

Feminist Cyberactivism Against Domestic Violence During The Pandemic Of Covid-19: An Instagram Analysis Of Azmina Magazine

Volume 41
issue 2 / 2022

Contracampo e-ISSN 2238-2577
Niterói (RJ), 41 (2)
may/2022-aug/2022

Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication is a quarterly publication of the Graduate Programme in Communication Studies (PPGCOM) at Fluminense Federal University (UFF). It aims to contribute to critical reflection within the field of Media Studies, being a space for dissemination of research and scientific thought.

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TO REFERENCE THIS ARTICLE, PLEASE USE THE FOLLOWING CITATION:

Solon, Marina; Vidal, Márcia. (2022). Feminist Ciberativism Against Domestic Violence During The Pandemic Of Covid-19: An Instagram Analysis Of Azmina Magazine. *Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication*, v. 41, n. 2.

Submitted on: 01/13/2021; Reviewer A: 02/10/2022; Reviewer B: 03/05/2022; Reviewer C: 02/20/2022; Reviewer D: 03/08/2022; Accepted on 07/04/2022.

DOI – <http://dx.doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v41i2.52825>

Abstract

This article analyzes the work of Instituto AzMina, a feminist Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that mobilizes feminist agendas on social networks. Our analysis addresses seven posts produced by the NGO on the topic of domestic violence on Instagram during the Covid-19 pandemic. The content was published between March and June 2020. In this study, the Institute's performance is evaluated as a feminist agenda worked through Cyberactivism (Lemos, 2003). The article analyzes whether the initiative to inform women in the fight against domestic violence builds a space for awareness of followers on the NGO's profile on Instagram. From a methodological point of view, the research is a Qualitative Analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 2008), interpreting the image, text and comments of the posts in order to identify the feminist cyberactivism mobilized by the AzMina Institute around the issue of domestic violence.

Keywords

Cyberactivism; Feminist Movement; Domestic Violence; AzMina Magazine; Qualitative Analysis.

Introduction

Domestic violence in Brazil is an alarming issue. Data from the 2020 Brazilian Public Security Yearbook¹ record that, during 2019, a police report was registered every two minutes denouncing this crime in the country. Still, a total of 263,067 cases of willful bodily harm resulting from domestic violence were accounted for by the survey.

This issue requires repair and the search for solutions is both in the legal system, which criminalizes domestic violence as a way of curbing the practice, and in the actions of civil society, which organizes social movements in order to better inform and mobilize people in the fight against the infraction.

Domestic violence affects mostly women² and is rooted in the unequal social structuring of power between men and women. This is because the processes of gender socialization are formed on the basis of the domination and oppression of women by men. This relationship of domination and oppression has public and private contexts, some milder than others, although all are problematic.

Scott (2019) explains that male and female genders are the basis on which political power was conceived and legitimized, being the first field through which power is articulated. “The concept of gender structures the perception and concrete and symbolic organization of all social life” (Scott, 2019, p.70).

The relationship of domination of women by men, when they occur in the family space and are inserted in any kind of marital coexistence, can lead to episodes of violence, since the power structure built in this space puts women in a situation of oppression and many times of silence, shame and guilt. Welzer-Lang (2001) points out that the oppression of women by men is the result of a system in which the inequalities experienced by women are direct effects of the advantages given to men. In line with this thought, Saffioti (2001) details that “power is attributed to the social category men” (Saffioti, 2001, p. 116).

Corrêa (1981) says that women are protected within a space of constraints within family relationships, which are based on submission and humiliation, in addition to imposing limits and rules on their behavior. This context, argues the author, states that physical violence and death are not the only ones, but the last and most dramatic forms of violence to which women are subjected in Brazilian society.

Scott (2019) explains that the unequal relationship between genders is not built exclusively through kinship, but also manifests itself in connections that involve economic and political organization contexts, operating beyond the family scenario.

The vulnerabilities of Brazilian women are also exacerbated by social class contexts. Saffioti (2013) details that the class structure is highly limiting of human potential. “It is as if formal freedom did not become concrete and palpable due to the greater or lesser disadvantages that each one plays in the process of struggle for existence” (Saffioti, 2013, p. 59). In addition to gender and class issues, the Brazilian scenario of domestic violence also imposes a look at race issues. In Brazil, a large part of black women live what Carneiro (2011) defines as the “matriarchy of misery”, a configuration that characterizes that Brazilian black women are marked by exclusion, discrimination and social rejection. González (2020) agrees with Carneiro (2011) and details that they are excluded from participating in the economic development process, being relegated to the condition of a growing marginal mass, in conditions of unemployment, occasional work, intermittent occupation and seasonal work, which implies very poor living conditions. Carneiro (2011) finds that Brazilian black women experience a kind of social asphyxia

1 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from <https://forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/anuario-2020-final-100221.pdf>

2 According to Brazilian legislation, men, children and the elderly can also be victims of domestic violence. However, data from the Atlas of Violence show that most of this crime affects women. Saffioti (2001) defends the idea that even if women victimize men in cases of domestic violence, they as a social category do not have a project of domination and exploitation of them, which differs from cases in which women are victims of men.

with negative consequences in all layers of their lives, including confinement in situations of economic scarcity, emotional fragility and subjection to aberrant situations of domestic violence.

According to data from the 2020 Brazilian Public Security Yearbook, black women account for 66.6% of the total number of victims of femicide, which, explains Saffiotti (2002), is the ultimate end of domestic violence. "From pushing and slapping, apparently 'criminal infractions of lesser offensive power', one can reach, over time, femicide" (Saffiotti, 2002, p. 68). Therefore, it is important that Brazilian women are always analyzed within the context of gender, social class and race.

Brazilian feminisms in the fight against domestic violence

Several logistical obstacles routinely stand between women in situations of domestic violence and the effective application of the laws that support them. They tend to remain silent for fear of social judgments, for the economic dependence of the aggressor, for ignoring information on how to obtain access to justice or for the difficulty of finding shelter.

As a way of combating domestic violence, Brazilian feminist movements have been, since the 1960s, contesting the patriarchal social model that can even be lethal for women. As a way of preventing this violence against women and criminally punishing the aggressors, Law nº 11.340/2006, popularly known as Maria da Penha Law³, was created in 2006, with the participation of feminist movements⁴.

The Law establishes, in its article 1, that it "creates mechanisms to curb and prevent domestic and family violence against women", with the understanding that many of the relationships of violence arise from intimate coexistence. Despite the established legal protection, women in situations of violence find it difficult to ask for help, when they have access to information about the legal procedures they must follow.

The norm represents an important shelter, but it also opens up space to observe the weaknesses in state protection for women in the public space, since national rates of violence against women continue to grow. According to data from the Brazilian Public Security Yearbook 2020⁵, there was a 5.2% growth in domestic violence cases compared to the previous year.

The role of feminisms through NGOs

There are many ways that feminist movements organize themselves in Brazil. Therefore, it is not assertive that all manifestations are seen as a homogeneous movement, so we refer to them in the plural, emphasizing the different manifestations. One form of action is articulation through Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Gohn (2005) defines them as "institutions that have links with organized civil society, with social and popular movements, with residents' associations" (p. 106). She explains that action through NGOs has demarcated a new field of action for civil society, inserting citizens into public life. "NGOs served as support for the actions of the movements." (Gohn, 2005, p.89).

NGOs then became one of the modes of expression and organization of feminist movements in Brazil. Pinto (2003) highlights that, mainly from the 1960s onwards, they represented an important institutional arm of feminisms, noting that in the space of NGOs, several professionals began to carry out their activities committed to feminist causes.

In contemporary times, social networks have become allies both for women in the search for

3 The Maria da Penha Law aims to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women in Brazil. Retrieved January 4, 2022 from http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2006/lei/l11340.htm.

4 More information at: <https://jus.com.br/artigos/72759/consideracoes-sobre-a-lei-maria-da-penha-e-movimento-feminista-no-enfrentamento-a-violencia-domestica>. Accessed on January 4, 2022.

5 Retrieved March 10, 2021 from <https://forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/anoario-14-2020-v1-interativo.pdf>.

information and reception about the violence suffered and for feminist NGOs, which use the space to inform and mobilize allies. Social networks are structured to disseminate information, receive reports and promote mobilizations. Recuero, Bastos and Zago (2018) define that social networks are metaphors for the structure of social groupings. "They are constituted by the relationships between individuals and will serve as a fundamental structure for society" (Recuero, Bastos Zago, 2018, p.23).

Lemos (2004) explains that such virtual behaviors allow the existence of Cyberculture and Cyberactivism, within a practice of sharing and collaborative work. "Cyberculture enhances what is characteristic of all cultural dynamics, namely sharing, distribution, cooperation, and appropriation of symbolic goods" (Lemos, 2004, p. 11). The author argues that virtual space promotes new forms of communication. Alcântara (2015) details that Cyberactivism is the set of new mobilization practices and protests that use new information and communication technologies.

The internet (...) is the focus of information, knowledge and exchange of messages between people around the world, opening the emission pole. With cyberculture, it is effectively the emergence of a liberation from the emission pole (emission in cyberspace is not centrally controlled; everyone can emit), and it is this liberation that, in our hypothesis, will mark the culture of the contemporary network in its most diverse manifestations. (Lemos, 2004, p. 15)

Carvalho (2020) explains social participation does not automatically solve all problems. Social networks, in turn, do not give immediate character in the resolution of these issues. However, the virtual articulation of social movements is understood as a step towards guaranteeing these rights. Gohn (2011) argues that social collectives such as NGOs are possible links in the organized struggle for more social and civil rights. "They carry out diagnoses of social realities and build their proposals, act in networks, build collective actions that act as resistance to exclusion" (Gohn, 2011, p. 336).

The use of social networks has been one of the means of action of Brazilian feminisms. Bogado (2018) argues that social networks make room for a new technopolitical language and new models of action. It draws attention to the autonomous character of the participants, who now use social networks directly, without a relationship of dependence on the political system, operating through ties created that range from social networks to the collective occupation of public spaces. The author narrates that in 2015 it was possible to notice that feminisms reached unprecedented levels and took thousands of protesters to the streets of large cities in the country from organizations initiated on social networks.

Costa (2018) says that feminist cyberactivism in social networks boosted a new moment of action marked by new articulations and that made it possible for women to meet.

Although the strength of the streets cannot be fully attributed to social networks, the web was undoubtedly a strategic and central factor in the feminist marches. Never before have women's tactics and militancy been so potentiated and have produced reactions and alliances on the scale seen today. The fact is that social networks, since their popularization in the 2010s, are the most important mechanism for political mobilization. (...) The political activities in the network are multiple and not necessarily aimed only at direct actions. They are often thought of as a pressure mechanism against established institutions. (Costa, 2018, p. 43)

This meeting of women in virtual networks leads us to reflect on the possibilities of political articulation and how these organizations can favor feminist struggles.

The Covid-19 pandemic, the rise in domestic violence and social media

If domestic violence in Brazil was already a major problem, a worldwide public health event placed the situation in a new context. On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared

the Covid-19 pandemic, a disease caused by the new Coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2)⁶, identified in China in December 2019. The global-reaching measure warned about the moment when the virus would spread across multiple continents with rapid transmission among people. At the time of the emergency declaration there were 118,000 cases around the world and 4,219 deaths. In the absence of a known effective vaccine or treatment, the WHO recommended that governments of affected countries maintain measures to contain the spread of the virus, with social isolation being the cornerstone of disease mitigation actions.

This way, the recommendation for the vast majority of people - especially those who were not involved in activities that characterized essential services - was to stay at home, avoiding contact with other individuals. Work routines were adapted to the home office model, schools and non-essential businesses were closed in person and the family order was modified in a context that did not have a close date for closure⁷. Thus, many women were confined at home.

Social isolation ended up opening up domestic violence when it forced women in situations of violence to remain uninterruptedly in the same environment as their aggressors, making contact with people who could be a support network difficult. The media quickly trumpeted the increase in cases of women in situations of domestic violence during the period of social isolation⁸.

In this context, social networks were enhanced as a communication tool used by women unable to leave the house to ask for help. It was recorded that the social isolation resulting from the pandemic led to an increase in the consumption of social networks. A study carried out by Comscore⁹ estimates that, in Brazil, the minutes spent on these media increased by 19% during isolation, with a 26% growth in page consumption in the first week of the pandemic (Uckus, 2020). If these virtual environments already represented an amplification and maintenance of offline social connections (Recuero, 2009), isolation makes them central.

Vieira, Garcia and Maciel (2020) state that in social isolation, women have become even more watched and controlled, and that the use of social networks becomes an important tool for supporting and receiving complaints. "Informal and virtual networks of social support should be encouraged, as they are means that help women feel connected and supported and also serve as a warning to aggressors that women are not completely isolated" (Vieira, Garcia & Maciel, 2020, p. 4). Which leads us to reflect, and we will detail later, precisely on the use of Instagram as a tool to raise awareness of women by the feminist NGO AzMina.

AzMina's Instagram in the fight against domestic violence

Instituto AzMina is a self-declared feminist NGO that has been operating mostly in the online environment since 2015. The main platform of operation is a digital magazine called Revista AzMina¹⁰,

6 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from <https://saude.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,oms-declara-pandemia-de-novo-coronavirus-mais-de-118-mil-casos-foam-registrados,70003228725>

7 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://g1.globo.com/ce/ceara/noticia/2020/03/19/governo-do-ceara-determina-fechar-estabelecimentos-comerciais-e-interrompe-transporte-intermunicipais.ghtml>.

8 Physical and sexual violence against women increases during social isolation caused by coronavirus. Information retrieved on January 4, 2022 from <https://g1.globo.com/bemestar/coronavirus/noticia/2020/04/19/violencia-fisica-e-sexual-contra-mulheres-aumenta-durante-isolamento-social-provocado-pelo-coronavirus.ghtml>.

9 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: More information at: <https://www.comscore.com/eng/Insights/Blog/Consumo-de-midia-durante-a-pandemia-de-coronavirus-no-Brasil>.

10 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://azmina.com.br/>

which has a presence on Facebook¹¹, Twitter¹², Instagram¹³ and YouTube¹⁴. They use these platforms to promote awareness campaigns on various feminist issues.

The work of Instituto AzMina is in line with a so-called alternative communication, which, argues Rosas (2014), is capable of changing the hegemonic discourse on a given fact. This communication opens space for women to be central characters of information. Bringing together the possibilities of being informed and communicating constitutes what Haubrich (2017) calls communicative citizenship, which is linked to popular movements and is aligned with the ideas of democratic deepening, emancipation of subjects and intervention in the directions of society.

The AzMina Institute, attentive to the increase in cases of domestic violence during the Covid-19 pandemic, used social networks as a space for reception, dissemination of information and formation of citizen awareness about the social role of women.

Haubrich (2017) observes that there is no social change without organization and articulation of those “from below”, without transforming information and communication technologies into instruments of struggle for citizenship. When the Institute works to build an online space where there is information and sharing of experiences on domestic violence, it is structuring a Cyberactivism that carries the potential to build a new panorama.

One of the social networks used by the Institute is Instagram, a platform that focuses on sharing images and videos. With around 1 billion active users per month, this social network is the fifth most popular in the world¹⁵. Every day, more than 60 million photos and videos are posted¹⁶. AzMina's profile has 99,400 followers and 1,688 publications¹⁷. We selected this object of study because of its prominence in the scenario of Brazilian feminist NGOs. AzMina won several national and international awards, including two campaigns to raise awareness of feminist issues on social networks, and has a notorious presence on social networks, with constant movement and engagement¹⁸.

Before the Covid-19 pandemic, domestic violence was already a recurring theme on AzMina Magazine's Instagram. The content is addressed through photos, videos and illustrations, always accompanied by text. Due to the space limitation of this work, we selected seven posts that deal with the topic between March and June 2020, in order to understand the beginning of social isolation up to two months after the first flexibilities of the measure¹⁹. The posts are part of a larger scope of 27 analyzes detailed in our master's thesis²⁰. They were selected following the criteria for approaching the topic of domestic violence within the time frame of the first recorded peak of the Covid-19 pandemic. We evaluated the content through Qualitative Analysis (Strauss &, 2008), a method that makes it possible to identify feelings and motivations in people's manifestations. “When talking about qualitative analysis, we refer to the non-mathematical process of interpretation, done with the aim of discovering concepts

11 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from <https://www.facebook.com/revistaazmina>

12 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from <https://twitter.com/revistaazmina>

13 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from <https://www.instagram.com/revistaazmina/>

14 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCoyYnOCs_pr0oaXSitYi35g

15 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://g1.globo.com/economia/tecnologia/noticia/2020/10/06/instagram-faz-10-anos-como-uma-das-maiores-redes-sociais-do-mundo-and-eye-on-tiktok-for-not-aging.ghtml>.

16 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://becoming.instafamous.pro/mind-blowing-instagram-stats/>.

17 Numbers of the day 01/10/2022.

18 Retrieved March 13, 2022 from <https://azmina.com.br/instituto-azmina/quem-somos/>

19 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://g1.globo.com/bemestar/coronavirus/noticia/2020/06/05/coronavirus-na-contramao-do-mundo-brasil-flexibiliza-quarentena-antes-de-atingir-pico-de-mortes.ghtml>.

20 Retrieved March 13, 2022 from <https://repositorio.ufc.br/handle/riufc/63838>.

and relationships in the raw data and of organizing these concepts and relationships in an explanatory-theoretical scheme". (Strauss &Corbin, 2008, p. 24). The objective is to identify the interaction promoted on AzMina's Instagram around the topic of domestic violence.

Screenshot 1: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

Published on March 23, 2020, this is the first content²¹ posted on Instagram by AzMina that addresses domestic violence in the Covid-19 pandemic. Here, a carousel²² of images brings together five tips for a feminist quarantine. The first is to provide conditions for all people to self-quarantine, adjusting service provider schemes and, if possible, maintaining payments even if the service cannot be performed. The second tip is to divide up the household chores, so that women are not overloaded. The third is to form support networks for mothers, allowing hours of work or rest without the interference of children. The fourth tip is to pay attention to signs of women experiencing domestic violence and offer support and help. The last tip suggests strengthening the work of women during the pandemic.

The caption of the images brings a quote from a text from Revista AzMina that talks about the increase in oppression of women in times of crisis, and ends by inviting followers to read the text in full on the Magazine's website.

The content illustrates what Uckus (2020) mapped about the increased consumption of social networking sites during the pandemic and that this use could be an ally of women in situations of violence aggravated by isolation. There is an approach that suggests solidarity between women who can support others in situations of violence, locating these and other attitudes within a feminist context, of empowering women with common goals.

21 Retrieved March 4, 2022 from <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-Fjh4Y17Z9/>

22 This is an Instagram feature that allows you to insert more than one photo in the same post. To view them all, just scroll the screen to the side, hence the comparison with a carousel.

The content generated 32 comments, which made us reflect that the sensitivity of the subject - which involves everyone - creates uncertainties and forms an environment of debate where, in addition to the citizen participation of women interested in the topic, there is also opposition or boycott. We identified a man who tries to impose his personal perspective on the women who bring their reports to the comments, as well as minimize the situations suffered. Being inserted in the social category of aggressors provoked in him an attitude that tries to ridicule women, making them uncomfortable to share, a way of silencing. We identified what Spivak (2010) defends, when he says that there are only conditions for people in situations of oppression to speak, if there is also a context for them to be heard. When faced with intimidation, women tend to push back but often choose to end the discussion on the topic they would like to debate in order to seek support.

In this post, nine comments are from followers tagging other profiles so that they have access to the content. Follower @tamarakovacs denounces that she is being threatened by a person and that when she went to the police station they reported that everything was closed because of the pandemic and only the flagrants were being attended to. "Right now people will be confined with their abusers," she says. Her manifestation generated the comment of @aleixorobson, a man not at all empathetic with the reported situation who says he is also confined with his wife and does not abuse her. Follower @tamarakovacs asks what his marriage has to do with her receiving death threats, to which @aleixorobson replies that she said wives are stuck with their abusers, plural. She counters by saying that, at that moment, wives who are abused by their husbands are locked up with them. In what @aleixorobson says if she is abused by her husband, she should separate. He says that being abused is harder than getting a divorce and goes on to state, "you," possibly referring to women who align themselves with feminism, "are masters at talking about being an empowered woman (a term that makes no sense), but allow yourselves to be abused, which makes no sense." She responds that it's not her husband who threatens her and explains that she is not married. He counters the comment by saying that whoever threatens her should be hit on the head with a stick until they stop breathing and that no one will accuse her of murder because it would be self-defense. In another comment, he adds, "a good abuser is an abuser beaten to death," to which there is no response from @tamarakovacs.

The following comment is made by @amiradantas, who reports being confined with a narcissistic abuser and because of that is dying every day a little. @aleixorobson, the same one who replied to @tamarakovacs' comment, responds, again without empathy, saying that @amiradantas is the only one who can solve the problem she is going through. She reacts by tagging @revistaazmina's profile, reporting that there is a man pestering her and questioning if he knows what an abusive relationship is, if he knows her financial, emotional and family conditions. In another comment she says he is on a feminist page "just to cause". He counters by saying that if she is in an abusive relationship, it is up to her to resolve it and mocks the feminist language used by @amiradantas, in addition to teasing her, asking if she is thirteen years old for having marked @revistaazmina's profile in a way of reporting his behavior. She responds by saying that she will block him. AzMina Magazine does not comment on the clash between the two.

In another comment, @madaccoelho asks where are the tips for caring for the elderly, which naturally goes beyond the scope of a feminist profile. The profile @_feminismoe praises the post, and the profile @prevencaovienciasobral tags @cumadi_is, suggesting that the post be reposted. Once again, @aleixorobson comments saying that the post is not a feminist agenda, but a community one. She says that feminism is not about community actions, nor about helping others. The comment receives no replies.

In this post, we identified that AzMina's audience is not just made up of women. And that not all men who access the content do so because they agree with the publications. In the case reported here, more than disagreement on the part of the man, there is a mockery of the situation.

Screenshot 2: Reproduction of AzMina Magazine's Instagram



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

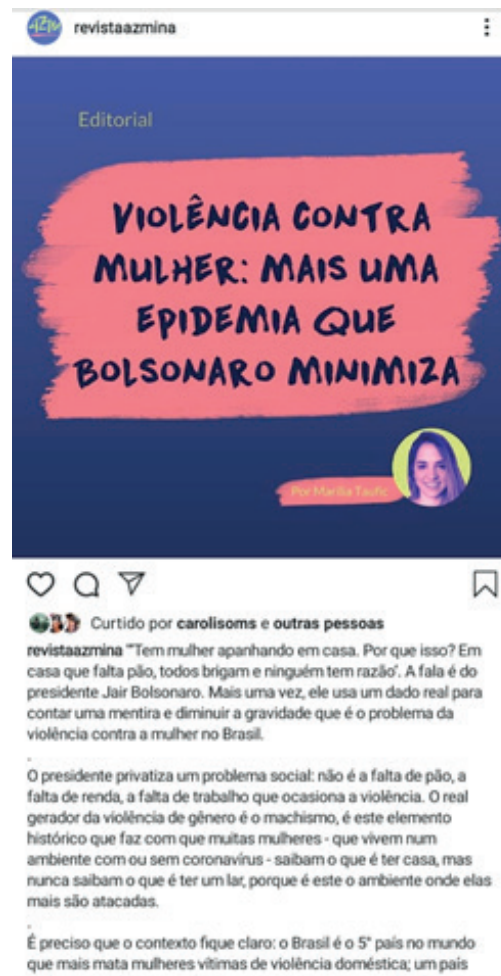
The March 27, 2020 post²³ features Maia, a virtual assistant created to facilitate the recognition of the first signs of an abusive relationship, thus preventing these cases from reaching the level of physical violence. The text also informs that due to social isolation there is a scenario that provides more situations of violence against women and that in the first days of isolation, the Judiciary Duty of Rio de Janeiro recorded an increase of 50% of cases.

Here we see what Carvalho (2020) points out as the use of networks by social movements as a path to guarantee rights. Although there is no immediate resolution in this way, it is important to identify that through them problems are debated, there is a reach of more people around the topic and an engagement of those who already identify with it. It is a context that intends to be informative and organizational.

The post generated nine comments, and we identified that there is a 100% positive receptivity to the use of social networking tools to address this issue. The comments are all from female followers, which also points to the fact that they make use of these technologies and that they want to get closer and closer. Four comments are from followers tagging other profiles interested in the topic. Follower @gizellefreitaspol praises the creation of the virtual assistant. Followers @instadanat and @politicaparamulheres consider the initiative excellent. Follower @marias_do_amor says she loved the idea and asks if she can share the post, which is answered by @revistaazmina positively.

23 Retrieved January, 2022 from <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-PpVihliu3/>

Screenshot 3: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

Published on March 31, 2020, this post²⁴ features graphic art with the so-called “Violence against women: another epidemic that Bolsonaro minimizes”, a text by journalist Marília Taufic, which was published as an editorial in Revista AzMina.

The text of the post brings the speech²⁵ of President Jair Bolsonaro (without a party), who justifies the increase in domestic violence because there is no bread at home, since most men cannot work due to social isolation. The author criticizes Bolsonaro's position, arguing that it is not lack of bread, income or work that causes violence, but sexism. The text also brings the information that Brazil is the fifth country that kills most women victims of domestic violence. And she ends by saying that the best way to combat sexism and the violence generated by it is to promote education for equality.

Here, we analyze content that permeates both issues about gender inequalities, which oppress women, and a scenario in which there are very peculiar oppressions suffered by them. Vieira, Garcia and Maciel (2020) argue that social isolation favored the control of women by men, and that virtual networks of social support among these women should be encouraged at this time.

The content generated 16 comments and, once again, we identified, in addition to a citizen

24 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-Zxm90FzG6/>.

25 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://www.uol.com.br/universa/noticias/redacao/2020/03/30/por-que-bolsonaro-erra-ao-usar-violencia-domestica-para-criticar-isolamento.htm>.

participation of women, showing support and bringing new information, a boycott made by men. We can see that the situation of social isolation promotes an emotional exhaustion that weakens women even more, whether they are victims or a support network, and generates attack behaviors by some men, who, because they do not want to be linked to the aggressors, end up also intimidating and even ridiculing women who engage in the cause of domestic violence.

Two comments are from followers who reacted with emojis. The first, by @ritabengua, brings applause and hearts. The second, by @clarodias, shows astonishment at the information conveyed in the post. Follower @tay.esm comments that before the president issued this opinion, he had cut funds from the women's secretariat that would be destined to combat domestic violence. Follower @carlosmaiapsicologo says that this same theme will be the subject of a live²⁶ on his profile on that date. Follower @synthyamaia says that, with or without coronavirus, the home is the most dangerous place for a woman to be.

Once again, the profile @aleixorobson, the same man who generated a clash in the previous post, comments. He says that Bolsonaro says “mega important” things and that “this stupid Instagram”, referring to the profile of AzMina Magazine, “clings to a popular saying that he used only to explain the tragedy we went through”. He still says that “you are inefficient. That's why they are so small and incapable of helping any woman. You just get in the way, you look like ten-year-old girls.” The comment generated nine responses. Two women, @tay.esm and @enilarebrota counter-argued with @aleixorobson. Follower @tay.esm says funds to combat domestic violence have been cut. She questioned where there was something important said by the president in years of political activity and opined that the most important thing he did was to remain silent. She said that everything Bolsonaro says is disrespectful, stupid, criminal, wrong, with no technical or scientific basis. Follower @enilarebrota said it wasn't worth arguing with @aleixorobson because if he defends Bolsonaro, it's a sign that he lacks scruples, which @tay.esm agreed. @aleixorobson accused the two of talking with hate, said they had no arguments and only hate left them. He completed by telling @tay.esm that “When I need a professional bartender I will contact you”. In which she reacts with irony, saying that if he felt attacked, he should go to an emergency. Then she adds that he disdains facts, data and high rates of violence. He says he will only call out to her “when he needs the tent”. She concludes the fight by saying don't call because she's not willing to solve any of his problems, and that “the bartender here dismisses you”. There was no response to this comment.

We noticed that there is an agreement among women in the themes published by AzMina. When there are clashes, they are initiated and sustained by a man. We noticed that it is common for women to come together to counter his positions. However, we did not map the intervention of Revista AzMina, even when requested by women, in the sense of prohibiting this type of male behavior or even censoring behaviors.

²⁶ In this case, “live” alludes to an Instagram tool that allows users of the social network to broadcast live using the platform.

Screenshot 4: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

This post was published on April 3, 2020²⁷, and features two images. In the first of them there is a photo of a woman inside a house, looking at the outside landscape through the window, and a caption that informs that the service to domestic violence has changed amid the Covid-19 pandemic. In the second, there is a graph that informs that most violence against women occurs at home, in family life. It also brings data from the Rio de Janeiro Woman Dossier 2019²⁸, a document published by the Rio de Janeiro Public Security Institute that maps violence against women in that state. According to the survey, 59.4% of Carioca women suffered domestic violence inside their homes, with 33% of the aggressions committed at night (6:00 pm to 11:59 pm) and 33% of the violence occurred on weekends.

The text of the post expands this information and says that the pandemic has made the issue of domestic violence even more complex. Both the care for female victims and the notification of protective measures to the aggressors have changed due to the determinations of social isolation. Now these procedures have been done via email, phone and through the WhatsApp application. The text also breaks down information on assistance to women in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul and ends by suggesting that the report be read in full on the AzMina Magazine website.

Aware of the increase in the number of cases of domestic violence during the pandemic, this content stands as a bridge between women and information on how to go to justice at this time. In a context where the flow of information is very large, we noticed that AzMina's profile makes a kind of filter of the topics that can help women, covering the pandemic with a focus on them. The post generated two comments from two women, @carlalink and @angelica_fortes, mentioning other profiles that may be

27 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-hnP66bc/>.

28 Retrieved January 4, 2020 from: http://arquivos.proderj.rj.gov.br/isp_imagens/uploads/DossieMulher2019.pdf.

interested. We noticed that there is a recurrence of this type of comment, which indicates that there is access to AzMina's content that goes beyond the profile's followers.

Screenshot 5: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture made by the authors

In this post, published on April 6, 2020²⁹, the topic of domestic violence during the Covid-19 pandemic is approached from the perspective of women who feel at risk. Until now, the posts were directed so that women outside the situation of violence would help those who were inserted in this context. In this post, the tone changes. Here, AzMina speaks directly to women at risk. The image features a carousel of six graphic arts with five directions: have an emergency plan ready, leave a spare house key handy and hide it in a place easy to get in case of emergency, leave your documents and children in an easy place access to escape, notify neighbors of the situation of violence and arrange an emergency word with trusted people to call or text in times of need.

The text of the post warns that social isolation measures tend to increase cases of domestic violence and informs that only in the first week of social distance, Ligue 180 (Call 180), the Federal Government Service Center that handles these cases, recorded an increase of 18% in the complaints. AzMina also informs that it is making special content about the Covid-19 pandemic on the Magazine's website in partnership with other information vehicles and invites followers to access the content on the website.

Once again, AzMina's Instagram is something of an informative handbook for women. The post garnered six comments. Three of them are from profiles marking other possible interested parties, which denotes a network of people who have been committed to disseminating the content. Follower @_lara_1959 says it's very unfair that so many women need to use the advice in the post to be minimally protected in their own homes. In the same tone, follower @daniellesouzaba says it's sad to read this booklet because it shows the reality that women live and no one wants to see. Follower @nventurinis

29 Retrieved March 13, 2022 from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-pMAEBFmMH/>

says the situation is too sad. It is noted that there is a cross of pain involving the theme, even though the women who commented do not exactly place themselves as victims of the situation, denoting that, in addition to the individual context of each victim, there is also a collective feeling of solidarity.

Screenshot 6: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

In this post, April 7, 2020³⁰, AzMina talks again with women capable of helping others in situations of domestic violence, in order to create a support network. In the image, also made up of a carousel, there are eight graphic images with the following directions: stay close and make frequent contact, don't judge the situation and show yourself available to help, don't disclose where she is if you welcome a woman at risk in order to keep the abuser from knowing, offer shelter if you can and make sure it's safe for both of you, advise on available court services, find out if there's a shelter or passageway in town, and call the police if you hear or see something happening.

The text explains that the information and guidance is intended for those who want to help women in situations of violence, and informs that in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, women's reception services are operating online during the pandemic.

Once again, we identified Instagram as a helping tool, mainly seeking to raise awareness of the need to support each other. Gohn (2014) references this thought when he says that the virtual space is also a space for familiarization with a certain topic debated by social movements. After familiarization, articulation becomes possible. The content generated a comment, from the profile @vozfeminismo, who classified the post as great and highlighted the importance of promoting harm reduction, pointing to the fact that the content linked by AzMina is part of a greater and more comprehensive understanding of the subject.

30 Retrieved March 13, 2022 from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-rtGGuFT9D/>

Screenshot 7: Reproduction of Instagram from AzMina Magazine



Source: Capture by the authors (2020)

The post on June 19, 2020³¹ brings the headline: “Women face domestic violence and the Covid-19 pandemic at home”, and presents the series of reports “A virus and two wars”, which analyzed twenty Brazilian states and captured an average of 0.21 femicides per 100,000 women. The text also warns of underreporting in this pandemic period, when there are difficulties in communicating.

Addressing the issue of the increase in domestic violence due to the pandemic through social networks is to materialize this space as an informative and support medium for vulnerable women in this context. This is what Vieira, Garcia and Maciel (2020) say about using social networks as social support for victims and also as a warning to aggressors that, despite the physical limits that the pandemic imposes, women are not completely isolated.

The content generated four comments that denote support for the content and express the collective sadness that surrounds it. The first is from @lessasilvana, who reacted with emojis that symbolize crying, in what was answered by @revistaazmina also with the same type of emojis. @portalcatarinas, one of those involved in the investigation of the report, comments thanking AzMina for her support in the dissemination. Follower @rabelocristina14 also comments with a sad emoji.

Final considerations

Domestic violence is a poignant issue in the Brazilian scenario. Aggravated with the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic, the problem motivated Instituto AzMina, a feminist NGO, to address the issue on Instagram, informing about the seriousness of the situation, instructing women in situations of violence to take action, as well as encouraging others people to form a support network for vulnerable women. This movement occurs through feminist cyberactivism.

We analyzed that the topic of domestic violence was addressed in the posts in order to attract the attention of the followers. Resources such as images with impact phrases were used in order to get people's attention on a social network that prioritizes users' visual attention. The texts, in turn, were constructed

31 Retrieved January 4, 2022 from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBoK-DgFmKI/>

in order to bring the theme closer to people's daily lives. Another characteristic is the objectivity of the information, which transmits messages with the usual speed within the logic of the speed of consumption of content on social networks.

Qualitatively analyzing the comments allowed us to identify that much of the content engagement is positive, mobilizes reflections and becomes a welcoming place for followers to share personal reports in cases of domestic violence. However, the content also arouses dissatisfaction and twice generated boycotts, in these cases always by men and never by women. On the contrary, in these cases they supported each other. We note that the comments reaffirm convictions on the subject and awaken solidarity among women. There is, however, no substance in the analysis that allows us to measure whether there was effective awareness of followers from the content. It indicates that the topic of domestic violence promotes engagement, awakens affection and forms a network of comments of support from women unanimously, while among men it sometimes generates support, sometimes boycott.

Costa (2018) argues that social networks are the most important mechanism for political mobilization today. This work reinforces the importance of them, which are capable of establishing effective communication around a common cause. We note, however, that one of the limits of action of social networks within a Qualitative Analysis is not being able to measure whether there was effective awareness of followers on the topic from the content of the posts. However, we evaluate that the existing engagement around the topic is important, especially during acute moments like the Covid-19 pandemic, which has brought about increased use of social media platforms.

There is no way to predict the future, but it is certain that the present has lit some flames of hope in the future. Feminisms prove capable of making use of the potential of social networks and have managed to bring together a portion of citizens around a common cause. This organization fills gaps, mobilizes thoughts and intends to be able to build a new possible reality.

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