

Comparative study of feminist positioning on Twitter by Spanish politicians

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Abstract

This research analyses feminism-related tweets produced over a period of two months by both a male representative and a female representative of each of the four principal political parties in Spain (PP, PSOE, Ciudadanos and Podemos). Although their behaviour on Twitter is similar, the differences found are more marked by ideology than by gender. A content analysis shows that the parties tend to reinforce their ideological programme on Twitter, which is corroborated as a space for disseminating topics related to feminism, but not as a space for debate. Men tend to publish more than women and on less controversial topics, which allows us to observe the reproduction of patriarchal roles in the net.

Keywords: Twitter; feminism; Spanish politics; content analysis; social media; political discourse

Resum. *Estudi comparat de les posicions a Twitter dels polítics espanyols sobre el feminisme*

La recerca analitza els tuïts produïts durant dos mesos per un representant masculí i una representant femenina dels quatre partits amb més representació política d'Espanya relacionats amb el feminisme. Malgrat que el comportament a Twitter és similar, les diferències que s'hi aprecien estan més marcades per la ideologia que no pas pel gènere. L'anàlisi de contingut permet veure que els partits tendeixen a reforçar el seu programa ideològic a Twitter, que es corrobora com un espai de difusió de temes relacionats amb el feminisme, però no com un espai de debat. Els homes tendeixen a publicar més que les dones i sobre temes menys controvertits, la qual cosa permet observar la reproducció de rols patriarcals a la xarxa.

Paraules clau: Twitter; feminisme; política espanyola; anàlisi de contingut; xarxes socials; discurs polític

Resumen. *Estudio comparado de las posiciones en Twitter de los políticos españoles acerca del feminismo*

La investigación analiza los tuits producidos durante dos meses por un representante masculino y una representante femenina de los cuatro partidos con más representación política de España relacionados con el feminismo. Pese a que el comportamiento en Twitter es similar, las diferencias que se aprecian están más marcadas por la ideología que por el género. El análisis de contenido permite ver que los partidos tienden a reforzar su programa ideológico en Twitter, que se corrobora como un espacio de difusión de temas relacionados con el feminismo, pero no como un espacio de debate. Los hombres tienden a publicar más que las mujeres y sobre temas menos controvertidos, lo que permite observar la reproducción de roles patriarcales en la red.

Palabras clave: Twitter; feminismo; política española; análisis de contenido; redes sociales; discurso político

1. Introduction

In 2007, the Spanish Parliament passed the first law on equality between men and women. In 2017, the Congress of Deputies approved the State Pact against Gender Violence, whose first funds were included in the draft of the General Budget of 2018. Violence against women has been taken out of the private sphere and the gender perspective has been introduced into public opinion. The Marea Violeta, the Decidir nos Hace Libres platform and Feminismos Sol are examples of how feminist discourse began to be built publicly in 2011 around the 15M movement (Caravantes, 2012). In this context, different issues related to feminism have entered the political agenda.

Violence against women is also increasingly present in the news agenda of conventional media (Menéndez, 2014) and in social media. In fact, social networks have become another meeting platform for social movements that allow them to bypass the mass media barrier (Dahlgran, 2009; Tufecki, 2013). Social media has given the feminist movement new platforms to reach a potentially massive audience using “mass self-communication” (Castells, 2009). Moreover, it is a wide and interesting topic on which politicians define their positions (González, 1979; Verge, 2006).

When discussing the use of technology from a gender perspective, the most widespread concept is cyberfeminism, which encompasses divergent perspectives and currents. In this regard, recent movements, such as #MeToo, have used Internet and social media to give visibility to feminist struggles.

In Spain, media interest in violence against women was sparked following the case of Ana Orantes in 1997, a woman who was murdered by her ex-husband after explaining on a television programme the abuse she had suffered during her marriage. However, it would not be until 2003 when an official

count of sexist murders began to be made. Since that year and until 1 November 2019, 1026 women have been murdered in Spain.

In 2018, 47 women were killed by gender violence, but it is not only these deaths that have put the feminist movement on the media agenda. The protest day of March 8, which included strikes and demonstrations, achieved an unprecedented mobilization by bringing thousands of people to the streets to protest against gender inequality in all its forms. The protest spread to 120 cities, and its success was repeated in 2019.

Mediatic and legal debates also took place in mainstream media and social media when the “La Manada” case came to light. In December 2018, the Superior Court of Navarra decided to uphold the nine-year prison sentence for five men accused of a crime of sexual abuse in Pamplona, who had videotaped a woman while being raped in the San Fermin festivities of 2016. The press echoed the different positions of the judges when talking about abuse, aggression or rape and public demonstrations were held throughout Spain. Due to this public outcry, the government commissioned a group of experts to reform the section on sexual crimes in the Penal Code. After this case and following in the footsteps of the American actress who started the #MeToo campaign (Kunst et al., 2018), Spanish journalists Cristina Fallarás and Virginia P. Alonso promoted the #Cuéntalo campaign, which became a database in which 800,000 women described cases of sexual abuse.

Although explicit violence against women is not the only expression of gender inequality, it is the most mediatic one. In the period of analysis, which covers September and October 2018, September saw the highest number of sexist crimes on record with 10 women murdered according to official data. In October, four women were killed.

Given this context, it is particularly relevant to determine how the leaders of the main Spanish parties and their female counterparts express themselves on Twitter concerning issues related to gender inequality and feminism (especially violence against women). In addition, the use of Twitter by politicians is a growing subject of study (Solop, 2009; Golbeck et al., 2010; Lassen and Brown, 2011; Larsson and Moe, 2013; Lafuente and Verón, 2013; Zamora-Medina and Zurutuza-Muñoz, 2014; García and Zugasti, 2014). However, there is a lack of studies on differences between male and female politicians. It is therefore relevant to identify such differences on topics that are more sensitive for women than men. This study uses a descriptive and exploratory approach to characterize the use of Twitter by male and female politicians belonging to the four main Spanish political parties (Partido Popular, Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Ciudadanos and Podemos) regarding issues related to gender inequality and feminism.

2. Theoretical framework

Today, social media has taken a leading role in the media sphere and political communication (Vergeer, 2017). Twitter has established itself as the most

decisive messaging website among the political class because it is the tool that best represents the type of discourse engaged in on social media, which is brief, fragmented and viral (Barber, 2004; Rodríguez and Ureña, 2012; López-García et al., 2017).

Twitter stands out for breaking with the unidirectional scheme of conventional media and showing more interactive communication. It is used to send, generate, produce and circulate messages that are normally very close to the media agenda. In this sense, Twitter is closely related to media events and news cycles (López-García et al., 2017). For this reason, politicians prefer to use Twitter to transmit their messages, since it enables them to avoid the traditional mediating action of the media and have a more direct impact on the perceptions and opinions of citizens (Casero-Ripollés, 2010; Farrell, 2012; Zugasti and García, 2018). In fact, social media is increasingly used as a direct source of news, surpassing the traditional press (Enli, 2017; Francia, 2018).

The structure of Twitter is considered ideal to encourage citizen participation in politics through communication (Moya and Herrera, 2015), as users can spread a message to their followers that can become viral. This process makes Twitter one of the largest public sources of the propagation of information in real time (Congosto, 2015; Orellana-Rodríguez and Keane, 2018). In addition, with 4.9 million users, Twitter is one of the most popular tools in Spain, but its use is evolving. According to Ruiz and Bustos (2016), for example, images are being increasingly used during politically significant events.

Social media has a strong impact on the construction of the public agenda (Alonso-Muñoz and Casero-Ripollés, 2018). However, previous research has shown that politicians use Twitter as a reflection of their activity in other public spaces and question the potential of social media to influence the media agenda of political parties and traditional media (López-García et al., 2017).

Recently, research on the role of Twitter in political campaigns has increased, as well as research on the use that politicians make of this social network and its capacity to be a space for debate (Giraldo-Luque, 2015; Machado et al., 2015; Zugasti and García, 2018; Marañón et al., 2018).

The Spanish municipal elections of May and the general elections of November 2011 marked the beginning of the importance of Twitter as a privileged mechanism of political communication. Baviera et al. (2017) detected a large volume of participation in political conversations during that campaign. According to Campos-Domínguez (2017: 788-789), research on Twitter in political communication has gone through two stages: the first showed high expectations for debate and interaction and the second showed that the levels of political commitment are low. These stages lead to a phase of consolidation, in which what really matters is the study of the content and its effects on the public sphere and the possibilities of the platform for heterodox uses, such as activism and the construction of a new communicative reality in the hybrid space.

As regards feminism, the importance of the relationship between Internet and feminism has been evident since the 1995 International Sympos-

sium on Women and the Media (UNESCO). The goal of this event was to use social media to provide all women with the necessary information for their development and communication on Internet was established as a strategic element for the feminist movement (Rivero and Larrondo, 2016). There are two main perspectives in this relationship: cyberfeminism and technofeminism.

Cyberfeminism is based on the idea that cyberspace offers the possibility of building new identities and relationships outside of the gender dichotomy. Donna Haraway (1995) exemplified the end of the binary man/woman construct with the idea of the cyborg. Cyberfeminism also holds that new technologies can help to reduce gender inequality (Valera, 2013). Cyberfeminists consider that recent movements, such as #MeToo, are examples of how social media has managed to give visibility to women-related struggles. From this perspective, new technologies promote more far-reaching feminist strategies and activist discourses created in the digital public sphere (Núñez et al., 2015: 66). Indeed, since the nineties, feminists have developed different social media strategies (Ng, 2015).

Technofeminism considers that the heteropatriarchal structures of society are reproduced in the net (Reverter, 1992). Judy Wajcman (2006) argued that technologies favour changes that do not have to be linked to a social commitment to eradicate inequalities, but can lead to diverse changes.

In contrast to the invisibility of feminism-related issues in traditional media (Marx and Hess, 1995; Rhode, 1995; Mendes, 2015; Rivero and Larrondo, 2016), social media is a space of political militancy for feminist activism. Nowadays, 'social media is celebrated as a channel through which the politics of feminist organisations can be promoted more directly, bypassing mainstream media agendas' (Edwards et al., 2019: 1).

However, although networks may enhance feminist dissemination, they are also an endogamous space not completely conquered by feminist collectives (Sánchez-Duarte and Fernández-Romero, 2017). Twitter can be used as a dissemination tool, but it is not a useful tool to discuss patriarchy and sexism (Giraldo-Luque et al., 2018).

According to Flowers (2019: 2), Twitter is a 'technocultural assemblage whose hashtag functionality allows for the circulation of affect among bodies', which is especially relevant to feminism because it can direct attention towards some affective communities and not others. Moreover, it has been studied how social movement organizations played a crucial role in online mobilization during the #MeToo campaign by using appealing hashtags (Xiong et al., 2019). The use of the hashtag "#feminism" has been critically analysed by Lopez et al. (2019: 7), who concluded that it is used to discuss understandings of feminism, describe perceptions, respond to misogyny and express the perceived relevance of feminism as a social movement. Hashtag feminism has also been studied by Dixon (2014) and, in general, several investigations have dealt with the topic of feminist identity or digital feminist activism through an analysis of different hashtags (Lommel et al., 2019;

Mendes et al., 2018; Jouët, 2018; Zimmerman, 2017; Barker-Plummer and Barker-Plummer, 2017).

Therefore, the specific objectives of this study are to: 1) characterize and compare the use of Twitter in relation to gender issues among the four main political parties in Spain; 2) characterize and compare the use of Twitter in relation to gender issues between a male member and a female member of each political party; and 3) characterize and compare the use of Twitter in relation to gender topics between men and women regardless of their political party.

3. Methodology

A content analysis is carried out of tweets published by the main leaders of the four political parties with the greatest representation in the Spanish parliament. As previous studies related to Twitter and political communication have shown, content analysis is the most suitable quantitative technique to determine and characterize the volume of tweets shared by the selected politicians (Valera Ordaz and López García, 2014; Cano-Orón and Llorca-Abad, 2017). A categories system has been designed to classify and characterize the tweets of the sample.

The sample comprises tweets by two members each of the Popular Party (PP), the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), Ciudadanos and Podemos. In the case of men, the general secretary or president of each party has been selected, while the women were chosen according to their position within the party and considering that they had a similar media representation as men.

Table 1. Sample of the Twitter accounts analysed

Political party	Politician	Twitter account	Position in political party
Partido Popular	Pablo Casado	@pablocasado_	President
	Andrea Levy	@ALevySoler	Deputy Secretary-General of Studies and Programmes
PSOE	Pedro Sánchez	@sanchezcastejon	Secretary-General
	Adriana Lastra	@AdriLastra	Deputy Secretary-General
Podemos	Pablo Iglesias	@Pablo_Iglesias_	Secretary-General
	Ione Belarra	@ionebelarra	Member of State-wide Citizens' Council
Ciudadanos	Albert Rivera	@Albert_Rivera	President
	Inés Arrimadas	@InesArrimadas	Secretary of Formation and Spokesperson

Source: The authors

The analysed tweets were published in September and October 2018. This period was chosen because it corresponds to the beginning of the political course. The final sample is made up of 3489 tweets published by the eight politicians. Of the 3489 tweets, 212 were qualitatively selected and analysed because they were related to feminism.

The category system has five variables and a set of categories. The variables and categories were selected in line with previous studies on the qualitative and quantitative analysis of tweets (Valera Ordaz and López García, 2014; Cano-Orón and Llorca-Abad, 2017); studies that analyse online content in relation to feminism (Roca-Sales and López García, 2017; Fotopoulou, 2016; Sánchez-Duarte and Fernández-Romero, 2017); and research on communicative intentionality (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) as follows:

1. Quantitative aspects (the number of tweets related to gender issues).
2. Formal aspects (type of tweet, presence of multimedia items, the use of hashtags and links).
3. Aspects related to feminism, which comprises three categories: feminist topic, use of feminist concepts and use of inclusive language. The first category was observed by an inductive analysis. Thus, feminist topics were identified during the codification process.
4. Aspects related to media agenda, which refers to if the tweet is linked to facts or news.
5. Communicative intentionality where a tweet is taken as a statement and classified according to its linguistic functions that express the communicative intentionality: offer or request for information, expression of intellectual attitudes and their verification, expression of emotional attitudes and their verification, expression and verification of moral attitudes, persuasion and social uses of the language.

The codification process was conducted by two coders using Microsoft Excel. The intercoder reliability test of the entire sample (212 tweets) was measured for each variable of the social network content analysis by Krippendorff's (2004) alpha. All variables met Krippendorff's standards of unconditionally reliability and the coefficients were between 0.89 and 0.91.

4. Results

None of the politicians in the sample is featured on Twitter as a feminist, yet they all dealt with issues related to feminism at some point of the study period.

4.1. Twitter activity on feminism among political parties

The party with the most feminist-related tweets is the PSOE, which accounts for 15% of posts, while the PP has the least with 2%. A total of 5% of the tweets related to feminism were posted by Podemos, while 3% were posted by Ciudadanos.

Most of the tweets of all the parties analysed do not discuss the issue of feminism. Among the tweets that do address feminist topics, it is noteworthy that most are the parties' own and not retweets. As regards the inclusion of audio-visual resources, PP, PSOE and Podemos use more images and videos

than Ciudadanos. As for the use of hashtags, PSOE uses them the most (70%), followed by PP (58%), Ciudadanos (57%) and, lastly, Podemos (42%).

From a qualitative point of view, the hashtags most used by Podemos are those related to gender violence, such as #violenciamachista, #NiUnaMenos and #MeToo. This is similar to the PSOE, which mostly uses the hashtags #violenciadegenero, #violenciamachista, #crimenmachista and #NiUnaMenos. Regarding the PP, some of the hashtags related to feminist topics are #feminism, #equality and #violence. As far as Ciudadanos is concerned, some of the most used hashtags are #SelfFem (which refers to the women's national basketball team) and #subrogated gestation.

As for links, the political parties do not use them in most of their tweets about feminism. For all parties, with the exception of the PSOE, the content of the tweets is usually related to the media agenda.

The main events referred to by all the parties are related with sexist murders. In addition, they also highlight women's achievements related to sport. The big issues that all political parties deal with are equality, gender violence, reproduction and feminism, while others, such as sexism, the March 8 mobilizations or the empowerment of women are not addressed by all the political parties. Thus, the most widespread topic among all the parties is gender equality.

Regarding gender violence, 23% of the PSOE's tweets refer to this issue; 22% of Ciudadanos' tweets, 20% of Podemos' tweets and 17% of the PP's tweets. Topics related to reproduction and feminism are also addressed by the parties.

The analysis of the tweets reveals that most of the PSOE tweets (76%) refer to feminist concepts, as opposed to the other parties, which do not refer to them in most tweets. The specific concepts used by the parties have to do with "feminism" and "gender violence" in the case of PP; "sexist violence", "sexual exploitation", "feminism" and "equality" in the tweets of the PSOE; "machismo", "macho violence" and "feminism" in the case of Podemos; and "surrogate gestation", "co-responsibility" and "gender violence" in the tweets of Ciudadanos.

As regards communicative intentionality, 29% of the PP tweets have to do with the expression of emotional attitudes, while 56% of the PSOE tweets provide information. As for Podemos, most of their tweets also offer information, while Ciudadanos devotes most of its tweets to expressing emotional attitudes. Inclusive language is absent in most tweets of all parties.

4.2. Twitter activity about feminism between men and women within each party

A total of 86% of Pedro Sánchez's own tweets are related to feminism compared to 13% of Adriana Lastra's tweets. Regarding audio-visual resources that accompany the messages, Sánchez uses images and videos more often

than Lastra. As far as the use of links is concerned, most of Sánchez's tweets (90%) do not include links compared to 43% of Lastra's posts, which do contain links. Moreover, Sánchez is more inclined to use hashtags.

Regarding the media agenda, half of Sanchez's tweets have related content and slightly more than half of Lastra's publications are not related to the media agenda. The two politicians use concepts related to feminism in their tweets in a similar manner.

The topic mentioned most often by the two socialists is equality, but it appears more in Sánchez's (50%) than in Lastra's (28%) tweets.

The communicative intentionality in the majority of Lastra's tweets is to offer information (58%), followed by the transmission of emotional attitudes (19%). This coincides with Sánchez, who offers information in 53% of tweets and shares emotional attitudes on 27% of occasions.

As for the PP, Andrea Levy and Pablo Casado post their own tweets in similar percentages, as well as those containing an image. In contrast, Casado uses video in 30% of his tweets and Levy in none. However, Levy uses links in 75% of tweets, while Casado uses more hashtags than Levy.

The tweets of the conservative politicians are usually related to the media agenda and they tend to avoid feminist concepts. However, Levy uses inclusive language in 50% of cases and Casado in none. The topic most dealt with by Casado is equality. Similarly, Levy addresses equality and feminism equally. Moreover, 38% of Casado's tweets share emotional attitudes and Levy offers information in 50% of tweets.

Inés Arrimadas and Albert Rivera (Ciudadanos) share more content of their own than retweets. Additionally, they use a similar percentage of images. In contrast, Rivera uses more videos. In terms of links, neither politician tends to use them. Both usually post tweets related to the media agenda and do not make reference to feminist concepts. Neither of them uses inclusive language.

Equality is the topic that Arrimadas (68%) and Rivera (37%) refer to the most in their tweets. The predominant communicative intentionality in both is the transmission of emotional attitudes.

As for Podemos, Ione Belarra opts more for posting own content (76%) and Pablo Iglesias is inclined towards retweets (57%). As regards audio-visual content, 52% of Belarra's tweets are not accompanied by images or videos and 53% of Iglesias' tweets contain images. Iglesias also uses videos slightly more than Belarra. Both politicians do not use links or hashtags in the majority of their feminist tweets.

Most of Iglesias and Belarra's tweets bear a relation to the media agenda. Similarly, the politicians choose not to use feminist concepts or inclusive language and the topic they address most often is equality.

Lastly, 46% of Iglesias' tweets offer information, while Belarra devotes 26% of her posts to persuasion and another 26% to the transmission of intellectual attitudes, a figure that coincides with Iglesias for this item.

4.3. Twitter activity about feminism among men and women

The results show that women posted more tweets related to feminism than men in the period studied. However, it is a very small difference. In the case of women, 8% of tweets are about feminism, while this figure is 5% for men. However, men published their own tweets more. None of them use tweets to respond to other users.

Regarding the use of audio-visual elements, men and women use more images than video. Hence, there are hardly any differences by gender. Moreover, women use more links than men. Similarly, there are no major differences between the number of tweets that use hashtags nor the type of hashtags they use.

The analysis shows similarities between men and women in tweets related to the media agenda. In both cases, tweets related to sexist murders stand out.

Regarding the topics discussed, both deal more with the issue of equality, but men (48%) do so more than women (42%). Gender violence is also a subject addressed by both genders, although more by men (24%) than by women (18%).

Both men and women use the concepts related to feminism in a similar manner. The most widely used terms are “machismo”, “equality”, “feminism” or “gender”. Concerning communicative intentionality, although their behaviour on Twitter is similar, women use social media to offer information more often than men and they also use it more for purposes of persuasion and to transmit moral attitudes. In contrast, men used their posts slightly more to share intellectual attitudes and display emotional attitudes.

5. Discussion

The research shows that belonging to a political party has more influence than gender on how politicians speak about feminism.

The data obtained explain the relationship between Twitter and the media agenda and its importance in disseminating topics, and shows the lack of capacity of social media to be a debate forum. The large number of tweets posted by the party representatives contrasts with the scarcity of messages dealing with feminism. Among the tweets related to feminism, most are linked to events on the media agenda, as pointed out by López-García et al. (2017).

Our research confirms the findings of Ruiz and Bustos (2016) on the use of images in social media, since we found more images than videos in the analysed tweets.

In line with Barber (2004), Rodríguez and Ureña (2012) and López-García et al. (2017), the Twitter discourse of both male and female politicians is fragmentary and brief, and interactivity with citizens has not been observed. Moreover, there is no debate (Giraldo-Luque, 2015).

Offering information is the main communicative intentionality, so Twitter is understood as a tool for spreading information (Congosto, 2015).

However, the shortage of feminist tweets and the scarcity of feminist terms shows that the dismantling of patriarchy (Giraldo-Luque et al., 2018) has not taken place on Twitter.

The lack of specific and inclusive language abounds in visions related to technofeminism. However, the messages have contributed to making sexist murders and other events related to gender inequalities visible, as advocated by cyberfeminism.

The results show the relationship between Twitter and the media agenda (López-García et al., 2017), since most tweets are related to news events, especially sexist murders. As Menéndez (2014) pointed out, violence against women is increasingly present in the information agenda and in social debates (Casero-Ripollés, 2010; Farrell, 2012; Zugasti and García, 2018). The consensus shown by all parties against gender violence may also reflect the relevance of this issue in society, as evidenced by the existence of a State Pact against Gender Violence.

The feminist activity on Twitter has also been found to try to reflect the parties' agendas. In addition, the differences found between parties reveal that PSOE and Podemos, both of which are progressive parties, post the largest number of feminist tweets. They also address more diverse issues within feminism. These results are in line with the study of López-García et al. (2017), who argued that politicians use Twitter as a reflection of their activity in other public spaces.

The analysis reveals that some of the politicians use hashtags and refer to feminist social movements that have taken place on the net, which can be understood in the framework of cyberfeminism (Valera, 2013). Technofeminism helps to understand the differences found between male and female politicians in the sample. Women's Twitter activity differs from that of their male colleagues. Women deal with more diverse topics, but in a lower proportion. This may be due to the fact that patriarchal structures continue to be reproduced in social media.

Lastly, the study shows that more than one position on a feminist issue can coexist on Twitter. This is consistent with the idea of Wajcman (2006) that technologies favour diverse changes and do not always have to be linked to the same social commitment.

6. Conclusion

This research has detected that Twitter behaviour regarding feminist topics is not differentiated so much by gender as by belonging to a certain political party. Thus, ideology determines how the members of each political party address feminist issues on Internet. This is reflected in the fact that progressive parties refer to concepts relating to movements in defence of women that have arisen or have had a strong echo in social media. Otherwise, political parties try to express their own agenda on Twitter and ideology influences each political party. In this sense, progressive parties share more similarities

and show support for more varied causes than conservative parties. Consequently, political parties reinforce their ideological program on Twitter.

The results also show a strong similarity in terms of formal aspects and the relation with the media agenda as evidenced by the large number of tweets related to news events posted by all parties. This leads us to think about Twitter's function as a social medium, since it tends to standardize the messages and form part of the life cycle of news issues. It has also been observed that, although Twitter is considered a tool for interaction, the politicians in our sample use it to provide information and express their political positions on certain matters, but not to encourage dialogue. Both arguments challenge the idea of Twitter as a space to create a different media agenda and generate debate.

Another of the main similarities between the members of the sample is the rejection of gender violence. In this regard, there is a strong awareness and consensus around this issue that connects with the concern reflected in laws and institutions.

Finally, the research reveals that some heteropatriarchal roles are reproduced on Twitter, since it is still men who occupy positions of power within the political parties and those who generate more information, as well as those who produce most tweets about feminist topics with greater consensus. Conversely, women continue to occupy positions within the party that are not homologous to those of their male counterparts and show greater concern for more controversial feminist issues, such as prostitution or reification of the female body. Consequently, Twitter does not seem to be a real space to produce social changes in the inequality suffered by women.

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