Qf Lingüístics

#She'sOnly16: Critical discourse analysis of posts in Twitter on a case of collective rape in Rio de Janeiro

#She'sOnly16: Análisis crítico del discurso de las publicaciones en Twitter sobre un caso de violación colectiva en Río de Janeiro

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Abstract: This article investigates discourses on violence against women published on Twitter, and its interface with public policies, based on the theoretical-methodological input of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The text analysis focuses on a specific case: the collective rape of a 16-year-old girl in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on May 21st, 2016 and the disclosure of images of this crime. The case provoked a huge uproar in Brazil. The crime became known and was reported due to the release on Twitter of a video of the rape, which was recorded by one of the attackers. This article aims at assessing the potential impact of social media on the debate of violence against women and on the responsive action of the Brazilian public authorities.
Keywords: violence against women; rape; social networks; critical discourse analysis.

Resumen: Este artículo investiga los discursos sobre la violencia contra las mujeres publicados en Twitter y su interfaz con las políticas públicas a partir de la aportación teórico-metodológica del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD). El análisis textual se centra en un caso concreto: la violación colectiva de una joven de 16 años en Río de Janeiro, Brasil, el 21 de mayo de 2016 y la divulgación de imágenes de este crimen. El caso provocó un gran revuelo en Brasil. El crimen se conoció y se denunció debido a la divulgación en Twitter de un vídeo de la violación, que fue grabado por uno de los agresores. Este artículo pretende evaluar el impacto potencial de las redes sociales en el debate de la violencia contra las mujeres y en la acción de respuesta del poder público brasileño.
Palabras clave: violencia contra las mujeres; violación; redes sociales; análisis crítico del discurso.

1. Introduction

The research investigates discourses on violence against women, disclosed on Twitter, and its interface with public policies. The social problem of gen-

der violence is considered an issue for discourse analysis since it includes discourse aspects. Thus, the ways gender and violence issues are represented are considered to have influence on (and are influenced by) the ways society reacts to such issues also in terms of political proposals or public actions resulting from violent events and their repercussions. In order to approach semiotic aspects of this problem, the analysis of texts regarding a specific case of violence is developed: the collective rape of a 16-year-old girl at Morro do Barão, in Rio de Janeiro, on May 21st, 2016 and the release of images of this crime.

The main aims of this article are to assess the potential impact of social media on the debate of violence against women and on the responsive action of the public authorities. The possibility that social media initiatives have promoted a debate on the issue and, perhaps, were able to promote awareness about violence against women were investigated. This analysis was done in two phases and was based on the theoretical-methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

This article is organized in five parts: the first one presents the context of the crime, of violence against women in Brazil and of the legal aspects on the issue; the second is a short theoretical review on this topic; the third details the methodological approach to the research; the fourth brings the analysis, and the fifth part raises some analytical considerations.

2. May 21st, 2016 crimes and their repercussion

The violence case that we picked up called attention due to the cruelty against the 16-year-old girl attacked and to the social prominence it reached, causing a huge uproar in Brazil. The case became known and was reported due to the release on Twitter of a video of the rape, which was recorded by one of the attackers. Commentaries on the image suggested that the teenage girl would have been raped by more than 30 men. Therefore, the adolescent concerned was the target of two crimes: collective rape and the recording and release of the video of the sexual assault.

In solidarity with the adolescent, feminist groups organized marches and awareness campaigns on rape culture and chauvinism. The Brazilian federal government provided a meeting with 27 public safety secretaries on May 31st, to deal with the issue. Society's shock with the situation reached members of the legislative power which organized public hearings, made statements

in the plenary and included the case in the agenda of the Senate Draft Bill (Projeto de Lei do Senado, PLS in Portuguese) 618/2015, of the then senator Vanessa Grazziotin (PCdoB-AM party). The Bill was approved by a Committee on May 31st, 2016 (ten days after the crimes) and sent for appreciation of the House of Representatives.

Draft Bill 618/2015 (approved on September 2018 and transformed in law 13,718/2018) adds articles 218-C and 225-A to Decree-Law nr. 2,848 of December 7, 1940 (Criminal Code), to define the crime of disclosure of rape scene, and provides cause for increasing penalty for the case of collective rape crime. In 2017, the Senate approved the Proposal for Constitutional Amendment (PEC) 64/2016, which alters subsection XLII of Article 5 of the Federal Constitution, to make rape crimes indefensible. According to the Brazilian legal procedures, PEC 64/2016 was in the final voting stage in April 2021.

Rapes are not unusual in Brazil: the 14th Brazilian Yearbook on Public Safety, prepared by the Brazilian Forum on Public Safety (FBSP, 2019), indicated that Brazil records one rape every 8 minutes. The survey informs that, in 2019, 66,123 people were raped in Brazil.

However, these numbers should not be seen as a realistic picture since there is a low reporting rate of crimes against dignity and sexual freedom. According to Faúndes et al. (2006), less than 10% of rapes come to the knowledge of the police. Although this percentage may have increased in recent years, due to awareness initiatives and to the creation of legal instruments such as Maria da Penha Law[1], the reporting rate is still very low. The reasons are various: recurring embarrassments in police stations; other social pressures; blame is attributed to the victim, which is frequently the case with violence against women.

The crimes analysed in this article are included in a social context of growing internet presence –and, especially, on the social media–, in the dynamics of society. Although the popularization of internet access and the easier communication promoted by the fastest data and content transfer are pointed out

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[1] Maria da Penha Law (11,340/2006) established that every domestic and intra-family violence is a crime, and must be investigated by a police inquiry and be submitted to the Public Prosecutor. This law also defines the situations of domestic violence, prohibits the imposition of financial penalties to the attackers, increases the penalty from one to three years in prison and establishes that women in situations of violence and their children be referred to protection and social assistance programs and services. Maria da Penha Law was passed on August 7, 2006 and was named in tribute to the woman who suffered two assassination attempts by her husband. Since then, she has dedicated her efforts to fighting violence against women.

as central points to some relevant social movements, such as the Arab Spring, this same easy access has carried out virtual crimes, especially online sexual crimes against women, such as the disclosure of the rape scenes in the case studied.

This is the case of the collective rape of May 21st, 2016. As mentioned previously, one of the attackers recorded the sexual attack on the adolescent and posted the video, which was shared in several WhatsApp groups and posted on Twitter. After that, users of the network started denouncing the profile of the author of the posts and the act recorded in the images. The repercussions of the case, thus, started in the social media and reached the authorities. Since it shocked people given the rawness of the images, there was a wave of reaction by users of the social media, of media vehicles, of human rights activist groups, of women's rights militant groups, of feminist groups and of the public authorities. There were also manifestations of discredit regarding the adolescent raped (even by the first chief police officer who received the case) and threats, including death threats, to the adolescent and to the female police officer that took on the investigation of the case. Some threats were made by drug dealers of the neighbourhood where the rape occurred. Others by people not directly related to the crimes, especially by internet users. Therefore, the adolescent was included in the Protection Program for Children and Adolescents Threatened with Death (PPCAAM).

3. Brief theoretical tour

The research presented here involves discursive aspects of two large issues: social media and violence against women. Section 3.1 brings a historic review and social impact of the introduction of the internet and social media in western culture. Section 3.2 focuses on the academic debate on violence against women, especially on the situation in Brazil.

3.1 *Social media and communication: impact and relevance*

The 21st century inaugurated a new communication form among peoples and groups based on the popularization of internet access: social media. Through the World Wide Web, texts, documents, software, pictures, audios, videos and everything else that can be turned into digital information is shared (Castells,

2011: 11). Internet presence in society is such that it is described by Castells (2011: 11) as "the communication fabric of our lives, for work, for personal connection, for information, for entertainment, for public services, for politics, and for religion".

The transition into worldwide internet age has begun in the 1990's, with the triad: wireless communication expansion, increasing capacity of connectivity and bandwidth (Castells, 2011: 10).

The relevance of the issue is highlighted when we consider that communication shapes culture, as said by Briggs and Burke (2016: 360) when they reported on the rise of social networking websites at the beginning of 2000, which was catapulted by people's desire to make contact with one another through the internet. Castells (2011: 414) describes that, besides this individual desire to communicate, the new communication model through social media is also immersed in society's interest flows, in governmental and in business policies flows, so that it produces something the author calls culture of real virtuality. In such a culture

> digitized networks of multimodal communication have become so inclusive of all cultural expressions and personal experiences that they have made virtuality a fundamental dimension of our reality (Castells, 2011: 15-16).

Considering Gramsci's (1975) proposal of society being structured through power relations, and communication is at the center of power maintenance, we understand that the changes in society also go through communication. This is where the power of social media is located at the beginning of the 21st century: they are the environment in which mass communication and virtual reality culture meet and echo meanings and beliefs of several groups, including both hegemonic and non-hegemonic ones. That being so, authors such as Castells (2017) and Ruediger (2017) point out social networks as the powerhouse for the emergence of social movements that can overcome the barriers of virtuality, gain the streets and even impact governing authorities and policy makers. Except that the changes may not be exactly those expected by the movements.

3.2 *Violence against women under discussion*

Violence against women is a global problem, which has reached prominence in public debate in the last decades. On-line movements such as #MeToo[2], in the United States, and #chegadefiufiu[3], in Brazil (as well as other mobilizations that occurred in similar ways in several Western countries), have encouraged the discussion on this issue.

The repercussions in the media have been considerable, so much so that Bou-Franch (2013) claims that, due to that, Western societies now see gender violence not only as a private issue, but as a public social problem.

On-line uprisings mentioned are in consonance with the escalation of recorded cases of violence. Within a ten-year term, from 2006 to 2016, a 6.4% increase in female murders has been recorded in Brazil, according to Atlas da Violência (Violence Atlas) 2018, (Cerqueira, 2018). Authors such as Cerqueira (2018) and Faúndes et al. (2006), however, stress that these data do not correspond to reality. For example, underreporting, in Brazil, is estimated in 90% of sexual violence cases. According to Soares (2006: 3), it should be considered that research on violence, as they are carried out, produce only partial results: those focusing on urban violence (with a larger number of male victims) disregard domestic or gender violence (which affect, in numbers, more women and children), as if the two latter ones were not related to public safety problems. Thus, the author argues that the surveys create two dimensions that are not met, one in the public space and the other in the domestic space.

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[2] Through #MeToo hashtag, the movement has spread in the social media in October 2017, when thousands of women started publishing reports on the sexual abuses they had suffered, especially in work environments. These were triggered by dozens of sexual abuse accusations against Harvey Weinstein, a powerful Hollywood entertainment producer. Not only did celebrities join the accusation, but also thousands of women, in a movement that gained global proportions.

[3] A campaign to fight sexual harassment in public spaces was started in July 2013 by civil society organization Think Olga, which prompted women to express, through posts in the social media, their disapproval for the harassments to which they had been submitted on a daily basis. According to the organization, "initially were published illustrations with messages showing their outrage to this kind of violence. The images were shared by thousands of people in the social media, producing such a positive reaction that started a huge social movement against harassment in public places".

Besides, it is necessary to understand violence against women under an intersecting perspective, as Pires and Gill (2017: 2-3, our translation) argue, since it is

> necessary to locate, talk about manhood and heteronormativity as structuring gender perspectives, of the unnamed whiteness codes, of the contemporary capitalism logic individuality in which we are inserted. We need to understand the intermingling of domination/marginalisation structures, historically built through modern/colonial institutions. However, we should not place the whole weight on the bodies that are targets of such violence. The intersections and intermingling may reveal, in each place, a specific dynamic of such systems, norms and pacts.

As the authors emphasize, post-colonial structures cannot be ignored when studying and trying to propose public policies to stop violence against women, since gender, race and class inequalities in Latin America reflect "hierarchisations of historical and political processes of beings, knowledges and ways of living and being in nature that impose unacceptable vulnerability conditions to a great part of its population" (Pires & Gill, 2017: 3). Therefore, the authors understand that the colonial thinking embedded in the institutions, which also echoes in some schools of feminist thought, rank women in a way to mark those that deserve attention and public policies and those whose suffering seems to be bearable to society (Mbembe, 2016). From such hierarchy arise inquiries on the "occurrence or not of violence, embarrassment or serious threat" (Pires & Gill, 2017: 3) to specific groups of women, specially black, native, suburban, LGBTQ and disabled ones.

3.3 *CDA and Interdiscursive Analysis on Public Policies*

In CDA, it is understood that texts have consequences and effects that extend to social, political, cognitive and material fields (Fairclough, 2003: 14) so that understanding such consequences and effects is basic to noticing and formulating moral and political issues in contemporary society. For Marchese (2018), concrete discursive data can promote a consideration on the development of public policies, given the change (or not) of discourse being closely related to the feat of accomplishing or not concrete and effective changes.

According to Fischer & Gottweis (2012), the analysis that considers the argumentative dimension of public policies goes from theory to practice to help understand the way political proposers act and how the interaction of

policies with the environment takes place. The approach also helps to grasp the discourse context to make policies, and the emergence of the collective idea of institutionalized actions needed (Resende, 2017a).

The Brazilian professor and CDA researcher Viviane Resende (2017a, 2018) proposes a theoretical-methodological approach named Interdiscursive Analysis on Public Policies (Análise Interdiscursiva de Políticas Públicas, AIPP, in Portuguese) that is based on CDA. The approach considers public policy discursive objects, since discourse is at the center of the policy making process, from the definition of an agenda to the consolidation of a policy and its evaluation (Resende, 2018: 3). The analysis presented in this article is based on both CDA and AIPP (see section 4).

Resende's approach dialogues with Fischer and Gottweis' (2012) view of the argumentative factor in public policy studies. According to them "the approach labors to understand and reconstruct what policy analysts do when they do it, to understand how their findings and advice are communicated, and how such advice is understood and employed by those who receive it" (2012: 3).

Resende (2018) argues that her approach is based upon three key elements that are at the core of public policies: beliefs, values and ideas". Those elements are discursive and are realized in texts, thus they are eligible to be analysed using a critical discursive perspective. One main concern of AIPP is the chain of events that allow policy making. In that sense, there are investigations regarding the ideological aspects that are present in the policy making. Therefore, interdiscursivity is a CDA's category highly applied. Resende (2017a) also suggests the use of textual genres to investigate context meanings, representations of social actors and social events, in order to analyse the actors. In her words, AIPP considers

> contextual meanings (and articulated discourse-styles), actors (and the positions they embody in the process), their discursive action (performed through the various support-genres), instruments (with actions, relationships, support-genres, discourse-styles and associated space-times) (Resende, 2017: 2016).

When applying IAPP, some questions are intended to be answered (Resende, 2018: 3), such as: What are the pressures at work in defining a public agenda? In which discursive environments –the media, politics, social movements– is this agenda built and reconstructed, and what discursive clashes are at stake in evaluating the possibilities for approaching this agenda? How

is the public debate around the problem oriented and organized? What discursive genres and styles shape the agenda? Who are the effective participants in decision-making processes and which (groups of) actors do not find an echo for their voices?

4. Methodology paths

The discursive analysis followed two stages. In the first stage, Twitter posts were analysed along the 45 days after the release of the collective rape, aiming at mapping the speeches that materialised in different institutional environments in the social media. Having as specific focus the documental research on posts, the aim was to investigate how the case was represented in three distinct speech environments: news vehicle; civil society organisation to confront violence against women; and public authorities. In the second analytical stage, the discursive analysis on the repercussion of the crimes (collective rape and video release) from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018 is presented.

4.1 *First analytical stage*

The first analytical stage applied CDA's theoretical and methodological approaches. For the composition of the corpus of the first phase of the analysis, a time frame of 45 days after the occurrence of the crimes was defined. This cut was defined by the need to define a temporal criterion. Thus, the posts collected were those published between May 21st and July 4th, 2016. The selection aimed to observe how the approach to the case evolved over time. During the composition of the corpus, it was identified that there was an evolution in the approach from the specific/private theme (the case of the collective rape on May 21, 2016) to a broader/generic theme (violence against women). Thus, the research comprises the posts regarding the specific case of violence and the posts about sexual violence against women.

The analysis focuses on three speech groups: media, public authorities and civil society organization in defense of women's rights. From this delimitation, the criterion for choosing the analyzed profiles was the number of followers. The choice was motivated by the potential of readers on the social media.

The profile G1 (@g1) was selected to represent the news vehicles, as it had the largest number of followers on collection date, June 16th, 2017: 9,289,160.

Think Olga (@ThinkOlga) profile was chosen as representative of the civil society organization to confront violence against women. It was the profile in its segment with the biggest number of followers on Twitter: 103,254. The number of followers of Brazilian official government pages, specifically those representing the presidency of the Republic or the federal government was compared. The Planalto profile (@Planalto, the official page of the presidency of the Republic) was in first place.

Differently from the strategy adopted for media vehicles and civil society organizations, some profiles of representatives of the public authorities were selected due to the issuer's relevance to the debate. Thus, posts of former acting president –and then president of the Republic, from 2016 to 2018– Michel Temer (@MichelTemer), of senator Vanessa Grazziotin (@senadoravanessa) and of the National Secretariat on Policies for Women (@SPMulheres) were analysed as representative of the public authorities.

The selected posts feature multimodal varieties: text, images, videos, links to other sites, hashtags and audios. The study recognizes the relevance of images and audios but highlights that the analytical scope of the research presented was concentrated on written texts, due to the need for temporal delimitation.

The virtual platform Tweetdeck was used to collect data from Twitter. In it, the chosen profiles were selected. Afterwards, the post search period was delimited (from May 21st to July 4th, 2016). For each of the profiles, a list of posts was generated. Thereafter, the collection was manual. Each of the posts published by each profile was read in order to select those that were of interest within the established criteria.

The analysis presented in the first phase of the research consider six discursive categories proposed in CDA (Fairclough, 2003; Vieira & Resende, 2016): generic structure and intertextuality, of the actional meaning of the discourse; meaning of words and interdiscursivity, the representational meaning of discourse; modality and metaphor, of the identificational meaning of the discourse.

A tweet has specific features such as the limit of characters in the texts, in addition to the already exposed environment for the materialization of different modes of communication. In this way, due to the diversity of ways of materializing this type of post, the study considered it appropriate to study not the realization of the discursive category generic structure of each post, but rather the realization of rhetorical movements in groups.

In this sense, the set of posts of each profile must be understood as a textual macro-organization, so that within this organization there are several types of discursive structure. Each profile was analyzed individually, so that, for each one, distinct types of discursive actions that make up the rhetorical movements were identified.

Each post does not necessarily carry out only one discursive action. In some, the occurrence of three distinct movements was mapped, for example. Discursive plurality is a feature of Twitter posts, so it is common to find posts that perform multiple rhetorical moves and include multiple voices. To explore this feature, the analytical category of intertextuality was used.

According to Fairclough (2001: 114), intertextuality is the property of texts to be full of fragments from other texts. In this way, the analysis of the absence or presence of specific voices allows "to explore discursive practices existing in society and the relationship between them" (Vieira & Resende, 2016: 135). Intertextuality was interesting for the research because it exposed, for example, ways of representing the 16-year-old adolescent throughout the series of posts.

In interdiscursivity, "attention turns to the discourses articulated or not in the texts, as well as the ways in which they are articulated and mixed with other discourses" (Vieira & Resende, 2016: 144). Often, through the analysis of interdiscursivity, it is possible to investigate discourses articulated in texts and their connections with broader hegemonic struggles (*idem*). This category allowed us to identify and analyze the different discourses present in the posts and which discourses each profile was associated with. These data allow us to observe to which hegemonic discourses the profiles of the analyzed social network are affiliated.

According to Halliday (1994), modality means the speaker's judgment as to the probabilities or obligations regarding what is being said. Fairclough (2003: 165) comments that modality is important in structuring identities (both in personal –personalities– and social), in the sense that what a person is involved with is a significant part of who they are; thus the choices of modality in texts can be seen as part of the process of structuring identities.

Fairclough (2003) also states that the way a person represents the world, what they commit to is part of how they identify themselves, necessarily in relation to the other with whom they interact, that is, identities are relational: who a person is is a question of how she or he relates to the world and to other people. Once again, the category provides interesting data for the study, in the sense of providing subsidies for the relationships between the profiles

and pages and the ideas held during the period of debate on the crimes in question and their repercussions.

Lakoff (2002) defines that "the human conceptual universe is, by excellence, metaphorical". Lakoff and Johnson (2000) state that metaphorical concepts provide partial understanding and, therefore, cover up aspects of the concepts they bring. For this reason, the study of metaphors used in posts tends to reveal prejudices, taboos, ideological positions, patriarchal views, feminist stances and several other concepts contained in the texts under analysis.

In order to analyze the progression of the approach to the topic on social media over the 45 days of research, chronological comparisons were made between the analytical categories.

This first analytical phase analyzed how the crimes were represented, how the teenage girl attacked was represented; how G1 communication vehicle reacted to the issue; how the non-governmental organization Think Olga, which deals with gender violence issue, expanded the discussion; if there were changes in the approach to the case during this time frame, considering a 45 days interval; how the public authorities reacted to exaggerated violence and its social repercussion.

4.2 *Second analytical stage*

Resende (2018: 5) proposes the Interdiscursive Analysis of Public Policy (AIPP) as an approach that considers the discursive processes present in the elaboration of a public policy as a whole, as they are "complex and multifaceted". In this way, the author states that from a corpus formed by data from different sources about the same social problem, there is space for the investigation of the "discursive construction of relevance or irrelevance to a social problem that one wishes to investigate" (Resende, 2018: 10).

Also according to Resende (2018: 7), the AIPP considers a series of analytical elements, which materialize in the texts (at the level performed) and which carry within themselves (at an abstract level) practices related to the process of producing public policies. They are: contextual meanings (and articulated speech-styles), actors (and the positions they embody in the process), their discursive action (performed through the various support-genres), instruments (with actions, relationships, support-genres, style-discourses and associated space-times). Thus, the second part of the research focused on the analysis of contextual meanings and actors.

In this stage, political consequences two years after the crimes were mapped. Thus, the corpus of this second analytical phase was formed by congresspeople speeches on the plenary, by Draft Bill 618/2015 and Constitutional Amendment 64/2016 (PEC) proposal and Planalto (@Planalto), Michel Temer (@MichelTemer), Vanessa Grazziotin (@senadoravanessa) and the National Secretariat on Policies for Women (@SPMulheres) Twitter posts along two years, from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018.

To select the pronouncements, a search was made for the occurrence of the indexed term "rape" ("estupro", in Portuguese) in the period from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018, on the websites of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate.

The selection of Twitter posts was made through the Tweetdeck platform, the same used in the first phase of the research, this time considering the period from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018. The words searched were[4]: "abuse" and variations; "battered"; "harassment" and variations; "collective"; "rape" and variations; "woman"; "women"; "police"; "sexual"; "sexuals"; "suspect"; "violence" and "violent". Posts that were related to the theme of violence against women were selected.

At this stage of the research, the discussion and propositions on public policies to fight violence against women were mapped, during the two years following the crime mentioned, as well as the answering time by the public authorities. Also, based on the Interdiscursive Analysis on Public Policies (IAPP), statements in the Federal Senate and the House of Representatives plenaries on rape from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018 were analyzed to discursively comment part of Law 13,718/2018 genesis.

The analyzes sought to identify how legislators represented women's rights; how they represented women; if they reproduced prejudices or reinforced sexist discourses; and what strategies to divulge the proposed policies were adopted.

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[4] The words searched, in Portuguese, were: "abuso" and variations; "agredida"; "assédio" and variations; "coletivo"; "estupro" and variations; "mulher"; "mulheres"; "polícia"; "sexual"; "sexuais"; "suspeito"; "violência" e "violentada".

5. Data analysis: social media, discussions and public policies[5]

5.1 *The first 45 days on Twitter*

The 39 @ThinkOlga posts analysed were published on Twitter between May 25 and June 30, 2016. In view of the diversity of discursive materialization in this type of post, we consider it appropriate to analyse not the realization of the discursive category generic structure of each post, but the realization of rhetorical movements in groups of posts. The analytic category of generic structure, then, to be used in a more adequate way to the corpus, needed to be re-signified.

In this sense, the set of 39 posts must be understood as a textual macro-organization, in which there are several types of discursive structure, which, in this analysis, were identified as five distinct types of discursive actions that would compose the rhetorical movements: 1) denunciation, encompassing complaints and urges for public action; 2) educational, including texts that carry notices, communicate information, definitions of concepts, manifestos, responses, research aimed at readers of the @ThinkOlga, announcement and dissemination of actions and materials produced by the civil society organization; 3) positioning, with expressions of indignation or dissatisfaction; 4) mobilization, in the sense of summoning readers to fight violence against women; and finally 5) sharing other posts.

There is a predominance of educational action, in 23 occurrences in the corpus. Then, the action called mobilization is presented in 14 occurrences; positioning in ten, and in nine occurrences each there are complaints and sharing of other posts. Each post does not necessarily carry out only one discursive action. In some, as in the following example [tweet 1], three distinct movements were mapped:

> Tweet 1 – *All crimes need to be investigated! The rapes, the recording and the dissemination of the video – and she is a minor!*[6] (Posted by @ThinkOlga, on May 25th, 2016, at 6:40 pm).

Over the days, the presence of more than one rhetorical movement in each post was reduced. The posts started to show, gradually, only a rhetorical move-

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[5] For a complete analysis, see Rabelo (2019).
[6] In Portuguese: "Todos os crimes precisam ser investigados! Os estupros, a gravação e a divulgação do vídeo – e ela é menor!" (Posted by @ThinkOlga, on May 25th, 2016, at 6:40 pm).

ment. This chain of actions shows a rhythm, or evolution, in the way the crime was textually articulated in @ThinkOlga. Initially, the denunciation of the crime was the motivating action for the posts, followed by the indignation it generated in the organization Think Olga. From these two moments (denunciation-indignation), what can be seen is the mobilization movement (march of resistance to violence against women) and the release of materials on the topic developed by the group; in which the rhetorical movement of educational action is prominent. Therefore, it starts from the concrete, individual case (the collective rape of a teenager in Rio de Janeiro on May 21st, 2016 and subsequent dissemination of the video) to a broad and abstract agenda (the end of chauvinism and violence against women in Brazilian society).

There are three forms of intertextuality in posts: direct quotation (from other posts, or inserted in the text as direct discourse); website citation (with a link to access content outside the Think Olga page on Twitter) and vocative. The voice of the raped teenager is included in the direct quote and appears only twice [see tweet 2] throughout the 39 posts. In both cases, they are direct quotes from the police testimony, retrieved by traditional media journalism vehicles.

> Tweet 2 – "*When I woke up, there were 33 guys on top of me.*" *She is only 15 years old. #AngerWithReason*[7] (Posted by @ThinkOlga, on May 26th, 2016, at 2:51 pm).

The appearances of the teenager's voice take place on May 26th, the one in which there is a predominance of the rhetorical movement of positioning/indignation. For this reason, it is possible to sustain that the young woman's voice serves as an element that contributes to the creation of amazement, shock as a result of violence, and, consequently, the communication of indignation.

The educational action takes place with the three types of intertextuality mapped in the corpus. There is, however, a predominance of citation of websites in this situation. This leads to the conclusion that, for the Think Olga profile to carry out the educational and awareness-raising intent of readers, there is a need to extrapolate the succinct environment of the 140 characters on Twitter (limit at the time). Thus, the social network is not used directly as a

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[7] In Portuguese: "Quando acordei, tinham 33 caras em cima de mim". Ela tem só 15 anos. #RaivaComRazão link oglobo.globo.com/rio. (Posted by @ThinkOlga, on May 26th, 2016, at 2:51 pm).

platform for educational action, but as a support for intertextual articulation, as it leads to another space on the internet that is more appropriate for this discursive action.

The analysis of the lexicon used in the posts shows recurrence of the terms "rape" (15), "harassment" (5), "sexual harassment" (5), "sexual abuse" (3). There is a variation in the terms that define different types of sexual crimes, so that it is possible to perceive a gradation of scope, starting from a more specific crime (rape) to terms that communicate more possibilities of meaning (harassment and abuse). This gradation is observed in the chronology of the posts: between May 25th and June 1st, there are 13 uses of the term "rape" and variations. From June 1st, other terms such as "sexual violence" and "harassment" emerge. In line with the educational action, there is extrapolation of the initiating theme of the debate (collective rape and video dissemination), to expand the theme, in an abstract way. The lexical change, the gradation of scope, from a more specific violence (rape) to a less specific, broader sense (harassment or abuse), indicates the change of approach: from the individual concrete problem to the abstract, collective problem of Brazilian women. The passage from concrete/private to abstract/general is marked in the post of May 27th, reproduced below in tweet 3:

> Tweet 3 – *You CANNOT be against rape culture if you are NOT against sexual harassment. Understand this once and for all*[8] (posted by @ThinkOlga, May 27th, 2016, 1:20 pm).

In posts that carry out a rhetorical movement of mobilization, the use of ontological metaphors that express the confrontation of violence against women in terms of war, as in "Women in war" (posted by @ThinkOlga, June 1st, 2016, 6:09 pm), is recurrent. The metaphors used call for a unity that goes far beyond people in favor of the cause, but the conformation of a body, in unison, of women who sympathize with the suffering of others. Unity is evoked by the metaphor "You messed with one woman, you messed with us all" present in a photo posted on June 1st, 2016, at 6:06 pm, which describes women as a united organization, sensitive to each other's pains, in full exercise of sorority.

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[8] In Portuguese: "NÃO dá para ser contra a cultura do estupro se você NÃO é contra o assédio secual. Entendam isso de uma vez por todas" (posted by @ThinkOlga, May 27th, 2016, 1:20 pm).

It is from June 1st that the term *rape* (concrete/private) drastically decreases its incidence in posts. From this day forward, violence is referred to as harassment or abuse (abstract/general). Once again, the extrapolation of Think Olga's agenda is identified here: from the denunciation of a singular case, there is an opportunity to raise a flag in favor of a fight for all ("You messed with one woman, you messed with us all"), all women who suffer from gender-based violence, including different severities of gender-based harassment.

The profile @MichelTemer published about the case of the teenager's collective rape in Rio de Janeiro on May 21st, 2016 in two days: May 27th (eight tweets) and May 31st (two tweets). The posts on the 27th make up an official note, published on the website of the presidency of the Republic, although this is not explained in the profile. In order to adapt the note to Twitter's 140-character limit, the text was divided into eight posts. The strategy is evidenced by the chain of ideas, the sequence of posts in time –the first post occurs at 11:33 am and the last at 11:36 am– by the feature of continuity ellipses and by the intertextual nexus "replying to @MichelTemer".

Four rhetorical movements were identified: 1) repudiation, including a post of indignation; 2) accountability, that is, the government's response to the population about the case; 3) promise and 4) announcement of the then interim president's agenda.

Posts on the 27th have an internal evolution on the subject. First, they express @MichelTemer's indignation about the rape [tweet 4], then they move to account for what the government has already done [tweet 5]. Then the government's promises to remedy violence against women take place [tweet 6] and then the initial theme (collective rape and dissemination of the video) is resumed, and the profile goes back to what is named here as accountability, stating that there will be action to "find out the responsibilities and strictly punish the authors of the rape and the dissemination of the criminal act on social media" [tweets 7 and 8].

> Tweet 4 – *I vehemently repudiate the rape of the teenager in Rio de Janeiro*[9] (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:33 am).

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[9] In Portuguese: "Repudio com a mais absoluta veemência o estupro da adolescente no Rio de Janeiro" (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:33 am).

Tweet 5 – *The Minister of Justice called a meeting with the secretaries of public security from all over the country, this Tuesday*[10] (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:34 am).

Tweet 6 – *We will take effective action to combat violence against women*[11] (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:34 am).

Tweet 7 – *Our government is mobilized, together with the Secretariat of Public Security of Rio de Janeiro*[12]... (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:36 am).

Tweet 8 – ... *to determine the responsibilities and rigorously punish the perpetrators of the rape and the dissemination of the criminal act on social media*[13] (posted by @ MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:36 am).

Over the ten posts, there is a predominance of rhetorical movements of accountability and promises, with three occurrences of each. Thus, 60% of the texts on the case mention government actions. Not surprisingly, the most recurrent word in the texts is "security". But not just any security: the posts mention the term "public security" four times in the posts. From this, it is possible to understand that the specific case (collective rape and dissemination of the video) and the broader theme (violence against women) are perceived by the profile as issues of public safety. Thus, @Micheltemer takes the case as support for emphasizing the broader issue of public safety, responding to the case in terms of strict punishment.

As noted in @ThinkOlga, there is little mention of the battered young woman. Here, there is only one: "a teenager rape in Rio de Janeiro" [tweet 4], present in the first post of the series of tweets. The mention of the term "woman", and its variations, occurs three times. In two of them, "woman" is accompanied by the term "violence", as in "violence against women".

In two tweets, there is clear marking of interdiscursivity [tweets 6 and 8]. In the post reproduced in tweet 6 –which performs a rhetorical move-

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[10] In Portuguese: "O ministro da Justiça convocou reunião com os secretários de segurança pública de todos país, nesta terça-feira" (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:34 am).
[11] In Portuguese: "Tomaremos medidas efetivas para combater a violência contra a mulher" (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:34 am).
[12] In Portuguese: "Nosso governo está mobilizado, juntamente com a Secretaria de Segurança Pública do Rio de Janeiro..." (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:36 am).
[13] In Portuguese: "...para apurar as responsabilidades e punir com rigor os autores do estupro e da divulgação do ato criminoso nas redes sociais" (posted by @MichelTemer, May 27th, 2016, 11:36 am).

ment of promise– there are legal and military discourses. It reads: "We will take effective measures to combat violence against women". The choice of the term "combat" indicates the adoption of a bellicose discourse, since for @MichelTemer, violence against women is an enemy and, therefore, needs to be fought. In addition, the construction "we will take effective measures" refers to the legal and judicial bodies, which should be responsible for fighting the enemy (violence), that is, it is affiliated with a legal discourse, in close dialogue with the perception, discussed earlier, that for @MichelTemer violence against women is a matter of public safety. In the post present in tweet 8 –which carries out an accountability movement– there is a punitive speech. It reads: "to determine the responsibilities and rigorously punish the perpetrators of rape and the dissemination of the criminal act on social media", so that the punitive discourse is materialized by the choice of the construction "strictly punish". This post corresponds to the final part of the official note and, as mentioned earlier, it is the one in which the government is concerned with responding to society, promising strict punishment to the perpetrators of the crimes.

The official profile of the presidency of the republic @Planalto also published about the collective rape and dissemination of the video, and also on the 27th and 31st of May. Likewise @MichelTemer, @Planalto did not return to the general theme, violence against women, until the end of the 45-day window established at this stage of the dissertation. In total, there were nine tweets about the topic in this profile.

There are two rhetorical movements in the posts on this profile: official statement and government speech. The last is the one with the highest recurrence (5).

The frequency of reference to the teenage victim of collective rape is small: the teenager is mentioned only once, in the first post of the sequence [tweet 9]:

> Tweet 9 – *#OfficialNote from @MichelTemer: vehement repudiation of teen rape in Rio bit.ly/25mu89t*[14] (posted by @Planalto, May 27th, 2016, 1:19 pm).

The crime is described as "rape" and then indirectly resumed as "issues involving women" [tweet 10]:

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[14] In Portuguese: "#NotaOficial de @MichelTemer: repúdio veemente ao estupro de adolescente no Rio bit.ly/25mu89t" (posted by @Planalto, May 27th, 2016, 1:19 pm).

Tweet 10 – *@MichelTemer: We are seeing a growing wave of violence across sectors, especially on issues involving women*[15] (posted by @Planalto, May 31st, 2016, 10:27 am).

Once again –as in @ThinkOlga and @MichelTemer– the concrete/particular case is extrapolated to an abstract/general theme, that is, violence against women. Unlike @ThinkOlga, who took advantage of the concrete/private case to extrapolate the agenda to an abstract/general theme, the official profile of the presidency preferred to extrapolate to a much broader and more abstract theme (in a way that minimizes specific violence): violence in Brazilian society, which entails articulating punitiveness and public safety as a political priority.

@vanessasenadora posts about the specific topic and about violence against women took place between May 26th and July 1st. There were 31 posts, distributed in 14 days of posts. Five rhetorical movements were identified: 1) expression of indignation; 2) informative/educational; 3) mobilizer/aggregator; 4) ideological/political positioning; and 5) self-promotion. The informative rhetorical movement is the most present, with 24 occurrences. Second, the self-promotion and mobilizer/aggregator movements, with 12 occurrences each; then, ideological/political positioning, 10; and indignation, 2.

The indignation movement is the first to emerge. It is in the senator's first post on the collective rape case, made on May 26th, and it is the only tweet about the specific case of the day. The self-promotion movement only appears from May 28th, and is present in eight of the 14 days of posts on the subject. Thus, in 57% of the posting days, there is self-promotion rhetorical movement. On the days it appears, it takes second place in recurrence. The movement with the highest occurrence is the informative/educational that appears in 12 days, with each posting day being the predominant theme or on an equal footing with others. Except for the indignation movement, which disappears after May 29th, the other movements continue to take turns. Thus, unlike what was identified at @ThinkOlga, @vanessasenadora does not show thematic progression and subsequent thematic crystallization. Even with the prevalence of the information movement, there is also room for other rhetorical expressions.

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[15] In Portuguese: "@MichelTemer: Assistimos a uma onda crescente de violência nos vários setores, especialmente nas questões envolvendo mulheres" (posted by @Planalto, May 31st, 2016, 10:27 am).

Throughout the posts there is no voice of the adolescent victim of rape, but there is the direct voice of a group of women demonstrating against gender violence.

Regarding lexical choices, unlike the profiles analyzed so far, @vanessasenadora presents the word "rape" in 15 of the 31 posts, being the most recurrent word in the series of posts, totaling 26 appearances. Furthermore, the transition, over time, from the specific lexicon "rape" to more generic ones, such as "abuse" or "violence", as occurs in @ThinkOlga, is less intense. Note the recurrent use of the word "rape" until June 21st. In just the last three days of posts (June 22nd and 27th and July 1st), the term disappears, giving way to "violence", "violence against women" and "sexual violence against women". Thus, the extrapolation of the agenda from specific/particular to abstract/ general cases occurs, but later. One of the reasons for the break in the trend seen in the profiles already analyzed may be the recurrent disclosure in the profile of the bill 618/2015 of senator Grazziotin, which proposes an increase in the penalty for gang rape and started to be voted in the Senate soon after the repercussion of the case of the rape of the teenager.

Unlike what is analyzed in @MichelTemer and @Planalto, there is feminist and anti-sexist discourse throughout the posts, materialized, for example, by the lexical item "empowerment", in "we are women who fight against the culture of rape and for empowerment", in post on May 27th; and also in the post reproduced in tweet 11.

> Tweet 11 – *Behind this culture of rape, there are also those who fight against the empowerment of women. There are two sides of the same coin*[16] (posted by @vanessasenadora, May 27th, 2016, 11:58).

In line with @ThinkOlga, @vanessasenadora addresses issues of structural chauvinism, via an anti-chauvinism discourse, materialized, for example, in the five mentions of "culture of rape" or in the passage "culture that naturalizes violence against women".

Three are more frequent discourses: political, feminist and legal. Political discourse almost coincides with every occurrence of the self-promoting rhetorical movement. Something similar occurs with feminist and war discourses, which occur in posts and that there is an informative rhetorical movement.

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[16] In Portuguese: "Por trás desta cultura do estupro, tb estão os que lutam contra o empoderamento das mulheres. São duas faces da mesma moeda" (posted by @vanessasenadora, May 27th, 2016, 11:58).

Thus, it is possible to infer that the information considered relevant enough to be posted share the ideals of feminist discourses, and also share the intention to communicate the actions of public authorities to users.

The recurrent metaphor of fighting violence against women and the rape culture stands out. The usage indicates that @vanessasenadora frames the quest to guarantee women's human rights as something that is understood in terms of war, in which women are warriors. Those who "fight against the empowerment of women" would be on the opposing side, according to the metaphor [tweet 11].

@SPMulheres posted between the 27th of May and the 2nd of July 2016 on the specific and general themes considered in this analytical stage. There were 17 days of posts on the themes. Regarding the specific case (collective rape and dissemination of the video), however, there was only mention through retweets or reports of publications from other profiles; thus, there was no specific post by @SPMulheres about the case.

In the 70 posts analyzed, five macro rhetorical movements were identified: 1) informative (which also carries out educational, training and awareness actions), with 64 occurrences; 2) accountability (communiqués on actions taken by the government and the SPM or future promises), 42; 3) official pronouncement/quotation (direct or indirect quote from a public authority representative's speech), 39; 4) positioning (expression of opinion, indignation and solidarity), 22; and 5) mobilization (engagement, campaign), 14.

Similar to @vanessasenadora, @SPMulher does not tend to gradually adopt a more comprehensive lexicon to refer to sexual violence against women. The profile alternates the items "rape", "collective rape", "gender violence", "harassment" and "violence against women" without showing any tendency towards particularization. Thus, there is also no clear movement from the specific/particular case to the abstract/general case, as noted above. One reason could be the very distance @SPMulher kept from the specific case. As the profile did not engage, via its own discourse, in the social debate that was generated by the repercussions of the crimes, it also did not appropriate the specific case of the 16-year-old teenager to expand the agenda. It was concerned with maintaining an approach to the theme of violence against women, but as it did not particularize the case, it did not take the thematic leap either.

In @SPMulheres, similarly to @Planalto and @MichelTemer, the articulation of warlike discourse prevails, referring to the fight against violence against women; followed by legal discourse and, to a lesser extent, punitive discourse. Thus, the Twitter account addresses the issue of violence against

women from a legal perspective, therefore, such crime needs to be punished with longer sentences for those who commit gang rape. Unlike the two profiles of the presidency, however, there is some articulation of feminist discourse [tweet 12] and human rights discourse, with lesser presence, however. Even so, it is worth noting that of the 11 identified occurrences of feminist discourse, only tweet 12 is from an authorial post by @SPMulheres.

Tweet 12 – *Women's policy is as important as other policies and cannot be left in the background, Maria Silvanda (AP)*[17] (posted by @SPMulheres, June 27th, 2016, 11:29 am).

Between May 25th and July 4th, 2016, @g1 posted 168 tweets about the specific case and about violence against women in a broad sense. Since @g1 is a journalistic profile, the tweets are inserted in a generic structure similar to a newspaper headline, which is the one found at the beginning of journalistic stories and that present an informative summary of the news and some teaser to trigger the interest of readers. Thus, unlike the other profiles analyzed, we did not analyse @g1's rhetorical movements, since there is a predominant genre, which can be described as a headline tweet.

There are posts about the specific case from May 25th to June 17th, when the conclusion of the police investigation is announced. In this interval, the case is dealt with in 14 days. Furthermore, the topic of violence against women continues to be in the news, but the intensity of focus reduces over time.

There is implicit blaming of the teenager that can be identified, as well as blaming other women mentioned in @g1's posts. In these posts, there are examples of articulating the voices of raped women in direct and/or indirect discourse. And, in ten of them, the voice of the woman who was the target of violence appears in contexts of justification, excuses, offering evidence and explanations for having suffered violence, as you can see in tweet 13:

Tweet 13 – *Teen reports rape at party: 'Couldn't defend myself'*[18] (posted by @g1, June 3rd, 2016, 11:06 am).

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[17] In Portuguese: "A política para a mulher é tão importante como outras políticas e não pode ser deixada em segundo plano, Maria Silvanda" (posted by @SPMulheres, June 27th, 2016, 11:29 am).

[18] In Portuguese: "Adolescente denuncia estupro em festa: 'Não consegui me defender'" (posted by @g1, June 3rd, 2016, 11:06 am).

These characteristics reinforce the suspicion of indirect sexism and implicit supportive language for violence against women. For this reason, the little use of hashtags in the 168 posts analyzed is striking. There are two campaigns in which the newspaper is engaged: #EstupronãoÉCulpaDaVítima (#RapeIsNotTheVictimsFault), four times, all on May 27th; and #NenhumaMulherDiz (#NoWomanTells, with some similarity with #MeeToo movement), on June 21st, 2016. The absence indicates that @g1 does not invite internet users to mobilize to combat violence against women and that it does not engage in online mobilizations either.

As time goes by in the series of posts, there is no notable evolution in the way @g1 represents the teenager and the crimes. Disbelief in the teenager claims and mitigation speeches remain even in the last posts that announce the conclusion of the investigations [tweet 14]:

> Tweet 14 – *Young rape victim in Rio would have been abused by different groups*[19] (posted by @g1, June 4th, 2016, 1:26 pm).

An example of the disbelief in @g1's communication is the tweet 14 post, in which the epistemic modality materialized by the modal verb in "would have been abused" indicates a low commitment by @g1 to the possibility of abuse. In the same tweet, the choice of the lexicon "abused" also reinforces mitigation by representing rape as abuse, in order to minimize the severity of the violence. Thus, although @g1 does not extrapolate the concrete case to address the broader problem, unlike other profiles analyzed, it uses the generic lexicon to deal with the specific case, with the effect of mitigating the violence represented.

Considering Twitter profiles, @g1 was the one that most posted on the case for the longest time within the 45 days after the crimes had been committed. G1 informed on the crime up to the conclusion of the investigations and also took the opportunity of this issue to broadcast similar crimes and raise discussion on the subject. The analysis of the coverage of this case pointed out that there was a partial commitment of @g1 with the truth regarding the accusation of the 16-year-old adolescent. On the other hand, the profile did not show modalization in the accusation of other crimes. Despite posts emphasizing that women are not to blame for gender violence, voices of oth-

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[19] In Portuguese: "Jovem vítima de estupro no Rio teria sido abusada por grupos diferentes" (posted by @g1, June 4th, 2016, 1:26 pm).

er women victims of other violence cases disclosed were used to justify the violations. Therefore, @g1 oscillated in the representation of gender violence sometimes adopting a chauvinist and blaming discourse and sometimes a feminist and human rights discourse. It is important to analyse @g1 discursive representations, since media discourse creates expectations, imposes socially accepted images and reinforces behaviour constructions, giving them a status of common sense (Santaemilia & Maruenda, 2016: 33-34).

The research identified changes in approaching this specific case over time, in a 45-days interval. Five of the Twitter profiles focused (@ThinkOlga, @MichelTemer, @Planalto, @vanessasenadora and @SPMulheres) posted little on this specific case, but used it as an excuse to deal with the broad issue of violence against women.

The analysis of the six profiles together show four discursive tendencies. The first one had a small engagement with the feminist cause, with the female protagonism and with fighting the rape culture and chauvinism. This characteristic is noticed due to the absence of the feminist discourse in @Planalto and @MichelTemer posts, to the focus on legal right discourse and the framing of the confrontation of violence against women under the point of view of public safety, which would be reached with the union of states. The proposals to improve public safety occur in the field of abstraction. Thus, the effort of mentioning the crime is seen as a strategy to collect the population's trust on the soundness of the new government.

The second discursive trend frames violence against women as an enemy to be faced by women's fight, which is evidenced by the presence of the feminist discourse, of warlike metaphors, of unicity and engagement on @ThinkOlga and @vanessasenadora profiles. According to the discourse in the profiles, this fight aims at combating the rape culture, chauvinism and misogyny, by imposing tougher laws to rape crimes and sharing of rape videos; as well as laws that increase assistance to abused women; and through public hearing discussion on the reach of Maria da Penha Law. This is also a fight for education and awareness of what rape culture, harassment and chauvinism mean, which occurs in the discourse on more didactic rhetoric movements. It is a collective fight open to other women, and a regular invitation to engagement, which is materialized in posts of manifests, protests and street demonstrations –and also discursively, in the use of hashtags–.

The third trend, identified at @SPMulheres shows elements of the first and second trends. There are both feminist discourse and legal right discourses and emphasis on accountability of the public authorities actions (which

remain in the field of abstraction) and in the ideas of union and consistency of the government. There is also the identification of action needs, evidenced by the recurring use of a deontic modality of need, obligation. Apart from the release of the actions taken by the federal government, the Federal Senate and the campaigns started by other social actors, @SPMulheres measures to face violence against women are just a proposition.

The fourth discursive trend is to realize violence against women together with the movements that take place in society, as noticed by @g1. Thus, there is a conflict between the hegemonic discourse (patriarchal and chauvinist) and the counterhegemonic discourse (feminist and pro-human rights). There is an approach suggesting an attempt not to blame the attacked woman and try not to doubt the woman's word, as well as an approach indicating a discredit on the accusations of women and a (supposed) need to justify the occurrence of the violence suffered. There is some engagement on the feminist cause and in the campaigns to uncover chauvinism and the rape culture. Also, there is an assumed judgement of the 16-year-old adolescent. A huge emphasis is given to news on rape, collective rape, harassment and feminicide cases. However, @g1 shows unfamiliarity with the terminology of these contexts and with feminist discourses and the fight against gender violence.

Thus, the analysis of the profiles points out the existence of flows and counterflows in the discussion. Although there are discursively organized groups that fight violence against women, just a few of them are really committed to the cause. Some groups are not activists and do not belong to the decision making sectors, but are also represented by the profile related to the traditional media vehicle. The 45 days analysis of each of the three speech groups help to identify the status of the discussion in the minds of regular citizens and how propositive groups articulate. Therefore, in the second part of the research –in which the public authorities conduct to construct public policies are analysed in the two years after the rape and sharing of the videos crimes took place– discourse marks are observed, with a view to understanding the possibilities of inserting such voices in the public policies field.

5.2 *Two years after at the Legislative*

Statements in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate that debated the issue of violence against women between May 21st, 2016 and May 21st, 2018 were analyzed, with the support of the AIPP. Besides, the research produced an

analytical balance over the strategies taken by four Twitter profiles in order to debate violence against women: @MichelTemer, @Planalto, @vanessasenadora and @SPMulheres.

Of the two legislative houses, the Senate was the first to comment on the case of violence in question, on May 27th, 2016. Over the first 45 days, specific crimes were addressed in 11 days by 21 senators. During this period, the crime of rape was mentioned in statements until June 22nd. Of all speeches and Twitter accounts analyzed in this article, the Senate was the one that referred to the case for the longest time. Over the two years proposed in this analytical stage, 25 senators spoke out about sexual violence against women.

The texts analysed on the second phase of the research point out that the public authorities have reacted to the exaggerated violence and to the social repercussions in several ways. The analysis suggests that the indignation in social media to the dreadful collective rape in 2016 and the disclosure of the crime images guided the discussion in public authorities sectors. According to Castells' (2017) proposal, the upheaval of voices in social media succeeded in extrapolating the digital world and impacting the concrete world. The speeches of congresspeople give us clues that they are attentive to this new expression channel of the society.

Representatives of the public authorities (legislators and the federal government) have established a dialogue with the society when they showed indignation; debated the issue; promised future actions and promoted meetings to discuss public safety. More than communicating with society, legislators acted to coordinate bills to contribute to curb sexual violence against women. Besides, most representatives have engaged in social network campaigns to raise awareness of Twitter users as to gender violence.

In the context of this article, the prompt resuming the legislative procedure of Bill 618/2015 indicated that the public authorities were sensitive to the uproar started in the social media. The commotion to the uprising becomes evident with the amendment to Bill 618/2015 which included the typification of the crime of disclosure of the rape scene, only ten days after the occurrence of the crimes in Rio de Janeiro. It is true that a legislative procedure takes a longer time; however, the promptness of the response at the Senate proposing the typification of the disclosure of the rape scenes indicates a connection of legislators with societies' movements.

For @ThinkOlga, @vanessasenadora, @SPMulheres profiles, as well as for deputies and senators, women's rights have been metaphorically represented in war terminology and should be conquered through women's strug-

gle, all united, as a single body. Although they are represented as warriors in the conflict to conquer rights, women are also represented as beings without agency, receivers of actions, especially by @MichelTemer and @Planalto, or are represented by physical qualities, such as beauty, or behaviours, such as delicacy, and some deputies and senators suggested in plenary of both legislative houses they deserve to be cared for.

The bills and constitutional amendment proposals worked in the Congress regarding gender violence in the two years after the crimes here mentioned have been largely disclosed on Twitter profiles of senator Vanessa Grazziotin and the National Secretariat on Policies for Women. Grazziotin associated the announcement of the projects and the work on both Houses to self-promoting her performance as legislator and, later on, to starting her election campaign.

Debates in Congress gathered several voices. Thus, feminist, empowerment and human rights discourses have been released, but also manifestations of discourses that reproduce prejudices and reinforce the chauvinist ideology were heard.

Over the two years, the senators' speeches addressed issues in an attempt to establish a basis to build understanding for the need to formulate public policies to curb violence against women. Souza (2006: 32-33) points out the existence of an argumentative strategy to highlight the relevance of a theme for the adoption of public policies: *a*) the disclosure of data that expose the dimension of the problem; *b*) examples of repeated events on the same issue; and *c*) information showing gaps or limitations in current policies.

From the thematic progression of the speeches in plenary, it is possible to see that senators followed Sousa's booklet. The three most recurrent themes in the period were: data on increased violence against women, specific cases of violence, patriarchy/machismo/misogyny/culture, which can be understood as practical examples of what Souza (2006) proposes.

It is interesting to highlight that two macro-themes coincide with the highest frequency: the release of data that point to an increase in violence against women and the identification of structural chauvinism as the root of violence. Although a good part of the speeches elaborate on the need to educate the population about equal rights for men and women, as a long-term measure to end gender violence, only the second proposed action finds concrete directions: the deepening of punitive methods and extension of sentences, a solution seen as a desirable action in the short term.

The majority of the legislators that manifested their opinions in speeches were aligned with the feminist discourse. Even so, the focus of punitive ac-

tions engaged in the Congress to fight gender violence and the low intensity of the effort to draw up education actions on gender equity may indicate the presence of a veiled chauvinist discourse.

A considerable part of the discourses analyzed is built up on the need to approach gender violence under two perspectives: children, the education of young people, adults and attackers; and a more severe punishment to attackers and the fight against impunity. Besides, there are discourses that bring different voices of society: deputies and senators (both male and female), representatives of class entities and civil society, professors and specialists.

Even so, despite the whole discussion that occurred from May 21st, 2016 to May 21st, 2018, which included ideological confrontations on the content of the learning program, actions aiming at promoting education did not materialize in public policies. Educational and awareness campaigns have been released in the social media by representatives of the public authorities, such as @Planalto, @vanessasenadora and @SPMulheres. That means, despite having a discursive materialization of educational intentions, a comprehensive public policy proposal on gender equity education was not shaped. On the contrary, what was observed is an upsurge of conservative reactions in several scopes of the domestic policy.

On the other hand, public policies outlined in the two years following the issue under discussion derive from bills focusing on punitive actions, the increase of the penalty and the definition of a new crime.

Then, the materialized discourses in Congress debates as well as the practical actions from such manifestations are identified as being partially dissociated. While, as discussed in the legislative houses, the escalation of cases of violence against women in Brazil demands actions that produce results in the short term –and the punitive measures would serve this role–, discourses also spread understandings on the origins of violence against women, the existence of a chauvinist culture (and also reservations that the process to change the culture is a long term one). Nonetheless, the propositions raised in both houses of the Congress do not aim at the origin of the problem and consequently, the prevention of violence. The focus is remediation of the damage with a longer distancing of the perpetrator from social interaction and the expectation that the escalation of penalties curbs other forms of violence.

The proposals meet popular demands, but only partially. Deep changes in the structure of society based on chauvinist culture still need an effort from society as a whole, but the public authorities also need to lead public policies to make sure there is an equity of rights for men and women. As senator Jorge

Viana said, in his speech in plenary, on May 31st, 2016, "unfortunately, women's issue, women's rights cause in our country, is still a police matter, as we can see now in Rio de Janeiro".

6. Considerations

This article analysed whether the indignation expressed on Twitter potentially succeeded in instigating the debate on violence against women and impacting public authorities to act to curb violence and to promote awareness on the issue. The research also interacts with studies that intend to analyze the potential impact of societies' voices to produce public policies, especially in the digital world communication context.

With the intention of trying to realize the discursive movement of collective awareness raising regarding the need to face violence against women (Souza, 2006; Resende, 2017b), this research looked at media manifestations, public power and civil society organization, based on a specific case, to observe how the discussion of the broad subject evolved in the Brazilian society.

Without the intention of offering truths or definite answers, the study offers a punctual analysis of a temporal cut and contributes to the studies on gender violence and the formulation of policies especially on the understanding of discursive contexts that resulted in Law 13,718/2018.

The research indicates that such crimes represent critical events (Das, 1997), those shocking enough to mobilize society, the press, the political arena and the legislative to assume a position on the issue, as observed. Supported by Das, the research points out that causal relations have been established on individual motivations, which opened space to possibilities for longer standing effects, such as laws, specific public policies, or the encouragement of considerations that include causal interconnections between chauvinism/misogyny and the crimes reported. Thus, the collective rape of the 16-year-old adolescent and the disclosure of the images of the violence is no longer an event simply regarding the adolescent and the community around her, it became an issue to be handled at an institutional level, in which the State took over the debate and reworked it as a public discourse, manifested in statements and in the legal propositions, for example.

The legislative power response to society occurred by means of a proposition of a bill and the approval of law 13,718/2018. As to the executive power, it manifested a greater discursive engagement on Twitter, in the recognition

of the gender violence dimension in Brazil and in the awareness of the population on the problem and the need to fight it, and less in the proposition of public policies.

Besides the whole discursive manifestation in favor of the actions to educate society on gender equality, which are pointed out as one of the solutions for reducing violence against women, what was observed was the concentration of actions to substantiate another proposal: the constitution of stricter punitive measures. This cannot be interpreted outside the upsurge framework of conservative discourses in Brazil, especially those oriented to the education realm and the gender relations issue.

The preferred solution was to answer action demands in the short term. It also worked as a form of rendering an account to the society's outcry. It was so much debated at that time that the shock produced with the release of the videos of the rape forced the country to discuss gender violence. It is, however, restricted to the criminal, penitentiary, punitive context, another aspect of the previously mentioned upsurge. Although the action prescribed by law will be helpful to fight the issue, and stricter measures are a sign of how society sees the severity of each crime, according to senator Vanessa Grazziotin, author of the bill, the preventive action does not receive a huge executive effort and is even challenged in the legislative environment with arguments such as the supposed "ideologic contamination" of schools and "gender ideology".

One of the paths, according to statements in the research corpora, is to educate for a change. But this may be the piece that does not fit in the puzzle: how come that everything points to one direction and, despite this, we follow a different direction? Maybe educating on gender equality means changing what we have in our cultural codes, our standards, our expectations and social roles (based on patriarchal ideology). It may even change the power equilibrium, which still leans toward the male side. Therefore, although we think about solutions –in the long run, that is true – that imply deep changes, maybe as a society we do not really wish for these changes. There is, in fact, and even more nowadays, an explicit resistance to changes.

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