

Gender-based cyber violence and 8M 2021 in Tampico,
Tamaulipas: comments and its reach on Facebook

*Ciberviolencia de género y 8M 2021 en Tampico, Tamaulipas:
comentarios y su alcance en Facebook*

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Rosa Amelia Domínguez Arteaga*

<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7844-4723>

El Colegio de Tamaulipas, México

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Abstract

Information and communication technologies (ICT) are allied in the expansion of the feminist movement, however, they have also become its enemies due to the present cyber-violence towards the movement. This study aims to explore the comments on the 8M 2021 march in Tampico, Tamaulipas, posted on the Facebook platform. For this purpose, a content analysis was conducted, based on previous studies focused on social networks. As part of the results, we found mostly sarcastic comments against the march, related to gender violence on the network. Since these expressions seek to silence feminists and co-opt their right to demonstrate, it is concluded that this cyber-violence is a sign of the gender-based political violence experienced by this group.

Keywords:
violence; gender-based violence; cyber-violence; gender-based cyber-violence; feminism.

Resumen

Las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación (TIC) son aliadas en la expansión del movimiento feminista, sin embargo, también se han convertido en sus enemigas a razón de la presente ciberviolencia hacia el movimiento. Este estudio tiene como objetivo explorar los comentarios sobre la marcha del 8M 2021 en Tampico, Tamaulipas, vertidos en la plataforma de Facebook. Para ello, se realizó un análisis de contenido, basado en estudios previos enfocados a redes sociales. Como parte de los resultados, se encontraron mayormente comentarios sarcásticos en contra de la marcha, relacionado con

Palabras clave:
violencia; violencia de género; ciberviolencia; ciberviolencia de género; feminismo.

la violencia de género en la red. Ya que con estas expresiones se busca silenciar a las feministas y cooptar su derecho de manifestación, se concluye que esta ciberviolencia es muestra de la violencia política por razón de género que vive este grupo.

Introduction

At present, Internet is one of the most widely used information and communication resources because it allows to address a myriad of issues of personal and collective interest, such as entertainment, learning, work issues, among others. One of its virtues is that it offers diverse means and channels of interaction, both simultaneous and ubiquitous. These characteristics allow an approach and participation closer to the user's environment with respect to the variety of topics that are discussed socially.

In this regard, and thanks to the current technological convergence, the causes of different social groups have echoed in this digital space; for example, the struggle of activists for the defense of women's rights present on the Internet (Meneses et al., 2021). However, these same information and communication technologies (ICTs) have been used to violate feminists, making use of hate speech and defamation, which can generate little or no acceptance of the movement among cybernauts. This situation is happening in Mexico (Cerva, 2020).

By knowing what is experienced on a national scale, the present research aims to explore the opinions about the 8M march of 2021 held in Tampico, Tamaulipas, by reviewing the comments posted on the Facebook social network. The objective is to determine the type of comments and the perception of this movement, in order to establish the scope of local communicative practices in the network and from the point of view of those who interact online, with the intention of knowing the details surrounding this event.

Despite the fact that cyberbullying and gender-based cyber-aggressions have been previously documented in Tamaulipas (Domínguez, 2019; 2020; 2021a; 2021b), an analysis of cyberviolence in social networks such as Facebook is lacking, hence the interest in understanding this phenomenon. It is advanced that the present research is the first part of a work that later aims to conduct a digital ethnography of the feminist movement in Tamaulipas.

ICTs, women and risk: gender-based cyber violence today.

Although ICTs have had a positive impact on several areas of life, they are a double-edged sword, especially for women (UNESCO, 2020). On the one hand, they are a window of access to information and knowledge, and on the other, a tool and means to become victims of crime (UN, 2020). In view of this, in recent years studies have documented what happens around cyber-violence against women.

Gender cyber-violence refers to a type of violence against women that is carried out through new technologies in order to establish male dominance over them (Donoso et al., 2017b; 2018). This is related to the different forms of traditional violence (physical, psychological and sexual), where ICTs serve as a means of psychological control and verbal aggression towards women, mainly by the romantic partner (Gámez et al., 2018).

Thus, new online violence is generated, such as cyber dating violence, present more frequently among young people and students (Jaen-Cortés et al., 2017), which can also be a symptom of other violence experienced (family, physical, etc.) in the victim's environment (Domínguez, 2021a).

Donoso (2017b) found that women are more likely to be online victims than aggressors, and that they are the ones who are affected with particular intensity and cruelty (Martínez-Otero, 2017). For their part, UN Women and the Follow-up Mechanism of the Belém do Pará Convention (MESECVI) (2022) identify eleven types of online gender-based aggressions:

- 1) Cyberbullying or cyberstalking.
- 2) Cyberbullying.
- 3) Creation, dissemination, publication, distribution, sharing, manipulation or storage of photographs, videos or audios of a sexual or intimate nature without consent.
- 4) Non-consensual access and/or attack on the integrity of a computer system or online account; unauthorized use, control, manipulation or publication of private information and personal data.
- 5) Online impersonation and identity theft.
- 6) Acts involving online monitoring, control and surveillance.
- 7) Attacks on reputation or credibility.
- 8) Direct threats of harm or violence.
- 9) Physical violence facilitated by new technologies.
- 10) Sexual exploitation and/or trafficking of women and girls facilitated by technologies.
- 11) Attacks on women's groups, organizations, communities or collectives (pp. 36-46).

The consequences of this violence derive in a social and psychological maladjustment that puts the physical and emotional integrity of the victim at risk, even being able to conclude in suicide (Caviativa and Jaramillo, 2018). Therefore, in Mexico these actions are considered a social and health problem that mainly affects adult women, but can also reach young women and girls even in school settings (Yudes et al., 2018; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI, 2019).

Crosas and Medina-Bravo (2019), in their research, state that there is sufficient empirical evidence on the extreme seriousness of cyber-violence towards women (p. 51), a statement seconded by other works (European Institute for Gender Equality, EIGE, 2017). Hernández et al. (2022) report that, of the cases of digital violence analyzed in Mexico, 95% correspond to women, mostly between 18 and 30 years of age (64%), attacked through the dissemination of intimate content without consent; in this regard, it is worrying that almost 16% of the victims were minors, who are in "a stage of life that largely defines their understanding of the world, their ties and their self-conception" (p. 41).

These data show that online gender-based violence or gender-based cyber-violence is a reality present in the digital ecosystem. This is in line with the digital inequalities that still persist and are related to different gender and technology dyads, with their respective negative implications for this group (UNESCO, 2020). With all this in consideration, we advocate for a digital policy that addresses this problem and that contributes to the exercise of online freedoms established by the United Nations (UN) (2012): without distinction of sex, gender or any other category.

Studies focused on patriarchal heteronormativity affirm that, in addition to women, other groups established in the patriarchally acceptable margins are potential victims of aggressions on the Internet, through violence associated with the myths of romantic love, of a sexual nature (Donoso et al., 2017a, 2017b, 2018), but also due to physical appearance (Domínguez, 2021a).

Other authors claim that these aggressions originate for the sole reason of being a woman (Crosas and Medina-Bravo, 2019). The feminist movement, like many others, has found in ICTs a space of expression for its struggle on a massive scale (Meneses et al., 2021). Through digital platforms, the various women's issues are made visible, thus contributing to the collective action that takes place in the streets and has an impact on the public sphere (García and Bailey, 2020).

ICT and feminism: allied or enemy technologies?

In Garay's study (2019), activists point out that they have appropriated digital environments and electronic interaction tools for the benefits they offer, especially instrumental ones: they achieve greater visibility, convene other sectors of the population, update their movements, add new voices, and so on. Likewise, they stated that the Internet makes their work easier, so the organization becomes different.

It has been documented those social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp and Telegram, make it possible for feminists in Mexico to link and create collaborations to spread information about the movement and its demands, calling for unity (Alonso, 2021). This makes visible feminist cyberactivism, which has developed alongside global digitalism and its multiple forms of social organization as an advantage (Cerva, 2020).

Thus, the strategic use of ICTs bursts into techno-politics, whose appropriation has to do "with processes of subjectivity differentiated according to the contextual conditions of activists, including their own trajectories within the social space" (Avalos, 2019, p. 9). For example, in recent years, social networks such as Twitter have helped feminists and their followers to convene to contend for what women are entitled to (Pedraza and Rodríguez, 2019).

The audiovisual content of feminist marches, held not only in Mexico but around the world, reaches the screens and circulates in the digital ecosystem at the same time that urgent requests for the movement are made known, such as eradicating femicides and the impunity of these (to mention some of the situations that lacerate society). It should be remembered that femicides are a serious problem in Mexico, as an increase in cases has been reported, from 469 cases registered in 2015 to 969 in 2021 (Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos, CNDH, 2022).

In this context, it is worth saying that these tools are a key means of communication for feminism. Resources such as social networks "reconfigure the imaginary space where political practices take place in contemporary democracies. They are interactive communication channels through which social actors re-signify their link with the political" (Meneses and Sosa, 2013, p. 7). For activists, conventional channels, such as radio or television, present partial or distorted versions of their movements, which makes social networks their allies (Garay, 2019).

Despite the list of virtues mentioned about the new media, the networks also become enemies of feminism and bring negative implications. In Mexico, Cerva (2020) reported misogyny towards feminist protests on social networks, arguing that they discredit and belittle the movement and mainly deny the inequalities and inequities still experienced by women in the country.

Since years ago, and in various contexts, studies have been reporting stereotyped content on the internet towards feminists that minimizes and degrades representativeness, in addition to situations of harassment, defamation and sexism (Council of Europe, 2014). Likewise, current research has pointed out structural discrimination, reproduction of the same forms of control by analog media, censorship and new forms of violence towards the movement (Cumplido, 2021; Aránguez and Olariu, 2021).

In fact, the Association for Progressive Communications (2015) remarks that activists are among the group of women most affected by gender-based violence through digital technology, along with journalists, researchers, artists, and victims of physical, sexual or intimate partner violence (Ananías and Vergara, 2019).

This shows that the cyber-violence experienced by feminists on the internet is gender-based political violence. This violence, according to the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence in Mexico, refers to:

any action or omission, including tolerance, based on gender elements and exercised within the public or private sphere, which has the purpose or result of limiting, nullifying or impairing the effective exercise of the political and electoral rights of one or more women, the access to the full exercise of the powers inherent to their position, the free development of the public function, decision making, freedom of organization, as well as the access and exercise of prerogatives, in the case of pre-candidacies, candidacies, functions or public offices of the same type (Diario Oficial de la Federación, DOF, 2023, pp. 7-8).

Gender-based political violence hinders the fulfillment and exercise of citizenship rights, this is reflected in Article 35 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States (CPEUM, 2023), which states that the expressions of this type of violence are many and varied, but all have to do with the fact of undermining or nullifying the rights of women, violating the guarantees they have as a person, regardless of the conditions.

In view of this, it is worth asking the question: why are feminists more attacked on the Internet? Malet (2012, cited by Aldana et al., 2020) takes up Barrère's reflections on one of the achievements of the leader of feminism in the seventies, Kate Millet: to have included in the legislative political agenda the issue of violence against women and to place patriarchy as the basis of domination and engine of inequalities.

In this perspective, the mistreatment experienced by women is a social problem and not an individual one, making it clear that gender violence is not a problem of security but of rights. For Guadarrama and Aguilar (2021) this situation is part of the ambiguity and lack of consensus on the basic issues that define gender-based political violence. At present, an act of this type is distinguished:

when it is directed at a woman, based on gender stereotypes or roles; when it has a differentiated impact on women; when it affects women and men differently; and when it affects them disproportionately. Such violence can take place in any sphere: political, economic, social, cultural or civil. It includes the public and private spheres, and can occur in: the family, domestic unit, interpersonal relationship, in the community, in a political party or institution. It can be symbolic, verbal, patrimonial, economic, physical, sexual, psychological, and can also be carried out through information technologies or in cyberspace (p. 10).

These authors clarify that, regardless of the lack of conceptual clarity, what is important is the purpose of this type of violence: to demotivate and alienate feminists from politics (p. 9).

At least in Mexico, the mechanisms for their participation are highly questionable. Gazca et al. (2021) point out that women's political guarantees are not respected in the country despite significant progress in terms of their legal protection (p. 6). Added to this is the fact that feminists have accepted to put cybersecurity aspects first in order to take advantage of digital resources, regardless of the risk to their integrity (Garay, 2019).

As a result, feminists have undoubtedly become active political figures also in the digital environment, a danger for anti-feminists. Considering that cyberspace is a violent place for women, which hinders the movement's interests in the network (Aránguez, 2021; Olariu, 2021), digital security with a gender perspective has become a priority issue (García, 2021).

Methodology

For this work, a methodology based on a qualitative type of content analysis was used, through which the content of a group of textual data is subjectively interpreted, allowing the identification of themes through a systematic process of classification and coding (Crosas and Medina-Bravo, 2019). In recent years, this method has been widely resorted to for several similar works (Fernandez and Sanchez, 2019; Fernandez, 2019; Garcia-Gonzalez and Bailey, 2020), in order to address communicative practices on the Internet, especially in social networks.

The object of this study was the video of the live transmission of the 8M march held in 2021 in Tampico, Tamaulipas. The transmission was on behalf of the newspaper Milenio on the Facebook platform (Milenio Tamaulipas, 2021), where the reporters chronicle the march and the activists are visualized as they walk through the streets of the municipality, shouting slogans, asking for respect and for women's rights to be guaranteed in all areas.

The video chosen for analysis is one of the audiovisual materials on the march in the state that showed the most comments (694) and reactions, in addition to 29 thousand views. Comments were chosen as units of analysis, regardless of whether they came from the same profile, and regardless of whether they were composed of text, images, stickers, emojis, emoticons or links.

The transmission obtained 694 comments, however, we only had access to 575 comments, which was the total taken into account for the analysis. It is intuited that the portal no longer had some of them available due to the dynamism of these platforms and the ease they offer to create information and data, but also to delete profiles; at the time of verifying the validity of the comments shortly after the march, some of these had already disappeared, so it is assumed that they were deleted. Additionally, those with confusing content and that did not contribute to the objective of this research were excluded.

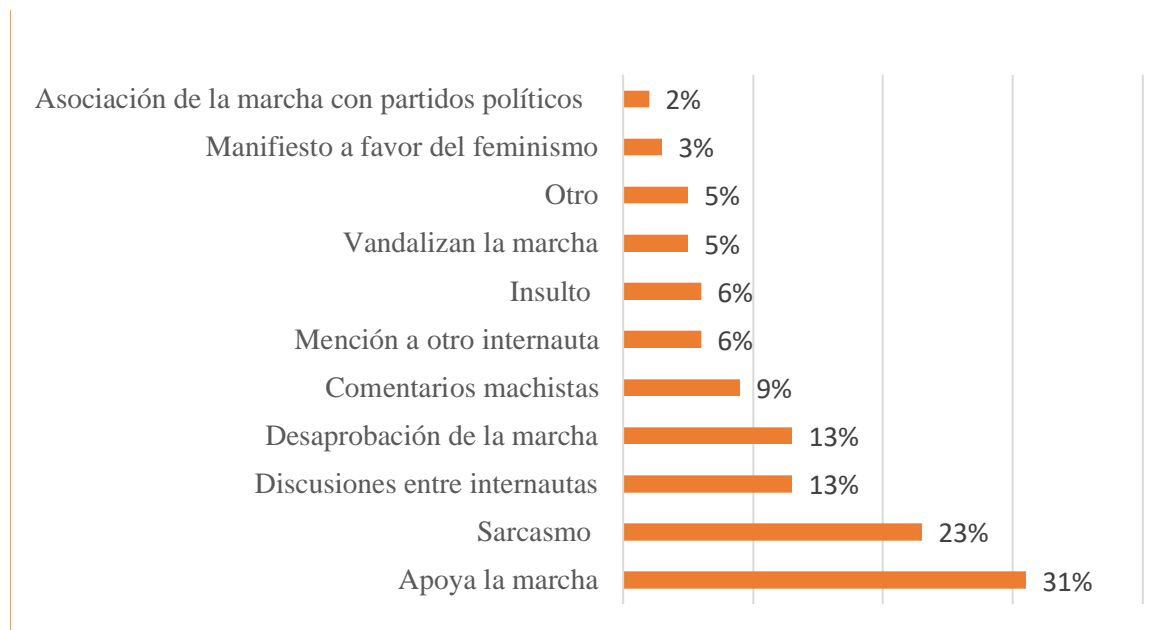
The analysis work was carried out during the month of September 2022 and the interpretation was done in two stages: first, the data (comments) were entered manually, and then processed with automatic formulas using Excel, since applications such as Exportcomments only accept a minimum number of comments, which prevented their incorporation into the methodology.

The review of the qualitative content and previous research proposals allowed us to construct categories of analysis that would permit a better understanding of the results obtained. In order to provide an overview of the situation at the outset, it was considered convenient to make a main classification into two main groups: 1) comments in favor of the march and 2) comments against the march. The first group considered the categories of analysis: Support the protest and Manifiesto in favor of feminism. Group two included the following categories: Sarcasm, Discussions among Internet users, Disapproval of the march, Sexist comments, Insults, Vandalizing the march and Association of the march with political parties (see table 1).

Although the categories Others and Reference of another Internet user were also considered, they were excluded from the main classification, since their content did not contribute to the objective

of this research; however, since they showed a high frequency, they were considered in graph 1. It is necessary to clarify that some comments could be placed in two or more categories, because, for example, a sexist comment could also include insults or high-flown words.

Graphic 1. Types of comments on the 8M 2021 march in Tampico, Tamaulipas



Note: the total exceeds 100% because a comment could be placed in several categories.

Source: by the author.

Results

To accompany the interpretation of each category, the comments are reproduced verbatim. In some cases, a screenshot is attached to show the emoticons and emojis in order to show the sentiment that was portrayed. In the case of high-flown words, these were eliminated in the text, indicating the place of the same, but were retained in the images. It is important to note that, in order to respect the privacy of the users of the social network in question, only the comment was taken into account, without providing data on their identity or profile, in accordance with the ethical dimension of information literacy in the handling of data on the Internet (Cortés, 2021).

Most of the comments analyzed (61%) were against the march (second group), and those belonging to the Sarcasm category prevailed. Although the category Supports the protest obtained a high percentage (31%), this is much lower in comparison with the amount of the negative comments on the march (see graph 1).

However, in the messages there was a high presence of graphic resources to express emotions related to the march (89%); these could be alone (of the same type or several) or accompanied by text. Stickers (268 times) were present in the majority, followed by hearts (purple and green) (162 times) and emojis (81 times). Only one link was counted.

Table 1. Categories of analysis applied to the comments on 8M 2021 in Tampico, Tamaulipas.

Groupe	Title of the category	Definition
1) Comments in support of the march	Support for the march	Comments of satisfaction with the march or encouragement for the members and followers of the march.
	Manifiesto in support of feminism	Comments that defend feminist ideals
2) Comments comments against the march	Sarcasm	Joking or ironic sayings to ridicule someone or to make fun of the movement.
	Discussions among Internet users	Comments alluding to disagreements between Internet users, mainly of a personal position, without showing a fixed position towards the object in question.
	Disapproval of the march	Comments expressing a stance against the march and even towards the activists and supporters of the march
	Sexism comments	Comments stereotyping activists or supporters on the basis of their gender
	Insult	Content that expresses offenses, expletives or expletives towards activists or supporters
	Vandalizing the march	Imperative-type statements to the demonstrators to damage public facilities or people
	Manifiesto in support of feminism	Comments defending feminist ideals
Association of the march with political parties	Comments about infiltrators in the march or followers, whether from a political party or groups identified with the government.	

Source: by the author.

Sarcasm

Sarcasm was detected in 23% of the total comments. These sought, above all, to mock the march and the activists; apart from sarcasm, there was also use of irony, mostly directed at the chants and slogans that are usually presented on posters or to which they allude in their claims. Some comments included emojis (see image 1). Some examples of this category are the following:

*La rola del 'violador eres tú'
Si cantan más que el mike en la terrorizer jajaja
A bailar el patriarcado de ha dicho
Esperaba el remix
El hombre opresor al ver la marcha: Ah nu ma... ya me portaré bien
Qepd. Cepillin
Ya hacía falta material para los memes
Menos mal que ellas si invierten bien su tiempo*

*Pura licenciada jajaja...ya póngase a chambear!
Chale, el temazo no lo pusieron*

Discussions among Internet users

Some of the comments generated disputes among users (13%). As established, these messages reflected the discrepancies for and against the protest, and some even became personal:

*Tu ndms estás respondido con mentarlos únete mjr a la marcha y a callar
Esque no va a poder llorar si lo hace el
La verdad jaja, pues todos tenemos los mismos derechos
Si tanto le molesta deje de verlo y no joda
Si no apoya, cállese que con su comentario no ayuda a nadie vieja chismosa.
Hagan lleva H señora
Se matan entre ellos jjjjj''
Nadie te pregunto amiga...*

Disapproval of the march

Within this category, there were expressions of discontent in general that connoted annoyance, disappointment, indifference and even concern, to the point of questioning the actions of the women activists (see image 2). Likewise, the work of the authorities in charge of security at the site was questioned: "The police never arrive on time".

The expressions expressed not only reproached the march, but also repudiated it, as shown by the use of the vomit emoji (see image 3). Some other messages supported physical violence against the participants:

*Echando a perder la bandera me dueles México
Que flojera ni destruyen nada decepción total [tres emojis de cara triste]
Pura perdida de tiempo
Chale, quería ir por unos churros :c.
Y las mujeres que son asesinas ellas también tienen derechos e eso a golpear a los menores y asesinarlos???
En este momento el sr Díaz Ordaz ya hubiera mandado fuerza policial
Y k ganan?*

Macho comments

Macho comments were based, above all, on the stereotypes imposed on women because of their gender (see image 4):

*Ya es hora de fregar platos Vayanse lavar truzas
Que vayan a limpiar sus casas y cuidar de sus hijos en vez de armar este borlote
Vallanse a lavar los calzones llenos de nutela!!!
Pura vieja con sueño díjanles que se bañen asta Aka vuela
No tendran algo mejor q hacer, ponganse a trabajar wubonas*

Others contained an explicit sexual charge:

*DOBLE MORAL JAJAJ PERO EN LA CAMA PIDEN QUE LAS NALGUEN
JAJAJAJAJ*

*Y a ninguna de ellas les gustan los hombres!? Jajajaja...mas de una de ellas tiene vato y las maltrata...jajaja
La mitad de ellas se las [palabra altisonante] en la noche*

Image 1. Screenshot 0:59



Source: Milenio Tamaulipas (March 8, 2021).

In some cases, the same message of this type was repeated several times: "They are going to [expletive]. Also, those in which the presence of women in the march was attributed to a lack of employment or other different activity, stand out:

*Lo mejor es aser cosas positiva ahí nada más van al desmadre
Póngase a estudiar o a trabajar y no me representan x q soy una mujer trabajadora
No tendran algo mejor q hacer, ponganse a trabajar wubonas*

Insult

Within this category there were messages that belittled the activists; these included expletives and even high-flown words (see image 5):

Parasit@\$

Pura vieja toxica

Las acarreadas sin cerebro

Aver cuántos daños asen las viejas locas esas Duro contra esas loc@\$

Sexo débil tont.0

Váyanse a dormir...ridículas

Si fueran para lavar su ropa o los trastes de la casa o ya mínimo tener recogido su cuarto a no pero para eso no son buenas [palabra altisonante]

Image 2. Screenshot 27:01



Source: Milenio Tamaulipas (March 8, 2021).

They have vandalized the march

Most of these comments attribute damage to the activists as a form of reproach:

Aver cuántos daños asen las viejas locas esas

Porque están huecas y es mentira que les importan las mujeres. Solo sacan su frustración y se desquitan con personas y destruyen cosas...

Que tristeza que vayan estas señoritas a protestar por las mujeres y agreden alas mujeres policías no entiendo por que las agreden

Image 4. Screenshot 1:33

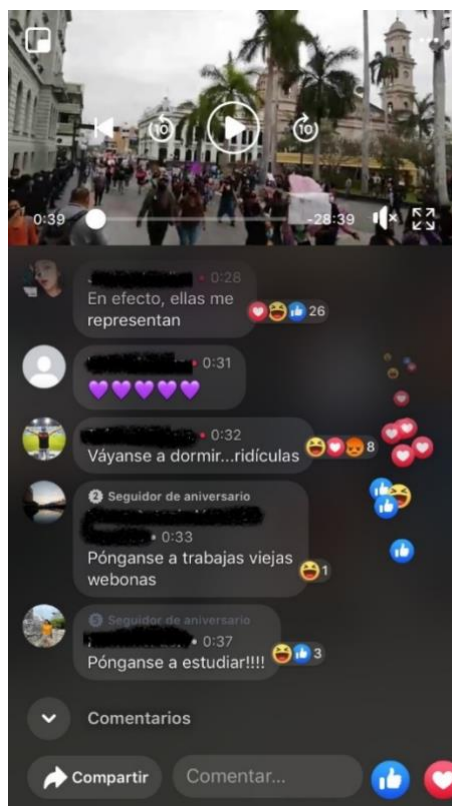
Source: Milenio Tamaulipas (March 8, 2021).

Supporting the march

This category included messages expressing satisfaction with the march and encouragement to the activists:

*De admirar
Una marcha linda Apoyo total! Saludos
BIEN HECHO CHICAAAS
Gracias a su lucha le han hecho justicia a conocidas más
Ni una menos
Son las mejores*

The phrase "they represent me" was used repeatedly to motivate the march, however, it aroused expressions against the activists: "As I always say and maintain, they DO NOT REPRESENT ME". At the same time, comments were posted as a reminder of specific cases of femicides, as a way of demanding attention from the government. An example of these messages is: "I DEMAND JUSTICE FOR LILITH IGLESIAS, A SPANISH TOURIST MURDERED BY MANUEL ARTURO CORONADO PRECIADO!!!"

Image 5. Screenshot 0:39

Source: Milenio Tamaulipas (March 8, 2021).

Manifiesto in favor of feminism

Comments were found that alluded to the principles or postulates that feminists follow to make protests and take to the streets. These sought to vindicate the position of women in the public space, as well as the full exercise of their rights:

*Por ti, por mí, por todas
 A los hijos se les debe cuidar padre y madre
 Unas desde casa y otras ahí, personas a las cuales les preocupan y les interesan sus derechos
 como mujer y justicia también
 Por todas las mujeres del mundo sobajadas por el hombre abusador*

Discussion

After reviewing the comments, it was found that sarcastic, ironic and mocking comments prevailed; these expressions can function as a conduit to expel the emotional charges that Internet users prefer not to express openly (Cortés & Arroyo, 2021). In this regard, Campillo (2022) points out that irony is used as a resource to commit non-explicit verbal violence, a situation that would be present in this work. It has been documented that mockery is an expression of anger or discontent (Cortés & Arroyo,

2021), emotions that, in this case, came to the surface when observing the march, and seeing more women joining the march.

What is most concerning in this regard is that the humorous tone of these messages is used to make this act of violence socially acceptable (Crosas & Medina-Bravo, 2019). By referring to the literature reviewed, it can be added that this anger derived both from the demonstration and from the boldness of feminists to occupy the public space "that does not belong to them", as patriarchy has made believe. This is supported by the large number of comments that disapproved of the march and that connoted an enormous dissatisfaction for having taken place, for the women who were part of it and for those who joined.

As for sexist comments, these referred to the roles imposed on women by the current heteropatriarchal system and their position in the private sphere; those associated with sexual violence also appeared, perpetuating the imposed gender clichés. It is important to note that even in a few messages the position of superiority of men over women was defended. Authors Fernández and Sánchez (2019) explain that this is linked to the fact of using discursive strategies of post-truth politics, where emotions are capitalized to evade solid arguments about gender violence, leaving as the only resource to victimize men.

It should be noted that most of the expressions about the march were made up of text, emojis and stickers. Although it is not the central theme of this paper, it is important to note this fact because current studies affirm that these pictograms "are used in a highly symbolic way in situations of social relevance, becoming an instrument for feminist discourse on the Internet" (Sampietro et al., 2020, p. 137). For example, in the comments in favor, the large number of hearts that accompanied the expressions stands out; the purple heart is becoming a symbol of feminist cyberactivism, both in Mexico and in other countries.

This situation reaffirms what Cantamutto and Vela (2020) established: emojis are used as badges of group affiliation in digital activism. Other authors even point out that the more such pictograms (such as emoticons) are used, the more friendship ties between people are strengthened (Tang & Foon, 2019). However, research asserts that if these elements are used in a negative way they can reinforce violent attitudes (Campillo, 2022; Crosas & Medina-Bravo, 2019).

In this regard, a high prevalence of visual manifestations to denigrate the 8M march was found. In general, the number of comments that aroused a discussion among Internet users is considerable; among these, many of them defended the marchers and contradicted the anti-feminists, so it is intuited that the march brought out adepts, an observation that coincides with other works on the subject (Favaro, 2018; Portillo et al., 2022).

Now, the present analysis coincides with the work of García-González and Bailey (2020) conducted in Mexico City around the 8M march of 2020 in terms of comments in opposition to the march and its delegitimization, however, in this research a greater number of messages in favor of the march were found (39% vs. 14%). This aroused interest in knowing which factors are determinant for the acceptance of these feminist marches in a particular place, and which ones trigger cyber-violence towards these groups.

With all the above, this section closes by affirming that in the information and communication media, such as the internet and social networks, feminists who demonstrated on 8M in 2021 in Tampico, Tamaulipas, were the object of anti-feminist gender cyber-violence, which exalts prejudices and stereotypes towards women and feminism (Crosas and Medina-Bravo, 2019). Affirming its

existence coincides with the research of Fernández and Sánchez (2019) who, in addition, indicate that the purpose of these narratives is to co-opt the opinion of feminists.

Conclusions

The analysis made to the video comments on the 8M 2021 march in Tampico, Tamaulipas, showed a stance against the movement. From this, manifested through insults, sexist, indifferent, sarcastic and accusatory comments, it can be concluded the existence of gender cyber-violence towards feminists who demonstrated in such event.

The hatred and misogyny expressed through this derive in a delegitimization of the march. Overall, this repudiation finds an explanation in Foucault's model of disciplinary rhetoric (1975, cited by Crosas and Medina - Bravo, 2019), by which it is understood that this cyber-violence undoubtedly constitutes a mechanism of coercion applied in a systemic way to silence feminist women.

By showing that this cyber-violence is part of gender-based political violence, it is demonstrated that feminists currently have to endure ill-treatment in the democratizing medium that the Internet is believed to be. As a consequence, this leads to the violation of their fundamental rights on the network and all that this means, such as freedom of information, communication and expression, and the limit it places on them to appropriate the virtues of the Internet on equal terms.

Thus, this gender-based cyber-violence has a far-reaching impact that transcends the instrumental, affecting material and moral aspects of women activists (even putting their lives at risk). Not only is their in-person participation in the public sphere inhibited, but now it can also be prevented digitally. In light of this, it is suggested that focused studies be conducted to understand the perception of activists who have been cyber-violently attacked and how their access to and use of the Internet for their activities has been affected by these demonstrations.

Activists are potential victims of different cybercrimes that have to do mainly with privacy and protection of their personal data. For example, they may be directly affected by the improper use of their image, and as a more tragic consequence, they may experience physical violence, which was promoted in the comments reviewed.

With all this, it is possible to affirm the existence of a pattern of oppressive behavior in the network towards feminists extrapolated to the local level. In this way, it is recommended that other geographic spaces be approached with the idea of being able to generalize the results obtained. It is considered important to create public policies that address gender violence in Tamaulipas and the rest of the country, taking into account cyber-violence in the digital environment, but from a gender perspective. These initiatives will also have to seek mechanisms to protect their physical integrity, since, if attention is not paid to this phenomenon, future expressions by these groups may be discouraged, which does not suit a participatory democracy as intended in the country.

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*Rosa Amelia Domínguez Arteaga. PhD and Master in Documentation from Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain. She holds a master's degree in Media Research from the same university. She is a member of the National System of Researchers (SNI) of Mexico, level I. She is currently a full time research professor at El Colegio de Tamaulipas. Her research interests are related to digital society, with a focus on information policies in the digital environment. E-mail: rosa.dominguez@tam.gob.mx