

Mememes in the Internet feminist activism. #ViajoSola as an example of transnational mobilization

Los memes en el activismo feminista en la Red. #ViajoSola como ejemplo de movilización transnacional

Os memes no ativismo feminista na Rede. #ViajoSola como exemplo de movilização transnacional

TERESA PIÑEIRO-OTERO, Universidade da Coruña, A Coruña, España (teresa.pineiro@udc.es)

XABIER MARTÍNEZ-ROLÁN, Universidade de Vigo, Vigo, España (xabier.rolan@uvigo.es)

ABSTRACT

The appropriation of the Web 2.0 by feminist activism has enabled a greater participation of women in public discourse, providing them with the right tools to launch, disseminate and obtain support for their demands or social and political protests. From the case study of #Viajosola as a transnational feminist mobilization, we performed an analysis of memes in the conversation 2.0. This study has highlighted the common trends in the use of memes in activism 2.0 against gender inequality, mistreatment of women or media sexism.

Keywords: transnational movements, cyberactivism, political activism, Internet, social media activism, cyberfeminism, memes, communication strategies.

RESUMEN

La apropiación de la Web 2.0 por el activismo feminista ha posibilitado una mayor participación de las mujeres en el discurso público, dotándolas de las herramientas precisas para el lanzamiento, la difusión y la consecución de apoyos para sus demandas o protestas sociales y políticas. A partir del estudio de caso de #Viajosola como acción feminista transnacional, se abordó el empleo de los memes en torno a la conversación 2.0. Este estudio ha permitido destacar tendencias de uso, así como las tipologías de los memes más habituales en la acción en línea contra la desigualdad de género, la violencia contra las mujeres o el sexismo mediático.

Palabras clave: movimientos transnacionales, ciberactivismo, activismo político, Internet, social media, ciberfeminismo, memes, estrategias.

RESUMO

A apropriação da Web 2.0 pelo ativismo feminista permitiu uma maior participação das mulheres no discurso público, dotando-as das ferramentas precisas para o lançamento, divulgação e obtenção de apoio para as suas demandas ou protestos sociais e políticos. A partir do estudo de caso de #Viajosola como ação feminista transnacional, abordou-se a aplicação dos memes em torno ao diálogo 2.0. Este estudo permitiu destacar as tendências de uso bem como tipologias de memes mais habituais na ação on-line contra a desigualdade de género, a violência contra as mulheres ou o sexismo na mídia.

Palavras-chave: movimentos transnacionais, ciberativismo, ativismo político, Internet, social media, ciberfeminismo, memes, estratégias.

• How to cite:

Piñeiro-Otero, T. y Martínez-Rolán, X. (2016). Los memes en el activismo feminista en la Red. #ViajoSola como ejemplo de movilización transnacional. *Cuadernos.info*, (39), 17-37. doi: 10.7764/cdi.39.1040

INTRODUCTION

The strong development of the new social movements (Castells, 2012) revealed a profound transformation of the political event in the network. This transformation is reflected in the emergence of new non-institutional forms of politics, the existence of a global network of users and the emergence of mass “self-communication” (Castells, 2009).

In this context, political forms and manifestations are separated from institutions to form a complex environment, where old and new media converge (Rueda Ortiz, 2009), in which the Internet acquires a determining role as an expansion of the public sphere (Westling, 2007). In the network, the new tools of participation model and create places and formulas for social interaction, redefining aspects such as activism or collective identity (McCaughy & Ayers, 2003).

The penetration of the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs) has favored the rapid expansion of local social movements and the adhesion to them, increasing their projection and turning them into global phenomena. This unprecedented capacity for mobilization has marked the beginning of a new era for social movements (Castells, 2012, Díaz Martínez & González Orta, 2016).

Cyber-activism is often included in non-conventional political action, understood as alternative tactics and expressions to traditional political structures, habitual in movements such as the feminist (Rucht, 1992). These practices are developed with comfort in social media, which occupy a crucial place in the emergence of new social movements (Castells, 2009, 2012; Haro-Barba & Sampedro, 2011).

The possibilities of interaction, the low cost of this kind of communication, the rapidity in the creation and diffusion of the messages, the language, the shareability of these 2.0 services and, above all, its extensive user community, make them valuable for online political action (Yoo & Gil de Zúñiga, 2014).

Nowadays, social networks have a great impact on the communicative dimension of political activism, as well as on the classical political agents and institutions (Casero-Ripollés, 2015). Castells (2009) even points out that social networks are reconfiguring power relations and the weight of citizenship in them. On the one hand, the important penetration of social media allows certain individuals or groups to launch their manifesto and achieve unthinkable visibility and impact in a

conventional context. On the other, these social platforms facilitate the information and participation of individuals, a matter that can positively contribute to their assumption of a more active and dynamic role in the social and political sphere.

The access possibilities that social networks and other 2.0 services provide to the citizenry also allow the development of self-mediation processes to promote their own themes and frameworks, constructing an alternative and critical narrative to the hegemonic paradigm, conducted by the mainstream media (Casero-Ripollés, 2015; Fuchs, 2014).

In this sense, self-mediation is a central focus of global feminist activism: platforms and profiles 2.0 collect and disseminate information obviated in the media, provide different perspectives of current information or incorporate new topics into the social debate. These are plural initiatives open to citizen participation, which allows for greater coverage and of better quality in a sort of collective intelligence (Lévy, 2001).

This new reality demands a rethinking of digital writing practices as a result of the social interaction between different users and the appropriation of creative technologies by Internet-users (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007).

THE NETWORK AS A SPACE FOR FEMINIST ACTIVISM

Globalization has led to the development of a new social and cultural context structured by new objects of global dimension, such as the rights and empowerment of women (Serres, 2007). The presence of this object in national and international entities and in feminist activism has manifested in parallel with an international public opinion with global common values, although differences between large cultural areas persist (Martínez & Orta, 2016).

Despite the existence of previous international networks of women (Antentas & Vivas, 2012; Boix, 2001), the precedents of transnational feminist activism tend to be in 2011. This year, the various social protests (Arab Spring, 15M movement, student revolts In Chile, Occupy Wall Street ...) reached worldwide importance as new social movements of the Internet era (Antentas & Vivas, 2012; Castells, 2012). These movements are characterized by the absence of organizational

structures in favor of a distributed network, which implies a rupture with the conventional activism.

Like other transnational movements, online feminist activism is made up of sets of actors with common purposes and the ability to organize coordinated actions in different countries (Khagram, Riker & Sikkink, 2002). Following McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996), the emergence and development of women's movements can be approached from three interrelated perspectives: the opportunities offered by political systems and institutions, organizational resources and existing collective dynamics, or the interpretive frameworks that influence them.

Regarding Internet and ICTs, women have used various resources, from mailing lists (Boix, 2001) to drones (Suárez, 2016), for their connection, as well as for the organization, diffusion or visibilization of their actions. These resources have multiple potentialities in the empowerment of women, without obviating "the semantic bias and non-neutrality of technologies" (De Salvador, 2012, section 1, paragraph 1, see also Sabanes, 2004).

While cyber-feminism encompasses various actions and objectives, such as protest, petition signing or organization, Keller (2014) points out the education of the nodes of their network on feminist issues as the main practice of women in social media, which implies the generation of community and the visibility of the gender inequalities from a personal positioning.

In this process, Keller (2014) transcends the debate about the legitimacy of cyber-activism to focus on the complexity of those spaces and the innovative formulas with which women are producing meanings.

The colonization of social platforms by feminist activism has made possible a greater participation in public discourse, giving the participants in this movement the precise tools for the launching, diffusion and adhesion of their demands or social and political protests. This utopian and enthusiastic view of technologies makes cyber-feminism a positive identifying point (Paasonen, 2011). Especially from the perspective of cyber-feminism as a feminist culture within the framework of "information and communication technologies and digital media, their emancipatory uses, as well as the social hierarchies and divisions involved in their production and ubiquitous presence" (Paasonen, 2011, 338); a

perspective—defended by Patterson (1992) or Squires (2000)—not univocal.

Paasonen (2011, pp. 340-341) points out two more perspectives in the conceptualization of cyber-feminism: (i) the analysis of human-machine relations in a culture dominated by technology (Plant or Braidotti's perspective); and (ii) cyber-feminism as a critical analysis of the technological culture, which integrates a questioning of existing forms and practices (as in the works of Haraway or Kemper).

This conceptual breadth is reflected in the integration of certain positions that move away from feminism. Although authors such as Pierce (1998, in Paasonen, 2011) consider cyber-feminism as a movement that clearly identifies as feminist, for Plant (1996, p.282) "it may not be feminism at all."

Given the complexity intrinsic to the term cyber-feminist, we have chosen to use the term feminist cyber-activism to name the reality of the study.

The study of women's activism in social media can be approached from a theoretical perspective, which conceives feminism as an activist practice (Conway, 2011; Feigenbaum, 2015) and the one that starts from global feminisms to explain social phenomena on a global scale (Connell, 2013).

Social media represents an opportunity as a space for the development of a new form of international feminist activism, located on the margins of conventional political and social action. These platforms have the potential to open new spaces for social and intellectual commitment (Nagar & Lock Swarr, 2010), and to imply very diverse, more or less participatory, profiles.

According to Nagar & Lock Swarr, (2010), transnational feminist movements constitute an intersectional set of agreements, tools and practices that can (i) address issues such as race, class, gender, and heteronormativity logics and practices of globalization and patriarchal capitalism; (ii) deal with the complex and contradictory forms in which these processes inform and conform, as a result of a series of subjectivities and the understanding of individual and collective action; and (iii) to combine criticisms, actions and self-reflections to resist the preconceptions of what feminist mobilization should be in a given space and place.

In a context of great dynamism, we begin to see a change in the way of thinking and confronting social

problems and collective practices, revealing the diversity and multidimensionality of the groups, as well as the conformation of open and diffuse identities (Esteban, 2016). As Esteban points out, these transformations take place simultaneously at four levels: (i) the objectives and agendas of the groups, which are no longer programmed to adapt to the context; (ii) forms of militancy and the structure of movements, especially among the younger generations in favor of more flexible, horizontal and porous formulas; (iii) concrete actions, with high doses of creativity, heirs of the movement of the seventies and eighties; and (iv) network and global discourses, as well as alliances among various activists.

These transformations appeal to a new way of understanding politics, one that “transcends the idea of the organized, the ideological and the rational, to extend it to the space of everyday, of dialogical interaction with others, and of action” (Pujal, 2003, p 131). This is a democratization of feminist action in which the use and penetration of the 2.0 platforms has played a crucial role (Castells, 2009, Fernández Prados, 2012, Rendueles, 2014).

In the area of social media there has been a reconceptualization of communities and networks as central elements of a feminist activism that plunges from the mainstream to a diversity of subcultural and even intergenerational spaces and social movements (Garrison, 2010). Despite the fact that social platforms seem to be a new way of activism, it is necessary to contextualize their use for social mobilization, and their possibilities to update some tactics of traditional feminism (Paasonen, 2011). In this sense, the object of this study has been to analyze online feminist action from the perspective of memes. These have been conceptualized as communicative resources that facilitate the transmission-replication of complex ideas through a mostly visual and simple content (Styiker, 2011), and have been adopted by cyber-activism for the viral expansion of its ideas among women of the world that would otherwise not participate in political actions.

MEMES, ACTIVISM AND COMMUNICATION 2.0

Carpentier (2007) points out differences between access, interaction and participation, which mark different levels of involvement of the Internet users in social platforms, although all of these forms of insertion

are manifestations of the “participatory culture” (Jenkins, 2006). This culture implies a new relationship between the citizenry and the media, the result of the convergence of consumption and production practices.

Considering the aggregate public opinion –media, polls and ballot boxes– the discursive public opinion, which is a result of an expanding collective conversation (Resina de la Fuente, 2010), becomes relevant. In this context, there is the emergence, expansion, appropriation and disappearance of ideas, a process for which the term ‘meme’ has been recovered.

When talking about memes, it is often referred to certain visual contents of marked ironic or humorous nature with origin in the network. However –as Freire (2016) points out– memes are not limited to a ludic aspect, but, independently of their spontaneity, can be considered as collective and emerging actions, an issue that refers to a much more complex reality of the phenomenon.

The term ‘meme’ was coined by Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene*, originally published in 1976, as opposed to the biological gene, to refer to minimal units of cultural information transferred between individuals and/or generations through processes of replication or transmission (Dawkins, 2006). Following this definition, certain songs, fashion trends, catchy phrases, images, etc., can be considered memes, all of them living structures likely to expand their reach.

The process of cultural selection that gives permanence to certain memes to the detriment of others lies –according to Rushkoff (2010)– in their usefulness. Memes are “replicated if they were useful and powerful or died out if they were not. Just as a species can get stronger through natural selection of genes, a society gets stronger through the natural selection of memes” (pp. 100-101).

In Internet, Coleman (2012) defines memes as “viral images, videos and catchphrases under constant modification by users, and with a propensity to travel as fast as the Internet can move them” (p.109). These contents constitute a form of expression and participation of the online communities (Davison, 2012; Vickery, 2014), through platforms of great connectivity and shareability that enable their rapid consumption and propagation (García Huerta, 2014; Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). Therefore, both the transmitted idea and the meme’s expression should facilitate

the contagion by its striking, satirical, humorous or universal character (Chen, 2012; Hansen, Arvidsson, Nielsen, Colleone & Etter, 2011; Huntington, 2013).

The digital essence of these memes and their provocative contents facilitate their viralization, while their little elaborated¹ execution reinforces and encourages their creation, integrating the User Distributed Content and the User Generated Content in the same communicative process.

The sources for the creation of memes are diverse: cinema, television, music, public characters, advertising, news, etc. Any content that can be recognized and memorable for who produces it and its community is susceptible of being transformed into a meme. The community brings value to the meme by disseminating, creating or modifying the contents to suit them to their environment or their communicative needs (Knobel & Lanshear, 2007, Santibáñez, 2011, Vickery, 2014). The collective and collaborative component of memes, coupled with their communicative ability and effectiveness, make them exception formulas for online activism.

In words of Abad (2013), “until very recently, revolutions raised the population with words. Nowadays, social movements awake, too, with images. Even with a single photograph.” Here are some examples:

- In the Arab Spring (2010-2013), hundreds of images distributed on the Web formed the narrative of the mobilization (Harlow, 2013).
- The abduction in Nigeria of 230 girls by the Islamist group Boko Haram (April 14, 2014), led celebrities from around the globe –from Michelle Obama to Malala–to photograph themselves with the #BringOurGirlsBack hashtag to denounce the situation, the lack of action by public authorities or the violence against girls around the world.
- The forced disappearance in Iguala, Mexico City, of 43 students (September 2014) saw the network’s feelings channeled around the hashtag #hastaencontrarlos. This, and the photomontage with the images of the studentes, became symbols of repulse and support for the families, but also of denouncing the disappearance of people, institutional corruption or the inactivity of public powers.

- The attack on the French weekly satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo (January 2015) provoked a worldwide reaction of sympathy with the victims through the hashtag “Je suis Charlie”. The cover of number 1,178, “*Tout est pardonné*” and the drawing of a pencil became world symbols of condemnation of terrorism and support for freedom of expression (Martínez-Rolán & Piñeiro-Otero, 2016).

In all these cases, as Re (2014) points out, memes acquire a metonymical role that allows the understanding of “a more complex political fact in a brief, powerful and effective multimedia content [in these cases, images and texts] that generates a immediate reaction, either for or against, but that is not indifferent to anyone” (pp. 39-409).

The identification of social and political movements with an image, a symbol or a certain motto are not exclusive phenomena of the Network. However, the Internet accelerates and multiplies the process of creation, adoption or transformation of these contents, making them contagious phenomena which has led them to transcend the concept of image (video, text ...) to become an idea: a meme. “It’s the power of memocracy. The creative force of digital ARTivism for social ACTivism” (Gutiérrez Rubí, 2014, p.34).

In addition to contents, Freire (2016), McKelvey and Menczer (2013) or Shifman (2013) propose to conceptualize tags as memes, as long as they have been appropriated and re-signified by the community. In the field of gender studies, Rentschler and Thrift (2015) or Thrift (2014) call these labels “events”, for their capacity to bring together dozens of users at a specific time.

Feminist activism has taken advantage of the potential of memes to launch their postulates, defend their positions on certain events regarding current events and involve thousands of users around the world. This activism often faces itself against the role that society, public administration or the media, among others have given to women.

METHODOLOGY

To analyze the use of memes by feminist cyber-activism, we made an approach to a transnational mobilization on the network, and to its writing practices, using case study as a research method.

This method, which has a long history in the social sciences, is considered suitable for exploratory research, especially if they deal with novel subjects (Chetty, 1996; Yin, 1989). For Eisenhardt (1989, in Martínez Carazo, 2011), the case study is aimed at understanding the dynamics present in singular contexts, combining different methods of collecting information for the purpose of describing, verifying or generating theory (Martínez Carazo, 2011).

If we assume that feminism presents a vision of knowledge as a social practice from which research is constructed as a balance between theory and praxis (Fulladosa-Leal, 2015), this work emerges from a case study for a deeper reflection, as proposed by Longino (1990). From the perspective of political action, the object of study is located in the area of cyber-activism, as part of the phenomenon of the new transnational social movements of the Internet era (Antentas & Vivas, 2012; Castells, 2012); and, more specifically, in memes as practices of action, participation and collective significance.

The complexity of the research object required complementing the case study with other qualitative methods, such as documentary analysis, digital ethnography and critical discourse analysis from a multimodal perspective; each with specific objectives. The documentary study helped in the construction of a chronology of the event and allowed to deepen into the information collected by the online media on the same subject. Digital ethnography –a qualitative method of partial approximation without integration– was an ideal technique to approach the relational processes, types of users, behaviors and dynamics of the virtual community around #ViajoSola (Hine, 2000; Turpo, 2008). In addition, we made an approximation to the number of interactions and tendencies using tools like Twittonomy (twittonomy.com), FollowTheHashtag (followthehashtag.com) or Google trends (google.es/trends/). This quantitative approach was essential to identify the memes in the social conversation and to trace the evolution of this mobilization.

Finally, the critical analysis of the discourse is ideally suited to reveal how forms of domination and/or resistance to domination are generated in concrete contexts. This approach allowed the questioning of discourse structures, as social domain, in conversation 2.0 and media texts (Van Dijk, 1999). The combination in the digital media of various systems of signs (modes

and mechanisms for their production and understanding led to the development of a multimodal analysis.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) point out four strata in the multimodal analysis: discourse (identifies the theme, context or characters), design (conceptualization of the form of a semiotic production), production (material realization of the communicative product) and distribution (re-coding of the product for the specific media-support). In the case of memes, these strata can be assimilated to the basic perspectives pointed out by Davison (2012), so that the manifestation (external phenomenon of the meme) would be equivalent to the distribution. The behavior (method of manipulation of that manifestation) would be equivalent to the strata of design and production, and the ideal (transmitted concept) would be the discourse in the theory of Kress and van Leeuwen (2001).

For the study of the images we used the proposal of semiotic-visual analysis of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and, more specifically, the representational metafunction (what is the image about) and the interactive metafunction (what type of relationship is established with the viewer), functions that have been considered related to a greater interaction with the contents.

Within the representational function, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) differentiate between (i) conceptual images, static representations without people in interaction and (ii) narrative images that, through vectors of movement (action) or look (reaction), present actions in process of change.

As for the interactive function of the images, we analyzed (i) the visual contact that differentiates between offer (images without visual contact between represented-receivers subjects), and demand (if the images seek active involvement of the viewer through the look); (ii) degree of social distance (intimate, personal, social and public or impersonal), which is directly related to the framing of the images; (iii) degree of producer-receiver involvement with representation from the angle of view (frontal suggestive of involvement and oblique, of distancing); and (iv) degree of power of the subjects represented within the image and of these with the receiver, related to the vertical angle of view (upper, medium shot) of the image.

The use of memes for political activism constitutes an innovative approach in the field of feminist mobilization. Some works in this line are the one of Freire (2016) on an action in Brazil; Thrift (2014) and Rentschler and

Thrif (2015) around international meme-events or that of Burgos, Mandillo and Martínez (2014), based on their own experience in MemesFeminista.com, all case studies like the one proposed.

Based on the idea of McKelvey and Menczer (2013) of memes-tags, we selected the mobilization #ViajoSola, given its transnational feminist action character with great repercussion in the Spanish-speaking sphere and, in general, of the whole world. It is an ephemeral mobilization that integrated the action and denounces on gender inequality, violence against women or media sexism in social conversation 2.0.

The selection of #ViajoSola has limited the manifestation (hashtag or lemmas and images with greater transcendence within the meme) and the transmitted concept, given the close relationship between tags, objectives and/or reality on which they want to influence.

The approach to this transnational feminist action took place in two moments: (i) in the midst of the effervescence of the online mobilization (March, 2016), to gather data of activity and more relevant contents; and (ii) six months later (September, 2016), to determine the evolution of the mobilization, its main memes, as well as concrete details of this collective action. This double approach reduced the obsolescence of data on the process² and made it possible to detect the disappearance of content relevant to this collective mobilization.

BACKGROUND

As with many online demonstrations, this mobilization started from a concrete event: the disappearance and murder of two young females Argentinean in Ecuador.

On February 22, 2016, Marina Menegazzo and María José Coni were in Montañita, an enclave of the Ecuadorian Ruta del Sol frequented by tourists, when their track was lost. Days later (February 29) the police found their dead bodies with signs of violence.

As Heguy (2016) recalls, the fate of Menegazzo and Coni was similar to that of other backpackers, such as Irina Montoya and María Dolores Sánchez (murdered in 1998 in García del Río, Buenos Aires), Cassandre Bouvier and Houria Moumni (raped and murdered in Salta), or Annagreth Wurgler (disappeared in La Rioja, Argentina, in 2004). However, in the case of Marina and María José, social platforms played a crucial role.

On February 27th, the Menegazzo and Coni families spread pictures of their daughters on Twitter and Facebook, appealing to the online community in their search. This call had a viral expansion (one of the tweets registered more than 10,000 interactions), implying in its diffusion the President of Ecuador, Rafael Correa.

Also on Twitter, José Serrano, Ecuador's Secretary of Interior, reported on February 28 about the start of the search for Marina and María José. Hours later, his profile announced the arrest of two people related to their disappearance and murder.

Social media served as a wake-up call to the action of the security forces and subsequent social mobilization. It was an action that began under the label #NiUnaMenos, but soon reached a differentiated entity in the network.

In the origins of #ViajoSola and the contents disseminated through this hashtag should be the media treatment and public opinion about the event, which reopened the debate on the limitations of women in society. In this regard, on March 1, Guadalupe Acosta, a Paraguayan Communication student, published in her Facebook profile a letter entitled "Yesterday they killed me", written in the first person as if it were one of the young women killed (a publication that Facebook eliminated of the wall of the author last August). This letter reached a viral expansion, to which its publication in various media contributed, becoming one of the first memes of the protest.

The humiliation that came after was worse than death. From the moment they had my inert body, no one wondered where was the son of a bitch who ended my dreams, my hopes, my life. No, they began to ask useless questions (...). What clothes were you wearing? Why were you alone? How can a woman travel without company? You got into a dangerous neighborhood, what did you expect? (Acosta, 2016)

The process of blame in the media discourse became evident through allusions to certain aspects, such as that the young women were backpackers, traveling alone (understood as such, without male company), that they were partying in Montañita, that they dancing too much, or even that they had exposed themselves by voluntarily accompanying—allegedly—their killers. As the journalist Ruiz-Navarro (2016) joked: "To leave their houses was reckless, to go to

another country, ‘alone’ (although in fact they went together), even worse; wanting to know the world was a provocation to murder.”

This process of attacking the victims had its maximum exponent in Hugo Marietán (Big Bang!, 2016). In a statement to the cyber media BigBang, the Argentinean psychiatrist described the young women as propitiatory victims, understanding as such “the victim who assumes a high risk and somehow forms part of what mobilizes the crime.” In the same statements, the expert ruled that Meganazzo and Coni “played with fire and had high chances that something happened to them due to the conditions of the place.”

In her column in *El Espectador*, Ruiz-Navarro (2016) defended the freedom of young women, strongly criticizing the media and society for repressing women’s freedom, blaming those whose behavior is out of the “norm.”

Gender-based violence, sexual harassment, femicides and rape construct imaginary barriers, delimit those places where women “cannot go.” Little by little, and “for safety,” women are confined to private spaces, where, to their horror, we are also a frequent target of domestic violence.

Like Ruiz-Navarro or Acosta, the online community mobilized against media coverage and numerous repressive remarks on the Web, under the label #ViajoSola, creating various memes to influence the right of women to travel alone and safe, or relapsing in

the concept of female “solitude” (the young backpackers did not travel alone). This action was articulated mainly through Facebook and Twitter, platforms that favored the sharing of content and the community’s interaction with them.

The mobilization of Internet users developed in a concentrated way during the month of March. Its point of maximum expansion was on March 12, when the publication of the news in several worldwide media coincided with the distribution on Facebook of the video “#ViajoSola Violence towards women (from the Mexican group Plumas Atómicas), which tells the story of the young backpackers from a critical perspective (with more than 100,000 interactions between comments, ratings and timeshare).

In this line, the mobilization became a global feminist action, involving both Spanish-speaking users and from other spheres of the planet.

MAIN MEMES

This study has identified more than a hundred memes –appropriate contents and disseminated by the community–, mostly visual. In addition to being structured around a same label-event, #ViajoSola, all of them share an ideal: women’s right to travel free and without fear, which sometimes derives from a claim about the concept of female “solitude”.

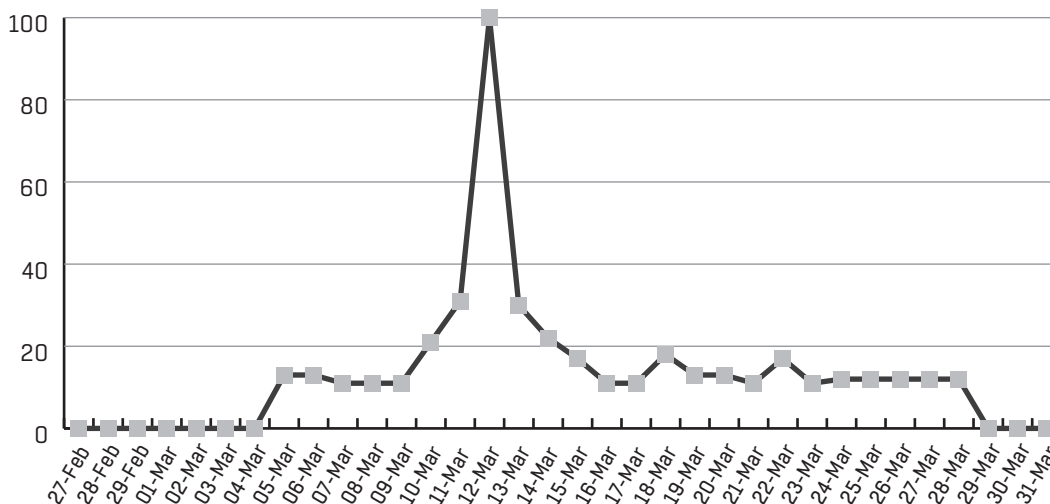


Figure 1. Evolution of Internet users’ interest in #ViajoSola.

Source: Google Trends.

Depending on their design or behavior, the most viral memes stand out from their illustrations. Renowned authors such as Voulgaris, Pola and Alterna have participated in the mobilization with the creation of colorful illustrations, even of naive aesthetics, featuring two female figures adorned with backpacks. They are illustrations whose discourse or ideal can be understood as a tribute to Marina and María José, or as a symbolic representation of all those women who travel alone.

Following the semiotic-visual analysis of Krees and van Leeuwen (1996), these illustrations can be defined in the representational plane as images-action, since the represented people appear in movement, walking and even floating. From the interactive perspective, the images that predominate are those whose visual contact responds to the “offer” type, with a degree of social distance (long shots), although the angle (frontal) indicates a relation of implication and equality between the represented subjects and the receiver.

The likability of such images (i.e., the ability to like and generate sympathy in Internet users), added to the self-referential character and its lack of ascription, placed the illustrations as the main memes of this mobilization 2.0.

Other contents of great virality were the photographs. This type of memes responds to two typologies depending on their behavior and the participation of the Internet community: the photographs featuring Meganazzo and Coni, on the one hand, and the snapshots of users, on the other.

From the moment of their disappearance, diverse photographs of Marina and Maria José were disseminated. First were the images distributed by the families to promote their search, then multiple snapshots of the young women, happy, many of them enjoying their last trip, as a direct attack on the role of victims that the media and society had assigned them.

These photographs, extracted from their social profiles, can be classified mainly as reaction images, by sustaining the look to the camera-viewer. As for the interactive function, they are essentially demand images, which present an intimate-personal distance (through selfies and medium shots) and appeal to the implication of the receiver, with which they establish a relationship of equality.

In addition to these photographs, which helped to construct an identity of the young women alternative to the one of the media, the users contributed their own images to the social mobilization, building themselves as activists and free women. Memes of this type share

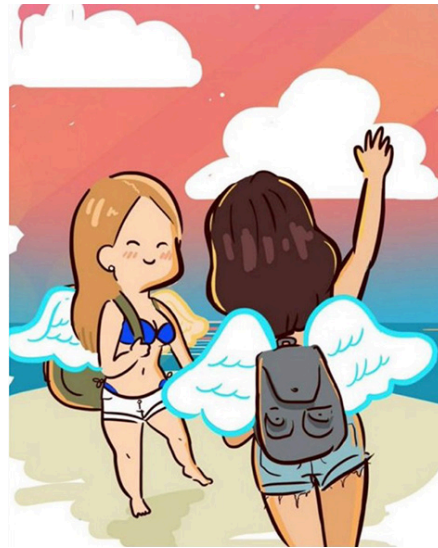
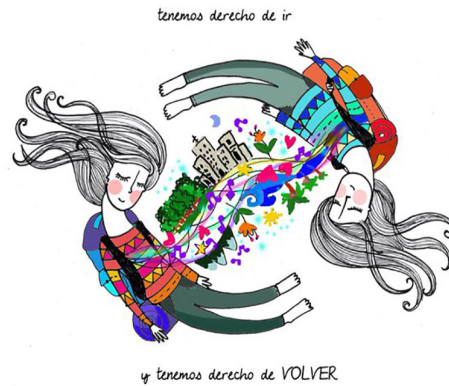


Figure 2. Illustrations in #ViajoSola.

Sources: Arratia (2016), Alonso (2016), El Vocero de PR (2016).

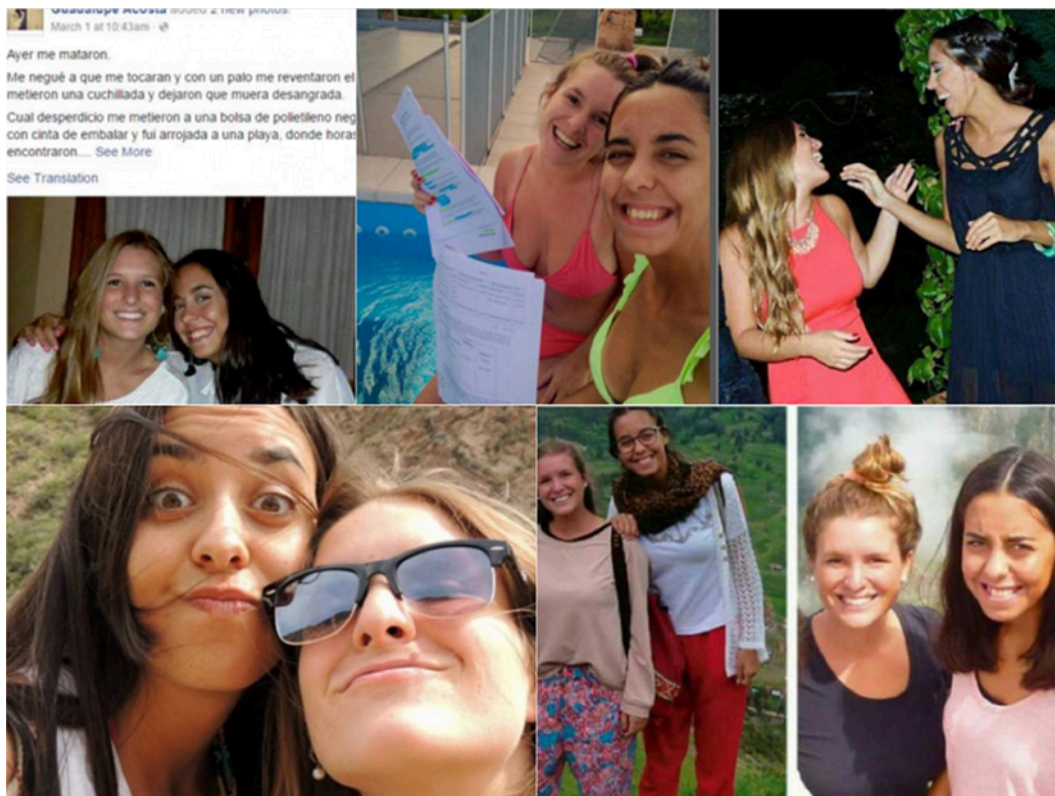


Figure 3. Collage of photos of Marina and María José.

Source: Acosta (2016).

both the ideal (the right to travel alone and safe), and the manifestation and behavior: photographs of the users “alone” (alone or with other women) in places around the world. These photographs were accompanied by simple messages, with texts that support feminist positioning and/or illustrate personal experiences.

From a semiotic-visual perspective, the photographs of the users are mostly action images, since they present women walking or enjoying a specific trip, with the horizon as a goal, although they were also reaction images, which show the protagonists posing for the camera with a landscape as background. If we consider the visual contact, the action images show the protagonists on their backs (offer), while in the reaction images the represented subjects look at the viewer (demand).

In general, the photographs of the users share a social or public distance (long shots), as well as a neutral angle that shows a relation of equality

between the represented subject (usually in solitude) and the receiver.

Beyond the meaning that Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) give to broad frames and visual contact, the use of these resources in the images of users can be related to an attempt to give protagonism to the message—over the person—in the social mobilization, or even with the privacy of the women portrayed.

In some cases, the behavior of the meme becomes more complex, integrating overprinted texts ranging from the #ViajoSola hashtag to specific aspects of its positioning. The production of these macro images³, more elaborated, is often made by qualified users (designers, bloggers, etc.), as well as entities or brands.

The creation and dissemination of these photographs correspond to users from all over the world, as shown by the messages in various languages that accompany them, reaffirming the transnational nature of this feminist mobilization.

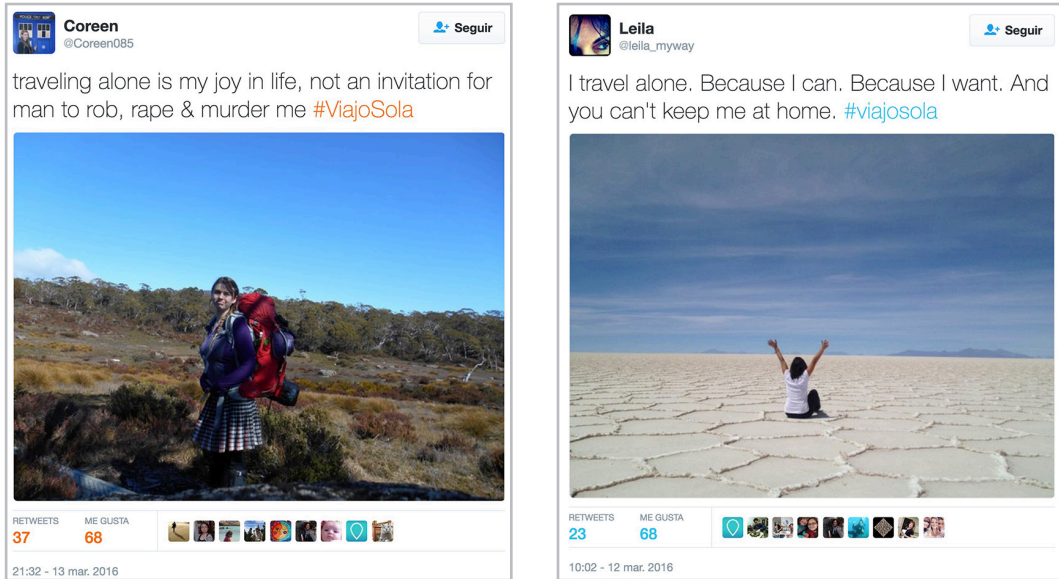


Figure 4. Photographs of users disseminated through #ViajoSola

Sources: Coreen (2016) and Leila (2016).

Another typology of images with presence in #ViajoSola are graphic texts, compositions that play with texts, typographies and colors to create a fundamentally visual message, of demand and protest. In these cases, there has been a majority presence of brand profiles –usually blogs or travel platforms–, which imply a lesser amateurism in the design or behavior of memes.

Regardless of its manifestation and behavior, among the hundreds of images that made up the #ViajoSola

narrative, there are certain content that present a tone closer to the usual memes of the network, without losing its protest character.

Despite the tragic event that led to the social mobilization, some have used irony to combat (and somehow educate) the concept of female solitude (an ideal derived from the main concept of the mobilization). This tone has led to a greater involvement of Internet users in the dissemination of content, even those who are reluctant to be politically involved in this type of action.



Figure 5. Macro images.

Sources: Sarepa (2016), The World Wander (2016) and Medina (2016).



Figure 6. TGraphic texts.

Sources: Travenge (2016), Heguy (2016) and González Pascual (2016)



Figure 7. Image that emulates a survey.

“How many women must travel together so the press don't say they travelled “alone”?”

Source: Katow on the water (2016).



Figure 8. Educational-combative cartoon
 “Being a free woman is not a crime! Do not defend the criminal! #nooneless”

Source: Fratini (2016).

Other memes with a certain educational vocation are also relevant, aimed at forming –and making reflect– the online community about the reason for the mobilization or the pernicious character of certain positions. An example of this is the cartoon of Sara Fratini, whose critical and combative character, coupled with the likeability of its manifestation, reached a viral expansion on Twitter (with more than a thousand interactions in this social platform).

The production and distribution of these images generated a narrative of the global mobilization, incorporated and widespread by the Internet community and, more specifically, by feminist users and activists. In this narrative, there are only few memes that reference

to the popular culture; they are mostly original content, created specifically for this online action.

LABELS

The selection of #ViajoSola as an object of study implied the metonymical character of this hashtag, which gives name to the feminist action, as well as its integration in all the analyzed memes. The great diffusion of this label, as well as its appropriation by the community, facilitated its consideration like meme.

The global nature of this mobilization led some non-Spanish-speaking users to incorporate in their messages such etiquette and translation as a way to

show their social network the object of their political activism and even to involve them in the social mobilization.

In addition to the identification tag of the movement, the action was articulated around the hashtag #NiUnaMenos, which is already an allegation against gender violence in the world. This label, mainly used at the beginning as a reaction to the disappearance and murder of the young women, emerged as a cyber-feminist action in Argentina against gender violence and femicides (term derived from homicide and feminine, Rusell & Harmens, 2001). It is a “never again” allegation that has been shared by various users around the world, turning this action into a transnational movement.

In the context of the #ViajoSola feminist action, other hashtags have been identified as part of the online writing practices of Internet users, of limited expansion and projection in the Internet community.

PARTICIPATION OF THE USER COMMUNITY

The mobilization around #ViajoSola gathered and mobilized hundreds of Internet users around the world. More than organizations and promoters, in #ViajoSola we should speak of labels and messages promoted-appropriate and re-distributed by a distributed network of users. This non-adherence –or apparent non-adherence– of the contents strengthened the commitment and participation of the user community, increasing its scope and its memetical potential.

However, while the social action shows the existence of a majority of users and activists, the analysis of memes has made it possible to verify the presence of certain brands that integrate to this mobilization 2.0, assuming an active role in the production of contents. These brands, which include platforms, blogs or online media specialized in travel, benefited from visibility through participation in the action 2.0, while showing their audiences one of their corporate values.

The analysis of memes has also allowed us to verify the existence of qualified users –illustrators, designers, etc.– promoters of the most representative memes of the cyber-activist action, given their greater diffusion and recognition. Within online mobilization, the user community has fundamentally developed the role of content dissemination, an important role in allowing the expansion of the

action 2.0 to the global level, transforming it into a transnational feminist movement.

In any case, in addition to collaborating in the dissemination of the first images, the community of users turned to cyber-feminist action, creating and promoting their own photographs with the label #ViajoSola: amateur content that acquired a certain impact in the community and in the network, becoming memes.

CONCLUSIONS

#ViajoSola was a cyber-feminist action that emerged spontaneously as a repulse to the social and media treatment of the femicide of two young women. The projection reached by this label managed to involve hundreds of Internet users from around the world, consolidating as a transnational mobilization of the Internet era as indicated by Castells (2012) or Díaz Martínez and González Orta (2016).

The analysis of this meme-event, as called by Rentschler and Thrift (2015), allowed to deepen into the forms, languages and resources used by the user community to conceptualize gender violence and to claim the freedom of women. Within the framework of this action, the images whose expansion in social conversation 2.0 made them symbols of mobilization became particularly relevant.

The lack of adhesion of these contents (not identified with parties or political entities), the attractiveness of its manifestation and its diffusion through social platforms of great penetration, propitiated its virality and, as highlighted by Martínez Rolán and Piñeiro Otero (2016), involved in the mobilization users reluctant to re-signify politically.

Although the diversity of manifestations, producers and subjects has led to different typologies of graphic memes, the semiotic-visual analysis has made it possible to verify the predominance of narrative images, with a certain balance between action and reaction images. This balance is reflected in the type of visual contact, given the correspondence, in this mobilization, between action-demand and reaction-offer images. These images appeal to the involvement of the recipients, although they present different degrees of social distance depending on the represented subjects: intimate or personal, in the photographs of the two young women, and social or public in the remaining contents.

In the framework of #ViajoSola, community involvement has been oriented mainly to the massive distribution of content rather than to its production or transformation, as can be defined from the conceptualization of Casero-Ripollés (2016). As Dean (2005) points out, in many cases technological fetishism generates an illusion of action and participation in the public sphere that does not correspond to reality.

However, it has been possible to verify a process of appropriation of the label by female users, who produced and shared their own contents as a form of protest. Such appropriation can be considered a further step in its activist position, which also implies a redefinition of the promoter subject: it does not constitute only a defense of women's freedom to move around the world alone; they also define and identify themselves with the subject of such action ("I also travel alone").

Another characteristic of #ViajoSola, compared to other online feminist actions, is the construction of a narrative in which the represented subjects are shown free. This contributes to an image contrary to that of vulnerable people or propitiatory victims of social or media discourse, and completely unrelated to the unequivocal interpellation of the violence highlighted by Núñez Puente, Rubira García and Fernández Romero (2013).

The participation of the community in the construction of content is an implicit element in the consideration of a meme from its first conceptualization (Davison, 2006). Rentschel and Thrif (2015) go further to point out the process of transmission and replication

as essential in distinguishing memes from any other viral content.

Without falling into a utopian vision of the network, the fact is that cyber-activism has become an interesting alternative for the empowerment of women. However, although the Internet allows women to avoid the silence imposed by the mainstream media, Internet users themselves, who—scorned in the supposed anonymity of the network—attack or undervalue these initiatives, also censoring them.

The approximation made to conversation 2.0 has revealed the existence of numerous negative and denigrating comments regarding the action developed, its contents, or the subjects promoting the communication or the victim subjects (as they are called by Núñez Puente, Rubira García and Fernández Romero, 2013). In addition, the approach to social mobilization a posteriori made relevant another type of censorship: that of the platforms 2.0 themselves. Some of the reference content of #ViajoSola, like the images of Marina and María José or the letter of Guadalupe Acosta (2016), have been removed by Facebook.

Certainly, the censorship of these platforms is activated at the request of Internet users. However, feminist users, entities and activists—among them Burgos, Mandillo and Martínez (2014), Women, Action & The Media or Acosta—have openly denounced the social media policy for the withdrawal of their content, while maintaining others that promote violence against women in their various manifestations.

FOOTNOTES

1. They are usually basic forms, many of them created with Paint, Microsoft's most basic graphic editing program (Echevarría, 2014).
2. The limitations of Twitter's APIs (Application Programming Interface) make it difficult to retrieve content afterwards. Also, tools like Followthehashtag show daily data; a subsequent measurement would lead to erroneous results.
3. A type of images that incorporate superposed text, usually with a certain aesthetic (Impact typography or a thick black frame), constitute the most habitual memes of the network.

REFERENCES

- Abad, M. (2013). Imágenes que desatan una revolución [Images that unleash a revolution]. *Yorokubu*. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/lrcnUJ>
- Acosta, G. (2016, March 1). Ayer me mataron [Yesterday they killed me] [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/guadalupe.acosta.58?fref=ts>

- Alonso, R. [helloIamruben] (2016, March 6). Para todas las que viajan solas. Para que sigáis haciéndolo [For all those women who travel alone. So you keep doing it] #ViajoSola #Niunamenos... [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/helloiamruben?lang=es>
- Antentas, J. M. & Vivas, E. (2012). *Planeta indignado: Ocupando el futuro* [Indignant planet: Occupying the future]. Madrid: Sequitur.
- Arratia, F. (2016, March 5). Para que nunca, NUNCA más ocurra algo parecido al horror de Montañaíta [May it never, NEVER happen again something akin to the horror of Montañaíta] #viajosola [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/farratia/status/705952575410016256>
- Big Bang! (2016, March 1). Las mochileras, antes de morir: “Viajamos en las cajas de las camionetas” [The backpackers, before they died: ‘We traveled in the boxes of the vans’]. BigBangNews. Retrieved from <http://www.bigbangnews.com/policiales/Las-mochileras-antes-de-morir-Viajamos-en-las-cajas-de-las-camionetas-20160301-0007.html>
- Boix, M. (2001). La comunicación como aliada. Tejiendo redes de mujeres [Communication as an ally. Knitting women networks]. In M. Boix, C. Fraga & V. Sendón (Coords.), *El viaje de las internautas. Una mirada de género a las nuevas tecnologías* [Internet users trip. A gender perspective to new technologies] (pp. 25-55). Madrid: AMECO.
- Burgos, A., Mandillo, E. & Martínez, Y. R. (2014). Memes feministas: estrategias ciberfeministas de derribo del heteropatriarcado [Memes feminists: Cyberfeminist strategies for heteropatriarchy demolition]. In T. Donoso-Vázquez (Coord.), *Violencias de género 2.0* [2.0 gender violences] (pp. 57-72). Barcelona: GrediDona. Retrieved from http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/completo_violencias_de_genero_2.0.pdf#page=47
- Carpentier, N. (2007). Participation and interactivity: changing perspectives. The construction of an integrated model on access, interaction and participation. In V. Nightingale (Ed.), *New media worlds* (pp. 214-230). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Casero-Ripollés, A. (2015). Estrategias y prácticas comunicativas del activismo político en las redes sociales en España [Political activism communication strategies and practices on social media in Spain]. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 20(2). 533. doi: 10.5209/rev_HICS.2015.v20.n2.51399
- Castells, M. (2009). *Communication power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Castells, M. (2012). *Redes de indignación y esperanza* [Networks of outrage and hope]. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Chen, C. (2012). The creation and meaning of Internet memes in 4chan: Popular Internet culture in the age of online digital reproduction. *Habitus*, (3), 6-19.
- Chetty S. (1996). The case study method for research in small -and medium- sized firms. *International small business journal*, 15(1), 73-85. doi: 10.1177/1473095213499216
- Coleman, E. G. (2012). Phreaks, hackers, and trolls and the politics of transgression and spectacle. In M. Mandiberg (Ed.), *The social media reader* (pp. 99-109). New York: New York University Press.
- Connell, R. (2013). Using southern theory: Decolonizing social thought in theory, research and application. *Planning Theory*, 13(2), 210–223. doi: 10.1177/1473095213499216
- Conway, J. (2011). Activist knowledges on the antiglobalization terrain: transnational feminisms at the World Social Forum. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, 3(2), 33–64. Retrieved from <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Interface-3-2-Conway.pdf>
- Coreen [Coreen085] (2016, March 14). Traveling alone is my joy in life, not an invitation for man to rob, rape & murder me #Viajosola [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/coreen085/status/709235660335423488>
- Davison, P. (2012). The language of internet memes. In M. Mandiberg (Ed.), *The Social Media Reader* (pp. 120-136). New York: New York University Press.

- Dawkins, R. (2006). *The selfish gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Salvador, S. (2012). Tecnologías digitales del género: de la revisión a la borrosidad en los ciberfeminismos [Digital gender technologies: from revision to blurriness in Cyberfeminisms]. In *Memorias del IX Congreso Iberoamericano de Ciencias, Tecnología y Género* [Proceedings of IX Iberoamerican Congress of Science, Technology and Gender]. Retrieved from www.oei.es/congresoctg/memoria/pdf/DeSalvador.pdf
- Dean, J. (2005). Communicative capitalism: Circulation and the foreclosure of politics. *Cultural Politics*, 1(1), 52-74. Retrieved from <https://commonconf.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/proofs-of-tech-fetish.pdf>
- Díaz-Martínez, C. & González-Orta, L. (2016). Revueltas árabes y movimientos feministas transnacionales en la sociedad global [Arab revolts and transnational women's movements in the global society]. *Revista Española de Sociología (RES)*, 25(1), 89-108. Retrieved from <http://www.fes-sociologia.com/files/journal/25/4/article.pdf>
- Echevarría, M. C. (2014). Periodismo digital y redes sociales. Narrativas renovadas: storytelling, storify [Digital journalism and social networks. Renewed narratives: storytelling, storify]. In M. C. Echevarría & M. M. Viada (Coords.), *Periodismo en la Web. Lenguajes y herramientas de la narrativa digital* [Journalism on the Web. Digital narrative languages and tools] (pp. 51-100). Córdoba (AR): Editorial Brujas.
- El Vocero de PR [Vocero PR] (2016, March 5). Asesinato de dos jóvenes turistas revoluciona las redes sociales #NiUnaMenos #ViajoSola [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/vocerop/status/706181032085725184>
- Esteban, M. L. (2016). La reformulación de la política, el activismo y la etnografía. Esbozo de una antropología somática y vulnerable [Politics, activism and ethnography reformulation. A sketch of somatic and vulnerable anthropology]. *Ankulegi. Revista de Antropología Social*, (19), 75-93. Retrieved from <http://aldizkaria.ankulegi.org/index.php/ankulegi/article/view/78>
- Feigenbaum, A. (2015). From cyborg feminism to drone feminism: Remembering women's anti-nuclear activism. *Feminist Theory*, 16(3), 265-288.
- Fernández Prados, J. S. (2012). Ciberactivismo: conceptualización, hipótesis y medida [Cyberactivism: conceptualization, hypothesis and measurement]. *Arbor*, 188(756), 631-639. doi: 10.1177/1464700115604132
- Fratini, S. (2016, March 3) ¡Ser una mujer libre no es un delito! No defiendas al criminal #Niunamenos [Being a free woman is not a crime! Do not defend the criminal #Niunamenos]. [Tweet]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/sarafratini/status/705443286807355393/photo/1?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw
- Freire, F. (2016). Campanhas feministas na Internet: sobre protagonismo, memes e o poder das redes sociais [Feminist campaigns on the Internet: role, memes and power of social networks]. *Em Debate*, 8(5), 26-32. Retrieved from <http://opiniaopublica.ufmg.br/site/files/artigo/03-Fernanda-Freire.pdf>
- Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social media: A critical introduction*. London: Sage.
- Fulladosa-Leal, K. (2015). Creando puentes entre la formación y la creatividad: Una experiencia de investigación activista feminista [Building bridges between training and creativity: A feminist activist research experience]. *Universitas humanistica*, (79), 115-140.
- García Huerta, D. (2014). Las imágenes macro y los memes de Internet: posibilidades de estudio desde las teorías de la comunicación [Images macros and Internet memes: Possibility of study from the communication theories]. Paakat: *Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad*, 4(6). Retrieved from <http://www.udgvirtual.udg.mx/paakat/index.php/paakat/article/view/217>
- Garrison, E. K. (2010). U.S. feminism – Grrrl style! Youth (sub) cultures and the technologies of the third wave. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *No permanent waves: Recasting HISTORIES of US feminism* (pp. 379-402). Piscataway (NJ): Rutgers University Press.

- González Pascual, N. (2016, March 16). #ViajoSola y #NiUnaMenos, los gritos contra la violencia machista en América Latina [#ViajoSola and #NiUnaMenos, yells against gender violence in Latin America]. *CEXT. Ciudadanía Exterior*. Retrieved from <http://www.cext.es/posts/ciudadania/viajosola-y-niunamenos-los-gritos-contra-la-violencia-machista-en-america-latina/>
- Gutierrez-Rubí, A. (2014). *Tecnopolítica [Technopolitics]*. Bebookness. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/njJgu7>.
- Hansen, L. K., Arvidsson, A., Nielsen, F. A., Colleoni, E. & Etter, M. (2011). Good friends, bad news - Affect and virality in Twitter. In J. J. Park, L.T. Yang & C. Lee (Eds.). *Future information technology* (pp. 34-43). Berlin: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Harlow, S. (2013). Fue una “Revolución de Facebook”: Explorando la narrativa de los memes difundidos durante las protestas egipcias [It was a “Facebook revolution”: Exploring the meme-like spread of narratives during the Egyptian protests]. *Revista de Comunicación*, 12, 56-82.
- Haro-Barba, C. & Sampedro, V. (2011). Activismo político en Red: del movimiento por la Vivienda Digna al 15M [Network political activism: from decent housing to 15-M]. *Teknokultura*, 8(2), 167-185. Retrieved from <http://teknokultura.net/index.php/tk/article/view/14/pdf>
- Heguy, S. (2016). El crimen de Marina y María José en Ecuador. #Viajo Sola: Todo lo que no podrán ser [Marina and Maria Jose crime in Ecuador. #Viajo Sola: Everything they will never be]. *Anfibia*. Retrieved from <http://www.revistaanfibia.com/cronica/viajosola-todo-lo-que-no-podran-ser/>
- Heguy, S. [SilvinaHeguy] (2016, March 3). Lucila Schonfeld creó / #viajosola [Lucila Schonfeld created / #viajosola]. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/silvinaheguy/status/705434368819503109>
- Hine, C. H. (2000). *Virtual ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Huntington, H. E. (2013). Subversive memes: Internet memes as a form of visual rhetoric. *Selected Papers of Internet Research*, (14). Retrieved from <http://spir.aoir.org/index.php/spir/article/view/785>.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Keller, J. (2014). Making activism accessible: Exploring girls' blogs as sites of contemporary feminist activism. In C. Mitchell & C. Rentschler (Eds.), *The politics of place: Contemporary paradigms for research in girlhood studies* (pp. 261-278). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Khagram, S., Riker, J.V. & Sikkink, K. (2002). *Restructuring world politics. Transnational social movements, networks, and norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Knobel, M. & Lankshear, C. (2007). Online memes, affinities, and cultural production. In M. Knobel & C. Lankshear (Eds.), *A new literacies sampler* (pp. 199-227). New York. Peter Lang.
- Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images. The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.
- Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Arnold.
- Leila [Leila_myway] (2016, March 12). I travel alone. Because I can. Because I want. And you can't keep me at home. #viajosola [Tweet]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/leila_myway/status/708714879373479936
- Lévy, P. (2001). *Cyberculture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Longino, H. E. (1990). *Science as social knowledge: values and objectivity in scientific inquiry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Martínez Carazo, P. C. (2011). El método de estudio de caso. Estrategia metodológica de la investigación científica [Case study method. Methodological strategy of scientific research]. *Revista científica Pensamiento y Gestión*, (20), 165-193. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/646/64602005.pdf>

- Martínez, C. D., & Orta, L. G. (2016). Revueltas árabes y movimientos feministas transnacionales en la sociedad global. [Arab revolts and transnational women's movements in the global society]. *Revista Española de Sociología (RES)*, 25(1), 89-108. Retrieved from <http://www.fes-sociologia.com/files/journal/25/4/article.pdf>
- Martínez-Rolán, X. & Piñeiro-Otero, T. (2016). The use of memes in the discourse of political parties on Twitter: analysing the 2015 state of the nation debate. *Communication & Society*, 29(1), 145-159. Retrieved from http://www.unav.es/fcom/communication-society/en/articulo.php?art_id=565
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. & Zald, M. (1996). *Comparative perspectives on social movements. Political opportunities, mobilizing structures and cultural framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- McCaughy, M. & Ayers, M. D. (2003). *Cyberactivism: Online activism in theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- McKelvey, K. R. & Menczer, F. (2013). Truthy: Enabling the study of online social networks. In *Proceedings of the 2013 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work Companion*. New York: ACM. Retrieved from <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1212.4565v2.pdf>
- Medina, A. [AnnaRMedina]. (2016, March 2). I'm a woman and travel solo because... Soy mujer y viajo sola porque... #Viajosola #Niunamenos [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/annarmedina/status/706101434807414784>
- Nagar, R. & Lock Swarr, A. (2010). Introduction: Theorizing Transnational Feminist Praxis. In A. Lock Swarr & R. Nagar (Eds.) *Critical transnational feminist praxis* (pp. 1-43). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Núñez Puente, S., Rubira García, R. & Fernández Romero, D. (2013). La construcción del sujeto víctima de violencia de género en Youtube como acto performativo: Estudio del activismo online desde el análisis multimodal [The construction of gender violence subject victim in Youtube as performative act: Study of online activism from the multimodal analysis]. *Cuadernos Kóre*, (8), 179-199. Retrieved from <http://e-revistas.uc3m.es/index.php/CK/article/view/2039>
- Paasonen, S. (2011). Revisiting cyberfeminism. *Communications*, (36), 335-352. doi: 10.1515/COMM.2011.017.
- Patterson, N. (1992). Cyberfeminism. Retrieved from <http://www.vacuumwoman.com/CyberFeminism/cf.txt>.
- Plant, S. (1996). On the matrix: Cyberfeminist simulations. In R. Shields (Ed.), *Cultures of Internet: Virtual spaces, real histories, living bodies* (pp. 170-182). London: Sage.
- Pujal i Lombart, M. (2003). La tarea crítica: interconexiones entre lenguaje, deseo y subjetividad [The critical task: Interconnections between language, desire and subjectivity]. *Política y Sociedad*, 40(1), 129-140. Retrieved from <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/article/view/POSO0303130129A/23691>
- Re, F. A. (2014). La política transmediática: nuevas formas de participación ciudadana [Transmedia policy: new forms of citizen participation]. *La trama de la comunicación*, 18(1), 33-51. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=323930547002>
- Rendueles, C. (2014). *Sociofobia. El cambio político en la era de la utopía digital* [Sociophobia. Political change in digital utopia era]. Madrid: Capitan Swing Libros.
- Rentschler, C. A. & Thrift, S. C. (2015). Doing feminism in the network: Networked laughter and the 'Binders Full of Women' meme. *Feminist Theory*, (18), 1-31. Retrieved from <http://fty.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/09/17/1464700115604136.full.pdf+html>
- Resina de la Fuente, J. (2010). Ciberpolítica, redes sociales y nuevas movilizaciones en España: el impacto digital en los procesos de deliberación y participación ciudadana [Cyberpolitics, social networks and new mobilizations in Spain: Digital impact on the processes of deliberation and citizen participation]. *Mediaciones Sociales*, (7), 143-164. Retrieved from <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/MESO/article/view/MESO1010220143A/21142>

- Rucht, D. (1992). Estrategias y formas de acción [Strategies and forms of action]. In R. J. Dalton & M. Kuechler, M. (Comp.), *Los nuevos movimientos sociales* [The new social movements] (pp. 219-246). Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim.
- Rueda Ortiz, R. (2009). Convergencia tecnológica: síntesis o multiplicidad política y cultural [Technological convergence: Synthesis or political and cultural multiplicity]. *Signo y pensamiento*, 25(54), 114-130. Retrieved from <http://revistas.javeriana.edu.co/index.php/signoypensamiento/article/view/4530/3492>
- Ruiz-Navarro, C. (2016). ¿Por qué tan solitas? *El Espectador*. Retrieved from <http://www.elespectador.com/opinion/tan-solitas>
- Rushkoff, D. (2010). *Program or be programmed. Ten commands for a digital age*. New York: OR Books.
- Sabanes, D. (2004). Mujeres y nuevas tecnologías de la comunicación [Women and new communication technologies]. *Cuadernos Internacionales de tecnología para el desarrollo*, (2). Retrieved from http://www.apc.org/apps/img_upload/5ba65079e0c45cd29dfdb3e618dda731/02_Dafne_Sabane.pdf
- Santibáñez, C. (2011). Teoría social y memes [Social theory and memes]. *A Parte Rei*, 18. Retrieved from <http://serbal.pntic.mec.es/~cmunoz11/memes.pdf>.
- Sarepa (2016, March 16). #ViajoSola: Why are we still victim blaming solo female travellers? Sarepa. *A travel blog about living abroad and calling Colombia home*. Retrieved from <http://www.sarepa.com/2016/03/16/viajosola-why-are-we-still-victim-blaming-solo-female-travellers/>
- Serres, M. (2007). Regreso al contrato natural [Revisiting the natural contract]. *Homo Habitus*, (5). Retrieved from http://www.biblioteca.homohabitus.org/pdfs/palau_serrescontratonatural.pdf
- Shifman, L. (2013). *Memes in digital culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Squires, J. (2000). Fabulous feminist futures and the lure of cyberculture. In D. Y. Bell & B.M. Kennedy (Eds.), *The cybercultures reader* (pp. 360-373). London: Routledge.
- Stryker, C. (2011). *Epic win for anonymous: How 4chan's army conquered the web*. New York: The Overlook Press.
- Suárez, M. (2016). Colectivos sociales y ciborgs: hacia una lectura feminista de los drones [Social collectives and cyborgs: Towards a feminist perspective on drones]. *Teknokultura*, 13(1), 271-288. Retrieved from <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/TEKN/article/view/51775/48776>
- The world wanderer (2016, March 31). #Viajosola. I Travel Alone. *The World Wandered*. Retrieved from <http://theworldwanderer.net/2016/03/21/viajosola/>
- Thrift, S. C. (2014). #YesAllWomen as Feminist Meme Event. *Feminist Media Studies*, 14(6), 1090-1092. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2014.975421
- Travenge (2016, April 12). #ViajoSola. *Travenge Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.travengemagazine.com/viajosola>
- Turpo, O. (2008). La netnografía: un método de investigación en Internet [Netnography: An Internet research method]. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 47(2), 1-10. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/ComunicacionAcer/Downloads/2486Gebera.pdf
- Van Dijk, T. (1999). El análisis crítico del discurso [Critical Discourse Analysis]. *Anthropos*, (186), 23-36. Retrieved from <https://goo.gl/JQsyZ4>
- Vickery, J.R. (2014). The curious case of Confession Bear: There appropriation of online macro-image memes. *Information, Communication & Society*, 17(3), 301-325. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2013.871056
- Wajcman, J. (2006). *El tecnofeminismo* [Technofeminism]. Madrid: Cátedra.
- We will meet Katow [GustavodeLeonar]. (2016, March 2). ¿Cuántas mujeres deben viajar juntas para que la prensa no diga que “viajaban solas”? [How many women should travel together so that the press does not say that they “traveled alone”?] [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/GustavodeLeonar/status/704842123573645314>

- Westling, M. (2007). Expanding the public sphere: The impact of Facebook on political communication. *Advances in Journalism and Communication*, (3), 123-138. doi: /10.4236/ajc.2015.34014
- Yin, R. K. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Berkeley Seal Press.
- Yoo, S. W. & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2014). Connecting blog, Twitter and Facebook use with gaps in knowledge and participation. *Communication & Society*, 27(4), 33- 48. doi: 10.15581/003.27.4.33-4

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Teresa Piñeiro-Otero, holds a PhD in Communication from the University of Vigo and a professor at the Faculty of Communication Sciences at the University of Coruña (Spain). Member of the research group Culture and Interactive Communication, she has oriented her research to the study of the new communicative formulas in the network, developing diverse works on the employment of social media in the field of political communication and activism.

Xabier Martínez-Rolán, holds a PhD in Communication from the University of Vigo and is an associate professor in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Communication at that University. As a manager of online communities in the workplace, his lines of research focus on the study of virtual communities, use and appropriation of social networks and new advertising formats and communicative formulas in new media.