Feminisms outraged at justice: the online conversation on 'La Manada' case

Feminismos indignados ante la justicia: la conversación digital en el caso de 'La Manada'

Julen Orbegozo Terradillos
(U. del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)   [julen.orbegozo@ehu.eus]

Jordi Morales i Grass
(U. del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)   [jordi.morales@ehu.eus]

Ainara Larrondo Ureta
(U. del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)   [ainara.larrondo@ehu.eus]

Abstract

This paper examines the online conversation on Twitter resulting from the court ruling in the 'La Manada' case, linking the judiciary to feminism, currently one of the most active social movements. To this end, a case study methodological based on an empirical approach to social network analysis was employed. Both of them are useful for distinguishing between spontaneous and strategic indignation and, therefore, for inferring that feminisms still have many alliances to explore.

Resumen

Este artículo examina la conversación en Twitter surgida a raíz de la sentencia de "La Manada", poniendo en relación un poder público, el judicial, con uno de los movimientos sociales más activos, el feminismo. Con este fin, se aplica una metodología de estudio de caso sustentada en una aproximación empírica de Análisis de Redes Sociales útiles para distinguir entre una indignación espontánea y otra estratégica, infiriendo que los feminismos tienen aún muchas alianzas que explorar.

Keywords

Feminism, social movements, ciberactivism, Twitter, big data, justice.

Palabras clave

Feminismo, movimientos sociales, ciberactivismo, Twitter, datos masivos, justicia.

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1. Introduction

Over the past years, public opinion on the three powers interacting in society has been approached and analysed in different fields. For its part, this study examines the online conversation on the 'La Manada' case on Twitter. This social networking site was chosen as the object of study because it has been shown to be an arena for social action with the ability to contribute to the creation of frames that give rise to and explain our reality (Criado, 2012; Baggiolini & Castro, 2016; Martínez, 2017).

The interest of the selected case study lies in its usefulness for linking the judiciary, one of three most important powers, to Twitter, one of the social networking sites that has proven to have the greatest political infiuence (Gutiérrez-Rubí, 2016). Furthermore, this research is framed in a social context characterised by the consolidation of new multidisciplinary and multicultural spheres of debate (Perelló, 2018), embodied by digital social networks. These have contributed to the scrutiny, monitoring and control of the citizenry in public life and politics (Gutiérrez-Rubí, 2018). It should also be borne in mind that this study was performed at a moment when the Spanish judicial system was particularly present in the public eye.

Thus, the aim of this study is to take an original and practical approach to a new inescapable form of social scrutiny to which the powers participating in the public sphere are currently being subject. In that sense, nowadays Twitter is clearly an arena for social action where people, without the need for any prior strategic planning, interact freely, creating identities and knitting together communities. The reason why the focus is placed on the online conversation on Twitter is because it gives precedence to spontaneity and immediacy that, in turn, promotes a fiuid conversation and political debate (Campos-Domínguez, 2017).

With a view to explaining how the judiciary characterises feminisms in the context of the case study analysed here (the court ruling in the 'La Manada' case) and what type of conversation it generated, a novel, proprietary, inductive and exploratory methodology, combining semantic and social network analyses applied to data retrieved directly from Twitter, was employed for the empirical analysis performed on more than 3 million interactions on this social networking site.

1.1 Justice and feminism

The ideals of freedom and justice have been the driving force behind the feminist movement since its advent. It is precisely these ideals that the Right also defends. But, far from contributing to defend and underpin them, its inherent potential for conflict can also undermine them (Costa, 2014).

In the field of social sciences, it is claimed that access to justice is particularly complicated for women as regards both its exercise and the consequences of its application to subjects of law. This claim has been reinforced by, for example, studies and documents addressing the global population's access to justice, such as the international instrument, 'United Nations Principles and Guidelines on Access to Legal Aid in Criminal Justice Systems', published by the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 2012. This document recognises the difficulties that women have in gaining access to legal aid and insists that legal systems should include a gender perspective. Different contributions to a legal system of a feminist nature have advocated for a 'feminist-legal' method and epistemology that includes the point of view of women on such decisive aspects as legal values and logic, plus the concept of justice (Smart, 2000; Motta & Sáez, 2008; Duhacek, 2014). Broadly speaking, these currents also advocate for promoting transformations in the legal field on the basis of minor social changes. As a matter of fact, the legal system that regulates the individual and collective rights of a society is one of the main objectives of feminist demands. It is not for nothing, as Valcárcel (2016) observes, that feminism is 'that political tradition of egalitarian and democratic modernity that maintains that no member of the human race should be excluded from any good or right on the grounds of his or her sex'.

According to the aforementioned feminist legal studies, the circumstances that interact to hinder the access of women to justice correspond to the limits of the object of law per se, as a result of androcentric bias, although there are other constraints, such as classism, racism and heterocentrism (Costa, 2014). In the words of Costa (2014), these studies are grounded in the conviction that the discourse of the Right tends to ignore women and their experiences, interests and contributions. This authoress then goes on to claim that androcentric bias does not only affect theory, but also makes itself felt or dwells in institutions that legitimise and apply legal knowledge.

1.2 Twitter and cyber-activism

The advent and consolidation of the Internet at the end of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the present one provided feminist movements with a new parallel and autonomous tool to counter the omnipotence of the traditional media, thus paving the way for cyber-feminism (Pozner, 2003; Kelly, 2005). The rise of social networking sites (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc.) then led to a stage in which social movements started to leverage such a decisive tool as cyber-activism for the purpose of enhancing their media visibility and coordinating or developing their struggles (Thompson, 2005; Earl & Kimport, 2011; Bruns, Enli, Skogerbø, Larsonn, & Christensen, 2015). This new context has had a decisive impact on what several authors call the current emergence of the 'fourth feminist wave' (Locke, Lawthon, & Lyons, 2018).

Social movements currently have the tools for continually and openly questioning the state powers, which have been placed under new social scrutiny. In this respect, Twitter has been singled out as a virtual space with a technological-dialogic and social dimension particularly useful for dialogically interrelating and grouping together different actors (individuals, groups or organisations) that, acting as nodes or focal points, share interests and can collectively construct specific meanings and struggles (Baggiolini & Castro, 2016).

For Arroyas, Martínez and Berná (2018), Twitter possesses specific communication characteristics—immediacy, media impact, mobilisation, simple messages, etc.—that foster interactions and collective identities with an important emotional component, to the point that, according to these authors, Twitter favours the development of ideological frames of reference that are effective for mobilising society. This idea shores up the now canonical reflection of Fleischman (2004) at the beginning of the new millennium, according to which activism based on media interactivity did not replace other forms of traditional political participation, but reinforced them. In contrast, Hermida and Hernández-Santaolalla (2016) are more critical when observing that, despite the fact that online platforms serve as loudspeakers amplifying the messages of activists, they have evident limitations and are still at the mercy of the very system that they intend to challenge.

Returning to the current context, Twitter is also a medium that allows for dispensing with traditional intermediaries or gatekeepers, whose

top management positions have traditionally been occupied by men (Criado, 2012). To this factor should be added the fact that there are digitally literate middle classes with a higher level of education, represented by women who have joined the ranks of a feminist movement that has known how to combine intergenerational aspects with new forms of participation in a thought–provoking fashion (Simón, 2018).

In this regard, it is understood that the incorporation of digital networks has substantially altered the ways in which social movements communicate and organise themselves (Martínez, 2017). For Baggiolini and Castro (2016), Twitter is more valuable than other social networking sites like Facebook because of its capacity to highlight the main digital communication strategies (convergence, transmedia account, viralisation and content management). They are also of the mind that indisputable proof of the social and discursive value of Twitter would be the proliferation, in the past few years, of social phenomena like the Arab Spring, the Spanish 15–M movement (Martínez, 2017) and others directly linked to discursive interactions through hashtags relating, more often than not, to the feminist movement in different countries all over the world, including #Occupywallstreet, #BlackLivesMatter, #YoSoy132 and #NiunaMenos (Argentina) (Laudano, 2017).

Many authors such as Jinsook (2017) and Turley and Fisher (2018) have recently analysed major feminist campaigns on Twitter on the basis of hashtags. Nonetheless, the scientific community is currently casting doubt on the real efficiency of this technology–related communication tool. There are optimistic perspectives, such as that of Arroyas, Martínez and Berná (2018) who confirm the capacity of Twitter to spread messages, to open debates and to create politically likeminded communities. Among the less optimistic, there are those who critically allude to its scant utility for promoting strong and firmly established collectives (Zafra, 2010; Rendueles, 2013; Fotopoulou, 2014; Shulevitz & Traister, 2014; Caro–Castaño, 2015), owing to their marked individualistic character.

In the specific case of Spain, Twitter is clearly one of the most important arenas for social action in which feminist discontent and indignation with the legal system has been expressed, as evidenced by the hashtags linked to the court ruling in the 'La Manada' case. Whereby the interest in gaining further insights into the conversation of different individuals and groups on Twitter

in relation to this case, identifying alliances and providing sound data that offer us a glimpse of new feminist characterisations in an increasingly more digitised social context.

In light of the above, this paper is framed in the current of feminist studies that attempts to shed light on the new social paradigm currently being shaped by such decisive factors as the new social movements, the presence of the Internet in all spheres of life and the increasingly greater participation of women in the public sphere. Accordingly, this study places the spotlight on those three aspects and on one of the social networking sites on which debates tend to be more political than anything else. Indeed, as Perelló (2018) acknowledges, Twitter has rapidly ceased to be a platform for the discussion of trivial matters to become a forum of debate on current affairs, particularly orientated towards activism.

Specifically, this study focuses on the hashtags #EstaEsNuestraManada, #EsUnaGuerra, #JusticiaPatriarcal, #LaManada, #NoEsAbusoEsViolacion, #NoEsNo and #YoSíTeCreo, with the aim of enquiring more deeply into the aspects of the online conversation on the Spanish legal system, employing to this end social network and semantic analysis techniques, described in further detail in the following section.

1.3 Context of the case

The feminist-legal perspectives referred to in the introduction were perfectly illustrated in Spain by the sentences handed down by the Provincial Court of Navarre on 26 April 2018 to five young men from Seville, who had sexually assaulted a young woman during the Sanfermines festival in Pamplona in 2016. The fact that the court considered the assault as 'sexual abuse' encountered considerable opposition from public opinion represented by different social, judicial and political sectors, for whom the assault had been 'rape'. The young men were sentenced to nine years in jail, while acquitting them of other crimes linked to filming with mobile devices and robbery with the use of intimidation.

The subsequent wave of indignation that swept through Spain, affecting civil society, the political establishment and women in the same measure, should be understood in a context in which feminism was in full ferment, as a result of the demonstrations staged on 8 March 2018 and

the first feminist strike since the democratic transition. Different people described the organisation and staging of the strike as successful, even going so far as to place Spain at the 'epicentre of the tsunami' (Simon, 2018), with a feminism that made room for the protests and reflections of more global movements like #MeToo and had the capacity to construct a more active and vigorous movement than in other countries. According to Martínez-Bascuñán (2018), a scholar and the opinion editor of the newspaper *El País*, it is 'a new transformative force that may well represent the fourth feminist wave'.

All in all, these mobilisations had conceptual and cultural links to the 'Spanish Revolution' symbolised by the 15-M movement in 2011. Likewise, the irritation of feminists with the 'La Manada' case was exacerbated by other factors, such as the unremitting social indignation provoked by the long string of cases of gender violence in Spain.

In this regard, although it shares characteristics with and has links to feminist movements in other parts of the world, since its advent Spanish feminism has trod a solitary path. In fact, organised feminism emerged at a relatively late date in post-Francoism or the democratic transition (1976-1979). Albeit a brief period, it was very intense and characterised by major street actions of a colourful and expressive nature (mass demonstrations, strikes, sit-downs, sit-ins, etc.) that gave it a very specific character (Larumbe, 2002), in addition to greater social visibility and media coverage.

Nowadays, Spanish feminisms have new channels for conveying their messages and raising public awareness about gender inequalities from very different angles, such as that associated with the legal and social spheres described here. The value of the Internet and social media for shaping social relations that help feminisms organise mass demonstrations with plenty of social support in unquestionable. For, according to Candón-Mena's (2011) views on the participation levels in such demonstrations, the perception that it will be a mass protest will make it a mass protest.

2. Methodological framework

This study was performed using an inductive approach deriving from the type of data exploration technique employed in the empirical study phase.

This technique focused on identifying the strategic interactions established within feminism in relation to the 'La Manada' case specifically on Twitter. The characteristics of each community participating in the conversation and its description were inferred from those interactions, rather than from pre-established categories (such as those traditionally used in techniques such as the survey). In other words, the basic unit of analysis was interaction and not the individual.

It should be noted that social interactions have historically been a central theoretical object of study in the social sciences (Simmel, 1908; Mead, 1934; Homans, 1958; White, 1992, 2008), notwithstanding the fact that they have been widely underused at an empirical level. To offer just one telling example, it is more efficient to ask people for their opinion than to study their relations through a political prism. Traditional statistical approaches therefore imply a high level of reductionism and missed opportunities to offer explanations at a macro level (state, major social groups, transnational minorities, etc.). In the words of Latour (2010), when performing field work there is a tendency to focus on the individual as little as possible, in order to move on as quickly as possible to the aggregate data that it will now be impossible to break down.

In view of the interest in avoiding, whenever possible, empirical reductionism and with the intention of depicting the diversity and wealth of social phenomena as dynamic as feminism, this study was based on an approach representing, in its own right, a proprietary or specific methodological proposal in the field of social network analysis. Its originality lies precisely in the use of analytical techniques applied to the big data paradigm, which allow for opening the 'black box' of interactions and converting these from theoretical into empirical objects of study.

2.1 Objective and hypothesis

Based on the theoretical–methodological approach described above, the main aim of this study was to identify the different communication fiows on Twitter resulting from the court rulings in the 'La Manada' case. In point of fact, it is held that the description of online conversations on relevant events in society helps to gain a better understanding of the social context in which these occur or of reality itself. In this case, the main aim was to

understand feminist behaviour on a social networking site like Twitter, the interactions that it gave rise to, the type of content that was shared and the relations emerging from those interactions. And all of this while maintaining an online 'dialogue' on a recent development that has had a great impact on public opinion as regards one of the three powers: the judiciary. Another of its objectives was to identify the communities participating in the online conversation, the temporal scope and leadership style characterising them and the narratives or micro-narratives that each community wove.

Moreover, we departed from the premise that the public powers should be subject to further social scrutiny, embodied by the influence exerted by social networking sites on public opinion. Traditionally, the media have played a necessary role in building public opinion, which is one of the reasons why they have been regarded as 'the fourth power' (Marqués, 2017). So, this begs the question of whether or not the impact that social movements have on public opinion on social media may contribute to establish them as a fifth power. Different authors claim that we are currently witnessing the birth of a new power, that of social networks (Zapata, 2018) in the new communication paradigm, comprehensively analysed by Castells (2009).

According to the main hypothesis of this research, in occurrences of this type that receive plenty of media coverage and have a considerable impact on public opinion Twitter serves as a platform for dialogic interactions. On the one hand, these can be spontaneous, fleeting and isolated and, on the other, more ideological interactions and better organised reflections endorsed by structured collectives. In this sense, accounts of the judiciary constructed from very personal and emotional perspectives would converge with more reflective interactions and, in the long term, enhance more strategic visions that the more organised feminism as a whole may pursue. Should this aspect be borne out, the powers would, in the new communication paradigm, lend themselves to a popular scrutiny involving more organised movements with more trivial perspectives that would have a considerable impact on the opinion that society has of itself.

2.2. Analytical procedure

The results of this work form part of a broader research project enquiring into the contribution of social networks to the social and political

communication paradigm. This project has involved the uninterrupted monitoring of different events associated with feminisms and their online conversation on Twitter, using the Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset (DMI-TCAT), developed by the Digital Methods Initiative (DMI-TCAT) of the University of Amsterdam (Borra & Rieder, 2014).

In relation to the 'La Manada' case, 3,317,888 tweets were collected in two different periods coinciding with two decisive moments during the court proceedings, illustrated by two news stories: News Story 1[1] (between 26 April and 17 May) and News Story 2[2] (between 21 June and 13 July). In short, the data employed in this analysis were collected in two periods of the same duration during which there was a similar level of activity[3] and which represented two decisive moments in the court case and its media coverage.

For data collection, the keywords 'sexual abuse', 'criminal code', 'justice', 'San Fermin', 'rape' and 'to rape' were monitored, in addition to the following hashtags: #EstaEsNuestraManada, #EsUnaGuerra, #JusticiaPatriarcal, #LaManada, #NoEsAbusoEsViolacion, #NoEsNo and #YoSiTeCreo). As many of these terms are generic and ambivalent (for instance, a tweet about the 'criminal code' did not necessarily have to do with the prosecution of the five young men), data processing methods were employed to filter them.

Of all the data collected, those that contained some or other reference to justice were deemed to be of interest to the research. Thus, 247,019 tweets posted by 123,427 users were taken into account when putting together the final sample. These data were examined using a social network analysis strategy and then crossed with the original matrix containing the collected tweets. This methodological strategy and the specific technique used are described in further detail below.

First and foremost, DMI-TCAT was used to generate a network graph in which each actor or node represented a participant in the conversation and

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1   The Provisional Court of Navarre published the sentence on 26 April.

2   On 21 June, the Provisional Court of Navarre announced the release on bail of the five members of the 'La Manada', after depositing 6,000 euros each.

3   The research team decided to work with the data obtained during three weeks because the level of activity tends to drop sharply during the final days of data collection.

each connection or edge, a mention–type interaction on Twitter: a retweet, a direct reply or an interpolation in a normal tweet.

Secondly, the network graph was exported to Gephi (Bastian, Heymann, & Jacomy, 2009) and interpreted as a directed (the edges have an origin and an end) and weighted network (the edges can represent one or more interactions).

Thirdly, the average number of connections per user in the network was calculated (weighted average degree), in order to determine some of the structural characteristics of the conversation, such as the cohesion between actors.

Fourthly, the weighted in–degree of each actor or node was calculated with Gephi. This in–degree refers to the number of mentions received by each user. To offer just one example, a @user who has been mentioned 23 times in the conversation as a whole will have an in–degree of 23 in the network as a whole.

Finally, the Louvain method for community detection was used (Blondel, Guillaume, Lambiotte, & Lefebvre, 2008) to pinpoint the communities on the graph corresponding to the different conversations that were identifiable in the data. This algorithm was applied randomly and considering the network as weighted. The network nodes were grouped sequentially, before continually evaluating the increase or decrease in the modularity measure (Newman, 2004), a metric that gauges the descriptive quality of a community partition by measuring the fraction of connections between actors that fall into those modules. The resulting community participation can be evaluated using the same measure: a modularity measure higher than 0.3 is considered to be statistically significant.

The network as a whole was visually represented as a graph, highlighting its communities. Likewise, each module or community was described separately, putting the accent on the following aspects:

- The number of actors in the network and their proportion with respect to the rest.

- The duration of the conversation, highlighting the number of impacts collected in April, May, June and July, bearing in the mind that, globally speaking, most of the data was gathered in April and June.

■ The leaders of each one of the 10 communities in terms of in-degree, namely, the 10 most mentioned @accounts. The indicator next to each actor is the in-degree, i.e. the total number of mentions received in the network as a whole.

■ The most shared content in the community is shown in the ranking of the top 10 tweets. The indicator next to each tweet is its salience in each community (the percentage of interactions shared by each piece of content within the community): a tweet will have a salience of 100 per cent if it is the only one that has been shared and one of 10 per cent if it has been shared 10 times in the network with 100 interactions.

3. Results

3.1 General approach to the network

The conversation was used to generate a network graph representing a total of 113,983 actors and 206,691 weighted connections summarising a total of 320,676 interactions. Each actor in the network was connected on average to 1.97 additional actors, which points to a very low number of connections. The figures for the network density indicate that only 0.002 per cent of all the possible connections between actors were actually made, thus suggesting that, by and large, there are still many strategic issues that feminism has yet to explore.

The application of the Louvain method for community detection resulted in the identification of a total of 3,118 different communities with a modularity measure of 0.67. This is a relatively large number of communities, many composed of dyads or triads of actors (brief interactions), which, on the other hand, is normal in big data analysis strategies, with a very acceptable figure in relation to modularity. Of the more than 3,000 communities identified, only those surpassing the threshold of 2 per cent of the nodes were chosen, totalling the 14 shown below in Figure 1.[4]

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4   The algorithm randomly assigned the numbers to the communities, for which reason they have nothing to do with their order. The communities were chosen by the authors in terms of their characteristics and actors.

FIGURE 1. Network graph and captions after filtering its 14 most important communities
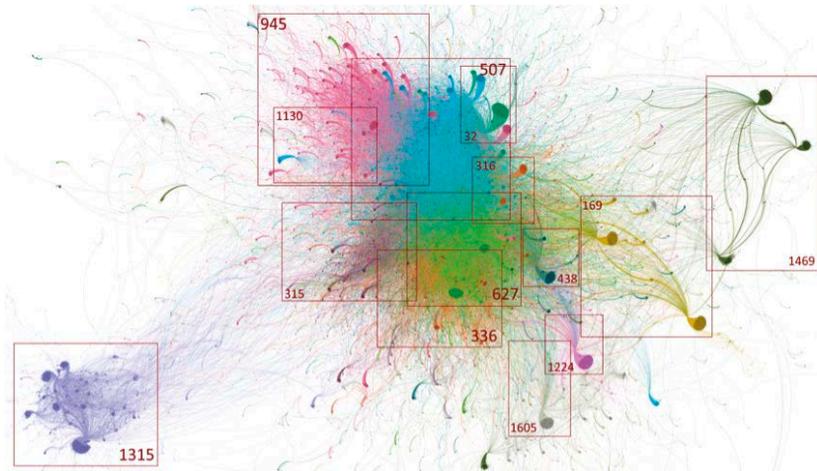
COMMUNITY	ASSIGNED NAME
945	Spanish left-wing and Catalan separatist movement
507	Republicanism
627	Madrid feminism
1315	Alt-right and masculism
336	Anti-capitalists of Podemos and United Left (IU)
1605	Chilean community
169	Feminists, communists, LGTBI
32	'Indignados', Podemos
1469	Well-known artistes
315	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)
316	Feminist coordinating committees
438	Feminist professionals
1224	Feminist demonstration in Madrid
1130	Left-wing and pro-independence tweet stars

Source: generated by Gephi and edited by the authors

The network graph clearly illustrates a centre-periphery scenario. Communities like 945, 507 and 627 represent the core of the conversation, with a significant exchange of connections between them: there was contact between these communities and their information fiows. In contrast, communities like 1315 and 1469 show a pattern of peripheral isolation: they were basically communities impervious to the content shared in the rest of network, although they were not completely segregated. The volume of each community, whose characteristics will be explored below, is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Community descriptions (users and percentage of network nodes)

COMMUNITY / ASSIGNED NAME	No. USERS	PERCENTAGE
Spanish left-wing and Catalan separatist movement	9836	8.63%
Republicanism	9751	8.55%
Madrid feminism	8701	7.63%
Alt-right and masculism	7798	6.84%
Anti-capitalists of Podemos and United Left (IU)	4789	4.20%
Chilean community	4035	3.54%
Feminists, communists, LGTBI	3959	3.47%
'Indignados', Podemos	3680	3.23%
Well-known artistes	3574	3.14%
Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE)	2605	2.29%
Feminist coordinating committees	2571	2.26%
Feminist professionals	2356	2.07%
Feminist demonstration in Madrid	2317	2.03%
Left-wing and pro-independence tweet stars	2281	2.00%

Source: own elaboration

In the online conversation analysed here, in which one of the powers and one of the most robust social movements were apparently related, it is possible observe three types of macro-narratives. These were constructed by user profiles interacting in this conversation, many of whom belonged to the community of feminist movements:

■   Macro-narrative 1: the judiciary treats women, as autonomous and differentiated social subjects, badly.

■   Macro-narrative 2: by and large there is little justice in Spain, regardless of the social subjects involved.

■   Macro-narrative 3: the judiciary does a good job and all of the other discourses are wrong and baseless (a third narrative that, however, was isolated or relatively far removed from feminism and all of the agents supporting and interacting with it).

Unlike the third macro-narrative, the first two were to be found at the centre of the conversation-interaction (see Figure 2), revealing dialogic synergies and unity of action on the semi-periphery (for example, sharing photographs of the aggressors). Likewise, some of the content simultaneously structured each cluster's narratives about the Spanish legal system, thus constituting narrative hubs.

1.2 Description of the communities

Community 945 - Spanish left-wing and Catalan separatist movement

The network's largest community had 9,836 actors, accounting for 8.63 per cent of the total (see Figure 2). As to its leaders in terms of in-degree (i.e. the most mentioned), these included journalists with links to the Spanish Left and the Catalan secessionists. This community's activity was stable throughout the monitored period.

The content shared cast doubt on the criterion followed by the Spanish judiciary. It also referred positively to the news programmes of Canal Sur Televisión (Andalusia's public broadcasting company), which had broadcast the photographs and names of the five men, and included rumours about a TV interview with them.

FIGURE 2.   Main indicators for community 945 –
   Spanish left–wing and Catalan separatist movement
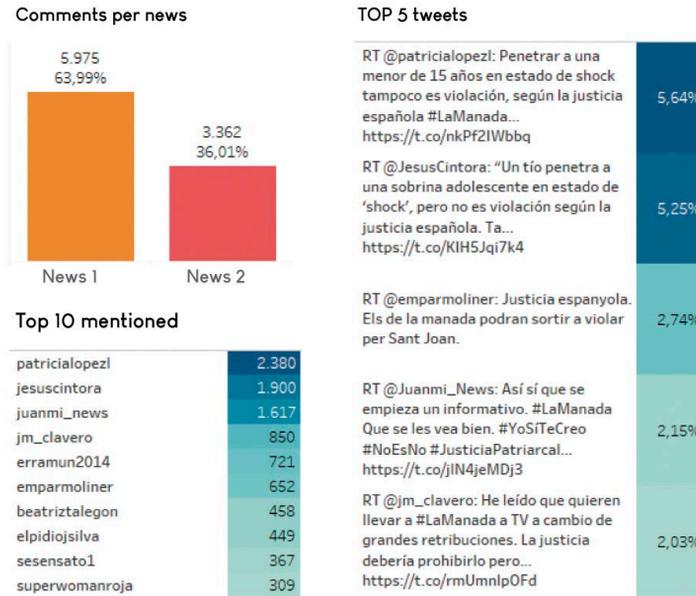
Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

Community 507 - Republicanism

The second most important community had 9,751 actors, representing 8.5 per cent of the total (see Figure 3). The users receiving most mentions mainly included activists and supporters of the Third Spanish Republic. This community's activity was stable over time, with a peak in June.

Users shared content criticising the defendants' lawyer and the legal system as a whole. They also disseminated calls to action and viral initiatives aimed at publishing the photographs of the five defendants. It was the community whose tweets had the lowest salience, which evinces a complex context involving multiple narratives.

FIGURA 3. Main indicators for community 507 – Republicanism
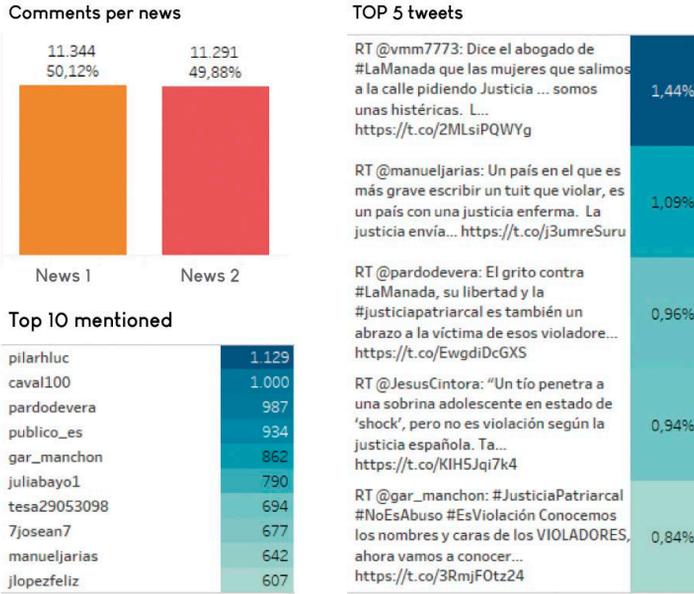
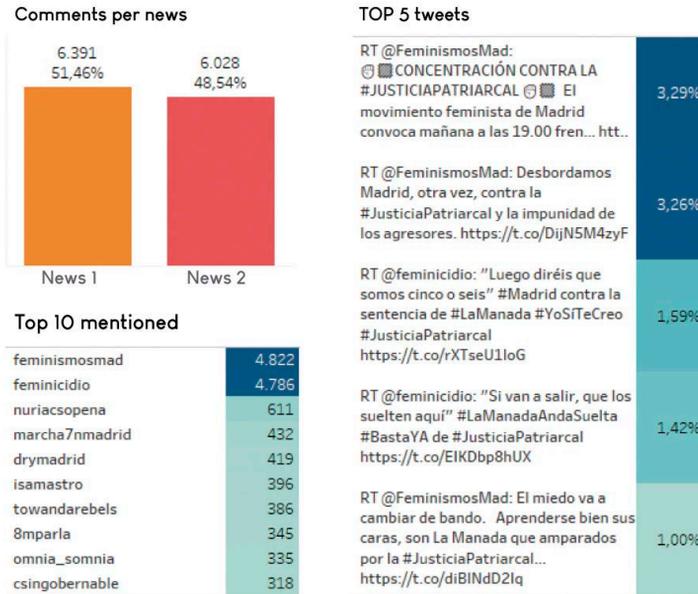Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

Community 627 – Madrid feminism

The third most important community had 8,701 actors, accounting for 7.63 per cent of the total (see Figure 4). A very strong ideological and geographical component was observed among the cluster's main actors: in the main, they were Twitter accounts associated with feminist platforms and groups based in Madrid. As with the previous community, its activity was stable over time, although with a slight peak in June, when the Provincial Court of Navarre announced its decision to release the five men on bail. In this cluster, two collective accounts should be highlighted. Both focused on the feminist demands that were expressed in a high percentage of the conversations.

The content disseminated by this community largely had to do with several protests directly called by the groups leading the cluster. It was a

community with a prolific amount of graphic and eminently self-referential content, in which the protests revolved around criticising the judiciary.

FIGURE 4.   Main indicators for community 627 - Madrid feminism

Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

Community 1315 - Alt-right and masculism

The fourth community, isolated and clearly different from the rest, included 7,798 actors, namely, 6.84 per cent of the total (see Figure 5). Content circulated above all in April, after it was made public that the five men had been sentenced for sexual abuse, rather than rape. There were indications of an 'incursion' into the external debate, which was reproduced much less frequently in June, probably as a result of its isolation in the previous period.

The cluster's micro-narratives were diverse and heterogeneous, presented in a 'self-assured' way and uninfluenced by any political correctness. Accordingly, feminism as a whole, the Minister of Defence Margarita Robles,

the refugees and even the left-wing Basque pro-independence leader Arnaldo Otegi came under criticism. Unlike in other cases, it was impossible to observe a clear and precise line of argument relating to the judiciary, feminism or the five member of 'La Manada', but rather a generic opposition to all those who were outraged by the court ruling and their subsequent release on bail.

FIGURE 5. Main indicators for community 1315 – Alt-right and masculism
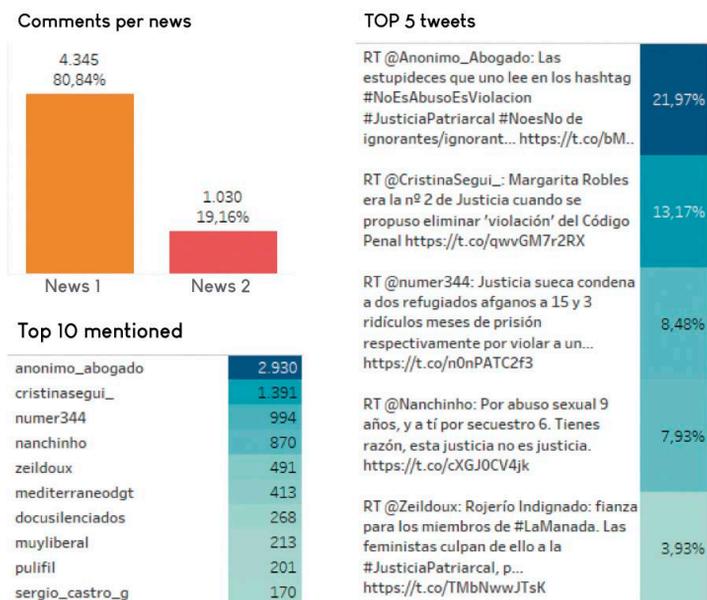
Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

Community 336 – Anti-capitalists of Podemos and United Left (IU)
The fifth most important community had 4,789 actors, representing 4.20 per cent of the total (see Figure 6). Noteworthy political actors included Teresa Rodríguez (Podemos Andalucía) and Alberto Garzón (IU), in addition to accounts associated with Podemos and, in particular, IU. A community with a clear ideological and partisan structure, its activity resulted from both the sentence (April) and the five men's release on bail (June).

FIGURE 6. Main indicators for community 336 –
Anti–capitalists of Podemos and IU

Comments per news

3.560
59,98%

2.375
40,02%

News 1   News 2

Top 10 mentioned

teresarodr_	1.893
agarzon	1.120
ujce	378
iu_madrid_mujer	357
areamujer_iu	284
elpcm	260
justiciagob	227
podemoscanarias	227
iuandalucia	200
elpce	173

TOP 5 tweets

RT @TeresaRodr_: Primero violada, luego cuestionada. #JusticiaPatriarcal https://t.co/7apGG1xdfO	4,92%
RT @agarzon: En la inmensa concentración en Madrid, de protesta contra la justicia patriarcal y machista que considera que una v... https://t.co/fNZwZi8rYc	4,72%
RT @TeresaRodr_: Si #LaManada sale a la calle, nosotras también. #JusticiaPatriarcal ⭕Abro hilo para que socialicemos juntas todas... https://t.co/pACuYLUAED	1,25%
RT @AreaMujer_IU: Esta claro: tenemos una #JusticiaPatriarcal y las mujeres estamos hartas de Violencia Institucional, hartas de Viol... https://t.co/K9TRh3HySR	1,20%
RT @vmm7773: Dice el abogado de #LaManada que las mujeres que salimos a la calle pidiendo Justicia ... somos unas histéricas. L... https://t.co/2MLsiPQWYg	0,91%

Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

The community's actors discussed the protests called by Podemos and IU, among others, and also encouraged each other in participate in them, an aspect that they shared with other clusters. This spurring people to action symbolised the cluster's specific criticism of the Spanish judiciary, referring to institutional violence as a tool for implementing a patriarchal legal system. The main tweets linked to this cluster broadened the concept of victim associated with a particular case to include all women as joint victims of an unfair legal system. Consequently, it was contended that the judiciary was the aggressor.

Community 1605 – Chilean community

The sixth largest community had 4,035 actors, accounting for 3.54 per cent of the total (see Figure 7), many of whom were Chilean, as its name

suggests. After peaking in April, the community's activity decreased, albeit remaining more or less stable. It was a case of one-off content going viral thanks to people with no special interest in the case.

As to content, it was a bogus community: much of what was shared did not have anything to do with the case, but referred to Chilean issues. However, the most noteworthy tweet (a salience of close to 30 per cent) was extremely relevant insofar as it served to disseminate the photographs of the five members of 'La Manada'. It was a cluster in which it was possible to detect transnational feminist synergies. Its tweets highlighted the particular usefulness of social networks for making content go viral quickly and easily, that viralisation being understood as the keen adhesion of global supporters that goes beyond geographical and even ideological borders, even fostering new forms of militancy.

FIGURE 7.   Main indicators for community 1605 – Chilean community
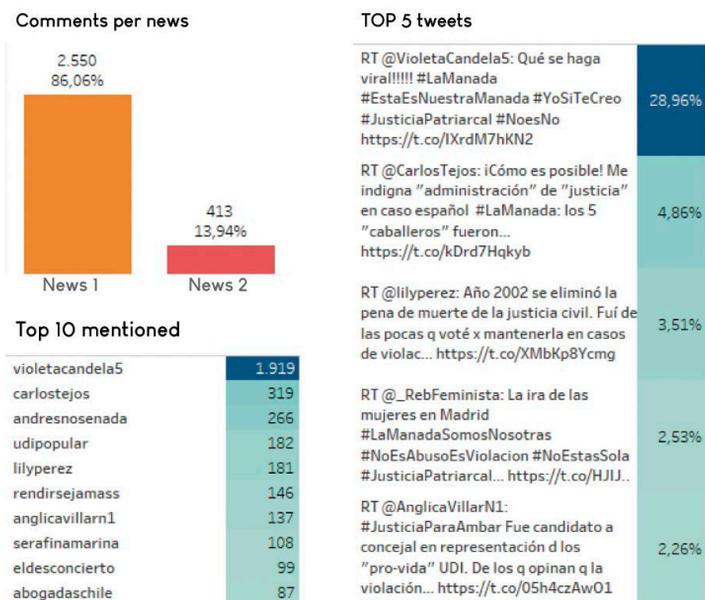
Source: elaborated by Tableau Public and edited by the authors

Community 169 – Feminists, communists, LGTBI[5]

The seventh most important community, with 3,050 actors (3.47 per cent of the total), included accounts relating to feminist cyber-activists, communists and the LGTBI movement. Unlike cluster 627, there was a great deal of polarisation, but, in contrast to cluster 336, there was no identification with any specific political current. The community was active in June, following the release on bail of the five members of 'La Manada'.

The content generated by the community essentially revolved around two tweets, which together accounted for 66 per cent of the cluster's salience. The first read, 'The streets will speak',[6] accompanied by a photograph with the following caption: 'La Manada are 8: 5 rapists

FIGURE 8.   Photograph included in the tweet ranked in first place (*@CristinaAgell*)

Source: Twitter

5   Figures with indicators are not provided for the rest of the communities.

6   In Spanish, 'Hablarán las calles'.

and 3 judges'[7] (see Figure 8). The second also placed the accent on the concept of impunity (see Figure 9). It was the cluster that offered more clearly the idea of a dual aggressor in this case by lumping together the five defendants, the three judges and the legal system.

FIGURE 9.   Screenshot of the second most popular tweet in community 169

Peich
@_Peich

La Manada volverá a violar en Sanfermines.

Si no es esa, será otra.
Porque la justicia les ha dejado claro que ellos violan y nosotras perdemos.
#JusticiaPatriarcal

5:31 p. m. · 21 jun. 2018 · Twitter for Android

2,3 mil Retweets   **2,3 mil** Me gusta

Source: Twitter

Community 32 – 'Indignados', Podemos

This community, the eighth largest with 3,680 actors (3.23 per cent of network), was most active in June. The main figure was the female journalist @vmm7773, who received eight times as many mentions than the second most important actor, the leader of Podemos Pablo Iglesias. As to this politician, it is important to stress that, despite having a large number of followers and apparent political clout, his participation in this case was unremarkable or subdued, judging by the few replies received, among other reasons.

In the community, outrage at the judges' rulings was expressed and an initiative of Change.org to call for their disqualification was also disseminated. On the other hand, there were also comments that pointed to a deterioration in the image of the judiciary and to the need for a comprehensive legal reform.

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7   In Spanish, 'La Manada son 8: 5 violadores y 3 jueces'.

Community 1469 – Well-known artistes

The leaders of the ninth most important community, with 3,574 actors (3.14 per cent of the network), were well-known artistes, above all musicians, who criticised the sentence and who were active in April. Specifically, the community reflected the solidarity of different artistes with the victim. Subjectively and in the first person, they expressed their opposition to the sentence with emotional words, similarly vindicating the slogan '#NoEsNo'. It was the most peripheral cluster of the network, after the alt-right community. One explanation for this is that feminism does not seem to need the support of celebrities, which leads us to wonder whether or not it is post-iconic movement. For this cluster, the members of 'La Manada' were the sole aggressors, for which reason there was no reaction in June, when the judges also became the targets of criticism.

Community 315 – Spanish Workers' Socialist Party (PSOE)

The leaders of the network's tenth most important community, with 2,605 actors (2.29 per cent of the total), included prominent members and accounts of the PSOE. The community was active both in April and June, with mutual interpolations in these two periods, thus indicating its stability.

The community's criticisms were not aimed at the judiciary as a whole, as evidenced by the most popular tweet defending the Public Prosecutor's Office. Content relating to the protests in Madrid and Pamplona, among other places, was also shared.

Community 316 – Feminist coordinating committees

In terms of in-degree, the main leaders of this community, with 2,571 actors (2.26 per cent of the network), included feminist groups and coordinating committees throughout Spain. The cluster's activity, which was constant, peaked in June.

In contrast to the previous community, which was of a similar size, the Spanish legal system as a whole did indeed come under very harsh criticism. Not without reason is it possible to observe that the cluster's narrative introduced a qualitative aspect: it now considered

the injustice to which other clusters alluded as a subject of 'attack', which introduced new elements in the debate. In *Pikara Magazine,* the Basque authoress and feminist activist Irantzu Varela advocated for feminist self-defence outside the legal system in an article widely shared in the cluster. Information on protests in different parts of Spain was also disseminated.

Unlike in other clusters, there were feminist calls for reflection and action not only as a reaction to the widespread indignation, but also as a strategy for continuing the fight for women's rights, specifically showing feminism as a 'street movement'.

Community 438 – Professional feminists

In the following community, with 2,356 actors (2.07 per cent of the total), mention should go to the actress Leticia Dolera, among others with different occupations (see Figure 10). At the second level, there were several professionals who defined themselves as feminists: communicators, psychologists, artistes, etc.

The sentence and the criterion adopted by the judges were discussed, while underscoring the impunity of the five members of

FIGURE 10. Screenshot of the second most popular tweet in community 438

Source: Twitter

'La Manada'. Information about protests was commonplace in the content associated with this community.

Community 1224 - Feminist demonstration in Madrid

The content posted on the account—since suspended—of the group Rebelión Feminista was the most shared in the network's thirteenth most relevant community, including 2,317 actors (2.03 per cent of the total), whose activity peaked in April.

One sole tweet including a photograph of a protest in Madrid accounted for 71.01 per cent of the salience. In addition to references to the protest, the cluster challenged the criterion followed by the judges when sentencing the five members of 'La Manada'.

Community 1130 - Left-wing and pro-independence tweet stars

With 2,281 actors, it was the smallest community passing the established threshold of 2 per cent of the network nodes. Its leaders were left-wing tweet stars famous for their irony and their viral capacity. The community was active in the analysis' two key periods (i.e. April and June).

The cluster's content was characterised by the use of irony and sharp humour. Reference was also made to other recent critical moments for the Spanish judiciary, such as the Catalan referendum on 1 October 2017.

4. Conclusions and discussion

The case analysed here is similar to others that have demonstrated that Twitter is a communication tool employed for alternative purposes by feminisms to give visibility to their demands and collective street protests, among other things. It is primarily a space for awareness raising and internal debate with its own leaders, regardless of those existing offline. In this sense, it helps to encourage people to become involved in the protests and to circumvent the traditional media that have historically offered this movement circumstantial or occasional coverage (Larumbe, 2002).

The case at hand occurred in a globalised feminist context that has become to be regarded as the 'fourth wave', following on from the liberation feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, the suffrage movement of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century and the enlightened feminism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After losing its rallying potential in the past three decades (Schneider, 1988; Epstein, 2002), this fourth feminist wave has certainly been favoured by technological progress, symbolised by the Web and the multiple virtual collectives that this medium accommodates. These online communities are reinforced by the opportunities for a greater freedom of expression that allows many individuals to enter into dialogue and to build collectives around specific campaigns or hashtags, as in the case of Twitter.

The so-called 'feminist hashtivism' has in fact become a hallmark of this type of struggle based on the indignation currently characterising this fourth feminist wave. By the same token, it could be understood as an indication of generational replacement in the feminist struggle (Gillis, Howie, & Munford, 2004). A change in practice, more than in feminist theory, that has given rise to a more individualised feminist feeling (Budgeon, 2001; Braithwaite, 2002), resulting from subjective experiences, but which applies as never before the feminist maxim that states, 'the personal is political', and which transcends the individual subject to construct a collective subject of struggle.

The #MeToo phenomenon, emerging in the United States, has already become a paradigm and precursor of this new post-feminist women's movement that is apparently fuelled by the sensation of powerlessness in the face of a political, social and legal system incapable of confronting the injustice of the patriarchate.

As a result of these tendencies, the reaction in Spain to the court rulings in the 'La Manada' case and the feminist strike on 8 March 2018 also marked a turning point for the global feminist movement, going a long way to raise the awareness of the public at large, encouraging them to protest in a particular way about the crucial issues on the traditional feminist agenda, such as violence against women in all of its forms. In sum, as evidenced by the case at hand, nowadays feminism stands out for being an action movement with the ability to condition states of opinion and indignation fuelled by many gender injustices for which the institutions do not appear to have any solution, unlike the people protesting on the streets and on social networks.

Overall, the online conversation analysed here shows that the indignation caused by this legal case with a high social and media impact was mainly expressed in transformative social movements: Spanish republicanism, users concurring with the narrative of the so-called 'movements of indignation' emerging in Spain in previous years, communist groups and users and even interrelated groups and individuals whose main characteristic is their defence of Catalan independence. All this seems to indicate that the alliances that are forged are structural and clearly aimed at decrying the liberal rule of law, in this case embodied by the judiciary.

At this point, let us return to out study's initial hypothesis that classified the interaction of users in this network in terms of their contribution to the evolution of the feminist movement in Spain. Two types of interactions were established: on the one hand, those of a 'spontaneous, fleeting and isolated' nature; and, on the other, more 'ideological, organised and structured' forms of participation.

The results show that in the online conversation on this case spontaneity and strategy coexisted in permanent tension. Namely, many of the people and organisations participating in the conversation did so for reasons that had little or nothing to do with ideology and in an ethereal way. Indeed, there were other kinds of interactions between user profiles that were more profound and enduring in the movement's general considerations.

The combination of these two forms of interaction reveals a coexistence and a certain degree of tension between the ethereal or more superficial and the more profound or dialectic. In online conversations that combination can be considered to be positive, provided that social movements have the capacity to leverage the different roles in those conversations. The user profiles whose participation in the conversation guides it, with interactions going beyond merely retweeting popular content and more lasting reflections, help the strategic feminist debates to evolve.

Furthermore, those user profiles belonging to more 'trivial' communities not only contribute to give visibility to certain demands, but above all can represent a preliminary step towards a more ideological participation. This consideration contrasts with the line defended by authors like Sampedro-Blanco (2011) who contend that citizens end up converting their technological uses into routines and that the channels for

techno-political participation opened up in 2006 have gradually become blocked, thus hindering multitudes and bureaucratising them. However, it is also true that this last user profile is one that the more organised feminisms could attempt to engage in cases of this type by encouraging them to leave aside more trivial issues and participate in more dialectic spaces, thus contributing to make the frames of interpretation of the realities and postulates defended by feminisms more hegemonic.

Besides that, we concur with those authors who are of the opinion that the powers that interact in the public sphere should take into consideration the online conversations on different events, given the infiuence that their dialogues and interactions have on public opinion and reality constructed in a specific social context. In line with this refiection and referring to the case analysed here, after the court rulings in the 'La Manada' case the Spanish legal system came under widespread, fierce and multifaceted criticism from feminist perspectives on Twitter, which doubtless offers both the judiciary and social communication researchers food for thought. In the new communication paradigm, the powers should be open to a public scrutiny that combines more organised movements with more trivial perspectives, which would have a considerable infiuence on the opinion that society has of them.

The question that should guide future research is, therefore, whether or not the online conversations that channel the indignation provoked by different cases really serve to make feminisms evolve. Should priority be given to the hypothesis that they are not beneficial to their postulates, this would be tantamount to reinforcing the idea of the consolidation of a sort of 'trivial feminism', which is gaining ground in the digital environment and the public sphere. The research that the scientific community should perform could revolve around the question of whether or not the more organised feminisms make the most of the protests relating to certain events to foster debate and occupy dialectic spaces in our society.

As a final point, it is important to stress that it would be necessary or at least advisable to conduct further research on the way in which the online conversation contributes to build a collective feminist identity that, in turn, allows for fostering a sense of belonging, which also applies to other relevant social and political movements. What can be understood as a sense of belonging involves strategically shared values and objectives that are useful

for bringing about real change. In contrast, our findings also beg the question of whether or not this online conversation may also contribute to the drift of feminisms towards more trivial or superficial perspectives.

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