

**Bachelor's Degree Program at FH Wien der WKW in
Corporate Communication**

Bachelor's Thesis

**Purple Activism in 2022:
the role of social media in the dissemination of fourth-wave
feminism and its current challenges across Latin America**

Submitted by: Montserrat Gil Alcalde

Matriculation Number: 52001066

Class of: 2023

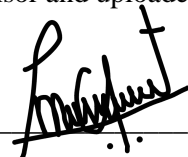
Supervisor: Gabrielle Smith

I hereby confirm that I,

- Wrote this work on my own, did not use any other sources and aids than the ones mentioned and did not get help in any other way,
- Have not yet submitted this work in any form as an examination paper, either at home or abroad,
- I am submitting the version of this thesis that was submitted to the supervisor and uploaded for plagiarism checking.

Vienna, Austria. 17 of January 2023

Place, Date



Signature

Abstract

In the last decade, feminism has spread across the globe at an unprecedented rate, thanks to information and communication technologies. The relevance of these tools, social media in particular, has been so crucial to the movement that it has commenced a new era altogether: the fourth wave of feminism. In Latin America, the purple activism enabled by the new media has finally unveiled the many realities of women and, simultaneously encouraged, among other things, cooperation within and across societies. Nevertheless, current research shows that the employment of social networks for this endeavor may also pose unique challenges that could delay the progress of the feminist agenda throughout the region.

Therefore, this thesis offers a general overview of the dissemination of fourth-wave feminism through the analysis of the advantages that the new media provide. Including the instant and massive diffusion of information, the seemingly cheap education and psychological empowerment, among others. As well as the current social phenomena that are distorting the movement in Latin America: from the preservation of women's stereotypes and feminist washing companies to the radicalization of feminist minorities, such as cancel culture and discourses of hatred toward men. To fill this knowledge gap, the literature employed comprises an array of journals and academic papers on sociology, psychology, and communication, government reports and criminal cases, as well as news articles and references to relevant events communicated through social media platforms.

The results of the conducted research demonstrate that whatever occurs in the offline realm may have a continuation or retaliation online, and vice versa. Hence, the use of social networks, if undertaken with caution, can be beneficial to the expansion of the feminist movement in Latin America, and ultimately, to the lives of women. Finally, derived from the conclusions, seven guidelines for companies who wish to have a genuine feminist presence on social media in Latin America are postulated. The scope of these findings is, however, limited given that this thesis is centered on social media as a single means of communication to provide a broad overview of the advantages and disadvantages that it poses to the fourth wave of feminism in the Latin American territory.

Table of contents

Table of figures	V
List of abbreviations	VI
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Problem Statement	1
1.2 Objective and research questions	3
1.3 The structure of this paper	4
2 Feminism and the media	6
2.1 A brief history of feminism	6
2.2 The waves of feminism and the impact of media	7
2.2.1 The First Wave	7
2.2.2 The Second Wave	8
2.2.3 The Third Wave	9
2.2.4 The Fourth Wave	10
3 Feminism in Latin America	12
3.1 Latin American feminist philosophy	12
3.2 The role of social media in contemporary feminism in Latin America	13
3.2.1 Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Latin America	13
3.2.2 Platforming intersectional feminism in Latin America	15
3.2.3 Shifting the perception of feminism across Latin America	16
4 The impact of feminist leaders on social media in Latin America	19
4.1 Katya Echazarreta: engineer and astronaut	19
4.2 Yalitzá Aparicio: actress and activist	20
4.3 Alessandra Rojo de La Vega: politician and philanthropist	22
4.4 Herly RG: influencer and comedian	23
5 The online phenomena discrediting feminism	26
5.1 Stereotype of the Latin American woman	26

5.3 Unyielding ‘feminist’ perspectives	28
5.4 The distortion of feminism derived from radicalization	29
5.5 Feminist cancel culture	31
5.6 The anti-feminist response to online feminism	32
6 ‘Feminist washing’	35
6.1 Faux feminism in online politics	35
6.2 ‘Femvertising’ as a sales strategy	36
7 The offline reach of online feminism in Latin America	39
7.1 Social movements stemmed from feminism	39
7.1 Online practices of ‘Sisterhood’	41
7.3 Creation of laws and constitutional reforms	42
7.3.1 The ‘Rosa Elvira Cely’ Law in Colombia	43
7.3.2 The ‘Brisa’ Law in Argentina	43
7.3.3 The ‘Eyvi Ágreda’ Law in Perú	44
8 Conclusions	47
8.1 Guidelines to create a genuine feminist presence on social media in Latin America	47
8.2 Summary and answer to the research questions	48
8.3 Discussions of results and limitations of the thesis	50
8.4 Outlook and future research needs	51
9 Bibliography	53

Table of figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> Seneca Falls Convention Pamphlet, 1848 (Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, 2022)	7
<i>Figure 2.</i> Advertising from the company Chase & Sanborn in 1952 (Saatchi, 2015).....	8
<i>Figure 3.</i> Allies of the Gay and Lesbian community march on the streets of Tacoma in 1995 (Separate Roads to Feminism, 2015)	9
<i>Figure 4.</i> Engineer Katya Echazarreta posing for a picture alongside her male colleagues from Blue Origin’s NS-21 mission (Echazarreta, 2022).....	19
<i>Figure 5.</i> Mexican actress, Yalitza Aparicio (left), posing for a picture after being designated UNESCO goodwill ambassador in 2019 (UNESCO, 2019).....	21
<i>Figure 6.</i> A pregnant congresswoman, Alessandra Rojo de La Vega, leads a group of women during a feminist march in Mexico City on the 8 of March (Rojo de La Vega, 2020).....	22
<i>Figure 7.</i> Herlanlly posing for a picture after taking part in a dancing event organized by Nike in Mexico City (Rodríguez, 2020)	24
<i>Figure 8.</i> Women manifesting their positions regarding the abortion bill outside the congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina (2018).....	28
<i>Figure 9.</i> “I bleed, I stain, and I’m not disgusted”. Drawing inspired on menstrual activism. Stephanie Chávez (2019).....	39

List of abbreviations

CEO	Chief Executive Officer
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Asexual, ...
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN WOMEN	The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
Law 1761	Classification of Femicide as an autonomous crime, No. 1761 of 6 of July 2015, Colombia.
Law 27.610	Legalization of abortion under certain circumstances, No. 2761 of 24 of January 2020, Argentina.
Law 27.452	Financial compensation to children of femicide victims, No. 27.452 of 4 of July 2018, Argentina.

1 Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Feminism, particularly fourth-wave feminism, has been on the rise around the globe over the past ten years owing to the support and massive dissemination that social media channels have given it. (Locke, Lawthom, & Lyons, 2018, p.4). Latin America has been no exception. Although the region has been known to foster a patriarchal culture, the fourth wave of feminism has also spread rapidly across the continent.

While in Europe and United States the feminist agenda revolves around gender issues, Latin American feminism has its roots in the role that women have had to fulfill across the centuries as a result of the sociopolitical context derived from colonialism (Rivera Berruz, 2018, p1). Currently, Latin America is predominantly governed by corrupted systems and policies that affect the most vulnerable groups of society. However, each country experiences a unique reality that shapes differently the postures of women. As appointed by Rivera (2018, p.1) “Latin American feminism broadly encompasses multiple positions, many of which are in tension with each other.” which implies the existence of various Latin American Feminisms.

For this reason, the arrival of the fourth wave, where face-to-face and online activism gained prominence, has been crucial to increasing the visibility of the many realities of Latin American women and thus, promoting understanding and cooperation within and across societies. Among the issues that the fourth wave of feminism is battling, ending gender privileges and violence, recognizing intersectionality, obtaining the right to the legal termination of pregnancy, supporting sexual liberation, and encouraging ‘sisterhood’ regardless of the women’s background, are most prominent.

Moreover, the movement has been reinforced thanks to the creation of online feminist campaigns, and activism led by brands, public figures, and organizations from the entire Latin American territory. These joint efforts keep spreading awareness, encouraging education, and inciting voices to come forward. A clear example of this is the first international women’s strike

carried out on March 8th of 2018 which displayed the complexity of the disagreement among different feminist ideologies (Draper & Mason-Deese, 2018, p. 682) and ended up immortalized as the #8M.

On the other hand, the feminist movement has also been damaged by all the attention it continues to receive in Latin America and elsewhere. The misconception and misuse of the ideology by companies 'femvertising' and politicians 'feminist washing' their discourses and agendas, the radicalization of subgroups frequently referred to as 'feminazis', and the emergence of anti-movements are causing a reactionary backlash against Feminism (Willem & Tortajada, 2021, p.1) and lessening the credibility of those who are truly committed to achieving full gender equality in law and in practice.

Whilst social media provides a dynamic, powerful space for the development of feminism in Latin America, the New Medium theory postulates that this technology possesses innovative features that are disrupting the way people communicate; most notably enabling the exchange information at an unparalleled pace (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p. 578). Hence, social media is indeed a double-edged sword and at the same time, the keystone of contemporary feminism.

In addition to building communities of women and allies and exposing what the Latin American mainstream media refuse to show, the social networks have built a platform for eye-opening revelations by allowing its users to put faces to issues (Johnson, 2017, p.11), such as the divulgence of the identities of figures of power tampering with the objectives of feminism, or the disclosure of cases of sexual and psychological abuse, and unmuting minorities like indigenous and LGBTQ+ groups who have been silenced by oppressive people. As social media evolves, more and diverse points of view become available, thus birthing new ideas to end oppression and trigger political changes that favor women (Johnson, 2017, p.14) The other edge of social media as a platform for feminism entails a new form of misogyny. It unleashes ill-intended discussions on gender equality that may result in censorship and setbacks for the movement.

Even though history shows that the media have proven to be beneficial to the diffusion and advancement of feminism, its future as a legitimate and relevant movement is in jeopardy and social media are both a tool and a menace to the cause. Therefore, this bachelor thesis intends to shed light on the intrinsic relationship between the fourth wave of feminism and social media

by breaking down the threats and benefits it supposes to the on and offline Latin American feminism.

1.2 Objective and research questions

Through the analysis of historical and recent events, as well as the discussion of communication and media theories such as the New Medium theory, the Spiral of Silence, Media Framing theory, Agenda Setting theory, among others, this thesis assesses the opportunities and threats to Latin American Feminism brought about by the evolution and usage of online social channels.

Moreover, published research and literature primarily in the fields of psychology, sociology, communication, and Latin American and gender studies are employed to set a background and draw conclusions on the matter.

As a result, this text aims at understanding how social media and contemporary feminism intertwine and the effect that online activism has had on the offline Latin American reality. The proposed findings strive to serve as guidelines for thought leaders and organizations to create a genuine feminist presence on social media in Latin America.

This thesis is therefore concerned with the following research questions:

What are the opportunities and threats provided by social media for the development of the feminist movement in Latin America?

- Sub-question 1: Why are social media crucial in the dissemination of fourth-wave feminism in Latin America?
- Sub-question 2: How do the misconceptions of what feminism stands for and the flood of ‘feminism-washing’ entities discredit the feminist movement in Latin America?
- Sub-question 3: How has online feminism impacted offline feminism in Latin America?

1.3 The structure of this paper

This bachelor thesis is divided into eight chapters. Beginning with chapter two, a summary on the history of feminism from its origins to actuality is given. As well, the agenda setting theory and the spiral of silence theory are employed to describe the influence of media during some waves of the movement. The focus on Latin America begins in chapter three providing insights on the region's feminist philosophy and developing on the existence of multiple feminist postures before explaining the role that the social networks play in the fourth wave of feminism. Subsequently, chapter four presents the emergence of feminist leaders of thought and role models on social media as a contribution to female empowerment and women-rights advocacy. Moreover, four examples of Mexican women are given to demonstrate the impact that trailblazing figures like them have on the Latin American feminist and sociopolitical spheres.

Chapter five is concerned with the negative aspect of the utilization of social media for purple activism in Latin America. It delves into the distortion and discrediting that the movement undergoes due to the existence of opposed viewpoints amongst feminists, radical actions taken by minorities, as well as the organized efforts of anti-feminist groups to perpetuate stereotypes and hinder the progress of the feminist agenda. The following chapter explores the contemporary phenomena of 'feminist washing' in politics and advertising, and how social media has been an ally and, at the same time, an antagonist to feminist washing entities. Chapter seven aims at demonstrating the impact that purple activism online has on the Latin American offline realm. Accentuating the unstoppable activism of feminists and the capacity of social media to connect people instantly and massively, this section illustrates social mobilizations that have resulted in the dissemination of sisterhood, creation of organizations, and legal reforms that benefit women. For the latter, three cases in Colombia, Argentina, and Peru are analyzed to illustrate the deeply ingrained misogyny in the region. The eighth and final chapter condenses the previous chapters and concludes with a set of seven recommendations for companies and organizations that may want to create a true feminist presence on social media in Latin America. Lastly, the chapter emphasizes the limitations of the paper and areas to further the research on the matter.

2 Feminism and the media

2.1 A brief history of feminism

The term “feminism” can be traced back to 1837 when the French philosopher Charles Fourier first employed the word “feminisme” to portray women’s emancipation in a utopian future (Offen, 1987, p.1). However, the feminist movement has its origins in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, when the North American citizens Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who were displeased about women being banned from speaking at an anti-slavery assembly, rallied around three hundred women and forty men for the first Women’s Rights convention in the United States. At the time, the topics on the agenda already involved demands of a political, social, civil, and religious character, arguing that women were oppressed by the patriarchy and government (Wellman, 1991, p.1). Thus, the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions was written, stating the causes that impelled women to manifest their discontent and asserting the equality of the sexes.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. (Stanton, 1848, p.1)

Implying that, should any kind of government fail to secure these indisputable rights, those affected were to withdraw their support and demand yet another form of administration.

By the 1900s, the movement was primarily known for its fight to attain women’s right to vote in several countries, such as Austria, Finland, Denmark, Portugal, Norway, the United States, among others. And on the 8th of March 1911, the International Women’s Day, assembled the unprecedented figure of one million women on the streets to demand suffrage and labor rights (UN Women, 2020). The feminist movement gained momentum from then onwards, and the concept evolved through various stages (to be explained in greater depth in the following sections). However, importantly, through these periods the concept of feminism came to carry a more complex meaning. Derived from the different forms of oppression that women across the world faced due to their race, ethnicity, class, beliefs, and sexual orientation, the term

“intersectional feminism” was adopted to represent the struggles and interests of each group of women.

Therefore, to better conceptualize the evolution of feminism, sociologists have divided the history of the movement into waves that elucidate the predominant goal of women at a certain point in time. And while some critics claim that this approach is an oversimplification of the pursuits of women, since many subgroups battle overlapping issues and are, at the same time, in confrontation, the waves remain a helpful approach to understanding the origins, spread and perhaps even predict the future of the movement (Rampton, 2019).

2.2 The waves of feminism and the impact of media

While it is standard practice to speak of the four waves of feminism, there are still disagreements as to how to define each wave and how to include women’s efforts and campaigns before the nineteenth century (Rampton, 2019). Similarly, the portrayal of the development of the movement across countries varying drastically is another cause of discord among sociologists. However, given that the United States of America is the birthplace of the movement as we know it today and continues to be a trailblazer, it is common to use the country’s timeline to set the context of what was developing in forward-thinking nations and what was to follow in other parts of the American continent.

Since its origins, one of the cornerstones of the movement and the common denominator of all waves has been the media. Without the media, women would have never been able to trigger political and social changes in their favor. It is, therefore, safe to assert that the progress of feminism has always been directly influenced by the evolution of media (Johnson, 2017, p.2). The following paragraphs tell how the use of the available media shaped each wave of feminism.

2.2.1 The First Wave

The first wave was around the late nineteenth century when activists, motivated by the actions taken by Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the Seneca Falls convention in 1848, propelled the fight to warrant full suffrage to all women. Rampton adds (2019) “Discussions about the vote and

women's participation in politics led to an examination of the differences between men and women as they were then viewed". Some argued that women were morally superior to men, thus their involvement in politics would positively influence the public behavior.

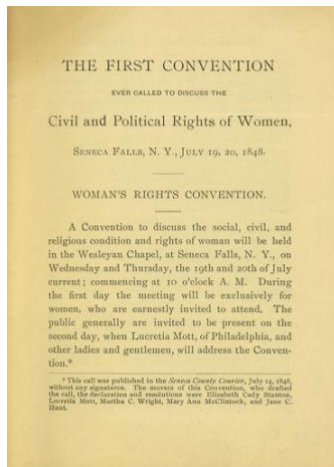


Figure 1. Seneca Falls Convention Pamphlet, 1848 (Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, 2022)

A crucial media breakthrough for the movement occurred when the activist Amelia Bloomer launched the newspaper *Lily* in 1849. The publication mainly discussed women's rights and dress reform. Thanks to the propagation of the initiative, it became acceptable for women to wear pants instead of skirts. "The style of pants that were popular eventually became known as "bloomers" in dedication to Amelia." (Johnson, 2017, p.4). Back in the 1850s, Bloomer's ideas transcending the paper and materializing into the daily lives of women set the course for future feminist attempts to harness the power of the media. This event not only showed the influence that the media had on society, but it also introduced the Agenda Setting theory, which provides important insights for understanding how the media do not tell people what to think, but rather what they should be thinking about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, as cited in Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p.31). Meaning that the media determines the importance placed on a particular issue on the public agenda.

2.2.2 The Second Wave

The second wave began in the 1960s when, as opposed to the first wave, the media also played a negative role by pushing women into gender norms. Advertisements at the time portrayed

women as individuals whose sole purpose was to run a household and keep their men happy . Nevertheless, the feminist movement was now being supported by activists coming from all corners of the world, and the agenda incorporated issues like women's role outside the home, sexual liberation, workplace fairness, equal pay and childcare support.



Figure 2. Advertising from the company Chase & Sanborn in 1952 (Saatchi, 2015)

Moreover, this period was characterized by its connection to the Civil Rights, anti-Vietnam war, Black Power and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) movements. “Leaders such as Rosa Parks, and protesting events, were the factors that led to giving a voice to the oppressed” (Johnson, 2017, p.7). Which, alongside the publication of the celebrated book *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan and the *Cosmopolitan* magazine by Helen Gurley, gave way to many people breaking their silence. This phenomenon is accurately explained by Littlejohn et al. (2017 as cited in Johnson, 2017, p.7), in the theory of the Spiral of Silence. This framework postulates that only people whose convictions they believe to be shared by others, dare to express them, while those who do not think their opinions are popular stay quiet. So, when women noticed that their thoughts and wishes were shared by others, they grew comfortable expressing their ideas and acting upon them.

2.2.3 The Third Wave

Then came the third wave in the mid 1990s, led by women born in the 1960s and 1970s. They were aware of their privilege inherited by the second wave feminists but knew that there was a

bigger underlying factor yet to be taken into consideration: intersectionality. Which meant acknowledging the additional barriers different women faced as a consequence of racism, classism and sexism. Fortunately, the advent of the internet ousted money from its role in the dissemination of news and ideas, thus allowing the less fortunate segments of women to communicate more easily their struggles (Johnson, 2017, p.9–10).

Third wavers redefined women as “assertive, powerful and in control of their own sexuality” (The Third Wave of Feminism, n.d., para. 8) regardless of their background and current circumstances. The media began reflecting this shift with the depiction of brave and intelligent girls and women in leading roles like the Disney and Pixar blockbusters, *Mulan* (1998) and *The Incredibles* (2006), as well as the emergence of icons like Madonna and Selena Quintanilla who disrupted the standards that women were forced into and demonstrated that feminism and femininity did not have to be at war with each other.



Figure 3. Allies of the Gay and Lesbian community march on the streets of Tacoma in 1995 (Separate Roads to Feminism, 2015)

2.2.4 The Fourth Wave

The fourth wave of feminism stems from the creation and proliferation of social media in 2010 (Zimmerman, 2017 as cited in Navarro & Gómez-Bernal, 2022). By enabling the exchange of ideas for free, platforming intersectionality and mobilizing the masses across the globe, social networks transformed the web from a place of isolation and anonymization to a space in which any individual who has a voice may share it with the world. This new era revolves around women's autonomy and sisterhood itself, as well as addressing different forms of violence and discrimination. Additionally, including body positivity as a form of empowerment, reclaiming

the power in femininity and the development of female consciousness are relevant subjects to fourth wavers (Peroni & Rodak, 2020, p.5–7). Thanks to the massive diffusion of feminism online, primarily through social networks like Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, the offline scene has and continues to reap changes that benefit women all over the world. A clear example of this is the #MeToo campaign and the call-out culture, which questioned the law and reinforced solidarity among women.

3 Feminism in Latin America

3.1 Latin American feminist philosophy

Owing to the historical and cultural diversity of the vast Latin American territory, Latin American feminist philosophy is grounded on the existence of multiple feminist postures, many of which antagonize each other. All, however, are rooted in the colonial ages (Rivera Berruz, 2018, p.1). The enslavement and exploitation of the indigenous and African descended peoples promoted by the colonizers, imposed whiteness as a norm and cultural authority (Schutte & Femenías, 2010, p. 407 as cited in Rivera Berruz, 2018, p.1). Explaining why contemporary gender and class norms originate from the construction of race and the interrelation between whiteness and social status, which translates into women, particularly non-white women, excessively affected by default. As a matter of fact, up until the nineteenth century, mestizo, indigenous, black and white women shared neither perspectives nor social spaces. The only common denominator among these groups of women was experiencing gender violence and racism, but to different extents (Gargallo, 2007, p. 17).

While the movement and telecommunications progressed, so did the exchange of ideas between women. Which is why throughout the twentieth century, congresses and meetings with feminist agendas were held more regularly in various countries of Latin America. One of the most relevant gatherings being the *Segundo Encuentro* (Second Meeting) in 1982 carried out in Lima, Peru, where feminists agreed to recognize the differences in their realities and regard their commonalities through the lens of patriarchy.

[Patriarchy] was deployed as an explanation for the subordination of women, but also extended as an explanation for the conditions of compulsory heterosexuality, repression, violence against women and children, the prohibition of abortion, and varying forms of social injustice. It was further linked into frameworks that sought to identify the role of militarization and capitalism in the oppression of women (Rivera Berruz, 2018, p. 18).

Since then, the understanding of a culturally ingrained patriarchy and, thus, the gender perspective have served as a backbone for the Latin American feminist philosophy. However, the concept of patriarchy is so broad that historical specificities, such as the drastically worse social treatment that non-white women receive, may go unnoticed. Therefore, recognizing

racial privileges of white women within the still cursed reality of Latin American women without discrediting the struggles of any segment of society, ratifying the equality while celebrating differences among indigenous and LGBTQ+ minorities, instating abortion as a fundamental right, and granting the universal incorporation of women to the health, educational and economic systems are the most pressing issues of the current Latin American Feminist fight (Gargallo, 2007, p. 34).

3.2 The role of social media in contemporary feminism in Latin America

While contemporary or fourth wave feminism conserves many causes of the former waves such as the right to abortion, LGBTQ+ rights, and intersectionality, and embraces the ever-polemic topics of trans-inclusivity and body positivity, its hallmark relies on the rapid development of social media and its employment in purple activism. It is therefore appropriate to recognize the major role that social media play in the following key fronts of the feminist movement in actuality: eradicating gender-based violence, boosting female-led social causes, women empowerment and thus, reframing the narrative around feminism (Verkuyl, 2020, p.6).

3.2.1 Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Latin America

Thanks to the digital platforms, fighting gender-based violence has taken a whole new approach, consisting of primary prevention and immediate response (Liou, 2013, p.9). By attempting to minimize the chances of violence occurring in the first place, feminist allies have taken the role of online educators that teach their audiences to identify and address unapologetically latent causes and acts of violence in their surroundings. As a result, unaware victims of gender-based violence assume their realities, and while most remain quiet, the number of women taking legal action against their aggressors is increasing. However, the jurisdiction in most of Latin America does not always perform in favor of the victim if it does at all. Hence, victims of gender-based violence or their close relatives feel inclined to divulge their experiences on social media channels, primarily Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook, seeking moral support and to exert peer pressure on the competent authorities to prompt them into acting. A by-product of the victim's disclosure is the immediate response they get from their online community, nowadays seen in the *virality* of postings with the victim's testimonial, as well as posts exposing the aggressor's identity with the purpose of warning their social circles

about the person's violent tendencies and crimes, and in other cases, alerting the crowds that the offender has fled.

A clear example of this phenomenon is the case of Monserrat Bendimes from Veracruz, Mexico, who was murdered by her then boyfriend Marlon Botas in April 2021. After almost beating her to death, the aggressor was helped by both his parents to drop the victim at the nearest hospital anonymously, to then flee the country. Monse's family immediately resorted to social media to obtain information on Botas' whereabouts, and the Attorney General's Office of Veracruz offered a reward of 250,000 Mexican pesos (€12,500 approximately) to anyone providing information on the matter. Feminist groups spread pictures of the offender and his parents across all social media and condemned the attack. But the mobilization trespassed the screens, a vigil in support of Monse at *La Antimonumeta* in Veracruz was held while she was still fighting for her life on a hospital bed. However, six days after the attack, Monse died, but women in Veracruz kept pushing the case online and organized pacific marches to demand justice for Monse. The off and online diffusion of the femicide got Botas expelled from his university, the state governor himself promised to enforce the law, the properties of Botas' parents and grandparents were searched. Seven months later, the offender's parents were imprisoned and in March 2022, a renowned feminist collective *Brujas del Mar* (@brujasdelmarver) proposed the "Monse Law" initiative, which sought to include the cover-up of femicide as a crime, thus allowing the arrest and investigation of family members, friends, and partners of the alleged perpetrators. Moreover, on the anniversary of the assault and Monse's death, hashtags like #NoFueUnAccidente (it was not an accident) were trending topic on social networks to remember the case and to demand once again the search for Botas' who after a year had not been seen and whose location had not been revealed by his incarcerated parents either. Nearly a month later, Marlon Botas reappeared in a video, which was broadcast on television, stating that Monse's death was not a femicide, but an accident. In the video, the fugitive complains about his parents' unfair detention and pleads for their release. The investigations into Marlon continued, as on 2 June, members of the Attorney General's Office of Veracruz searched again the house of the fugitive's grandmother in Yucatán. That same day, Marlon Botas turned himself in directly at the facilities of the State Human Rights Commission in Xalapa (Marín, 2022).

Incidents of gender-based violence occur frequently throughout Latin America, and the employment of social media is now fundamental to the victim's reassurance in a society that

tends to justify the offender's actions by questioning the victim. Likewise, the massive dissemination of the information that the new media provide, has enabled audiences to present a united front and exert pressure on the authorities to demand justice, and encouraged other groups to enforce justice by themselves by damaging the reputation of the criminals, and sometimes even finding them when they have fled. In conclusion, it is true that social networks have brought a new and efficient way of preventing and battling gender-based violence by educating audiences and connecting people who have undergone similar circumstances, and at the same time, they provide consolation to victims and their relatives by knowing they are not alone in their fight (Erll, 2017).

3.2.2 Platforming intersectional feminism in Latin America

While the term “intersectionality” was coined by the legal Theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw from the United States in 1989 to showcase how the experiences of black women were being misconstrued or neglected even by feminist and anti-racist groups (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013, p. 303). The concept of intersectionality has also rendered itself helpful to ratify the many social, racial, ethnical, hierarchical, ideological, and religious differences that exist among women across Latin America.

Social media have become a crucial platform, particularly for several underrepresented and oppressed segments of society, to voice their realities and take a more active stand in society, which can be considered as a crucial step toward defeating the phenomenon known as spiral of silence. Likewise, the seemingly light gatekeeping that these new channels offer has had an undeniable impact on how we now regard intersections of society whose unique combination of privileges and struggles, if not their mere existence, was not previously acknowledged. This is a step forward in the Latin-American feminist fight. Nevertheless, the online proliferation of intersectionality is also faced with challenges; the most relevant being the algorithms designed to retain users by exposing them, most of the time, to concepts and experiences similar to their own, thereby creating echo chambers (Haughton, 2019).

Another pressing issue is the misrepresentation and the heavy tendency to perpetuate the stereotype of collectives whose stories and outlooks are told by third parties. This problematic

can be exemplified by the words of the feminist activist, Valdecir Nascimento (2020), who, for over forty years, has been advocating for black women's rights in Brazil. "We don't want others to speak for black feminists—neither white feminists nor black men. It's necessary for young black women to take on this fight. We are the solution in Brazil, not the problem,". Instances of the sort, in which a more privileged segment of society tries to advocate for another more vulnerable segment but misunderstands the problematic and tells a distorted version of reality, are abundant throughout Latin America and the world. Therefore, it is imperative to respect and encourage everyone's right to tell their own story, because more often than not, the best that can be done is listen.

These threats to feminism foster yet another scenario for the discrimination and discrediting of women online. How these disadvantages transcend the online realm will be discussed in upcoming chapters.

Overall, social media play in favor and against Latin American intersectionality. Even if it welcomes unprecedented ideas and movements that aim at explaining how the degree of inequality is different for everyone, most people only engage superficially. However, if used consciously, the new media can be an excellent tool to understand the complex relationship between inequalities and privileges (Haughton, 2019).

3.2.3 Shifting the perception of feminism across Latin America

While the objective of the feminist discourse remains the same, achieving gender equality, it is substantial to acknowledge that temporal and geographical contexts have led to the emergence of new feminist ideals. As established in previous chapters, the organized pursuit of such convictions gave way to the waves of feminism. Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter section, it is pertinent to revisit the public's perception of the second and third waves to better explain how the narrative around feminism in Latin America shifted with the arrival of the social media, and thus birthing the fourth wave.

Despite the neutrality of the definition of feminism, the movement keeps causing controversy across the globe. This perhaps being attributed to the success of conservative traditional media outlets at framing feminism as an irrational movement. Consequentially, the word 'feminism'

may evoke in older generations memories of feminists in the 60s, thereby promptly associating fourth-wavers with the bra-burning and man-hating tendencies of radical second-wavers (Orleck, 2004, p. 591). Naturally, the automatic rejection of feminism from this segment of society, and their reluctance to educate themselves on the matter, are oftentimes transmitted to the next generations.

Furthermore, third wave feminists were characterized by their acknowledgement of their predecessors' achievements and seeking to build upon them (Evolution of Feminism, 2015). Notwithstanding the evident change in the conversation around feminism, traditional media in Latin America still managed to frame the third-wave activism as negative, if not radical. Women were boxed in stereotypes created by individuals who felt threatened by women's psychological and political emancipation. Luckily, the demise of such absurd archetypes began with the arrival of intersectionality, and the narrative around feminism started to shift (Toomey, 2022). From being perceived as something that should only concern 'undeniably' oppressed women (e.g., victims of physical violence), to being a topic relevant for all women regardless of their age, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and nationality. Whilst it is true that the third wave came to educate how the movement concerned all women, the strict gate keeping and framing by traditional media prevented the movement from disseminating at such scale.

Then came the fourth wave of feminism with the advent of social networks. Thanks to the possibility for users to generate their own content and the instant sharing of information, the movement began spreading at a speed never before seen. Even if traditional media are still present in the daily lives of the Latin American populations, the relevance of the new channels is greater. According to the study, *¿Quién figura en las noticias?* (Who appears on the news?) performed in 2020 in the following Latin American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, news outlets in traditional media barely average 35 percent of women journalists. Similarly, the consideration of women as a news subject accounts for 26 percent of the total news. At the same time, equality issues cover only 7 percent of the total news agenda and this type of news, and just in 1 percent of instances do they occupy a relevant place in the media (GMMP, 2020, p.6). This drastic gap in representation in the classic media could be one of many reasons why Latin American women feel more drawn to creating and consuming

content in channels such as Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram. These platforms are fostering a more even battlefield, since women of all backgrounds are now able to voice their stories and be heard by people in every corner of the world (Powell, 2018). As a result, the feminist movement is undergoing a reform that aims to broaden the conversation beyond intersectionality. “Today’s feminist movement is about changing the general attitude toward all types of women and men. And here is the biggest evolution of feminism—it is a movement for all people.” features the Harvard Political Review (2015) on the evolution of feminism. Despite the negative connotations that the word feminism still carries today, feminist collectives in Latin America are relentlessly pushing for a rebranding. Fourth wavers want the movement to once and for all be understood and perceived as a solution to end with prejudices and inequalities that not only women, but also men, face on a daily basis.

In summary, what activists from all waves have had in common is the stigmatization that they have experienced. Whether it being imposed by the media or gained by the radical practices of a small group of feminists, purple activists have not ceased their attempts to introduce feminism to the masses. In spite of knowing that the narrative around their agenda might not always be controlled by them, feminists have managed to make important progress when it comes to redefining the movement. From being perceived as something that had to be repressed at all costs before it could disrupt the ‘peace’ during the first and second-wave years, to becoming something that needs to be addressed as a fundamental layer of the social fabric. Nowadays, the fourth wave in Latin America is known to focus on the prevention and punishment of violence against women, the recognition of women’s reproductive rights, and equal representation in all sectors, whilst acknowledging that not all men profit from a disadvantaged female population, and that they may also be victims of the patriarchal system (Symmes, 2022).

4 The impact of feminist leaders on social media in Latin America

The empowerment of women triggered by the appropriation of the information technologies and digital spaces has resulted in the emergence of trailblazing figures. Through their own intersectional feminist narrative, these individuals are committed to educating or guiding their female audiences in a given field and, at the same time, inspire them to advocate for their rights regardless of their current situation.

Nowadays, the array of Latin American feminist leaders on social media is vastly diverse. While some figures inform their followings of the latest news, incite social mobilizations and lead legislative reforms, others make equally powerful statements through art, advancing science, or showing their disruptive selves. Thereby making space for women in male-controlled fields and breaking gender stereotypes. To illuminate the potential of feminist leaders leveraging social media channels, such as Instagram, TikTok and Twitter, four prominent cases in Mexico are hereby presented.

4.1 Katya Echazarreta: engineer and astronaut

In the field of science, the electrical engineer Katya Echazarreta became the first Mexican-born woman to venture into space aboard Blue Origin's fifth manned flight on the NS-21 mission. Like many Latin American women, Katya confessed that before achieving her dream, she had to overcome several obstacles derived from migrating to the United States of America when she was only seven years old (Echazarreta y su experiencia, 2022). From learning a foreign language as a child to obtaining a scholarship for university and having professors dismissing her potential for wanting to study a career for men, Katya has become a source of inspiration for Latin American women, in particularly migrant women, who dream of building a successful career either abroad or in the highly demanding and men-dominated areas of STEM: science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

Throughout my journey in engineering school, I was very aware about the lack of women in the field. This was very difficult for me because I did not have many people, I could ask for advice regarding several topics such as the implicit biases we face on a daily basis. I've been given the opportunity to help guide those girls and women who, like me, are

looking for someone with experience in what they are going through. Through honesty about the difficulties and encouragement, I hope to be able to help women be better prepared for their experience as a woman in STEM. (Echazarreta, 2020)

With all the attention she received after the journey, she began to speak openly about her aspirations to help women achieve their goals. Echazarreta (“NASA”, 2022, para. 9) has expressed her keenness to help girls and women to pursue their desired careers, regardless of how unattainable they seem to them. Today, the 27-year-old has a strong presence on social media. With an audience of 1.2 million followers on TikTok, 90,000 on Twitter and 194,000 on Instagram, Katya uses her platforms to demonstrate how a young woman can thrive in spite of and thanks to the layers and societal intersections that compose her.



Figure 4. Engineer Katya Echazarreta posing for a picture alongside her male colleagues from Blue Origin’s NS-21 mission (Echazarreta, 2022)

4.2 Yalitza Aparicio: actress and activist

On the artistic front, the Mexican actress of indigenous origins, Yalitza Aparicio gained international attention after her nomination to the “Best Actress” Academy Award for her performance in Alfonso Cuarón’s renown film *Roma* (2018). Raised by a mother who earned a living as a maid, Aparicio worked hard to obtain a university degree in early childhood education to fulfill her dream of becoming a teacher in the marginalized south-west of Mexico and triggering positive changes within her community. Her sister, however, convinced her to

take her place at an audition for a prestigious film project, despite Yalitza's lack of interest and experience. By happenstance, the young woman was cast to play the starring role: Cleo, a housemaid to a middle-class family in Mexico City during the sociopolitical turmoil of the early 1970s. The movie premiered at the Venice Film Festival in 2018 where it won the Golden Lion to then earn the consideration of the Academy on ten different categories and obtaining three Oscars ("Roma," 2019). As a result, the young actress quickly became an important role model for Latin American women, specifically poverty-stricken women who dream of pursuing a career in the scenic arts. In addition, she uses her online platforms to address indigenous women, who are commonly regarded as helpless members of society that can only aspire to do house-chores and whose physical attributes have been excluded from beauty standards, with the purpose of changing their inner narrative and showing the world that there is a place for indigenous women even within the most elite societies.

Owing to her inherent and consistent activism, Yalitza was appointed UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for indigenous peoples in 2019, which reinforced her commitment to achieving gender equality, as well as fighting for the rights of domestic workers and indigenous people ("Yalitza Aparicio," 2019). About this endeavor, the star elaborated that, to her, it is about giving voice and visibility to all those who don't have it; and about taking the opportunity to spread a message and help UNESCO reach remote communities. Aparicio is also aware that such position allows her to expose yet another consequence of discrimination: discriminated people may feel inclined to neglecting their origins. Therefore, she makes it her personal mission to validate and make people, women in particular, not only to make peace with their roots, languages and traditions, but to make them feel proud of where they come from and who they are (Morón, 2020).

To date, the icon accumulates an audience of 2.3 million on Instagram where she mainly showcases her acting career, 766,000 on TikTok on which she employs comedy to send messages across, and 350,000 on Twitter where her informational activism takes place. In her brief career, 'Yali' has already managed to inspire countless women that had never been addressed nor represented before. Certainly, the accomplishments of the star bring tangible hope to segments of society that are only initiating an empowering journey, and whose fruits will be reaped in the near future.



Figure 5. Mexican actress, Yalitza Aparicio (left), posing for a picture after being designated UNESCO goodwill ambassador in 2019. (UNESCO, 2019)

4.3 Alessandra Rojo de La Vega: politician and philanthropist

From the political trenches, the philanthropist, and communicator Alessandra Rojo de la Vega waves the purple flag and pursues the feminist agenda. Thanks to her strategic and candid presence on social media, Alessandra has become one of the strongest feminist leaders in Mexico.

Having started her career in politics by chance at the age of twenty-three in the social communication department of the Government of the State of Mexico and experiencing sexual harassment and misogyny in a presumably professional environment, she grasped the depth of these problematics that prevailed and went unpunished widely across the country. Understandably, this forced her out of the field for a few years, during which she started an NGO for children on the verge of homelessness, MUI México (Rojo de la Vega, 2016). However, after becoming a mother and profoundly concerned about the environment, she helped to lead a massive online campaign against plastic. Thanks to the success of this civic endeavor, she obtained a seat at the Congress of Mexico City, where she achieved the constitutional prohibition of the use and distribution of plastic in the city (Primero las mujeres, 2022). Thrilled by the momentum she gained on social media and the power that her political position entailed, Rojo de la Vega fueled the feminist conversation that, until then, had been disregarded in the congress. Her participation was also characterized by her tireless and fundamental support of the “Olympia Initiative” (Gutiérrez, 2021). This bill sought to punish

the dissemination of sexual content without the consent of the parties involved, which became a law in 2019 (Nava-Garcés & Nuñez-Ruiz, 2020, p. 713).

While her period as a congresswoman was brief, Alessandra still endorses the feminist fight on and offline. From leading marches to support the LGBTQ+ community and the right to abortion, to founding an organization dedicated to help women victims of gender-based violence and becoming personally involved to guarantee justice in cases of femicides, she continues to advocate for all women despite their backgrounds, religious beliefs and political stances. Rojo de la Vega is convinced that feminism does not belong to the left, nor to the right, nor to a political party. But rather to every sentient woman who dares to question inequality and who, with other women and in one voice, decides to act upon it (Rojo de la Vega, 2022).

Nowadays, the activist uses her social media as a primary tool to engage with the Mexican society and propel the feminist dialogue. Supported by an online community of more than 700,000 people and despite the evident opposition she faced in the congress, she has been outspoken about wanting to continue to fight within the government in the near future.



Figure 6. A pregnant congresswoman, Alessandra Rojo de La Vega, leads a group of women during a feminist march in Mexico City on the 8 of March (Rojo de La Vega, 2020)

4.4 Herly RG: influencer and comedian

Herlanlly Rodríguez, better known as Herly RG, is a 25-year-old woman from Tlanepantla, a marginalized town in the State of Mexico, whose brutally honest personality and charisma put

her among the most influential mental health advocates and feminist figures in the country. After losing her job as a waitress due to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, Herly found herself spending her time on TikTok. Soon, she started to create content for the platform with the purpose of amusing her friends and family during lockdown, but little did she know that her funny videos would quickly gain the attention of thousands of users. Today, her most powerful discourse is given through a character of her creation. Using an Instagram filter that alters the eyes and mouth, and deepens the voice, Herly gives life to *Tomás, el incrédulo* (incredulous Tomás): a young man with two kids out of marriage and a pristine misogynistic mindset, who is eager to share his ‘old-fashioned’ opinions with the online world. Through this satirical persona, Herly attempts to ridicule the ideals of men like Tomás and tell her female following that it is acceptable to dispose of people who may share thoughts and attitudes with this controversial character. The influencer describes Tomás —and most of the people like him— as not spiteful, but merely ignorant and narrow-minded individuals. According to her, these people need to be taught to question their own beliefs and educated to respect and honor everyone equally. With this comic approach, she has been praised by many women, and avidly criticized by men who have felt offended by such accurate portrayal of the average Latin American macho man (Rodríguez, 2022).

Moreover, the content creator has valiantly disclosed her struggles with her body and appearance, as well as her detrimental relationship with food since her early teenage years. Therefore, another recurrent topic on her platforms is self-love, on which she shares her journey towards a healthier lifestyle and self-esteem. Needless to mention, her audience has showered Herly with testimonials of similar experiences and messages of appreciation. But at the same time, men who have felt addressed by Herly’s impersonation of their misogyny through Tomás, have seized every chance to insult Herly and all women who do not comply with patriarchal beauty standards. However, her speech on ‘self-acceptance’ has been so empowering that renown brands like Vogue Mexico and Nike Mexico (see figure 7) have collaborated with the pink-haired influencer to endorse body-positivity and promote sport for all, regardless of their body shape (“Herly RG,” 2021). Herly has repeatedly expressed that she considers self-care of utmost importance, and that girls must learn that working out is much more than just wanting to lose weight, that they should take care of themselves for their own sake and not to meet certain standards of beauty (Rodríguez, 2021).



Figure 7. Herlanly posing for a picture after taking part in a dancing event organized by Nike in Mexico City (Rodríguez, 2020)

On top of that, the 25-year-old, is also an inspiration to low-class women—and men—who dream of attaining a better quality of life. Herly is also the embodiment of ‘hustle’ and humility. In many interviews, she has adjudicated her success to her people and the relentless attitude that she and her partner have had to face the adversities that scarcity threw their way. Aware of the ephemerality of fame, she expressed that her goal is to take every chance she gets and remain grateful for her audience and work. While being a full-time content creator, Herly is studying a bachelor’s degree in psychology which is allowing her to enhance her discourses on feminism, self-love and self-acceptance. Even if Herly does not see herself as an activist, she is now present in the minds of many women and is doing more than her fair share to promote deconstruction and disseminate feminism (Martínez, 2021). To date, the talented comedian amasses a following of 2 million on TikTok, 370,000 on Instagram and 162,000 on Twitter.

Like in the aforementioned examples in Mexico, the positive impact of feminist leaders using social media is replicated across the entire Latin America. Owing to the diversity that exists among these leaders, relevant information and empowering stories have reached the ears of sections of societies that had been excluded by the patriarchal agenda. These figures continue to gain the trust of their audiences and become sources of inspiration within their own spheres, thus consistently increasing their already unparalleled power to call for action and lead the change from their own front lines.

5 The online phenomena discrediting feminism

As it has been established, virtual platforms have increased the visibility of the feminism, but they have also become another space for violence in Latin America and around the world (Sangio, Cubas, García, Burgos, & Levano, n.d., p. 2). Whether it is through anti-feminist communities ridiculing the fight and perpetuating stereotypes, or feminist subgroups manifesting their opposing views with little diplomacy, the future of feminism as a credible movement is in danger. This chapter presents the analysis of how and why the aforementioned activities damage the reputation of feminists and hinder the progress of the feminist agenda in the Latin American territory.

5.1 Stereotype of the Latin American woman

In the past, the mass media have been responsible for constructing a stereotype of the Latin American woman that, to this day, prevails. Such stereotype describes the Latin American female population as interested in conquering the opposite sex, willing to do whatever is necessary to be considered attractive, desired, interesting and indispensable in the eyes of the male gaze. In addition to being obliging to her man's desires, and particularly good at cooking and keen on doing housework. Despite the campaigns of feminists to eliminate this stereotype, traditional media companies, such as television channels producing *telenovelas* (soap operas), or magazines like *Cosmopolitan México* or *Revista Tú*, have invaded the new networks with content that reaffirms this stereotype, in addition to presenting other sorts of feminist-washed material (Bonavitta & de Garay Hernández, 2011, sect. 2, para. 5).

The problem, as demonstrated by Cultivation theory, is that peoples' perception of reality is shaped by the media, which in turn modifies their behavior to either fit or respond to the stereotypes to which they remain consistently exposed (Gerbner & Gross, 1973 as cited in Zotos & Eirini, 2014, p.447). Therefore, this stereotype ingrained in the patriarchal culture of the Latin American peoples, might make some women feel inclined toward resembling what they see in the media and encourage men to treat their counterparts as objects of their desire, thereby reinforcing gender-based violence against girls and women (Lagarde, 2006 as cited in Bonavitta & de Garay Hernández, 2011, sect. 1, para. 6). Additionally, the sustenance of this archetype,

earns women the rejection of some social spheres as well as limitations in the exercise of their citizenship and democracy (Carrillo, 1992; Lori, 1994 as cited in Bonavitta & de Garay Hernández, 2011, sect. 1, para. 7).

Although fourth-wave feminists seek to end this stereotype, the movement per se is not opposed to any of the characteristics entailed in the aforementioned archetype. On the contrary, liberal feminists strive to celebrate the autonomous diversity of every woman, on top of regarding the expression, and exercise, of sexual desire as another and very important form of emancipation. Nevertheless, when a feminist woman displays voluntarily, either online or offline, a trait that may bear resemblance to the stereotype, she still faces criticism on behalf of women who feel threatened or jealous, and very often has her feminist ideals questioned by men or conservative women.

5.2 The idealization of a feminist woman

While being a feminist implies believing in gender equality, being a feminist woman entails far more than just belief. Feminist women are, in greater measure than feminist men and gender diverse people, expected to respect and celebrate the identities and strengths of all women, and be the perfect role model to empower their similar. Perfect being the key adjective that is, yet again, victimizing women now in the movement that is supposed to liberate them of this pressure.

The third-wavers' introduction of a strong and independent woman as the perfect feminist an attempt at compensating for the fake image of a vulnerable, helpless, dependent woman spread by the patriarchy (Rampton, 2019). Nevertheless, such idealization has also been detrimental to the movement, since it has become yet another impossible standard that women have to live up to. This is precisely why some fourth-wavers have undertaken the task of demystifying the concept of the perfect feminist woman, by asserting that any woman can be a feminist from their own trenches and that all individuals are permanently undergoing a process of deconstruction (Poovey, 1988). However, there are still some radical feminists who assert online that a happily married woman, or even a feminine woman, cannot call themselves feminist. Thus, stigmatizing women who willingly adopt traditional female roles (The

Evolution of Feminism, 2015). Needless to mention, this polarization causes important frictions amongst women.

5.3 Unyielding ‘feminist’ perspectives

Amongst the many phenomena that social networks have come to exacerbate, the rigidness with which people share their beliefs is most prominent (Kamei, 2022). The same can be observed within the feminist communities. As established in previous chapters, Latin American feminism encompasses a wide array of belief systems that often find themselves in conflict with each other (Rivera, 2018, p.1).

Nowadays, the most evident instance of the disagreement amid feminists is the fight for the right to abortion. This debate is heavily influenced by the religious values that prevail in the minds of more than half of the Latin American population (Romero, 2021). Such is the case of Argentina in 2018, when the initiative for the voluntary interruption of pregnancy was, after 7 attempts, finally presented in the congress. Groups of women and organizations manifested their positions on social media, mainly on Instagram, where they explained and disseminated their arguments, and organized marches in the streets of Argentina (Tarullo, Sampietro, Tarullo, & Sampietro, 2022). In this civic demonstration, pro-choice groups wore the symbolic green bandanas, whilst people against the bill carried light blue handkerchiefs, flags, and clothing. These colors were likewise employed on each groups’ online activities. At the time, social networks like Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook were being bombarded with information on the subject: from scientific facts and demographic statistics to testimonials of hardship from both parties. Naturally, the two sides continued to express their counterarguments online. Out of this clash of postures, the frequency with which these parties affirmed to be more feminist than the other and know the absolute truth, stands out (Tarullo et al., 2022). Despite the urgency of Argentinian pro-choice groups to prevent roughly between 460,000 and 600,000 clandestine abortions per year (Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales [CELS], 2017, p.3), the bill to warrant the right to voluntary termination of pregnancy was not passed until December 2020. Nevertheless, anti-abortion groups continued their quest to convince voters and the public of the government’s moral wrongdoing. Even if the voluntary termination of a pregnancy is statutory (Law 27.610), it is still an active discussion amongst Argentinians (Acceso a la interrupción del embarazo, 2021).

The incessant belittlement of each other's convictions is perceived as an alarming dissonance within the feminist movement by anti-feminist communities. As a result, this lack of a united front became one of the major arguments that the opposition still uses to discredit purple activism in Argentina and Latin America. The premise being that feminism is but harmful to society in its inherently disorganized and radical tendencies to threaten the rights of vulnerable people (i.e., unborn fetuses), defend selective ideals and attack the stability of the system ("Aborto," 2018).



Figure 8. Women manifesting their positions regarding the abortion bill outside the congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2018.

5.4 The distortion of feminism derived from radicalization

In feminism, like in every social movement, exist subgroups with different understandings of reality. While all currents of feminism aim at eradicating inequalities within and across societies, each of them possesses a particular set of beliefs that determine what they perceive to be the root of the problem and dictate how to act against it. Amongst the liberal, postmodern, Marxist, and radical currents of feminism in Latin America, the latter has executed disreputable actions that have risen concerns in other feminists, and reinforced the rejection of anti-feminist groups (Thompson, 2017).

Radical feminists perceive a society in which men are unquestionably the reigning class whereas women belong in the inferior class (Andrea Dworkin, 1981 as cited in Thompson, 2017, sect. 2). They believe that it is through violence that men have been able to secure their power; and most of them are fond of separatism in the forms of matriarchal families or women-

only communities, however unfeasible they may be. Some activists even practice political lesbianism or celibacy, since they see heterosexual relationships as treason. This branch of feminism is often wrongly referred to as ‘feminazis’ by anti-feminists and criticized by liberals and sociologists for solely focusing on the negative aspect of women’s coexistence with men, and disregarding that some women can thrive in today’s world (Thompson, 2017). This extreme cosmovision has painted a picture of the feminist movement as a whole, that might be causing more damage than it does good. A recent instance that contributed to this were the women’s day marches organized in Mexico City from 2018 to 2020, where rebellious feminists committed bandit acts. Angered by the impunity and the state’s neglect for their petitions, radicals vandalized historical monuments and attacked not only males, but also female individuals, given that some of them did not share the same feminist ideals. Additionally, speeches of hatred towards the male gender were given, as well as posters and banners with phrases like “kill your boyfriend”, “dead to the male”, “abort the man”, “men are rapists” and the sort, were carried by the radicals (Hernández Lopez, 2022, p. 66).

Moreover, the march in 2021 was already expected to be chaotic, so the authorities arranged a security wall surrounding the National Palace — home to President Andrés Manuel López Obrador — composed of 1,700 policewomen and a 3-meter-high metal fence to protect it from violent demonstrators. Naturally, the demonstrators’ attempts to defeat the wall and reach the presidential headquarters ended in clashes with the policewomen, who responded to the threats with tear gas. The march turned into riot, left at least 81 injured women (Día de la Mujer, BBC News Mundo, 2021). Pictures of these occurrences were displayed on traditional media outlets, accompanied by a generalized discourse that incentivized the total rejection of the movement. On social media, the diversity of voices inside and outside the movement were present. Mainly on Twitter and Instagram, radicals were disseminating the videos and photos of the marches, as well as words of aversion toward the male gender. Other feminist users declared to understand the actions of the radicals but did not justify them. Another fraction of users condemned the rebels and employed the hashtag #NoMeRepresentan (they don’t represent me), claiming that due to their wrongdoings, the credibility of the movement was being severely affected. Unfortunately, situations like the one in question have been copied in other Latin American countries.

In essence, it is true that the intolerance, exhibited by radical feminists, does not convey the core values of the movement in Latin America. It is however important that, before judging such extremist actions, we acknowledge that many of their pacific efforts in the past have been overlooked by the governments in the region. Which is why desperate women alongside radical groups opt for violence in retaliation, because they believe it to be the last resort to make their pleas heard. As a result, the aggravated institutions complain and, to their convenience, traditional media excel at pulling such acts out of context, thus making this vandalism the signature of the movement while downplaying the pacificism that most feminists have chosen to fight for their cause. Consequently, the public does not always get to see all sides of the story. If they did, perhaps they would not be so quick to extrapolate the actions of this feminist minority and be more prone to demanding the government to contemplate the feminist agenda in their political, social and economic undertakings. Regrettably, feminists refraining from using violence have to face the consequences of their colleagues' conduct, and work arduously to stop the masses from believing that all feminists are misunderstood violent women and that feminism is ultimately detrimental to society.

5.5 Feminist cancel culture

There is of course a great generational gap between the feminists of the third and the fourth wave. Given this circumstance, the accomplishments of third wavers provided their successors with a more critical vision of the world, which propitiates stricter and more specific demands (Ruiz, 2022, p.100) Such demands have been intensified by the effectiveness of the internet and social media in communicating massively and anonymously when necessary. Together with generation Z, people born from the year 1997 onward (Dimock, 2018, p. 2 & 4), fourth wave feminists have taken their analysis and demands to such an extent that it gave birth to a new version of the Millennials' call-out culture: the famous *cancel culture*. Cancellation occurs when a public figure does or says something that may result offensive to a group of people. To this, Aja Romano adds:

A public backlash, often fueled by politically progressive social media, ensues. Then come the calls to cancel the person—that is, to effectively end their career or revoke their cultural cachet, whether through boycotts of their work or disciplinary action from an employer. (Romano, 2019)

While it is understandable that feminists seek egalitarian progress, the most contentious characteristic of the cancel culture is that it leaves the subject with no possibilities for arguing in their defense if innocent, nor for redemption if guilty. Unlike other generations who were capable of separating the art from the artist, this cancel culture proposes the ontological elimination of the accused, regardless of when, how and why the mistake was committed. To demonstrate this, there is the case of the singer-song writer Armando Vega Gil, bass player and singer of the Mexican rock band Botellita de Jeréz. In 2019, during the #MeToo social media campaign, the artist was accused by a fan, who was 13 years of age, when the musician invited her to his house. Despite confessing that the man never touched her, nor that she spent time alone with him, she emphasized that she felt uncomfortable when he offered her to take a picture with his own mobile phone to remember the evening (Ruiz, 2022, p. 108). Later that year, Vega Gil would commit suicide after uploading a letter on his Twitter account declaring that the accusation was false, and that his death was not a confession of guilt, but rather a declaration of his innocence. Hoping that such act would relieve his son of this ill reputation (#MeToo Accused Mexican, 2019). For instances like this one, cancel culture and feminism in general, require a more nuanced thinking: capable of looking past appearances, questioning intentions, and providing opportunities for defense for all.

Naturally, these unforgiving tendencies, once again, make feminism seem a radical and judgement-based social movement seeking to punish individuals rather than educate them. In the end, what pretended to be a tool for social justice, became a weapon for intimidation and thus, another argument to dismiss the feminist cause.

5.6 The anti-feminist response to online feminism

As stated before, the virtual spaces created by social networks have also sparked new forms of violence against women (Jouët, 2017; Banet-Weiser y Miltner, 2016; Banet-Weiser, 2018 as cited in Tortajada & Vera, 2021, p.1). Examples of these are harassment, extortion, intimidation and threats, often committed by anonymous accounts and sometimes even bots (Kamei, 2022). These attacks are at once personal and general, and in spite of having new platforms, these behaviors of misogyny are recognizable and comparable to their offline equivalents. Such oppositions to feminism, in severe cases, can manifest an irrational discourse that could trigger systematic aggression against all women. Additionally, given the preventive measures put in

place during the recent COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in most people utilizing social media as primary means for socialization, there was a considerable increase in gender-based violence on social networks (Pasquali, 2020).

Another, and allegedly less serious, challenge faced by feminists online comes from men who feel targeted by the feminist movement on social media. They take pride on watching feminist women under a microscope, waiting for them to make a mistake, to immediately flag it as a dissonance when calling themselves purple activists. These groups of men are known to question the feminist values of women with the purpose of undermining the movement, and thus downplay the severity of their own patriarchal actions and beliefs. A fine example of this is the massive call-out of men to women who are openly fond of the Puerto Rican singer-songwriter *Bad Bunny*. These men claim that a feminist woman cannot and should not enjoy or support music that over-sexualize and oppress their gender (Madrid, 2021). Likewise, they argue that *they* cannot respect a woman who sings or dances to lyrics like the example below by Benito Ocasio Martínez '*Bad Bunny*' (2020, Safaera; translation by Cameron). Confirming, once more, that their respect for women is not granted but conditional (Deschamps, 2018).

Qué falta de respeto, mami	<i>What a lack of respect, mami</i>
¿Cómo te atreve' a venir sin panty?	<i>How dare you come without panties?</i>
Hoy saliste puesta pa' mí	<i>Today you got ready and went out for me</i>
Yo que pensaba que venía a dormir, no	<i>And I thought that I was going to sleep, no</i>
Vino ready ya, puesta pa' una cepillá'	<i>She came ready already, ready to bang</i>
Me chupa la lollipop, solita se arrodilla,	<i>She sucks my lollipop, she gets on her knees,</i>
hey, ¿cómo te atreve', mami, a venir sin	<i>Hey, how dare you, mami, to come without</i>
panty?	<i>panties?</i>

(Ocasio Martínez, 2020, Safaera; translated by Cameron 'CG7777')

Lastly, this absurd backlash against online feminism should not be forgotten, because it is a real-time indicator of the progress of the feminist agenda both on and offline. And even the activities of anti-feminist groups have managed to hurt the movement to some extent, it is worth noting that the perseverance of purple activists and their political allies are creating policies to prevent and punish these new forms of violence, as it will be demonstrated in chapter 7.

The results in this chapter indicate that these online threats to feminism have intolerance as the common denominator. The narrow-mindedness exhibited by some women and feminist groups when confronted by the dissenting views of their colleagues is an issue that weakens all layers of the feminist movement. In the same way, the unwillingness of anti-feminist groups, and some men, to analyze what feminism pursues intrinsically, as well as the stubbornness with which they assert that the movement only seeks the subjugation of the male gender, ultimately reaffirm the androcentric and patriarchal culture of the Latin American communities. To counteract the above, it is imperative that members of the feminist movement who have transgressed as intolerant learn to respect the diversity of opinions proceeding from intersectional perspectives, and that they understand that the goal is to ensure equal opportunities for all. Essentially, presenting a united front is a non-negotiable if the feminist fight is to be won.

6 'Feminist washing'

6.1 Faux feminism in online politics

In addition to cyberactivism, another relevant phenomenon procured by women in social networks is techno politics. As per the research of Haberer, Kurban & Peña-López (2017, p. 3), scholars have identified two main currents within the definition of techno politics. The first one concerning the Internet-enhanced politics, also known as e-government, which encompasses the facilitation of existing practices such as e-campaigning and e-voting. And the second current, which refers to the information and communication technologies (ICTs) as crucial instruments for increasing the awareness and participation of citizens, and therefore, the development of effective politics. This section will refer to the latter line of techno politics.

Further to this, it is pertinent to identify the effects of the ICTs on the three main aspects of politics to comprehend the current online practice of some Latin American politicians of using feminism as a fake agenda. Firstly, the organizational aspect, which has been greatly benefited by the easy and cheaper ways to communicate with the citizenship and incentivize collective actions such as e-campaigning, crowdfunding or crowdsourcing. Secondly, the legal side, which has been improved by the digitalization of rights and democratic practices, such as e-voting. Thirdly, the communicative aspect enhanced by tools that permit the distribution of information for the public's use, and the nearly unrestricted creation of content to influence public opinion and advocate for a specific cause (Haberer et al., 2017, p. 10).

Therefore, when feminist users sympathize with or feel represented by a political candidate who endorses the feminist pursuit through their online affairs, translated into the utilization of ICTs at the communicative level of politics, the feminist audience may be more receptive to the politician's campaign proposals. Or they may even feel inclined to vote in favor of said candidate, reflecting the organizational leverage of ICTs on politics. The problem, however, is that very rarely do politicians take their support to

feminist beyond the internet. Thus, appearing like they only joined a popular conversation to gain supporters of a given societal minority, a very common practice among politicians and advertisers known as woke washing (Sobande, 2019). An example of this occurred in Argentina during the presidential elections of 2015, when the Twitter account (@NiUnaMenos_), of the feminist campaign #NiUnaMenos in Argentina (Cabral & Acacio, 2016), invited the candidates, whose online campaigning showcased support to the feminist ends, to share with the public their plans to counteract gender-based violence once in power and sign a letter committing themselves to executing said strategies. Most of the candidates agreed to signing the document, however, neither candidate Sergio Massa, nor Mauricio Macri who would become the president of Argentina a year later, mentioned public policy initiatives to advance the country's purple agenda ("Ciberactivismo en el movimiento feminista," 2020).

Recapitulating, faux feminism in politics occurs when politicians fail to translate their communications and organizational efforts into legislative reforms that guarantee change in favor of feminism. Nevertheless, this anomaly has been reproduced so widely throughout Latin America, that feminist activists are learning to observe in detail the discourses and marketing activities of candidates and public servants, and thereby demand the fulfillment of their promises when they come to power.

6.2 'Femvertising' as a sales strategy

Coined by Samantha Skey, chief executive officer (CEO) of SheKnows Media in 2014, femvertising is defined as pro-feminist messaging within advertising that strives to communicate a feminist message through the non-stereotypical representation of women Ojeda, 2016, p.2 as cited in López-Paredes & García, 2019, p.199). However, despite our enhanced understanding of gender and sex, as well as the extensive research that has been conducted on the representation of women in marketing communications, the progress in Latin American advertising is still questionable (López-Paredes & García, 2019).

In order to grasp the effects of femvertising on Latin American societies, it is indispensable to consider the more specific stereotypes that women in the region still tend to be classified into

by their male counterparts, and sometimes even other women. The five most prominent being housewife, trophy wife (or girlfriend), sex object, soft professional (e.g., personal assistant or teacher), and the sexually empowered woman that utilizes her sexuality to exert control (Gómez & Fuentes, 2021). While the indiscriminate employment of these stereotypes in advertising in the past decades has been useful to sell goods and services, particularly to male audiences, it has also contributed to the perpetuation of female beauty standards and influenced the fashion in which consumers perceive gender and sex roles (Knoll et. al, as cited in Becker, 2016).

Therefore, femvertising was born as a strategy for companies to communicate to their female audiences and overthrow the gender stereotypes that consumers were used to seeing in advertising. To achieve this, female empowerment advertising encompasses the following elements: messaging with intrinsically pro-female bottom-line, representation of intersectionality, downplaying of sexuality, challenging gender norms, and authentic portrayal of women (Becker, 2016). Nevertheless, the most important pillars of femvertising are authenticity and coherence, which, at the same time, are expected by the consumers to be woven throughout all areas of the corporation presenting the advertisement (Davidson, 2015). Becker (2016, p. 22) explains, “Today’s consumer is not only concerned with the authenticity of the product itself, but also with the motives and intentions of the company that created it.” This moral expectation along the fact that whatever is perceived as authentic in the field of communications is constantly shifting is pushing companies to support their feminist claims beyond their marketing knowing that the approval of the public scrutiny has a direct impact on their sales (Molleda, 2010).

In spite of this, most companies in Latin America are still lagging in their femvertising strategies in comparison with corporations in the United States and Europe. Not only do they sustain an archaic corporate culture, but also fail at the easy part of femvertising which is implementing feminism messaging in their marketing communications. This is evidenced by the traces of the patriarchal discourse and traditional stereotypes that are still visible in advertising, and even though the context in which women develop has indeed evolved, the way in which they are represented is still dictated by unattainable standards of beauty (e.g., a YouTube commercial or social media post starred by an exceptionally handsome and fit woman playing a neurosurgeon) (López-Paredes & García, 2019, p. 203). This is due to the fact that for an advertising message to be perceived, it is imperative to depict not the reality but rather

the social identity and wishes of the target audience (Sterbenk et al., as cited in Laura Benito, 2021, p.8). Thereby creating a loop commonly regarded as faux-feminism or feminism washing on behalf of the companies, who understand that not appealing to the male gaze may affect their profitability in Latin American markets. Needless to mention, not holding companies accountable when committing this type of corporate hypocrisy is a menace to feminism.

In conclusion, marketers are nowadays under the surveillance of fourth-wave feminists, whose task is to spot and expose incongruities in the companies' femvertising and culture. However, little does it matter how much the marketers may want to comply with the feminist agenda, when they primarily need to help their employers reach their financial goals. Therefore, their initial aim to represent women's interests in society may turn into 'how can we sell more products to women?'. This conundrum is most present in Latin America, thanks to both, the ingrown patriarchal culture, and the increasing pressure from feminist collectives. Lastly, while femvertising done right can appeal and empower women, it can also create an illusion of progress on feminist matters when the reality may be the opposite. Thus, giving the believers of this illusion, most likely male audiences, another reason to deem the feminist battle as unnecessary.

7 The offline reach of online feminism in Latin America

7.1 Social movements stemmed from feminism

According to Almeida (2020, p. 17–18), the study of social movements has escalated significantly in the last two decades, due to theoretical and empirical advances in psychology, sociology, and other social sciences, coupled with the increase in collective action in different parts of the world enabled by the internet and social networks. At the same time, Chávez (2017, p.43 as cited in Cortés & Martelo, 2021), expert in gender and social participation, argues that the use of a feminist approach in the study of social movements, facilitates a different understanding of the world, and that not integrating this perspective when it comes to researching and promoting collective action, perpetuates the patriarchal cultural and sociopolitical structure. Moreover, concerning the involvement of women in social movements, women's partaking tends to be notably higher when the movement is either intrinsically related to feminism or compatible with the feminist principles. As per Rodriguez, Harper, & George (2021, p. 48), social movements form, and are formed by, gender roles and relations. Therefore, women's participation often implies the breaking of these gender norms, as well as the transgression of public spaces. For this same reason, social movements are great sources of empowerment and transformation towards gender equality and justice (Whittier, 2007, as cited in Rodriguez, et al., 2021, p. 6). Evidence suggests that women's involvement in social movements has been fruitful in promoting change in gender norms, owing to the tenacious renegotiation of gender roles and their pursuit to influence policymaking (Rodriguez, et al., 2021, p. 8). Instances in which Latin American feminists have accomplished new legislations in their favor will be further discussed in section 7.3.

To execute these interrelated strategies simultaneously, feminist activists in Latin America are tapping into the incomparable power of the new media for building public solidarity. While face-to-face communication is still essential to strengthening trust, social media serve as the perfect spotlight for issues that might go unnoticed otherwise. Features such as profiles, feeds, hashtags search, and groups, allow users to share what they deem important and promote networking. The lack of gatekeeping gives the voiceless a chance to speak up, inform and appeal to unaware audiences, and urge their peers to act for their common cause. Likewise, through these tools, they have been able to gain institutional support and obtain resources to

sustain their endeavors at international, national, community, interpersonal and individual scales (Hunt, 2019, p. 19).

A social movement on the rise, derived from feminism, is menstrual activism. Despite the evolution in the conversation about sexuality and gender, this biological process of the female body is still considered something dirty and socially impolite in many societies around the world (Martínez Pérez, 2021). This being due to a lack of education in anatomy and bodily processes, originated from the past tendency of the medical sciences to disregard sex differences.

Menstruation matters more than most people in society are willing to recognize; it is deeply embedded in our global body politics and is a major contributor to the vast gender inequity between men and women today. Institutionalized hierarchies maintain and support the outdated patriarchal belief that menstruation makes the female body inferior to the male body. (Lewis, n.d., as cited in Bobel et al., 2020)

Since one of the pillars of fourth-wave feminism is body-positivity, more and more women are going deeper into the conversation, exchanging their views and noticing how vastly diverse are their experiences around menstruation. Hence, the emergence of menstrual activism. According to González (2016, as cited in Ramírez, 2019) , menstrual activism aims to break the thinking around the gender binary, and to shift the conversation from menstruating women to menstruating individuals. Fourth-wave menstrual activists resort to artistic performances, illustrations, poetry, and other forms of content in an attempt to normalize the subject, as well as to promote environmentally friendly solutions to dispose of the blood (see figure 9). While there are groups organizing meetings and rallies, menstrual activism is more consistent on social media.



Figure 9. “I bleed, I stain, and I’m not disgusted”. Drawing inspired on menstrual activism. Stephanie Chávez (2019) via Instagram.

To conclude, the feminist movement is far from being simple. For within each existing intersection, there are specific battles that, in turn, give rise to new movements. Which would have never emerged without feminism as a common denominator. Like the example of given above, there are other organizations and groups of activists in Latin America that seek to promote a certain agenda, such as the vegan feminists who argue that feminism and veganism share the same core belief: equality of all. Other movements concentrate their efforts to benefit women of a particular segment, such as the LGBTQ+ community, women in science, indigenous women, among others. Thanks to the internet and social networks, feminist social movements in Latin America and around the world, encounter very little resistance to be born in this fourth wave of feminism.

7.1 Online practices of 'Sisterhood'

The Spanish term *sororidad*, coming from the Latin word *soror*, meaning sister, is defined by the Royal Spanish Academy, as a relationship of solidarity among women, particularly in the pursuit of their empowerment (n.d.). However, 'sorority', the literal translation of the term in English is often acknowledged as a student association of women (“Sorority Definition & Meaning - Merriam-Webster,” n.d.). Therefore, for the purpose of this section, the term *sisterhood* will be employed to refer to *sororidad* in Latin America. Per Marcela Lagarde (2009), coiner of the term, sisterhood implies a profound alliance among women in which they recognize each other’s autonomy and diversity. It is not about loving each other, but about respecting one another. Which is why sisterhood in practice requires self-assessment in order to discover patterns of misogyny, inherent to each woman’s patriarchal context.

Owing to the use of information and communication technologies, the concept of sisterhood has expanded, and its practice has taken new shapes. In fact, bringing to light topics which have been neglected in the past, is now considered one of the most common exercises of sisterhood on social media (Repensando la sororidad, 2021). This may occur when experts in a specific topic share their knowledge in their preferred network, and with their personality coming through, they amass a following of individuals who are in need of said knowledge. For instance, medical specialists or patients of a determined diagnosis manage a blog or a social media

account around the illness; just like doctor Bonín (@draboninendometriosisintegral) who utilizes Instagram to discuss endometriosis, a problem affecting 10 percent of women worldwide (“Endometriosis Facts,” n.d.), and has an audience of almost twenty thousand users. Or else, groups, profiles, or pages on social media devoted to helping women in business in a particular region; just as the Facebook group *Bolsa de Trabajo Ecofeminista Chile* (Eco Feminist Job Board Chile), which has over twenty-seven thousand members, and acts as a job market and a platform for economic exchange among women and feminists (“Bolsa de Trabajo EcoFeminista (Chile) | Facebook,” n.d.). This sort of group has been replicated with success in many communities throughout Latin America since they are helpful in guiding members through the local economic context and labor market, consequently improving the financial situation of women and thereby households (Aráoz, 2020, p. 11). Another example of sisterhood online, happens when individuals express any sort of violence, misogyny, or racism against a female user, and with an impressive speed, women voluntarily jump to their colleague’s defense. This kind of support helps women to feel safe and encouraged to report experiences of discrimination and violence (Repensando la solidaridad, 2021).

Today, any woman with access to the internet can find a virtual space dedicated to sharing information about a given subject and meet, either online or in person, other women living similar experiences. Thus, providing her with a support net that may result, both, reassuring and empowering. However, it should be noted that despite the progress made in this regard, a large number of women, for reasons of socio-economic status, geography, or age, remain excluded from the online sisterhood (Repensando la sororidad, 2021). This is the reason offline activism is still necessary for the consolidation of feminism.

7.3 Creation of laws and constitutional reforms

In the last decade, the implacable activism of feminist collectives in Latin America has accomplished important changes in the law that strive to secure a better quality of life for both women and men. Whilst most feminist demands revolve around five main axes: reproductive health, recognition of intersectionality, environmental issues, access, and use of technology, and equal representation in politics (Güemes, 2021), some societies in the region are still fighting more vital issues, as evidenced by the following cases.

7.3.1 The ‘Rosa Elvira Cely’ Law in Colombia

Such is the situation in Colombia, where until the year 2015, the law had not yet recognized femicide as the death of a woman attributed to her gender identity (Mogollón, 2016). It was 2012, when the 35-year-old Rosa Elvira Cely worked in a street stall during the day and studied high school at night in order to provide for her daughter. One night, Rosa was raped and beaten at a park in Bogotá by a former classmate. Miraculously, she managed to call the authorities and give them her location. When the police arrived, she was on the ground with hypothermia and her body had signs of strangulation, among other injuries. Once at the hospital, an analysis revealed that the aggressor had also introduced a stick in her anus, which destroyed her uterus and fallopian tubes. Regrettably, Rosa Elvira Cely died after four days in intensive care.

Later, journalists following the case found that the perpetrator, Javier Velasco, had already been convicted for sexual assault and murder back in 2002, but he only served 19 months (dhColombia, 2022). Rosa’s case was regarded as a monumental failure on behalf of the government, and the public’s indignation was such that there were protests in the streets of Colombia. Likewise, the massive diffusion of the media’s scrupulous investigations on the case, intensified the online activism of feminists from Colombia and the rest of Latin America, particularly on Facebook (Osorio, 2022). This violent event reignited the fight of feminist collectives, who this time, alongside Rosa’s sister, Adriana, demanded the state of Colombia to typify femicide as an autonomous crime. Finally, after three years of strenuous campaigning on and offline, the bill Rosa Elvira Cely came to be Law 1761 (Ley 1761 de 2015, 2015). The enactment of this law was a great step forward for the gender perspective in Colombia and a tangible result of the efforts of women and feminist to guarantee the proper investigation and prosecution of femicides.

7.3.2 The ‘Brisa’ Law in Argentina

Back in 2014, Daiana Barrionuevo, a mother of three, went missing in Buenos Aires. When the police were investigating the case, Iván Rodríguez, Daiana’s former partner, presumed that she had abandoned her children to flee with her new lover. However, such a story sounded unlikely to Barrionuevo’s sister, Cintia. So, the search continued and nearly a month later, Daiana’s body was found in a river, wrapped in a blanket and inside a plastic bag. The necropsy showed that she died instantly after a strike to the head. Knowing that in that year, 57 percent of

femicides in Argentina were being committed by sentimental partners or ex-partners of the victims, the police theorized against Rodríguez, also father of Barrionuevo's kids. The hypothesis was later confirmed, and Rodríguez received a life sentence.

Consequently, the couple's kids, Brisa (5) and the twins Elías and Tobías (7), were placed under the guardianship of their aunt, Cintia Barrionuevo. However, the latter did not possess the resources to provide for her niece and nephews ("Historia de la Ley Brisa," 2018). By then, Barrionuevo's story had already caused commotion on social media. As a result, "La Casa del Encuentro", an NGO dedicated to defending women's rights, presented the Brisa law initiative, named after Barrionuevo's little girl, to provide economic support to the children of women victims of femicide. "This initiative is a right that these children have. We are not talking about an aid or a subsidy, we are talking about an economic reparation to help a lot of minors all over the country." Ada Rico, the organization's chairwoman, explained during an interview in 2016 ("Ley Brisa," 2016).

Owing to the relevance of the topic, the proposal quickly went viral on Twitter and Instagram. The hashtag #LeyBrisa accumulated informative postings on what, why, whom and how this law intended to help. The online support of Argentinians was unanimous and therefore crucial to the initiative's transcendence. Finally, in 2017 the bill became a law in Buenos Aires, and one year later the 'Brisa Law' was a reality for the entire South American country (Santamarina, 2021). The law 27.452 states that any underage person whose mother died as a result of gender-based violence is entitled to receive a monthly compensation. Moreover, if said person has a physical disability or cognitive impairment, they may keep getting the support from the state past their twenty-first birthday (Ley Brisa, 2019).

7.3.3 The 'Eyvi Ágreda' Law in Perú

On April 24 of 2018 in Lima, the 22-year-old Eyvi Ágreda boarded a bus to head home after a long day of work. All of a sudden, a man approached her aggressively and poured gasoline all over her face and body. A witness confirmed that the offender told his victim that, if she was not to be with him, she was not to be with anyone at all, before setting Ágreda on fire. While the spectators of such an atrocity tried to help the young woman, the criminal, identified as

Carlos Javier Hualpa, fled before anybody could restrain him (Gamarra, 2022). Eyvi, alongside ten other injured individuals, received medical care at the hospital José Casimiro Ulloa. Later, Eyvi's medical staff informed that 60 percent of her body was burned and, therefore, would need intensive care. The next day, the police managed to detain the felon, who in his defense, declared that he did not intend to kill his victim, but rather just disfigure her face. While Ágreda lay in a hospital bed in the intensive care unit, the police continued the investigation, and discovered that Eyvi had indeed informed some members of her family of a former work colleague harassing her for months. However, she did not file a report to the authorities because Hualpa had not committed yet a crime. After reviewing the mobile phones of both individuals, the police discovered that the 36-year-old man had insisted on having a sentimental relationship with Eyvi, to which she refused many times ("Eyvi Ágreda," 2018). This fact and the perpetrator's words shared by the witness with the police would fit to describe Hualpa's obsession with Ágreda. Unfortunately, thirty-eight days after the attack and several reconstructive surgeries later, Eyvi died in the hospital due to an inability to resist a septic shock (EsSalud Perú [@EsSaludPeru], 2018). That night, there was a vigil and a big congregation of young women in downtown Lima with signs reading #NiUnaMenos (not a single one less) and #NosEstánMatando (they are killing us), which were being massively used on Instagram and Twitter as well. After a year of preventive imprisonment, the culprit was convicted for the crime of aggravated femicide and sentenced to thirty-five years of prison as well as the payment of a civil reparation of 590,000 Peruvian soles (€144.963,00 approximately) (Eyvi Ágreda, Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina, n.d.).

This case was massively propagated on television, newspapers and social media. The public outrage at the time was so present that many victims of harassment dared to finally tell their stories, and who, like Eyvi, did not have a yet legal reason to file a report against their aggressors. The sociologist and congresswoman Marisa Grave, who had already started to prepare a bill to criminalize harassment, harnessed the relevance of Eyvi's case, arguing that if there had been a legislation, she would have had the authorities take preventive actions, and perhaps she would still be alive today. Three months after Eyvi's passing, lawyer Cynthia Vila, member of the Peruvian Ministry of Women's Affairs, obtained the approval of the bill to include the crime of harassment in the country's criminal code (Gobierno publica decreto legislativo, 2018). The lawyer credited the achievement to the perseverant support of the public and their off and online mobilizations (Fowks, 2022).

Instances like the aforementioned are not new nor rare in the Latin American territory. Even if the experiences of women were known, they were never diffused and understood to the extent they are today thanks to the presence of feminists on social media platforms. These online activists are dedicated to informing their following on topics and news that would otherwise be deemed ephemeral, if not unimportant. The new media have brought new opportunities for communication and engagement, thus encouraging the analysis of news from a feminist perspective, the organization of protests, and the visualization of support or rejection to political shifts (Steinberg, 2016). Whilst these channels are crucial, they alone are not yet capable of creating meaningful change on their own. As in the cases here included, societies must remain eager to act beyond their screens and express their discontent relentlessly in order to accomplish legal reforms.

All in all, despite the challenging, present, the future of feminism in Latin America looks promising. As the evidence shows, women, feminist collectives and allies across the region, have developed off and online strategies to influence public policies. Achieving legal reforms, is without a doubt, one of the greatest advancements of fourth wave feminism, which is committed to dethroning the governments' patriarchal perspective to guaranteeing rights for all. The purple activism of Latin Americans, as well as the increase in female-occupied legal seats, give hope for an egalitarian future, in which no woman has to fear for her life and any girl can dream.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Guidelines to create a genuine feminist presence on social media in Latin America

1. Acknowledge all intersections of women in your audience

Have a clear overview of your audience demographics and address as many segments as possible in your communications.

2. Have feminist allies

Ensure that your team, particularly the marketing team, is predominantly composed of feminist people. Collaborate with activists and feminist figures of diverse background.

3. Make your advertising a tool for empowerment

Know your audience's primary issues and become a source of inspiration. Debunk gender roles in your industry and avoid glorifying a single type of woman.

4. Zero tolerance policy to misogyny

Take immediate action with users making comments of hatred toward women or inciting violence of any sort. Call your audience to respect women.

5. Become a virtual safe space

Offer information on preventive measures and build a network of contacts dedicated to support women.

6. Be accountable and transparent

Be the first one to question your own corporate culture. Identify and eliminate patriarchal practices in order to support your feminist claims beyond your advertising and internet activities.

7. Keep learning

Brand your organization (or person) as an ever-evolving entity. Recognize that what may have worked well yesterday, might not work tomorrow. Commit to continue learning about feminism and its challenges.

8.2 Summary and answer to the research questions

The employment of the media in the propagation of feminism remains a debatable subject among communication and sociology scholars. However, the issue in Latin America has grown in importance in light of recent events, magnified by persevering feminist collectives in the region. Therefore, with the purpose of grasping the relevance of the new media, specifically the social networks, in the advancement of feminism in Latin America, this thesis has sought to provide relevant insights regarding the following research questions:

What are the opportunities and threats provided by social media for the development of the feminist movement in Latin America?

To answer this question, it is pertinent to recapitulate that social media have enabled the instant, massive and free exchange of ideas. Therefore, creating opportunities and threats for the Latin American feminism. Firstly, the possibility for any woman, with access to the internet, to share their story with the world through social networks, has allowed societies to recognize intersectionality and put faces to issues. At the same time, the growing representation of minorities and oppressed segments of women in these channels, has the potential to destroy the phenomenon known as the spiral of silence.

Consequently, the diversity of voices in social media are able to appeal, educate, and empower a wider audience of women. Thus, forging communities that may trespass geographical, language, social, and economic barriers. Which in turn, foster the feminist exercise of sisterhood, on and off social media, and even give birth to new social movements.

Moreover, social media have produced new ways of addressing gender-based violence. Through the dissemination of information about primary prevention and immediate response, more women are learning to identify latent dangers and feeling more encouraged to take legal actions against aggressors.

On the other hand, the social networks have become another space for violence against women. While new forms of violence have emerged, most of them come from their off-line equivalent, such as harassment, extortion, or intimidation.

The possibility for anonymization, for instance, poses a challenge for feminism in Latin America. Some users emit unnecessary judgements and commit cybercrimes without fear of being punished, given that the legislations to condemn such actions are still under development.

Additionally, the utilization of the movement for selfish purposes has been facilitated thanks to social networks. Nowadays, companies and politicians are just one social media post away from making the feminist population believe that they support their cause.

Lastly, another consequence derived from the wide array of opinions shared by the feminists on social media is that the frictions among feminist groups are evidenced. Such disagreements could lead outsiders to perceive feminism as something divisive, and therefore undermine the importance of the feminist strife.

Why are social media crucial in the dissemination of fourth-wave feminism in Latin America?

As opposed to traditional media, the current social media has granted feminist users full control of the narrative around their endeavors. While it is true that there are entities antagonizing purple activism in Latin America, the lack of gatekeeping gives activists the chance to identify and respond immediately to such efforts. Thus, offering a more even battlefield for feminism. Likewise, owing to their ability to communicate many people at once, social media are the perfect tool to diffuse relevant information in different formats (text, video, and audio) and organize mobilizations offline. Today, the internet blurs barriers that used to prevent collective action in favor of a particular cause: women in one country have access to information about what is occurring in other parts of Latin America and can offer support and solidarity from their phones, thus multiplying the impact of whatever actions are taken offline.

How do the misconceptions of what feminism stands for and the flood of 'feminism-washing' entities discredit the feminist movement in Latin America?

Among the phenomena that antagonize feminism in Latin America, the preservation of stereotypes, the radicalization of minorities, politicians feminist-washing discourses, and companies femvertising generate the most misrepresentations of feminism.

The feminist stereotype of a strong, independent woman has ironically become yet another impossible standard that, in turn, may cause some women to believe that feminism is not for them. Then, the radical actions taken by minorities within the movement, have earned feminism the reputation of an unforgiving collective of women who seek to subjugate men.

Added to that, companies employing the feminist cause in their advertising with the sole purpose of increasing profit, commit corporate hypocrisy and diminish the movement when their feminist claims are not supported beyond their marketing. Similarly, politicians purple-washing their discourses to earn the support of feminists, who, once in power neglect the feminist agenda, make citizenships deem feminist matters unimportant.

Understandably, these false impressions prevent people from relating to feminism, and may generate automatic rejection in the future. The unwillingness of some individuals to look beyond these misconceptions, in some instances, can lead to the emergence anti-feminist efforts to damage the credibility of the movement in Latin America as a legitimate cause.

How has online feminism impacted offline feminism in Latin America?

Nowadays, thanks to social media, the Latin American woman knows that her reality is not just her own. That the situations she has encountered throughout her life have names, and that people who have gone through the same are within her reach. Therefore, more women feel empowered to face reality. Firstly, the online congregation of feminists under a common cause, has given way to new social endeavors rooted in feminism that take place off the internet.

Secondly, the practice of sisterhood online, such as the feminist-exclusive marketplaces on social media, has provided women with real-life opportunities to develop themselves both, personally and professionally. Thirdly, the pressure exerted on social media led by activists has trespassed the screens and found a modus operandi to influence policymaking across the Latin American territory, which is, most likely, the biggest tangible contribution of online feminism to offline feminism.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that the online and offline realms are closely intertwined: whatever occurs in one, cascades into the other. Given that these findings support the idea of social media being a double-edged sword for the feminist movement in Latin America, the employment of these channels should be cautious and remain under scrupulous observation. Since there is a considerable percentage of Latin American women who remain deprived of the internet and its information, due to geographical or educational limitations, online activism should not be regarded as a substitute for offline activism but rather as a complement and key tool for the consolidation of the feminist ideals in the Latin American reality.

8.3 Discussions of results and limitations of the thesis

Previous research has revealed how social networks have materialized a new way of doing activism, which has proven to be superior in propagating information and building connections than its offline complement. The findings of this thesis suggest that the use of social media have a direct impact on the feminist movement in Latin America. Since everything that occurs offline

reaches the online world, social media serve as an instant feedback loop, that allows feminists to observe the immediate effect of their actions and the response of opposing forces. As a result, purple activists have more agency over what is believed, said, and done around the feminist cause. Such technological appropriation on behalf of women is, in and of itself, an act of emancipation and, therefore, a feminist victory. However, the usage of social media for feminist messaging should never be taken lightly. As the results of this thesis evidenced, to every feminist action, there is a counter reaction that, if is not addressed promptly, may cloud the progress of the feminist agenda in Latin America.

Additionally, the scope of this paper might be limited by the fact that it did not analyze a particular social network or specific content formats, although this was done deliberately to provide a broad overview of the reach that social media, as a single means of communication, have on the offline practices of feminism in Latin America. Another constraint concerns the lack of consideration of the role that each mode of communication (verbal, non-verbal, and visual) has in the delivery and reception of feminist messages. Furthermore, this paper is demographically confined, as it focuses primarily on the biggest Spanish-speaking nations in the region.

Finally, due to the growing relevance of the feminist movement in Latin America, it becomes imperative to translate the research into practice. Therefore, this thesis has presented practical applications in the form of guidelines for individuals and organizations looking to create a genuine feminist presence on their social networks.

8.4 Outlook and future research needs

Within the scope of this paper, postulates including the agenda setting theory, spiral of silence theory and cultivation theory have been employed to describe the dependable relationship between media and the feminist movement. Given that social media is continuously evolving, and is the predilect tool of purple activists today, it is necessary to keep studying the possibilities enabled by the already existing and upcoming platforms.

Moreover, throughout the academic research for this work, the found number of resources concerning the advancement of feminism triggered by social media in non-Spanish speaking countries, as well as within non-dominant groups in the region, was rather scarce. Future

research might consequently explore if and to which extent the Muted Group theory has manipulated the evolution of feminism within said societies.

Ultimately, several limitations in this paper concerning the use of communication modes and storytelling, provides opportunities for further investigation into the persuasion of users, and audiences, to support or antagonize the feminist fight.

9 Bibliography

- Aborto: ¿Qué simboliza el pañuelo verde? (2018, March 6). *LA NACION*. Retrieved from <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/aborto-que-simboliza-el-panuelo-verde-nid2114538/>
- Acceso a la interrupción del embarazo: IVE/ ILE.*, Pub. L. No. 27.610 (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/salud/sexual/acceso-la-interrupcion-del-embarazo-ive-ile#:~:text=La%20Ley%2027.610%20regula%20el,obligatoria%20en%20todo%20el%20pa%C3%ADs.&text=%2D%20Cuando%20el%20embarazo%20es%20resultado,su%20vida%20o%20su%20salud.>
- Almeida, P. (2020). *Movimientos sociales: La estructura de la acción colectiva* (1st ed.). Buenos Aires, Argentina. Retrieved from <https://www.clacso.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/01-Paul-Almeida.pdf>
- Aráoz, V. (2020). Sentidos y prácticas de sororidad en Facebook. *Question/Cuestión*, 2(66), e500–e500. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.24215/16696581e500>
- ASALE, R.-, & RAE. (n.d.). Sororidad | Diccionario de la lengua española. In «*Diccionario de la lengua española*»—*Edición del Tricentenario*. RAE. Retrieved from <https://dle.rae.es/sororidad>
- The Evolution of Feminism. (2015, March 7). Retrieved from <https://harvardpolitics.com/evolution-feminism/>
- Becker, E. (2016). *The Rise of Femvertising: Authentically Reaching Female Consumers*. 90. Retrieved from https://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/181494/BeckerHerby_%20Final%20Capstone_2016.pdf?sequence=1
- Bobel, C., Winkler, I. T., Fahs, B., Hasson, K. A., Kissling, E. A., & Roberts, T.-A. (Eds.). (2020). *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK565605/>
- Bolsa de Trabajo EcoFeminista (Chile) | Facebook. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/BolsaTrabajoFemnistaChile/about/>
- Bonavitta, P., & de Garay Hernández, J. (2011). De estereotipos, violencia y sexismo: La construcción de las mujeres en los medios mexicanos y argentinos *. *Anagramas - Rumbos y sentidos de la comunicación-*, 9(18), 15–29. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=s1692-25222011000100002
- Cabral, P., & Acacio, J. A. (2016). *La violencia de género como problema público*. 1(51). Retrieved from https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/bitstream/handle/11336/85429/CONICET_Digital_Nro.429c8e26-6f41-453b-871c-00f2e019514b_A.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

- Carbado, D., Crenshaw, K., Mays, V., & Tomlinson, B. (2013). Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of a Theory. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 10(2), 303–312. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000349>
- CELS. (2017). *Acceso al aborto en Argentina* (p. 9). Argentina: Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales. Retrieved from <https://www.cels.org.ar/especiales/examenonu/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2017/10/EPU2017AccesoAborto.pdf>
- Ciberactivismo en el movimiento feminista: De las redes a las calles. (2020, December 14). Retrieved from Cosecha Roja website: <https://cosecharoja.org/ciberactivismo-en-el-movimiento-feminista-de-las-redes-a-las-calles/>
- CommonLit | Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions por Elizabeth Cady Stanton. (n.d.). Retrieved from CommonLit website: <https://www.commonlit.org/es/texts/declaration-of-sentiments-and-resolutions>
- Cómo el caso de la joven que murió tras ser quemada en un autobús en Perú pone el foco en la violencia contra la mujer. (2018). *BBC News Mundo*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-43913788>
- Cortés, R., & Martelo, E. Z. (2021). Los movimientos sociales desde la perspectiva feminista: Pistas metodológicas para un análisis no androcéntrico. *Revista de Estudios de Género. La ventana*, VI(54), 13–47. Retrieved from https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1405-94362021000200013
- Davidson, L. (2015). Femvertising: Advertisers cash in on #feminism. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11312629/Femvertising-Advertisers-cash-in-on-feminism.html>
- Deschamps, M. (2018). Reggaeton Dirty Dancing and Women Liberation: A Contradiction? Retrieved from <https://www.telesurenglish.net/analysis/Reggaeton-Dirty-Dancing-and-Women-Liberation-a-Contradiction-20180308-0023.html>
- dhColombia. (2022, May 12). Femicidio de Rosa Elvira Cely, 10 años de impunidad | dhColombia. Retrieved from <https://dhcolombia.com/2022/05/12/femicidio-de-rosa-elvira-cely-10-anos-de-impunidad/>
- Día de la Mujer: Los disturbios en la marcha del 8 de marzo dejan al menos 81 heridas en Ciudad de México—BBC News Mundo.* (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-56336256>
- Dimock, M. (2018). *Defining generations: Where Millennials end and post-Millennials begin.* Retrieved from <https://fbuxconsulting.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Where-Millennials-end-and-post-Millennials-begin--Pew-Research-Center-1.pdf>
- Draper, S., & Mason-Deese, L. (2018). Strike as Process: Building the Poetics of a New Feminism. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 117(3), 682–691. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-6942257>
- Echazarreta, K. (2020). About Katya Echazarreta. Retrieved from <https://www.katechazarreta.com/about>

- Endometriosis Facts and Figures | Endometriosis UK. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.endometriosis-uk.org/endometriosis-facts-and-figures>
- Erlil, A. (2017). *Memoria colectiva y culturas del recuerdo: Estudio introductorio*. Universidad de los Andes. Retrieved from https://books.google.at/books?hl=es&lr=&id=6930DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=C%C3%B3rdoba,+2017&ots=Qj5BbHIFSK&sig=6_D6l98o3lZR1FwOrfHfSYnGuFQ&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false
- EsSalud Perú [@EsSaludPeru]. (2018, June 1). #EsSaludInforma | Comunicado sobre el sensible fallecimiento de la paciente #EyviÁgreda. <https://t.co/el5Mz7v1cA> [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/EsSaludPeru/status/1002620678929936384>
- Eyvi Ágreda: Sentencian a 35 años de prisión a Carlos Hualpa | Noticias | Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://andina.pe/agencia/noticia-eyvi-agreda-sentencian-a-35-anos-prision-a-carlos-hualpa-753739.aspx>
- Feminism—The third wave of feminism | Britannica*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/feminism/The-third-wave-of-feminism>
- Fowks, J. (2022, March 7). Eyvi Ágreda (Perú). *El País* Retrieved from <https://elpais.com/internacional/2022-03-07/eyvi-agreda-peru.html>
- Gamarra, C. (2022). El caso de Eyvi Ágreda, la joven que enfrentó a su acosador y luego fue quemada en un bus | *El Popular*. Retrieved January from <https://elpopular.pe/actualidad/2022/11/08/eyvi-agreda-historia-joven-enfrento-su-acosador-luego-fue-quemada-bus-162889>
- Garcés, A. E. N., & Ruiz, J. N. (2020). La violencia digital en México (Ley Olimpia). *Revista Criminalia Nueva Época*, 87(Commemorativo). Retrieved from <https://criminalia.com.mx/index.php/nueva-epoca/article/view/111>
- Gargallo, F. (2007). Feminismo Latinoamericano. *Revista Venezolana de Estudios de la Mujer*, 12(28), 17–34. Retrieved from http://ve.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1316-37012007000100003
- GMMP. (2020). *¿Quién figura en las noticias?* (p. 46). Latin America: The Global Media Monitoring Project. Retrieved from <https://whomakesthenews.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/America-Latina-informe-GMMP-rev.pdf>
- Gobierno publica decreto legislativo que incorpora acoso y chantaje sexual al código penal*. , Pub. L. No. 1410 (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.gob.pe/institucion/mimp/noticias/18866-gobierno-publica-decreto-legislativo-que-incorpora-acoso-y-chantaje-sexual-al-codigo-penal>
- Gómez, C., & Fuentes, H. (n.d.). Femvertising to Reach Women Consumers and Close the Gender Equality Gap in Latin America. Retrieved from <https://egade.tec.mx/en/egade-ideas/research/femvertising-reach-women-consumers-and-close-gender-equality-gap-latin-america>
- Güemes, C. (2021). Demandas, reivindicaciones y luchas feministas en Latinoamérica. *Análisis Carolina*, (7), 1. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.33960/AC_07.2021

- Gutiérrez, R. (2021). *¿Quién es Alessandra Rojo de la Vega, la funcionaria que fue vista en la marcha de mujeres?* Retrieved from <https://www.sdpnoticias.com/estados/cdmx/quien-es-alessandra-rojo-de-la-vega-la-funcionaria-que-fue-vista-en-la-marcha-de-mujeres/>
- Houghton, P. (2019). Does new media foster intersectionality in feminism? – Hashtag Activism. Retrieved from <https://wpmu.mah.se/nmict191group4/2019/03/17/does-new-media-foster-intersectionality-in-feminism/>
- Herly RG: Nueva Libertad. (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.nike.com/mx/a/herly-rg-nueva-libertad>
- Hernández Lopez, L. M. (2022). *El movimiento feminista radical en México. 2018-2022.* Retrieved from <http://ri.uaemex.mx/handle/20.500.11799/113243>
- Hunt, K. (2019). Twitter, social movements, and claiming allies in abortion debates. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 16(4), 394–410. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2019.1659901>
- Intersectional feminism: What it means and why it matters right now. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/explainer-intersectional-feminism-what-it-means-and-why-it-matters>
- Johnson, T. B. (n.d.). Waves of Feminism and the Media. Retrieved from <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/honprog/32>
- Kamei, J. (2022). Social Media: A Double-Edged Sword for the Feminist Movement. Retrieved from <https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/social-media-double-edged-sword-feminist-movement>
- Katya Echazarreta y su experiencia como mujer: ‘Me dijeron que desperdiciaba el lugar de un hombre.’ (2022). *El Financiero*. Retrieved from <https://www.elfinanciero.com.mx/nacional/2022/08/02/katya-echazarreta-y-su-experiencia-como-mujer-me-dijeron-que-desperdiciaba-el-lugar-de-un-hombre/>
- Kurban, C., Peña-López, I., & Haberer, M. (2017). What is technopolitics? A conceptual schema for understanding politics in the digital age. *IDP Revista de Internet, Derecho y Política*, 0(24). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.7238/idp.v0i24.3061>
- La triste historia que hay detrás de la “Ley Brisa.” (2018, July 6). Retrieved from <https://www.notimerica.com/sociedad/noticia-triste-historia-hay-detras-ley-brisa-20180706205143.html>
- Lagarde, M. (2009). *La política feminista de la sororidad*. Retrieved from https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/30304518/Marcela_Lagarde_ponencia_110609_Sestao-libre.pdf?1390883650=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DLa_politica_feminista_de_la_sororidad.pdf&Expires=1673689737&Signature=fwLgNT6fFZINAe-uHifX4ggb5r70Pjc-CgEWD18A09kzn4fYvHJzRAWxx16mWePwslld1eF5c4Wjatlm0nQxSbksn8~2FrIs5phYzkgkx1psMIZhw0btGLJrYLk4q17Q39j501Td9Rp7Q9aMC-cD9I0TNi1uKCMKr7QI6133twofi6AJPtTqrwrGSim3BSbyTYwlrKROPSnockqXbocBn9cDZhw8a6iKPUitXWa~dU2K~Kj47sMDyPq5mkYIRU44SogMHvy581u20zkX

D7f9ol~t1rSqr5UcIwMc3iDilic3WjzkDXOpqd-
TGSrQYsp5fwi5E1kDRSFubVDKZklz-g__&Key-Pair-
Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

Laura Benito, R. H. (2021). *Valoración del mensaje del Femvertising spot “Por La Amistad, Todo” de Pilsen Callao en usuarios de su fanpage, Lima, 2021* (Universidad César Vallejo). Universidad César Vallejo, Lima, Peru. Retrieved from https://repositorio.ucv.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/20.500.12692/103848/Laura_BRH-SD.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Ley 1761 de 2015. , Pub. L. No. 1761 (2015). Retrieved from <https://repository.ucatolica.edu.co/server/api/core/bitstreams/817bdd55-c1e4-42b4-931d-29b66b095be0/content>

Ley Brisa. Reparación económica para niñas, niños y adolescentes víctimas de violencia. , Pub. L. No. 27.452 (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/justicia/derechofacil/leysimple/ley-brisa-reparacion-economica-para-las-ninas-ninos-y-adolescentes>

Ley Brisa, una iniciativa para proteger a hijos de mujeres asesinadas. (2016, October 21). Retrieved from <http://inforegion.com.ar/secciones/>

Liou, C. (2013). *Using social media for the prevention of violence against women*. Thailand: Partners for Prevention. Retrieved from <http://partners4prevention.org/resource/using-social-media-prevention-violence-against-women-lessons-learned-social-media>

Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. SAGE. Retrieved from [https://books.google.at/books?hl=es&lr=&id=S8Kf0N0XALIC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Littlejohn,+S.+W.,+%26+Foss,+K.+A.+\(2009\).+Encyclopedia+of+Communication+Theory.+SAGE.+&ots=doMvXqG7mT&sig=Zy62rWHwsfpCrD0qZ3ksByO38IU&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Littlejohn%2C%20S.%20W.%2C%20%26%20Foss%2C%20K.%20A.%20\(2009\).%20Encyclopedia%20of%20Communication%20Theory.%20SAGE.&f=false](https://books.google.at/books?hl=es&lr=&id=S8Kf0N0XALIC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Littlejohn,+S.+W.,+%26+Foss,+K.+A.+(2009).+Encyclopedia+of+Communication+Theory.+SAGE.+&ots=doMvXqG7mT&sig=Zy62rWHwsfpCrD0qZ3ksByO38IU&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Littlejohn%2C%20S.%20W.%2C%20%26%20Foss%2C%20K.%20A.%20(2009).%20Encyclopedia%20of%20Communication%20Theory.%20SAGE.&f=false)

Locke, A., Lawthom, R., & Lyons, A. (2018). Social media platforms as complex and contradictory spaces for feminisms: Visibility, opportunity, power, resistance and activism. *Feminism & Psychology*, 28(1), 3–10. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517753973>

López-Paredes, M., & García, M. F. (2019). El Femvertising como estrategia de Comunicación y su impacto en mujeres entre 25 y 35 años en la ciudad de Quito – Ecuador. *ComHumanitas: revista científica de comunicación*, 10(2), 174–192. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.31207/rch.v10i2.202>

Madrid, Y. G. (2021). Feminism and reggaeton: Contradiction or reality? - LatinAmerican Post. Retrieved from <https://latinamericanpost.com/38225-feminism-and-reggaeton-contradiction-or-reality>

Marín, A. (2022, June 3). Lo que se sabe del caso Monse, feminicidio que cimbró Veracruz | e-veracruz.mx. *e-consulta Veracruz*. Retrieved from <https://www.e->

veracruz.mx/nota/2021-05-03/estado/lo-que-se-sabe-del-caso-monse-feminicidio-que-cimbro-veracruz

Martínez, D. (2021). Herly RG, de Tlalnepantla para Instagram, TikTok y el mundo. Retrieved from <https://www.timeoutmexico.mx/ciudad-de-mexico/que-hacer/entrevista-con-herly-rg-de-tlalnepantla-para-instagram-tiktok-y-mas>

Martínez Pérez, A. I. (2021). *Activismo y cultura menstrual: Integrando nuestra ciclicidad* (Universidad de Granada). Universidad de Granada, Granada. Retrieved from https://digibug.ugr.es/bitstream/handle/10481/69939/2021_Martinez.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

#MeToo accused Mexican rockstar Armando Vega Gil commits suicide, writes “my death is not a confession of guilt.” (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.wionews.com/entertainment/metoo-accused-mexican-rockstar-armando-vega-gil-commits-suicide-writes-my-death-is-not-a-confession-of-guilt-207403>

Mogollón, M. J. S. (2016). Ley 1761 de 6 de julio de 2015 Por la cual se crea el tipo penal de feminicidio como delito autónomo y se dictan otras disposiciones (Rosa Elvira Cely). *Nuevo Foro Penal*, 12(86), 231–235. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=es&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=Mogoll%C3%B3n%2C+M.+J.+S.+%282016%29.+Ley+1761+de+6+de+julio+de+2015+Por+la+cual+se+crea+el+tipo+penal+de+feminicidio+como+delito+aut%C3%B3nomo+y+se+dictan+otras+disposiciones&btnG=

Molleda, J. (2010). Authenticity and the construct’s dimensions in public relations and communication research. *Journal of Communication Management*, 14(3), 223–236. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1108/13632541011064508>

Morón, A. (2020, March 5). “El aborto es solo decisión de la mujer”: Yalitza Aparicio. *Revista Caras*. Retrieved from <https://www.caras.com.mx/entretenimiento/aborto-decision-mujer-yalitza-aparicio/>

NASA: ¿Qué estudió Katya Echazarreta, la única mexicana en el espacio? (2022). *El Informador :: Noticias de Jalisco, México, Deportes & Entretenimiento*. Retrieved from <https://www.informador.mx/jalisco/NASA-Que-estudio-Katya-Echazarreta-la-unica-mexicana-en-el-espacio-20220811-0020.html>

Navarro, C., & Gómez-Bernal, G. (2022). The Use of Social Media by Spanish Feminist Organizations: Collectivity From Individualism. *Media and Communication*, 10(2), 93– Retrieved from 103. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i2.5109>

Ocasio Martínez, B. (2020a). Bad Bunny Samples A Missy Elliott Classic On “Safaera.” Retrieved from <https://genius.com/a/bad-bunny-s-safaera-samples-missy-elliott-s-get-ur-freak-on-spanish-to-english-translation>

Ocasio Martínez, B. (2020b). Safaera Lyrics by Bad Bunny. Retrieved from <https://www.lyricsondemand.com/b/badbunnylyrics/safaeralyrics.html>

Offen, K. (1987). Sur l’origine des mots “féminisme” et “féministe.” *Revue d’histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-)*, 34(3), 492–496. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20529317>

- Orleck, A. (2004). Feminism Rewritten: Reclaiming the Activism of Working-Class Women. *Reviews in American History*, 32(4), 591–601. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1353/rah.2004.0072>
- Osorio, C. (2022, March 7). Rosa Elvira Cely (Colombia). *El País*. Retrieved from <https://elpais.com/internacional/2022-03-07/rosa-elvira-cely-colombia.html>
- Pasquali, M. (2020). *Infografía: El uso de redes sociales en tiempos de cuarentena en América Latina*. Statista. Retrieved from <https://es.statista.com/grafico/21636/variacion-en-publicaciones-de-redes-sociales-en-latinoamerica/>
- Peroni, C., & Rodak, L. (2020). Introduction. The fourth wave of feminism: From social networking and self-determination to sisterhood. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 10(1S), 1S-9S. Retrieved from <https://www.opo.iisj.net/index.php/osls/article/view/1319>
- Poovey, M. (1988). Feminism and Deconstruction. *Feminist Studies*, 14(1), 51–65. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3177998>
- Powell, C. (2018). How Social Media Has Reshaped Feminism. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/blog/how-social-media-has-reshaped-feminism>
- Ramírez, M. del R. (2019). Ciberactivismo menstrual: Feminismo en las redes sociales. *Scielo.Org.Mx*, 9(17). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.32870/pk.a9n17.438>
- Rampton, M. (2019). Four Waves of Feminism. Retrieved from http://gdelaunier.pbworks.com/w/file/attach/134554611/Four%20Waves%20of%20Feminism%20_%20Pacific%20University.pdf
- Repensando la sororidad en la era digital: La especial relevancia de las redes en el contexto de pandemia—Enfoque Derecho | El Portal de Actualidad Jurídica de THĒMIS. (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.enfoquederecho.com/2021/03/08/repensando-la-sororidad-en-la-era-digital-la-especial-relevancia-de-las-redes-en-el-contexto-de-pandemia/>
- Rivera Berruz, S. (2021). Latin American Feminism. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2021). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/feminism-latin-america/>
- Rodriguez, D. J. T., Harper, C., & George, R. (2021). *Mobilising for change: How women's social movements are transforming gender norms* (p. 64). London. Retrieved from https://www.alignplatform.org/sites/default/files/2021-11/align_-_mobilising_for_justice.pdf
- Rodríguez, H. (2021). “Las gordas también existimos”: Herly, la tiktoker que está reinventando las reglas con sátira. Retrieved from <https://www.diariopronto.com/espectaculos/2021/7/23/las-gordas-tambien-existimos-herly-la-tiktoker-que-esta-reinventando-las-reglas-con-satira-3214.html>

- Rodríguez, H. (2022). *La tiktoker Herly RG habla de su personaje “Tomás”* [Video]. Retrieved from <https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/tendencias/envivo-la-tiktoker-herly-rg-habla-de-su-personaje-tomas>
- Rojo de la Vega, A. (2016, June 22). Ayudarlos a tener una mejor vida. Retrieved from <https://alerojo.mx/ayudarlos-a-tener-una-mejor-vida/>
- Rojo de la Vega, A. (2022). El Feminismo [Social media]. Retrieved from <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cf7lmkzv1V/>
- Roma: Nominations and awards - The Los Angeles Times. (2019). *Latimes.Com*. Retrieved from <https://envelope.latimes.com/awards/titles/roma/>
- Romano, A. (2019). *Why we can't stop fighting about cancel culture*. Retrieved from https://courses.bowdoin.edu/sociology-1101-spring-2020/wp-content/uploads/sites/319/2020/05/What-is-cancel-culture_-Why-we-keep-fighting-about-canceling-people.-Vox.pdf
- Romero, T. (2021). *Religion affiliations in Latin America 2020*. Latin America. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/996386/latin-america-religion-affiliation-share-type/>
- Ruiz, M. N. (2022). La Cultura de la Cancelación y el feminismo radical de las jóvenes millennials. *Controversias y Concurrencias Latinoamericanas*, 13(24), 99–111. Retrieved from <http://ojs.sociologia-alas.org/index.php/CyC/article/view/1081>
- Sangio, M. S., Cubas, K. C. M., García, D. G. V., Burgos, V. B. V., & Levano, A. S. M. (n.d.). *Así son las feministas: Actitudes negativas de usuarios con identidad masculina frente al movimiento feminista en redes sociales*. 6. Retrieved from <https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/184663>
- Santamarina, S. (2021). *Acceso a la justicia y reparación a víctimas colaterales de femicidios: Propuestas para Venezuela a partir de la experiencia argentina*. 26(56), 119–138. Retrieved from <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7858594>
- Schutte, O., & Femenías, M. L. (2010). *Feminist Philosophy* (S. Nuccetelli, O. Schutte, & O. Bueno, Eds.). Wiley-Blackwell. Retrieved from <https://philpapers.org/rec/SCHFP-2>
- Sobande, F. (2019). Woke-washing: “Intersectional” femvertising and branding “woke” bravery. *European Journal of Marketing*, 54(11), 2723–2745. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-02-2019-0134>
- Sorority Definition & Meaning—Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). In *Merriam Webster*. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sorority>
- Steinberg, S. B. (2016). #Advocacy: Social Media Activism’s Power to Transform Law. *105*(3), 413–452. Retrieved from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/kentlj105&div=19&id=&page=>
- Symmes, J. (Director). (2022). *Moving Forward: Assessing the Impact of Feminist Movements in Latin America* | Wilson Center. Retrieved from

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/moving-forward-assessing-impact-feminist-movements-latin-america>

- Tarullo, R., Sampietro, A., Tarullo, R., & Sampietro, A. (2022). “No es tu cuerpo. No es tu derecho”: El argumentario visual del movimiento provida argentino en Instagram. *Revista de Comunicación*, 21(1), 411–431. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.26441/rc21.1-2022-a21>
- Thompson, A. K. (2017, February 3). Feminist Theory: A Summary for A-Level Sociology. Retrieved from <https://revisesociology.com/2017/02/03/feminist-theory-summary-sociology/>
- Timeline: Women of the world, unite! (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://interactive.unwomen.org/multimedia/timeline/womenunite/en/index.html>
- Toomey, P. (2022). The evolution of feminism and the shape it has taken today. Retrieved from <https://www.wildcat.arizona.edu/article/2022/02/o-current-feminism>
- Tortajada, I., & Vera, T. (2021). *Feminismo, misoginia y redes sociales*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.5209/infe.74446>
- Verkuyl, G. (2020). *Impact of Social Media on Feminism*. 26. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.tacoma.uw.edu/gender_studies/57/
- Wellman, J. (1991). The Seneca Falls Women’s Rights Convention: A Study of Social Networks. *Journal of Women’s History*, 3(1), 9–37. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0101>
- Willem, C., & Tortajada, I. (2021). Gender, Voice and Online Space: Expressions of Feminism on Social Media in Spain. *Media and Communication*, 9(2), 62–71. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v9i2.3851>
- Yalitza Aparicio: UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for indigenous people. (2019). Retrieved from <https://en.unesco.org/goodwill-ambassadors/yalitza-aparicio>
- Zotos, Y., & Eirini, T. (2014). Female Stereotypes in Print Advertising: A Retrospective Analysis. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 148. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.07.064>

