Repositório ISCTE-IUL

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Chapter · May 2023

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THE RHETORIC OF DIGITAL HATE SPEECH AGAINST WOMEN JOURNALISTS: DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCES OF HARASSMENT IN PORTUGAL

La retórica del discurso de odio digital contra las mujeres periodistas a partir de experiencias de acoso en Portugal

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Abstract:

Digital hate speech is a transversal phenomenon in contemporary societies. On social platforms, participatory spaces and private messages are important vehicles for its conveyance. Women journalists constitute one of the social groups most targeted by the whole phenomenon, as it is embodied and operationalized through digital harassment. This study seeks to explore 31 experiences of harassment of women journalists in Portugal, to identify and analyze the rhetorical categories that constitute the argumentation of digital hate speech. Combining rhetorical analysis with qualitative content analysis by inductive method, accusation, victim condemnation, insults, journalistic skills, intelligence and merit, and sexual objectification emerged. In the second part, the categories served the quantitative content analysis of the corpus (N = 5026) constituted by tweets, retweets and replies on Twitter profiles of 13 non-participating women journalists from the first moment of the investigation. The results show that hate speech has a public expression of 13.9% in Portugal (N = 701).

Keywords: Journalist safety; Women journalists; Harassment; Digital hate speech; Rhetorical argumentation

Resumen:

El discurso de odio digital es un fenómeno transversal en las sociedades contemporáneas. En las plataformas sociales, los espacios participativos y los mensajes privados son vehículos importantes para su transmisión. Las mujeres periodistas constituyen uno de los grupos sociales más atacados por todo el fenómeno, ya que se materializa y operativiza a través del acoso digital. Este estudio busca explorar 31 experiencias de acoso de mujeres periodistas en Portugal, para identificar y analizar las categorías retóricas que constituyen la argumentación del discurso de odio digital. Combinando el análisis retórico con el análisis cualitativo de contenido por método inductivo, surgieron la acusación, la condena de la víctima, los insultos, las habilidades periodísticas, la inteligencia y el mérito, y la cosificación sexual. En la segunda parte, las categorías sirvieron para el análisis de contenido cuantitativo del corpus (N = 5026) constituido por tuits, retuits y respuestas en perfiles de Twitter de 13 mujeres periodistas no participantes del primer momento de la investigación. Los resultados muestran

que el discurso de odio tiene una expresión pública del 13,9% en Portugal (N = 701).

Palabras clave: *Seguridad de los periodistas; Mujeres periodistas; Acoso; Discurso de odio digital; Argumentación retórica*

1. Introduction

During the 2015 migration crisis in Europe, the mass influx of thousands of refugees due to the war in Syria became a propellant of hatred, fueled by intolerance and fear of the "other" (Silva et al., 2021). Immigration, coming from another culture and following another religion, was the topic that triggered the most hatred on social platforms in 2016 (Huang & Cherubini, 2016). Xenophobic nationalism continues to be expressed in various forms of Islamophobia, with intersectional discrimination being aggravated towards black Muslims and Muslim women (ECRI, 2020).

Several leading media in the international news landscape, including CNN and Reuters, decided that hosting and managing comment sections on their websites was no longer appropriate for audience engagement. In the sense that the moderation costs that newsrooms were dispensing were not reflected in cordial and deliberative debates (Huang & Cherubini, 2016). With the closure of these participatory spaces, newsrooms have come under increasing pressure in the face of transition and the growth of incivility, hate speech, and poor-quality commentary on social platforms. This paradigm shift brings and raises new challenges within newsrooms, already weakened in terms of human and financial resources, namely, to adopt strategies to promote civil and constructive conversations with audiences (Costa, 2022b, 2022c).

In 2019, the anti-immigration narrative was used by European political parties of the new populist radical right and the far right. Simultaneously, the growing number of traditional political parties that have begun to adopt more restrictive policies on immigration and integration has been identified (ECRI, 2020). The European Parliament elections made it even more evident how the growth and normalization of the phenomenon of nationalistic, xenophobic, racist, homophobic, and transphobic digital hate speech has negative societal impacts, both in the political sphere

of contemporary societies and in the social and private spheres of individuals.

More recently, the Covid-19 Pandemic has exacerbated the human rights regression. In particular, it highlights the conditioning of freedom of movement, the imposition of forties and the use of mobile contact tracing (ECRI, 2021, 2022). In this context, incidents linked to the phenomenon of hate speech included verbal and physical aggression, social exclusion, and intolerant rhetoric. Used by groups and individuals to spread conspiracy theories about the origin of the disease, old stereotypes of an anti-Semitic nature were resurrected in the Pandemic to stir up resentment and hateful conduct against Jews, but also against Roma, Asian and LGBTI communities. They blamed them for the creation and spread of Covid-19 (ECRI, 2021, 2022).

In recent years, Portugal has experienced a growth in hate speech, particularly against African descendants, immigrants (Brazilian community) and Roma communities (Assembleia da República, 2019). Of public domain knowledge, the Roma ethnic group currently represent the target group most addressed by messages of racism and xenophobia. However, there is little official data regarding the phenomenon, the number of complaints is low and there are no statistics reporting the number of these incidents on the Internet (CICDR, 2020; ECRI, 2018).

"Some arsonists should be thrown into the flames" (Figueiredo, 2021). "If this is how the III Republic lives, I also think that Eduardo Cabrita [Minister of Internal Administration] should be beheaded!" (Pinto, 2021). "In this photo, candidate Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa [President of the Republic] met with bandits [Afro-descendants]" (Câncio, 2021a). "I will never be president of drug dealers, pedophiles, and those who live off the state (...), while the good Portuguese pay their taxes" (Câncio, 2021b). Statements such as these have been made by Chega Party leader André Ventura and other front-runners, predominantly on social platforms and television debates in election campaigns. The party of the new radical right elected a deputy to the Portuguese Chamber for the first time in 2019. In 2022, its representation increased to 12 deputies.

As had happened with other international political figures, this André Ventura's conduct of incitement to hatred, intolerance and discrimination led to his suspension from Twitter (Câncio, 2021a;

Figueiredo, 2021). Until that moment, the harassment of journalists was sporadically publicized in the news space, especially when in-person assaults occurred in Portuguese sports circles (Artigo37, 2021a, 2021b). However, the rise of the new radical right in the Portuguese parliamentary landscape was also characterized by hate speech, harassment, and physical contact to journalists and image reporters due to their reporting (Agência Lusa, 2021). Successively, the collective instigation of collective hatred found echoes for its normalization in the news space and on the Internet (Costa, 2021b, 2022a, 2022b).

This research seeks to address the scarcity of scientific studies regarding digital hate speech in Portugal. The main objective of the study is to reflect on the phenomenon based on events of harassment experienced by 31 women journalists. The second part includes a case study about the presence of hate speech and its rhetorical categories in the Twitter participatory spaces of 13 women journalists who did not participate in the first phase of the study. It seeks to explore to what extent social platforms are key vehicles for the incorporation, dissemination, and operationalization of hate speech through the harassment of women journalists in Portugal.

2. Hate speech and violence against women journalists

Rooted in culture and transmitted through ideologies, hate speech is a practice that seeks to establish or maintain certain social hierarchies in the social, political, or economic realm (Boyle, 2001; Carlson, 2020). In the era of Colonialism, hate speech was used as a practice of domination, where one group of people was subjugated over another based-on aspects such as race, ethnicity, and nationality (Boyle, 2001, p. 493).

Despite the need to define the phenomenon, there is still no clear consensus to establish a universal definition for hate speech (Selma, 2019; Weber et al., 2020). Hate speech can be understood as the verbal and non-verbal manifestation of a discriminatory and excessive nature, which seeks the dissemination, promotion, and incitement of hatred, through insult, intimidation, and harassment, against individuals and social groups. Generally, those targeted tend to share some specific characteristic, such as sexual orientation, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, migration, among others (Costa 2021b, p. 50).

The lack of a specific legislative framework regulating hate speech in the digital environment, as a form of conduct rather than speech, has allowed the phenomenon to be incorporated and spread through the potential of social platforms (Marwick & Miller, 2014). This dispersion is due to the idea that acting on and regulating hate speech is inconceivable with the fundamental right of freedom of expression and could hypothetically represent a contemporary mechanism of censorship (Council of Europe, 2016; Selma, 2019).

Incivility, hate speech, and trolling are phenomenon's that have accompanied the Internet since its genesis, but they have intensified in recent years with the democratization of social platforms and their content production tools. Digital violence is particularly pronounced against women journalists (Adams, 2018; Chen et al., 2020; Costa, 2022d; Gardiner, 2018; Koirala, 2020; Lewis et al., 2020; North, 2016; Posetti et al., 2021a, 2021b).

In 2016, Huang and Cherubini's (2016) study confirmed the trend that journalists that kept their participatory spaces open had been targeted for trolling, either isolated or coordinated. Individuals, groups, and corporations, which may be linked to states, seek to propagate ideas, harass, and intimidate journalists covering topics such as politics, justice, economics, sports, women's rights, gender, and feminism. In practice, they seek to silence women, undermine press freedom, and discredit critical journalism (Posetti et al., 2021b).

In recent years, online violence has become a new line of attention and monitoring in journalism safety, especially that against women journalists (Costa, 2022d; Posetti et al., 2021a, 2021b). Digital harassment of women journalists is disproportionately severe in terms of its nature, intensity, and psychological and physical impacts compared to those directed at male journalists (Adams, 2018; Chen et al., 2020; Gardiner, 2018; Koirala, 2020; Lewis et al., 2020; North, 2016).

On the other hand, attacks seem to be transitioning to the offline world, in a dimension covered up by the low numbers of reporting and disclosure by victims. The studies conducted by Costa (2022a) and Posetti et al. (2021b) show that one of the reasons is related to the resistance of journalistic leadership and management to take seriously the experiences and impact of online violence. They conduct its normalization inside and outside the newsrooms, instead

of taking effective measures to protect freedom of expression and gender equality.

In 2021, UNESCO and the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) published the first global survey regarding online violence against women journalists (Posetti et al., 2021a, 2021b). Of the participants surveyed (N = 901, 100%), 73% said they had experienced online violence, 49% offensive language, 41% orchestrated disinformation campaigns, and 20% were attacked offline as a result of violence suffered online (Posetti et al., 2021b, pp. 2-6). Gender, politics, elections, human rights, and social policy seem to be the themes most associated with online violence.

On the other hand, data show that self-censorship on social platforms, giving up all forms of online interaction, and avoiding engagement with audience participation are the most common forms of response among 68% of victims of online harassment (Posetti et al., 2021b, p.3). In the UNESCO study, hate speech of a misogynistic and sexist nature also stood out, using the following line of insults: 'witch', 'hag', 'whore', 'bitch', and 'presstitute' (a portmanteau of 'press' and 'prostitute') (Posetti et al., 2021a, p. 21).

3. Prevalence of the phenomenon in Portugal

The digital hate speech against women journalists through harassment assumes expressive contours in Portugal, especially because of the journalistic themes and the professionals' visibility (Costa, 2021c). The manifestations of hate occur predominantly in comment boxes hosted by media outlets and journalists' Twitter and Facebook profiles, as well as through private messaging tools on social platforms and email (Costa, 2021a, 2021b).

There are no innocuous journalistic topics and therefore all are susceptible, seen from the perpetrators' point of view, to trigger harassment. Although there is no clear delineation, women journalists characterize these topics as "more controversial" or "sensitive." They concern soccer, politics, justice, religion, immigration, ethnic minorities, racism, gender issues, and Covid-19 (Costa, 2021a, 2021b).

At the organizational level, victims of harassment express a lack of support from news management. At the same time, they report that male directors, editors, and colleagues devalue the personal

and journalistic impact, which ends up normalizing violence as a symbol of professional success. That is, the materialization of the audiences' interest. However, this way of facing the phenomenon has coerced the public denunciation and formal complaint of the victims (Costa, 2022b, p. 505).

4. Methodology

The research that is presented aims to use experiences of harassment against women journalists in Portugal, to characterize the discourse of digital hate speech in terms of rhetorical expression that is still to be discussed: to identify and analyze the dominant elements of rhetorical argumentation. Thus, the first research question arises:

RQ1: Which rhetorical categories constitute the argumentation of digital hate speech in experiences of harassment?

In the first part of the study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 31 women journalists from the main media in Portugal: print, television, digital and news agencies. The interviewees were invited to speak, freely and anonymously, about personal and professional experiences of harassment in the digital culture through open questions (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

As a traditional tool for data collection and production, the semi-structured interview method has been considered as a method to explore information and experiences with an adaptation to the peculiarities of each participant. Data quality is maximized as non-responses are controlled (Baker, 2004; Miller & Glassner, 2004).

The interviews were conducted between January 12 and February 19, 2021, with an average duration of one hour, through the Zoom platform, and recorded on the platform itself, for later transcription, coding, and analysis. Twenty-two media organizations are represented, with television being the predominant medium, with 12 journalists from six media, followed by the press with nine professionals from five media. From the sample, 12 journalists (38.7%) work for more than one news section. Society, politics, and sports are the most expressive sections, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Journalistic Sections

Journalistic section	Number of journalists
Celebrities	1
Crime	1
Culture	1
Economics	1
International	1
Politics	3
Research	1
Society	5
Sports	5
Various	12
10+ departments	**N = 31 women journalists**

Source: Own elaboration

The modal age group corresponds to the 26 to 35 age group (58.1%), so the average age is close to 35 (34.5). Regarding the years of experience, 12 journalists (38.7%) got into journalism at least 10 years ago, which shows some longevity in the professional trajectory.

To conduct this empirical investigation, the rhetorical analysis method was combined with qualitative content analysis by inductive method (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) to distinguish and define the characteristic patterns of rhetorical appeals into argumentative categories. This type of analysis is generally appropriate when the existing research literature on a phenomenon is limited, allowing the categorization matrix to be constructed from the text data by inductive method (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Mayring, 2000).

As demonstrated and applied by Gabrènaitè and Triaušytè (2021, p. 48), the following steps were applied: during the exploratory analysis, the rhetorical categories were identified according to the criteria of frequency and repeatability; the analyses of the experiences of harassment were structured according to the

type of rhetorical argumentation; and the coding categories were formed. As this approach is used to interpret the meaning of the content of the text data, this method is associated with critical discourse analysis to focus on both the intertextual features and the elements of influence coming from the social context (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, this research approach assumes that between the relationship of victims and society lie elements such as norms, values, laws, rules, and symbolic power.

In the second part of this study, the rhetorical categories identified were used to code the hate speech comments made on the personal Twitter pages of 13 Portuguese women journalists. The selection of the corpus had as a criterion the selection of journalists who had not participated in the semi-structured interviews and had more than 10K followers on Twitter. Table 2 refers to the accounts selected for the constitution of the corpus, which was collected on May 31, 2022.

Table 2

Twitter profiles of women journalists

Account name	Media	Number of followers
@AlbertaMF	RTP	128 317
@RitaMarrafadeC	RTP	92 923
@sara_marques	CNN Portugal e Mais Futebol	56 269
@fcancio	Diário de Notícias	49 696
@IsabelCoutinho	Público	48 295
@CristinaEsteves	RTP e RTP Notícias	44 446
@ConstancaSa	TVI	37 311
@ydianaduarte	RTP e Antena 3	32 873
@IrynaShev	SIC	25 235
@CandidaPinto__	RTP	18 682
@LilianaValente	Expresso	17 712
@DianaBNova	CNN Portugal	16 709
@juditefranca	Observador	13 151
13 journalists	**11 media**	**581 619 followers**

Source: Own elaboration

In the quantitative component of this study, the research variables were a) positive discourse, b) neutral discourse, c) negative discourse, d) hate speech against the journalist and e) hate speech against external agents. Regarding the categories of rhetorical argumentation of hate speech against women journalists, we quantified a) accusation, b) condemnation of the victim, c) insults, d) journalistic skills, e) intelligence and merit, and f) sexual objectification.

For this purpose, the MAXQDA software was used to collect and code the corpus (N = 5026, 100%). When collecting tweets, retweets, and replies, we considered those made on the journalists' own accounts or that mentioned their accounts. The data was collected corresponding to the time period from May 24 to May 31, 2022. At this moment, Twitter does not allow the importation of coding units older than a week.

In seeking to identify structural similarities and differences between the categories identified from the qualitative interviews and a quantitative corpus of analysis, the second research question emerges:

RQ2: To what extent are the rhetorical elements identified in the interviews publicly incorporated in the form of tweets, retweets, and replies?

5. Results and discussion

5.1. Identifying rhetorical categories in experiences of harassment

The results of the analysis in rhetorical terms of digital hate speech in experiences of harassment faced by women journalists allow us to analyze a culture of violence and accusation, in which the normalization of victim condemnation prevails. Thus, the hate speech takes the form of a strong, insulting, and misogynistic criticism of journalistic work, focusing on the journalistic skills, intelligence, merit, and physical attributes of women journalists.

Essentially built on gender and anti-feminist rhetoric to convey familiar discursive practices among male perpetrators, the rhetorical categories of hate speech (accusation, insults, journalistic

skills, sexual objectification, intelligence and merit, and victim condemnation) seek to reinforce traditional gender roles.

The act of audiences commenting publicly represents a way for the masses to come into contact with the discourses and their emotions circulating in the public domain. The tendency is directed towards the alignment of distinct, rigid, and complementary categories of heteronormativity. In this context, there is a natural attribution to "the other", women journalists, as being the source of the feelings provoked in the perpetrators (Ahmed, 2014/2004). Table 3 demonstrates examples shared by the interviewees that prove the alignment of the rhetorical argumentation of hate speech around misogyny.

Table 3

Rhetorical alignment of hate speech around misogyny

"With the pillowcase you have, one can see right away that you could only write what you write. Go home!"	"Slut! You're a slut because you're inciting people to new lifestyles!"
Interviewee 30	*Interviewee 19*
"You should be in the kitchen. You can't even write."	"The woman should go home. She's a feminist!"
Interviewee 23	*Interviewee 20*

Source: Own elaboration

The manifestations of violent misogynist rhetoric rely on logics of stigmatization to enumerate the reasons for violence against women journalists, but also justifications to reify hegemonic relations. The sexual objectification of women journalists consigns professionals to their supposed responsibilities to the private domestic sphere. As heteronormative power practices, victims are positioned as the pernicious other, who threatens male capabilities, merits, rights, and benefits, undermines social welfare, and challenges heteronormative authority. In this way, logical reasoning gives way to emotional appeals based on gendered precepts (Ahmed, 2014/2004, p. 3).

As soon as these conducts occur, they show a predisposition to be associated with other coordinated and organized behavior

in the different digital public spaces. This operationalization of harassment is due to the fact that the exercise of power relations depends on the presence of that "other", simultaneously with the reactions of individuals with similar values and principles.

Efforts to displace female journalists into positions of subordination drive the mobilization of collective feelings of hatred that promote threats of a sexual and homicidal nature, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4
Hate speech in the form of intimidation and threat

"You'll see what happens if you keep talking about it" ***Interviewee 21***	"This is the one that's here!" Let's attack her!" ***Interviewee 25***
"We know where you live and what school your children go to" ***Interviewee 30***	"You deserve to be raped" ***Interviewee 15***

Source: Own elaboration

5.2. Quantitative analysis

In this case study composed by 5026 units of analysis, 4217 (83.9%) are in the form of comments made on the Twitter profiles of women journalists, 729 retweets (14.5%) and 80 tweets (1.6%) that mentioned the journalists' accounts. In Table 5, it can be seen that negative speech has a significant representation of 30.8% ($N = 1546$), with hate speech at 13.9% ($N = 701$).

Table 5
Types of linguistic conduct

Discourse typology	Absolute frequency	Percentage
Positive speech	1243	24.7%
Neutral speech	2237	44.5%
Negative speech	1546	30.8%
	***N* = 5026**	**100%**
Hate speech		

Hate speech to external agents	418	8.3%
Hate speech against women journalists	283	5.6%
	N = 701	**13.9%**

Source: Own elaboration

Putting Table 6 into evidence, almost 37% (*N* = 104) of the hate speech extracted from Twitter was designed to undermine and damage the public's credibility and trust in the work of women journalists. In other words, erode the public's trust in facts. Reputation-based attacks employ tactics of accusation, discrediting, disinformation, and confrontational abuse against women journalists.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine is used to invoke Portuguese journalistic bias in favor of "an agenda in the service of something and someone". The rhetorical categories used join terms of "Russophobia", "propaganda", "persecution", "distortion", "manipulation", "censorship", and "disinformation" to "scribblers" (pejorative usage), "hypocrites", and "Nazis".

To express the support of women journalists for one of the countries in conflict and for certain political and ideological currents, one user said *"@manjos @RitaMarrafadeC @HBurnay What a victim. In fact, the PC militants are persecuting the director of @Visao_en, isn't it more the other way around? Taking advantage of the Russian war to make anti-communist campaign, some like Mrs. Mafalda and Câncio in a sneaky way, others like Luís Ribeiro openly"*.

Similar comments are found on the Twitter pages of the other women journalists: *"In the usual exercise of idiot-utility that @ CandidaPinto___ lends herself to daily at RTP, the service of the day was an interview with the Nazi band Azov, for an action to clean up their image"*; *"@IrynaShev I still don't understand why they put your Ukrainian face on TV. We're sick of hearing your bullshit story! Russia, according to Western TVs, are even losing operation Z, and Ukraine is likely to disappear. Just one question: are you a Nazi too, or just sold out?"*.

Table 6

Rhetorical categories of hate speech against journalists

Rhetorical categories	Absolute frequency	Percentage
Accusation	104	36.7%
Insults	86	30.4%
Journalistic skills	49	17.3%
Sexual objectification	17	6%
Intelligence and merit	16	5.7%
Victim's Condemnation	11	3.9%
	N = 283	100%

Source: Own elaboration

The second most expressive rhetorical category is the highly explicit insulting comments collected from Twitter pages, which are often assumed to be visceral attacks to ridicule, shame, humiliate, discredit, and silence the personal dignity of women journalists. These studied attacks on professional reputation are misogynistic, sexist, explicit, and disinformation. Among these comments were repetitions of "being a journalist is not that" and ideological accusations, such as this one: "*@RitaMarrafadeC I've read it and I get it all. I keep saying. You had no right. Being a journalist is not that. You are a fucking pebble. You're lucky you live in Portugal*"; "*@IrynaShev Ukrainians are really stupid!!! So is this "journalist"!*"; "*@ConstancaSa Mariola you're mean, you're bitchy, you're mean-spirited and you probably don't even know anything about child psychology. You are an abject, disgusting, evil being. I hope karma hits you and shuts you up. You are everything that evil personifies. I don't even understand how you can be a human being. You're just a piece of trash. NOJOY*"; "*@fcancio Hi gorgeous…. Bring your bib because you must be a working pig…*"; "*@juditefranca Start the attack on China, fascist bitches are always in heat*".

6. Limitations and possibilities for future research

Future research efforts might consider expanding the number of harassment experiences to be analyzed, obtained through semi-

structured interviews, as in participatory spaces hosted by the media and victims' social platforms.

By using quantitative analysis methods, conducting cross-country comparative studies, and investigating the experiences of harassment not only with women journalists, but also with male journalists, to establish broader patterns of behavior and analyze conceptual differences in digital hate speech, they can be expected to represent a significant advance in studies on hate, journalism, and gender.

Thus, characterizing the discourse, the dominant elements of rhetorical argumentation, and the operationality of digital hate speech allow the production of knowledge about a phenomenon little studied in countries with high democratic indices, aiming to promote egalitarian social changes and the protection of individual and collective freedoms, such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

7. Conclusion

The rhetorical categories emerging from the hate speech present in the experiences of harassment of women journalists suggest that the misogynistic rhetorical argumentation in Portugal reify relations of hegemony. Consequently, these heteronormative behaviors tend to reproduce traditional gender categories and roles. As a digital public square trial, harassment instigates the normalization of the minority condition and disadvantage of the female gender.

The narrative, aligning itself with heteronormative patriarchal concepts, encourages fellow human beings to perspective "the other" based on the gendered emotions imprinted on him and what is or can be harmful to him. Implicitly, collective characteristics, previously established by a set of prevailing social norms, are invoked for the mobilization of hatred. That is, a group of subjects can identify with a process of subordinating the same feelings, since good emotions are cultivated and oriented to counteract uncultivated/undisciplined emotions, such as disgust and anger (emotional intelligence). It means, therefore, that this alignment recognizes in journalists "out-of-place bodies" that impede the formation of "I"/"we" or threaten to transform us into that "other" (Ahmed, 2014/2004).

As a secular practice of manifestation of power, hate speech serves the dominant groups possibilities to establish and maintain certain systems of oppression. In the case under study, hate acts, from gender, in the formation of bodies and worlds around ideologies of power, which are illustrated in the view of women journalists as white housewives. In this sense, women journalists are policed and punished according to traditional ways of being in society. That is, directed to modify their own behaviors as a preventive response to harassment.

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