When Ethics Get in the Way: The Methodological Messiness of Analyzing #MeToo

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Abstract: This article uses a queer methodological approach to explore ethical concerns that emerged while the author was conducting research on the #MeToo movement. It incorporates the queer concepts of failure and intentionality to argue that researchers must be open to the possibility of failure if they are to proceed ethically with sensitive topics. The piece also addresses how research in digital environments can yield ethical quandaries, which was the case with the planned #MeToo study. It concludes with reflections on how researchers who experience similar kinds of methodological tensions might reframe the goals and trajectories of their projects.

Since its inception as an online social justice movement in 20171, #MeToo has demonstrated how progress toward a more just reality is not linear but rather proceeds in fits and starts. The founder of #MeToo, Tarana Burke, in her five-year assessment of the movement, states that "It's up and down and up and down all the time" (Kantor and Twohey 2022). When a social justice movement plays out primarily on social media, how do researchers of digital rhetoric capture the breadth of the movement's digital activity, doing so in a way that captures its ebbs and flows? Seven years after an explosion of activity on Twitter attesting to the systemic harassment of women and other gender minorities, #MeToo represents a groundswell of outrage that poked holes in the status quo, leading to serious repercussions for several high profile people and organizations such as Harvey Weinstein, Andrew Cuomo, Matt Lauer, and the Southern Baptist leadership. Having begun to conduct research on #MeToo by archiving #MeToo-themed tweets, I wondered if this back-and-forth type of progress might be evident within these tweets attesting to the average person's experiences. I envisioned a compilation of #MeToo tweets as my project's centerpiece: a repository of information about people's perceptions of the movement and how that perception changed over time. Considering the millions of #MeToo tweets that were published, I hoped that studying this archive would yield a rich portrayal of an online social justice movement.

My hope did not come to fruition. I write this article to share that this project, as initially envisioned, can be seen as a kind of failure: a rhetorical orientation that I will explore from a queer perspective throughout this piece. In many ways, this article focuses on what I didn't do: namely, include a collection of #MeToo texts (i.e., people's public tweets) in my project. Ultimately, I never developed an empirical, replicable method for analyzing the most well-publicized artifact of the movement. As I will detail below, this research

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failure was born of a deep concern and care for what the tweets chronicle and represent: people's trauma, struggles, and intimate inner lives. As a researcher interested in how people conduct activist work online, I was immediately drawn to #MeToo as it played out on Twitter; the movement's entrance into the cultural zeitgeist reinforced my desire to study it in further depth. At the same time, its very nature–a public telling of stories that we are often socially dissuaded from sharing–also rendered it a thorny topic for scholarly attention. In sum: how would I move forward as a researcher while honoring the survivors and avoiding the exploitation of their stories?

Before addressing where I ultimately landed with this research, I first want to detail my initial research plan. In 2017, I began collecting #MeToo tweets using Gephi, amassing an archive of Twitter activity with this hashtag. As I considered what an analysis of these tweets might look like, however, I began to have doubts. The content of these tweets potentially represented some of the most traumatic moments of people's lives: stories of violent assault, ongoing harassment, and personal betrayal. Regardless of what shape my analysis took, did I have the right to take these tweets out of the kairotic environment in which they were composed and then (re)present them in a publication? Could the authors have ever envisioned their tweets being published within an academic context when they took to Twitter to tell their stories? Might they feel any regret about revealing what they wrote, now that time had passed? Would I be justified in quoting from the tweets, leaving open the possibility that I might drive unwanted attention to the authors' Twitter feeds and other parts of their online presence?

With these questions as a foundation, I use this article to reflect on the considerations that I took into account while researching the #MeToo movement from a queer, feminist perspective. Informed by work in digital rhetoric, especially social network analysis, I use this article to surface thorny issues that I encountered while attempting to construct my research methods and conduct my analysis within a feminist framework. While I consider my #MeToo research plan a failure, I explore how within a queer methodological framework, failures can yield valuable insights into how we approach future digital research.

A Queer Framework

I come at this study from the perspective of a queer scholar who has published on the ability of queer methodologies to productively transgress our assumptions about research practices. In the collection Reorienting Writing Studies, William P. Banks, Matthew B. Cox, and I identify three rhetorical orientations that queerness offers: rhetorics of intentionality, failure, and forgetting (12-16). The first two orientations–intentionality and failure–were foundational to my thinking about how to engage with #MeToo tweets; these orientations are, I believe, particularly relevant for research within digital environments, which experience a frequent state of flux. Rhetorics of intentionality place an emphasis on intention over outcome, a transgressive practice that challenges the primacy of the finished product (12). A heteronormative rhetoric emphasizes data-driven methods and particular kinds of outcomes; within a research context, this kind of rhetoric would encompass assumptions about what methods and methodologies grant a research

project rigor. Research grounded in a rhetoric of intentionality will be at odds with research practices celebrated within other areas of our field, as I will show with my discussion of social network analysis below. This approach of intentionality allows researchers to see nuance in the research process in ways that we otherwise might not, confined by expectations of what counts as measurable, observable, replicable. Rhetorics of intentionality also allow for failure as a viable endpoint. We may have intended for a research process to unfold in particular ways, but when it does not, that failure is not cast in a negative light. As Sara Ahmed, Jack Halberstam, and other queer theorists have argued, the neoliberal preoccupation with success forecloses pathways that might generate new clearings and understandings. G. Patterson builds on this perspective in their chapter "Queering and Transing Quantitative Research" by arguing that the outliers in our data–often thought of as failures within the scope of the research question/framework–can generate important insights or new directions for inquiry. Thinking of a research project through the frames of intentionality and failure, then, shifts our focus toward processes, detours, and the messiness of research: all areas worthy of our scholarly attention.

As a queer-identifying individual, I also value maintaining research practices that are capacious and non-normative in their orientations. While queerness still marks individuals as aberrant and susceptible to discriminatory practices (as I write, legislation targeting queer individuals is being proposed and enacted across the country), part of the power of queerness is its potential to interrogate normative practices. The freedom that queerness allows to propose new approaches, ways of living, and epistemologies can inform our research methodologies, even when studying presumably "non-queer" subjects. Specific to this project, I have reflected on what would be gained from analyzing #MeToo tweets and at what personal cost to their authors. With this queer methodological frame in mind, I also drew on feminist methods as I considered the ethics of whether to incorporate #MeToo tweets into my research. Next, I will review how the principles of reflexivity and an attention to power dynamics informed my decision-making process for this project. In doing so, I hope to both draw distinctions and highlight resonances between a queer methodological approach and feminist methods.

North Star: Feminist Research Principles

The decision that I made to not incorporate #MeToo tweets into my project came as a result of engaging in practices that I first learned as a feminist researcher. Decades' worth of Writing Studies scholarship on feminist research practices has offered guidance for scholars seeking to disrupt patriarchal assumptions while upholding an ethical relationship between the researcher and participants / those implicated in the research. Feminist research practices of online spaces in particular have long advocated for researchers being careful and respectful; committed to social justice and improvement of circumstances for participants; critically reflexive; flexible; dialogic; and transparent (McKee and Porter 155-156). In particular, Writing Studies' interest in technofeminism has yielded a rich body of work that offers guidance for conducting research in the ever-shifting landscape of online environments (Blair, Gajjala, and Tulley). Two characteristics of feminist methodologies that informed this project are the importance of researcher reflexivity and an attention to the

power dynamics of the study.

Reflexivity

Key to my research process was consistently being reflective about whether my plan could reasonably unfold as I had intended. As I became more immersed in the data, my concern about the ethics of sharing #MeToo tweets became the driving factor in my decisions about how to structure this project. In fact, I questioned whether I should move forward with the project at all without the quoted tweets. A constant negotiation with uncertainty and unpredictability in our research is what is truly demanded of us–even when putting parts or the whole of a project in jeopardy–if we are to proceed from a place of honesty and vulnerability. In her book, Surrender: Feminist Rhetoric and Ethics in Love and Illness, Jessica Restaino explores the uncertainty that can confront the researcher-writer in the course of a project, particularly one that engages with trauma. Her collaboration with Susan Lundy Maute, who was living with terminal breast cancer during their research together, required detours from accepted methodological practices within the discipline in order to stay true to the nature of their relationship and what they were trying to capture as they documented Maute's final months. Restaino uses her experiences from this project to build on the feminist methodological practice of reflexivity by encouraging researchers to engage in "an open process through which researchers can more fully investigate their own experiences: the confusions, the cracks, the falling-to-pieces of the work itself that indeed not only function as knowledge making in feminist rhetorical study but also remake the researcher-writer with newly defined roles, responsibilities, and capacities for doing the work itself" (79). As Maute became increasingly ill, Restaino had to make choices about how she would move forward without her friend and collaborator: what she calls the project's "refusal of full clarity" (92).

With my uncertainty about whether I could incorporate the traumatic stories contained in tweets about #MeToo, "the confusions, the cracks, the falling-to-pieces of the work itself" became more pronounced. At several junctures, I worried I no longer had a project without the #MeToo tweets. Restaino urges researchers to engage in this type of methodological soul-searching in the pursuit of knowledge-making about the researcher's "roles, responsibilities, and capacities." While I held a scholarly desire to share the rhetorical richness of my archive of #MeToo tweets, further reflection on the ethics of this approach opened up a new scholarly direction, as represented in this article. Doing so required that I foreground my responsibility to the stories told in the tweets; to the people who were telling the stories; to #MeToo as a movement of profound vulnerability as well as strength. We must be willing to work along the edges of a project's implosion if we are to be truly honest with ourselves about our motivations and the possible repercussions of our actions as researchers.

Feminist research methods have long championed reflexivity, but as our research projects engage new contexts, particularly those that involve trauma, reengaging a commitment to this principle can benefit not only our individual projects but also our communities and disciplines. While feminist reflexivity

may seem reminiscent of a queer rhetoric of intentionality, I distinguish between the two by highlighting the degree of emphasis that they place on outcomes, respectively. While feminist methods embrace messiness in the process of attaining one's research outcomes–the writer's roles, approaches, and directions of the research project may morph and shift over time–queer methodologies are not necessarily attached to outcomes. In the spirit of rejecting normative framing, queer methodologies acknowledge that the whole project, as we intended it, might fall apart–and there is value in that. Drawing from our intentionality, we can use our lack of success to envision new directions for future research in this or other areas of inquiry.

Power dynamics

The second aspect of feminist methodology that I emphasized in making my decision represents the core of any feminist project: paying attention to how power circulates. For decades, scholars doing work in digital rhetoric have pointed to how employing a feminist methodology necessitates a focus on marginalizing practices and discourses. According to Mary Hocks, "When done well, feminism works in the interests of all underrepresented and oppressed groups, including gender as simply a part of constructed social identities, and it interrogates and works against dominant cultural ideologies" (236). As Hocks maintains, feminism "when done well" critiques all dominant discourses, including those related to race, class, ability, religion, or sexuality–as well as a gender spectrum. In this regard, feminists over many decades have established a foundation that queer methodologies have built upon, calling attention to who is being privileged at the expense of whom. Studies of digital contexts such as Paige Banaji's work on the hashtag #SolidarityisForWhiteWomen have used an intersectional analysis to identify instances when feminism does not center the concerns and voices of Black women. In their work on the feminist possibilities of social network analysis (SNA), Michael Faris and Patricia Fancher argue that while SNA can easily be used to replicate unequal power dynamics, researchers must be committed to asking questions about who is marginalized and make interventions whenever possible. Particularly in digital contexts that sometimes have been thought to level the playing field of equity and access, feminist scholars working in digital rhetoric have been attuned to the need for an explicit focus on how power circulates in and as a result of online environments.

I use the term "circulates" above to invoke the research area of circulation studies, which has garnered significant traction in recent years despite not having engaged at length with the role that power plays in the "dynamic, ubiquitous flow of discourse, ideas, information" (Gries 5). Circulation studies is concerned with how arguments are taken up and propelled forward across material and virtual networks (Gries, 2015; Ridolfo, 2015; Edwards, 2017; Gries and Brooke, 2018). This research informed my decision not to take #MeToo tweets composed for one media ecology (Twitter) and circulate them in another (the audience of this book). As tweets become recontextualized by users via retweets or other methods, they can move into unexpected circumstances and gain new audiences. Such is the natural life cycle of much contemporary media. However, my actions as a scholar citing #MeToo tweets in a book would push them into a whole new ecology. My access to publishing channels represents a form of power, especially in the sense that many #MeToo tweets address traumatic incidents. When they wrote their message, most people likely did not envision a

researcher analyzing it in a publication. Each tweet was composed within a network of other tweets with the same hashtag. They existed within a media ecology where #MeToo messages inspired, responded to, amplified other #MeToo messages; all of these tweets existed alongside one another temporally, created in the same kairotic moment. The nature of online networks makes it difficult for researchers to recreate this ecology as an archive, with the possibility for tweets to be deleted, and the exact sequencing of messages difficult to recreate. Because online messages circulate within a particular context, analyzing them outside of that circulation strips them of important contextual information. In this sense, I see the potential for power to function as a dynamic process rather than a static state of being; this perspective was a major driver of my decision not to include tweets in my #MeToo study. Reflecting on the potential power I held in this context allowed me to make a decision that is consistent with feminism's concern for marginalized discourses and subject positions.

With the remainder of this article, I offer an overview of how scholarship in digital rhetoric, particularly social network analysis, informed my initial goals for my research project. I then detail how those goals became untenable. I conclude with reflections on how researchers who experience similar kinds of methodological tensions might reframe the goals and trajectories of their projects.

A Social Network Analysis Failure

While Writing Studies has produced a considerable history of scholarship on ethical digital research practices (McKee and Porter, 2009; Reyman and Sparby, 2021; VanKooten and Del Hierro, 2022), online environments continue to change at a rapid pace, creating an exigency for revised perspectives on digital research practices. The scope and nature of #MeToo present an opportunity for reflection on the ethics of social network analysis-influenced methods. Social network analysis (SNA) emerged from a need for researchers to extract data from and make sense of the patterns generated by an online network. Digital media scholars in Writing Studies have focused on citation patterns (Faris and Cox, 2015; Mueller, 2017; Palmeri and McCorkle, 2018) to make arguments about trends and trajectories of the field, as well as noting which scholars and scholarship have been pushed to the margins in a given time period. In Michael Faris and Matthew B. Cox's queer annotated bibliography project, they note the lack of Black scholars being cited with frequency within queer scholarship. Derek Mueller uses academic article keywords to show what issues concerned the field at a particular moment in time. His approach to "word-watching" (73) generated a visualization based on a keyword analysis of data (507 CCC articles published between 1989 and 2013), illustrating how the field's focus areas changed over time. These studies stand as potent examples of network analysis that reveals trends and patterns that otherwise may be difficult to discern.

In this article I use Fancher and Faris's work as a reference point for how the SNA methods of distant reading and data visualization can be compatible with a feminist methodology. Their application of SNA provides a useful point of comparison with this study, as both attempt to reconcile feminist principles such as transparency and an awareness of power with SNA. In their discussion of various feminist research proj-

ects, Faris and Fancher focus on mapping names of scholars or historical figures in order to illustrate who is being cited/referenced most frequently. They use network visualizations as both a method for illustrating the data they gathered as well as a heuristic for generating new lines of inquiry. Visualizations such as Figure 1 below provide a compelling method for representing a sizable amount of information in a spatially-compressed format, considering that line thickness, node size, node color, and labels all represent perspectives on the network.
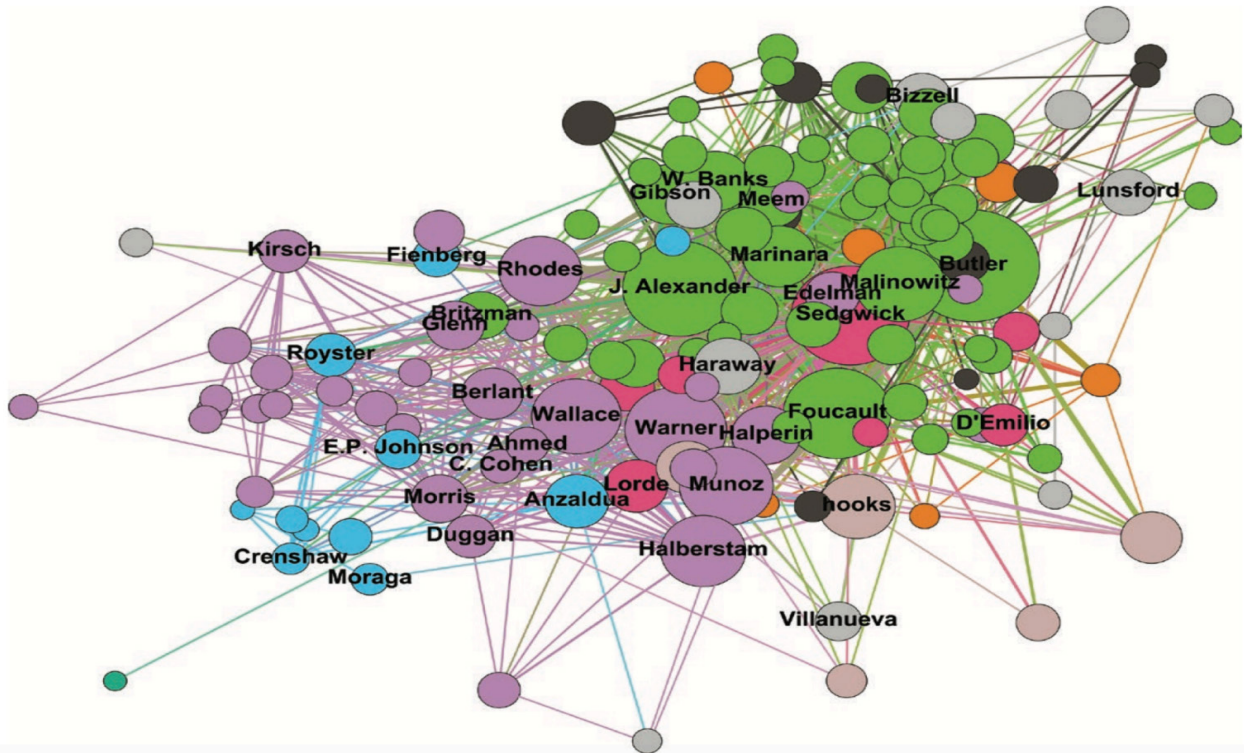

Figure 1: A network graph from Fancher and Faris' "Social Network Analysis and Feminist Methodology," illustrating queer rhetoric scholars who were co-cited at least three times

At the same time, Fancher and Faris note several critiques of the visualization method, including that "[visualizations] are often misread or presumed to transparently represent reality. This challenge is especially significant for feminist researchers who have long critiqued claims of objectivity" (140). Their invoking of the feminist critique of objectivity here builds toward their overarching argument that SNA is, in fact, compatible with a feminist methodology; when some information is emphasized, other information is necessarily excluded or minimized. While visualizing networks has its benefits and drawbacks like any method, ultimately, Fancher and Faris argue, it may offer insights into feminist research principles such as embodiment and movement. Visualizing data can open up possibilities not easily revealed by other methods:

> SNA is not simply collecting data and representing the reality of networks but rather a matter of choices researchers make about how to define the network, what data to include, how the data is

collected, how the data is organized and coded, how the data is visualized and presented to readers, how the data is analyzed, and perhaps most importantly, what questions are asked of this data. (154)

Fancher and Faris describe a reflexive and malleable process that interrogates the discreteness and objectivity of a network. They emphasize how data can be sliced in a variety of ways: a reality that reveals the conditional nature of our findings in any given study. In making the choices that we do as researchers, Fancher and Faris advocate for transparency and reflection, conditions that feminist researchers have long advocated for.

My reason for dwelling on Fancher and Faris' work here is twofold. First, I want to emphasize their argument that SNA is compatible with feminist methods: an important point, given my own project. Second, their article serves as a point of reference for scholarship on current digital methods and how my analysis of #MeToo tweets failed to play out in ways that are in close alignment with those methods. Notably, unlike many projects that employ social network analysis, my #MeToo project does not incorporate visualizations as a locus of analysis. Below I explore why, in the case of #MeToo, incorporating visualization methods did not seem appropriate for this project.

Data visualization as failed #MeToo research method

When I considered using visualization methods to map the #MeToo tweets that I collected, I entertained two options: either visualizing keywords of the tweets (to track how the most common topics changed over time) or visualizing the authors of the tweets (to determine levels of influence over time). The keywords could serve as the basis for a network visualization, illustrating how central concerns of the movement may or may not have changed over time. Synthesizing articles into thematic foci would allow me to better understand what areas of the movement were being publicized in the press during a particular period of time. Adopting this approach for #MeToo tweets raises an ethical concern about distilling someone's trauma into an analytical unit. Considering the nature of these tweets, we as researchers can enact further violence in the coding process by removing the nuances of a person's experience in the service of conducting our analysis. The risk of reductionism is one that scholars implementing a keywords approach must guard against. With the risk of stripping important nuance from the units of analysis, using keywords as a method for coding pieces of writing about traumatic experiences carries ethical risks that must be carefully considered.

The other route that I considered involved visualizing #MeToo tweet authors to better understand who the most influential actors were at various points in the movement (echoing Fancher and Faris' approach in Figure 1). Twitter's "retweet," "reply," and "like" functions offer one set of guideposts–a kind of citation process–for assessing which tweets gained traction with other users. A citation-based framework for measuring influence assumes that the more that a concept or author is discussed, the more weight they

carry within the network, for various reasons (a queer approach to data analysis might honor the outliers, or those authors or concepts who do not amass significant numbers when it comes to citations and similar practices). Given the well-publicized critique of #MeToo that it has centered the voices of white women celebrities, one initial goal I had for the project was to trace in a systematic way how the perspectives of people of color were given less "attention" on Twitter than those of white survivors. However, Faris points out in reference to his own study that making determinations about the race of authors based solely on their tweets is a fraught practice because of the need to have to work under assumptions at times (150). For my project, then, trying to understand the degree to which the movement was oriented around white speakers could not be determined without interviewing authors and asking them to identify their race (an option that I ruled out because of concerns about "cold-calling" #MeToo participants on Twitter pertaining to a sensitive topic). A visualization depicting a writer's influence within a network necessarily implies levels of importance, depending on who is being cited most frequently. But would that writer want to be placed in comparison to another person tweeting about #MeToo? The difficulty of tracking down online authors, with varying degrees of anonymity and openness to being contacted, made the possibility of gaining permissions from these writers impracticable. Because it is impossible to determine a writer's intentions and hopes for their writing without asking them, I deemed this approach untenable.

After exploring these two research directions at length, I concluded that what I was trying to gain from the #MeToo tweet data was simply not worth the cost. My intent to explore the robustness of an online network via some of its primary texts (tweets) became outstripped by a concern for the authors themselves. Feminist methodologies emphasize how the well-being of participants should remain paramount in any research project. In the service of that principle, we as researchers must be willing to fail when we perceive participants' emotional, psychological, or physical safety as being in jeopardy. Framing this choice with a rhetoric of intentionality meant letting go of valuing an outcome–a visualized #MeToo network–above all else. Part of being a reflexive researcher means reevaluating one's research questions and intentions, or coming at them via different methods, when a particular approach does not pan out. Because #MeToo has played out on many platforms and across various media, this project demonstrates how it is possible to address questions such as who is being centered in the movement via research sites other than Twitter. A queer conception of failure acknowledges loss–in this case, of a plan that will not work out as intended–but celebrates the distillation of a new plan, even if it seems to fly in the face of expectations.

As I continued to move forward with this project, I wondered: If I write an article about #MeToo that does not analyze #MeToo tweets, what methodological understandings might be gained from this "lack"? Below I sketch out my answers to this question.

Considerations for Future Digital Research Projects

While Writing Studies has amassed a robust collection of scholarship on social networks, as I write, two of the dominant social networking platforms, Facebook and Twitter, have lost considerable cultural

currency due to issues around privacy protections, hate speech, the presence of bots, and private ownership. The social network landscape is changing rapidly, and it is difficult to imagine the shape of it even a year from now. Even so, millions of people continue to share their thoughts, organize, and collaborate on social media. New platforms will continue to emerge. As numerous scholars have noted, social media platforms have served as important activist spaces (Walls and Vie, 2017; Reyman and Sparby, 2021; Lockett, 2021), and vibrant communities such as Black Twitter continue to seek out camaraderie and support in these virtual spaces (Banks and Gilyard, 2018; Lockett, 2021). For these reasons, we should continue to conduct research on social networks–but do so with an understanding that flexible methods and emerging methodologies will be needed. My research on #MeToo stands as a case study in how to take up intentionality and failure as vital frames for digital research projects.

Throughout this article I have stressed how using queer rhetorical frames and feminist methods for digital research can both surface important ethical questions and also open up new vantage points for digital projects. As was the case with my project, attempts to apply current methods sometimes fall short, leaving us in what can feel like a place of precarity: we may question whether our project is out of step with current scholarship, rigorous enough, or even a valid line of inquiry. My plan to visualize an archive of #MeToo tweets, and experiencing ethical quandaries about moving forward with this approach, presented an opportunity to reconceptualize this project. Using the queer rhetorical frames of failure and intentionality allowed me to reframe what I initially interpreted as a lack–stemming from either myself or the subject matter–as an occasion for asking methodological questions about my goals and methods. What kinds of questions should researchers be asking when they put digital methods (in this case, social network analysis) in conversation with queerness and feminism? What tensions and possibilities emerge from this combination?

With the table below, I admit that I am resisting giving clear direction; I am still wrestling with the issues that I raise here myself. I offer these questions as a heuristic for researchers whose projects engage with these scholarly areas so that they may consider the ethical implications of various research designs. In the table I list several issues related to research design and execution that were most pressing in my study of #MeToo; I then summarize guidance that both queer methodologies and feminist methods may offer. Finally, given that guidance, I share questions that digital researchers might consider as they design and carry out their projects.

	Queer methodologies	Feminist methods		Digital research
Sensitivity of topic	Our work must honor those who are marginalized while not contributing to their trauma via our research.	Even when online posts are public, we must hold the rights and needs of the people behind those texts as paramount.		How can we research social network discussions of difficult topics online (sometimes written by marginalized populations) while remaining respectful and careful?
Participant / subject agency and involvement	Not honoring the outliers in a network can marginalize them.	Maintaining a concern for the well-being of those implicated in our research above all other factors. Being attentive to power dynamics and seeking to disrupt them.		When working with online texts, is it appropriate to contact the writers of social media posts for permissions, given the subject matter/timing/platform?
Adherence to original research plan	The neoliberal preoccupation with success can foreclose promising detours and even derailments	Letting go of our intended processes can occasion opportunities for self-reflexive work.		How can we make space for projects that, despite our intentions, out of necessity stray from common research practices/ methods in the field?
Rigor of the project	Intentionality is as valued as outcomes.	Messiness in terms of process or outcomes is reflective of nuance and sensitivity to the topic and/or needs of participants.		What might rigor in digital research projects look like when our original research plan fails? How can we reframe a project's outcomes around intentionality?
Treatment of failure	Failure is a productive outcome and can open new avenues of inquiry.	Researchers should adopt a stance of transparency when the project does not progress as intended.		How do we talk about / engage with scenarios where common digital research methods such as SNA do not serve our projects?

Figure 2: Common research design / implementation considerations

The field of digital rhetoric has long maintained an openness to developing new methods and methodologies to respond to ever-changing online environments. Scholarship on digital research continues to evidence the range of methodological approaches being developed (VanKooten, 2016; VanKooten and DelHierro, 2022), with some scholars specifically focusing on the intersection of feminism and digital research (McKee and Porter, 2009; Faris and Fancher, 2022). I add queer methodologies into this mix as a frame for helping us pick up the pieces when our research projects take a detour, become unsettled, fall apart. Sitting with failure and honoring our intentions may drive us away from academic standards of rigor and outcomes and replicability. But what will these new orientations allow us to see as researchers? To become more queerly-oriented in our research practices may offer new directions for digital rhetoric as we consider how the landscapes of activism and social networks continue to evolve.

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