street harassment and detail the process of relying upon technologies to intervene.⁴ I do this in order to orient the reader around Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage,⁵ a conceptual tool and vocabulary for understanding encounters among social formations and complex systems. Alexander G. Weheliye's racializing assemblages influences much of this work as well. Weheliye's racializing assemblages draws on black feminist theory vis-à-vis the literary works of Hortense Spillers and Sylvia Wynter as a way to preserve gendered and racialized specificity in theories of social organization.⁶ Racializing assemblages fills the conceptual gap left by Deleuze and Guattari to translate race as a set of sociopolitical processes that discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans, and non-humans.⁷ Weheliye's

racializing assemblages, unlike other theoretical formulations from white, usually male, European thinkers reckons with the human among social life.

The aim of this work, in part, is to add to burgeoning scholarship that reimagines new(er) formulations of the human; that is, a “queering of the human”⁸ in efforts to capture the ways in which black women’s encounters, desires, articulations, and bodies—online and offline—have been entangled among sociopolitical processes of domination and authority. This article decodes assemblage frameworks through an analysis of black feminist hashtags as processes of renewal and strategy, mediation and embodiment, and as sites of struggle over representation,⁹ as becoming.

Black feminist hashtags as becoming requires further explanation. The title of this article is inspired by Wendy Hui Kyong Chun’s essay on *race as technology*.¹⁰ Chun’s wordsmithing represents race as simile and the epitome of simile; that is, race as the archetype for comparing similar and dissimilar entities. *Race as technology* communicates the evolution of race and technology in that both have, as concepts and tools, facilitated the ways in which humans are defined, classified, and organized. The linguistic tethering of *race as technology* also does the complex work of signaling sameness while also debunking normative discourse about race, namely by “displacing claims of race as either purely biological or purely cultural” and highlighting race as means by which biology and culture are established and negotiated.¹¹ *Race as technology* demonstrates a relationship among mediated parts and functions as

mode of revealing text and context; in other words, it is code.

Similarly, the “as” in *black feminist hashtags as becoming* functions as both simile and mode. *Black feminist hashtags as becoming* posits sameness and substitutivity between digital mediation and embodiment. Black feminist hashtags are not simply a confluence of text, hypertext, symbols, and “racially charged” feminist trends on social networking platforms. They do things. They proliferate to mediate connections across time and space. Black feminist hashtags¹² described in this essay epitomize becoming as the process of permuting and rupturing dominant systems wherein black women’s experiences and their bodies have been demarcated among an entanglement of sociopolitical, institutional, and juridical processes. However, in presenting *black feminist hashtags as becoming*, I do not mean to suggest that rupturing is an inherently heroic, transformative, or even liberating process,¹³ since black feminist hashtags also point to competing solidarities that can exclude on the basis of shared rage and marginalization.¹⁴

In what follows, I disentangle black feminist hashtags as becoming in an attempt to decipher the potentiality of freedom from forms of racial, gender, and sexual violence. I start with a discussion that contextualizes the non-visual workings of code, or the “stuff” behind the screen that standardizes modes of thinking about systems and processes. I then move to the visual dimensions of code by highlighting black women’s work with hashtags. I examine four prominent hashtags that trended nationally in the United States on Twitter between 2013 and 2014: #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, #BlackPowerIsForBlackMen, #WhyIStayed and #YouOkSis. I

selected these four hashtags because they are among the first visual codes initiated and made viral by black women that function as counterpublic networks of crowdsourcing, storytelling, and reporting.¹⁵ They represent an outgrowth to which feminist practices and discourses across time and space connect. I discuss how these visual codes rupture standardized forms of knowledge production and normative discourses around feminism and race in online and offline spaces. By the end of this essay, I invite the reader to enact decoding as stance in order to displace conventional forms of knowledge through the (re)presentation of lived experiences. For this work in particular, decoding as stance involves translating dominant modes of thought and representations of experience in service of intervening among assemblages where white privilege, racial paternalism, misogyny, and sexual and gender violence are practiced and lived.

Encode

The story of the hashtag, as it is understood from a contemporary perspective, begins with non-visual and analogue dimensions of code. In programming language, the hashtag or number sign goes by the Unicode character U+0023. Unicode is a standardized way of encoding the hashtag across different operating systems. Most standard programming languages like XML, Java, JavaScript, and COBRA recognize U+0023 and render it to appear on the screen as an emoji hashtag sign or hex command, for example. The history of the hashtag, or pound sign, is most commonly traced back to the push-button phone (otherwise known as the touch-tone

phone).¹⁶ AT&T's Bell Laboratories were searching for new ways to provide callers with more options while making it easier for the computer to recognize commands. Since the number sign (#) was already standard on the QWERTY keyboard, it made sense to incorporate the symbol, along with the asterisk sign, in the design of the touch-tone phone. By 1968, the number sign (or octothorpe, as it was originally called) was standardized on all touch-tone phones throughout the United States. Unicode U+0023 and pound sign (#) indicate forms of communications technologies that encode standardized and structuralist forms of thinking about how information is organized and how hardware is designed. As it turns out, the logic of standardization also characterizes early cybercultures and communication technology industries.

Cybercultures, communications technology industries, and anti-oppression movements of the mid-twentieth century share a distinct characteristic: modes of knowledge production were shifting with the times. As the computer programming industry moved toward increased modularity and standardization of early operating systems for digital computers,¹⁷ an insurgence of sociopolitical and cultural movements against colonialism and gender and race oppression began to take shape. The logic of programming languages and operating systems shifted from overtly rigid standardization of the 1920s and Fordist era to covert standardization. Separation and containment characterized early cybercultures, helping to lay the foundation for the development of networked technologies of the twenty-first century. Notably, however, the organization of social

life during this time was distinctly different from the logic of standardization. That is to say, social life was marked by the disruption of social order as evident by the political protests and forms of civil disobedience throughout the Civil Rights, feminist, and Black Power movements.

To capture the logic of standardization of this era, it is important to note the ways in which black women were positioned in telecommunications and computer programming industries. Computer programming¹⁸ and telephony occupied similar ideological spaces in the way systems and organizations were managed. Managerial processes of the Bell System were characterized by a logic and culture of standardization and modularity. In efforts to speed up, fragment, and standardize work, black female switchboard operators were routinely phased out of jobs. Former Bell System employee and current labor historian Venus Green notes:

No question, Bell managers used racial and sexual divisions to achieve their aims, and they diverted and manipulated equal opportunity goals to ensure that African American and other “minority” women remained at the bottom of the Bell System hierarchy in jobs adversely affected by new technologies. Managers not only decided which new technologies would be introduced, but they determined who would work in which occupations.¹⁹

As new technologies were introduced in the workplace to standardize telecommunications, the need for black women as human operators reduced. When the Bell System hired black women, the company did so in

order to maintain control over the workplace and to prey on the anxieties of white female operators who were worried about losing their jobs. Corporate leaders, typically white men, were acutely aware of the changing racial climate in the United States. Nonetheless, fragmentation and standardization of telecommunication and managerial process persisted.

Despite the telephone industry’s treatment of black female switchboard operators, the industry’s employee structure was far more diverse than the computer programming industry. Though statistics are sketchy, an indication of the dearth of black and female workers in computer programming can be found in the 1970 census. Out of 161,337 total programmers, most of whom were white and male, 5,837 (3.6%) were black and 36,381 were female (4.4%).²⁰ Black female computer programmers were virtually nonexistent in the computer programming industry partly because they were unaccounted for in the census and because stories of black women in computer science during the mid-twentieth century have been lost.²¹

I note occupational segregation here to emphasize how the logic and culture of standardization and fragmentation pervaded the development of systems and the nature of work itself. With respect to computer programming, the quintessential industry characterized by controlling complexity through computational rules,²² standardization posed significant implications in the development of systems and code. It set the foundation for how modern-day communications platforms like the internet and networked technology were defined, at least culturally,

as a white male enterprise. To be sure, the history of cybercultures and communications technology tells the story of black women's hidden labor in white male-dominated spaces. This is a familiar story that resembles black women's hidden labor as initiators and activists²³ in digital spaces, which are powered by newer communication technologies.

Code

When writer Mikki Kendall tweeted #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen for the first time on August 12, 2013, she was using Twitter in a different way beyond its original intended use of leveraging networked technology to send "short bursts of inconsequential information."²⁴ Kendall was responding to white feminists' complicity in perpetuating a brand of feminism that ignored encounters of racism experienced by women of color.²⁵ She was disrupting mainstream feminist and post-racial discourses by deploying a hashtag of consequence. This was not the first time black women challenged dominant forms of feminist discourse and thought through mediated text. When Audre Lorde wrote an open letter to Mary Daly in 1979, she was responding to Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*²⁶ and her dismissal of black women's heritage, "herstory," and mythologies. Lorde writes,

The history of white women who are unable to hear Black women's words, or to maintain dialogue with us, is long and discouraging [...] To imply that all women suffer the same oppression simply because we are women is to lose sight of the many varied tools of patriarchy. It is to ignore how those

tools are used by women without awareness against each other.²⁷

Back then, Lorde was addressing in print the erasure of black women's experiences, just as Kendall was confronting white feminists' silence around and dismissal of racism online. Kendall writes,

Admittedly, this isn't a new problem: white feminism has argued that gender should trump race since its inception. That rhetoric not only erases the experiences of women of color, but also alienates many from a movement that claims to want equality for all.

Kendall was also actively redefining the function of the hashtag beyond means of tracking and archiving data. The tag located black women's desires to escape in public view the dominant social milieu that often reposition discourses of whiteness and maleness at center focus. #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen openly disrupted these discourses and transformed the way networked technologies (and the code that powered these tools) would be leveraged to communicate social life. The tag also captured new(er) modes of feminist thought and action.

One day after Kendall's #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen trended on Twitter, writer, cultural critic, and self-identified feminist Jamilah Lemieux extended the conversation around race and gender with the hashtag #BlackPowerIsForBlackMen. Like Kendall, Lemieux was responding to the ways black women have been ignored and denigrated in the name of solidarity. Lemieux tweeted, "Black women have to explain our humanity to Black men and White women far too often.

I'm tired."²⁸ This tweet sparked further conversations among black women and feminists about upholding black masculinity at the expense of black women's well-being. Lemieux's tag gestures back to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements when black women's work and leadership were downplayed, erased, or altogether eliminated.

#BlackPowerIsForBlackMen also represents black feminist thought that harkens back to similar critiques around racial paternalism, employed here as the idea that black masculinity and manhood sets the standards to which black women must conform, and perpetuates black male superiority within movements for racial justice. In 1975, black feminist Michelle Wallace wrote about movement politics that further illustrated the mental and emotional exhaustion black women experienced as a result of upholding black masculinity and notions of manhood in the name of racial solidarity. Wallace writes,

The message of the black movement was that I was being watched, on probation as a black woman, that any signs of aggressiveness, intelligence, or independence would mean I'd be denied even the one role still left open to me as "my man's woman," keeper of the house, children, and incense burners. I grew increasingly desperate about slipping up—they, black men, were threatening me with being deserted, with being alone. Like any "normal" women, I eagerly grabbed at my own enslavement [...] Being a black woman means frequent spells of impotent, self-consuming rage.²⁹

#BlackPowerIsForBlackMen captures the untimeliness of shared rage and marginalization.

It represents a zone of proximity where the lived experiences and perspectives of black women and feminists, past to present, are indistinguishable. The tag challenges one to consider the complex relations among shared affinities for racial justice and desires to break away from racial paternalism.

On September 8, 2014, video footage emerged online of NFL player Ray Rice physically assaulting his fiancée Janay Palmer in an elevator. Shortly thereafter, conversations about domestic abuse and speculations about who was to blame in the altercation spread on social media. That same day Beverly Gooden, an African American woman, activist, and blogger sent out a series of tweets detailing her experience of physical abuse by her ex-husband and why she chose to remain in the marriage. Gooden was frustrated by the commentary she saw online of people placing the blame solely on Palmer for staying in an abusive relationship. Throughout Gooden's series of tweets, she attached the hashtag #WhyIStayed in an effort to create a community of support for women to share stories about experiencing domestic violence.³⁰ Gooden began the conversation by identifying how financial burdens create major barriers for women to leave abusive relationships.

I had to plan my escape for months before I even had a place to go and money for the bus to get there. #WhyIStayed³¹

As it concerns Janay Palmer and Beverly Gooden, race as a visual mode of classification adds another layer of complexity to domestic abuse. Black feminist and legal

scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw examines these complexities in her groundbreaking essay on intersectionality.³² Intersectionality describes an analytic frame that attends to the politics of location and the varied ways juridical institution and other dominant systems of power treat women of color, in particular the black female subject.³³ Crenshaw writes,

Where systems of race, gender, and class domination converge, as they do in the experiences of battered women of color, intervention strategies based solely on the experiences of women who do not share the same class or race background will be of limited help to women who because of race and class face different obstacles.³⁴

The hashtag #WhyIStayed is an example of an intervention strategy. The tag represents a critique of institutions that stigmatizes women of color in particular from seeking out and finding support. As a form of storytelling, #WhyIStayed disrupts fragmented perspectives about gender and sexual violence by (re)presenting an intersectional frame of logic into popular discourse.

On June 17, 2014, social worker, activist, and writer Feminista Jones tweeted about her experience intervening during an incident of street harassment in Harlem, New York. In a series of tweets, Jones detailed her account.

Ok so I have a story about intervening during an incidence of #streetharassment and it may take a few tweets because ... 140 characters. G and I were walking on 125th street in Harlem and we're behind a woman pushing a stroller. She had a large butt and tight dress so men stared. Now she was minding her business, and as some

men do, they were commenting as she passed by. A young man was selling some CDs and she walked past him. I saw him gesture to his friend and he began to follow her. He approached her from behind and grabbed her arm. She kinda jumped, startled. He apologized and said he didn't mean to scare her. Again, she is pushing a stroller and there is an infant in it. He is talking to her about his music and she is focused forward. He kept following her, so I sped up a bit and listened in. He keeps going on and on about this music and starts asking her questions. So as I am walking by, I turned to her and asked, "You OK sis?" and she responded with a smile, "Yeah, everything is fine, I'm OK." I just wanted to ask her and also let her know that if she WAS uncomfortable, someone was there and she had an out. I kept walking.³⁵

At the end of Jones' account, she tweeted, "If each of us who witnesses #streetharassment is brave enough to ask 'You OK sis?' we might make a difference, however small." @BlackGirlDanger, a black feminist writer and activist, responded to Jones' story tweeting, "Can this be a thing? Can we, like, start a national #YouOKSis? campaign?" Thereafter, the tag trended on Twitter as users documented their stories, resources, and visual media. The hashtag turned into an offline campaign with Jones and others organizing mass protests around the country. Victims and advocates alike convened online and offline in the name of solidarity.

The opening vignette of this essay reads much like Jones' encounter. I detail my experience of witnessing and intervening during an incident of street harassment in

Harlem, New York. I illustrate how I used social media and the hashtag to document my encounter. In both Jones' and my own account, #YouOkSis represents code. It is mapping through the noise.³⁶ This hashtag in particular signifies a check-in and a sisterly exchange, a reassurance of alliances among black women. It requires a full reading of text and context to do the work of decoding. #YouOkSis is one example of black feminist hashtags that is part of an entanglement of encounters among movements and sociopolitical processes. That day at Marcus Garvey Park, when I asked, "You OK, sis?" I decoded #YouOkSis. I translated textual to verbal, from Twitter to Marcus Garvey Park, then back again to virtuality. When the woman responded, "Are you OK?" different meaning entered into language. During that particular encounter, trauma and rage trumped solidarity. The sisterly exchange I had hoped to convey was undone.

As visual dimensions of code, black feminist hashtags shake loose dominant logics to reveal new(er) relations that sometimes form on the basis of solidarity, sometimes not. Black feminist hashtags are thresholds between dehumanization that is lived and livable; they are sites of struggle over the politics of representation. They function as a way to renew stories and interventions across time and space. They express desires to breakthrough social norms of violence and marginalization, and to belong. True to the intended functions of U+0223 and pound sign, black feminist hashtags like #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, #BlackPowerIsForBlackMen, #WhyIStayed, and #YouOkSis command our attention to challenge the

need to fragment and steady identities, and to control resistance.

Decoding as Stance

Mapping movements of early cybercultures and telecommunications and the tenuous relations among solidarities captured by tools of new media technologies leads to a central question: What does it look like to translate across time and space encounters among assemblages, and the ruptures therein, as a critical theoretical practice? While Deleuze and Guattari's conception of assemblage offers a frame for capturing movements and relations among multiplicities, Alexander Weheliye's racializing assemblages superimposes an additional layer of vocabulary for conceptualizing the place of race in modern politics.³⁷ This work here expands on these concepts by introducing *decoding as stance* as method and practice of mapping through assemblages to disentangle relations among non-visual structures of organization and the visual modes of classifications that demarcate racialized subjects along a spectrum of humanness.

Decoding takes a critical position of translating thought and action in service of intervening where black women have been rendered as less than human at work, at home, among institutions, around the neighborhood, and in online spaces. Decoding as stance is a practical method for disentangling encounters, identifying dominant modes of knowledge production, and contextualizing the roots of those systems. It involves following the trajectories of shared anger to where and how they are renewed. It is a hopeful critical position buttressed by

a belief in what Weheliye calls “assemblages of freedom” where assemblages of life, thought, and politics are liberated from all forms of oppression.³⁸

Throughout this essay, I have enacted decoding as stance by mapping shifting interrelations among dominant systems and normative discourses. Through an analysis of black feminist hashtags, I located the thresholds and breakthroughs among these systems. I centered the text and context of black feminist hashtags as tools of strategy for storytelling, organizing, and resisting; that is, as sites of becoming.

Indeed, there is an offbeat and untimely (as in non-linear) rhythm to black feminist hashtags as becoming. When Deleuze and Guattari opened their seminal text with an illustration of notes scattered across sheet music, they were attempting to describe the complex unruliness involved in capturing rhizomes and assemblages. Similarly, in efforts to map the recursive processes of permuting and rupturing, as I have done here, one must also follow the dissonance of black feminist hashtags. #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, #BlackPowerIsForBlackMen, #WhyIStayed, and #YouOkSis are rhizomatic, they burst to connect to other stories, events, encounters, and desires, and form new(er) articulations of lived experience. Indeed, black feminist hashtags resemble vibrations of music. They locate the complex rhythm of resistance, a melody to which some are attuned more acutely than others.

Notes

1. T.L. Conley, Twitter post. August 8, 2015, 1:56 PM. [https://twitter.com/\[redacted\]/status/630075133298917376](https://twitter.com/[redacted]/status/630075133298917376).

2. Feminista Jones, July 20, 2014, blog entry, “On #YouOkSis and Bystander Intervention (A Round Up Guide),” <http://feministajones.com/blog/on-youoksis-and-bystander-intervention-a-round-up-guide/>.

3. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) (his emphasis).

4. For this work, I frame technology as a practical use of knowledge and as communicative hardware and platforms of communication.

5. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

6. Amber Jamilla Musser, “Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human,” *philoSOPHIA* 6, no. 1 (2016) (review): 156–60.

7. Alexander G. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

8. Zakiyah Iman Jackson, “Outer Worlds: The Persistence of Race in Movement ‘Beyond the Human,’” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2015): 215–46. In a call for a newer vision of the human, Jackson asserts “‘Movement beyond the human’ may very well entail a shift of view away from ‘the human’s’ direction; however accomplishing this effort will require an anamorphic view of humanity, a queering of perspective and stance that mutates the racialized terms of Man’s praxis humanism, if it is to be movement at all” (217).

9. Peter A. Chow-White, “Genomic Databases and Emerging Digital Divide in Biotechnology,” *Race After the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 291–309. In examining the politics of organizing genomics data, Chow-White posits that “data and code are the sites of struggle over the politics of representation in genomics” (306).

10. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, “Race and/as Technology or How to Do Things to Race,” *Race After the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 38–60.

11. *Ibid.*, 8.
12. Black feminist hashtags are centered in this analysis precisely because the technologies (that is, the practical application of thought), actions, and the lives of black women matter. As such, they deserve our attention and intellectual capacities across platforms and academic disciplines.
13. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*, 46.
14. João Biehl and Peter Locke, "Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming," *Current Anthropology* 51, no. 3 (2010): 317–51.
15. Sarah J. Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles, "#Ferguson Is Everywhere: Initiators in Emerging Counterpublic Networks," *Information, Communication & Society* 19, no. 3 (2016): 397–418.
16. The function of the hashtag is not limited to its popular use as shorthand on Twitter, where status updates are limited to 140 characters. The hashtag takes many forms. For on this, see 99 *Invisible* podcast: <http://99percentinvisible.org/episode/octothorpe/>.
17. Tara McPherson, "U.S. Operating Systems at Mid-Century: The Intertwining of Race and UNIX," in *Race After the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
18. Julia Beckhusen, "Occupations in Information Technology," *American Community Survey Reports* (2016), <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2016/acs/acs-35.pdf>. I focus on the computer programming aspect of the history of computing because programmers were responsible for creating, writing, modifying, and testing code.
19. Venus Green, *Race on the Line: Gender, Labor, and Technology in the Bell System 1880–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 242.
20. Philip Kraft, *Programmers and Managers: The Routinization of Computer Programming in the United States* (New York: SUNY University Press, 1977).
21. Nathanen, October 25, 2012, blog entry, "Race, Class, and Gender in the History of Computing," <http://thecomputerboys.com/?tag=programmers#fnref-468-2>.
22. McPherson, "U.S. Operating Systems," 26.
23. Jackson and Foucault Welles, "#Ferguson is everywhere," 401.
24. David Sarno, "Twitter Creator Jack Dorsey Illuminates the Site's Founding Document. Part I," *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 2009, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/technology/2009/02/twitter-creator.html>. Twitter was created by three white male programmers Jack Dorsey (@Jack), Evan Williams (@Ev), and Biz Stone (@Biz) as a way to send text messages over the internet using cell phones.
25. Mikki Kendall, "#SolidarityIsForWhite-Women: Women of Color's Issue with Digital Feminism," *The Guardian*, August 4, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/14/solidarityisforwhitewomen-hashtag-feminism>.
26. Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1978).
27. Audre Lorde, "An Open Letter to Mary Daly," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 2002), 101–2.
28. Jamilah Lemieux, Twitter post. August 12, 2013, 5:26 PM. <https://twitter.com/JamilahLemieux/status/367034454939672576>.
29. Michelle Wallace, "Anger in Isolation: A Black Feminist's Search for Sisterhood," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: New Press, 1995), 222–5.
30. Beverly Gooden, September 8, 2014, blog entry, "Why I Created the #WhyIStayed Twitter Hashtag," <http://www.beverlygooden.com/hear/whyistayed>.
31. Beverly Gooden, Twitter post. September 8, 2014, 11:52 AM. https://twitter.com/bevtgooden/status/509006334709465088?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw.
32. Crenshaw's original framing of intersectionality examined the various ways race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions

of black women's experiences confronting employment discrimination, domestic violence, and sexual assault.

33. Brittney Cooper, "Intersectionality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, ed. Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–25.

34. Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality Identity Politics, and

Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1993): 1241–99.

35. Feminista Jones, Storify post. <https://storify.com/FeministaJones/youoksis-a-small-effort-to-thwart-streetharassmen>.

36. Alan Sondheim, "Introduction: Code-work," *ABR* 22, no. 6 (2001).

37. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus*, 1.

38. *Ibid.*, 137.

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