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#NoMoreHarassment: Potential of digital activism in combating sexual violence against women in Latin America

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Abstract

To argue ways of thinking about Latin American feminisms is required from a decolonial bias envisioned by the Global South authors. To combine such theoretical knowledge with the activist practices of women inside and outside the networks becomes beneficial to understand how their violent realities are being fought. In our work, we propose a reflection on the uses and repercussions of digital activism in the fight against sexual harassment suffered by women in Latin America. To this end, we carried out a case study from two Brazilian campaigns, *#ChegadeFiuFiu* and *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas*, in order to examine whether the actions taken by them resulted in significant effects on the agenda in question. Preliminary results indicate that the intersection between practices and knowledge reverberated in new forms of women's political organization, sometimes effective in confronting sexual violence in public spaces.

Keywords

Latin America; Sexual harassment; Digital activism; Decolonial; Women.

Introduction

Were cities made for women? With this questioning, we begin our research proposal on how it is possible to combat gender-based sexual violence in urban public spaces, thinking at first in the Latin American context and then focusing on the discussions in relation to the urban centers of large Brazilian cities. The issue of sexual harassment is not recent and, despite the fact that we are in the 21st century, it is considered the most recurrent practice against women and girls in public spaces around the world, according to a survey carried out worldwide.¹

The agenda of sexual violence in public spaces has become frequent in feminist manifestos, movements and campaigns, the latter being created, at first, in digital format and then taken to the streets. In our investigation, we have selected as object of analysis the campaigns *#ChegadeFiuFiu* (launched in 2013 by Think Olga²) and *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas* (which originates from popular protests against sexual harassment in the São Paulo subway system), both with similar purposes to combat sexual harassment in the streets and public transport, respectively.

We emphasize the reason for choosing these campaigns in relation to others of a similar nature, having in mind their potential based on the results yielded. In addition, the selected campaigns not only generated important effects in the face of actions carried out by the public authority, but also resulted in documentaries that added important discussions on the subject.

The actions carried out by the campaigns were listed and examined, using bibliographic research as the predominant methodology, especially on electronic sites and based on data from research already carried out on the campaigns in question; and empirical research as something complementary, trying to link theoretical discussions to empirical study about the activist practices of the two campaigns, and noting how the decolonial approach directly relates to the demands of Latin American women in their realities. The intersectional approach³ is widely considered here, as in our work we highlight the feminisms of differences (Hollanda, 2018), examining the peculiarities of indigenous, peasant, Afro-Latin American women, etc. Each within a specific context and reflecting different needs (Gonzalez, 2020).

Briefly, we infer that the pains of contemporary experiences are cyclical. They come and go in a rhythm of new aspects. The violence perpetrated by machismo, sexism, by the culture of rape never ceases, it is only renewed and carried out in other ways, sometimes in a sophisticated, subtle way, in order to appear imperceptible to political, economic and social institutions. However, the “open wounds” (Kilomba, 2019) of victims of sexual violence often do not heal, causing trauma to their bodies and minds and often acting as a fuel for insurgencies and confrontations to the systems of necropolitical gender⁴.

1 According to a survey data carried out by the IPSOS Institute, sexual harassment was identified as the most recurrent violent practice among girls and women aged 15 to 25 in several countries. About 78% of respondents said they had been harassed in public spaces at least once in their lives. Retrieved from: <https://vogue.globo.com/assedio/noticia/2021/10/assedio-e-violencia-de-genero-que-mais-atinge-mulheres-em-todo-o-mundo.html>. Access: 08 Oct. 2021.

2 Think Olga is an NGO whose mission is to raise awareness of gender related issues, in order to educate and guide people.

3 Theory based on Kimberlè Crenshaw (1989), which contemplates an optics of diversity concerning the subject-women in contemporary times. This theory emphasizes the importance of distinct experiences and intersectional boundaries, such as race, class, gender identity, sexual orientation, corporeality, age, among others, towards a more effective understanding of the condition of women-subjects.

4 Gender necropolitics is grounded in societies structured in inequality and is based on generating lethal policies against women through their stratification systems, discourses and practices. This type of necropolitics instrumentalizes women's bodies, builds terror regimes and is complacent with extreme practices of violence, especially with femicide. Retrieved from: <https://www.labrys.net.br/labrys24/femicide/monserat.htm>. Access: 22 Sept. 2021.

Latin America and gender violence as a historical process

Latin America is marked in its origin by issues such as subordination, diversity and resistance to foreign incursions in the area. Such characteristics gave rise to the formation of a harsh process initiated by the Europeans, based on the exploitation and subjugation of the natives, in addition to the territorial, political and economic domination in a forced way. This colonialism of power not only underlies commercial and geopolitical ties, but also determines human relations themselves, and this becomes even more poignant when we interpret colonial power from discourses that demean the colonized, directly correlating with racism. (Fanon, 1965).

To ponder about Latin America constitution, and its diverse people, with such particularities, is, above all, to try to articulate elements that systematize from the beginning the differences and similarities between the colonized of Portuguese and Spanish America: work, race and gender, as corroborated by Quijano (2000). In this sense, the author brings to light how phenotypic aspects, racial identities and pseudoscientific designations which served for a long time as classifications to differentiate colonizers from colonized, even inciting hierarchical differences between who commanded and who obeyed. Furthermore, Quijano (2000) reinforces the importance of historical forms of labor control operating in terms of capital, obeying the production relation demands associated with the world market.

Thus, we believe that Quijano's sense is quite relevant, once these mentioned elements constitute the basis of the power structure of modern society in Latin America, with updated ways of labor control, at first, through the new order of global capitalism.

However, despite some developmental advances in the area, the labor exclusion of minorities, especially black people and women, remained a real problem. Some effective changes took place when the so-called economic miracle initiated a greater stimulus in the participation of women in several labor sectors, although in less privileged positions than men and earning a lower salary than theirs.

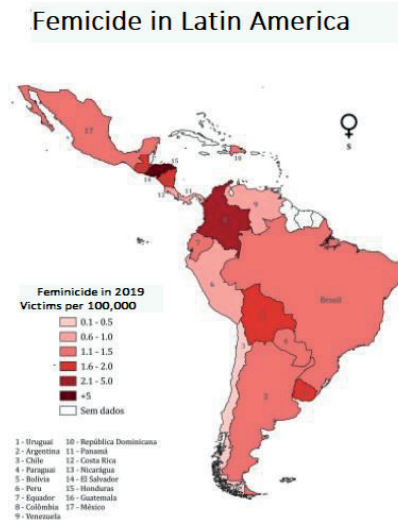
In this sense, we have perceived a circumstantial conditioning by the sexual division of labor, which enables the occupation of women in lower positions than men. This situation is even more accentuated in Latin American countries, as they establish temporary hiring and outsourcing of the workforce, consequently resulting in an increase in informality, without any regulation of employment conditions (Hirata, 2007).

It is remarkable that educational and cultural aspects (and the reproductive role) still constitute obstacles for most of the women, with low schooling, to have a better quality of life. The load of housework without a more equal division with other members of the house is also a crucial factor for this category not to have tangible conditions to seek better job positions or simply to remain unemployed, and the issue of domestic violence is directly related to financial dependence, which many acquire from their partners.

Broadening the discussions on gender violence in the Latin American area, not only domestic cases are constant, but also scenarios that include femicides, rapes, harassment and abuse of a moral and sexual nature. According to the geographer and researcher Giovanna Moscatiello (2020), at São Paulo State University "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (UNESP), Brazil is the area with the highest number of deaths in women in the world, and El Salvador and Honduras the countries with the highest rate in relative numbers.

In her cartographic study, the author found out that, despite the existence in most Latin American countries legislation favorable to combating violence against women, including precautionary and protective measures, there are also aspects that favor the profusion of violent practices against them, such as the fact that it is one of the areas with the greatest economic inequality between men and women, in addition to being characterized by violence that has historical and cultural foundations, from an entire colonial process that took place in those countries.

Screenshot 1 – Cartography of femicide in Latin America



Source: Moscatiello (2020, p. 35)

The study also points out that, with the pandemic, the femicide rate increased due to the forced confinement of victims with their aggressors. For the author, the motto “Woman's body, danger of death” really portrays the numbers shown on the map. After all, as a social, economic and political crisis that devastates all of Latin America in a profound way, the demands presented by women in this area have become secondary to government projects established in those countries. Since political representations do not take place in a plural sphere, and diverse, but in a unilateral sense, privileging certain social layers and subjects that do not present themselves as minorities in their racial and gender markers, as confirmed:

Although we can talk about the existence of projects to prevent and combat violence, the legislation will suffer innocuous as long as our demands do not leave the space of alterity in political representation, that is, as long as there is no dismantling between the public sphere and the reproduction of this violence directed at our bodies. (Moscatiello, 2020, p. 32).

Regarding on femicide still, a survey carried out by the Brazilian Public Security Forum between March and April 2020, reveals that registered cases increased by 22.2% compared to the same period in 2019 in Brazil and in at least 11 states the numbers of this type of crime were considered above the average in the country, which represents 0.21%. In addition, reports about the confinement of women with their partners during social isolation revealed that other subtypes of violent practices, such as false imprisonment and torture, were also frequent in the referred period (Ponte Jornalismo, 2020).

Some indicators like these point out that there is a link between many of these women staying with their abusive partners and losing their jobs. During the pandemic, many of them, who were domestic workers and day laborers, had their duties suspended. Thus, without presenting the minimum conditions to assume a pecuniary independence linked to the fact of being under constant surveillance of the aggressors, many of them were more vulnerable before the impact of patrimonial violence, followed by physical, sexual and even moral and psychological.

It is at this moment that we realize how much social inequality, enhanced by a global health crisis, deeply devastates less economically developed areas, such as Latin America. Furthermore, in this discrepant escalation, the lower classes in the stratum of the societal pyramid are the ones that really suffer in our country, with the category of peripheral black women being the one that faces the crisis more

viscerally, since they have to deal with a triple pandemic: the virus, the gender and the racial violence.

However, we have noticed that, from the exponential growth of femicides in Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and, of course, Brazil, there was also a greater activity of NGOs, group of women, feminist support networks and many other non-profit organizations in an attempt to prevent, guide, punish and combat gender-based violence in the Global South countries.

From this prism, according to Hollanda (2019), a kind of new political generation of women is constituted, characterized by exchanging between the network and the street. Using digital social networks as intermediary spaces of mobilization, in order to organize their own strategies, based on personal narratives and experiences, but which echo collectively.

Such insurgencies have brought feminist activism into perspective in a new apparel, adopting different modes of interaction and, above all, of action. Now with different spaces of integration and power disputes in tones of counter-discourse, the feminists of the “Fourth Wave” (Hollanda, 2019) want something much bigger than their predecessors. Not just conquering civil rights, not just entering the job market, not just dismantling gender binary issues. They don't just want to be heard, but mainly to feel represented in their pluralities, paying greater attention to combating violence in all possible instances and focusing on the body and its traumas, building new expressions and different ways of doing politics.

#AculpaNuncaÉdaVítima (It's never the victim's fault): walks, collective actions and digital campaigns in the fight against gender violence in Latin America

To think about the confrontation of gender violence in Global South areas, such as Latin America, it is essential that we highlight the decolonial bias as a guiding approach, in order to point out plausible paths that lead us to the understanding of our perspectives, as women are incorporated into this reality. Hence, to think about the political economy of violence in the locality is, above all, to verify that there is a multicultural character that delineates the condition of Latin American women, and this is perpetuated through the improvement of structural racism, in a reproductive instance of beliefs that strengthen the desire for whitening – on physical and cultural levels – aiming at the idea of racial and, consequently, social hierarchical ascension:

[...] Latin American racism is sophisticated enough to keep afroamericans and indigenous people as subordinate segments within the most exploited classes, thanks to its most effective ideological form: the ideology of whitening, so well analyzed by Brazilian scientists. Transmitted by the mass media and traditional ideological systems, it reproduces and perpetuates the belief that the classifications and values of white western culture are the only true and universal ones (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 44).

This “sophistication of racism”, mentioned by the author, is precisely what was propagated with the myth of racial democracy, that there is no racism in Brazil and that for Kabengele Munanga (2019), a specialist in Afro-Brazilian anthropology studies by the University of São Paulo, concerns the peculiarities of expression of racism in our society, especially involving practices of silencing, of the unsaid. Such peculiarities are also perceived in other Latin countries, but the incipience of research on the subject makes it difficult to know for sure how the problem occurs in those places, despite the fact that, proportionally, one in four Latin Americans self-declares themselves to be of African descent, that is, approximately 133 million people, according to World Bank data⁵.

⁵ Data published by the World Bank in 2018. Retrieved September 13 2021 from: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/06/26/internacional/1561563872_895042.html.

Thus, if self-declared Afro-Latin Americans correspond to at least 25% of the total population of that area, it would not be healthy to think critically about the situation of women from that locality in an interpretative bias that brings out their perspectives and experiences, without, in the however, naturalize them? For this reason, in our work we intend to correlate knowledge and practices genuinely elaborated by the knowledge and experiences of Afro-Latin American women, highlighting specific relationships between bodies that have “open wounds” (Kilomba, 2019), not healed due to the marks produced by the coloniality of power, and its political confrontations with new mobilization structures.

However, if on the one hand the marks produced on those bodies generate traumas, on the other those end up being re-signified with time and, in contemporary times, they are expressed by gestures and visualities of languages that oppose the painful experiences of women who cohabit contexts delimited by prejudice, inequality and gender violence, often generating fear and resulting in indignation.

In violent scenarios, such as those in Latin American countries, agendas of struggle are built with an important purpose of organization and, mainly, of mobilization in the conquest of rights. This is the case of peasant feminism, with its claims for better prospects for the use of rural space. Women from other movements, such as the MST (Movimento Sem Terra) and Via Campesina end up joining the agenda, organizing in an organized and fruitful way walks and movements in favor of their rights as rural workers, with emphasis on the *Marcha das Margaridas*⁶, initiated in the 2000s, whose main motto is to improve the quality of life of rural and forest women. According to Sampaio (2020), activists from rural areas weave their own walks, without necessarily anchoring themselves in feminist premises. Many of them even say they don't even know for sure what feminism would be, since the movement would have become very “academic” and distant from their realities.

The truth is that these women are building their feminism in practice, with very specific struggles that are often not envisioned by the feminist movement itself. In addition, indigenous people, *'quilombolas'* and other segments of rural women are also involved in these struggles, as they claim to only find in the rural movement space to dialogue about their demands and to mobilize through these collective action groups. These are particular ways of thinking about feminisms, in a practical sense, having the community as the central agent of the daily struggles, concerning the offensives provoked in a strategic way by capitalism, and in a tactical way by agribusiness.

Regarding on specific agendas, there is the indigenous feminism, active in several Latin American countries, as is the case of the Mapuche women's organization⁷ in Chile and Argentina; of Quechua and Aymara women⁸ in Bolivia; and AMIM – Association of Indigenous Women in Mutirão in the Oiapoques community in Amapá, each with their own cultural and ethnic particularities, but also with some common demands, the main ones being the protection of enclosed lands, integral development in different sectors, such as education, women's health and greater political participation in rural and indigenous communities and the fight against racism and sexual violence.

Among the relevant issues that present themselves as problems to be tackled, there is the

6 The “*Marcha das Margaridas*” is a strategic action by rural and forest women that is part of the permanent agenda of the Rural Workers' Union Movement (MSTTR) and of feminist and women's movements. It has been going on since the 2000s and has become widely recognized as the largest and most effective action by women in Latin America. Retrieved September 12, 2021, from: <https://fetase.org.br/mobiliza-coes/marcha-das-margaridas/>.

7 Some of the Mapuche women are part of the Anamuri organization, located in Chile on the border with Peru and Bolivia. The main goal is to work with the integral development of rural and indigenous communities, using different methodologies and focusing on the socio-political training of rural producers, artisans, herbalists, etc. Retrieved September 15, 2021, from: <https://apublica.org/2020/03/levante-do-povo-chileno-e-sustentado-pela-luta-das-mulheres-indigenas-diz-lideranca-mapuche/>.

8 Quechua and Aymara women are part of anti-patriarchal community feminist movements and call themselves “feminism in practice” because they implement collective actions and use their knowledge as women as an instrument of struggle. Retrieved September 14, 2021, from: <https://catarinas.info/adriana-guzman-o-feminismo-comunitario-antipatriarcal-e-acao-politica-nao-teoria/>.

harassment, the abuse, criminalizing abortion and the culture of rape as primary tribulations in facing this new political generation. Important movements began to emerge and characterize this Fourth Wave, which now uses social networks as a form of resistance and empowerment to lead its own struggles:

The performance of the new generation is quite different from the scenario imagined by the cyberfeminists of the past, perhaps because the technologies of access and interaction have also changed radically. Shameless protests and cyber-attacks have been replaced by tweets, blogs, group formation and producing defiant videos and images. These girls get together to produce fanzines, elaborate and execute protests, manufacture memes and use hashtags to organize blocks of thematic discussion (Abreu, 2017, p. 145).

Under this perspective, feminisms of differences are spread throughout Latin America and, with them, the materialization of viral campaigns, now with their own codes in the digital field, such as the use of hashtags. Movements such as *#MarchaDasVadias*, *#NiUnaMenos*, *#UnVioladorEnTuCamino*, *#MeuPrimeiroAssedio*, *#ChegaDeFiuFiu*, *#UnDiaSinNosotras*, *#ChegaDeAssedio*, *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas* are some examples that express themselves through different dynamics, now based on narratives of the “I” incorporated by all:

In the case of current feminist manifestations, if, on the one hand, the narrative comes from an “I”, on the other hand, it dissolves in the repetition of the group that surrounds this “I”. The narrative, without becoming impersonal, becomes part of the group's experience, which collectively assumes the individual voice: “Messed with one, messed with all”. (Hollanda, 2018, p. 36).

Related to feminisms of differences, Hollanda (2018) claims that, although the demands among women are as varied as possible, they did not originate in the present time. They are old and have become critical. Precisely for this reason, the joints of the movements that involve them began to gain body and voice in a more poignant way. Here, we can establish a direct relationship with the traumas caused to bodies with “*open wounds*”, already discussed in our work, which for us actually means a production of “*affection policies*” (Safatle, 2015), that is, there is a clear construction of the circuit of affections between beings and here, in our investigation, in an assertive way, we reinforce his argument that fear compels to build affective bonds. Now, if fear is unison among female peers, then it works as a catalyst in order to generate bonds, connections between them and drive them to acts of protest.

And in the case of the women's grouping who mobilize in favor of combating gender violence, it is quite understandable that affective bonds and relationships between them are built in a political sense, based on a common denominator, in this case fear. Ivana Bentes (2015) highlights this prerogative also when she brings to light how women's movements have created new political narratives through affections, using their own bodies as language, as a way of expressing their fears: “The walks allowed new political forms of affections, in the sense of affecting and being affected by the crowd.” (Bentes, 2015, p. 24).

The *Slut Walk* is a good practical example. The movement, which emerged in 2011 in Canada and later spread to several countries around the world, expresses how repertoires are created in protests of popular order through collective interactions, results of learned and shared routines. This reverberates in media and communication models, which are popularly constructed through produced and remixed images, internet memes, videos, photos, posters, all of which are elements that are reconfigured before the created narratives, including performances associated with the idea of a human-microphone⁹. The voice of one is the voice of all.

⁹ Strategy commonly used in protests and popular movements, in which one person speaks and the others repeat it aloud, in a paused way. This type of performance is characterized by adopting a pluralistic nature of the movement and reinforcing messages, adopting a sense of empathy among the participants.

However, despite the fact that this new political generation, with its hashtag feminism, has stood out by gaining a voice and creating successful experiences in the field of popular political mobilization, many are, in fact, reaping the fruits of previous generations, who defended a practice feminist online through the so-called “cyberfeminism”¹⁰, a term created by activists at that time. Like us, feminists who pioneered net-activist practices fought for similar agendas, such as the right to legal and safe abortion, better working conditions, salary recognition and the fight against sexual harassment, abuse and femicide. It was just the beginning of what was to come.

Like us, other women were already fighting for better conditions, but many of their voices were not heard, and this echoes painfully onto our generation. After all, won't we be heard as well? We finally convinced ourselves that we need to go beyond hashtags. It is urgent to materialize our claims in concrete acts, and this can be seen, in particular, in the campaigns selected for analysis in our work: *#ChegaDeFiuFiu* and *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas* are examples to be followed by our political generation and the next ones to come.

#PrimaveradasMulheres: Potentialities of the campaigns #Chega-deFiuFiu and #MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas

In order to reverse the patriarchal structures that generate inequalities, it is necessary that, in addition to the organization of women in their movements and activism, different institutions must assist in the process, acting as sources of opinion through qualified information. It is at this moment that we point to the media as an essential space in the creation of these possibilities, although we know that the mainstream media does not play this role as it should, even often doing the opposite: reproducing sexist, chauvinist, homophobic, transphobic and misogynistic discourses.

Therefore, it is up to alternative media (especially spaces created on the Internet by the women themselves) to make it possible to address feminist content to the general population. From zines in the 1990s, through digital campaigns on Twitter to YouTube channels today, women have been creating their own content in favor of combating gender violence, playing a fundamental role both in the transformation of social processes and on representativeness issues. Consequently, a kind of “feminist media” is built, in which women not only produce content that addresses their agendas, but are also the protagonists of these productions and distributions of the materials.

Digital campaigns on Twitter are good examples of this. From 2015 and 2016, more than half a million hashtags¹¹ were produced in order to build new ways of giving visibility to the agendas and demands of feminist movements at that time. Such data are based on a survey carried out by Reis (2017) regarding the campaigns done in the aforementioned period, making it possible to infer from this that issues related to femicide, sexual abuse and harassment, racism and free body are the ones that stand out among the mottos expressed by the hashtags, as the following table shows:

10 Cyberfeminism finds on the web an open field for political activism, whether by questioning the forms of patriarchal control over the functioning of Information and Communication Technologies; or using the web as a technological territory to put gender issues in check.

11 According to Reis (2017), between 2015 and 2016 there were at least 19 feminist digital campaigns indexed by hashtags and several demonstrations on the streets linked to these campaigns, which resulted in a kind of Feminist or Women's Spring, as that moment became known.

Table 1 - Main digital feminist campaigns from 2015 to 2016

Hashtag	Theme addressed by the campaign
#AgoraÉQueSãoElas	Claiming sensitivity and media agency for
#NãoTiraoBatomVermelho	Against abusive relationships.
#Feminicidio	For the approval of laws that include femicide in the list of heinous crimes
#ElesporElas (#HeforShe)	Calling men to fight against machismo.
#VamosJuntas?	Formation of solidarity networks to prevent violence against women in public spaces.
#MexeucomUmaMexeucomTodas*	Contra a violência sexual no transporte público.
#MeuAmigoSecreto	Reporting everyday sexist behaviors
#MamiloLivre (#FreeNipple)	Against indiscriminate censorship made by Facebook publication of images of female nipples.
#MulheresContraCunha	Against the bill that toughens the penalty for abortion, even in the case of rape.
#VaiTerShortinhoSim	Against *slut-shaming*, the ban on wearing short clothes at a school in Porto Alegre (RS)
#ChegaDeSilencio	Against sexual violence and rape culture
#SomostodosMaju; #SomostodosTaisAraujo #SomostodosCrisViana #SomostodosSheronMenezes	Against racist attacks on black celebrity profiles.
#enemfeminista2015 #enemfeminista	In support or disagreement with the theme of the writing test of the National High School Exam (Enem) that year.
#PrimeiroAssedio	Against the naturalization of sexual harassment suffered by women since childhood.
#Estupro.NaoEculpaDaVitima #QueroUmDiaSemEstupro #ContraaCulturadoEstupro	Against sexual violence
#BelaRecatadaeDoLar	Against the exaltation of stereotypes that guide the ideal model of women in the media.
#MarchadasMargaridas	Rural workers protest for sustainable development with justice, autonomy, equality and liberty.
#MarchadasMulheresNegras	Against racism and oppression suffered by black women
#Survivor	In favor of the rescue of female self-esteem

Source: Reis, (2017)

According to table 1, we see that the issue of sexual violence linked to harassment and abuse was a constant concern in the struggles undertaken by feminists in those years and continues up to this day, which leads us to reflect on how certain controversial episodes gave rise to popular indignation, such as the case of the gang rape of a 16-year-old young woman from Rio or the situation of harassment suffered by a participant of just 12 years at Masterchef Jr. Hashtags such as *#ContraaCulturadoEstupro* and *#PrimeiroAssedio* were among the most commented topics on Twitter at the moment, even being in the trending topics of the social network in question.

While still on the hashtag *#PrimeiroAssedio*, it is important to note that the person responsible for creating this campaign also conceived *#ChegadeFiuFiu*, one of our objects of analysis. With an emphasis on projects that criminalize and combat sexual violence, *Think Olga* is seen as a 'think tank', that is, an institution based on a social innovation organization, which finds in communication, technology and education the elemental tripod to create a positive impact on minorities, especially groups of women.

In order to promote a greater accessibility and safety for women in public spaces, the *#ChegadeFiuFiu* campaign was created in 2013. Coming from a personal experience of harassment suffered by its creator, Juliana de Faria, the campaign is based on fighting the practice of harassment on the streets inserted in the concept of the right to the city for women, directly concerning their mobility in urban spaces and how gender violence restricts our right to come and go (Gonçalves, 2019, p. 47).

In our analysis, we found that *#ChegadeFiuFiu*, in eight years, carried out important and effective

actions to combat sexual harassment in public spaces and promoted greater information to women about this problem, as explained in the table below:

Table 02 – Effective actions of the #ChegadeFiuFiu Digital Campaign

#CHEGADEFIUFIU, A CAMPANHA			
Year	Action	Objective	Responsible
2013	Disclosure of illustrations on the <i>Think Olga</i> website	Making sexual harassment in urban spaces recognized as a crime	Think Olga
2013	Online survey with women	Understanding how women perceived the songs on the streets	Think Olga
2014	Map Chega de Fiu Fiu	Launch an online tool that gathers the main points of highest incidence of acts of sexual harassment	Think Olga
2015	Sexual Harassment Booklet	Assign a symbolic-legal function to sexual harassment	Think Olga and Ministério Público de SP
2015	Send Prints	Report aggressors from the dissemination of prints	Think Olga
2015	#PrimeiroAssédio (first harassment)	Show outrage and support the victim of harassment by encouraging other women to share their stories	Think Olga with the support of civil society and celebrities
2018	Documentary <i>Chega de Fiu Fiu</i>	Integrate the campaign against harassment in public spaces into the audiovisual scene	Think Olga with crowdfunding support
2019	Action against sexual harassment at carnival	Combat sexual harassment practices on the streets during Carnival through an app	Think Olga in partnership with Google

Source: own author

Making use of sociotechnical tools and the use of digital technologies, *Think Olga* acts in a political way through actions aimed at the collective, fitting perfectly into what Di Felice (2017) calls dialogic net-activist interaction, that is, that begins in the digital environment, extends to the streets, but remains exchanging between one and the other, expressing an interactive action of subjects with information architectures in a continuous deterritorialization. Incidentally, the latter term is a keyword in the Fourth Wave feminist movement, as there is not necessarily a geographical issue involving women in taking part of the networked movements.

The repercussion of the NGO's actions starts in one place, then spreads throughout the country and even abroad, as is the case of #primeiroassedio, which ended up being translated as #firsthassment¹² in countries like Great Britain and the USA, for instance. In this sense, the scope and impact of the actions promoted by the feminist movement in the digital environment have become unpredictable.

The #MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas campaign, originally created in 2015 by various groups, in particular led by the 'Mulheres em Luta' movement, had as its main claim to monitor and punish aggressors who committed acts of harassment and abuse on the São Paulo subway. The trigger that led to the protest happened due to the harassment suffered by a 17-year-old student who was in a subway station in the city of São Paulo and, at the time, a man took advantage of the maximum capacity, unzipped

12 The campaign extended to countries such as Great Britain, USA, Portugal, Holland and Chile. Retrieved September 21 from: : https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/11/151110_primeiro_assedio_repercussao_cc.

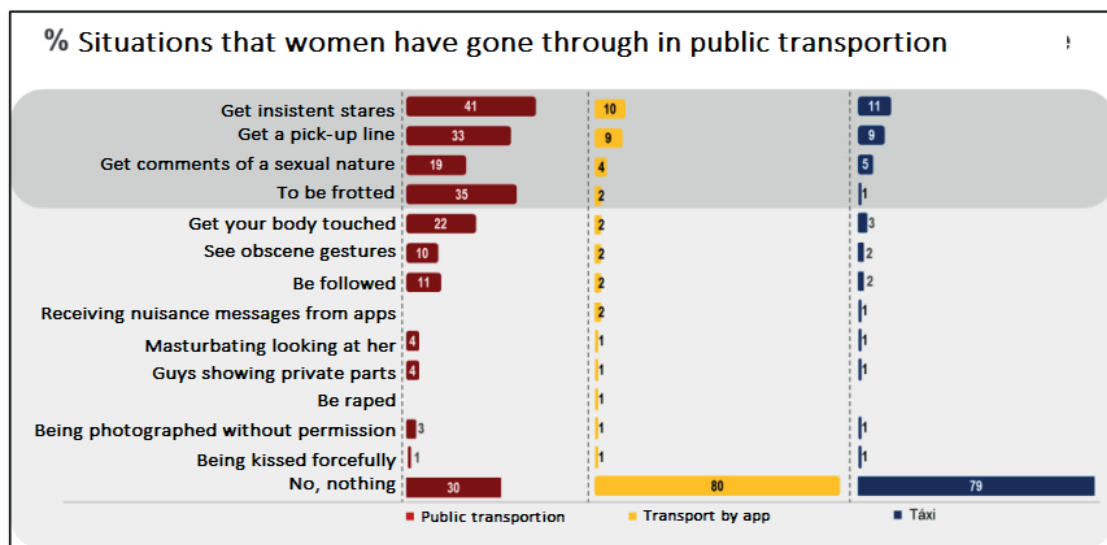
his pants, pulled his penis out and touched the victim.

At the time, the Metro Company did not nothing about it, and the aggressor went unpunished. In addition, in that same year, an advertising piece¹³ aired on a popular radio station in São Paulo encouraging harassment of women on the subway, stating that rush hour was good for “challenging women”. Related to this, the CTPM (Companhia Paulista de Trens Metropolitanos) pronounced itself not responsible for advertising, but for the radio that broadcasts it. It was too late, hundreds of women felt deeply outraged and started one of the biggest campaigns to combat sexual harassment on public transportation.

The movement led countless women to sign a manifesto in favor of adaptations to the São Paulo subway system and in the short term, in order to fight the problem, they distributed safety pins to subway users so that they could use them in case of self-defense against their “frotter”¹⁴. Among the demands, the movement highlighted the need to hire more female security guards to deal with situations of harassment and abuse in the wagons; installing a women's police station in the main São Paulo subway station; in addition to conduct some research focusing on the dissemination of proven numbers about cases of harassment in the subway, in order to use the data to create more efficient campaigns. Another important request was to install more cameras in the subway stations and to have more undercover security guards, in order to inhibit the actions of the aggressors.

Also, according to Instituto Patrícia Galvão (2019)¹⁵, at least 46% of those interviewed in a survey on harassment in public transport say they do not feel confident using it to get to work without experiencing sexual harassment during the commute. For those women, this type of violence is a constant in their lives and safety in commuting is a crucial factor in whether or not they can accept and even remain in their employment activities.

Infographic 1 – Harassment situations on public transportation.



Source: 97% OF WOMEN said they had already been victims of harassment in means of transport (2019)

13 On the other hand, the Public Ministry forced the CTPM to retract, redoing the campaign now in order to show women that they should report situations of harassment and abuse on trains. The campaign motto was “You are not alone. Sexual abuse is a crime. Report it.”.

14 Frotting or rubbing up someone can connote a mental disorder, according to a study by the American Psychiatric Association. The disorder, characterized as frotteurism, is a psychic disorder in which the person develops intense sexual pleasure when touching or rubbing against someone without their consent. Retrieved September 30 2021 from : <https://psicologiaparacuriosos.com.br/frotteurismo-o-esfregar-se-no-outro-em-transporte-publico/> .

15 Research carried out by the Patrícia Galvão Institute. Retrieved September 30 2021 from : <https://agenciapatriciagalvao.org.br/violencia/violencia-sexual/97-das-mulheres-disseram-ja-ter-sido-victim-as-de-assedio-em-meios-de-transporte/> .

Harassment and abuse cases are still frequent on public transportation, according to research carried out by Instituto Patrícia Galvão (2019). The data indicate a high percentage of women (97%) who suffer from this type of crime¹⁶ every day. However, the *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas* campaign managed to mobilize the São Paulo CTPM to carry out important actions, such as increasing the number of security agents at the stations and inside the wagons, also increasing the number of cameras in the facilities, in addition to the creation of direct channels of complaints, such as SMS-denúncia and the Metrô Conecta app.

In a relevant way still, the campaign managed to attract the attention of the mainstream media to the problem at the time, both on TV, in print newspapers, on news sites and some magazines. Special articles and reports were launched addressing the issue of sexual pestering and harassment in public spaces in large cities, but it is really the internet that constitutes the great space for discussion, mobilization and (initial) organization of women in the struggle against gender violence as a whole.

In short, we can consider, given the inferences made about the campaigns *#ChegadeFiuFiu* and *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas*, that both operated in a sense of collective action in macro causes that affect thousands of women every day in their daily lives. From the analysis of how the campaigns were built and the actions carried out in the networks and in the streets, it is possible to identify significant potentialities in the effects caused in the social sphere in the short and medium terms, although current data indicate that the practice of sexual pestering remains frequent in public spaces, especially in transport.

Preliminary considerations or what do we get from all of this?

In 2018, the UN named Latin America as one of the most dangerous regions for women worldwide outside a war zone. In addition to the high rates of femicide, crimes such as harassment and sexual pestering were often mentioned by the interviewees as something recurrent in their daily lives. Faced with this, movements that go against the practices of sexual violence have only been growing everywhere. Countries like Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Brazil and Argentina advance in these guidelines as they make them evident and create mechanisms that strengthen popular pressure in order to win rights in the legislation of each place.

The phenomenon of hashtag feminism has established itself as something specific to mobilization structures, which are now exchanged between networks and streets. We also realize that, linked to this new language, we have the body as an instrument of expression. The body rises to another category, now as an object of dispute in an instance of micropolitics that confront normativity, the social order and the political economy of violence.

We witness the emergence of “*open wounds*” so that we can finally heal them or minimize the effects of the capitalist colonial unconscious (Rolnik, 2018), which is still present in our reality. After all, thinking about issues such as democracy, labor relations, political structures and violence in the Global South countries is mainly to reflect on gender necropolitics, established in a biopatriarchalist logic of power, that is, with the State acting directly on the condition of life and death of women. In this sense, campaigns such as *#ChegadeFiuFiu* and *#MexeuComUmaMexeuComTodas* proved to be legitimate in their efforts aimed at building and reaffirming social movements led by women in contemporary times.

The purpose of the research was precisely to examine how women's activism, first in Latin America, and in a second moment focused on Brazil, has built effective possibilities in the fight against gender violence. And even though we are in an initial and slow process in achieving preventive and punitive

16 It became a crime from 2018, according to Law 13,718/18 and describes a lewd act in the presence of someone in a non-consensual way, with the aim of “satisfying one's own lust or that of a third party”. Retrieved September 30 2021 from: : <https://www.cnj.jus.br/cnj-servico-o-que-e-o-crime-de-importunacao-sexual/>.

measures legislated by public bodies, it is essential to emphasize the relevance of campaigns analyzed in an attempt to give visibility and legitimize a social problem of public order, which makes unfeasible a right basic of every citizen: to come and go safely.

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