

Codebook semiotic violence towards women politicians in online environments

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The following codebook was developed from an adaptation of Krook's (2022)¹, conceptualization of semiotic violence, adapted to online environments. For the above, real examples of messages sent through Twitter to female candidates for Spanish Lower Chamber in the November 2019 election were used. These examples helped both to define the final categories representing the potential manifestations of semiotic violence towards female politicians online, as well as to clearly exemplify how they materialize in textual format.

Table A1. SEMIOTIC VIOLENCE AS RENDERING WOMEN INVISIBLE (I)

1	Removing women from political spaces
	<p>Consider calls and pleas for women to abandon their general presence or specific positions in politics. It may include gender stereotypes associated with the call to leave politics, or allusions to returning to “proper” women’s places or roles.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ “retírate, anda. retírate y ocúpate un poco de ti y de tu familia” (go back, go on. go back and take care of yourself and your family).▪ “También será un día histórico cuando te vayas a tu casa y no sepamos nada más de ti” (It Will also be a historic day when you go home and we never hear from you again).▪ “Será tiparraca el dinosaurio este, que se vaya al senado a descoponerse, jajaja no hay tanto formol para tando dinosaurio” (This dinosaur will be a big old dinosaur, she should go to the senate to decompose, hahaha there is not so much formaldehyde for such a dinosaur).▪ “Le recomiendo a Sanchez que la deje en casa lo que queda de campaña electoral” (I recommend Sanchez to leave her at home for the remainder of the election campaign).
2	Misrecognizing political women as not being leaders
	<p>It considers direct and indirect appeals to women politicians as lacking in leadership and, consequently, incapable of doing their jobs well. This includes references to being “useless”, representing a “fiscal burden”, or a mismatch management and job expectations, based on gender.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p>

¹ Krook (2022) makes the first effort to conceptualize semiotic violence for its systematic identification, through an inductive process that include the documentation and analysis of real cases of violent episodes towards female politicians published in the press globally, between 2014 and 2019. In the analysis, only politically active cis women were considered, as an initial approach to the phenomenon.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Por qué no me vigilas las lentejas, ya de paso” (Why don’t you keep an eye on my lentils while you’re at it). ▪ “que dios nos ampare si quedamos en manos de estas, mujeres...” (God help us if we are left in the hands of these women...) ▪ “A esta cateta se le paga un sueldo?” (Does this redneck get paid a salary?).
3 Applying masculine grammar to political women	
	<p>Denial of the feminization of language associated with women in politics. This type of messaging masculinizes or replaces the feminine gender with the masculine gender in certain nouns and adjectives directed at women politicians.</p> <p>Note: this may not apply in English.</p>
	<p><u>Examples</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “señora ministrO” (Mrs. Secretary).
4 Denying political women the right to speak and to be heard	
	<p>Consider expressions of "shutting up" women politicians. Expressions aimed at ignoring what women politicians say are included.</p> <p>Note: If attached with terms that allude to fascism - e.g., shut up fascist - or other non-gendered characteristics, it is not coded as positive.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "inés arrimadas se merece un porqué no te callas perpetuo!!!" (inés arrimadas deserves a perpetual "why don't you shut up?"). ▪ "sra calvo, pq no se calla!!?" (Mrs. Calvo, why don’t you shut up!!?). ▪ “Por lo menos que esté calladita” (At least keep her quiet). ▪ “Bla, bla, bla, bla...” ▪ “Me gusta cuando callas, porque estas como ausente” (I like it when you are silent, because you are as if you were absent).
5 Linking insults to feminism or feminist movement	
	<p>Consider insults associated with feminism or the feminist movement, the use of inclusive language or other elements related to advances in gender equity.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “es otra feminazi sectaria” (is another sectarian feminazi). ▪ “Si, y feminilandia” (Yes, and feminiland). ▪ “Las mujeres son seres de luz y hay que creerlas sí o sí. Hay que legislar para las mujeres... Bla, bla, bla... ¿Verdad, @carmencalvo_?” (Women are holy beings, and must be believes,

	<p>no matter what. We must legislate for women... blah, blah, blah... ¿right, @carmencalvo-?).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Hijas de puta solo apoyan a las del sobaco morao” (Son of bitches only support the ones with purple armpits). ▪ “Me uno a lenguaje inclusivo solo para decir q Lastra es un lastre” (I join the inclusive language just to say that Lastra is a drag). ▪ “¿Como era el paro y la deuda publica con Franco? Es para una amiga no feminazi” (What was unemployment and public debt like under Franco? It's for a non-feminazi friend).
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Source: Own elaboration.

Table A2. SEMIOTIC VIOLENCE AS RENDERING WOMEN INCOMPETENT (II)

6	Ridiculing political women as emotional and other gender stereotypes
	<p>It considers the appeal to binary stereotypes to disqualify women politicians because of an "own emotionality". This includes the use of labels such as: sensitive, nervous, angry, nagging, crazy, etc. Other non-emotional stereotypes associated with gender, such as being liars, cynical, dangerous, evil, manipulative, etc., are also included. Both the former and the latter interfere in the cultural imaginary of the relationship between women and politics.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “ya asoma la patita de la derecha llorona” (the right-wing crybaby's little foot is already showing). ▪ “señora a todo esto (mera curiosidad), ¿se ha tomado la medicación?” (ma'am to all this (mere curiosity), have you taken your medication?). ▪ “si es de cabra su gentilicio entonces es...” (if she is from Cabra, then she is...). ▪ "se pensará que es maria magdalena. y lo que nos faltaba.. " (she will think she is mary magdalene. what we needed...). ▪ "mala pécora" (Bad animal). ▪ “Eres una mentirosa patológica” (You are a pathological liar). ▪ “Que algun doctor le recete la medicacion, esta mujer cada dia va a peor” (Some doctor should prescribe her medication, this woman is getting worse every day). ▪ “Loca del coño” (crazy cunt). ▪ “Venga ahora dilo sin llorar” (Come on now say it without crying). ▪ “eres muy mala , mucho. Mentirosa y mala. No te mereces ser mujer” (you are very bad, very bad. Liar and bad. You don't deserve to be a woman).
7	Denying political women’s qualifications
	<p>Consider the questioning of women's professional and personal capacities to hold political office. It is related to a public hyperscrutiny. It may include appeals to their lack of training, reasons of "political favors" or nepotism to explain the presence of women in office, and on a personal level, figures such as alcohol abuse, drug abuse, etc. It may also include allusions to a personal questioning based on a supposed condition of marginality or vulgarity, appealing to labels such as "vulgar", linking class elements as barriers to a political exercise.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “esta tipa es imbécil” (this girl is an imbecile). ▪ “se te ha caído la última neurona sana que te quedaba, recójela que lo pasarás mal” (you have dropped the last healthy neuron you had left, pick it up, or you will have a bad time). ▪ “Eres más tonta y no naces” (You are dumber, and you can’t be born). ▪ “Creo que no entiende nada. Hay que explicárselo despacito” (I don't think she understands anything. We must explain it to her very slowly). ▪ “Tu quien eres? ... No sabes de política ni de nada y vienes a darnos cátedras pendejas de Justicia! Sino fuera tu marido político ese, no estarías en nada. Que has estudiado??” (Who are you? You don't know about politics or anything else and you come to give us stupid lectures on Justice! If your husband weren't a politician, you would be nowhere. What have you studied?). ▪ “deja de fumar lo que sea que fumes que te está quedando una tara intelectual difícil de solucionar” (stop smoking whatever it is you smoke, you're leaving yourself with an intellectual defect that is difficult to solve). ▪ “No bebas tanto que te sienta mal” (Don't drink so much that it makes you sick).
8	Mansplaining and infantilizing political women
	<p>It considers direct appeals from men to women politicians, who try to explain and impose their intellectual authority, even if the latter already know or are experts on the issue in question. It also considers expressions that refer to infantilization of women politicians, by both men and women.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Ve y lee más libros de historia contemporánea” (Go and read more contemporary history books). ▪ “¿Sabe usted lo que es la separación de poderes?” (Do you know what division of powers is?). ▪ “Que se lo digan a esta niña” (Tell that to this little girl).
9	Sexually and physically objectifying political women
	<p>Consider the act of reducing women to their physique in general, and the intimate parts of their bodies in particular. This includes a sexualization of women, in reference to a single utility of being "sexually attractive," or else a general appeal to opinions, advice and appraisals about their physical appearance - she is fatter, she dresses badly, she is very ugly, etc.</p>
	<p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Forzar la sonrisa la afea” (Forcing your smile makes you ugly). ▪ “al contrario de las cerdas, de usted no hay nada aprovechable” (unlike sows, there is nothing usable from you). ▪ “lo d su vestido en el besamanos ...no se quien le asesora pero q no cobre ese día”(about your dress at the besamanos... i don’t know who is advising you, but don’t pay them for that day). ▪ “si la cara es el espejo del alma, esta sra. tiene que tener el alma muy podrida” (if the face is the mirror of the soul, this lady must have a very rotten soul).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Estas no conquistan ni a un putero” (These do not even conquer a pimp). ▪ “Mira q es fea la borrega... !!!!!” (look how ugly is this lamb).
10	Slut-shaming political women
	<p>Consider shaming female politicians for real or imagined sexual behavior.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “y mi dinero de mis impuestos para que tú puedas follar sin gomita” (and my tax money so you can fuck without a condom). ▪ “esta tía la conocemos muy bien el sevilla una golfa” (we know this girl very well in Sevilla, a slut). ▪ “cómeme los huevos” (Suck my balls). ▪ “una pregunta... Te estas cepillando a Sánchez?, le miras en bobada, ahora entiendo tus méritos para llegar a donde estas...” (one question... are you with Sanchez? You look at him like a dumb, now I understand your merits to get where you are...). ▪ “La cuellilargo la traga sable” (The long-necked sword swallower).
11	Denying that political women are real women
	<p>Consider the implication that female politicians who display some degree of competence may not be real women. Commonly included are allusions that they are men disguised as women. An emblematic case is that of Hillary Clinton, who was treated as a monster or cyborg in her campaign for the U.S. presidency.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “es en realidad @marianorajoy vestido de mujer” (is actually @marianorajoy dressed as a woman).

Source: Own elaboration.

References

- Krook, M. L. (2022). Semiotic Violence against Women: theorizing Harms against Female Politicians. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 47(2), 371-37. Doi: 10.1086/716642