A study of the profiles of perpetrators and survivors of digital sexual violence
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A report to understand how, where and by whom digital violence against women, adolescents and girls in Mexico is systemically perpetuated.
DIGITAL VIOLENCE REPORT.
Patriarchal societies create victims and aggressors.

A Report to understand how, where and by whom virtual violence against women and girls is systemically perpetuated in Mexico

Mexico, July 2022

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PREFACE

*The ancestral masculinity continues to exercise an infinity of violence towards women despite the passage of time and modernity. What then are the male commitments in the face of digital violence?*

Not only in these times of confinement, but historically, male violence against women, be it of an emotional, intrafamilial, physical, sexual, economic, etc. nature, is unquestionable, serious, frequent and increasing. In this era of new technologies, male violence is expressed without reserve, or to put it more precisely, countless men commit harassment, publish intimate material, photographs, extort or denigrate the dignity of women; and many more join and spread in all social networks intimate content seeking to undermine the dignity of women and girls who appear in them in particular, and all as a gender.

In essence, "patriarchal violence" is only adapting to these times and contexts. Historically men have disenfranchised women and in every era there are various manifestations of male dominance, crimes and oppressions. Sharing information, photos and intimate content without women's authorization or in order to offend on social networks is an offense for any woman, but not for many men. With much struggle, today it is a crime in our country, but it has not been easy to raise awareness and make society and legislators understand that harassment and digital violence is a great damage and emotional abuse to the integrity of women.

How is it possible that making public intimate contents not authorized by them (and that with this is intended to trample their dignity publicly), is not considered a serious violence? It would seem that this supposed "unconsciousness" and male complicity is still not yet understood by men and, to top it off, we increase this damage by normalizing and minimizing these facts.

We are the masculine, social subjects that in the XXI century continue to reproduce ancestral practices of oppression, control and many other forms of violence against women, and what is even more serious is that, today, we are still not willing to see, to recognize and therefore to stop, and to stand against all forms of violence, control, oppression, abuse, objectification and exploitation of the bodies of women and girls. Are we so unaware that we do not understand the serious harm we are doing to them? We are too naive, insensitive or stupid not to realize that many have committed suicide, that this is breaking their lives, their families and their environment.
It would seem sufficient to explain that masculine identity and macho violence are learned from childhood and are reinforced in the process of sexist socialization throughout life, but if we take a look at everyday reality, we must go much deeper, since this proposal is not enough to explain that even sons who grow up in homes of well-being and equality also commit macho behaviors. From a historical, transgenerational, anthropological point of view, there is something else that we have not yet seen or recognized.

The feminist movement is rightly considering the abolition of patriarchy, which has done so much damage, and so have we men, by prioritizing our privileges and our power over women. And so have we men, by prioritizing our privileges and our power over women. Who could contradict the infinity of excesses, cruelty, mockery of centuries towards the female sex? However, and given that this project is committed to sensitization, awareness and elimination of this violence, this first process is a call to deep reflection.

There has been an ancestral violence against women by men for hundreds of years, therefore, the processes of awareness and sensitization must create, above all in men, a total willingness to even leave aside any justification of supremacy, dominance, control, submission, power over women, that is, we need to be too self-critical even of our own conceptions, "truths" and patriarchal masculine visions. Because it is relatively easy to normalize or naturalize male privileges, when they have been part of our daily experience in any time and place.

At this point I wonder, is there anything else we need to consider in order to transform male mentalities and attitudes? Why is it that generation after generation, and in almost every corner of this planet, male violence happens? What are we not considering or what link is disconnected in order to free male identities from these historical synergies?

I believe that, if we men were sensible, we should recognize without much discussion that disseminating information and content on social networks that violate the dignity of women is violent and dishonorable for them.

What is going on inside our being that we do not consider it to be serious and an affront to our dignity? Is it perhaps a sign that deep inside us, men, we are still "unconsciously" loyal to the ancestral patriarchy and practices of male dominance? What other theoretical, methodological, epistemological and strategic considerations should we consider in order to understand patriarchy, and above all to prevent it from continuing to be sustained over time?

While not all men respond to the "alpha male" pattern of machismo - indeed, more and more men are waking up - most men in every era, community, family context, can easily ally themselves to practices of control over women and compete with other men. Minimizing and even sharing a joke, a meme, a photo or any macho content should be an alarm signal. It is urgent to get out of this complicit insensitivity of so many men.

This does not mean denying the right to pleasure, love and its different manifestations. I consider that attraction and sexual energy is something great, wonderful and creative, as long as it is exercised within the ethical standards of each era and context, such as the right to intimacy from the will and without any kind of coercion.

Sexual violence in virtual spaces ratifies the vision of female objectification by men, obviously reinforced by this patriarchal and consumer society, where again we should clearly not justify the use, manipulation, imposition, exploitation of the image and dignity of another person.
Whatever it is that is behind all these attitudes, I propose that at least:

1. Let us aspire to agree that male violence and in this case digital violence, in any of its forms and degrees, demerits men, not only those who exercise it, but all those who promote, justify and ignore it.

2. That in spite of the fact that today there are countless courses, books, theories, conferences, programs, therapies, groups, videos, actions, events, in favor of nonviolence, even so, we men have not finished humanizing ourselves.

3. The most desirable, sensible and pertinent thing would be that more and more men and women reconcile. But for those who cannot or do not want to stop their violence in any field, including the digital one, the best thing would be to apply the law in the fairest way, free of sexist pacts, insensitivities and corruptions. I say this without forgetting that punitivism should be a last resort that does not guarantee a transformation of the individual or society.

4. May we continue to deepen our understanding, actions, programs and everything that helps us to assume that it is at least inconvenient to resort to violence as a way of resolving, alleviating, unloading or expressing our disagreements or discomfort, and move towards a culture of substantive equality and good treatment.

This report is, in my opinion, an immense contribution of young Mexican feminism towards a Mexico capable of achieving equality among all people, free from the systems of oppression that have done so much damage to humanity.

Francisco Cervantes Islas
INTRODUCTION

The fight that Olimpia Coral Melo Cruz started in search of justice after her sex video was disseminated in 2014, was not just for her, but so that no other woman would have to suffer what she suffered. This is a wish we have seen born time and time again when survivors of digital violence make it through the hell of the dissemination of their intimate content. Unfortunately she was not the first, nor would she be the last person to whom something similar would happen, but we have witnessed how social narratives are slowly transforming regarding digital violence, reducing (albeit still very slowly) the collective re-victimization of victims.

In 2017 the first reports on the forms of violence occurring in digital spaces that affect women were published, gaining more strength from 2019 and until now (2021). In the visualization of the topic we can identify the increasingly constant publication of studies and reports on gender-based online violence, both in Mexico and in other countries around the world. However, the phenomenon of digital violence and violations of sexual intimacy with digital commissive means, mainly against women and girls, is much older.

Something that characterizes the very recent production of knowledge on these issues is the multiplicity of concepts used to refer to similar or the same phenomena and the great confusion generated by the use of the same concept for different behaviors, depending on who occupies it. Concepts such as: cyberbullying, cyberviolence, digital violence, online violence, Internet violence, violence in digital, virtual or cybernetic spaces, virtual violence, are used interchangeably.

It has been particularly notorious that the vanguard of studies on these issues have been embodied around the world by feminist and/or gender perspective groups, collectives, institutions, authors and activists. And it is not surprising, given that the highest impact aggressions in virtual spaces are mostly suffered by women and girls, and occur for gender reasons, i.e., they are linked to the factors (social, collective and individual) that constitute their identity as women. And as is common in the field of gender-based violence, feminine and feminized sexuality is used as a factor to subdue and violate women and, although to a lesser extent, also sex-gender identities dissident from heteronormative and hegemonic masculinity.
By adding the gender perspective, different ways of naming the phenomenon have also been proposed in sources such as the report "Online violence against women in Mexico" (2017), where the definition of the Association for Progressive Communications of "Technology-related violence against women" is taken up. This same term is taken up by the report on digital violence of the CDH CDMX, in which it is decided to use the term "umbrella of digital violence" in the terms of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women.

Other very relevant contributions can be found in reports such as the OAS report "Women's cybersecurity during the covid-19 pandemic: Experiences, risks and self-care strategies in the new digital normal" (2021) and more recently "Online gender-based violence against girls and women" (2021); the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, which defined online violence against women (UN, 2018); The International Center for Research on Women's report "COVID-19 and Online Violence in India" (2021); The European Institute for Gender Equality's "Cyber Violence against Women and Girls" Report (2017) and UN Women's bulletin "Violence against Women and Girls in the Digital Space: What is virtual is also real" (2021). For her part, our colleague, lawyer Florencia Zerda, promoter of Ley Olimpia in Argentina, in her book "Digital Gender Violence (2021)" defines it as:

"It is a form of violence that is perpetuated in the digital environment, using technological tools, and is exercised through direct or indirect actions, in the private or public sphere, based on an unequal power relationship of the male gender over the female." (Zerda, 2021).

In the Mexican legislation, the definition that has been included, thanks to the reforms of the Olimpia Law, in the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence is:

**MODALITIES OF VIOLENCE - CHAPTER I to CHAPTER IV Bis CHAPTER IV TER OF DIGITAL AND MEDIATIC VIOLENCE**

**ARTICLE 20 Quater.-** Digital violence is any malicious action carried out through the use of information and communication technologies, by which real or simulated images, audios or videos of intimate sexual content of a person are exposed, distributed, disseminated, exhibited, transmitted, commercialized, offered, exchanged or shared without their consent, without their approval or without their authorization and that cause them psychological or emotional harm, in any area of their private life or in their self-image. As well as those malicious acts that cause damage to the intimacy, privacy and/or dignity of women, which are committed by means of information and communication technologies.

Which is very similar to that of the Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence of the CDMX:

**LAMVLLV CDMX**

*Article 7. The modalities of violence against women are:*  
[...]

*X. Digital violence. Is any act carried out through the use of printed materials, electronic mail, telephone messages, social networks, internet platforms, electronic mail, or any*

---

1 Acts of gender-based violence committed instigated or aggravated, in part or in whole, by the use of ICTs, social networking platforms and email; and cause psychological and emotional harm, reinforce prejudice, damage reputation, cause economic loss and pose barriers to participation in public life and can lead to sexual and other forms of physical violence.

2 Any act of gender-based violence against women committed with the assistance, in whole or in part, or aggravated by the use of ICTs, such as cell phones and smartphones, the internet, social media platforms or email, directed against a woman because she is a woman or that disproportionately affects her.
technological means, by which real or simulated images, audios or videos of intimate sexual content of a person are obtained, exposed, distributed, disseminated, exhibited, reproduced, transmitted, commercialized, offered, exchanged or shared without their consent; which violate the integrity, dignity, intimacy, freedom, private life of women or cause psychological, economic or sexual harm both in the private and public sphere, as well as moral harm, both to them and their families. It manifests itself in pressure, persecution, harassment, harassment, coercion, humiliation, discrimination, threats or deprivation of liberty or life because of gender.

Proposing a broader definition, which takes up elements from all the aforementioned sources, we can state that Digital Violence are all acts committed, incited or aggravated in part or totally through the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs), virtual and digital platforms, which cause harm to the dignity, integrity, safety or well-being of people; reinforce prejudices, damage reputation, public or personal image, cause economic losses, put barriers to participation in public life or may even lead to other forms of violence in other areas of life of the persons affected.

Efforts have also been made to classify or name the different types of violence that can be faced in digital spaces.

In Mexico, in 2016, Olimpia Coral Melo, together with activists members of the organizations she founded: Frente Nacional para la Sororidad and defensorasdigitales.org, launched the first virtual violentometer, which represented an effort to graphically place some forms of digital violence and the levels of impact or danger that these have for those who are victims of these aggressions.

- **Virtual exclusion** - limitations on access to the use of virtual spaces imposed by various structural conditions, among which may be: income, schooling, geographical location, age, being part of a vulnerable socio-demographic group, etc. There may also be limitations imposed by the censorship of the platform, page or virtual space in question, on a particular person or group due to their political or ideological positions, etc. There is also self-exclusion when a person has been the victim of attacks and violence in virtual spaces, forcing him/her to withdraw partially or totally from them for security reasons. The exclusion of individuals or groups from virtual spaces aggravates existing social gaps and inequalities.

- **Electronic insults** - expressions emitted by digital media that are intended to offend, denigrate, cause discomfort and annoy someone.

- **Personal data breach** - loss, alteration, destruction or non-consensual, accidental or unlawful disclosure of personal data or information in the possession of a natural or legal person. It may also include unauthorized access to private communications or to accounts and profiles of other persons.

- **Stalking** - obsessive pursuit, surveillance and/or stalking of a person's virtual activities.

- **Virtual harassment** - violent, offensive and abusive behavior, constant and repeated against a person or group of people through social networks or other means of communication in the virtual world. They may be of a sexual or non-sexual nature.

- **Virtual impersonation** - misappropriation, commonly malicious and without consent, of another person's digital identity. It can be through the use of their image or other data for the
creation of false profiles, or unauthorized access to their accounts or profiles, for various purposes that often result in harm to the person whose identity was impersonated.

• **Virtual defamation** - Use of digital media to issue a false or disproportionate accusation or denunciation of a person to damage his reputation, image, dignity or honor to the detriment of his ties, livelihood, among other affectations.

• **Cyber persecution** - A series of behaviors by means of which a person seeks to make him/herself present to another person through all possible digital channels (in his/her different social networks, channels, accounts and other spaces used in the virtual world), in a repeated, insistent, harassing and/or threatening manner, despite the fact that the communications are not reciprocated.

• **Sextortion** - practice through which it is sought to manipulate, control, force or induce a person to certain behavior, under the threat that, if he/she does not obey, his/her intimate-sexual content will be disseminated. Money, more intimate material, sexual encounters, etc., are usually demanded.

• **Dissemination of intimate content without consent** - making known by any means, by any means and to any person or group of persons, intimate content (particularly erotic - sexual) of a person, without that person’s specific and explicit consent or authorization.

• **Virtual trafficking in persons** - exploitation of persons through the use of digital and virtual media. It is usually presented in the form of online prostitution catalogs, revealing the location and/or contact details of persons who are offered for sexual or any other type of exploitation, usurping the identity of persons and selling sexual content (which may or may not correspond to the person whose identity is alluded to) without consent, among other forms.

This list does not cover all forms of violence in digital media, but they are those that are usually committed systematically and not in isolation against women and girls because of their gender.
A year later, in 2017, in the report “Online violence against women in Mexico”, Luchadoras make another classification in which they distinguish 13 types of attacks, describing them by category, definition and forms of attack that each one implies.

Efforts such as that of the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) are very valuable, since in addition to developing and defining the concept of “technology-facilitated gender-based violence”, they have created a framework for understanding it, thus demonstrating the link between different harmful behaviors that were previously seen as unrelated and thus accounting for the depth and breadth of the problem.

What has been a consensus in all these productions has been the conclusion that digital violence is not an isolated phenomenon from the rest of the violence observable in other spheres. Virtuality is one more space that we human beings inhabit, just like the public highway, public transport, school, the office, our home, our room. In virtuality we can feel as exposed or as protected as the specific configuration of the program, page or application proposes, allowing us to link and interact with other people at different levels. In other words: we take our public, private and also our intimate life to virtuality, which sustains the statement that “the virtual is real”.

Digital violence is actually the same violence that is exercised in any other environment of our lives, but taken to the interactions we make through virtual and digital spaces. That is why we cannot talk about it without referring to the social dynamics that generate violence in any other space. Such is the case of systems of oppression such as patriarchy that sustain inequalities, discrimination and violence based on gender, which are also intertwined with racial inequalities, ethnic origin, socioeconomic, educational, age, living with a disability, among many others.
However, the interactions we have in the virtual world have some particularities, among which we take up five that modify the behavior of people in their interactions and that influence the impact and effects of an aggression committed through digital media:

1. Possibility to attack anonymously - through profiles and accounts with false identities or even usurping someone else’s identity.

2. It is possible and easy to viralize content and reach many more people than we imagine.

3. It is very difficult to completely remove content that has made its way onto the Internet, especially if it has been downloaded, copied, shared, etc.

4. Virtuality is a space that is still little studied and regulated. The social sciences, as well as the legal frameworks around virtuality, are still under construction. There is even a great debate about the relevance of regulating them or not.

5. Virtual spaces (platforms, web pages, applications, games, etc.) have owners who are generally businessmen who are governed by market logic and wealth accumulation, not necessarily by ethical criteria.

All this can cause an action that seemed small to get out of hand and cause irreparable damage.

This report is our particular contribution to this body of knowledge. We do it from the point of view of what can be achieved when feminist activism in the territory, in the communities, in the marches and demonstrations is combined; but also the feminist activism that is done in the congresses (both civil society, as well as by colleagues in their seats and especially their advisors), in public service positions, academia, teaching, research, salaried work and also mixed with the feminist activism that is done when accompanying hundreds of women and girls (and some men) after being survivors of digital violence. It is a first effort to systematize the knowledge acquired and developed over at least 4 years of collective activism of many women around this cause throughout the country.

In the first chapter we not only describe who are the victims and potential victims of digital violence through some qualitative aspects that we have managed to sort from the cases we receive daily from people asking for help when facing some form of online violence, but we are also interested in providing socio-historical and political explanations, documented in feminist texts that account for the system of sex-gender oppression in which we have built our identities and developed our sexuality. We do so on the basis of some theoretical contributions that allow us to understand the root causes that are hidden behind
a problem such as violations of sexual intimacy. We also added some qualitative data obtained through the systematization of these cases, which allows us to have a better assessment of the dimensions of the problem and to know those who are most violated.

In the second chapter we describe the aggressors through two methodologies: 1) the information that the victims provide about them and 2) through a sociodigital anthropological analysis of big data in which their profiles in social networks are analyzed, which allows us to characterize them through their habits of use and consumption of information on the network. Similarly, the interpretation of the information obtained is viewed from a gender perspective with a focus on masculinities, but it is also reinforced with a criminological interpretation.

Finally, we make a series of reflections on the findings obtained, their usefulness and what we still have to contribute to the knowledge of these issues.

We hope and expect that all this work will translate in various ways into better access to justice for women and girls and that we will be able to live free and safe on the Internet as well.

*National Front for Sorority Digital Advocates*
To provide this report with statistical data, we undertook the task of systematizing all the requests for help for different forms of digital violence that we have received between January 2020 and December 2021 in our mailbox on the Facebook page of the National Front for Sorority. The above with the intention of profiling survivors of digital violence and those who are vulnerable to attacks against their sexual intimacy in digital media, as well as aggressors in this type of crime.

The information was systematized manually, rereading case by case and answering a Google form that was later dumped into Excel, cleaned and converted into tables and graphs that illustrate the realities about victims, survivors and aggressors of digital violence.

We also included the records received over 10 months (from May 2019 to February 2020) through our website defensorasdigitales.org. In this case, the user filled out a form directly on the web page and there was the possibility for this information to be transferred to an Excel table, which facilitated the registration. Only this time period was selected to ensure that no cases were duplicated with respect to those received in the first source mentioned.

In total, information is presented on 1283 cases received via Facebook and 422 received via the digital defender platform, totaling 1,705 cases in the period from May 2019 to December 2021 (32 months). The information is presented in this report in tables and graphs that in some cases are separated according to the registration platform and in others are consolidated.

This registry did not include the requests we received by email, in the different mailboxes of the Facebook pages of digital advocates by status or by direct messages to our personal contact channels, due to the economic costs involved in training and remunerating the time, work, effort and intellect of enough people to support such a large systematization.

It should be clarified that much of the systematized information (such as age range, occupation, schooling, state of the country, etc.), particularly in the cases attended via Facebook instant messaging mailbox, was not collected in all cases, because the work of providing care began as an emergency response to the need to respond to requests for help that came hand in hand with the fight for Ley Olimpia. At the beginning, there was no intention of systematizing or using this information for statistical purposes. The professionalization in this attention was acquired in response to the needs of the people who contacted us for this purpose. In 2019 we created the page defensorasdigitales.org in order to give more order and structure to the registration of cases, however, the massive use of the Facebook page mailbox to contact us, as well as the ease of responding by that means, was a factor that discouraged the use of the platform designed for this purpose.

For the methodology of the digital social anthropology study focused on actual and potential aggressors, a section is dedicated within the second chapter.
CHAPTER I

We are much more than victims of digital violence

The Olimpia Law has been consolidated in Mexico as the name under which is identified, not only a set of reforms aimed at combating, preventing, addressing and punishing digital violence, but as a broader cause that aims to ensure that women and girls can safely inhabit digital spaces free of violence, as well as to advance access to justice for them when they have been victims of crimes against their sexual intimacy.

That is why when, without expecting it, girls from all parts of the country began to approach us asking for help, guidance, listening, understanding and company in cases where their privacy was violated in digital media, we knew we had a great responsibility and we looked for a way to respond accordingly. We continue on this path.
The registration of the cases presented in this report begins in May 2019 and concludes in December 2021. Between May 2019 and February 2020, 422 cases were received on the site defensorasdigitales.org. While in the period between January 2020 and December 2021, we received in our mailbox of the Facebook page of the National Front for Sorority, 1283 cases, totaling for the purposes of this report 1705 cases that are systematized and statistically analyzed below.

Table 1.1 - Cases of digital violence received by the National Sorority Front from May 2019 to December 2021.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MES</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2020</th>
<th>2021</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enero</td>
<td>sin registro</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>febrero</td>
<td>sin registro</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marzo</td>
<td>sin registro</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abril</td>
<td>sin registro</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayo</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junio</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>julio</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agosto</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septiembre</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>octubre</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noviembre</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diciembre</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fecha no registrada</td>
<td>sin registro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>1705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Graph 1.1 - Cases of digital violence received by the National Sorority Front from May 2019 to December 2021.

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
Regarding the temporal record, it is notorious that the highest peak was in August 2020 and the lowest in July 2021 and that in 2021 there was a dramatic reduction of registered cases, which can be attributed to many reasons. We consider that a very important one was the media coverage of the approval of the Olympia Law in the Senate in November 2020, since around that time, many groups that disseminated packs and nudes announced to their followers in the different socio-digital networks that they would close due to this new regulation. So, despite the fact that it was not yet a reality embodied in the laws, the media echoed the draft reforms generating the perception that it was already a fact, which actually happened until it was approved in the Chamber of Deputies and then enacted by the President of the Republic on June 1, 2021.

However, the contextual circumstances in each of the years recorded were so different in our country that it is complicated to try to explain the variations by month. An angular factor, for example, is that in 2019 a global pandemic had not yet been declared, as occurred in 2020 by COVID-19 and the scope of virtuality as a social space had not been sized. Instead, since March 2020, a large part of school, work and social activities turned to virtual space as social confinement was the governmental alternative to protect the population. This migration to virtuality brought with it, among other things, an increase in sexual violence committed through digital media.

### Table 1.2 - Cases registered by state between 2020 and 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTIDAD</th>
<th>Casos registrados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciudad de México</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estado de México</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veracruz</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puebla</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanajuato</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaxaca</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalisco</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coahuila</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuevo León</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Querétaro</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baja California Norte</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baja California Sur</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamaulipas</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chihuahua</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extranjera</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucatán</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morelos</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTIDAD</th>
<th>Casos registrados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chiapas</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidalgo</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrero</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintana Roo</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aguascalientes</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michoacán</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinaloa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Luis Potosí</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabasco</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayarit</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlaxcala</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacatecas</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colima</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durango</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campeche</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonora</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No hay información</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL GENERAL** 1705

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Regarding the cases registered by state of the Republic, the data show that only four states account for 54% of the total registrations: Mexico City, the State of Mexico, Veracruz and Puebla.
Notably, Mexico City leads in registered cases of digital violence, followed by the State of Mexico in both records. Data comparable and similar to those obtained in the latest National Survey on the Dynamics of Household Relationships (ENDIREH) \(^4\), which measures gender-based violence against women, by state, and in which the same states occupy first and second place respectively, with 79.8% and 75.3%, respectively, of women who acknowledge having experienced some type of violence.

Graph 1.2 - Cases registered in messenger on the National Sorority Front FB page

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

The interpretation of all the information systematized in this report makes sense through the approaches or perspectives we use to address the issue of digital violence: the feminist gender perspective, the victim's experience and virtuality.

Graph 1.3 - Percentage of cases registered in messenger on the National Sorority Front FB page

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
THE FEMINIST GENDER PERSPECTIVE FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENON OF DIGITAL VIOLENCE

A perspective is a way of conceiving reality by interpreting it based on paradigms or symbolic structures historically and collectively constructed by societies to give continuity to the values that define it (García Prince, 2013, cited in Hernández, 2019). The gender perspective allows us to make an interpretation of the statistical and qualitative data, which show that the main victims of digital violence are women and girls and the aggressors are adult men, but starting from the understanding of the socio-historical causes of this fact, in order not to reproduce sexist narratives that appeal to naturalize the problem.

The gender perspective is part of the historical-critical and cultural theoretical paradigm of feminism. It arises as a critique of the androcentric conception of humanity, which has left out half of the human race: women. Therefore, it has the mission and the usefulness of redefining history, society, culture and politics from women and with women (Lagarde, 1996) and that is what we intend to do with this report.

Digital violence is not an isolated phenomenon from the rest of the violence we experience in offline spaces, although it has some particularities due to the characteristics of virtuality (ease of aggression from anonymity, virality that aggressions can reach, difficulty to completely remove a content once it has been uploaded to the web and the still incipient development and dissemination of knowledge about this space), it is not born with it, it is the same violence we see in all other spaces of human interaction, taken to the digital environment. And the interpretation we make of this phenomenon leads us to conclude that there is a strong component of inequality and discrimination based on gender in this problem.

When we speak of gender, we refer to all the socio-historical and cultural constructions that forge what in societies defines the identity of people according to their sex and that in patriarchal contexts is configured as a system of oppression of men over women and over all dissident identities. In other words: social collectives have a different way of understanding the existence of people, depending on whether they are biologically male or female. The existence of a male human being is perceived differently from that of a female human being, even before he or she is born. That is why it is said to be a primary form of social ordering.

Understanding ourselves as different, because we are born different, may make sense. But sexual difference does not automatically translate into inequality and social discrimination; the latter has occurred at different historical moments motivated by specific groups seeking to exercise control and power over other human groups, including women. Thus, based on the sexual difference between men and women, roles have been assigned, stereotyped identities have been configured, behavioral mandates have been forged, marking what is expected of men and women, and their worth has been unequally hierarchized.

95 out of every 100 victims of digital violence are women and 8 out of every 10 (identified) perpetrators are men.
The gender perspective allows us to understand that the data revealed in this report, which shows that 95 out of every 100 victims of digital violence are women and that 8 out of every 10 (identified) aggressors are men, is not a coincidence, it is not fortuitous, nor is it a destiny marked by the nature of one or the other. It is a fact closely linked to the way in which we socially construct our gender identities, but much more specifically it has to do with the way in which we have been led to understand and perceive the body and sexuality of women and men differently in our societies. At this point, the role of the pornographic industry in the formation of male sexual identities and the hypersexualization and objectification imposed on female bodies are pillars in a series of distortions that result in violence against women’s sexual intimacy in digital media, among other sexual violence at the hands mainly, but not exclusively, of men.

### Table 1.3- Sex of victim

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hombre</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujer</td>
<td>1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1705</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Graph 1.4 - Victim’s sex

- 95.3% 95.3% Mujeres
- 2.8% 2.8% Hombre
- 1.9% 1.9% No se cuenta con la información

### Table 1.4 - Gender of offender

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hombre</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujer</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persona no identificada/ desconocida</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información.</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1283</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Graph 1.5 - Sex of the aggressor

- 80.4% 80.4% Hombres
- 11.6% 11.6% Mujeres
- 8% 8% Persona no identificada/ desconocida

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Note: Only cases registered on the National Sorority Front website are considered.

As the difference is directly linked to a sexual (biological) issue, it is key to analyze how female sexuality has been historically understood and how its inequality with respect to male sexuality has been consolidated, until reaching the levels of violence, objectification and hypersexualization of our bodies that we see today in digital spaces.
BRIEF HISTORY OF FEMALE SEXUALITY IN PATRIARCHY

Women’s bodies and their sexuality have been subjected to subjugation at different historical moments in different civilizations around the world.

A first record is with the emergence of agriculture, when human collectives realized that, by exploiting child labor, they could make more profit. Tribes with more women had the capacity to reproduce more children. Then, ambition led to the deterioration of the perception of children as a product of female sexuality and the female body as a resource for exploitation, just like the land and its fruits, which resulted in material benefits for men (as a male collective), who sought their subjugation in order to appropriate them.

In ancient Mesopotamia the patriarchal family arose, in which the daughters of poor men were sold in marriage or for prostitution and those of the rich had a “bride price” to be given in marriage to make political or economic deals. Even the laws endorsed that when a man could not pay his debts, he could bail out his wife, sons and daughters, who became slaves to the creditor, so class is not a construct separate from gender, rather historically class has been expressed in terms of gender. The enslavement of women and girls, combining adultcentrism, racism and sexism, preceded the formation and oppression of class. “Every social class has been composed of two other distinct classes: men and women” (Lerner, 1987).

"Every social class has been composed of two other distinct classes: men and women."
In ancient Greece, Aristotle defines women as: "the defect, the systematic imperfection with respect to a model", which is man and limits the essence of their existence to their biological-reproductive nature, which outlines the idea that they were irrational beings, unfit for political participation and thus denied them access to power in the democratic system, ideas replicated by the Romans.

Historical testimonies of slave societies (during feudalism, in the European bourgeoisies of the 19th and 20th centuries and in the different colonizations) show that men were exploited mainly as workers, while women were always exploited as workers, as providers of sexual services and as reproducers.

**women have always been exploited as workers, as providers of sexual services and as reproducers.**

During the period known as the Middle Ages (in the Eurocentric view of history), sexuality was repressed by the church, but for men and women in different ways. There was the idea that the womb and the uterus caused madness to women and they are seen as imperfect and impure beings, due to menstruation, which for them was the way to expel the bad humors that women carry inside (Nadales, 2019). However, prostitution was tolerated by the Church, under the pretext that it was a means to protect respectable women from sexual abuse by men who, to safeguard the chastity and virginity of their daughters or wives, placed a chastity belt on them.

In the Enlightenment the panorama does not improve. Rousseau, among others, defines men as rational beings and therefore political subjects, while women as reproductive, domestic and sentimental beings, excluding them from rationality and politics and anchoring the definition of their existence to their biological nature, which gives way to a process of sexualization of women that is consolidated in modernity.

The conceptualization of women as a fundamentally sexual nature is questioned with the emergence of suffragism in the second half of the 19th century and radical feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, resulting in a transformation of the collective construction of women’s gender identity. However, the patriarchal reaction, which will be joined by the neoliberal capitalist reaction, recovers with more force the proposal of overloading women and also girls with sexuality and places a series of undesirable stigmas on the image of liberated and autonomous women, making them look like failures, bitter and resentful.

Although patriarchy is an order that has been in place for a little over 2,500 years, it is with capitalism that it is consolidated as a "macro system" of power relations. Neoliberalism takes concepts such as "Female Empowerment" to continue promoting pornography and prostitution as its own decisions, ignoring the various factors that constitute them as sexual exploitation and making invisible what is done to women's bodies.

**patriarchy is an order that has existed for a little more than 2,500 years, and it is with capitalism that it consolidates as a "macro system" of power relations.**
a commodity that serves the accumulation of capital. Feminist economics has criticized neoliberal economics for being a political project that re-establishes the conditions for elite accumulation and power.

Sexualization is a device that domination systems apply to members of oppressed collectives in order to remove them from rationality and politics. Those who identify themselves fundamentally by their sexual nature are perceived as being closer to instinct than to rationality, which is attributed to men. This is one of the inferiorization mechanisms used against women (Cobo, 2015).

To explain it more clearly, the hypersexualization of the female body is the condition that makes possible the development of the culture of pornography and prostitution. It is an instrument of neoliberal capitalism, as it results in a very profitable market with multiple facets: from pornography, closely linked to the production and dissemination of intimate content without consent in the digital era, through prostitution and degenerating into human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. All of these markets today constitute multi-billion dollar industries with access to economic and political decision-making power.

Although sexuality is a sphere of human development, it is in the exercise of sexuality where gender mandates, patriarchal domination and systems of domination exert greater control and pressure that mutates according to socio-cultural, political and even economic development and influence.

the hypersexualization of the female body is the condition that makes possible the development of pornography and prostitution culture.
Currently the development of sexual life has been influenced by changes and technological revolutions, we must understand sexual life not only as eroticism, sensuality but also the ways in which we relate to each other. It is important to remember that sexuality is discovered and constructed from birth, but specifically in adolescence, where bodily changes mark certain processes, such as the construction of limits, the development of self-esteem, the appropriation of gender mandates and gender orientation and identity, which are building the bio-psychosocial reality of people.

This development is impacted by the use of new virtual and digital technologies. It is no coincidence that today we are talking about digital violence; access to this digital universe, as named by Estefenon and Eisenstein (2009), has allowed easy access to pornography, depersonalization of relationships, the construction of a personal image based on the evaluation of unknown people, digital narcissism, as well as access to international networks of drug trafficking, human trafficking, prostitution and sexual exploitation.

This leads to a risky exercise of sexuality from virtuality, where depersonalization allows and justifies using the intimate content of other people without their consent, among other things, to achieve other illicit purposes, such as getting photos of other women, accessing communities of men where the entrance is to share a pack and dehumanize those who, in the best of cases, decided to share their personal intimacy.

To preserve the order of a system of domination, it is necessary that there are mandates that regulate the behavior of both the oppressor and the oppressed party. The gender mandates that sustain patriarchal domination have a direct and irrefutable impact on the problem of digital violence and crimes against sexual intimacy, which has grown so much around the world. These mandates and the way in which we internalize them, dictate the behaviors of both men and women who end up being configured as victims and aggressors.

The gender mandates that sustain patriarchal domination have a direct and irrefutable impact on the problem of digital violence and crimes against sexual intimacy.
WHY DO GIRLS SEND NUDES? THE MANDATES THAT FALL ON WOMEN AND THE PHENOMENON OF SEXTING

Sexting is the exchange of erotic or sexual messages, audios, photos and videos, with the consent of the parties exchanging such material, generally by digital means of instant messaging. It is an anglicism that combines the word "sex" and "texting". It is not the same as cyberbullying or the dissemination of intimate content without consent. Sexting does not constitute an act of digital violence, since it is important to emphasize its consensual nature, which makes it one more expression of human sexuality, taken to the digital realm, with all the risks that this implies.

Throughout the years that we have been accompanying cases of digital violence, we have noticed the strong weight of gender mandates that fall on women when making the decision to send photos or videos with erotic or intimate sexual content and also in the way they face the situation when this material is shared without their consent.

The process by which societies, through their nuclei (such as the family) and institutions (such as schools, governments, companies) and their socialization mechanisms, inculcate, indoctrinate and mold the behavior of their members and lead them to act to a greater or lesser extent as they are expected to do is very complex. If not in obedience, in opposition, but around a hegemonic idea.

When it comes to gender, the rigidity of these expectations translates into roles and stereotypes that have been configured as mandates to be fulfilled in a differentiated manner for men and women. We learn gender mandates, we "internalize them and make them our own, they prevent us from transgressing the hegemonic models of masculinity and femininity and are translated into thoughts, emotions and behaviors that feed the social order. If we fail to comply with these mandates, we face social criticism, guilt and shame." (Lagarde, 1996).

The mandates imposed on women have negatively affected their lives and the free exercise of their rights, because they hinder the construction of true personal autonomy, deteriorate their self-esteem, limit the possibility of a satisfactory and free sexual life, and deteriorate their overall health.
We learn gender mandates, we "internalize them and make them our own, they prevent us from transgressing the hegemonic models of masculinity and femininity".

The following anonymous, real and authorized testimonies help to describe in a more tangible way some of the gender mandates that fall on women and the effects they cause when facing problems of digital violence against their sexual intimacy.

Anonymous testimonial #1 (September 2021)

We have been inculcated by all means that a woman who expresses her sexual desire does not respect herself and does not deserve respect from others. We have learned to despise ourselves when our biological body feels sexual desire and we repress it so as not to be despised by the social collective or by someone specific. When we do not do so, the punishment can be the humiliating exhibition of our intimacy. That is why we try to silence or repress the free expression of our desires in favor of showing an image of decency, in order to gain collective respect, even if that means depriving ourselves of enjoyment.

Showing ourselves to be "too" sensual can lead us to be pigeonholed as "sluts". So the free exercise of our sexuality, the recognition of our sensuality and the exploration of our bodies, causes us guilt, shame and fear.

Enjoyment makes us contradict ourselves: How is it that something that makes me feel so good is so bad? So I am bad? Do I deserve punishment and collective judgment? Is there something wrong with me? These contradictions disengage us from our own feelings, make us forget who we really are in favor of satisfying external expectation about ourselves and our bodies.
To fulfill the role or mandate of "being a good daughter" one must obey and please one's father and mother, not give them trouble, sacrifice one's own pleasure in favor of other people. Very similar to what "being a good wife" or "being a good mother" implies, the sacrifice of one's own well-being in order to provide well-being for others is always at the center of the mandates that fall on women. It doesn't matter so much what we want or desire for our own lives, what is really important is to give "honor" to our families, to deserve their affection and support. We try to fit perfectly into the expectations of mom, dad, partner, sons and daughters, avoiding disappointing them, because then we would deserve their punishment and lose their affection.

This constant search to meet the expectations of others generates shame and disappointment in us for being different from what we are expected to be. Fostering guilt in women is a central device of the system so that we remain self-submissive.

The typical phrase "Men go as far as women want to go" or "give yourself respect" are basically the affirmation that, when we are violated, we deserve it, because it was us who allowed it or who did not know how to generate respect.

The total dedication to the role of mother-wife has generated that many women do not find their own identity if it is not through the care services they provide to their children and husbands, limiting their development in other areas of their interest.

The mandate to be attractive in order to obtain male acceptance by submitting to unattainable standards of beauty has generated a chronic rejection and dissatisfaction of many women with their own bodies. This also makes them vulnerable to fall into deception by people who seek to take advantage of their lack of affection, flattering them to get some advantage from them. For example, sending their intimate photos or videos and then disseminating them in online sexual exploitation markets.
Amelia Valcarcel names it in "The law of pleasing": every woman is educated in pleasing, in satisfying the other. She demands from women silence, obedience, everything to satisfy someone else, but with a good attitude, appearing to be well.

As women socialized in the patriarchy, we have well learned that there is a great variety of ways of being, of living, of being and existing that are not allowed, because they make us worthy of collective judgment and contempt. We learn it so well that we actually internalize that contempt. We judge ourselves and others with patriarchal parameters that always place us at a disadvantage. Additionally, gender mandates are sustained in a hidden way from the ways in which we are taught to bond with other people, specifically in a differentiated erotic-affective way. From this heteronormative logic, love or affective relationships are perpetuated as a central point that directs women's lives, while for men, the search for social recognition is one of its pillars, leaving aside or in the background the establishment of affective relationships (Pérez and Bosh, 2013).

In other words, the way we are taught to love sustains gender mandates that hinder the integral development of women through the myths of romantic love, making us more susceptible to normalizing violent behavior, control, sexualization and, in many cases, exploitation. From this scenario, romantic love tends to establish guidelines to follow in order to link us from inequality, risk, dependence and the total omission of individuality.

Within these guidelines of how we are taught to express affection, sexuality is undoubtedly involved, especially under the following myths pointed out by Ferreira (1995) cited in Herrezuelo (2012):

- **Total surrender to the other person:** many times under this argument women are specifically coerced to give all the information, intimacy and body in an absolute and unopposed way, since, if they do not agree, the love they have for the other person is put in doubt. - For example: if you do not send me your naked pictures, it means that you do not love me and consequently, I will leave you.

- **Forgiving and justifying everything in the name of love:** in a more visible way we find the justification of harm, this thought that makes us think that we are guilty of receiving some kind of violence or punishment, which translates into difficulties in being able to proceed legally when experiencing abuse or violence.

- **Despair at the mere thought of the loved one leaving:** This belief, which is based on the myth that love is infinite, has repercussions on the decisions women make in different areas of their lives, especially in sexuality, where they agree to engage in practices with which they do not feel comfortable or safe, because the idea of being without the loved one is more unbearable.

- **Love is exclusive and excluding:** From this myth, the practices of disseminating the intimate content of ex-partners or women with whom the desired bond was not achieved are sustained. It is a way of demonstrating power and belonging over women. Under the justification of exclusivity and under the patriarchal belief that male aggressors replicate: "if this woman is not mine, she will not belong to anyone", they seek to demonstrate that they have "the right" over that woman, the exclusivity of her body, or that she belongs to them, disseminating her intimacy so that she is socially stigmatized and other men do not notice her because she has a tarnished reputation.

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5 Socialization process through which one learns to relate affectively, colloquially we can understand it as the ways in which society, family, culture tells us how to be worthy of affection, care and above all from a patriarchal vision with whom to have an exclusive sexuality or marry (Herrezuelo, 2012).
The material reasons for sending nudes and packs are different in each case. According to the testimonies presented here and the hundreds of testimonies we have heard from women who have sexted, sent their intimate content in a context other than sexting and those who have recorded or photographed themselves without intending to send the content, we can speak of 3 most common situations:

- **Full consent** - In cases where sending nudes is given with full consent, there is usually a feeling of trust in the women. To be creating the intimate material creates a sense of freedom and fulfillment. The girls feel sexy, they enjoy looking at themselves attractive, they enjoy eroticizing themselves through the images of their own bodies and the experience of sexting is usually very pleasurable. It can be said that it is a full exercise of one's sexuality. When the link is equal, girls not only send their content, but also receive it from the interlocutor. In these cases, non-consensual disclosure or the mere threat of disclosure generates enormous disappointment. In addition to all the discomfort derived from the exposure of intimacy to people with whom one did not wish to share it, there is also the grief of discovering that the person in whom one placed one's trust and love has been capable of betraying the bond one has built.

- **Manipulated consent** - In these cases, the moment of generating the contents is usually not so pleasant, it is lived with many doubts, anguish, fear, feeling of doing something that is not entirely desired. Manipulations can range from infatuation based on lies, to insistent and blackmailing persuasions such as: "if you don't send me, I will ask someone else", "show me that you trust me", "show me how much you love me". In the face of a refusal, the interlocutor intensifies the violence and this goes from being veiled to being more explicit. The dissemination of intimate material in these cases brings the victims enormous feelings of guilt, inferiority and failure. A very common phrase when they narrate what happened is: "I am a fool", which shows the difficulty they had to adequately assess and weigh the risk of sending their content, in contrast to the immediate risk of rejection or anger of the person who requested it.

**Anonymous Testimonial #3 (October 2021)**

buenas tardes, la verdad estoy desesperada y con mucho miedo un tipo en messenger hace tiempo empezó a escribírm e yo por tonta le mande fotos íntimas mías y ahora no deja de amenazarme con publicarlas si no le mando más, cambie de cuenta pero volvió a encontrarme y no deja de intimidarme con esas fotos. Por favor ayúdeme no se que hacer, no quiero que mi familia se entere, se que me equivoqué por favor ayúdeme
Anonymous Testimonial #4 (from January 2021)

• **Action under subjugation** - A person who has been forced or subjected to generate intimate content with her image, to send this type of content or to allow herself to be recorded or photographed, has generally experienced another series of violence in contexts of highly abusive relationships or when someone already has possession of her content and is trying to control her so as not to disseminate it. When they talk about their cases, the dissemination, production or threat of dissemination of intimate content is usually only one of the many forms of violence they have experienced that seems minor compared to the rest, but paradoxically it is precisely this that leads them to talk about their situation. It is this type of violence, the digital one, that makes them ask for help. In several cases, they had been able to endure many other forms of violence without asking for help (often in private contexts), without denouncing, enduring the subjugation, but when they are exposed and feel exposed, that is when they decide to take action. They do not always get out of the bond of violence; what matters most to them is that the diffusion stops.

Anonymous testimonial #5 (August 2021)

Although the circumstances may be very different, in all cases one can observe links to the gender mandates under which female identities are forged in a patriarchal context.
The success of the domination relationship is that it succeeds in imposing and inculcating in women, to the same extent as the virtues dictated by morality, all the negative properties that the dominant vision imputes to their nature.

The most dangerous thing about gender mandates is that the processes by which the systems of domination are perpetuated, at some point cease to have a conscious will of submission and simply become part of a daily routine that we reproduce from the role that has been assigned to us. This is how patriarchy works. This order has managed to penetrate the psyche of every member of the societies that sustain it. Women have internalized submission, handicap, the idea that their place is inferior and the roles they must fulfill. Men have internalized privilege, the dominant place in the gender order. The success of the domination relationship is that it manages to impose and inculcate in women, to the same extent as the virtues dictated by morality, all the negative properties that the dominant vision imputes to their nature. In other words, domination is accepted and reproduced by both dominated and dominators (Bourdieu, 2000).

SO WHO ARE THE VICTIMS IN DIGITAL VIOLENCE?

Before talking about the hard data, it is important to remember that the victims are all those whose sexual and reproductive rights were violated as well as their access to a life free of violence, who unfortunately under the statistics we can see that most of them are women due to the aforementioned gender mandates.

It is important to recognize at the outset that the sexual and reproductive rights that are violated by the dissemination of intimate content without consent are the following:

- **Art. 1 Right to make free, autonomous and informed decisions about one's own body and sexuality:** when a person forces another person to send photographs or intimate material in order not to experience a "more serious consequence", when love is coerced as a condition for sending such material or when such intimate material is disseminated without consent, this violates the freedom, integrity, security and psychological well-being that is necessary for the enjoyment of sexuality.

- **Art. 5 Right to respect for privacy and intimacy and the confidential protection of personal information:** at this point it is crucial to understand that emotional life, the body, sexuality and the way in which we relate to other people are key components of identity and privacy that must be respected in all areas of development such as school, family, health, the digital world and the workplace. When other people's intimate content is disseminated, the right to privacy is violated, which affects the free and autonomous development of sexuality.

- **Art. 6 Right to life, physical, psychological and sexual integrity:** this right includes the condition of not being subjected to any type of violence, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Throughout the accompaniment of victims of digital violence, we have realized that women who are victims of this kind of violence receive discriminatory and degrading treatment in virtual and real spaces such as the family, school and even in the institutions responsible for the administration of justice. This mistreatment violates the right to live free from all types of violence.
QUANTITATIVE DATA ON VICTIMS OF DIGITAL VIOLENCE

According to the information obtained by systematizing the communications we have had with people requesting help, we can assure that: most of them are women (95%), only 2% are men and 3% we could not register; most of them are between 18 and 30 years old and are university students.

Table 1.5 - Victim age ranges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANGOS DE EDAD DE LA VÍCTIMA</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adulto/ rango no identificado</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayor de 30 años</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menor de 18 años</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entre 18 y 30 años</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>64.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL | 1705 | 100% | 100%

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Graph 1.6 - Victims’ age ranges

Despite the fact that more than 84% of the victims who seek help are adults, the nearly 16% who are minors are of concern for many reasons, including the fact that they are at a stage in their lives that largely defines their understanding of the world, their relationships and their self-concept.
There are also many other problems related to children and adolescents, which continue to place them in a situation of great social vulnerability, so it should be a priority to provide preventive care in these sectors of the population regarding the forms of violence that can be experienced in digital spaces. In addition to continuing to work on improving inter-institutional care protocols for minors who are victims of this violence.

The majority of people who have turned to us for help or guidance as victims of digital violence are: students, followed closely by employees, whether in the public or private sector; in third place, independent professionals (entrepreneurs, freelancers, businesswomen, etc.) and in fourth place, people who report that they are studying and working.

Table 1.6 - Occupation of the victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCUPACIÓN</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estudiante</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empleada privada</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profesionista independiente/</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emprendedora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudia y trabaja</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otra</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empleada de institución pública</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>79.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

TOTAL 1705 100% 100%

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Figure 1.7 - Victim’s occupation

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
The level of schooling of those who report their cases is 77% university students, which coincides with the findings of the cyber patrols we conducted for this report, in which we found a large number of groups, both instant messaging and socio-digital networks in which intimate content is shared without the consent of women who are part of university communities. The members of these groups also assume that they are members of these communities. In these spaces, information about female students is also shared, violating not only their sexual intimacy, but also their privacy, their personal data and putting their integrity at risk.

**Table 1.7 - Schooling**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESCOLARIDAD</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universidad</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatoria</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primaria o secundaria</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posgrado</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>1089</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

**Source:** Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

**Graph 1.8 - Schooling**

![Graph showing the distribution of schooling levels.](image)

*Source:* Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

The most reported conduct is the dissemination of intimate content without consent, followed by threats of dissemination, both of which are included in the Olympia Act reforms. Although some states did not reform the crime of threats to specifically include those that occur through virtuality and relate to sexual intimacy.
It is important to mention that the production of intimate content, whether of adults or minors (child pornography), is underreported, probably because the victims of these crimes often do not know that they have been recorded or photographed. When they do become aware of it, it is often because they have experienced many other forms of violence or because they were tipped off by someone who received the content.

Table 1.8 - Does the victim know the aggressor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPUESTA</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sí</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
Graph 1.10 - Does the victim know the aggressor?

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Despite the ease of anonymity provided by virtuality, the coincidence with what occurs in other records of gender-based violence is very revealing: The aggressors are close to their victims. They know their aggressors and identify them fully.

This data leads us to the next section of this report... Who are the aggressors?
CHAPTER II
They are not just aggressors
The people behind digital violence and sexual privacy crimes

When a woman’s privacy is violated through digital media, in reality there are not only two parties at stake: victim and aggressor. There are at least 2 more parties: 1) the social whole, which can magnify the damage or contain and repair it, depending on how it acts, and 2) the companies that support the platforms through which the aggressions are carried out.

The State, as the provider of justice, also has a responsibility, but this responsibility does not fall directly on the chain of production, dissemination and consumption of non-consensual cyber sexual content.

CHAIN OF PRODUCTION, DISSEMINATION AND CONSUMPTION OF NON-CONSENSUAL CYBER SEXUAL CONTENT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quien produce el contenido</th>
<th>Quien lo hace público</th>
<th>Quien lo sostiene en la WEB</th>
<th>Quién lo consumen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quien toma una foto, graba un video o elabora cualquier contenido erótico-sexual. Puede ser la misma persona que es referida en él o alguien ajeno/a. La acción puede ocurrir de forma consensuada. Cuando ocurre sin consentimiento se trata de un delito.</td>
<td>Quien por cualquier motivo tiene en su poder el contenido íntimo-sexual de alguien más y lo comparte o difunde sin su consentimiento.</td>
<td>Dueños y administradores de espacios digitales y virtuales que albergan contenidos sexuales sin consentimiento de la persona que es referida en él: redes sociales, mensajería instantánea, mercados de explotación sexual en línea, etc.</td>
<td>Personas usuarias de espacios virtuales a través de las reacciones, reproducciones, vistas, comentarios y de compartir este tipo de contenidos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Who produces the content:** Whoever takes a photo, records a video or elaborates any erotic-sexual content. It can be the same person who appears in it or it can be someone else. When it is someone else, the action may occur consensually. When the action occurs without the consent of the person who is referred to in the content, it is a crime.

**Who makes it public:** Sharing intimate content online can be part of a satisfactory sexual practice if it is done with full consent and free choice of all parties involved, this is known as sexting. However, the dissemination without consent of this intimate content constitutes a violent practice and thanks to the Olimpia Law, in Mexico it is now also considered a crime. In other words, a person may agree to take photos in an intimate context, but not to have such material disseminated outside that context. The difference lies in consent.

When a person obtains by any means images, videos, audios or text of sexual content of another person; whether it has been sent voluntarily or has been stolen; for example, through unauthorized access to any of their private communications (email, social network accounts or profiles, private devices, etc.); and without their consent they send them to another person or persons, they are guilty of digital violence and the crime of dissemination of intimate content without consent.

**Who holds it on the WEB:** The owners and administrators of digital and virtual spaces that host sexual content without consent of the person whose image or content is exposed. They can be social networking platforms, instant messaging applications, online sexual exploitation market pages (the misnamed pornographic pages), or any other space that in virtuality sustains such content. They play a fundamental role for these forms of gender-based sexual violence to continue to expand and normalize.

**Consumers:** All of us who interact with publications or digital content that expose the sexual intimacy of a person who did not wish to have that exposure, become consumers and therefore give life to sexual exploitation in digital media, through reactions, reproductions, views, likes (I like), shares (share), comments, etc.

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6 The penal type with which this conduct is named varies in the legislation of each entity of the country. In federal legislation, it is called Violation of Sexual Intimacy.
In this section of the report, we generate information with which it is possible to profile, identify and learn a little more about what people who perpetuate sexual violence in the digital sphere think, feel and say. We will do this through knowing what their victims say about them, but also by knowing the blogs, newscasts, programs, influencers and brands they consume, as well as some of their habits in the use of virtuality.

As mentioned above, through the testimonies systematized over the last two years, we were able to confirm that 80% of the aggressors referred for sexual violence in the digital environment are men, which suggests the existence of a link between the exercise of sexual violence in the virtual world and the social construction of male identities and practices in the field of sexuality.

With respect to age range, we found that the vast majority of the perpetrators identified are between 18 and 30 years of age. In total, 84% are of legal age and 16% are minors.

Table 2.1- Ranks of the aggressor(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANGOS DE EDAD DE LA VÍCTIMA</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Menos de 18 años</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entre 18 y 30 años</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor de 30 años</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor de edad aunque no se tenga certeza del rango</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
the existence of a link between the exercise of sexual violence in the virtual world and the social construction of male identities and practices in the field of sexuality is suggested.

Although they are a minority, the cases of underage offenders in digital sexual violence are very worrying, since, based on the experience of our collectives accompanying these cases, we can say that, in general, they are adolescent men in high school, who also violate the privacy of their underage female companions.

The justice that the State is obliged to guarantee, has not found efficient ways for the prevention, attention and punishment of these cases, which in the public ministries are minimized and seek to resolve them through agreements between the persons responsible for the minors, which often involves a confrontation or a negotiation between the victim and her aggressor, forgetting that the damage caused to the life, integrity, health and dignity of the assaulted minor, can be aggravated by mishandling, causing irreparable wounds. In addition to being prohibited by the LAMVLLV any form of agreement, negotiation or conciliation between victim and perpetrator, because it is a case of gender violence, where there is an asymmetry of power and could revictimize the person in situation of victim.
It is very relevant to highlight that, according to the information in the previous paragraph, adolescent men who exercise this type of violence are in school; in other words, it is difficult to detect the violence that may be exercised by adolescent men who are not in school, but at the same time, it justifies the importance of educational work with adolescent men in the public education sector, in order to prevent this type of behavior and practices.

The previous chapter mentions the fact that 81% of the victims do know their digital aggressor, which allows us to affirm that the aggressors are usually people in our close environment (work colleagues, friends, family, partner, ex-partner, friends, etc.).

Now, leaving out the cases in which this data was not collected, it is important to highlight that ex-partners and partners were the main digital aggressors, which reveals a considerable level of vulnerability for the victims, since a couple relationship usually has these levels of intimacy and trust, where there are various sexual practices, which often include consensual exchange of sexual content; but as has been reiterated, there was no consent for the dissemination of such material, thus incurring, not only in a practice of sexual violence, but in a serious crime.
Table 2.2 - Relationship of the aggressor with his victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCUPACIÓN</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ex-pareja de la víctima al momento de la agresión</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persona no identificada /desconocida</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conocido</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compañero/a de la escuela</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amigo</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pareja o ex-pareja de una persona con quien se compartió el contenido</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pareja de la víctima al momento de la agresión</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compañero/a de trabajo</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin vínculo</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefe/a en el trabajo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profesor de la escuela</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

TOTAL: 1709  100%  100%

Source: Own elaboration based on the testimonies of people in situation of digital sexual violence victim.

Note: In 4 of the cases, there was more than one person identified with whom there was a link, for a total of 1287, although the total number of cases registered was 1283.

- **Ex-partner.** People with whom, at some point, an affective bond was shared, which included sexual intimacy using digital media and who betray the trust that was placed in them while they were in a couple context.

- **Unidentified.** Individuals who remain anonymous through false accounts, profiles, and identities.

- **School classmate.** This is the case of the creation of instant messaging groups or groups in sociodigital networks of universities, in which they exchange *packs* and *nudes* of women with whom they share spaces in educational centers. They often share additional data to fully identify and locate them both in their physical and virtual spaces. It is also the case of those who obtain intimate content from their female colleagues through unauthorized access to their private communications.

This segment includes some juvenile offenders of this type of crime. In reality, the forms of aggression by persons identified as schoolmates are more extensive, and these cases are the most common.

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7 Pack: is the name given to the set of digital material such as videos and photographs, mainly with sexual content, which is often distributed without the consent of individuals.

Nude: From the English to Spanish translation meaning "naked" and used in the field of sexual interaction in digital media.
• **Current or ex-partner of someone with whom content was shared.** This is the only case in which the aggressor is predominantly female. Aggression occurs when they want to affect the image of a person who has a relationship with a former partner, or who previously had a relationship with their current partner, and to do so they use the dissemination of their intimate content. Rivalry among women for male approval, affection and acceptance is one of the patriarchal gender mandates that has most undermined unity among women and gender awareness, but we have been able to dismantle it more and more thanks to sorority.

• **Current partner.** This is the case of people who sexually assault their partners through virtual and/or digital media. Some cruel forms that we identify in these people, is when they take pictures or videos of their partners while they sleep, while they bathe, while they change, that is, while they share the daily intimate spaces, typical of such a bond and they usually do it without their consent, to then spread or create false profiles with their identity. It is common that in these cases digital violence is accompanied by many other violent situations in the couple's relationship and that the effects on the victim are so deep that they themselves find it difficult to identify them due to the subjugation and normalization of abuse, as well as the introjection of the belief that they do not deserve to be treated with respect. Some women who experience this type of violence do not confront the aggressor as a survival strategy, because they feel very threatened and believe that their lives are at risk.

• **Co-worker.** Aggressors in the workplace are often overlapped by the collective that integrates the workplace and those who do not directly attack, do it with their indifference, inaction or even complicity.

The lack of protocols for the attention and punishment of discriminatory and violent conduct in the workplace allows aggressors to enjoy total impunity when they violate women's rights to a life free of violence in the workplace, sometimes forcing them to resign or to endure denigrating treatment derived from the possible dissemination of digital sexual content among their colleagues.

This is exacerbated by a lack of human vision on the part of employees, who are often called "human resources". In most companies there are no protocols in case of aggression, abuse or other forms of violence among employees, unless it is a crime, so that ethical misconduct has no consequences for the aggressor. Productivity, profit and work efficiency are prioritized, leading employees to individualism, competitiveness, rivalry and dissociation from the emotional; typical values of neoliberal capitalism, which, as described in the first chapter, has been fundamental for the consolidation of patriarchy as a system of social order.

• **Boss or teacher.** Here are registered the people who, making use of their institutional hierarchy, abuse women to obtain and disseminate their contents. Also those people who place hidden cameras in women’s bathrooms in their workplaces (whether offices or stores) to spy on women’s privacy.

The existence of close links between the people identified as aggressors and their direct victims leads to the assumption that virtual aggression may be just one more manifestation of a set of violent practices in the relationship. However, this is not identified or referred to by most of the people who come to us for help with situations of digital violence.
Table 2.3 - Virtual aggression is accompanied by other forms of violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPUESTA</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE GENERAL</th>
<th>PORCENTAJE TOMANDO EN CUENTA SOLO LA INFORMACIÓN DISPONIBLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sí</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Esta información no se grafica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration based on the testimonies of people in situation of digital sexual violence victim.

Figure 2.3 - Virtual aggression is accompanied by other forms of violence.

The platforms through which the aggressions reported to us throughout this time were perpetrated are: Facebook in first place, WhatsApp in second place and Instagram in third place. All three are programs or platforms of the company Meta. In fourth place is Twitter, followed by the different sexual exploitation marketplaces and Telegram. In many cases, the aggressions occurred through more than one platform.
Table 2.4 - Platforms on which aggressions are perpetrated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATAFORMA</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatsapp</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otra</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instagram</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercado de explotación/páginas porno</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No virtuales</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OnlyFans</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropbox</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensajería instantánea (sin especificar)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redes sociales (sin especificar)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páginas de packs (sin especificar)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skype</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mega.Nz</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Esta información no se grafica

TOTAL 1549

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.

Graph 2.4 - Platforms on which aggressions are perpetrated.

Source: Own elaboration with information from cases of digital violence registered by the National Front for Sorority.
Additionally, we detected that within some platforms there are different ways of contact between the aggressor and the victim, so we made the distinction for Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Whatsapp and Telegram.

Table 2.5 - Modus Operandi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODUS OPERANDI</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desde un perfil falso que aparenta ser la víctima/ suplantación de identidad</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfil presumiblemente falso/ anonimato</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensajes directos</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desde una cuenta real/ persona plenamente identificada</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grupos o página de intercambio de packs</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration based on the testimonies of people in situation of digital sexual violence victim.

- **From a fake profile pretending to be the victim / impersonation** - The perpetrator uses images of someone else to create profiles or accounts with their identity. Normally through them he/she spreads his/her intimate content and/or tries to link with the victim's social circles to cause some damage to his/her public image, reputation, dignity, etc.

- **Presumed fake profile / anonymity** - They usually contact the victim posing as someone else. Many times they create profiles with a female identity and through this false identity, they try to gain the victim's trust or assault her directly. Also using these accounts, they publish intimate content of other people without their consent.

- **Direct messages** - Through instant messaging modalities, the perpetrators contact their victim to threaten or extort her. They also use instant messaging to send intimate content to other people who may be family members, friends or acquaintances of the victim.

- **From a real account / fully identified person** - In this case the aggressor does not hide his identity, but openly carries out the aggression from his profile.

- **Group or page sharing packs** - These types of groups exist on both instant messaging and social networking platforms. Aggressors join the group and have access to the content that is exchanged in them. Often the requirement to remain in them is to share content as well. This is one of the most damaging forms of aggression, since the aggression is not carried out alone, but is collectivized, sustained, approved, encouraged and applauded by a collective of which they seek to form part. It is one more format in which we can see materialized what we call patriarchal pact.
Finally, with respect to the way in which the aggressors operate, it is important to make visible what they are looking for when they attack. In cases where the aggression is a threat of dissemination or sextortion, we were able to identify what the aggressors ask for in exchange for not disseminating the intimate material in their possession or what is the threat with which they intend to control their victims.

Table 2.6 - In case of threat or extortion, what is being asked for in return?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>¿QUÉ SE ESTÁ PIDIENDO A CAMBIO?</th>
<th>CASOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Se amenaza con difundir “quemar”</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Más contenidos íntimos</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinero</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encuentro sexual</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otro</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violencia física</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No se cuenta con la información</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Esta información no se grafica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 661

Source: Own elaboration based on the testimonies of people in situation of digital sexual violence victim.

8 Quemar: is a Mexican expression used to describe the act of defaming or distorting a person’s public image for different reasons.
Graph 2.6 - In case of threats and extortion, what is being asked for in return?

Notoriously, what the aggressors seek most is to cause an affectation to the reputation, public image, and dignity of the person before his or her community. Therefore, the social perception of the sexual intimacy of individuals (particularly women) plays a central role in the power and strength of the aggression.

If there were no collective consensus that judges, condemns, mocks the sexual intimacy of people, any aggression or threat of this type would lose its effects. This is relevant to emphasize, since we seek a paradigm shift, where people who exercise sexual violence in the digital environment are judged for their abuse of trust, their intention to harm, among other reasons and not people in a situation of victims for any reason, because as already mentioned, often, diverse sexual practices occur in everyday life and intimacy, in a framework of trust, affection and consent, so that, from a social and axiological level, the reprehensible conduct is not the sexuality of people, but the lack of consent to make any use of that sexual content without the consent of the persons.

That is why Ley Olimpia has been a comprehensive cause that places at the center the transformation of social consciousness about women’s sexuality and our bodies. The legal reforms it has implied are just one step, but it is a very powerful step, because in our punitivist culture, only when people see that some conduct is illegal, do they manage to measure how serious it really is. That is why it was so important to achieve and consolidate the reforms, as well as to make them known before, during and after the legislative process. There are many conducts related to digital violence that were not included in the package of reforms proposed by Ley Olimpia, because there were already existing crimes to criminalize them, however, they were not known and were not used. Such is the case of the crime of child pornography.

Connecting everything exposed in the previous paragraphs in which we highlight that: the intention of exposing someone else’s intimacy is to damage their reputation, image and human dignity; that social awareness of sexuality and the female body plays a fundamental role in this violence; we point to the need for socio-cultural transformation; we point out the lack of knowledge that crimes such as child pornography existed and add the fact that it is mainly men who are the aggressors; it is particularly relevant to make an analysis of how the culture and the pornography industry has impacted the construction of masculinities, that is, the way in which men as a social collective construct their gender identity in the patriarchal system, but also how this has been a factor that increases and aggravates sexual violence against women in digital media.
DIMENSION AND IMPACT OF THE PORN CULTURE AND INDUSTRY ON DIGITAL SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.

Just to give an idea of what the pornographic industry represents today, particularly the free online pornography industry, also known as mainstream, we can recall the data revealed by the Center to End All Sexual Exploitation (2021), from the United Kingdom, which states that:

"Porn sites in 2020, received more traffic than Twitter, Instagram, Netflix, Zoom, Pinterest and Linkedin combined. During the pandemic, Ofcom reported that Pornhub had a larger audience than the BBC. Estimates put the industry’s value at 97 billion, making it bigger than Hollywood. However, unlike Big Tech companies such as Facebook, Apple and Google, which increasingly in recent years have come under the scrutiny of media and government security measures (at least in Europe), the porn industry has slipped under the radar" (CEASE, 2021).

The business model of this industry implies that the more traffic on the site, the higher the advertising revenue and the more the number of subscribers, which encourages easy access, regardless of whether it is to minors.

The Save the Children Spain study, called "Sexual (Dis)information: Pornography and adolescence" reveals that 87.5% of boys, men between 13 and 17 years old, have already seen pornography at some time in their lives, with a wide gap compared to girls, with 38.9%, and most of them did it for the first time between 6 and 12 years old. This study, after an analysis of the links between adolescents and their sexuality, concludes that the "new pornography" of mass consumption (mainstream) online, free and unlimited, reproduces and idealizes gender mandates of inequality and violence that discriminate against diversity, denigrate the sexuality of women, mark the masculinity of men and punish those who do not follow "the norm". But it is also presented as something highly desirable and exciting; that is, it promotes the eroticization of violence. These digital environments harm people in the stages of childhood and adolescence because they are designed to reproduce a model of patriarchal, authoritarian and unequal masculinity for which women must be turned into sexual objects, always passive and always at the disposal of male desire. They even reproduce scenes where women are raped and where other forms of sexual violence occur. People with sexogenic identities or sexual orientations dissident to heterosexuality do not find in this pornography a reference, or are exposed to "fetishism" (Save The Children, 2020).

Adolescents recognize that habitual consumption of pornography affects their lives in such a way that, in some cases, they stop performing other activities that are important for their development and daily life. In addition, their sexual desire is built on unrealistic, unequal and violent foundations. It has been proven that when they try to reproduce in their first sexual experiences what they learn in pornography, they usually do not do so with the consent of the other person, which translates into reproducing and exercising sexual violence (Save The Children, 2020).

Gender mandates of inequality and violence are reproduced and idealized in which diversity is discriminated against, women's sexuality is denigrated, men's masculinity is marked, and those who do not follow "the norm" are punished.
As feminist professor Rosa Cobo (2020) points out: porn is the theory; prostitution, the practice. Men who consume pornography, do not always seek to reproduce porn practices with their partners, they probably know that it would not be acceptable, or it would reveal a personality trait that they prefer to hide, so they seek to do so through the sexual consumption of women for whom they pay as if they were merchandise within reach of a commercial exchange. "In prostitution, men pay to be called clients and not rapists or sexual predators, because if these women really wanted to have sex with them, they would not need to pay them," says Olimpia Coral Melo.

their sexual desire is built on unrealistic, unequal and violent foundations.

We propose the hypothesis that one of the origins of sexual violence, alarmingly exercised by men against women today, is to be found in deficient and inappropriate sex education. The ideas and references that permeate most strongly in our societies are phallocentric, genitalist, reproductive and gender-differentiated. For example: in the collective ideology of our culture, it is common to think that the purity and dignity of a man is not linked to his sexual activity, but not that of women, who lose value on a symbolic level when we are penetrated or the more sexual partners we have. Something similar happens with men who have sex with other men, in the binary and dichotomous notion (active/passive), the passive is feminized and therefore despised, being depositaries of various types of violence. This is due to the fact that women are not perceived as desiring subjects, but as objects at the service of someone else's desire, i.e., desired. In a mercantilist logic of sexuality, every object of use and consumption, the newer it is, the better. Under another logic, it is not explained that our sexual history is relevant as a reference to determine our worth.

Various investigations point to the effects of the absence of comprehensive sexual education, especially on young men, since they are the ones who figure in the active role of sexual violence; as Rodríguez (2019) points out “in the absence of sexual education, an increasingly violent pornography based on domination feeds and feeds back into hegemonic masculinity”. In this sense, masculinity is not something that is possessed in a stable way, but has to be constantly demonstrated throughout the life course, especially in front of the peer group: a man is only sufficiently manly if others in the group recognize him as such. They must prove to their peer group that they are above women and even above many in the peer group. This dominant masculinity, is reinforced in patriarchal pacts, which allow males to develop complicity with respect to their ability to dominate women through sexual violence (Alario, 2018).

In the hegemonic, mainstream, free pornography that young people find at the click of a button, an unlimited offer of categories is displayed in which women and their bodies are pigeonholed and reduced to objects of male consumption, always showing them in stereotyped roles of submission, humiliation and violence, fulfilling the premises that open the door to a rape culture.

The lack of comprehensive sexual education, in addition to the lack of digital education, results in a growing digital sexual violence, based on gender, reproducing the roles of submission to women and domination of heterosexual men.

Diana Lorena Ponce Toledo, M.A. in political and social studies at the Autonomous University of Sinaloa, reveals in an interview for this report that in her graduate research, she sought to demonstrate the link between men's consumption of pornography and sexual violence and found that acts of production and dissemination of intimate content without consent were among the most common forms of sexual violence.
of sexual violence suffered most by women whose partners consumed pornography. They seek to generate content to feed the sites they frequent, but this usually happens without the consent of the women in the material or they obtain highly manipulated consent to film or photograph them, but the dissemination is always without their approval.

**acts of non-consensual production and dissemination of intimate content were among the most common forms of sexual violence experienced by women whose partners consumed pornography**

In this sense, it is important to point out how from this mercantilist logic, sexuality is seen as a highly profitable consumer product, where men can go from being only occasional or regular consumers of mainstream porn, to the desire for production and capitalization of this content. In this way, the sexual experience of men is no longer part of their human development and well-being, but reproduces the logic of domination and exploitation of women's bodies.

For women who are exposed to sexual content, their social image and integrity is highly violated; however, the image of men can increase their symbolic capital, as in the case of the so-called "King Midas of Sex", an adult heterosexual man who produces this type of content, with the supposed consent of his alleged partners. The title is given by the male collective, denominated by Segato as "fatria", who attribute to him a symbolic connotation of power and wealth "King Midas". In this illustrative example, it becomes evident how in an unequal context in social, economic, moral and symbolic terms, it is not possible to make "consensual" agreements to produce sexual content for distribution platforms, because the way in which the sexuality of men and women is signified reproduces a social order of power and domination based on gender.

Currently, these platforms known as "porn sites" make an apology of sexual violence against women, adolescents and girls on the Internet, being plagued with unauthorized content of women who, in many cases, did not even know they had been recorded. Even when women consent to record, after the request or insistence of a sexual partner, it is important to recognize that this occurs in a context of social, cultural and symbolic inequality. Bourdieu (2000) explains this phenomenon as symbolic violence, where sexual domination is part of the cultural habitus of certain human groups, where women participate in this dominator-dominated dialectic, although not consciously.

From our organizations we have attended dozens of cases of women who find out that their photos or videos are on pornographic websites, because an acquaintance finds them there and warns them. Many of them even think seriously about suicide, because of how difficult and hard life becomes when they are subjected to collective judgment and humiliation due to the exposure of their sexual intimacy. The misogynistic belief that having seen a woman's sexual intimacy gives men the right to possess her in any circumstance and people in general the right to judge her. There are several structural failures that disrupt, hurt, violate and destroy the lives of women who suffer this type of violence, such as the lack of understanding in their families, schools or workplaces, the lack of options to support them in the face of the collective violence they suffer, the revictimization in the institutions where they were supposed to find justice, among many others. All these are the multiple and complex elements on which we must focus our attention in order to find a solution to this systemic problem that hurts our societies so much.
Each of these failures, each of these spaces, organizations and institutions (formal and informal), have faces, have names of people who give them life and who decide to reproduce patterns of domination and subjugation of women based on gender, age, class and other factors. The analysis of all these factors is relevant for the design of strategies for prevention, attention and reparation of the damages caused by these forms of violence. That is why the following is a digital social anthropology analysis that we conducted with the help of Femaleleader's team, who used IBM Watson software, normally used for audience analysis and market research, but directed it to analyze the profiles of some Twitter accounts that exercise digital violence against women’s sexual intimacy.

DIGITAL SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY ANALYSIS OF TWITTER ACCOUNTS THAT EXERT DIGITAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN’S SEXUAL INTIMACY.

Before presenting this section, it is very important to reiterate that as authors and as collectives we do not belong to or sympathize with any national or foreign political party, that we are not interested in harming or favoring the political forces in power struggles in the current national context, and that under no circumstances do we lend ourselves to any kind of political bashing between these forces. Our actions respond to a cause of social justice.

This is relevant because the characterization of the perpetrators of digital sexual violence described below includes information on the political tendencies and affinities of the actual or potential aggressors in these forms of violence, as well as tastes and preferences for consumption, entertainment, habits and behavior for the use of technologies, which we cannot manipulate, they are simply findings. This is not intended to stigmatize any specific population, in fact, the findings show precisely that the perpetrators of these forms of violence are not found in a single spectrum of the social set, but can be found everywhere. These findings emerge from the process described below.

This analysis of digital social anthropology of the aggressor accounts becomes necessary because our proposal is to analyze the problem of sexual violence in the virtual world in a multidimensional way, not only looking at the victims and survivors, but also at the aggressor, the social group that can magnify or contain the aggression, the private sector that supports violent content on its platforms and is enriched by the traffic they generate and the structures of the State that should ensure the rights and freedoms, as well as the administration of justice.

We found that the scarce information that has been developed to identify the real and potential aggressors of digital violence results in a lack of knowledge and identification of this population, which has led to all messages from governmental actors aimed at prevention and attention to this problem being directed at victims and survivors, generating that the burden of responsibility for not being assaulted and for undertaking and promoting the processes for access to justice once they have been affected falls back on them.
PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As a first step for the realization of this study, a previous investigation of the main keywords that are used in the digital environment to exercise violence against women was carried out, in order to identify the patterns of digital behavior that allow us to locate the accounts of users who are assiduous in perpetuating this type of violent behavior in the main channels of communication and digital interaction.

In this sense, the contexts on which this previous research is proposed are the exchange of intimate images (packs, as they are known in digital language), demonstrations of threats, pointing, harassment, stalking, sexualization, insults, and other types of digital violence identified during the process. For this purpose, a manual search of these contexts is carried out in the search engines of the main social networks (Facebook, Instagram and Twitter), based on the empirical knowledge of the analysts of the topic, as well as the reference of research similar to that of this study, which is part of the theoretical framework of this report.

Querie

With the keywords identified, we proceeded to develop the queries (algorithms) that were integrated into the software that serves as a digital social listening tool. The queries are the set of keywords, configured under the methodology of Boolean algorithms9, which guide the tool to identify all those publications in which any of the keywords identified as digital violence criteria are reflected. This identification is carried out through text analysis performed by the digital social listening software.

The structured querie is as follows:

```plaintext
_all: ((packs OR pack OR #packs OR #pack OR nude OR nudes OR #nudes OR #nude OR # quemón OR quemón OR quemones OR "aportes anónimos" OR "aporte anónimos" OR "aporte" OR "alguien con sus fotos" OR (aporte AND pack) OR ("cámara oculta" AND pack) OR "aqui les dejo a esta morra" OR "damos quemón" OR "envíen pack" OR "rolo pack" OR ("DM" AND pack) OR "sacquen su pack" OR (busco AND pack) OR "se busca pack" OR (tengo AND pack) OR (comparto AND pack) OR "pack de ella" OR feminazi OR feminasi OR ((pinche OR pendeja OR culera OR maldita) AND (vieja OR amargada OR morra OR morra OR niña OR puta OR loca OR ardiña OR chismosa OR cabrona OR sabrosa OR pija OR zorra OR mujerruela OR perra)) OR "por eso las matan" OR puta OR putita OR putita OR malogida OR "que te cojan" OR "te voy a violar" OR "que te violen" OR "que las violen" NOT ((mi nuevo set) OR "denunciar cuentas" OR "agenda abierta" OR videollamadas OR chat OR presencial OR presenciales OR "novia virtual" OR encuentros OR encuentro OR encuentro OR "sin consentimiento" OR scort OR escort OR denuncia OR denuncia OR denunciar OR denunciar OR citas OR cita OR cita OR model OR "back" OR "venta de contenido" OR six OR onlyfans OR son OR sons OR son OR mother OR mothers OR starter OR @clubamerica OR @ chivas OR #MilagrosCaninos OR "rescued dog" OR pets OR mascot OR pet OR @MascotaSismo OR sismo OR metro OR metrobus OR lobo OR futbol OR game OR police OR policías OR @SSC_CDMX OR fiscalia OR FGR OR "6 pack" OR entregas OR nike OR adidas OR palette OR J Balvin OR game OR standard OR "Supreme Court" OR Pence OR "USA.USA." OR #LuceroSoyTuDueña OR @LuceroMexico OR "tetra-pack" OR "puta idea" OR "puta gana" OR "jet pack" OR "puta vida" OR "puta joya" OR PokemonGo OR "puta hueva" OR "puta madre" OR "puta mierda" OR "puta mierda" OR "puta clase" OR "perra casa" OR "puta vergüenza" OR (nude AND color) OR "puta bida" OR tetra OR "Remates Bodega" OR (labial AND nude) OR "labial nude" OR Minecraft OR game OR @CruzAzulCD OR Chivas OR @CruzAzul OR "Cruz Azul" OR @TigresOficial OR "Cine Premiere" OR Tecate OR beer OR chela OR #ApuestaPorLaLigaMx OR Pokémon OR "Nana Calistar" OR werevertumorro OR Megacable OR "nude tones")
```

9 Boolean algorithms (queries): a set of keywords, chained with integration commands between them, to configure digital social listening tools to indicate the information to be collected (Sentíone, 2012).
Its name refers to the mathematician George Boole.
Digital social listening process

Once all the key concepts that make up the query were defined, it was programmed in the digital social listening tool to collect all the text publications that contain the keywords that we have marked as identifying criteria of the contexts of digital violence.

With this database, the information was processed, in which the digital social listening analysts identified the following indicators:

- User accounts that perpetuate digital violence.
- Main behavioral patterns.
- Main categories where digital violence is identified.
- Digital communication channels most used for the perpetuation of digital violence.

In this regard, taking an analysis period from October 1, 2020 to June 30, 2022, the following were identified 330,747 mentions made in Mexico, which denote digital violence, showing the following behavior over time:

Translating the data into averages per period, we identified that every hour an average of 22 publications related to digital violence are generated in Mexico.

Continuing with the analysis, four main categories were identified in which the conversation is segmented: hate speech, pack consumption, pack sales, denunciations of violence and governmental actions, representing the following proportion:
The two categories that are most relevant for this study focused on identifying violence against sexual intimacy online are Consumption of packs and Sale of packs, which together account for a total of 51.0%. The latter, despite the fact that in many cases it is presented as an authorized sale or carried out by whoever appears in the images, we know that, in the vast majority of these cases, what is actually happening is impersonation, that there is a highly manipulated authorization or induced by a system that has many women in extreme precariousness. To this we add the influence of the neoliberal discourse of female sexual empowerment through self-prostitution, which in reality serves to perpetuate male domination.

The following can be deduced from the above:

• More than half of the total conversation identified through the digital social listening tool is linked to the sale and consumption of intimate sexual content (51.3%).

• It is not possible for a tool such as the one we use, to identify from the publications selling packs, which are authentically women who are trying to obtain an income in exchange for the sale of their intimate images, from those who are exploited by someone to do so, or whose identity was supplanted by someone who seeks to get rich at their expense. Doing this is only possible when analyzing manually, with a gender perspective and a deeper understanding of the characteristics that define one or the other behavior.

• The proportion of non-consensual pack dissemination and search is much higher than the offer for sale.

• 4 out of 10 mentions identified are publications in which hate speech factors about women are detected.

• Efforts to denounce this type of behavior are significantly less than the extent of the phenomenon in the digital environment.
With regard to the communication channels (social networks) in which this conversation takes place, Twitter is the channel where the presence of this type of behavior significantly predominates, with a ratio of 8 mentions out of 10 identified.

Likewise, the presence of violent behavior on Facebook should not be underestimated, where hate speech attitudes predominate, through insults and threats, both to unknown women, as well as those who know the person.

It should be clarified that digital social listening tools, such as the software used, do not have the capacity to access private accounts, given the agreements on respect for the privacy of users. This type of restrictions exist in social networks such as Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok and Youtube, nor is it possible to access private communications such as instant messaging, such as WhatsApp and Telegram. Therefore, it is pointed out that all this section of the study is carried out with information that is public, based on the data privacy conditions that each social network maintains.

**Twitter is the channel where the presence of this type of behavior significantly predominates, with a ratio of 8 mentions out of 10 identified.**
Figure 2.9 - Channels where the conversation takes place

Graph 2.10 - Conversation time behavior by communication channel
AUDIENCE ANALYSIS PROCESS
(Big Data Analysis)

Given that one of the main objectives of this report is to identify the sociodemographic and digital personality characteristics of people who decide to exercise digital sexual violence, a report is carried out from the Audience platform, which will provide us with the necessary indicators to generate such a profile. To do this, the usernames of the accounts identified as aggressors in the previous step (those within the categories of: hate speech, buying and selling packs) are integrated.

It is worth mentioning that, given the requirements of the tool, this analysis is done only with Twitter accounts, so we have a database of 1,300 Twitter accounts that, based on their conversation (their publications), were identified as disseminators and perpetrators of digital violence against women, selected both manually, through cyber patrols, and automatically through the digital social listening process.

Personality traits were calculated on the Big Five model of personality characteristics, needs and values. The big five characteristics is the most widely used model to describe how a person relates to the world. Through machine learning, personality is known based on the psychology of language in combination with data analysis algorithms. This tool analyzes the content posted by users and returns a personality profile based on the Big 5 characteristics.

The Big Five characteristics is the most commonly used model to describe how a person relates to the world.

Profiling of offending accounts with IBM Watson

First, the IBM Watson tool identifies the general characteristics of the sample of 1,300 accounts. We call this sample the General Audience. From the General Audience, the tool generates a segmentation into clusters, which are relevant groups of users with particular characteristics that are part of a broader audience and agglomerates them into specific personality groups.

The following is a description of both the so-called General Audience sample (all accounts identified as perpetrators of digital gender-based sexual violence) and the specific clusters that can be identified within it.

It is very important to note that we refer to a conscious, explicit, displayed, desirable digital personality. That is, the profile is built from elements that people consciously decide to share in their social networks. No person exposes in networks those aspects of him/herself that he/she rejects, that he/she
that he/she does not like, that make him/her uncomfortable or ashamed. In psychology it is called the "Ideal Self" (the one we show) and the "Real Self" (we do not show it and sometimes it is unknown even by the same person).

**General Hearing (totality of the accounts analyzed)**

In terms of where they live, 23% are in Mexico City, 11% in Monterrey, 5% in Guadalajara, 4% in Puebla and 3% in San Luis Potosí. In terms of university education, only 16% have a university degree.

They are individualistic, reserved and distant people who do not cultivate their emotional intelligence, who make the decision to live their intense feelings and emotions in private, deciding not to express them to third parties; they focus on routine, tangible, measurable or material issues, in which their practicality and concrete thinking is repressed. They seek time for themselves; they care a lot about other people’s opinion about themselves, responding to their egocentric character and pride in who they are. These general traits allow us to deduce that they are not usually interested in altruistic social causes, since that would distract them from their individualistic focus of interest; they hardly have a social conscience or can empathize with the needs of diverse people.

It was identified that their online habits are composed of frequenting, in addition to Twitter, the social networks: Reddit (a facebook-like social network), Instagram, Facebook and Youtube. They do so mainly from a desktop computer (74%), with their most active day of the week being Thursday, between 18:00hrs and 23:00hrs (night). As for their main interests, for 43% it is music, 29% society topics and 25% movies and series.

As for the main media consumed **offline**, they are:

- On television, the main channel consumed is TUDN MEX, Milenio and Ciro Gómez Leyva's news program;
- on radio, MVS Noticias and La Octava;
- in El Universal, La Jornada and El Financiero newspapers;
- In terms of events, the main events of interest are the Champions League, the FIFA World Cup and the Vive Latino.
Regarding online media:
- in terms of blogs, the main one is Xataka;
- Sin Embargo is the leading digital magazine consumed;
- Red Bull Racing the main website;
- Mujer Luna Bella, Franco Escamilla, Luisillo El Pillo, Yuya and Dross are the main content channels consumed.

In terms of accounts that generate influence, it is identified that sexual content accounts predominate, with the top 5 being Ximena Cosmo (70%), Giselle Montes (70%), Annie Sex Teen (70%), Mia Marín (69%) and Mujer Luna Bella (69%).

Accounts such as Ciro Gómez Leyva (13%), Víctor Trujillo (13%), Franco Escamilla (13%), Pedro Ferriz de Con (13%) and Yanet García (12%) are the ones with which our sample has the greatest affinity.

Likewise, in the analysis of brands that generate influence in the type of conversation generated by the General Audience, most of the brands identified are those with sexual content, such as SexMex Official (69%), maduras.milf (69%) and Comunidad Sw Mex (69%), as well as spaces such as tumbaburros (70%) and Latinus (70%). On the other hand, they have affinity with brands such as Sky Alert (13%), Milenio (12%), REFORMA (12%), Government of Mexico (12%) and the National Soccer Team (12%).
Based on the information gathered, it is possible to confirm the data provided by the records of our organization, that the aggressors are mostly men, in a proportion alarmingly higher than that of women who also have these aggressive behaviors. Additionally, it can be concluded that the accounts identified as aggressors in the social listening and patrols are assiduous consumers of free online pornography and that they follow accounts of female characters whose image is sexually exploited.

45%, that is, almost half live in the 3 largest cities in the country and their entertainment and communication consumption habits, let us know their affinities and influences in such a way that we can even visualize a real person, perhaps someone we know, someone who is part of our close environment, someone we would not imagine would be capable of exercising sexual violence against someone in digital media. Maybe they have, maybe they haven't, the fact is that their habits, influences and affinities match those of a digital aggressor.
45%, that is, almost half live in the 3 largest cities in the country and their entertainment and communication consumption habits, allow us to know their affinities and influences in such a way that we can even visualize a real person, perhaps someone we know, someone who is part of our close environment, someone who we would not imagine would be capable of exercising sexual violence against someone in digital media. Maybe they have, maybe they haven’t, the fact is that their habits, influences and affinities match those of a digital aggressor.

With this information, it is possible to know which media to target and with which approaches to create a campaign to prevent and combat digital violence as part of a comprehensive public policy on the subject, considering the psychological, conscious, emotional and physical dimensions that define people’s behavior.
Clusters or subcategories within the General Audience

As mentioned above, IBM Watson performs segmentation on clusters of smaller audience groups within the overall audience, based on more specific characteristics within the broader sample.

In fact, the tool only managed to group 38.4% of the sample into subcategories or clusters, and for the remaining 61.6% it did not find enough similarities to be able to group them. The description of the accounts that are not in any subcategory is that of General Audience.

The percentage represented by each of the subcategories allows us to measure their magnitude in the universe of accounts analyzed. The names assigned to each category were chosen according to their characteristics, so as not to stigmatize any population.

- Politicians = 9.4%.
- Indifferent = 8.3%.
- Controllers = 7.4%.
- Futboleros = 5.6%.
- Individualists = 4.5%.
- Conservatives = 3.2%. 
Politicians

The first conglomerate is composed of 85% men, of which 35% are between 18 and 24 years old, are single and without children, 21% of them with a university degree; 24% live in the CDMX. Regarding their digital habits, 81% prefer to use a desktop computer, being Thursday from 00:00hrs to 05:00hrs (early morning) their most active time. Their main social network is Twitter, showing interests such as music (38%), sports (37%) and news (25%).

They are practical men who seek stability, tranquility and calm, self-confident and proud of their identity, attached to the routine and comfort that gives them the time they give to themselves. They are people who think through their decisions before making them, with high goals and objectives (to have a family and peaceful home, for example), being very persistent and assertive to achieve them. Emotionally, they are serious detached and emotionally reserved people, proud of their ideologies, who trust others, without moving away from their emotional rigidity. They are frustrated by changes and responsibilities.

In this segment of the sample, we find people whose positions on networks regarding public issues are, in general, "in opposition to". That is why one of the words that defines them is "Anti". They do not build dialogue, but rather position themselves against. Regardless of their affinity with conservative or liberal, left-wing or right-wing political positions, their narratives are oppositional. This confirms that being a social fighter or a studious professional does not preclude being actually or potentially a sexual aggressor of women in digital media.

The television media of greatest consumption are Ciro Gómez Leyva, Milenio and TUDN MEX; in terms of radio, they consume Imagen Radio and W Radio; the newspapers Diario Record, Milenio and Excelsior are those of their choice, and of the events of interest, the Coachella festival predominates. Online, the main blog is ESPN Stats & Info, the digital magazine is Aristegui Noticias, content from Franco Escamilla, Luisillo el Pillo and Luisito Papi Reina; finally, in terms of apps, Sky Alert, El Chingonario and Crowdfire predominate.

The most influential accounts with which they interact are Kenia López Rabadán (77%), Carlos Loret de Mola (76%), Marietto (76%), Víctor Trujillo (75%) and Jorge Triana (75%); in turn, they have the greatest affinity with accounts such as Joaquín López Dóriga (68%), Chumel Torres (56%), Felipe Calderón (53%), Denisse Dresser (49%) and Ciro Gómez Leyva (47%). The most influential brands are Latinus (76%), Tumbaburros (74%), Sociedad Civil México (72%), Reflexiona México (72%) and Grupo Reivindicación (71%). In terms of brand affinity, Aristegui Noticias (44%), Animal Político (39%), Proceso (38%), Reforma (37%) and El Universal (36%) predominate.
Emoción
- Confían en los otros
- Se sienten agobiados por las actividades que deben realizar
- Se sienten orgullosos de su ideología
- Son desapegados y reservados emocionalmente
- Rigididad emocional
- Son serios

Motivaciones
- Se sienten orgullosos de su identidad
- Buscan la tranquilidad y la calma.
- Buscan tener tiempo para ellos mismos
- Son prácticos
- Buscan estabilidad
- Son conformistas
- Se sienten seguros de sí mismos
- Rutinarios

Medios Comunicación
- Ciro Gómez Leyva
  - Milenio
  - TUDN MX
- Imagen Radio
  - W Radio México
- Diario Record
  - Milenio
  - Excélsior
- Coachella

Medios Comunicación on line
- Blog
  - ESPN Stats & Info
- Revistas Digitales
  - Aristegui Noticias
- Websites
  - Google
- Shows Online
  - Franco Escamilla
  - Luisillo el Pillo
  - Luisito Papí Reina
- Apps
  - SkyAlert
  - El Chingonario
  - Crowdflare

Personas de Influencia
- Kenia López Rabadas - 77%
- Carlos Loret de Mola - 76%
- Marietto - 76%
- Víctor Trujillo - 75%
- Jorge Triana - 75%

Marcas de Influencia
- Latinus - 76%
- Tumbaburros - 74%
- Sociedad Civil México - 72%
- Reflexión México - 72%
- Grupo Reivindicación - 71%

Personas de Afinidad
- Joaquín López Doriga - 68%
- Chumel Torres - 56%
- Felipe Calderón - 53%
- Denise Dresser - 49%
- Ciro Gómez Leyva - 47%

Marcas de Afinidad
- Aristegui Noticias - 44%
- Animal Político - 39%
- Proceso - 38%
- Reforma - 37%
- El Universal - 30%
Indifferent

The people who make up the second audience conglomerate are 94% men, living in cities such as CDMX (38%), Guadalajara (8%), and Puebla (8%), being mostly single with a university degree, engaged in activities related to administrative services. 65% prefer the desktop computer to connect, preferably on Tuesdays from 18:00hrs to 23:00hrs, being Twitter their preferred social network and Telegram for messaging, showing interest in hotel content in 33%.

Emotionally, the indifference of this type of audience is based on their emotional tendency to seek to satisfy their needs and desires immediately, seeking to impose their rules (do it their way), with the possibility of becoming dominant in the persistence and eagerness to fulfill their objective. They are proud of their identity, self-confident and in control of their emotions, seeking to be transcendent and satisfy the sense of accomplishment; therefore, when placed in a leadership position, they take their responsibilities very seriously, aware of their abilities and skills, coupled with the means necessary to meet the objectives. They visualize themselves as empathetic, trusting, expressive and emotionally intense, social people who seek connections, particularly if these contexts add to their interests.

The offline media they consume are, on television, Playboy TV, Acapulco Shore and FOX Sports MX; the radio station they mainly tune in to is 88.9 Noticias; as for newspapers, El Universal, Medio Tiempo and Diario RECORD; the event that most attracts their attention is the Adult Entertainment Expo. Online, they consume content from Mujer Luna Bella, Ari Gameplays and Franco Escamilla; their main website visited is Porn Hub, while the digital magazine they consume the most is Chilango.

The accounts of people they are influenced by are Ari Rivera (80%), Mar Pad4 (80%), Judith y David (79%), Pareja Guz (79%), Hotwifexxx (79%), while the people they have the greatest affinity with are Karicachonda7 (54%), Ximena Cosmo (54%), Judith David (53%), YessDav (50%) and Pam Mr sw (50%). The brands they are most influenced by are Comunidad Sw Mex (77%), elmascornudo (77%), Momentos Cornudos (74%), Lindas maduras (73%) and maduras Milf (73%); the brands with which they have the greatest affinity are SexMex Official (37%), CAFÉ CENTROMX (29%), Dinámicas Sexosas (26%), MuyCornudos (26%) and CLUB LUPITA ROMA SW (26%).

This segment shows more openly their propensity to consume sexual material and their willingness to objectify female bodies, as well as to follow characters that exhibit abusive, unempathetic or even violent behavior. They have no qualms or shame in showing themselves to be akin to the dynamics of domination and inequality.
**Emoción**
- Buscan satisfacer sus necesidades y deseos de manera inmediata.
- No son empáticos.
- Les agrada sacar ventaja o aprovecharse de los demás.
- Confían en los demás.
- Les agrada estar en grupos sociales.
- Les gusta experimentar las emociones intensas.
- Les agrada hacer las cosas a su manera.
- Pueden llegar a ser dominantes.
- Presentan un buen control de sus emociones.
- Por lo general se sienten contentos y emocionados.
- Les gusta sentir el riesgo y la emoción.
- Son aventureros.
- No les gusta la rutina.
- Expresan sus emociones y sentimientos.

**Motivaciones**
- Buscan el contacto social tanto de manera individual como a nivel grupal.
- Buscan generar vínculos y relaciones.
- Se sienten orgullosos de su identidad.
- Buscan tener tiempo para ellos mismos.
- Son prácticos.
- Se sienten seguros de sí mismos.
- Les agrada sentir la sensación de logro.
- Requieren dejar huella - ser trascendente.

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**Medios Comunicación**
- Playboy TV
- Acapulco Shore
- FOX Sports MX
- 88.9 Noticias
- El Universal
- MedioTiempo
- DIARIO RECORD
- Adult Entertainment Expo

**Medios Comunicación on line**
- **Blog**
  - Chilango
- **Revistas Digitales**
  - Mujer Luna Bella
  - AR1 GAMEPLAYS
  - Franco-escamilla
- **Websites**
  - Pornhub
- **Shows Online**
  - Mujer Luna Bella
  - AR1 GAMEPLAYS
  - Franco-escamilla
- **Apps**

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**Personas de Influencia**
- Ari Rivera - 80%
- Mar Pad4 - 80%
- Judith y David - 79%
- Paireja Guz - 79%
- Hotwilexo - 79%

**Personas de Afinidad**
- Karicachonda7 - 54%
- Ximena Cosmo - 54%
- Judith David - 53%
- YessDav - 50%
- Pam y Mr sev - 50%

**Marcas de Influencia**
- Comunidad Sw Mex - 77%
  - elmascomudo - 77%
- Momentos Cornudos - 74%
- Lindas maduras - 73%
  - maduras_mil - 73%

**Marcas de Afinidad**
- SwMex Official - 37%
  - CAFE CENTROMX - 29%
  - Dinámicas Sexuales - 26%
  - MuyCornudos - 26%
  - CLUB LUPITA ROMA SW - 26%
Controllers

92% are men between 18 and 24 years old, living 21% in the CDMX, 16% in Guadalajara and 15% in Monterrey. Most are single, with a university degree in the areas of management, arts and entertainment. Their online habits are mainly from a desktop computer (76%), particularly on Wednesdays from 18:00hrs to 23:00hrs (night), with Instagram being their favorite social network and Telegram for instant messaging.

The members of this conglomerate perceive themselves as rational, educated, imaginative and idealistic, seeking to achieve their own objectives and goals, which leads them to be people who like to have control of situations, so that everything goes as they want, putting them in a position of superiority to others, since they do not like that other people take advantage of them; they feel frustration when things do not happen or are not done as they want, since they like to feel that they can subdue. They are prone to anger and to explode when things do not go their way, with the possibility of physical violence.

They are emotionally detached people, showing disinterest in everything that is not related to their personal well-being or tastes. They consider themselves social beings, as long as the people with whom they relate have the same ideals, interests and tastes as they do; their controlling nature motivates them to transcend through the recognition of people within their social circle.

In terms of off-line media, on television they consume Milenio, El Once and Expansión; the radio stations they tune in to are MVS Noticias and Ibero 90.9FM, while in newspapers they tune in to El Universal, Milenio and Reforma, and their event of greatest interest is the Corona Capital. Online, they consume blogs such as Perez Hilton and digital magazines such as Chilango; the website they consult most is Google and the content channels are La Mas Draga, Katya and Jeffrey Star. Their main apps are Sky Alert, Pokemon GO and Grindr.

The people with the greatest influence are Alejandro García (74%), Leonel Ikari (73%), Beto a Saber (72%), Diego (72%), Ricardo Peralta (72%); the people with whom they have the greatest affinity are Everest Miguel (22%), Alexios (22%), Shakira (22%), José Angel (21%) and Carmen Aristegui (21%). In terms of brands, the main influencers are La Grupa (72%), La Más Draga (72%), La Perra Sencillita (71%), Mayatitos (71%) and Boy4Me.com (70%); affinity is with brands such as Museo Mexicano del Internet (19%), Chicos y Calzones (19%), Aristegui Noticias (19%), Metro CDMX (18%) and Sismológico Nacional (18%).
**Emoción**
- Son desapegados emocionalmente
- No les gusta abrirse emocionalmente ni expresar sus sentimientos
- Se perciben contenidos y estables con su situación de vida
- Se sienten abrumados por la gran cantidad de cosas que tiene que hacer
- Son más desinteresados
- Se interesan en relacionarse con personas que tienen sus propios gustos e intereses

**Motivaciones**
- Buscan una vida tranquila y pacífica
- Buscan tener sentido de libertad y tiempo para ellos
- Se interesan por su bienestar personal

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### Medios Comunicación
- Milenio
- El Once
- Explanación
- MVS Noticias
- Iberó 90.9 FM
- El Universal
- Milenio
- Reforma
- Corona Capital

### Medios Comunicación on line
- Blog
  - Pérez Hilton
- Revistas Digitales
  - Chilango
- Websites
  - Google
- Shows Online
  - La Más Draga
  - Katya
  - Jeffre Star
- Apps
  - SkyAlert
  - Pokémon GO
  - Grindr
Futboleros

This audience is characterized by men (62%) who are assertive, individualistic, practical and conformist, who care about what others think of them, while being very direct in expressing their opinions, not caring if they hurt others by doing so, so they can easily cross the line of disrespect. They do not like to express their emotions or be empathetic to those of others. While they demonstrate a respect for authority, their tendency to experience risk leads them to the perception that no matter what means are necessary to achieve their ends. They are frustrated by routine and impracticality.

91% of them live in Mexico City, being between 18 and 24 years old, single and without children, in pursuit of a professional degree. 84% prefer to connect from a desktop computer, predominantly on Mondays from 00:00hrs to 05:00hrs (early morning), on social networks such as Facebook and WhatsApp. Their interests are 46% educational (as students), 38% on social issues and 38% on music.

The main media they use are, in the case of television, channels such as FOX Sports and FOX Deportes; in radio, Los 40 Mexico and EXA FM; in newspapers they are RECORD and Medio Tiempo, coinciding with the fact that the event of greatest interest is the FIFA World Cup. With regard to online media, the main
The accounts that generate the most influence in this audience are Babo Cartel de Santa (84%), Yuya (73%), Arenita (73%), Dross (72%) and Hirling Lozano (71%), while those with the highest affinity are Christian Martinoli (37%), Yanet García (35%), David Faitelson (31%), Luis García (27%) and Memo Ochoa (27%). The most influential brands are El Cartel de Santa (70%), Liga de Balompié (69%), Rayados (69%), FOX Deportes (69%) and Transfer Liga MX (69%). Meanwhile, the brands with the highest affinity are Selección Nacional (31%), Liga BBVA Mx (29%), Netflix (27%), Brozo XmisWebs (27%) and FOX Sports MX (23%).

Masculinities in sports and their link to violent events is a topic that in Mexico becomes relevant from time to time when we have public knowledge of fights between sports clubs and other expressions of extreme violence around sports. Obviously the problem is not the sport, but the way in which everything becomes a consumer product and a scenario for the cultivation of hegemonic and patriarchal masculinities.
Individualists

This audience conglomerate is composed by 78% of men, between 18 and 32 years old, 19% of them with university education in arts, entertainment and sports, living 40% in Mexico City, 20% in San Luis Potosi and 20% in Veracruz; 24% are single, but 11% of them have children. Their digital habits are divided between desktop computer (49%) and cell phone (51%), particularly on Fridays from 18:00hrs to 23:00hrs (night), having a 100% interest in sports, 67% in music and 67% in dance. Their favorite social network is Twitter and Telegram for instant messaging.

The people identified for this conglomerate are visualized as realistic, assertive, practical and routine, extremely attached to their values, beliefs and identity, which leads them to always look for the need to stay in a comfort zone, being punctually selective with the social group in which they live (perhaps motivated by classism or other forms of discrimination), since with this type of people (with whom they share common interests), they are not disinterested or detached, on the contrary, they focus on attracting their attention, through altruism and empathy.

Outside their rather selective social circle, they are a particularly individualistic and distant population, who seek not to get directly involved in advantageous situations, conflict and power clashes.
As they are emotionally reserved, they can be aggressive without this generating an emotion of regret; they are people who talk too much, but are not aware of what they are saying.

The media they consume offline are, in television, Canal 22, El Once and Capital 21; in radio, La Octava and MVS Noticias; in newspapers, La Jornada, Nación 321 and La Razón; the main event detected is the FIL Guadalajara. In online media, digital magazines such as Sin Embargo and content developed by Juncal Solano, Dross and Luisillo El Pillo are identified; in terms of apps, Sky Alert, WhatsApp and UBER are identified.

The accounts of people with whom they have the greatest influence are Epigmenio Ibarra (89%), RossyTB (88%), Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez (88%), Michel Oviedo (87%) and Doña Susy (87%). On the other hand, the accounts of people with whom they have the highest affinity are AMLO (98%), Beatriz G. Muller (80%), John Ackerman (78%), Lopez- Gattel (73%) and Juncal Solano (73%). Regarding established brand accounts, those with the highest affinity are SinLinea.mx (90%), Sin Censura (87%), Gurú Político (85%), Gobierno de México (84%) and El gato político (83%); while those with the highest affinity are Morena (54%), El Nopal Times (54%), El Soberano (51%), FGR México (51%) and Guardia Nacional (49%).
Conservatives

In this conglomerate, 82% are men, aged between 18 and 24, living in cities such as CDMX (33%), Monterrey (33%) and Metepec (11%), the vast majority being single and 11% with children, with a university degree and engaged in administrative and sales professions. 60% prefer to connect via desktop computer, on Mondays from 18:00hrs to 23:00hrs, being Instagram their main social network, attending interests in movies and TV (50%), music (50%), and food and drink (33%).

The people who make up this conglomerate are characterized by being rigid to their established values and objectives, following a vision of "what should be", giving rise to attitudes in which they are always right, so that everything that is not what they think and approve of is wrong. Being objective and with very clear goals, there is no process of flexibility to reason changes, since they have inherited their behaviors, and feel the duty to replicate them, responding to the roles that were socially assigned to them, and expect all people to comply with their own corresponding ones, since they have the perspective that roles should not be questioned, but should be accepted under what is indicated by moral authorities such as religion. In networks, we can find them in speeches that belittle the marches of feminist movements and women's rights claims.
They are able and somewhat open to listen to new ideas, but they are highly selective in adapting to those that fit their paradigm. Given their “should be” perspective, they feel pride when they highlight contexts that go outside their ideals, in the sense that they are right and should instruct how things should be done.

Emotionally, they are inexpressive, they do not debate or complain, they do not express their emotions or their opinions about what is established, they only manifest themselves in contexts that go beyond the canons of the role, from their perspective. They adhere to the values in the ethics of their groups. They seek tranquility and calm. They like to stick to the facts, under the right-wing, Christian and Catholic influence. They are obedient, dependent, persistent, organized, which allows them to achieve very well the tasks assigned to them. They are not very proactive, they do not question the indications given to them. They are functional in the sense that they do excellently what they are told to do, within their reference group, which in this case are contexts of conservative values, without questioning the instruction.

The offline media they consume are Ciro Gómez Leyva, Telediario Monterrey and Foro TV; radio stations such as Imagen Radio and Reactor 105.7 FM; newspapers such as El Norte, Medio Tiempo and El Universal. They follow digital magazines such as Aristegui Noticias, websites such as Change.org, content from Franco Escamilla, Mujer Luna Bella and Dross; as for apps, SkyAlert, Homescapes and Candy Crush predominate.

The accounts of people who generate influence over them are Agustín Laje (86%), Carlos Leal (83%), Lia Trueba (82%), Carlos A. Ramirez (81%) and Christian Camacho (81%), while they feel affinity with accounts such as Loret de Mola (55%), Felipe Calderon (52%), Camila Planas Siso (45%), Vanessa Vallejo (45%) and Eduardo Verastegui (45%). Meanwhile, the brands that generate influence are sublevados (83%), tumbaburros (77%), Progresismo Out Of Context (77%), VOX (76%) and oaxacayork (75%), while they feel affinity towards brands such as FRENA Oficial (31%), Latinus (31%), Derecha Mexicana (28%), JUVI A.C. (28%) and Fundación LIBRE (28%).
Regardless of whether or not the accounts are grouped in any subcategory or are found in the description of General Audience, the characteristics that define them are highly compatible with those of hegemonic masculinities in patriarchal contexts: Which allows us to deduce that male perpetrators of sexual violence in digital media, those who violate women's sexual intimacy in virtuality, also reproduce and seek to fit within the gender mandates of masculinity that are imposed on men in a patriarchal system and that place them as the dominant party within the system.
THE TRANSFORMATION OF MEN'S PRACTICES AND THEIR MASCULINITIES: from potential aggressors to potential agents of social transformation.

After the data allow confirming that most of the behaviors of sexual violence in the digital environment, are exercised by men between 18 and 30 years old, university students, without children, among other data, such as the media and entertainment they consume; it is possible to direct public and social actions for the prevention of sexual violence, in order to eradicate this type of violations to women's privacy in the virtual environment.

The importance of the transformation of men's gender identities towards non-patriarchal and non-violent masculinities lies in the fact that the basic idea is that, together with feminism, the elimination of patriarchy as a system of gender-based oppression can be achieved, and from that, possibly the elimination of other forms of oppression by any social group over other living beings, as ambitious as this may seem.

There are many proposals from different authors to identify the axes or characteristics that constitute traditional hegemonic masculinities, which have sustained a patriarchal order in many societies around the world, beyond cultural differences, which of course exist.

In 2016, the study called "The Masculinity Box" (Barker et.al. 2017), showed that, despite living in times of changes regarding gender, the social mandates that mark how a man should be, how he should behave and how he should look like to deserve the "privilege" of being considered a "real man" in different countries (Mexico, United States and United Kingdom), are still much more in force than what
is believed to be among young men aged 18 to 30 (precisely the age range in which, according to this report, the majority of digital sex offenders are found). The Masculinity Box proposes a scale around seven thematic pillars that encompass the mandates of masculinity:

1) **Self-Reliance** - Not talking too much about their worries, fears or problems and solving them without asking for help.

2) **Be strong** - Even if they are scared or nervous, give an image of strength. Strength distinguishes them from women.

3) **Physical attractiveness** - A man who does not meet hegemonic beauty stereotypes is less likely to be successful than a man who does. But men should not be too vain, as that is a characteristic of women.

4) **Rigid male roles** - Men should be the primary providers in the household and deprioritize their involvement in care and domestic work.

5) **Heterosexuality and homophobia** - A gay man is not a "real man" or is considered less of a man.

6) **Hypersexuality** - A real man should have as many sexual partners as possible and would never say no to sex.

7) **Aggression and control** - Men should use violence to gain respect, if necessary. If in a dating relationship, the man should always have the last word and deserves the right to have some control over her.

For his part Luis Botello in 2017 proposes a list of 4 axes that constitute dominant masculinity:

1. **Identity is constructed on the basis of not being feminine** - The way in which the stereotypical identity of "being a man" is constructed tends to deny and sharply devalue aspects that society defines as feminine. Femininity is understood as something undesirable, as being of lesser value. This implies denying one's own experiences and feelings, if these can be associated with the feminine, in order to protect oneself from collective rejection for approaching the less prestigious place implied by "being a woman".

2. **Need to prove virility** - In different cultures, men are expected to publicly demonstrate that they are men in order to gain social approval, especially from groups of other men. In this context, sexual practices such as an exacerbated concern for penile erection, erection duration time, the belief that men have by nature more sexual desire than women, among others, are examples that "sexual performance" is shaped as a parameter through which virility is measured and reaffirms his public image as a male in front of others (Botello, 2017).

3. **Male autonomy is forged in the non-autonomy of women** - Being a man in the patriarchy has been a social place that favors being cared for, while taking care of "what is important" and socially valued, therefore, they can have the experience of feeling independent, autonomous, as long as they control any factor that may weaken that position. The definition of their autonomy, therefore, implies making impossible the autonomy of those who care for them, a role assigned to women (Botello, 2017).
4. Fragmentation of emotions - From childhood, children are taught to express and demonstrate emotions only in spaces of social recognition, around the formation of an "external self", such as: competitions, games or sports. Men's emotionality is linked to factors that build their public image of strength and is dissociated from their personal, intimate bonds that require attention to the "inner self". For example, the expression of anger is encouraged as a way of demonstrating a supposedly masculine nature. All of this perpetuates an erroneous belief that women are more sensitive than men and men in turn must avoid displaying an image of sensitivity in order to reassert their masculine identity.

These mandates of hegemonic masculinity, if fulfilled by men, generate privileges for them, such as: social prestige, approval from their peers (that is, from other men), hierarchy, superiority, respect, preference, etc. It also generates discomfort, but this is usually perceived as a reasonable price to pay in exchange for the place of social superiority they hold. For this reason, men strive to fit into these mandates without paying attention to the cost they generate.

A privilege is an exclusive or special advantage enjoyed due to some circumstance of one's own. In the case of the social stratification on which systems of oppression are based, privilege is rather that factor of identity by which the person will not be a victim of violence or discrimination.

This privileged condition is embodied in the experience of people who are born men, without their being aware of it, because it is integrated as something "given by nature". It gives them, from the first lessons of childhood, a notion of what they deserve from life, of what they can/should aspire to, of what is expected of them and of what they should expect from other people and from the environment around them. This process of socialization and culturalization of men's gender identity results in the configuration of hegemonic masculinities.
The hegemonic masculinities that sustain the patriarchal order and are closely linked to the exercise of violence do not arise naturally in any context, and this is important to emphasize, because the fact that history reveals that male domination over women has taken place in many historical periods, in almost every corner of the world, does not mean that it is something inscribed in the nature of human collectives. For these mandates and this order of domination to be sustained and configured as a system, a series of social conditions are necessary to allow it: indifference, normalization, naturalization, the desire for superiority, the tendency to deny equality, among others.

The privileges, mandates and discomforts surrounding these hegemonic masculinities, which perpetuate a patriarchal system as a social order, can and must begin to crumble.

To conclude this section of the chapter, we would like to propose some alternatives for proposals and prevention of a problem that, although it may have manifestations of organized crime (a topic for which an additional report is needed), also happens a lot as part of the dynamics of daily coexistence among people of all ages, but particularly among young people. There are many young men who are prone to commit this type of behavior that violates the dignity, rights and integrity of women, because they live in social contexts in which sexual violence is tolerated, accepted, normalized and even encouraged among them. Thousands of young people with this profile, make use of digital devices, interact through social networks, sometimes with the aim of meeting new people, flirting, finding a partner, etc. Focusing on this population, we list the following axes of public attention.

**About Comprehensive Sex Education (ESI)**

In a structural and historical framework, where male sexuality is built on the basis of domination and exploitation of women’s bodies, it is essential to incorporate comprehensive sexuality education in the formal educational field as well as in educational materials, where an approach to sexuality is incorporated not only from the reproductive, genitalist and heterosexual field, integrating in the training the affectivity, the ethics of care, sexual and reproductive rights from the vision of Human Rights, as well as the gender perspective.

**On the peer group and the necessary interpellation**

The peer group is a key field that requires further problematization, as it is a privileged entity for the reproduction of practices, of the viralization of non-consensual sexual content or first highs, where other young men act without reflecting too much on their actions and the consequences thereof, without considering women as subjects of rights. Just at the moment when another man shares material with another, or reveals to have it in his possession, is a key moment to stop the chain of digital sexual violence, so it is required to provide young men with assertive tools to confront their peers from information, from a clear and effective political positioning, which allows to persuade other men to stop their violent behavior.

**On male sexuality.**

The practices of male sexuality must change and we are convinced that other non-punitive ways are necessary to achieve substantive equality, a life free of violence and a culture that points towards the ethics of care. It is important that men consciously distance themselves from the web of domination and violence that patriarchy weaves over women’s bodies, integrated into commercial products that are presented to us as desirable, such as pornography, prostitution, sexual or erotic content on platforms such as Only Fans, among many others.
Decisions made by young men in intimacy are also political

In this sense, it is not a matter of moralizing men with expressions of what is bad or good, but of questioning the way in which their sexual desire has been constructed by a market strategy, where they play a passive role of consumption, but with serious effects for women and our society. It is urgent that they understand that the acts they practice in intimacy, there where no one is watching or regulating them, are deeply political and that they are able to consciously choose what to watch, with whom to communicate and how, when it is pertinent to write to someone and how far.

On the political articulation of men against violence

So far, we see more hate speech against women than explicit sanctions against macho violence by young men. It is urgent that more and more men organize collectively to take political action to publicly sanction these violent events, to actively participate in the development of state policies that address this problem from the root to build strategies to accompany, listen and care for other young men who have been denounced by formal and informal channels of this type of violence, but also for those who have been sanctioned for this type of violence, especially in order to avoid the repetition of this type of behavior and to prevent the anger, rage and hatred from growing in the face of the denunciation and sanction, leaving the victim in a state of risk and vulnerability.

Although the political articulation of anti-patriarchal men in Mexico is still incipient, the writer of this section is also part of a national network of masculinities, whose mission is precisely to work with men from a gender perspective, seeking to generate synergies in order to promote public policies, awareness campaigns, political positioning, educational processes, and even being in its infancy, there is a group that is being strengthened to assist women's and feminist movements, to address the root causes of all forms of violence.

The participation of feminist women in masculinities networks

As mentioned and reiterated earlier in this report, the purpose of making visible the responsibility of men as a social collective in the enormous problem of digital violence is not intended to stigmatize, but to understand the phenomenon, but above all to deepen the reflection on the social, historical and political processes that have brought us to this social moment in which feminisms, with all their possible contradictions, have given a clear message that there is no turning back, that the transformation towards the elimination of patriarchy as a system of social order is urgent.

Studies of men's gender and masculinities have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the link between male violence, hate speech against women and diversity, and the way men individually and collectively construct their gender identity as males. Part of the importance of continuing to develop knowledge on this topic is that it makes it possible to approach social transformation, not from a discourse of “what is correct or politically correct”, but as an alternative current capable of opposing the current hegemony with total legitimacy, that is, boys and girls who stop thinking that what is cool is to violate other people to feel superior, but instead prefer to opt for values such as respect, good treatment in equality, regardless of any factor that gives us identity and distinguishes us as part of human diversity.
As a collective in the almost 10 years we have been in existence, we have known all kinds of scenarios, from those in which it seemed that our voice was imperceptible and that no matter how much effort we put in, nothing gives results, or in which, just for naming ourselves feminists, we faced disqualifications and other forms of violence; to what we have experienced more recently, in which our collective voice is required in international forums on gender violence facilitated by technologies, because the Mexican case of Ley Olimpia has been a worldwide phenomenon and we are considered a vanguard in the subject.

The information contained in this report is the answer to a need that has been detected in many of the forums with a gender perspective on the subject: "we need to know more about the people who perpetrate these aggressions".

We have also been in spaces where the issue is addressed without a gender perspective and we have noticed that the lack of visibility on who are the populations that are victimized and which are configured as aggressors in these dynamics, generates that the answers, far from problematizing the systemic oppressions implied by patriarchy, reproduce them.

When we say that Ley Olimpia understands digital violence from a feminist gender perspective, it implies that we know that behind every violation of a woman's sexual intimacy (whether committed by a man or by another woman), there is a social, cultural, symbolic, historical AND INDUSTRIAL structure that supports this exercise of violence. And that overthrowing these structures in order to propose new ones is not a task that ends with promoting legislative changes, but goes much further. It requires the coordination of many agents of change in different positions of the social structure working from love and sisterhood to uproot the inequalities that have been normalized, naturalized, encouraged, justified and institutionalized as norms of social interaction, generating systems of oppression against women. We consider it very important at this point to mention the need to generate a gender consciousness that unifies us among women of different social classes.

Our movement, which is born and acts from Latin American feminism, does not intend to find culprits and continue perpetuating a binary vision of victims and aggressors, on the contrary, it intends to join the encounter and unity, but always recognizing the differentiated positions and conditions from which we start, because if there is no recognition of the privileges and oppressions that cross human existences, there is no possible change, only simulation. That is why pain must be named, that is why violence must be pointed out, not to turn them into a flag, but to understand our own histories and re-signify them now from self-love, never to forget where we do not want to go back to.

Those of us who have experienced discrimination and violence, those of us who carry the wounds and scars of oppression in our bodies, in our memories and in our history, cannot get rid of them without a process of awareness. If this process has not been triggered or is still insipient, we reproduce oppression and violence against ourselves. We self-silence, we judge, we repress, we exploit... or we do all that against someone more vulnerable.

Everything we have found in this report, reinforces and strengthens our convictions and political positions of rejection to the systems of oppression wherever they come from. But very particularly of pointing out porn culture as a fundamental part of the problem that sustains the commodification, hypersexualization and commodification of women's bodies and sexuality in the neoliberal capitalist patriarchy.
The interrelationship between this gender order and this economic order is truly harmful to women, girls and adolescents.

This conviction gives rise to the following project in which we will develop our position regarding the platforms through which, under a false narrative of "female empowerment", the way is opened to new forms of trafficking and digital prostitution. In them, our youth are offered fame, social status, large easy economic income, prominence, belonging, admiration, among other aspirational ideas, leaving of course hidden the excessive enrichment of the owners of these companies (all men who have made their fortune based on the sexual exploitation of the image of female bodies in pornography), the great vulnerability in which they place those who fill the portals with intimate sexual content, the long-term consequences that can result and the way in which the acceptance of this dynamic contributes to the preservation of the patriarchal order.

In short, the emergence and exponential growth of these platforms with business models based on the hypersexualization, commodification and commoditization of female bodies and images, we read it as a neoliberal attack in response to the strength with which feminisms have positioned themselves politically in the world.

Ley Olimpia is just one more cause that joins that group of feminist voices worldwide. Some of the voices (legitimate, by the way) that opposed the Olimpia Law reform initiatives, counted among their arguments the rejection of punitivism as a way to reduce gender violence. We want to say to these voices that we fully agree that punitivism is not the way, that we know that every person who touches prison is a person who will hardly give up his or her violence, in fact, it is almost certain that he or she will leave with worse vices. But not only that, we also know firsthand the inefficiency, corruption and arbitrariness of the criminal justice system in our country and we have serious differences with the patriarchal approaches that in its origin hides the current structure of state justice.

Why then was the creation of a new criminal type in this set of reforms an alternative? We live in a society that has normalized gender violence against women and no matter how much it is denounced and named, it has not been enough to be collectively condemned; on the contrary, in the collective imagination, the victim is usually the first guilty party. On the contrary, when it is said to be a crime, the weight of the action is understood, the harmfulness of the conduct is understood and it is recognized that the condemnatory action is aimed at the aggressor, not the victim, in addition to the institutional responsibilities that it entails.

It has never been intended that the creation of a criminal offense would solve the problem; it is only proposed as an alternative that can be offered to people who are going through a situation of violation of their sexual intimacy, in case it makes sense to proceed in that way in their particular case.

However, the reforms of the Olimpia Law to the Laws on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence, imply that the State identifies and recognizes this violence as one more gender-based violence, thus it also acquires the responsibility to invest resources, generate public policies and focus other efforts for its prevention and attention, which are the most important. Not to mention that the reform to this legal system allows access to protection orders for victims in cases of digital violence.

In fact, what Ley Olimpia has represented in the lives of women whose sexual intimacy has been violated, is the public recognition that they were not crazy, they never were! that their discomfort was valid, that they were always right and -very important- that they are NOT GUILTY of the violence exercised against them. It has meant for them a collective support with which the Mexican State has a commitment that we can demand it to fulfill. It is one more opportunity and one more hope.
Thanks to the Olimpia Law, the production and dissemination of intimate content without consent is called "Violation of sexual privacy" and the aggressions that are carried out, perpetuated or aggravated by using information and communication technologies are called digital violence, rejecting the term "revenge porn" so disconcerting and revictimizing for those who are violated by these behaviors. Because it was never their intention that their intimate image was exploited and consumed as merchandise.

To close this report, we would like to recall that its objective from the beginning was to provide valuable information for the generation of public policies to prevent, address and combat sexual violence that occurs in digital media. But it has also been relevant to add to the understanding of how unequal power relations between men and women are configured, for everything that is built based on the sexual nature of women.

The patriarchal and colonial version of history has been responsible for normalizing and naturalizing the subjugation of women, as well as hiding or making invisible the versions narrated from the perspective of women, of us, so that we believe that there are no other possible forms of interaction between genders, that the position of subjugation is the one that corresponds to us. If women write history, the narratives and socio-historical perceptions of ourselves and of human civilizations change. Our body is ours, our sexuality is ours and our history is ours. Everything that was known is changing because we women will no longer be erased.
NO HAY APROBACIÓN HABRA REVOLUCIÓN!

#LEYOLimpia
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Yolitzin Jaimes
Yunuen Castillo
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Rosalinda Pimentel
Karen Robles
IN HOMAGE TO

Jessica Logan (United States, 2008)
Emma Jones (United Arab Emirates, 2010)
Amanda Todd (Canada, 2012)
Felicia Garcia (United States, 2012)
Rehtaeh Parsons (Canada, 2013)
Tiziana Cantone (Italy, 2016)
Veronica (Spain, 2019)
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So many more in Mexico and around the world. They did not have to endure all the evil of a patriarchal world that judges women for their sexual intimacy. They were not to blame for the violence they received, they were strong and brave, they fought to be well until they could no longer continue fighting, because no one is born to endure so much evil... Everything for you and for those of us who have survived...

It was not his fault
It was all of them!
SOURCE OF REFERENCE


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Joan W. Scott (1996)


Este informe revela información de los registros de casos de violencia digital atendidos por el Frente Nacional para la Sororidad y Defensoras Digitales, organizaciones fundadas por Olimpia Coral; información que, en sí ya es muy relevante porque da cuenta de la dimensión del problema y demuestra estadísticamente los sectores poblacionales más vulnerables, así como los que más ejercen esta forma de violencia. Además, contiene el primer ejercicio de antropología social digital, en el que usando herramientas de análisis de Big data, se identifican cuentas en redes sociodigitales que manejan discursos y narrativas que violan la intimidad sexual de mujeres, niñas y adolescentes; y se dan a conocer sus hábitos de uso de dispositivos para navegar, de consumo informativo, quiénes son sus influencers, las cuentas que siguen; además de su perfil sociodemográfico que revela rango de edad, estado civil, grado de estudios y hasta ubicación geográfica. Siendo un aporte informativo inigualable para la generación de estrategias y la implementación de políticas públicas encaminadas a prevenir y atender la violencia sexual que ocurre en espacios virtuales.

Los señalamientos a industrias tan poderosas como la pornográfica o aquellos que recaen en las empresas dueñas de Internet, se colocan en el centro de las narrativas de este trabajo que interpreta con fundamentación teórica feminista, de criminología y enfoque de masculinidades problemáticas tan actuales como las violaciones a la intimidad sexual y el sexting que se dan principalmente entre personas jóvenes a través de la virtualidad.