"La Manada" in the digital sphere: Coping with a sexual aggression case through Twitter

The gang rape known as the "La Manada" case has had an unprecedented social impact in Spain. This research investigates how this case has been dealt with through Twitter by a collective symbolic coping process (Social Representation Theory). Discourse on Twitter was analyzed at two key points in time: the announcement of the judgment and the aggressors' release from prison. In total 6,592 tweets with the hashtag #lamanada were selected and their content was analyzed by lexical analysis using Iramuteq software. The results reveal both an awareness phase about the issue along with a divergence phase that saw the emergence of various interpretations about this case, which were confronted. In this divergence phase, feminist discourses took on great significance, expressing anger, calling for social mobilisations, criticizing the victim blaming and creating a dialogue against rape culture. However, the anti-feminist and sexist discourses were also present in this space. It is concluded that discourses on Twitter are a symptom of a shift in mentality whilst at the same time serves as an active constructor of this changed knowledge. Thus the feminist movement should continue to take this into account in order to converge and normalize the discourse against rape culture.

Keywords: collective symbolic coping; digital activism; feminism; rape; rape culture; Twitter.

The "La Manada" (wolfpack) case is an instance of sexual violence that occurred in Pamplona, Navarre, Spain during the San Fermín festival. This festival is known internationally for the running of the bulls and the festival's 'no-rules' party atmosphere. However in recent years, its hedonistic reputation has darkened amid rising reports of sexual abuse (Rocio Ross, 2018). Therefore, since 2012 there is a debate and special popular sensitivity with this issue. On July 7, 2016 a group of five men sexually attacked an 18-year-old woman in the corridor of a building in Pamplona city centre. The victim who was going to her car to sleep, was accompanied during a part of the journey by one of her aggressors. The five men pushed her into a doorway of a building. While some committed the crime, others recorded it on their mobile phones and then they shared those videos of the attack in a WhatsApp group called "La Manada" ("the wolfpack"). That night the victim then accused them of rape. All of the accused — one of whom is a member of the Civil Guard and another the Spanish Army — were arrested, imprisoned, and faced trial (Sam Jones 2018).

The sentence[1] was announced on April 26, 2018 with the court clearing the accused of rape, and instead found them guilty of sexual abuse (Jones, 2018). Moreover, one of the three judges voted for their acquittal. In Spain, the crime of sex without consent has two legal categories: sexual aggression and sexual abuse. Sexual aggression refers to as sexual activity involving violence or intimidation, whilst sexual abuse occurs without violence (Monica Ceberio 2018). On June 21, 2018 the five assailants left jail on provisional release (Reyes Rincon 2018).

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[1] The Sentence: https://es.scribd.com/document/377487615/Sentencia-completa-de-La-Manada#from_embed?campaign=SkimbitLtd&ad_group=725X175X19055a82c1f2a325fec032d1a32d710f&keyword=660149026&source=hp_affiliate&medium=affiliate

Following the sentencing, demonstrations took place in many Spanish cities as a protest against the verdict (Jones 2018). Further, social media exploded, with this case being a trending topic issue in Spain on several occasions (Isaac Asenjo 2018). Feminist associations also denounced the sentence and judged it as being particularly negative on the grounds that it sets a somewhat frightening precedent. These associations also pointed out that once again women are being held responsible for the aggressions they suffer. All these events take place in a year that is especially critical for the transformation of feminist movements in Spain. Since just March 8, 2018 was the first women's strike in Spain that led millions of women to demonstrate in the streets. This massive mobilization of women placed structural inequality at the centre of social debate (Pilar Alvarez 2018). . Its results were spectacular and brought to the public and digital agendas (through the discourse of the digital feminist activism) the understanding of the dimension of gender injustice that women's lives are going through (Patricia Amigot and Susana Andino 2018). The present article focuses on the impact of the "La Manada" case on social networks, specifically Twitter, and the relevance of this coverage in the shared representation of sexual aggression.

In this paper, public knowledge regarding the case of "La Manada" will be analyzed from the perspective of Social Representations theory. Social representations are systems of values, ideas, and practices that serve two functions. On the one hand, they establish an order that allows people to orient themselves in the world in which they live and to master it, and on the other hand, they enable communication among members of a community (Serge Moscovici 1984). From a Social Representation theory perspective it is argued that everyday discourse focuses on prior experiences (both one's own and those of others) that are spread by both the communications media and social interaction (Gerard Duveen and Barbara Lloyd 1990).

Within social representations theory, the notion of collective symbolic coping (CSC) (Wolfgang Wagner, Nicole Kronberger and Franz Seifert 2002) explains how the group gives meaning to novel situations that threaten the established social order, as in the case of "La Manada". CSC ~~emerges from the interface between the theories of Social Representations (Serge Moscovici 1988; Wolfgang Wagner and Nicky Hayes 2005) and Agenda-Setting (Maxwell MacCombs 2006) emphasizing~~ emphasizes ~~the term coping at the collective level. In other words,~~that being part of a communication network — both as individuals and as members of groups — allows people to face the challenges posed by a new issue (Emda Orr, Shifra Sagi, and Dan Bar-On 2000; Wolfgang Wagner 1998). Consequently, the representations created through CSC provide society with tools to interpret new events (Ingrid Gilles et al. 2013). This process, however, must comply with certain phases (Wagner et al. 2002). These phases are; 1) Awareness, that is, the event must be considered important for society; 2) Divergence, where different interpretations of the event emerge, creating ambiguity and confusion; 3) Convergence, where the group reaches a pact to build a new interpretation that is accepted by all; and 4) Normalization, where the explanation of the new event is integrated into common knowledge and thus becomes familiar. We consider that social media offers an opportunity to assess these representations and the CSC process in a naturalistic setting, since on Twitter opinions are openly and spontaneously discussed in real time (Stubbs-Richardson, Rader, and Cosby 2018). Moreover, Twitter has allowed individuals to influence others in a readily available public setting (David Westerman, Patric Spence and Brandon Van Der Heide 2014), and through this medium mainstream news can be reframed for public knowledge (Dhiraj Murthy 2010; Westerman, Spence, and Van Der Heide 2014).

In fact, since 2010 there has been a global digital explosion of feminists on social media attempting to spread awareness and consciousness of multiple issues related to patriarchy, sexism, misogyny, gendered violence, and inequality (Hester Baer 2016; Emma Turley and Jenny Fisher 2018), particularly rape culture (Jessalynn Keller, Kaitlyn Mendes, and Jessica Ringrose, 2018; Mendes, 2015; Kailtlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose and Jessalynn Keller 2019; Sophie Sills et al. 2016). In last years, digital spaces are places where the public can simultaneously learn about and intervene in rape culture (Tanya Horeck 2014; Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2019; Alison Phipps, Jessica Ringrose, Emma Renold and Carolyn Jackson 2017; Carrie Rentschler 2015; Samantha Thrift 2014). This digital feminist activism against the rape culture is often carried out by hashtag feminism, which creates communities of feminist conversations in the digital arena (Sarah Banet-Weiser and Kate Miltner,2016; Susan Berridge and Laura Portwood-Stacer 2015; Kitsy Dixon 2014; Horeck 2014, Candi Olson 2016). #MeToo and #BeenRapedNeverReported are perhaps the most high-profile examples of ~~campaings~~campaigns for the development of feminist solidarity, consciousness and social change against rape culture (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018; Turley and Fisher 2018). Therefore, digital feminist activism follows a growing trend of the public's willingness to engage with resistance and challenges to rape culture via feminist uptake of digital communication (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018).

This activism responds to the disturbing culture of rape in which we still live where sexual violence is socially sustained and justified (Katie Edwards et al. 2011). That is, rape culture legitimates cultural beliefs supporting men's violence against women, "including the idea that this violence is a fact of life, that there is an association between violence and sexuality, that men are active while women are passive, and that men have a right to sexual intercourse"(Alison Phipps, Jessica Ringrose, Emma Renold,

and Carolyn Jackson 2018, p.1). Last years an incarnation of this phenomenon, labelled as 'lad culture', has raised specially in UK. It is characterised as 'misogynist banter, objectification of women and pressure around quantities and particular forms of sexual interaction and activity' (Alison Phipps and Isabel Young 2015, p3) and has been 'positioned as a factor scaffolding this violence, and as indicative of the persistence of gendered structures and cultures' (Phipps and Young 2015, p.3).

Rape myths, that is, prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, victims, and rapists are in the basis of rape culture

So what is rape culture? Rape culture is a social construction at both individual and societal levels, through which sexual violence has historically been sustained and justified (Katie Edwards et al. 2011). Put simply, rape culture is a set of values and beliefs that provide an environment conducive to rape, including the sexual objectification of women, the stigmatization of rape victims, and the justification of rape (Ayres Boswell and Joan Spade 1996). Rape culture is strongly anchored in those myths that are "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists that create a climate hostile to rape victims" (Martha Burt 1980, p. 217). Those myths are found in religious, social, and legal discourses (Edwards et al. 2011) and are clearly linked with the hegemonic or toxic masculinity that provides sexual double standards and sexual distrust of women abide (Lesley McMillan 2018).Therefore rape myths Those myths are found in religious, social, and legal discourses (Edwards et al. 2011) and give credence to the idea that there are 'blurred' lines around consent (Phipps, Ringrose, Renold, and Jackson, 2018). impact decisions made by both victims and criminal justice actors handling sexual assault cases (Meghan Sacks, Alissa Ackerman and Amy Shlosberg 2018)

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Victim blaming is also an important component of rape culture since it perpetuates the power structure supporting the accused and not the abused (Megan Maas, Heather McCauley, Amy Bonomi1, and Gisela Leija1 2018). That is, victim blaming in which individuals socially distance themselves from victims of crime, whilst perpetrators or persons of higher social status are absolved of blame (William Ryan 1971). Victim-blaming frames the victims as responsible for the action being raped due to several situational factors including the victim's attractiveness, dress, alcohol intake, or their actions related to venturing into an unsafe area and and the timing of resistance to sexual advances (Meenakshi Durham 2013; Mia Moody-Ramirez, Tomya Lewis and Ben Murray, 2015; Shannon O'Hara 2012). Therefore, All of these factorsvictim blaming suggest that the victim "should have known that she was engaging in risky behaviours" (Moody-Ramirez, Lewis and Murray 2015, p.4). All these factors impact on decisions made by both victims and criminal justice actors handling sexual assault cases (Meghan Sacks, Alissa Ackerman and Amy Shlosberg 2018) and usually generates disbelief towards the victims and a low conviction rate of rapists (Phipps, Ringrose, Renold, and Jackson, 2018).

Returning to social media, a number of studies have explored the treatment of sexual assault cases on social media. Among these studies the discourse on the Steubenville Ohio rape case has been widely analyzed on blogs, newspapers, or social networks such as Twitter (Lisa Barca 2018; Moody-Ramirez, Lewis and Murray 2015; Rosemary Pennington and Jessica Birthisel 2016; Heather Woods 2014). Moreover, exploratory studies of the social media coverage of teen sexual assaults (Ashley Wellman, Frances Reddington, and Karlie Clark 2017) and victim blaming in discussions of sexual assault cases on Twitter have also been conducted (Stubbs-

Richardson, Rader and Cosby 2018). From all these research it can be concluded that social media can be understood as a growing space for engagement, discussion, and conflict between those who support victims and those who engage in victim blaming and the promotion of rape culture (Stubbs-Richardson, Rader and Cosby 2018). In fact it should be taken into account that in recent years antifeminism and rape culture have also proliferated in the networks (Sue Jackson 2018; Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2018).

We therefore argue that ~~social media — specifically~~ Twitter — could reflect social representations of current issues, particularly with regard to how the group gives meaning to novel situations that threaten the established social order, as in the case of "La Manada". We chose to analyse the discourse on Twitter because it ~~was the third most used social network~~ had 4.9 million users in Spain in 2018 ~~(with 4.9 million users)~~ and it was especially valued by its users to disseminate and discuss news and political issues (The Social Media Family, 2018). Moreover, Twitter opinion leadership makes a significant contribution to individuals' involvement in political processes (Chang Park, 2013). Thus, the main objective of this study is to analyze the discourse on Twitter regarding the case of "La Manada" in order ~~to provide insights into the symbolic meaning attached to such discourse. The aim of this work is~~ to understand ~~what~~ how "La Manada" this case ~~has meant to the Spanish people and how it~~ has been dealt with through social media via a collective symbolic coping process. To this end we will analyze the discourses on Twitter in two key points in time: the announcement of the sentence ~~(26ᵗʰ April 2018)~~ and the aggressors' release from prison ~~(21ᵗʰ June 2018). In both moments, the discourses about "La Manada" case were trending topic on twitter.~~ In so doing we will attempt to identify the main elements that could explain how people have symbolically constructed this case. It is likely that the CSC process is still

in the early stages of awareness and divergence but its analysis could provide some insights for explaining the social treatment and representations of sexual aggression.

The discourse on Twitter related to this case is hypothesized to be ambivalent. Thus, on the one hand a feminist discourse is expected to emerge in a clear and powerful manner, with unwavering support for the victim and~~. Therefore, it is expected that this discourse will~~ giv~~e~~ing rise to a critical online movement that denounce rape culture and all of its supporters, including aggressors, judges, and the media. On the other hand, a discourse supporting rape myths and victim blaming is also expected to emerge. ~~In fact, as a commonsense representation, "La Manada" is a case that is expected to be socially constructed as a polemic issue that will reframe social representations of sexual aggressions.~~

Design

Data collection method. To create the Twitter sample, we tracked and picked up by streaming API all tweets with the hashtag #lamanada written in Spanish in two different periods. This hashtag was chosen because in both periods it was trending topic in Spain[2] and because this was the hashtag generally used by users of all kinds of ideologies to publish their tweets about this case. In total, 6,592 tweets about "La Manada" case were selected to proceed with lexical analysis of the discourse on Twitter. The first period coincided with the announcement of the sentence (26th April 2018) and a total of 3,822 tweets were collected. The tweets were analyzed from A time window of exactly 4 weeks,~~,~~ which ran from 18th April to 17th May. The weeks were coded as follows: Week 0 (from 18th April to 25th April), Week 1 (from 26th April to 2nd May), Week 2 (from 3th May to 9th) and Week 3 (from 10th may to 17th). The second period

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[2] Source: https://www.trendinalia.com

was around the time at which the aggressors left prison on provisional release (from 21th June 2018): Week 8 (from 14th to 20th June) and Week 9 (from 21th to 27th June). During this second time period a total of 2,770 tweets were collected.

Analysis of information. We used the Reinert method with Iramuteq software for lexical analysis (Max Reinert 1983, 1990) to analyze the corpus of texts. Previous studies have shown that this lexical analysis technique is useful for analyzing the content of social representations (Saadi Lahlou, 1996a, 1996b), concluding that the emergent results are consistent with those proposed by classic research in this area.

Firstly, the software creates a dictionary. ~~The Reinert method analyzes 'whole words' (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs), while 'tool' words' (articles, pronouns, conjunctions) are excluded from the analysis~~. The initial corpus is broken down into segments that have the approximate length of a sentence or two (40 words) (Nicole Kronberger and Wolfgang Wagner 2000). The corpus is analyzed in terms of the presence of the whole words in the segments. The segments ~~and reduced forms~~ are used to create a contingency table, which shows the distribution of vocabulary per segment. From this contingency table the program generates a squared distances matrix, implying that two segments are close if they share some of the words analyzed (Max Reinert 1996).

Subsequently, the software, following the Reinert method, runs a descending hierarchical cluster analysis on this distance table, which yields classes of segments that best differentiate the vocabulary. In so doing, this software assists in the interpretation of texts. It extracts sets of words that are referred to as classes, which co-occur and are best differentiated from other classes.

Following previous research with the Reinert method (Brigido Vizeu and Andrea Bousfield 2009), the raw data were entered into the Iramuteq software and the

most significant vocabulary in each class was selected on the basis of three criteria: 1) An expected value of the word greater than 3; 2) proof of association of the Chi-square tested against the class ($\chi^2 \geq 3.89$ (p = .05); df = 1) and 3) the fact that the word occurs mainly in that class with a frequency of 50% or more.

Once these "lexical universes" have been identified, they are associated with 'passive' variables (independent variables). In the present case, ~~the passive variables were~~ the weeks and the days when the tweets were posted. ~~The text was processed using the Iramuteq software and coded according to these independent variables. The software also provided a Chi-Square statistic that illustrates the association between each class and the independent variables.~~

Consequently the analyst obtains a series of classes composed by typical words and typical text segments (tweets) with the highest Chi square values ~~and statistical cues in the form of typical words and typical text segments, in our case tweets. Specifically, the software identifies the words and text segments with the highest Chi square values, that is, the words and tweets that best identify each class.~~ This provides the basis for 'interpreting' the classes as lexical worlds. The Reinert method, ~~when used with Iramuteq software,~~ produces data that are statistical, transparent, and reproducible until the final point of interpretation, where the analyst assigns a label ~~to each set of specific vocabulary that was identified as a lexical world by the software on the basis of co-occurrences and distribution patterns~~ (Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey 2013). As we mentioned, all the tweets analyzed were written in Spanish, therefore the lexical analysis was done in that language. At the end of the analysis, professional translators translated the results, including the tweets and hashtags that are shown in this paper.

Results

T~~The t~~wo time windows of discourse on Twitter were analyzed using Iramuteq software

Period1: Announcement of the sentence:

The full corpus had 108,045words, and 11,958 were unique words. In particular, the descending hierarchical analysis divided the corpus into 2,543 segments and 5 classes. The results of the analysis are displayed in Figure 1.

ÎNSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

In chronological order appears "Class 1: Imminent announcement of the sentence" linked with Week 0, which is the week prior to the announcement of the sentence. This class represents13.8% of the tweets that aimed to create awareness of the imminent publication of the sentence: "Attention! On Thursday at 1:00 p.m. the sentencing of #lamanada is published. Get Ready! A maximum of 22 years imprisonment for gang rape" (Week 0, day 22; X^2= 65.45); "Be very aware of the sentencing of #lamanada that will be published tomorrow. Be prepared to organize demonstrations" (Week 0, day 25; X^2= 45.85).

The most important or heaviest class is "Class 5: Protests against the sentence" which represents 33.8% of the tweets. This class was linked with "Week 1" i.e. the week after the day when the verdict of sexual abuse (but not rape) was announced. This class expresses the public shock and indignation in response to the sentence with typical tweets such as: "All against the shameful sentence given to #lamanada! It is not abuse it is rape" (Week 1, day 27; X^2= 94.45); "Five men rape a woman and three judges rape all the women in the country #lamanada is a disgrace!" (Week 1, Day 26; X^2= 90.42); "#Lamanada. We must support the victim and challenge legislators so that there will not be a sentence like this that confuses the state of shock with pleasure! Embarrassed by

the lightness of the sentence! I hope that the higher authorities do justice to the victim" (Week 1, Day 28; X^2= 87.63).; "The judge who issues a private vote requesting the acquittal of #lamanada says that he sees enjoyment and delight in rape, a typical day in the life of this gentleman #nomeansno #Wearelamanada" (Week 1, day 28; X^2= 77.57). In fact, the sentencing of "La Manada" was represented within the rape culture, defining it as patriarchal justice (Encarna Bodelón 2018; Laia Serra 2018).

To challenge this perceived injustice there was a massive call for demonstrations on the streets and on Twitter using hashtags such as #Wearelamanada (X^2= 13.12); #SisterIbeliveyou (X^2= 11.20), #itisnotabuseitisrape (X^2= 9.04), #nomeansno (X^2= 7.14); or #youarenotalone (X^2= 4.89); and typical tweets such as: "Being raped 5 times in a row is not sexual aggression, #itisnotabuseitisrape #Ibelieveyou #nomeansno spectacular demonstration in front of the ministry of justice, #youarenotalone #lamanada "(Week 1, Day 26; X^2= 97.43); "As a society, let's never forget this, after seeing the multitude of people who have gone out on the streets to protest against the sentence of #lamanada" (Week 1, Day 27; X^2= 86.56).

Linked with Week 2 —the second week after the announcement of the sentence, —is "Class 4: Reactions against victim blaming" which accounted for14.29% of the tweets. In this class, rape culture, victim blaming and the tweets and persons who argue that sexual assaults in general, and this act in particular, are not only inevitable in party contexts, but also desirable and excusable (Mendes 2015), were strongly criticized: "Unfortunately, #lamanada was never and will never be an isolated case. Let's not blame our clothes, let's not blame alcohol, it's not women's fault. The only culprits of rape are rapists, but it's very cheap for them, because we'll be the ones who are going to be socially judged" (Week 2, day 9; X^2= 37.13); "You plan to fuck the five of you a girl, you catch her at a party, you put her in a doorway. You rape her vaginally, anal and

orally ejaculating. The girl denounces. The girl is blamed, these are things that happen for being at a party. What a cheap thing to rape! #lamanada!" (Week 2, day 10; X^2= 387.33 13);. In the most typical tweets of this class the instances of victim blaming are reported and criticized, particularly against associations and individuals (such as judge Ricardo Gonzalez) that defended the five men of "La Manada" and failed to respect the victim and her privacy. Typical tweets of this class include: "The PP that defends the woman while giving 9. 000€ to an association that defends #lamanada" (Week 2, day 8; X^2= 77.13); "Now we go with #lamanada: the judiciary authorities are garbage along with the bastards who spread the private data of the victim, grrrrr" (Week 2, day 9; X^2= 65.78); "Little by little we are discovering the peculiarities of judge Ricardo Gonzalez: thanks for not condemning the victim for insulting the defenseless men who penetrated her #lamanada" (Week 2, Day 9; X^2= 56.65).

Finally, in the third week after the announcement of the sentence two different and clearly opposing classes appeared. Firstly "Class 2: Transmission of rape culture through the Internet" accounted for 23.81% of the tweets, where attempts to defend the

rape culture on the Internet are denounced. This class is particularly critical, particularly with Internet forums such as "forocoches"[3]: "Follow the slanderous post to the victim of #lamanada by #forocoches. One user claimed to have found the victim and had already taken a photo to upload it to the forum #stopforocoches" (Week 3, Day 11; X^2= 66.57); "Users of #forocoches attempted to make a collection to help #lamanada. In addition to closing #forocoches for having revealed the private data of the victim, the government should also consider closing the newspapers and radio stations that gave them clues" (Week 3, day 10; X^2= 54.54); "A professor of the University of Santiago sanctioned for sexist comments in 2016, now hits back by saying that the victim of #lamanada enjoyed it! This infamous person must be dismissed as a professor once and for all" (Week 3, Day 11; X^2= 43.87). So, in those occasions where Twitter was used to victimize the survivor of "La Manada" as in previous sex assault cases (Moody-Ramirez, Lewis, and Murray 2015) a social countermovement raised to support the victim (Jessalynn Keller 2015; Mendes, 2015; Sonia Nuñez 2011; Carrie Rentschler 2014).

Additionally, on this third week "Class 3: Antifeminist speech" emerged, accounting for 14.29% of the tweets. In this class the antifeminism discourse rouses with hashtags such as #stopracidalfeminism (X^2= 21.00) or #stopfeminazi (X^2= 21.00). In this class the victim is blamed, the five aggressors of "La Manada" are represented as innocent warriors and feminism is considered a scourge. Typical tweets within this class include: In this case this antifeminist movement tried to create a representation based on fear where according to them any man could be accused of rape and where feminism is being radicalized, creating a movement "against men". Typical tweets within this class include: "It could be you, your brother, your cousin or your son who is the next victim

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[3] The most visited online forum in Spanish in the world, allows the creation of discussion threads on practically any subject. 93% of users are men and its own creator defines it as a sexist platform (Guacimara Castrillo 2018).

of false reporting as in #lamanada? Act now! #Stopfeminazism #stopradicalfeminism #Idon'tbelieveyou" (Week 3, day 15; X^2= 56.73); "If what feminists say is true, half of Spain would be in jail, that is why we must take urgent measures like warriors #lamanada #stopfeminazism #stopradicalfeminism" (Week 3, Day 16; X^2= 43.67); "The lawyer of the girl of #lamanada does not call upon the police witnesses who attended to the victim. What did they want to hide? Strange, strange, strange #Idon'tbelieveyou" (Week 3, Day 17; X^2= 34.87). The misogynist online discourse against feminism (Emma Jane, 2017; Anastasia Powell and Nicola Henry, 2017) entails in certain cases a mirror effect. As an example, in this case it has been significant that many of the hashtags used by this movement were based on those having their origins in the feminist hashtag activism, for example #Idontbeliveyou, based on #SisterIbeliveyou.

Period 2: Following the aggressors' provisional release from prison:

The full corpus contained 75,613 words, of which 9,483 were unique words. The descending hierarchical analysis divided the corpus into 2,115 segments and 6 classes. The results of the analysis can be observed in Figure 2.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

Further, and in chronological order, "Class 4: Trial for release" emerged with 18.8 % of the tweets. This class was linked to Week 8, specifically the days of the 14th and 15th of June (a week before the aggressors were released from jail). Some of the typical tweets of this class were concerned with raising awareness of the possibility of a provisional release for the aggressors: "The provincial government of Navarra filed a petition so that the aggressors of #lamanada will not be provisionally released on

Monday. There is a trial to consider their possible freedom! It can´t be allowed!" (Week 8, day 14; $X^2= 59.87$); "Attention! The provisional release of the members of #lamanada is expected" (Week 8, Day 15; $X^2= 54.08$).

Next emerges "Class 3: Critics of the defenders of La Manada" accounting for 13.9% of the tweets and linked to Week 8, specifically the days of the 16th and 17th of June. This class is primarily composed of tweets that criticize those defending "La Manada", pointing out the hypocrisy of society: "What a disgrace the lawyer of #lamanada is! One thing is to defend your clients, but what this man is doing is very different!"(Week 8, day 17; $X^2= 98.20$); "We are helpless with # lamanada! A crap sentence was not enough, and now they want to release them! When the next rape or murder takes place a lot of hypocrites will put their heads in their hands and wonder how these things happen!"(Week 8, Day 20; $X^2= 81.36$). However, within this class there are also tweets that blame the victim: "An 18-year-old woman who was at San Ffermin was not doing spiritual exercises! What happened, happened, and it turns out they were innocent #Manadafree #lamanada" (Week 9, Day 25; $X^2= 99.96$). So, even that it is true that on some occasions Twitter was used to victimize the survivor (Moody-Ramirez, Lewis, and Murray 2015), mostly rape culture was challenged by generating and circulating feminist discourses that counter patriarchal discourses (Keller 2015; Mendes 2015; Frances Shaw 2012; Samantha Thrift, 2014).

Around the day of the announcement of the aggressors' release from prison (21th June) two classes emerged: "Class 1: Rage at the release of La Manada" accounting for 22.6% of the tweets and "Class 2: Organized social mobilization" accounting for 13.4% of the tweets. In Class 1 the indignation of society, in particular with the justice system, is represented. This class is mainly psychological expressing, above all, emphasizing in the emotions aroused by this case with typical words like: calm ($X^2= 24.4$), fear ($X^2=$

13.46), laugh (X^2= 8.96), humiliate (X^2= 8.56) or shame (X^2= 7.12). As in previous research, in this case to the justice was perceived as useless for sexual violence cases, because justice employers are engaged with rape myth acceptance (Dalila Dopazo, Nekane San Miguel, and Angels Vivas 2018; Jonathan Golding et al. 2018). The typical tweets of this class express the ~~channeling~~channelling of all that fury: "Provisional bail of 6000€ for #lamanada! I feel raped, cheated, disgusted! Shameful country! If the aggressors are released we will come out stronger!" (Week 8, day 21; X^2= 99.06); "I do not know what the justice minister is going to say, but we are going to burst out on the streets! Women will not stop if the rapists are released from prison! The release of #lamanada is patriarchal justice and an insult!"(Week 8, day 20; X^2= 91.14); "Who would have expected something like this in a country as advanced as Spain! Come out and gang rape! It´s really cheap!"(Week 9, Day 22; X^2= 90.52)~~;~~. "We don't want punitive populism or life sentences we want to be able to be free on the streets and at parties. We want an end to the culture of rape and that predatory male sexuality #lamanada" (Week 8, Day 21; X^2= 70.37).

In line with this discourse "Class 2: Organized social mobilization" encourages protest, and reflects all the collective action created around this case by the feminist organizations: "A feminist encampment has risen in the central square #plazasol of Madrid to demonstrate against the release of #lamanada and to end patriarchal justice"(Week 9, Day 23; X^2= 87.55); "Thousands of people protested yesterday against the judicial decision to free the rapists of the #lamanada. Today demonstrations continue against #patriarchaljustice! We're liberating savages!!"(Week 9, Day 22; X^2= 84.04); "#lamanadawalkfree, we leave some images of the protest against the provisional release of #lamanada and patriarchal justice"(Week 9, Day 22; X^2= 80.08).

So this case had a strong impact both at the online level but also on the streets and online and offline expressions concurred in parallel feeding each other.

During the days following the announcement of the aggressors' provisional release, concerns were raised about the possibility that the aggressors were interviewed in the media, which is precisely what is reflected in "Class 6: La Manada in the mass media" accounting for19.7% of the tweets and linked to Week 9, specifically on the days of the 23th, 24th , and 25th of June. Typical tweets ofIn this class Twitter users strongly criticize media whose coverage gave a voice to the lawyers and families of the aggressors who tried to discredit the rape victim and promote rape myths (Renae Franiuk et al. 2008; Anneke Meyer 2010). The typical tweets were are related to demands to the mass media to not interview the members of "La Manada" and also calls for social action through the boycott of programs and advertisers that allow these kinds of interviews: "Several TV stations are already negotiating interviews with the members of #lamanada! Their excuse is the freedom of expression, but the result is that they are going to make them millionaires! Boycott the advertisers of these programs!"(Week 9, Day 24; X^2= 90.44); "Do you want to rape to win a prize? #lamanada is negotiating television interviews that can make them rich! For dignity and shame boycott the programs that interview them and their advertisers!" (Week 9, Day 23; X^2= 74.19); "If any radio, TV show, or other media interviews any member of #lamanada we will make a request to boycott its advertisers" (Week 9, Day 23; X^2= 70.35). As a novelty in this case, the call for social action through the boycott promoted by feminist organizations proposes a change in the status quo of media influence because the critics to the media even managed to stop television interviews to the aggressors.

Finally, on 27th of June 2018 the victim of "La Manada" sent a letter to the mass media to express her gratitude for all the support received and to encourage the reporting of rapes and thus "not let them win". Therefore, in the last class, "Class 5: Victim´s letter", reactions to this letter account for 11.7% of the tweets and are linked to 27th of June. A sample of the typical tweets includes: "The victim of #lamanada breaks her silence with a letter: do not remain silent you are letting them win!"(Week 9, Day 27; X^2= 79.63); "The victim of #lamanada breaks her silence by means of a letter: No one has to go through this, nobody should complain about a woman drinking or wearing a miniskirt. Thank you for your courage, for being the voice of, unfortunately, so many people and for always encouraging the report of rapes"(Week 9, Day 27; X^2= 78.30); "From the survivor of #lamanada: I want to thank all the people who, without knowing me, galvanized Spain and gave me a voice when many tried to take it away from me" (Week 9, Day 27; X^2= 62.11). Moreover, this letter also represent a substantial change in the case because the victim becomes publically active. That is to say, she changes her role and does not hide or remain publically silent. In sum, she becomes empowered and this should mark a before and after in the understanding of this case in particular and sexual aggressions in general.

Discussion

The objective of this study was to understand the social meaning attached to the case of "La Manada". It was assumed that Twitter was a naturalistic source for assessing social representations of this case and to research how society gives meaning to sexual aggression cases that threaten the established social order.

The case of "La Manada" constitutes a significant milestone in Spanish society and through the analysis of our results we can glimpse a sense that this is following the phases of Collective Symbolic Coping. Recall that, like clinical studies, the public

discussion about problems has an effect on the meaning that society attaches to certain traumatic events (James Pennebaker and Kent Harber 1993). In its attempt to explain the changes in the themes of the "public sphere", CSC suggests that collective coping is strongly mediated by the media, and in this case social media.

During the periods of our analysis two of the four phases of CSC have been clearly identified. To begin with, an awareness process was consciously activated in the days prior to the announcement of the sentence and the trial for their provisional release with tweets alerting the public about the future events and asking users to be prepared for what was to come. In both periods ~~cases~~ some Twitter users took charge of giving relevance to these events, enhancing people's awareness ~~through the agenda-setting process (McCombs 2004)~~. ~~This process is based on the belief that when the media cover a topic, this creates in the public opinion the idea that the topic is important, and this is exactly what has been found in this case.~~

Further, in the periods of the analysis Twitter discourse also clearly emerged in a divergence phase where different interpretations of the event came to light and were confronted. This phase gave rise to several typical discourses found in the feminist literature regarding sexual aggression.

Firstly, the feminist movement and associated dialogues were clearly visible on Twitter, with such speech raising awareness of patriarchal frameworks of sexual violence as well as fostering reformist actions (Durham 2013, Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018). Besides, "La Manada" case not only has an unprecedented protest movement in the streets been ~~promoted from~~reflected and sometimes also promoted by social media, but important issues related to the culture of rape have also been discussed online.

Since rape culture is strongly anchored in a multitude of practices that vary in terms of legality, prevalence, and cultural acceptance social media can visualize and fight it by forming a counter public (Sill et al. 2016). As a reflect of this~~So~~, the discourse in Twitter about "La Manada" case, ~~Twitter~~ has~~can be also~~ develop in Spain a digital space to participate in public debates on sexual harassment, sexism and rape culture. ~~In fact,~~.

~~Secondly, rape culture, and the tweets and persons who argue that sexual assaults in general, and this act in particular, are not only inevitable in party contexts, but also desirable and excusable (Mendes 2015), were strongly criticized (e.g., one of the judges who voted to absolve the aggressors used these arguments). It is true that on some occasions Twitter was used to victimize the survivor of "La Manada" (Moody Ramirez, Lewis, and Murray 2015) but for the most part these discourses and the surrounding social movement created a culture to support the victim (Jessalynn Keller 2015; Mendes, 2015; Sonia Nuñez 2011; Carrie Rentschler 2014). So, rape culture was challenged by generating and circulating feminist discourses that counter patriarchal discourses (Keller 2015; Mendes 2015; Frances Shaw 2012; Samantha Thrift2014).~~

~~In fact, the sentencing of "La Manada" was represented within this rape culture, defining it as patriarchal justice (Encarna Bodelón 2018; Laia Serra 2018). Previous research have concluded that justice is perceived as useless in sexual violence cases, because justice employers and police have high levels of rape myth acceptance (Dalila Dopazo, Nekane San Miguel, and Angels Vivas 2018; Jonathan Golding et al. 2018). These are clear signs that rape culture should be worked on both judicially and within the police, as requested in the case of "La Manada". So, rape culture is strongly anchored in a multitude of practices that vary in terms of legality, prevalence, and~~

cultural acceptance and this is precisely what social media must have visualized and fought by forming a counter public (Sill et al. 2016).

Moreover, This fight of digital activism In the case of "La Manada" had a strong impact both at the online level but also on the streets and the representations held by society. lLike other feminist actions, for example the #metoo campaign (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018), the case "La Manada" is also an example of how a movement can gain momentum in social media and lead to action outside of this platform (Rosemary Pennington 2018). A consequence of the social discomfort created by this case and the growing feminist movement that denounces patriarchal is that the This is reflected in the fact that in SpainSpanish the government has since decided to review and reform the law in relation to sexual assault, pRroposing a Law on Sexual Violence where "only yes means yes" sexual consent is introduce (Pilar Alvarez, Javier Lorente, and Josep Cata 2018).

Another tangible effect of the power of social media discourse in the off-line sphere could be observed in the influence media politics. Twitter users strongly criticize media whose coverage gave a voice to the lawyers and families of the aggressors who tried to discredit the rape victim and promote rape myths (Renae Franiuk et al. 2008; Anneke Meyer 2010). As a novelty in this case, the call for social action through the boycott promoted by feminist organizations proposes a change in the status quo of media influence. For example, the critics to the media even managed to stop television interviews to the aggressors.

But, as we expect, the case of "La Manada" and particularly the movement against it also led to an antifeminist countermovement that attempted to make its presence felt (Jackson 2018; Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose 2018). The hostility or

trolling in response to the feminist views and challenges to rape culture is produced by a growing online misogyny that responds to, and in some cases coops, the discourse of digital feminist activism (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018). ~~In this case this antifeminist movement tried to create a representation based on fear where according to them any man could be accused of rape and where feminism is being radicalized, creating a movement "against men". This self-called "Men's Rights Activism" (Debbie Ging 2017) is also a form of 'mediated misogyny' (Jacqueline Vickery and Tracy Everbach, 2018) and has also managed to establish in the public discourse. In fact, this is one of the leading speeches of the new Spanish extreme right party that has managed to reach the institutions in 2018 (Guy Hedgecoe, 2019).~~ This self-called "Men's Rights Activism" (Debbie Ging 2017) is also a form of 'mediated misogyny' (Jacqueline Vickery and Tracy Everbach, 2018) and has also managed to establish in the public discourse. In fact, this is one of the leading speeches of the new Spanish extreme right party that has managed to reach the institutions in 2018 (Guy Hedgecoe, 2019).

~~The misogynist online discourse against feminism (Emma Jane, 2017; Anastasia Powell and Nicola Henry, 2017) entails in certain cases a mirror effect. As an example, in this case it has been significant that many of the hashtags used by this movement were based on those having their origins in the feminist hashtag activism, for example #Idontbeliveyou, based on #SisterIbeliveyou.~~

To finish with the CSC phases, it is obvious that in this case we have not been able to see any evidence of this convergence phase, far less the normalization phase, which will only emerge in the passage of time. However, we would like to point out that in the letter of the survivor of "La Manada"[4] we do see that desire ~~to create consensus~~

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[4] Here the content of that letter:
https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/06/27/inenglish/1530104272_598763.html

and to give a global interpretation to the problem, where the victim is empowered and underlining the importance of reporting rape cases and emphasizing the media and social repercussions of this caseis underlined, emphasizing the media and social repercussions of this case. Moreover, this letter also may represent a substantial change in the case because the victim becomes publically active. That is to say, she changes her role and does not hide or remain publically silent. In sum, she becomes empowered and this should mark a before and after in the understanding of this case in particular and sexual aggressions in general.

In sum, it has been observed that discourses in Twitter are highly polarized. Not only the case of "La Manada", but also the rape culture, are involved in a struggle between feminist and antifeminist discourses. The CSC is based on the belief that social representation of new events can change prior social understanding of an issue. The case of "La Manada" adheres to this definition since it has created a point of inflexion in Spanish society´s representations about sexual aggression. For this reasonreason, we emphasize that the clearly powerful discourse of the feminist organizations that we have observed in these heated moments of the case should also be perpetuated in the phases of convergence and normalization. That is, the feminist anti-rape culture discourse must remain active so that it becomes a convergenceet discourse that is subsequently normalized.

In this studystudy, it is observed that through the active and public discussion of the case of "La Manada" people themselves become active agents in the creation of new knowledge. The ability of Twitter discourses to impact on (or at least go together with) the social discourse has palpable repercussions in society, such as the change of laws, the change of mass media policies but also in contraposition the irruption of anti-feminist political parties and discourses. So, we have been able to verify that whilst the

discourse evident on Twitter is a symptom of a shift in mentality it is also a construction of that change.

In essence, the outcomes of this research are critical for understanding the ways in which social media discourse could reflect and also transform the social understanding of sexual aggression. In modern societies, the public still faces the impact of rape culture, and so elucidating the implications of social media communication in this process provides us with a valuable tool that could serve to provide an improved way of managing similar cases or feminist campaigns against rape culture in the future.

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Figure 1. A hierarchical clustering dendrogram of tweets following the announcement of the sentence, with the most frequent words and the words with the strongest association X^2 (1), $p < 0,001$.

Class 5:
Protests
against the
sentence
33.8%

WORDS	Chi2
Legislator	21
Hit	16.41
Shocking	15.81
Parliament	15.81
Suffer	15.81
Demagogy	15.81
Police report	15.81
Criminal record	15.81
Reactionary	15.81
Resignation	13.12
Wearelamanada	13.12
Deep	11.42
Dead	11.42
Claim	11.42
Images	11.42
Responsibility	11.42
Crime	11.42
Demonstration	11.42
Referendum	11.2
SisterIbeliveyou	11.2
isnotabuseisrape	9.04
WEEK 1; $p < 0,0001$	

Class 1:
Imminent
announcement
of the sentence
13.8%

WORDS	Chi2
1:00pm	4.74
Reed	4.74
Sentence	4.74
Announcement	4.74
Group	4.74
Attention	4.74
WEEK 0; $p < 0,0001$	

Class 4:
Reactions
against
victim
blaming
14.29%

WORDS	Chi2
Association	8.75
Defend	7.84
Absolve	7.84
Victim	7.84
Visibility	5.69
Underestimated	5.15
Blamed	5.15
Privacy	5.15
Finance	5.15
Abuse	5.15
Implicate	5.15
Bastard	5.15
Ricardo_Gonzalez	4.67
WEEK 2; $p < 0,0001$	

Class 2:
Transmission of
rape culture
through internet
23.81%

WORD	Chi2
Forum	16.41
Juridical	11.2
Internet	11.2
Activity	11.2
Professional	10.66
Leader	10.66
Psychologist	8.5
Diffusion	8.5
Legal	8.5
User	8.5
Stop	8.5
Forocoches	7.22
Discussion	7.22
Rapeculture	7.22
WEEK 3; $p < 0,05$	

Class 3:
Antifeminist
speech 14.29%

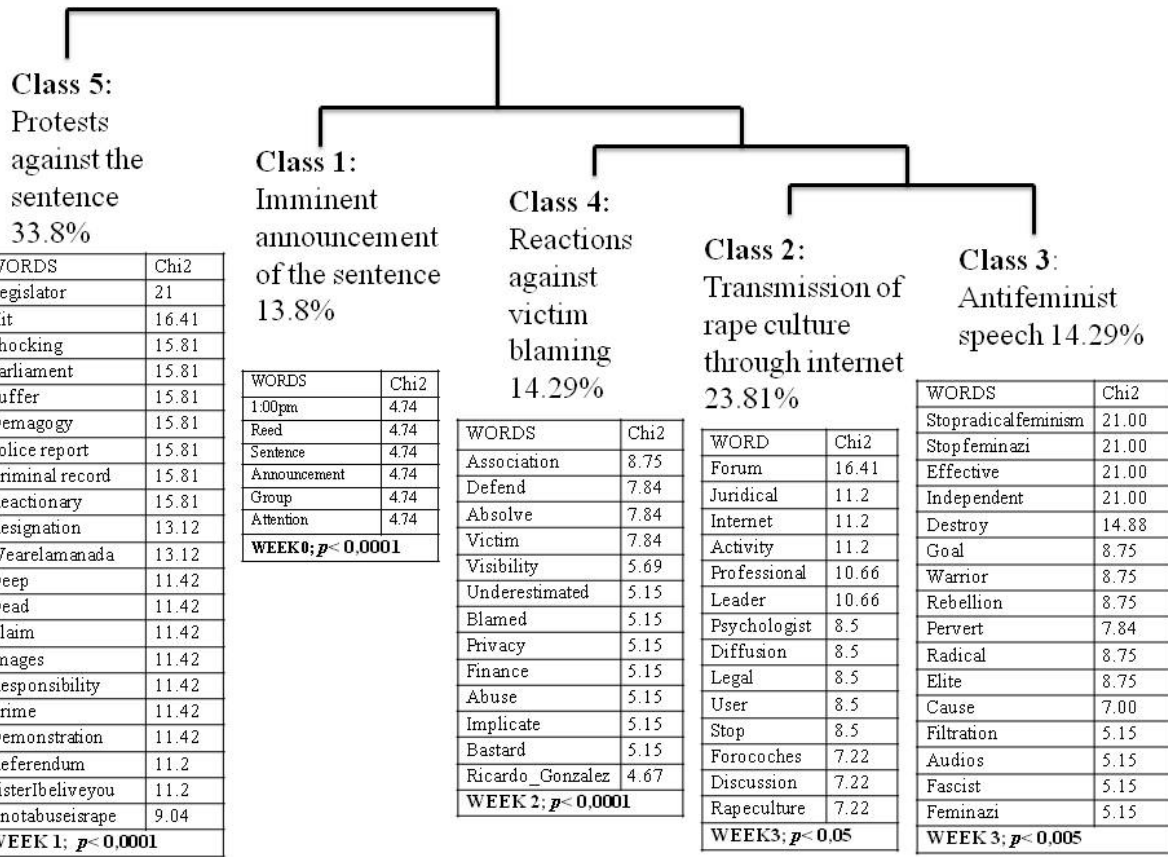| WORDS	Chi2
Stopradicalfeminism	21.00
Stopfeminazi	21.00
Effective	21.00
Independent	21.00
Destroy	14.88
Goal	8.75
Warrior	8.75
Rebellion	8.75
Pervert	7.84
Radical	8.75
Elite	8.75
Cause	7.00
Filtration	5.15
Audios	5.15
Fascist	5.15
Feminazi	5.15
WEEK 3; $p < 0,005$	

Figure 2. A hierarchical clustering dendrogram of tweets following the aggressors' release from prison with the most frequent words and the

words with the strongest association X^2 (1), $p < 0,001$.

Class 4: Trial for release %18.8

WORDS	Chi2
Sexual	137.97
Aggression	98.9
Arrest	77.73
Aggression	67.24
Girl	58.68
Navarra	42.92
Provisional	35.02
Release	33.34
Hearing	33.61
Polemical	30.5
Sexualviolence	26.63
Criminal_code	20.74
Rapeculture	20.72
WEEK 8; $p< 0,0001$	
DAYS: 14,15; $p< 0,0001$	

Class 3: Critics of the defenders of La Manada 13.9%

WORDS	Chi2
Manadafree	25.48
Defend	17.42
Lawyer	16.87
PP	16.87
Corruption	13.74
Repugnant	13.74
Think	13.46
Neighborhood	13.46
Man	12.71
Culture	12.71
Hypocrite	12.71
Thinking	12.71
News	10.5
WEEK 8; $p< 0,0001$	
DAYS: 16,17; $p< 0,0001$	

Class 1: Rage towards the release of La Manada 22.6%

WORDS	Chi2
Street	68.01
Face	42.82
Exit	42.79
We	35.83
Country	29.81
Rape	29.28
Cheap	28.36
Calm	24.4
Go out	23.97
Need	19.56
Jail	18.7
Fear	13.46
Kill	13.22
Spain	13.16
Freedom	11.59
Allow	11.06
Die	11.06
Unpunished	11.06
Rapist	10.57
Justice	10.38
Laugh	8.96
Humiliate	8.96
Bail	8.56
Shame	7.12
DAYS: 18,20,21; $p< 0,0001$	

Class 2: Organized social mobilization 13.4%

WORDS	Chi2
Protest	77.35
Yesterday	53.35
PatriarchalJustice	49.89
Demonstration	44.89
Lamanadareleasedjusticeexhausted	42.84
Madrid	42.55
Justice	42.52
Patriarchal	33.1
Ibeliveyou	33.99
Condemnation	26.42
Decision	26.35
Future	26.00
PlazaSol	26.00
BlackFriday	26.00
Solidarity	26.00
Constitution	25.48
Lamanadawalkfree	22.07
Shout	20.49
Street	18.88
Injustice	14.05
WEEK 9; $p< 0,0001$	
DAYS: 22,23; $p< 0,0001$	

Class 5: Victim´s letter 11.7%

WORDS	Chi2
Letter	210.78
Win	116.32
Victim	100.65
Shutup	98.53
Victimsletter	90.89
Break the silence	90.87
Survivor	75.55
SisterIbelieveyou	37.58
People	31.6
Courageous	26.71
Gratitude	22.83
Encourage	22.81
Report	17.76
Thank	17.76
WEEK 9; $p< 0,0001$	
DAYS: 27; $p< 0,0001$	

Class 6: La Manada in the mass media 19.7%

WORDS	Chi2
Television	179.72
Boycott	116.4
Advertisers	113.29
Negotiation	83.96
Channel	79.11
Millionaire	61.92
Program	61.86
Expression	49.39
Interview	36.88
Donotbuymanada	35.57
Massmedia	32.17
Journalism	31.02
Turnourbacks	24.55
Itisnotacircus	23.38
Boycotttoprogramsandadvertisers	20.44
Turnoff	20.44
Genderviolence	19.37
Notgivevoicetolamanada	16.34
WEEK 9; $p< 0,0001$	
DAYS: 23,24,25; $p< 0,0001$	