Identities and exposure to online violence. Approach to a thematic classification of hate messages

Identidades y exposición a las violencias *online*. Aproximación a una clasificación temática de los mensajes de odio

Carmen Romo Parra
University of Málaga. Spain.
cromo@uma.es
[CV] ⓘ

Lucía Sell Trujillo
University de Sevilla. Spain.
luciasell@us.es
[CV] ⓘ

María Teresa Vera Balanza
University of Málaga. Spain.
mvb@uma.es
[CV] ⓘ

José Jesús Delgado Peña
University of Málaga. Spain.
jdelgado@uma.es
[CV] ⓘ

How to reference this article / Normalized Reference.

Romo Parra, C., Sell Trujillo, L., Vera Balanza, T. y Delgado Peña, J. J. (2023). Identities and exposure to online violence. Approach to a thematic classification of hate messages. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 81, 538-553. https://www.doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2023-1998

ABSTRACT
Introduction: Ideas that promote justice and equality circulate through social networks, allowing, at the same time, the propagation of hate messages that favour exerting online violence. Under these premises, based on the perception of the youth population within the territory of the Autonomous Community

of Andalusia, violence on social networks is quantified, described and systematized from a gender perspective. **Methodology:** A questionnaire survey was conducted using a quantitative approach. The form was distributed among the population aged between 14 and 30, using the snowball technique, and a total of 938 participants were registered. **Results:** A different impact of violence according to sex and sexual orientation is shown, with women and especially people who declare themselves as non-binary being the ones who have received more aggressions, as well as those people defined themselves with a non-heteronormative sexual orientation. Regarding the themes and categories systematized from the violent accounts collected, clearly those referring to physical aspect and political and ideological stances account for almost half of the total comments. **Discussion and conclusions:** the analysis of networked violence, especially the attack on non-normative bodies, subversive identities and diverse subjectivities, is explored in greater depth.

Keywords: Violence; Social media; Hate speech; Digital identity; Gender studies; Youth.

RESUMEN
Introduction: A través de las redes sociales circulan ideas que promueven la justicia y la igualdad, permitiendo, a su vez, la propagación de mensajes de odio que favorecen el ejercicio de la violencia online. Bajo estas premisas, a partir de la percepción de la población juvenil dentro del territorio de la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía, se cuantifica, describe y sistematiza, desde una perspectiva de género, las violencias que transitan en las redes sociales. **Metodología:** desde un enfoque cuantitativo, se realiza una encuesta a través de cuestionario. El formulario se distribuye entre la población comprendida entre los 14 y los 30 años de edad, utilizando la técnica de bola de nieve, consiguiendo registrar un total de 938 participaciones. **Resultados:** se muestra un impacto diferenciado de las percepciones de violencias en función del sexo y de la orientación sexual, en tanto que son más las mujeres y sobre todo las personas que se declaran como no binarias las que más agresiones han recibido, así como aquellos sujetos definidos con una orientación sexual no heteronormativa. Respecto a las temáticas y las categorías sistematizadas a partir de los relatos violentos recabados, claramente las referidas al aspecto físico y a las posturas políticas e ideológicas concentran casi la mitad de los comentarios totales. **Discusión y conclusiones:** se profundiza en el análisis de las violencias en red, especialmente volcadas en el ataque a los cuerpos no normativos, las identidades subversivas y las subjetividades diversas.

Palabras clave: Violencia; Redes sociales; Discurso de odio; Identidad digital; Estudios de género; Juventud.

1. Introduction

Social media has become an essential field of research to understand the new forms of connection and relationships among the global population in the 21st century (van Dijck, 2013; Fernández, 2014; Giraldo-Luque and Fernández-Rovira, 2020). Analyzing this new space of reality construction implies recognizing new patterns and determinants of social relationships (Moral-Jiménez, 2004; Domínguez and López, 2015; Vizcaíno-Verdú *et al.*, 2020). The diversification of this environment is reflected in the data published in June 2020 (DXMedia, 2020), which concludes that Facebook is the most followed social media platform by the global connected population, followed by YouTube and WhatsApp. Instagram ranks sixth in this ranking. However, when the age variable is introduced into the analysis, a slight mutation occurs. In fact, while YouTube was confirmed as the most used platform by young people in 2019, in 2021 Instagram slightly surpasses YouTube (highlighting its transparency, immediacy, simplicity, and lack of footprint). The We Are Social Report (2022) confirms this trend and records an audience of 22.05 million Instagram users in Spain. In any case, generating and consuming

images becomes the essence of social media and the foundation of what young people want/seek in order to relate to others, along with the fact that nearly 60% of users are connected to the TikTok platform, a platform based on sharing micro-videos (between fifteen and twenty seconds long).

Different studies suggest that in October 2020, the number of daily active users on TikTok exceeded 100 million, especially among teenagers who have grown up with the presence of YouTube. In Spain, the third wave of the EGM already confirms that social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and Spotify have surpassed television as the platform with the largest number of users, especially among younger users. TikTok[1] requires a minimum age of 13 to create a profile, and no consent from any adult is needed, which gives it a special appeal to these teenagers.

Thus, the so-called *Generation Z* or post-millennials constitutes a particularly active group within social media (Marinas, 2019; Gómez-de-Travesedo and Gil-Ramírez, 2020), especially during a stage where they are immersed in easy and unlimited access to information and knowledge provided by the Internet. These individuals are characterized by not understanding "their world" without mobile devices and consider it important to have an active digital presence. They can be easily influenced by those who have a digital reputation measured by followers and their likes, relationships, and priorities are shaped by the digital realm (Lasén, 2015). This is reflected in the results of a macro-survey conducted with young people in Spain in July 2021, which highlights that 51% of Spanish youth feel more integrated within social media than outside of it (PlayGround, 2021). In a similar sense as proposed by Losada-Díaz *et al.* (2021), citing Caro and Selva (2017), for the global context of mistrust towards political parties and politics, social media are emerging as useful tools to bring politicians closer to citizens; Similarly, the participation of young people and their public activity is based on the same factors: the disintermediation of traditional media, the progressive visual representation of the medium, and the hybridization of public, private, and intimate spaces. In the case of the analysis we propose, the digital forum promotes a dialogue facilitated by images around violence based on lived, perceived, or observed experiences.

Social media, therefore, serve as a vehicle for the circulation of ideas and values, including those that promote justice and equality and react against patriarchy, especially in the context of national and global events such as #MeToo, #IBelieveYou, #TowardsTheFeministStrike, #NiUnaMenos, among others (Alonso-González, 2021), in an emotional shift towards indignation, anger, rage, or fury (Gómez-Nicolau *et al.*, 2021). From 2017 to 2021, there has been a significant increase, with 50% of Spanish youth considering themselves feminists. However, this does not hide the significant disparity when the terms are concretized and nuances emerge: 74.2% of girls and 50.4% of boys perceive gender-based violence as a very serious social problem, while 20% of males between 15 and 29 years old denying the existence of gender-based violence, claiming it is an "ideological invention" (Reina Sofía Center for Adolescence and Youth and FAD, 2021).

On the other hand, online relationships also allow hate speech and aggression to circulate and expand, creating an environment that seems particularly conducive to the exercise of violence (de-Jesús-Sánchez, 2020; Núñez-Domínguez and Sell-Trujillo, 2021). In this sense, research conducted by the Department of Education, Linguistic Policy and Culture of the Basque Government in 2013 indicates (regarding Basque adolescents) that comments about the female body are one of the aspects that girls identify the most as humiliations, although not necessarily as aggressions, and what bothers them the most is that they are spread without control, without knowing how far they can go. However, this fear does not prevent them from continuing to upload photos (Estébanez and Vázquez, 2013, p. 58). It is also explicitly stated that the group of Basque youth understands that social media is used to exert control over partners, although, from their perspective, this control does not have a gender bias and is exerted indistinctly by girls and boys (Estébanez and Vázquez, 2013, p. 54). And the data provided

by the Government Delegation for Gender-Based Violence is very clear, which, in a report published in 2015 (Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, 2015), states that although 96% of women and 92% of men consider gender-based violence unacceptable, not all forms of gender-based violence around the same rejection, nor are all behaviors that constitute abuse identified as such (2015, p. 4). These data also reflect that one in three young people does not identify controlling behaviors as gender-based violence (2015, p. 5). Paradoxically, social media platforms express their opposition to messages that question the promotion of diversity: "It's never OK to encourage violence or attack anyone based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, disabilities, or diseases"; although leaving a slippery margin for ambiguity: "When hate speech is being shared to challenge it or to raise awareness, we may allow it. In those instances, we ask that you express your intent clearly" (Instagram, 2022). That is, while explicit expressions of hate are prohibited on one hand, an infrastructure is provided that allows for the circulation of messages with violent content, as long as it is explicitly aimed at raising awareness about the content and the person. This creates an accumulation of offensive messages that seek to target and question the other.

As we argue, the situation described is not only contradictory in the sense that emancipatory discourses and openly misogynistic discourses coexist in the same global digital space (Jane, 2016; Ging and Siapera, 2018; Tortajada and Vera, 2021; Alichie, 2022), but also that instead of expanding the territories of expression, attacks intensify in direct proportion to the degree of participation and as a patriarchal reaction, as we will explore further in this analysis.

2. Objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the perception that young people have about violent content and messages received through social media. The research aims to develop a typology of violence from a phenomenological approach, considering the perception of violence by our study population: young people between 14 and 30 years old in the autonomous community of Andalusia. It is they who determine based on their perceptions, experiences, and subjective impact, the violence and aggressiveness of such messages. This research was conducted as part of the project "Youth Produsage on Social Media and Manifestations of Gender Inequalities: New Forms of Violence", funded by the National R&D&I Plan (MINECO), between 2018-2022.

The first specific objective was to determine the extent to which our population perceived a high volume of aggression and violent attacks through social media, also considering their perception of whether the attacks they had personally received were related to the gender of the participants. With the formulation of the second specific objective, we aimed to analyze the contents of the messages that were interpreted and reported as violent by the informants in order to develop a taxonomy of violence in social media.

3. Methodology

The data collection was conducted through an online form that contained 14 questions, although only three of them are relevant to the proposed methodological approach. The first two questions were designed to address the first objective, and the third question corresponds to the second specific objective of this study:

   a. Have you ever seen or read offensive or violent comments in responses or comments on social media?

b. Have you experienced attacks on social media at any time due to reasons related to your gender?

c. Share an experience you have seen or created on social media that has impacted you in relation to offensive and/or violent content.

The first two questions had closed-ended options for response, including "yes," "no," and "don't know/ no answer." The third question was an open-ended question in which participants were voluntarily asked to comment on any experiences they had in their own words.

The questionnaire was distributed using the non-probabilistic snowball sampling technique (Leighton *et al.*, 2021) and received 938 responses. Data collection took place in May 2021 with the collaboration of university students and high school students, as well as their respective contacts.

The social media platforms where participants mentioned witnessing hate messages included YouTube, TikTok, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and WhatsApp.

The sociodemographic variables used to clarify the responses were gender and sexual orientation.

A descriptive frequency analysis was conducted using Microsoft Excel version 365 to analyze the collected data. For the systematic organization of data obtained from the open-ended question, an inductive method was followed (Charmaz, 2014), involving an open coding process to construct a typology emerging from the content analysis of the narratives provided by the participants. The initial coding was done through consensus and inter-rater reliability was ensured. Subsequently, the codes were grouped into different categories inductively. These categories were further organized into three overarching thematic groups, considering the heterogeneity of the messages and aiming for maximum internal coherence. As shown in Table 1, the themes that constitute the taxonomy of violence in social media include (i) narratives about the groups or collectives targeted by the violence; (ii) narratives about attacks based on physical appearance and ideas of individuals; and (iii) narratives about the forms of violence mentioned by the study participants.

Table 1. *Categories and Themes*

Description	Categories	Themes
Derogatory expressions or discriminatory language against the women's collective based on various aspects related to attitudes and ways of being and existing of women within the social environment.	Women in general	Narratives of violent situations and offensive comments against specific groups or communities.
Derogatory expressions or discriminatory language against the men's collective based on various aspects related to attitudes and ways of being and existing of men within the social environment.	Men in general	
Narratives of situations of homophobia, and specifically transphobia, and attacks against the LGBTQ+ community in general.	LGTBIQ+	

Comments that imply racism and that blame immigrants for the situation in the country.	Ethnic groups and immigrants	
Attacks against influencers and illustrators considered feminists based on different aspects such as their appearance and ideas.	Influencers	
Attacks against the appearance, lifestyles, and ideas displayed by famous or popular individuals on social media.	Famous People	
Hurtful or mocking comments and images against individuals based on their disability.	People with disabilities	
Offensive expressions against the physical appearance and looks of anonymous individuals, especially women, occasionally related to the expression of feminist ideas.	Physical aspects and appearance	Narratives of offensive and violent comments regarding the physical appearance and political or ideological beliefs of individuals.
Expressions of animosity or hostility towards feminism, including conflicts between different currents within the feminist movement, with particular reference to criticisms against March 8th (International Women's Day).	Feminism	
Sexist comments in general, specifically focused on the endorsement of traditional gender roles applied to women.	Sexist expressions	
Attacks against all kinds of political ideas and trends of any political orientation.	Political ideologies	
Description or narrative of aggressive, offensive, and violent situations and comments of a general nature.	Violence in general	Narratives of different forms of violence.
Comments that reflect trivialization and justification, especially of sexual violence, and in general, related to gender-based violence.	Gender violence	
Accounts of bullying situations, where those primarily targeted are girls, and cyberbullying.	Bullying	
Images and situations depicting animal abuse are included.	Animal abuse	

Source: Results of the investigation. Author's own work.

4. Results

As mentioned, a total of 938 responses were obtained. Regarding the distribution of the sample, it should be noted that women's responses accounted for approximately 2/3 of the total records. That is, 65.4% of women compared to 32.4% of male participation, with 2.2% identifying as non-binary among the surveyed individuals. Additionally, three-quarters of the respondents identified as heterosexual (75.8%), with 24.2% identifying as part of the LGBTQ+ community.

The age of the participants in our study is concentrated between 18 and 22 years old: approximately eight out of ten respondents (77.4%) fell within this age range. Following them are young people between 14 and 17 years old (12.3%), with a sharp decrease in the last two age intervals. Only 6.5% were between 23 and 26 years old, and 3.8% indicated being in the age range between 27 and 30 years old.

Regarding occupation, 81.6% reported being exclusively dedicated to studying, although an additional 13.2% combined this activity with paid work. In turn, 3.6% stated being exclusively dedicated to working, and finally, 1.6% were unemployed.

4.1. Aggression on social media: Differential impact on the perception of violence based on sex and sexual orientation

When asked if they had seen or read comments that they considered offensive or violent on social media, the respondents overwhelmingly answered yes, with 91.5% of affirmative responses compared to a low 6.0% who had not seen such comments, while 2.6% were unsure or did not want to answer this question.

Interestingly, the trend is reversed when the question is directed at attacks based on gender and personally addressed to the respondents. When asked if they had ever felt targeted by attacks on social media for reasons related to their gender, the majority response is no (78.9%). However, there is a significant percentage of respondents who answered affirmatively (17.1%), and 4.1% who do not know or did not answer.

However, these findings are nuanced when filtered by the sex and sexual orientation of the interviewees.

Only 8.2% of men reported feeling attacked on social media due to their gender, while this percentage rises to 20.4% for women, and further increases to 47.6% for non-binary individuals. In conclusion, the differences in perceived gender-related attacks among these groups are significant.

Table 2. *Perception of violence received due to gender issues based on sex and sexual orientation.*

Gender % (absolute values)	Yes	No	NS/NC	Total
Man (304)	8,2 (25)	91,1 (277)	0,7 (2)	100,0 (304)
Women (613)	20,4 (125)	74,1 (454)	5,5 (34)	100,0 (613)
Non binary (21)	47,6 (10)	42,9 (9)	9,5 (2)	100,0 (21)
Sexual orientation % (absolute values)	Yes	No	NS/NC	Total
Heterosexual (711)	14,2 (101)	82,1 (584)	3,7 (26)	100,0 (711)
LGTBIQ+ (227)	26,0 (59)	68,7 (156)	5,3 (12)	100,0 (227)

Source: Results of the investigation. Author's own work.

Sexual orientation also highlights the differences among the surveyed subjects. Those who identify as having a non-heteronormative sexual orientation have felt attacked by 11.8 percentage points more than those who identify as heterosexual.

4.2. Towards a taxonomy of violence

In this section, narratives about experiences of offensive and/or violent content on social media are analyzed, encompassing a wide range of motivations, reasons, and purposes of those who engage in such behaviors, including hate speech, violent communication, and their potential relationship. with acts that may cause physical harm, moral harm, or attacks on honor or dignity, as well as incitement or offense to collective sensitivity (Miró, 2016).

Firstly, 777 individuals out of the total of 938 surveyed subjects shared their experiences. Table 3 shows the contribution of narratives based on sex and sexual orientation.

It is observed that men participate in slightly more than half the percentage compared to women, who do not report experiences to the same extent as non-binary individuals. Clearly, the majority of the narratives come from the group of women. Firstly, because they constitute the majority of surveyed individuals, with approximately two women for every man; Furthermore, in percentage terms, this ratio increases to 2.4 women who report experiences for every man who does so.

Regarding sexual orientation, it is noteworthy that despite the smaller representation of the LGBTQ+ community compared to those who identify as heterosexual, the former report a slightly higher percentage than the latter.

Table 3. *Contribution of narratives about offensive and/or violent content based on gender and sexual orientation.*

Contribution of narratives	Sex % (absolute)			Sexual orientation % (absolute)	
	Man	Women	Non binaries	Heterosexual	LGTBIQ+
Does not report. 17,2 (161)	26,3 (80)	12,7 (78)	14,3 (3)	18,1 (129)	14,1 (32)
Report 82,8 (777)	73,7 (224)	87,3 (535)	85,7 (18)	81,9 (582)	85,9 (195)
Total 100,0 (938)	100,0 (304)	100,0 (613)	100,0 (21)	100,0 (711)	100,0 (227)

Source: Results of the investigation. Author's own work.

Regarding the themes and categories systematized from these narratives, it is clear that the themes related to physical appearance and political/ideological stances account for nearly half of the total comments.

As shown in Table 4, the categories with the highest frequency distribution are those related to physical appearance and looks, which make up more than one-fifth of the total responses; and feminism, which accounts for 15.3% of the narratives, constituting a significant portion of the previously mentioned themes, which we previously highlighted for having the highest number of mentions.

In terms of gender differences, men reported the most attacks related to feminism (17%), closely followed by perceptions of general violence and attacks on physical appearance, with the latter category accounting for 14.7% of the total response frequencies from this group. Interestingly, this category is most prominent among women, accounting for 26.7% of the citations, while feminism is mentioned in the second position but at a considerable distance from the previous category.

If we analyze the percentage ratio between the concerns of men and women, we can highlight some interesting results as shown in Table 4. Attacks on physical appearance and looks of individuals through social media concern twice as many women as men who report such situations. Similarly, we find four women for every man who is alarmed by attacks on influencers. On the other hand, there are two men for every woman who reports violence against the LGBTQ+ community. In terms of references to gender-based violence, while the frequency may not be significant, it can be concluded that for every two men concerned about this issue, there are three women.

Regarding individuals who identified as non-binary, considering that they constitute a very small presence in our study, they primarily reported experiences related to attacks on the LGBTQ+ community, influencers, and general situations of violence.

Regarding sexual orientation, individuals who identify as heterosexual emphasize attacks based on physical appearance, with 23.7%, followed by 13.7% for feminism and 12.9% for general violence. However, LGBTQ+ individuals report a very similar percentage for attacks on physical appearance and attacks on feminism, with both categories accounting for 40% of the total, ranking third and fourth in frequency. Aggressions against the LGBTQ+ community and perceptions of general violence also rank closely. It is noteworthy that, when it comes to references to hostility towards feminism, this topic concerns the LGBTQ+ community 50% more in percentage terms than the heterosexual community.

Table 4. *Typology of stories by themes and categories based on sex and sexual orientation.*

Themes	Categories	Sex % (absolute)			Sexual orientation % (absolute)	
		Man	Women	Non binaries	Heterosexual	LGTBIQ+
Narratives of violent situations and offensive comments against certain groups.	Women in general (27)	2,2 (5)	4,1 (22)	0,0 (0)	3,3 (19)	4,1 (8)
	Men in general (2)	0,9 (2)	0,0 (0)	0,0 (0)	0,3 (2)	0,0 (0)
	LGTBIQ+ (70)	12,9 (29)	6,9 (37)	22,2 (4)	8,4 (49)	10,8 (21)
	Ethnic groups and immigrants (14)	2,7 (6)	1,5 (8)	0,0 (0)	2,1 (12)	1,0 (2)
	Influencers (67)	2,7 (6)	10,8 (58)	16,7 (3)	8,2 (48)	9,7 (19)
	Famous people (48)	7,6 (17)	5,8 (31)	0,0 (0)	5,7 (33)	7,7 (15)
	People with disabilities (6)	1,8 (4)	0,4 (2)	0,0 (0)	1,0 (6)	0,0 (0)
	Subtotal 30,1% (234)	29,5 (69)	67,5 (158)	3 (7)	72,2 (169)	27,8 (65)
Narratives of offensive and violent comments regarding the physical appearance and the political and ideological positions of people.	Physical aspects and appearance (177)	14,7 (33)	26,7 (143)	5,6 (1)	23,7 (138)	20,0 (39)
	Feminism (119)	17,0 (38)	14,8 (79)	11,1 (2)	13,7 (80)	20,0 (39)
	Sexist expressions (40)	5,4 (12)	5,0 (27)	5,6 (1)	5,5 (32)	4,1 (8)
	Political Ideologies (52)	8,9 (20)	5,6 (30)	11,1 (2)	7,4 (43)	4,6 (9)

	Subtotal 49,9 (388)	26,5 (103)	71,9 (279)	1,6 (6)	75,5 (293)	24,5 (95)
Narratives about forms of violence.	Violence in general (95)	15,6 (35)	10,7 (57)	16,7 (3)	12,9 (75)	10,3 (20)
	Gender violence (47)	4,5 (10)	6,5 (35)	11,1 (2)	5,8 (34)	6,7 (13)
	Bullying (10)	2,2 (5)	0,9 (5)	0,0 (0)	1,4 (8)	1,0 (2)
	Animal abuse (3)	0,9 (2)	0,2 (1)	0,0 (0)	0.5 (3)	0,0 (0)
	Subtotal 20 (155)	33,6 (52)	63,2 (98)	3,2 (5)	77,4 (120)	22,6 (35)
	Total 100,0 (777)	100,0 (224)	100,0 (535)	100,0 (18)	100,0 (582)	100,0 (195)

Source: Results of the investigation. Author's own work.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

We can summarize our reflections into two main lines of force. On one hand, while our informants almost unanimously reported witnessing exchanges that could be perceived as offensive or violent on social media, this trend is reversed when they are asked if they have personally experienced violent or aggressive reactions to their posts or comments based on their gender or sexual orientation. It seems that although young people have been exposed to situations of violence, they do not feel personally targeted, especially boys, who do not feel attacked in relation to women or particularly those who identify as non-binary. Similarly, from the perspective of sexual orientation, individuals with non-heteronormative sexual orientation felt targeted by hate messages to a greater extent than those who identify as heterosexual. Thus, the implications differ when we cross the variables of gender and sexual orientation. In this sense, there is full agreement with the results of the Hate Crime Survey (2021, 30-31), which indicates that the main discriminatory motives are: sexual orientation or gender identity (35.47%); sex/gender (27%); ideology (22.88%), or racism/xenophobia (20.14%), sometimes even in combination.

Secondly, with regards to the accounts of offensive and/or violent experiences, more than 4/5 of the participants provided comments, with girls offering the most reflections. These girls had also witnessed mostly attacks on physical appearance and looks on the internet, a fact consistent with the results of the study by the Department of Education, Language Policy, and Culture of the Basque Government mentioned at the beginning. The Ministry of the Interior of Spain (2021, p. 28) reports that in this edition, more than 50% of hate crime victims received insults or threats through social media or the internet, which highlights the importance of hate speech in this communication channel. Women also expressed concern about hostile messages against feminism online, in line with the results of Menéndez et al. (2021), although at a far distance from the offenses against individuals based on their appearance, with attacks against feminism being the most prominent aspect highlighted by men. The

exacerbation of these hostile messages corresponds to the situation described by Núñez and Fernández (2019, p. 386) when they establish that, at this moment, feminist activism has been forced to compete for discursive space on social media, and narratives become tense and Compete for the symbolic territory under construction.

On the other hand, people who identified as non-binary mainly reported attacks on the LGBTQ+ community, influencers, and situations of violence in general. Sexual orientation also highlights some differences, as heterosexual individuals, while reporting violence against physical appearance and looks, attacks on feminism, and situations of violence in general in descending order, those with orientations defined within the LGBTQ+ community reported similar percentages of attacks against physical appearance and against feminism, with the combination of both categories accounting for almost half of their reviews. It is revealing that, focusing on references to feminism, this last group is 50% more concerned in percentage terms than the group that identifies as heterosexual. Among the small percentage of reports (according to the Ministry of the Interior, this type of crime shows a level of underreporting that hides 90% of cases and 80% in Europe according to the FRA. Ministry of the Interior of Spain, 2021, p. 50), LGBTQ+ individuals filed the most complaints compared to the rest of the sample. In line with Momoitio (2014, p. 25), the logics, if any, are both anti-feminist and lesbophobic, reactive to the visibility of narratives about violence, about non-normative bodies, subversive identities, and diverse subjectivities.

6.   References

Alichie, B. O. (2022). You don't talk like a woman: the influence of gender identity in the constructions of online misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2022.2032253

Caro, L. y Selva, D. (2017). Uso de Instagram como medio de comunicación política por parte de los diputados españoles: la estrategia de humanización en la "vieja" y la "nueva" política. *El Profesional de la Información, 26*(5), 903-915. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2017.sep.12

Centro Reina Sofía sobre adolescencia y juventud y FAD (2021). *Barómetro Juventud y Género 2021. Identidades y representaciones en una realidad compleja.* https://www.adolescenciayjuventud.org/publicacion/barometro-juventud-genero-2021/

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. Sage.

de-Jesús-Sánchez, M. (2020). La violencia digital de la generación Z. *Revista mexicana de orientación educativa*, 5, 2-9. https://doi.org/10.31206/rmdo282020

Domínguez, F. y López, R. (2015). Uso de las redes sociales digitales entre jóvenes universitarios de México. Hacia la construcción de un estado del conocimiento. *Revista de Comunicación de la Universidad de Piura*, 14, 48-69.

DXMedia. (2020). *Las redes sociales con más usuarios*. https://bit.ly/3zEFHPW

Estébanez, I. y Vázquez, N. (2013). *La desigualdad de género y el sexismo en las redes sociales*. Servicio central de publicaciones del gobierno vasco. https://www.observatoriodelainfancia.es/oia/esp/documentos_ficha.aspx?id=3954

Fernández Paradas, A. (coord.) (2014). *Interactividad y redes sociales*. ACCI.

Ging, D., & Siapera, E. (2018) Special issue on online misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies, 18*(4), 515-524. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1447345

Giraldo-Luque, S. y Fernández-Rovira, C. (2020). Redes sociales y consumo digital en jóvenes universitarios: economía de atención y oligopolios de la comunicación en el siglo XXI. *El profesional de la Información, 29*(5), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.sep.28

Gómez Nicolau, E., Medina-Vicent, M. y Gámez Fuentes, M. J. (2021). Expresar la rabia femenina. Las reivindicaciones feministas hoy. En: *Mujeres y Resistencias En Tiempos De Manadas*. Universitat Jaume I, Instituto Universitario de Estudios Feministas y de Género Purificación Escribano. http://dx.doi.org/10.6035/AgoraFeminista.2021.1

Gómez-de-Travesedo Rojas, R., y Gil-Ramírez, M. (2020). Generación Z y consumo de información política: entre la televisión y los nuevos formatos mediáticos, *Ámbitos. Revista Internacional de Comunicación*, 50, 62-79. https://doi.org/10.12795/Ambitos.2020.i50.05

Instagram. (2022). *Comunidad: Respect other members of the Instagram community*. https://help.instagram.com/477434105621119/?helpref=hc_fnav

Jane, E. A. (2016). Online misogyny and feminist digilantism. *Continuum, 30*(3), 284-297, https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2016.1166560

Lasén, A. (2015). Mediaciones digitales de las relaciones sociales y familiares de los jóvenes. En: C. Torres Albero (Dir.), *España 2015. Situación social* (pp. 1587-1594). CIS

Leighton, K., Kardong-Edgren, S., Scheidereith, T., & Foisy-Doll, C. (2021). Using Social Media and Snowball Sampling as an Alternative Recruitment Strategy for Research. *Clinical Simulation in Nursing*, 55, 37-42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecns.2021.03.006

Losada-Díaz, J. C., Zamora-Medina, R. y Martínez-Martínez, H. (2021). El discurso del odio en Instagram durante las Elecciones Generales 2019 en España. *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación/Mediterranean Journal of Communication, 12*(2), 195-208. https://www.doi.org/10.14198/MEDCOM.19142

Marinas, L. (2019). Instagram: Donde Millennials, Generación Z, Mcluhan y Bolter se cruzan. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*, 24, 187-201. https://doi.org/10.5209/ciyc.6464

Menéndez Menéndez, M., Amigot Leache, P. y Iturbide Rodrigo, R. (2021). Narrativas sexistas y hostilidad en foros de prensa digital: análisis en diarios de ámbito local. *Investigaciones Feministas, 12*(1), 5-17. https://doi.org/10.5209/infe.68665

Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad. (2015). *Percepción de la violencia de género en la adolescencia y la juventud*. https://bit.ly/3UkIoQ3

Ministerio del Interior, España. (2021). *Informe de la encuesta sobre delitos de odio. Informe 2021*. Ministerio del Interior: Oficina Nacional de lucha contra delitos de odio. https://bit.ly/3ZPr0UH

Miró Llinares, F. (2016). Taxonomía de la comunicación violenta y el discurso del odio en Internet. *IDP. Revista de Internet, Derecho y Política*, 22, 82-107.

https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=78846481007

Momoitio, A. (2014). Violencias patriarcales en Red. En: T. Donoso-Vázquez (Ed.), *Violencias de género 2.0* (pp. 13-28). Kit-book.

Moral-Jiménez, Mª. V. (2004). Jóvenes, redes sociales de amistad e identidad psicosocial: la construcción de las identidades juveniles a través del grupo de iguales, *Revista galega-portuguesa de psicoloxía e educación*, 11, 183-206. https://ruc.udc.es/dspace/handle/2183/7011

Núñez, S. y Fernández, D. (2019). Posverdad y victimización en Twitter ante el caso de La Manada: propuesta de un marco analítico a partir del testimonio ético. *Investigaciones feministas, 10*(2), 385-398. https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/infe.66501

Núñez-Domínguez, T. y Sell-Trujillo, L. (2021). La cara oscura de la red para las feministas. En: A. Bernárdez Rodal y G. Padilla (Eds.), *Deshaciendo nudos en el social media* (pp. 255-278). Tirant lo Blanch.

PlayGround. (2021). *El futuro es ahora*. https://elfuturoesahora.org/survey-results.html

Tortajada, I. y Vera, T. (2021). Presentación del monográfico: Feminismo, misoginia y redes sociales. *Investigaciones Feministas, 12*(1), 1-4. https://doi.org/10.5209/infe.74446

van Dijck, J. (2013). *The culture of connectivity. A critical history of social media*. Oxford University Press.

Vizcaíno-Verdú, A., Contreras-Pulido, P. y Guzmán-Franco, Mª. D. (2020). Construcción del concepto fanbullying: Revisión crítica del acoso en redes sociales. *Pixel-bit*, 57, 211-230. https://doi.org/10.12795/pixelbit.2020.i57.09

We Are Social. (2022). Digital 2022 Spain. We are social. Ltd. & Hootsuite Inc. https://wearesocial.com/es/blog/2022/01/digital-2022/

AUTHOR/S:

Carmen Romo Parra
Department of Social Psychology, Social Work and Social Services, and Social Anthropology. Faculty of Social and Labor Studies, University of Malaga. Spain.

She is a full professor in the area of Social Work and Social Services at the Department of Social Psychology, Social Work and Social Services, and Social Anthropology at the University of Malaga. She was the coordinator of the Master's Degree in Social and Community Research and Intervention at the University of Malaga between 2014 and 2018. The author teaches subjects related to social intervention from a gender perspective in both undergraduate and graduate programs, and is a member of the Women's Interdisciplinary Studies Seminar at the University of Malaga since 1990. She has a six-year research accreditation and participates in regional, national, and European projects and has scientific publications related to women's and gender studies.
cromo@uma.es

H-index: 5
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4296-0558

Lucía Sell Trujillo
Department of Social Psychology, Faculty of Psychology, University of Seville. Spain.

Assistant Professor at the University of Seville and PhD in Social Psychology from the London School of Economics. She has conducted research in the field of public policies at the CSIC, the European Commission, and for the British government. She has worked as a cultural mediator in the peripheral neighborhoods of the city of Seville. She is a member of the permanent scientific committee of the Directorate General for Gender-Based Violence, Equal Treatment, and Diversity of the Andalusian Government, which coordinates the International Congress for the Study of Violence against Women. Her research lines are related to gender inequality and violence, social networks, territorial stigmatization, feminization of poverty, and social movements.
luciasell@us.es

H-index: 7
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9841-4505
Scopus ID: https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=26036685200

María Teresa Vera Balanza
Department of Journalism. Faculty of Communication Sciences. University of Malaga. Spain.

She is a Full Professor of Journalism and co-director of the National R&D&I Project ``Youth produsage on social networks and manifestations of gender inequalities: new forms of violence" (FEM2017-83302-C3-2-P), as well as the European projects "AAA Arguments Against Aggression: Strategies and Tools against Hate Speech in Face-to-Face Encounters and in Social Media" (2018-2021) and "Non-formal Skills improvement and Recognition for adult learners" for the period 2020-2022. She has

participated in the Global Media Monitoring Project WACC 2015 and coordinated the Spain team in the 2020 edition. Her latest publication is "Feminisms, violence, and social networks: Ibero-American practices and strategies against hate speech".

mvb@uma.es

H-index: 4
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3089-4469
Scopus ID: https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57657262700

José Jesús Delgado Peña
Department of Mathematics Education, Social Sciences Education, and Experimental Sciences Education. Faculty of Education Sciences. University of Malaga. Spain.

As a Full Professor, he stands out for his work as coordinator of research groups, especially in the field of International Cooperation, Educational Innovation, and Lifelong Learning, both at the national level (2 projects) and in the Erasmus+ program (8 projects) . He has produced a large number of publications, including articles (34), books and chapters (32), professional creations (4), and contributions to congresses (68). In addition, he has had numerous stays in foreign centers, both in Latin America (Panama, Cuba, Ecuador) and Europe (Germany, Denmark, United Kingdom, Sweden). He has been Director of the Elderly+55 Classroom at the University of Malaga for 4 years and currently serves as Deputy Vice-Rector for International Cooperation and President of the Working Group on Geography Education of the Spanish Geography Association (AGE).

jdelgado@uma.es

H-index: 3
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5807-1317

Related articles

Alonso-González, M. (2021). Activismo social femenino en la esfera pública digital. *Vivat Academia, Revista de Comunicación*, 154, 133-156. https://doi.org/10.15178/va.2021.154.e1239

Díaz Ospina, J. (2022). El uso del videojuego como herramienta de prevención del ciberacoso en niños. *Opción*, 38, 184-204. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7527567

Juárez Rodríguez, J. (2020). Los roles de género en la música infantil de la plataforma digital YouTube. *Revista de Ciencias de la Comunicación e Información, 25*(1), 19-37. http://doi.org/10.35742/rcci.2020.25(1).19-37

Mateos Casado, C. (2021). La pandemia en la sombra. Mujeres víctimas de violencia de género confinadas frente a una doble amenaza en la COVID-19. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 26(Especial), 107-119. https://doi.org/10.5209/hics.74246

Toro González, S. y Pérez-Curiel, C. (2021). Populismo político en tiempos de COVID. Análisis de la estrategia de comunicación de Donald Trump y Boris Johnson en Twitter. *Revista de Comunicación de la SEECI*, 54, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.15198/seeci.2021.54.e700