

## #justiciaparatodas in Latin America: Algorithmic Visibility of Feminist Demands for Justice on Twitter<sup>1</sup>

#justiciaparatodas en América Latina:  
visibilidad algorítmica de las demandas  
feministas de justicia en Twitter

#justiciaparatodas na América Latina:  
Visibilidade Algorítmica das Demandas  
Feministas por Justiça no Twitter

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2023.8477>

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This work addresses the visibility of feminist demands for justice on Twitter through a selection of 927 tweets generated in Latin American countries, collected and processed using digital techniques. Findings show that of 96 cases, most are unsolved femicides and few achieve high visibility, characterized by immediacy, popularity, and multimedia content. The conclusion is that there are possibilities for positioning the unsatisfied demands for justice but difficulties in gaining visibility, which reduces the strength of the pressure of digital actions on institutions.<sup>1,2,3</sup>

**KEYWORDS:** Algorithms, femicides, feminism, justice, Twitter.

*Este trabajo aborda la visibilidad de las demandas feministas de justicia en Twitter a través de una selección de 927 tuits generados en países Latinoamericanos, recolectados y procesados con técnicas digitales. Se encontró que de 96 casos totales, la mayor parte corresponde a feminicidios sin resolución, pocos logran una alta visibilidad, caracterizada por la inmediatez, la popularidad y el contenido multimedia. Se concluye que existen posibilidades para posicionar las demandas de justicia insatisfechas, pero dificultades para el acceso a la visibilidad, lo que resta fuerza a la presión de las acciones digitales sobre las instituciones.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Algoritmos, feminicidios, feminismo, justicia, Twitter.

*Este trabalho aborda a visibilidade das demandas feministas por justiça no Twitter por meio de uma seleção de 927 tuítes gerados em países da América Latina, coletados e processados com técnicas digitais. Consta que do total de 96 casos, a maioria corresponde a feminicídios sem resolução, poucos atingem grande visibilidade, caracterizados pelo imediatismo, popularidade e conteúdo multimídia. Conclui-se que há possibilidades de posicionamento de demandas insatisfeitas por justiça, mas dificuldades de acesso à visibilidade, o que reduz a pressão das ações digitais sobre as instituições.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Algoritmos, feminicídios, feminismo, justiça, Twitter.

### How to cite:

Sued, G. E. & Hernández Garza, C. (2023). #justiciaparatodas in Latin America: Algorithmic Visibility of Feminist Demands for Justice on Twitter. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, e8477. <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2023.8477>

<sup>1</sup> This article was produced with the support of the UNAM postdoctoral fellowship program, Humanities Coordination and the academic advice of Dr. Judith Zubieta García.

Carolina Hernández Garza thanks the Social Research Institute of the UNAM for receiving her in a doctoral stay for the production of this work.

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Submitted: 05/26/2022. Accepted: 01/11/2023. Published: 03/01/2023.

## INTRODUCTION

The current feminist agenda on violence against women includes the call for justice, both because of the increase in cases of gender violence and femicides and the difficulty women have in accessing justice and the systemic impunity throughout the region when it comes to cases of femicide (Álvarez Enríquez, 2020; Segato, 2016).

These critiques and demands have been expressed through social media, particularly on Twitter, via hashtags that have gained notoriety. Tags such as #niunamenos (not even one less), #25N (November 25<sup>th</sup>, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women), #niunamas (not even one more), #vivasylibresnosqueremos (we want ourselves alive and free), and #yositecreo (I believe you) are part of an extensive conglomerate of hashtags that are linked to each other and model feminist protest as an interconnected gathering of struggles, demands, and critiques (Esquivel Domínguez, 2019).

This paper takes up a question posed by Clark-Parsons (2021) about the importance of knowing the scope and limitations of digital protests, and allowing for the visualization of possibilities for action that supports raising awareness about these types of violence. To understand said scope and limitations, this study focuses on a collection of recurring hashtags that demand justice in cases of violence, usually unresolved femicides. They are constructed based on the prefix #justiciapor or #justiciapara (justice for), where the name of the victim of femicide is then added, or this same hashtag formula followed by adjectivizations such as #justiciamachista (machist justice) or #justiciaparatodas (justice for all, using the feminine form). These hashtags go beyond the role of identifying a topic by adding a collective action to position a vindication, create identity, gather around contexts of violence, and call attention to these messages (Flores Mérida, 2022).

This article aims to look into the reach of these demands for justice on Twitter, the conditions surrounding their visibility and the limitations in their dissemination. It is guided by two research questions: What level of algorithmic visibility do these demands for justice acquire within the general context of protests in Latin American countries consolidated through the hashtag #niunamenos on Twitter? Moreover, given

said visibility, what characteristics do these demands attain that make them more visible, as opposed to those with a lower profile? These inquiries are answered through the analysis of 927 tweets containing the word “justice”, collected between October 24<sup>th</sup> and December 2<sup>nd</sup> of 2021.

This article is organized as follows: first, the theoretical framework is presented, following two conceptual veins: critical studies on data and algorithms, and feminist studies of femicides and demands for justice. Subsequently, the methodological design is explained, to then present the findings related to the research questions. The conclusion presents the reach and limitations of the demands for justice on Twitter and how these are linked to the algorithmic operation of this platform.

## CRITICAL DATAFICATION, ALGORITHMIC VISIBILITY AND IMPUNITY FOR FEMICIDES

The conceptual framework for this paper is set between two veins of research: the first focuses on the critical study of data and algorithms, and the second centers on feminist studies on violence, femicides, and demands for justice. Each of these is described below.

### *Critical Datafication and Data Feminism*

The framework takes up two concepts from the first area of research that addresses data as tools of social mediation: critical datafication and data feminism. Both approaches reveal an unequal distribution of power, and critically draw attention to social problems through the production and analysis of data.

The premise of critical datafication is to redirect the data produced on social media to create divergent narratives that make social inequality and exclusion visible. Proponents recognize that, although government and businesses use data from social media to segment their public and for surveillance, they can also be used by research to bring attention to social problems and participate in placing these on media and government agendas (Ábrego Molina & Flores Mérida, 2021).

Data feminism is defined as “a way of thinking about data, its uses and limitations, based on the experience, the commitment to action, and intersectional feminist thought” (D’Ignazio & Klein, 2020, p. 8). Based on this definition, this approach focuses on recognizing systems of power and structures of domination that replicate inequalities embedded in the practices of gathering, communicating, analyzing, and presenting data.

### *Power and Algorithmic Visibility*

On social media, the unequal distribution of power is expressed through systems that regulate the visibility of what is published. Although any user with an account can publish, not all content is made visible similarly (Cotter, 2019). According to Twitter, their recommendation algorithms select, prioritize, and show content according to certain attributes of the tweets. These include their immediacy, their popularity as defined by circulation and reaction metrics, and the inclusion of multimedia content, such as images and videos.

Twitter has two ways of showing content to its users on their timelines: the first orders it chronologically, the second, according to recommendation algorithms (Twitter Help Center, 2022). In the hierarchical organization of the algorithms, rankings tend to show fewer tweets with links to external sites, for example, to news sites (Bandy & Diakopoulos, 2021). The automated operations of selection and ranking thus establish a relationship of mutual shaping: the algorithms select and prioritize content that corresponds to its parameters while, simultaneously, the content takes the shape of the formats preferred by the algorithms.

Besides the visibility logic, the importance of the reciprocal relationship between Twitter and the media in creating an agenda becomes evident. What is expressed on Twitter acquires greater visibility through the coverage of mass media and the press (Suh & Borah, 2019), since one of its uses is, as has been shown repeatedly, a social gage in the face of a variety of circumstances, as well as an amplifier and replicator of a reduced number of messages that create an echo chamber (Colleoni et al., 2014).

Social movements have been able to challenge the unequal distribution of power of algorithmic visibility, setting the stage for struggles and creating an objective that political efforts can strive for (Velkova & Kaun, 2021). Studies have shown that the high algorithmic visibility of political messages shaped by online platforms, labeled vernacular because of their appropriation of platform communicative guidelines to produce viral messages (Sued et al., 2022). At the same time, it is important to consider messages with lower visibility, as these may contain other types of signifiers of interest to politics and activism through the manifestation of commonplace citizen political participation (Castillo-González et al., 2022).

### *Femicides and Demands for Justice*

In Latin America, two-thirds of women have experienced some type of gender-based violence (CEPAL, 2020). Femicides are the result of the progression of this violence. According to Lagarde (2004), femicide “occurs as the culmination of a situation characterized by repeated and systematic violation of women’s human rights” (p.1). In the context of Latin America, impunity is also intrinsically linked to the phenomenon of femicide, given that the execution of justice carried out by the State is permeated with a “profoundly misogynistic perspective” (Lagarde, 2006, p. 223). According to Segato (2016), femicides are not only a consequence of impunity, but also their creators and replicators, because they seal pacts of silence between collective accomplices and patriarchal groups that express their power through aggression and the abuse of female bodies.

Facing the inefficiency of the State and the media, social networks have created an alternative space for women to express their claims, “as citizens [who] demand that the authorities treat them with dignity and justice” (Cerva Cerna, 2020, p. 181). Thus, the demands for justice are presented, on one side, as a condemnation of the refusal of the media, authorities, and institutions to “make visible the existence of the distinct category of these crimes, that must be specifically differentiated, classified, and investigated” (Segato, 2016, p. 87), and on the other, as a collective embodiment (*acuerpamiento*), understood as an action to resist the injustice other bodies have

experienced and offer closeness and renewed strength “to recover joy without losing the outrage” (Cabnal, s.f., s.p.). In the words of Reguillo (2021), they allow for the creation of a counter strategy that proposes “remembering the victims and denouncing the consequences of violence” (p. 156).

## METHODOLOGY

This research was carried out using a strategy based on the critical use of digital methods, that is, the collection and processing of data and metrics produced on social media to broaden understanding of both the social topics expressed and the guidelines for interaction on these platforms (Burgess & Green, 2018; Rogers, 2019). The work was divided into two stages: the first included the gathering and distillation of data and the creation of databases, the second was the analysis of the data using quantitative and qualitative techniques.

Data was gathered over a period encompassing October 24<sup>th</sup> to December 2<sup>nd</sup> of 2021 of Spanish language tweets tagged with the hashtags #niunamenos and #25N. The period was chosen because of its proximity to the commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, celebrated on November 25<sup>th</sup>. 87 875 tweets labeled with the first hashtag and 162 985 labeled with the second were collected; retweets were not considered. Data was obtained through the Rtweet library (Kearney, 2020) for Rstudio<sup>4</sup> through Twitter’s API v1. A careful cleansing of the database was carried out and a final collection of 53 963 was obtained, called Base 1 from here on out. We then isolated tweets within this database that contained at least one hashtag that mentioned the word “justice”, made up of 927 tweets that created a sub collection we subsequently refer to as Base 2.

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<sup>4</sup> Open source integrated development environment and free access to the R programming language. It allows users to download libraries dedicated to statistical computing and graphics for data processing (RStudio Team, 2022).

The data from both bases were processed and analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, using `dplyr` (Wickham et al., 2022) and `ggplot2` (Wickham et al., 2020) libraries in the Rstudio environment. In order to answer question 1, we used quantitative techniques, whereas qualitative methods were used to answer question 2.

Using Cotter's (2019) definition of algorithmic visibility, engagement metrics were used as indicators of algorithmic visibility. Rogers (2018) defines engagement as the sum of all the indicators of interactions between an original tweet and users who comment on a quoted tweet, share it via retweets, and show their agreement through likes. To calculate the visibility of the tweets included in both databases, the total number of reaction metrics was considered, including likes, retweets, quoted tweets, and likes of quoted tweets.

In order to parcel out the visibility of the databases, the classification of high and ordinary visibility, as defined by Omena et. al. (2020), was expanded to four categories: high, medium, low, and null; these were then applied to both databases. High visibility was defined as having >1000 total reactions, medium having 999-100 reactions, low having 99-1 reactions, and null for those with no reactions. The kind of violence experienced and the country where these violent events took place were also considered for each case.

Once each base had been segmented, we only worked with Base 2 to create a qualitative analysis to identify the characteristics of form, content, and use of the Twitter interface that bestow greater visibility to the demands for justice. The variables analyzed were: appropriation of the technical elements of the platform (quoted tweets, images, external links), recipients of these demands, the affective intensity expressed in the tweet, and, finally, the access the female population has to Twitter in the countries where these demands for justice were being expressed.

## RESULTS

The findings are divided into two sections. The first analyzes the levels of visibility within Base 2 (#justiciapor with a specific name added) –

high, medium, low, and null— in relation to those same levels within Base 1 (#niunamenos and #25N). The second reports on the characteristics of tweets according to their level of visibility.

### *Visibility of Demands for Justice*

Within Base 1, made up of 53 963 tweets, 927 were identified as demands for justice, occupying a minimal space within the general database, corresponding to 1.7 per cent. These tweets are related to a total of 96 particular cases, identified through the structure of the hashtag #justiciapor or #justicia para and a name (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1  
DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE WITH THE NAME OF THE VICTIM



Purple: femicides. Pink: cases of violence.

Source: Created by the authors.

The specific goal is making the victims for whom justice is being demanded visible and naming them, and to avoid an academic objectivization, Table 1 is a composite of the women's names for whom justice has been demanded, generated in Latin American countries



TABLE 1  
SEGMENTATION OF THE DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE

Type of case reported	Visibility				Overall total
	High	Medium	Low	Null	
Femicide	6	9	42	12	69
Femicide of minors		1	4		5
Sentenced femicides		1	2		3
Trans femicides			2		2
Femicides in trial		1	1		2
Femicide (suspected)			1		1
Murder			1		1
Sentenced murders			1		1
Death due to abortion			1		1
Death by abortion – State violence			1		1
<b>Subtotal</b>					<b>86</b>
Disappearance	1	2			3
Arrest	1				1
Sexual abuse			4		4
Severe physical aggression			1		1
Forced pregnancy		1			1
<b>Overall total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>96</b>

Source: Created by the author.

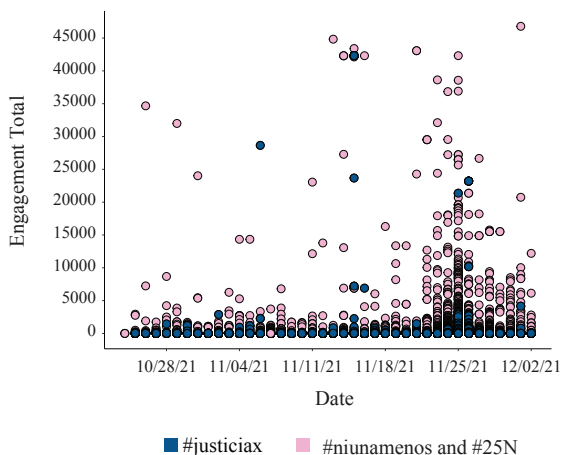
using Twitter. The segmentation of the cases is thus shown, which are mostly linked to reports and cases denoted as femicides, but unresolved; only in three instances does the tag #justice refers to a verdict and sentencing of the aggressors. These trials were concluded between two to four years after the femicides, and in two cases there have been appeals filed. The other 81 cases show a current demand for justice during the period examined, since no resolution for the victims has been obtained.

The tweets that do not specify cases are divided among general hashtags such as #justicia (justice), #justiciaparatodas (justice for all females), and #justiciaparalasnñas (justice for the girls). The difference

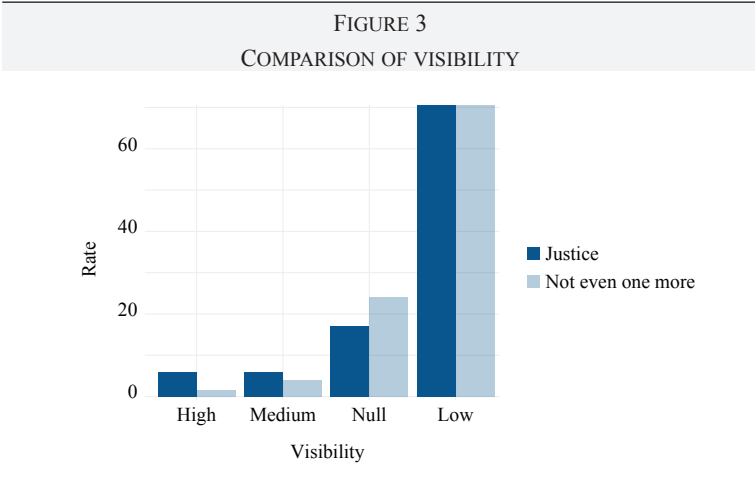
between the first and second group is that only the tweets that specify their demands reach a high, medium or low visibility. Those that call for justice in general terms are found in the low or null segments. Because of this, the analysis focuses on tweets of the first kind, whereas the others are only mentioned in sections related to low and null visibility.

Given the comparison that is shown in Figure 2, it can be deduced that, whereas the visibility of the feminist struggle against gender-based violence (pink) is highly visible in general, it increases until the apex on November 25<sup>th</sup> and the following days, there is a different pattern among the demands for justice (purple). In this second segment, visibility is related to the temporal proximity of the cases that occurred during that period, not the commemoration or recognition of murders of women that occurred in the past. Here, the correlation between the hashtags that demand justice and those that are more general -#niunamenos (not even one more), #25N- attract visibility of the case and relate it to others.

FIGURE 2  
VISIBILITY OF #JUSTICIA (JUSTICE) IN RELATION TO #NIUNAMENOS  
(NOT EVEN ONE LESS)



Source: Created by the author.



Source: Created by the author.

Despite this, Figure 3 shows that when compared to the tweets from the general database, the demands for justice have higher visibility, above all in the high and medium segments. Whereas the high visibility publications make up 1.5 percent of Base 1, in Base 2 they increase to 5 percent. In the case of medium visibility, the tweets in Base 1 make up 4 percent, while those of Base 2 increase to 6 percent.

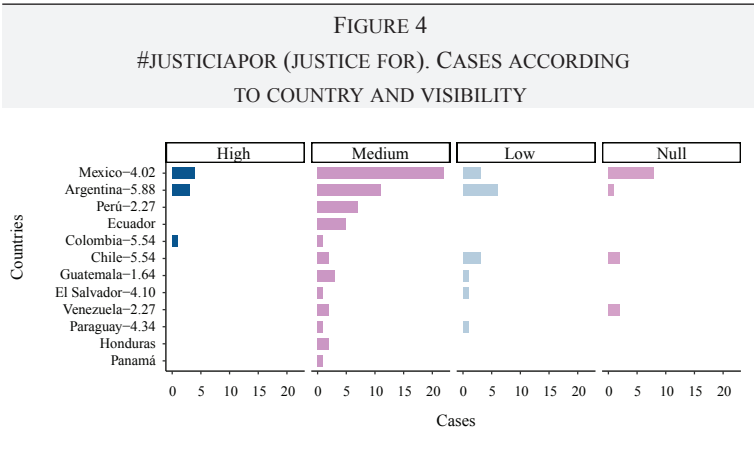
### *Characteristics and tactics of demands for justice*

Returning to the need manifested by Salguero (D’Ignazio & Klein, 2020) to stress the collection of data and details of each case of gender violence, including name, age, location, etc., we present the cases that gained the greatest visibility. Marisol Cuadras was an 18-year-old Mexican feminist activist, murdered November 25<sup>th</sup>, 2021, precisely when she was participating in a protest against gender violence in Guaymas, Sonora within the context of 25N. 19-year-old Brisa Formoso was a victim of femicide on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021 in Ranelagh, Buenos Aires, Argentina. The third case is related to the remembrance of the disappearance of Wendy Sánchez in the state of Nayarit, Mexico the day of her birthday. On January 9, 2021, as Wendy turned 33, she disappeared as she traveled to the city of Guadalajara.

When analyzing these high visibility cases, we identified the following characteristics. First, highly visible cases respond to immediacy, not the commemoration of the Day for the Elimination of Violence towards Women; this is verified by through the use of #niunamenos as represented in Figure 1. Immediacy here refers to the fact that the six femicides, the arrest, and the commemoration of Wendy Sánchez's birthday occurred during the period within which the data sample was collected. These cases circulate quickly and massively amongst female users. They are broadcast and amplified by using a variety of resources available on the Twitter interface, above all a commented tweet, which happens when a user takes an existing tweet and adds her own comment.

Other resources include videos, especially one that captures the moment that the father of Brisa Formoso learns about the femicide of his daughter, appealing to a strong emotional response, and others that mention public figures, civil servants, politicians, and public prosecutors. Users that share and comment on these tweets show empathy towards the victims, and they include themselves in a collective "they are killing us all" that places them in a subjective position. Although the most visible cases are those that receive media exposure, neither the voice of the media nor the news item are amplified, but rather other stories, other voices that are present in the Twitter sphere. The former makes visible an autonomous and independent expression of traditional media and press. According to these characteristics, these demands for justice are visible because they adapt to Twitter's algorithmic characteristics, as mentioned previously: immediacy, popularity, highly emotional videos that become viral, and links to online content. It can even be inferred that the higher visibility in Base 2 when compared to Base 1 is due to the timeliness of the tweets in reference to the events they mention. The high visibility metrics show isolated peaks in Figure 2 since, although the events in this segment are highly visible in terms of engagement, it must be said that this visibility is fleeting: high profile cases that achieve high visibility only last a few days.

Correlations were also sought between visibility and access to Twitter in different countries (Figure 4). To support this, the percentage of women who use Twitter in each country where the events included in



Cases of high and medium visibility may be repeated in lower segments.

Source: created by the author.

the sample occurred were calculated.<sup>5</sup> The results were that in Argentina female users of Twitter represent 5.88% of the total population, in Chile the number is 5.54%, whereas in Mexico the percentage is 4.02%. Although these numbers are lower than male users of Twitter (Mexico with 6.32%, Argentina with 9.25%, and Chile with 12.13%), they show a considerable force, mostly generated by female users interested in presenting an agenda and feminist demands in cyberspace. This is common in countries with fewer female users, as is the case of Guatemala (1.64%), where, despite the small number, cases are positioned in high and medium segments. The countries that bring most cases to light are Mexico and Argentina; both have a young and consolidated body of activists thanks to the struggle for the legalization of abortion and elimination of violence (Larrondo et al., 2019). Data indicates that digital activism on Twitter is effective at placing demands, and it would be more so if the base of female users and activists were expanded. This is paradoxical given the level of violence and discrimination

<sup>5</sup> Both the data of Twitter users as well as the population data by country were taken from Statista (<http://statista.org>). They correspond to year 2021 and were consulted on February 1, 2022.

they experience on this platform (Luchadoras MX, 2017). However, there are nuances in this correlation since, as seen above, the visibility of these demands also depends on elements like timeliness and the obstruction of the case, that can vary between countries during the studied period.

Press media were also used to monitor the judicial progress of highly visible cases. It was found that only in four cases has there been a preventive arrest of those accused of femicide, despite the efforts of activists, academia, and civil society to position the need for justice in the context of the demands feminists have made to governments and judicial institutions.

The strategy that prevails within the medium segment, however, is the demand for dissemination and visibility of the cases. In this instance, family members or activists appeal to female journalists and public figures asking them to aid in broadcasting the case or, in the case of the public prosecutors, that they move forward in determining the facts of the situation. A quoted tweet does not produce results as quickly or spontaneously as in high visibility cases, but the resource continues to be valuable. This segment reinforces, through these quotes, performativity as a communicative act whose purpose is to provoke an action by the intended recipient, through a plethora of posts: the purpose of this reference is to request visibility and pressure to deliver justice. Although the visibility of these cases is lower, this segment presents a strategy of resisting the algorithm: asking each other for help, collaboration, and solidarity. Two of three femicides that are found in this segment, one of which is a transfemicide, are immediate cases, while only one refers to the posting of a memory of a prior event.

When considering the correlation between the level of access to Twitter and digital activism, the cases presented in this segment are mostly different. Within the low visibility segment, most of the sample cases are found. Sixty-one of the 96 cases identified are located here, nearly all of them reported as femicides. They generally correspond to earlier, low profile and unpunished cases, previous to November 2021. There are also more countries that present cases in this segment (see Figure 3).

Within the null visibility segment, smaller and alternative media publications are found that inform on the progress of causes or convocations to local protests. Very few cases appear for the first time in this segment, only 12 out of 96, the rest of which have achieved some level of visibility. They are also older or unpunished femicides; some posts indicate progress in the cases, for example, hearings and arrests. General demands are also found, such as #justicia (justice), #justiciaparatodas (justice for all women), and #justiciaparalasnñas (justice for the girls).

Low and null visibility is correlated with the immediacy that Twitter's recommendation algorithm demands. According to what is known about the algorithm's operations, claims for justice that are not related to a recent case do not fulfill the timeliness requirement. However, in these segments, the demands for justice represent an effort to keep the murdered women's names visible despite the passage of time. A non-algorithmic visibility is created, but one that is human and persistent, based on memory and the permanence of the case in the public sphere.

## CONCLUSIONS

Returning to the question articulated by Clark-Parsons (2021) about the possibilities and limitations of digital protests, this paper identified the reach, limitations, and algorithmic function of the visibility of demands for justice on Twitter. The combination of critical datafication, data feminism, and critical studies approaches allowed for the consideration of algorithmic visibility in terms of an unequal distribution of power. It is necessary to go beyond a mere visualization of social problems through data (Ábrego Molina & Flores Mérida, 2021). Findings show that making this issue visible must be addressed together with the sociotechnical working of algorithms, platform requirements, and the strategic use of hashtags, considering that the tactical use of each one of these elements builds a component of the fight for meaning in the digital arena (Velkova & Kaun, 2021).

In relative terms, the visibility of demands for justice is comparatively greater than those tweets tagged #niunamenos. The tweets with greater

visibility are correlated with the countries with the highest number of Twitter users, as well as the visibility of their digital activism, which shows the importance of these aspects in positioning demands for justice, although the violence that digital activists experience (Luchadoras MX, 2017) can be a deterrent in increasing the user base.

Among the limitations, the analysis of data showed that the number of tweets demanding justice is low. Considering the large number of femicides committed daily in Latin America, only a few are made visible on Twitter, despite the efforts of activists and family members. Although further studies are needed that evaluate a longer period of time to confirm this, the low number of cases may also be correlated with the low use of this platform by women in the different countries in this region. Also, digital violence becomes an obstacle to extending a user base (Luchadoras MX, 2017).

Algorithmic visibility works in accordance with patriarchal power (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020): only a few cases exist in the high visibility segment, and most of these do not achieve visibility or justice, being dependent on Twitter's algorithms since visibility is obtained by compliance with all its requirements. The immediacy of tweets regarding the moment the femicide occurs is relevant to their visibility. Added to this immediacy is the attention the media gives to the case, given that Twitter and print and television media work on the whole in designating media agendas (Su & Borah, 2019). It must be considered that quantitatively highly visible content is ephemeral and contingent. The demands for justice do not reproduce the voices or information from the media, rather, they build horizontal and community broadcast strategies, appealing to the spread of the voices of female users themselves and messages that are intensely emotional, show empathy, and promote identification, thus building a space for public expression that eludes the echo chamber and reinforces its role of public arena (Colleoni et al., 2014). This effect could be caused by Twitter's own algorithms if female users were to authorize algorithmic selection on their profiles (Bandy & Diakopoulos, 2021).

However, another type of visibility was identified, not dependent on the quantitative, but rather on recurrent practices employed by feminist users: constant visibility. For example, as Flores Mérida (2022) affirms,



the fact that the hashtag #justiciapor with a specific name added is used repeatedly and transnationally, contributes to a sense of identification, collective action, exhibiting cases, and establishing facts. Incorporating a feminist perspective into this analysis, the inclusion of the names of the affected women creates identity, makes personal (*acuerpan*) (Cabnal, s.f.), and embodies the data. The emergent pattern of hashtag use denotes a constant visibility, based on repetition, as opposed to tweets tagged #niunamenos or #25N, whose visibility is contingent on other elements, specifically increasing on November 25<sup>th</sup> and nearby dates. Another type of visibility is created through this repetition and persistence, one that does not depend on quantitative metrics, but rather shares meanings and collectively faces the lack of justice, which coincides with the productivity of the trace analysis of the low visibility segment (Castillo-González et al., 2022).

The persistent and transnational use of hashtags, collaborative strategies to broadcast female users' voices, and efforts to make demands for justice visible build a machine of resistance (Reguillo, 2021), that counteracts the oblivion and algorithmic power that would otherwise seal pacts of silence together with patriarchal groups (Segato, 2016). Both algorithm-dependent visibility and persistent visibility attained by recurrent feminist methods are added to algorithmic resistance and native visibility identified by Sued et al. (2022). This finding reveals that there are different ways data, algorithms, and practices interact, envisaging the possibility of further study of this topic.

The correlation between the visibility of tweets and the algorithmic model must not be depreciated. What it shows is that obtaining visibility for social resistance topics requires specific knowledge to redirect recommendation algorithms to favor the pending demands for justice.

On the other hand, the majority of the demands studied are spontaneous and, although online collective actions were identified, they lack a strategy that would allow them to increase visibility and consequently exert pressure upon institutions. The identification of cases also corroborates the impunity that theorists and international organizations point out as occurring throughout this region. On Twitter justice is demanded, but there is no sign that justice has been achieved: only three of the 96 cases identified used the hashtag to indicate a

resolution, not a demand, and in the high visibility segment, only four preventative arrests were achieved.

At this time, the sample gathering was limited to the co-occurrence of the hashtags that demanded justice and the hashtags protesting violence against women - #25N and #niunamenos. Future research could focus directly on the demands for justice, beyond the context of these hashtags, as well as on the identification of the most visible topics expressed by digital feminist protests and how these correlate with their concerns and priorities.

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