

The feminist narrative in today's popular digital culture: tensions between advertising rationality and a transversal political approach¹

Eloísa Nos-Aldás

Alessandra Farné

(IUDESP/ Dept. Communication Sciences, Universitat Jaume I, Castellón)

Key words

Digital citizenship, feminism, transversality, social change, advertising rationality

Introduction

This chapter analyzes communication for social change from the perspective of one of the principal axes of institutionalized violence and inequality: gender. We live in a society characterized by a patriarchal culture that assigns different values, roles and privileges according to the sex-gender construct (Butler, 1990), which constitutes a complex structure of injustices and inequalities that are especially disadvantageous for women. Feminism, in its visibilization of the types of violence ranged against women, and its drive to achieve equal rights, inevitably clashes with the hegemonic, heteronormative patriarchal culture (Wittig, 1981) which, in turn, pushes back with attacks on the movement across a range of scenarios. Our proposal analyzes contexts of cultural production (Reguillo, 2004) and explores communication mechanisms for the resignification of the figure of the woman in order to transform the conflict into one of communication, and to use that communication to counter the hostile discourses surrounding feminism, especially in today's digital environments (Arranz, 2017).

This study emphasizes the importance of the visibilization and transformation of cultural violence, a symbolic violence that underlies the formation of impermeable identities and the defense of difference (Nos-Aldás & Pinazo-Calatayud, 2013) that manifest in the dialogical warfare surrounding feminism analyzed here. Based on our previous research on the success of communication to effect social change, our hypothesis is that cultural products that deploy frames (Lakoff, 2007) of justice, non-

¹ This study has been translated from the original Nos-Aldás, E. & Farné, A. (2018). El relato feminista en la cultura popular digital actual: tensiones entre la racionalidad publicitaria y un enfoque político transversal. In *Desbordes comunicativos: comunicación, ciudadanía y transformación social* (pp. 135-175). Fragua thanks to the research project "Communication for Social Change and Media Education to face hate speech on gender and migration: analysis of public discourses during 2016-2019" (UJI-B2019-13).

violence and transversality are better able to activate a culture of solidarity (Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2015; Nos-Aldás, Iranzo & Farné, 2012) and, therefore, contribute to a social transformation for the resignification of woman according to her ability (empowerment) to achieve equality. We should not forget that communication is only one element in the drive to bring about social transformation that also depends on formal and non-formal education, and political and legislative decisions involving several of the many institutions that shape how society is constituted.

As a specific case study, this research applied a theoretical, conceptual frame of communication, social change and feminist activism (Enghel, 2017; Gámez-Fuentes, Gómez-Nicolau & Maseda-García, 2016; Marí-Sáez, 2016a; 2006b; Nos-Aldás, Iranzo & Farné, 2012; Tufte, 2017) to three audiovisual campaigns with feminist discourses set in different cultural production settings, and with diffusion and feedback in digital contexts. We focused on the audiovisual output of different producers (commercial, new media and activist) with a range of intentions, to analyze their communication strategies and how they were received by audiences.

1. Communication, social change, feminism and popular culture

1.1. Context and justification

We begin by developing a dialog between proposals for Communication of Social Change (Tufte, 2015) and Communication for Peace and Peaceful Conflict Transformation (Lederach, 2010; Nos-Aldás, 2013), and gender and feminist activism studies within the current communication scenarios (Gámez-Fuentes, 2011; 2015). We consider it to be an important variable within the configuration of transformative political approaches that these proposals coexist in current popular culture with the trends in “advertising rationality” (Benavides, 1994; 1997) that inhibit them. What is defined as advertising rationality is characterized by its seductive, consensual discourse (Zunzunegui, 1994; 1999) with its emphasis on promotion. Advertising’s use of speech and ways to influence how people think (which now extend to the rhetorical configuration of all other communication spaces and relations) represents a persuasive approach that presents any idea as something presupposed and credible, in a way that the public never doubts what it sees and immediately assumes it as the only option, as a mirror of reality. In contrast, political discourse (which speaks out against educational and transformative injustice) needs to express these issues in a process of conflict and resolution that requires the receiver’s intellectual and personal involvement, leading them to reflect and question, and adopt conscious positions on the ideas and proposals placed before them. Communicative rationality is communication that understands different opinions (Habermas, 1987).

All these theoretical debates contain a repetitive dual focus: instrumentalist trends versus open dialog processes; advertising rhetoric versus political identities; individual objectives versus meeting points with collective, pro-commons interests. These trends are largely framed either by public communication (publicity), as a political and cultural configuration such as organization as a human collective, or, by commercial communication (advertising) (Benavides, 1997; Costa, 1993). This divide is reflected in the centrifugal and centripetal tension between, on the one hand, the Social and Solidarity Economy and Social Change Communication, and, the trend towards phagocytizing politics by advertising (Gámez-Fuentes & García-López, 2015), which has gone from “selling sex to selling activism” (Holder, 2017). Thus it is that in current communication scenarios the feminist narrative is transmitted and undergoes resignification in an environment that embraces the commercial uses of private objectives (femvertising, pinkwashing, curvy tendencies), other mainstream adaptations in the struggle for women’s rights (occasionally trivialized), and political discourses in which debate on social media sometimes turns into hostility unmediated by dialog (as we shall see in the cases analyzed).

This study aimed to discover the possible consequences of the resignification of feminism when the discourse is not strictly political-participatory but rather seeks to make an impact through creative discourse, according to different objectives and forms of mediatization (be they in commercial, informative or activist communication scenarios).

We begin with the paradox that the emergence of the 15M movement in Spain spawned networks propelled by citizen indignation, collaboration and creation that generated hope for the reconstruction of peace cultures (Castells, 2012; Della-Porta, 2011; Toret, 2013; Sampedro, 2014; Marí-Sáez, 2016a), meanwhile, social networks (with their anonymity, immediacy of activity) were used to develop spaces around advertising rationality in which hatred and trolling festered to roil and polarize society around political issues: “Violent verbal disputes and invective now seem to be the norm in political debate online”, as a reaction to the “anti-racist and feminist activism” of people who are “active, highly motivated and well-versed in the theory of their cause, and with a strong desire to get involved politically in the world in which we live”. (Gil, 2017).

Political identity becomes blurred in representations and relations in which the subject becomes the object of self-promotion and consumption (of the gaze, merchandize) (Marí-Sáez, 2016b; Sampedro, 2017), or in processes of dehumanization and dissociation reflected in the proliferation of hate speech on Internet (Miró-Llinares, 2016). We observe this communication situation as the challenge facing social change communication and communication for peace, to represent subjects based on their dignity and to consider rhetorical mechanisms that regulate how to react with indignation

at the lack of respect for this dignity and the violation of social justice (glocal).

1.2. Theoretical framework: previous advances and challenges detected

The theoretical and methodological position that we develop here is based on the performativity of the acts of communication (discourse) (Austin, 1976; Martínez-Guzmán, 2003), in terms of their cultural consequences, influence on socio-cultural configuration, responsibility for the capacity to mediate between realities and collectives, and for the commitments that they establish or break. This premise connects to the tradition of communication situated on the symbolic plane where we negotiate our relations and identities (Sabsay, 2009). We assume the consequent responsibility by the critical analysis of the symbolic and cultural violence that highlights the difficulty of perceiving its direct consequences for human coexistence as a result of the interdependence and intersection of factors. We need shared criteria to reveal the opacity of the rhetoric of advertising rationality (with its no-conflict consensus) in the type of relations that are produced in digital scenarios, and in the activation or deactivation of a global (digital) citizenry.

A concept of cultural efficacy and cultural efficiency (Nos-Aldás, 2007; Nos-Aldás, Iranzo & Farné, 2012) was developed to evaluate acts of communication such as establishing social relationships via discursive (symbolic) scenarios. The cultural model we use as a reference for critical analysis of social discourse is whether the communication interactions (the decisions and variables of their production) promote cultures of peace. That is, based on Galtung's variables (1996), whether all basic human needs, from liberty (the absence of repression) and respect for different identities to the absence of direct or structural violence, specifically here the gender variable, are respected. Violence will always exist wherever there is an imbalance between these needs and their effective achievement (Martínez-Guzmán, 2001; 2010). We seek to tease out these discursive threads that move from cultural to direct violence, and which are visible in current global campaigns such as #Niunamenos.

The analysis we present addresses communication from the social change communication standpoint, which involves a framing within the objectives and practices of social justice (Darnton & Kirk, 2011; Nos-Aldás & Santolino, 2015). These approaches are in dialog with the power of the narrative in the construction of imaginaries and the legitimization of particular cultural models and politics (García-López, 2017; Martín-Barbero, 1987). Popular culture continues to be the place where social, hegemonic antagonism is negotiated (Colaizzi, 2017), and feminist research on communication and the construction of the woman as victim (Gámez-Fuentes, 2013) addresses the different scenarios of communication and frames that see gender as a violator device (Sabsay,

2017).

In this terrain, where new media or feminist collectives fight their dialectical struggle, publications such as *Píkara Magazine* represent resistance in communication that questions this violence, and promotes other discourses and proposals, like discourse subversion, or, an outlet that is a bit more aggressive in its language, *Locas del coño*, which, among a number of alternative communication projects, pushes other cultural, political and economic proposals (Rodríguez & Romero, 2017). One line that has also emerged recently in the communication contexts that this work analyzes, in the form of alternative media and new media, is that of *EIDiario.es* or *El Salto*, which operate as collective projects in which many of these initiatives are also present.

This study is particularly interested in broadening this social justice from peace research and peace studies, and the transformation of violence through non-violence. This perspective looks to the possibilities and strategies for peaceful conflict transformation, in which conflict is accepted as part of coexistence; how to confront this issue (positively) is the key principle. Recognition (Honneth, 1997; 1992) is an important criterion in this epistemological approach that intersubjectivity contends, from intercultural and subordinate feminisms (Martínez-Guzmán, 2001; 2010) and intersectionality, which is one of the most relevant contributions of radical feminism (“radical” as in Angela Davis “getting to the root of the thing”) for an approach to social change (the transformer of structures), because it encompasses the various elements of discrimination (mainly gender, race and class) that come together in power relations (Hooks, 2017), and it also addresses a range of capacities or socio-historic and politico-cultural configurations of different collectives.

We therefore situate ourselves in the redefinition of the epistemology of the social sciences from the “agency” approach (Grossberg, 2003: 165-168 in Fernández-Moreno, 2015: 201)², which Tufte (2014) also applies to the field of communication for social change (CSC). These positions are supported in the values of possibility (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004) that underlie processes in education for peace and feminist thinking in imagining and projecting possible alternatives (Boulding, 1988; Boulding & Boulding, 1995; Brock-Utne, 1985). As argued in philosophy, to achieve peace, people have the capacity to do things differently and even unlearn those values or beliefs that lead us to violence (Comins-Mingol & Martínez-Guzmán, 2010). Gender studies and difference feminism propose as examples the acceptance of vulnerability as intrinsic in humanity and difference, from this perspective of agency, resistance (Butler, Gambetti & Sabsay, 2016) and resilience (dealing with the processes as a means of

² “(...) the possibilities for action, such as interventions in the processes, by which reality is continuously transformed and power exercised” (Grossberg, 2003: 165-168).

learning and empowerment). These questions of responsibility and resistance impact as “response-ability”, understood as the responsiveness and the responsibility of those who need to be accountable to whom, and the testimonies that are legitimized to make injustices understood (Gámez-Fuentes & Gómez-Nicolau, 2017). Here we study the transference of these ideas to processes of narrative innovation.

1.3. Our position and proposal

This research is set out on the theoretical plane and developed in line with Kate Millet’s assertion of feminist activism as “the personal is political” (Parrondo-Coppel, 2009). This notion defines a critical approach to the influence that the cultural configuration exerts on our everyday lives, and vice-versa, the collective responsibility that also involves our individuality. It points to the connection and opacity between global injustices and their causes, and to the interconnection between individual and collective actions.

We situate ourselves within these processes, from transversality and nonviolence as criteria of cultural efficacy (Iranzo & Seguí-Cosme, 2015; Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2015). Transversality as a discursive approach that connects to the different sensibilities based on plurality, beyond their “origins, identities, beliefs and cultures” (Colau & Alemany, 2012). This criterion is found in CSC research that assesses the socio-political and cultural impact of the communication of organizations and social movements (Seguí-Cosme & Nos-Aldás, 2017; Nos-Aldás, Seguí-Cosme & Iranzo, 2015).

Nonviolence is developed through communication and education for peace: various researchers and collectives have strived to find the appropriate style and tone that avoids violence, while continuing to denounce it and without renouncing the transformative action that connects to the assertiveness (the alternative to passivity that changes nothing) that activism demands, and resistance and social transformation (in this case, feminism). Herein lies the debate on “creative aggression” as a nonviolent “life force” that pursues the development of “constructive behavior” (Seminar on Education for Peace, 1994: 15). These approaches resulted in the transgressive communication explored by Mesa et al. (2013), in dialog with Lagarde (2000; 2011) through inclusive, universal and emancipatory values.

Systematized values emerging from the life stories of women activists for peace lead us to the role played by testimony as a social change communication strategy. Beyond its efficacy as a narrative strategy to draw us closer to their experiences, and understand and share them, here we analyze ethical testimony as a way of transferring personal experiences that represent violence against certain collectives into collective struggles through discourse; ethical because it anchors argument and rhetoric to the

political positions of social justice. In this case, we seek to find ways to transfer proposals that have been developing in interdisciplinary areas that range from shared literature and historic memory (Ferraroti, 1991), and which have identified the use of testimony as a communication of truth, honesty and activation of shared memory (Nos-Aldás, 2009) even in trauma studies (Oliver, 2004; Kaplan, 2005), to locate potential communication mechanisms for resituating the different actors and the resignification of issues and relations between the social actors, in order to promote peace cultures in today's digital contexts, and in opposition to the manifestations of violence towards the feminist discourse. Specifically, we want to understand the role of testimony in the denunciation of direct violence as it develops as part of the processes for denouncing cultural violence: a methodological tool for the resignification of the figure of woman.

2. Methodology and corpus

In order to analyze the feminist social change discourse in today's communication scenarios in Spain, we have to define a corpus of work on cultural and structural violence, more so than on direct violence, since they represent the less visible axes and require more attention in terms of raising awareness. For this reason, we made a comparative study of three campaigns that incorporate feminist discourse in different areas of production: commercial, new media and activist. Examining these areas of media production enabled us to compare the discourses and communication strategies used. The pieces selected are recent examples of audiovisual campaigns that have had considerable social repercussion:

1. Commercial: "Deliciosa calma" by Campofrío (<https://youtu.be/aZSSiYvgxsU>).
2. New media: "¿No te ha pasado que...?" in the *Micromachismos* section of *El Diario* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WVRKdakH6fw>).
3. Activist: "Sentador de madres", from the *Locas del coño* collective. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uwfFOylxUM8>).

In terms of methodology, we analyzed the three videos selected from the production and the reception perspectives, the results of which are thoroughly synthesized in the following pages.

On the one hand, we analyzed the discourse of the videos, mainly in line with the discourse strategies applied to the approach to feminism and suggested "social discourses" (Benavides, 1997), understood as conceptual frames projected in the interlocutors, collective imaginaries arising from the debates, based on the values, emotions, beliefs and, consequently, the behaviors involved. To do this, we analyzed each of the three videos selected evaluating them on four levels (general vision / context,

structure, discourse strategies and social strategies) (Nos-Aldás, 2007: 169-173), and for their performativity (the reality that each video represents, the relation that it establishes with that reality and the reaction it seeks to arouse). Here we are in dialog with Gámez-Fuentes and Gómez-Nicolau (2017) to track the potential of ethical testimony in “the relation between who gives the testimony and who witnesses it, the content of the testimony, the narrative construction of vulnerability and resistance, and the link between the specific denunciation and the general framework of social struggle”.

We also analyzed the comments that these videos received on YouTube to evaluate the potential of the different production approaches with regard to the audiences. YouTube was chosen as it is the most popular video-viewing platform, enabling interaction with the audience through their opinions expressed in the comments section. This allowed us examine the operability of the 2.0 environment in the processes of resignification of gender violence and the resituation of social agents. To analyze the YouTube comments, we adapted the methodology to the three specific cases based on previous analyses of social networks (Iranzo & Farné, 2014) and on YouTube (Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2015). We also included testimony as an element to be located and examined, in order to assess its potential as a communication tool for social change (Gámez-Fuentes & Gómez-Nicolau, 2017). We analyzed the comments³ according to the following categories:

- Positioning: to know the level of support garnered by the video (or some of the issues it addresses), either in favor, against, or indeterminate.
- Issues: to extract and record the central theme of each comment.
- Communicative style: to establish whether the comments are written in an appreciative style (merely comments or personal opinions) or an argumentative style (presenting arguments, examples, data).
- Attitude: to detect whether the language used transmits a positive attitude (interested in dialog, explanation), negative (hostility, insults, mockery) or undefined (neutral).
- Gender: to identify the user’s gender based on the name used to publish the comment, man, woman or undefined (pseudonyms that do not enable interpretation of gender).
- Testimony: to locate comments that include any type of experience lived (personal or third-party) in relation to the issues presented.

This double analysis of the three environments enabled us to extract conclusions on the criteria to be considered for future campaigns.

³ Analysis based on comments recorded with the Nvivo program on 6 October 2017.

3. Results

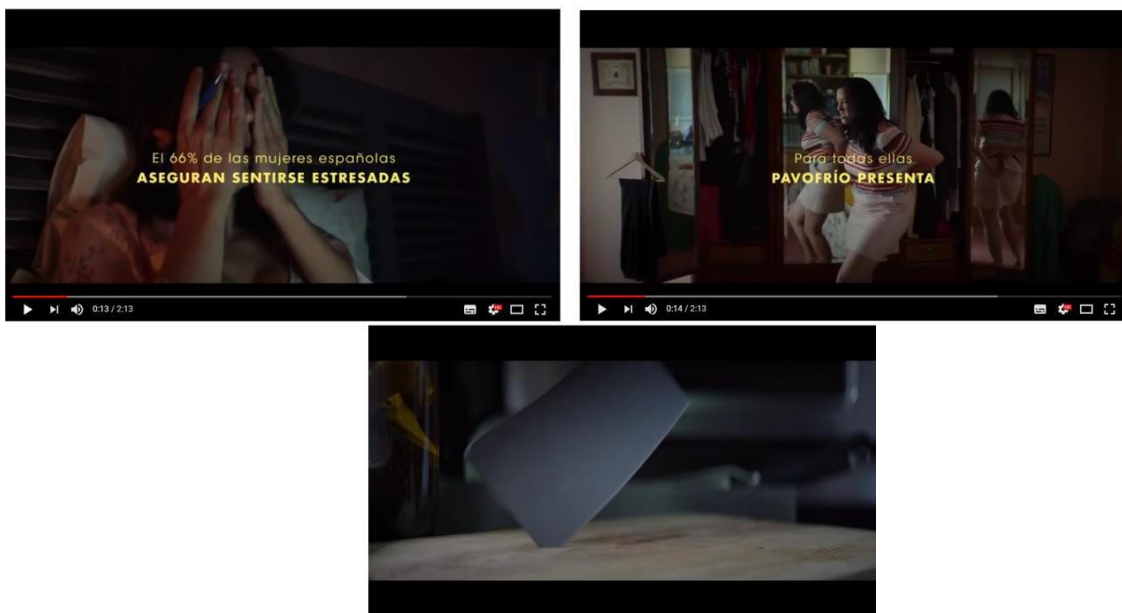
3.1 Discourse analysis of the videos

3.1.1. “Deliciosa calma” [Delicious Tranquility]

This commercial communication campaign was launched by the Campofrío food group (a corporate and product communication around the *pavofrío* range); the launch of this advertisement coincided with the opening in May 2016 of the Deliciosa Calma restaurant in Madrid, as a women’s meeting space for experiences⁴. It uses advertising rationality but also opens spaces for communicative rationality (through real gatherings in “Deliciosa Charla” #DeliciosaCalma⁵). The main features of the analysis are synthesized thus:

- Context: 15 million plays to September 2016 (Revista Anuncios, 2016). It won several important prizes (EFICACIA, Eurobest, El Sol, Cannes).
- Structure:
 - Part I: fast moving, music driven by percussion instruments, rapid change of shots of women alone in stressful situations; it ends with the kitchen as stress scenario and a meat cleaver slammed into a table, as if to say: “Enough! That’s it! Over!”

Images 1, 2 and 3. Opening of the “Deliciosa Calma” ad.



Pavofrío: Deliciosa Calma

⁴ Information and videos of the real conversations available on www.deliciosacalma.com.

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVwUfucPZTU&t=22s>

- Part II: peaceful pace, piano music, a restaurant as a place for pleasure / relaxation, longer shots of groups of women, slower pace in each of the scenes and changes of shot.

Images 4 and 5. Part II of “Deliciosa Calma”



- Close: “A relaxed society also helps reduce stress. Pavofrío, nourishing another model of woman.”

Image 6. Closing image of “Deliciosa Calma”



- Discourse strategies:
 - Frames part I: woman-mother, woman-professional, women-beauty, woman-housewife.
 - Frames part II: woman-free beauty canon, woman-mother / partner-wife, woman-single / woman-free (beauty), woman-mother / housewife, woman-not mother, woman-free beauty canon, woman-mother / professional / assertion of her labor rights.
- Testimony: the relation between who testifies and who witnesses is, in this case, a commercial brand that mediates through an advertisement, with its consumers and society as witnesses. In the diegesis, those who testify and those witness are women represented as protagonists who identify as subjects that enunciate

these positions, who denounce their experiences (although through cooking recipes as metaphor). Spaces for sisterhood are created in the fiction (with the representation of women who share experiences) and in the gatherings at the real restaurant. The content of the testimony, the narrative construction of vulnerability and resistance, the link between specific denunciation and the general frame of social struggle is represented in these recipes (metaphors):

“I have no intention of having kids, and so what! I don’t want anyone to open me up!

“I didn’t go to the gym today because I couldn’t be bothered, what of it? I’ll go when I can, and with black truffle sauce”, or “I am not in a stable relationship and I couldn’t care less as long as I can have my avocado with blueberries”

“Do you have any intolerances? *Yes, to the pressure of society*”.

“Damn it! I am the world’s general manager and a mother as well! Does that mean I get to work fewer hours?” This is the most assertive element in relation to the social struggles of their context. It also appears as a final petition, just before the ad closes.

- Social discourses: this advert displays very specific feminist demands through the concept of the stress women feel, as a specific consequence of structural and cultural violence, although the focus of the agency that created the campaign relativizes this structural link: “Pavofrío launches Deliciosa Calma to liberate women from the everyday stress of their lives” (McCann, 2016).
- Final reflections: the communicative project is very interesting as it treats the idea of women dining together as a place of gathering (and sisterhood), which converts it into participative communication: the Deliciosa Calma restaurant enables the diners to propose their own dishes based on their own feelings of stress.

3.1.2. “¿No te ha pasado que...?” [“Has it ever happened to you that...?”]

- Context: this is the first video in the *Micromachismos* space in *El Diario.es*. It is educational and promotional. *Hashtag* #Amítambién.
- Structure:
 - Introduction / capturing attention (“¿No te ha pasado que...?” Rhetorical videoclip with close-ups of men who begin by asking this first part of the question, creating suspense.
 - Part I: Testimonies voiced by men speaking to the camera (dynamic shots) who offer testimonies of various (*micro*) *machismo* situations.

- Part II: Sharp close-ups of women who respond: “To me? Yes!”, “Me too!”, “And to me” and “Yes!”

Images 7 & 8. Part I & Part II of “¿No te ha pasado que...?”



¿No te ha pasado que...? - Micromachismos | eldiario.es



¿No te ha pasado que...? - Micromachismos | eldiario.es

- Conclusion: a call to keep on sending in testimonies to the website and to support it by signing up to become members.

Images 9 & 10. Conclusion of “¿No te ha pasado que...?”



¿No te ha pasado que...? - Micromachismos | eldiario.es



¿No te ha pasado que...? - Micromachismos | eldiario.es

- Discourse strategies: male characters, American shots / close-ups, a rhetorical question, change of perspective (defamiliarization) as it is men who provide the testimonies of experiences lived by women, testimony / history / experience.
- Testimony: the reaction between the person who is testifying and the person who is bearing witness, and the content of the testimony, which are genuine experiences posted anonymously on the *EIDiario.es Micromachismos* blog. The testimony becomes a constructive narrative of vulnerability and resistance: vulnerability is expressed in facial gestures, tone of voice, in the situations described (“starts to get a bit aggressive”, “out of fear”, “don’t let them intimidate you”); resistance is presented in expressions such “it makes you angry”, “who are you to say that to me”, “you get tired of having to explain yourself”, and how resistance appears in the link between the specific denunciation and the general frame of social struggle by the sharing of these personal situations that become

representations of patriarchy, by seeking to make them visible in order to address them by standing up and saying “Yes, this has happened to me!”.

- Social discourses: the failure to acknowledge women’s capabilities, social pressure (maternity as the defining notion of being a woman), violence against women, harassment, fear, women underappreciated in the workplace, women who have to obey the beauty canon (cultural violence). The questioning of society itself is highlighted by drawing attention to the generalization of these forms of violence, and the fact that they are systematic.

3.1.3. “Sentador de madres, Navidad en igualdad” [“A resting chair for mothers. Equality at Christmas for all”]

- Context: 2016 Christmas Campaign by the *Locas del coño* (an online collaborative feminist journal) collective self-defined as “Sisterhood as feminist self-defense”.
- Structure:
 - Introduction: “Christmas, dinner commences, and with it the usual play of inequalities.”

“It’s always us, the women”. “The mother rushing here, there and everywhere”

Images 11 & 12. Opening scene of “Sentador de madres”



Sentador de madres, navidad en igualdad #SentadorDeMadres | Locas del Coño 0:02 / 2:16



Sentador de madres, navidad en igualdad #SentadorDeMadres | Locas del Coño

- Part I: “What’s the problem? No-one else here knows how to switch off the oven? No-one else knows where the kitchen is? Or is this just what normally happens? Relax! This year will be different.”

Image 13. Part I of “Sentador de madres”



Sentador de madres, navidad en igualdad #SentadorDeMadres | Locas del Coño

- Part II: “We present the resting chair for mothers, the definitive invention that shows men that their hands and not just for peeling prawns.”

Images 14 & 15. Part II of “Sentador de madres”



Sentador de madres, navidad en igualdad #SentadorDeMadres | Locas del Coño



Sentador de madres, navidad en igualdad #SentadorDeMadres | Locas del Coño

- Conclusion: “Sentador de madres. This Christmas, technology is at the service of equality in the home.”
- Discourse strategies: irony, humor (“with an arm for raising a glass included”), exaggeration, intertext teleshop rhetoric and advertising rationality (mother-friendly, easy to wash).
- Testimony: Locas del coño provides an outlet for women who are victims of cultural violence but the inclusion of this testimony in the diegetic universe by means of a woman speaking off-camera totally eliminates the characteristics of the testimony indicated in this study’s theoretical framework, and converts it into advertising rationality. The testimony is not visually present: it is a voice of a collective that denounces a situation through an advertising discourse of a collective that speaks out against a situation through an advertising discourse which, as shown by Image 11 and the opening of the narrative, approaches women’s victimization by isolating the figure of the mother in an empty space

and centers on her solitude, before pointing to the ones who are responsible for her stress.

- Social discourses:
 - The denunciation centers on a woman-mother / housewife frame, then provides a solution in the form of a resource that enables woman-agency-liberty (“so that she is the only one who decides when she gets up from the chair”); frame-man- woman at his service.
 - “No-one knows better? / custom”, alluding to capacities and cultural violence.

There is a point of conflict (the direct discrediting of “men”): “the definitive invention that shows men that their hands and not just for peeling prawns”. Does this ironic statement break the discourse’s transversality? Could the use of generalization as rhetorical resource be problematic in reception?

3.2 Analysis of reception

The initial analysis of the reception on YouTube of the videos studied presented the following data:

- “Deliciosa calma” (Video 1): 505,102 viewings; 2,000 “likes” (88%); 279 “dislikes” (12%) and 127 comments⁶.
- “No te ha pasado que...?” (Video 2): 479,694 viewings; 23,000 “likes” (92%); 2,000 “dislikes” (8%) and 2,448 comments.
- “Sentador de madres” (Video 3): 770,178 viewings; 8,000 “likes” (80%); 2,000 “dislikes” (20%) and 2,873 comments.

The three videos reached a wide audience and received majority support for the content, as shown by the number of “likes” that amply exceeded “dislikes”, and in similar proportions for all three. The analysis of the comments showed in greater detail the processes involved in reception of the content (social discourses).

Table 1 provides a comparison of the results for the three videos according to the analysis criteria adopted.

Table I. Comments generated in the three videos

	Deliciosa Calma	¿No te ha pasado que...?	El Sentador de madres
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⁶ Total number of comments analyzed was 127, for each video, in order to establish a comparable sample.

	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%
Positioning						
In favor	18	14.2	38	29.9	19	15
Against	54	42.5	35	27.6	44	34.6
Indeterminate	55	43.3	54	42.5	64	50.4
Themes						
Attacks on feminism	6	4.7	2	1.6	18	14.2
Discrimination against men	13	10.2	23	18.1	2	1.6
Denial of <i>machismo</i>	0	0	12	9.4	9	7.1
Explanations of feminism	11	8.7	38	29.9	26	20.5
Discrediting	38	29.9	22	17.3	25	19.7
Indeterminate	59	46.5	30	23.6	47	37
Communication style						
Appreciative	110	86.6	81	63.8	82	64.6
Argumentative	17	13.4	46	36.2	45	35.4
Attitude						
Positive	7	5.5	40	31.5	14	11
Negative	52	40.9	35	27.6	49	38.6
Indeterminate	68	53.5	52	40.9	64	50.4
Gender						
Men	37	29.1	27	21.3	46	36.2
Women	28	22	29	22.8	23	18.1
Indeterminate	62	48.8	71	55.9	58	45.7
Testimony						
Yes	1	0.8	14	11	17	13.4
No	126	99.2	113	89	110	86.6

Source: authors.


The most notable finding in the comments is that the level of support drops drastically in comparison to the proportion of backing implied by “likes” over “dislikes”. Nevertheless, Video 2 continued to generate more support, almost double that of the other two videos. In around half of the comments on all three videos it is impossible to identify clearly whether they support the video, because they amount to statements that take no position, or involve convoluted responses between users in which the meaning is difficult to decipher⁷.

The analysis of the themes revealed a series of significant questions that recur in the three cases (although the presence varies). In Video 1, almost half the comments alluded to indeterminate themes or specific questions, including accusations of plagiarism by Campfrío or criticisms of the meat industry. Among the main themes that featured in the comments were general discrediting with insults and ridiculing. For example, “I think you’re an attention whore”, or “put one that says: I am crazy about cats



⁷ Examples of this type of indeterminate comments are: “[...] Of course, but why do insist on mixing fat with speed?” (Video 1); “my cat is called Gloves” (Video 2) or “[...] Go and collect your badge that says *at the end of the corridor on the right*” (Video 3). These texts are reproduced in the original without correction.

but I blame the patriarchy for not recognizing that I have messed up”. On the other hand, the comments for Video 2 are more focused on explanations on feminism in many of the interventions on discrimination towards men, as in Image 16:

Image 16. Example of a comment on discrimination against men

 **Victor** Hace 4 meses

Carlota Rose no te a pasado que estás buscando una habitación de alquiler pero te es muy complicado porque solo admiten mujeres porque son más educadas? no te ha pasado que has ido a buscar empleo de camarero y te han rechazado solo porque buscan mujeres? no te ha pasado que vas a la discoteca y ves como las mujeres entran sin pagar un duro y a ti te toca pagar 12 euros? no te ha pasado que alguna vez has oído decir, los hombres son todos iguales, o los hombres no saben hacer dos cosas a la vez, y no te ha pasado que has conocido la historia de un padre que se divorcia y solo puede ver a sus hijos el finde semana y además es el único sustento de la familia? porque a mi si... el feminismo no es lo que era, si queremos igualdad hay que dar una de cal y otra de arena, hay que ser justos.
absteneros de insultos etc
Mostrar menos

RESPONDER 4  

[Carlota Rose, has it ever happened to you that you are looking to rent a room in a shared flat but it's very complicated because they only want women, because they are more respectful? Has it ever happened that you've gone for a job interview as a waiter and they reject you because they only want women? Has it ever happened to you that you go to a disco and you see that women get in free whereas you have to pay 12€? Have you ever heard women say that all men are the same, or that men cannot do two things at once, or those stories of men who get divorced and who can only see their kids at weekends but they are the only ones paying for their kids' upkeep? Because I have...feminism is not what it was; if we want equality, it has be fair on both sides, equality has to be achieved together. Stop insulting each other, etc.]



These allusions to discrimination against men generate more responses that include explanations of what feminism is (almost 30% of comments try to clarify what cultural patriarchy, *machismo* and inequality really are), for example: “All this is generated by the patriarchy that creates *machismo*, so *machismo* affects you, these are not just everyday incidents of male or female chauvinism. Analyze why a man cannot cry in public: because he is to be macho and control his wife and family, a model patriarch...”, or, Image 17:

Image 17. Example of a comment explaining feminism

A Ana González Carballada Hace 3 meses

Adzubenam Villullas Santana te explicas perfectamente, y yo no se como tengo que explicar que se lucha contra el machismo, no contra el hombre, y que el feminismo busca eliminar los roles de género, el sexismo y el machismo (en mi opinión, debería hacerse desde la educación). Todos sabemos que el machismo y el sexismo afecta a los hombres, por lo que una vez que se eliminaran de la sociedad, nadie se vería afectado por ellos. Pero también tenéis que daros cuenta de que las mayores afectadas por el machismo somos las mujeres, y por eso se hacen este tipo de videos reivindicativos. ¿Que se deberían mostrar también los puntos de vista y las situaciones que afectan a los hombres? Bueno, en gran medida ya se hace, solo hay que ver el discurso feminista de Emma Watson en la ONU.

Mostrar menos

RESPONDER  



[Adzubenam Villullas Santana, you explain it perfectly, and I don't know why I have to explain that this is a fight against machismo, not against men, and that feminism wants to eradicate the gender roles, and sexism and machismo (in my opinion, this should be taught in schools). We all know that machismo and sexism affect men, so that once it is eradicated from society, nobody will any longer be affected. But you also have to consider that it is women who are the ones most affected by machismo, that's why these types of video get made, to denounce this fact. Should these videos also show the male point of view and highlight situations that affect men? To a large extent this is already part of the narrative. You only have to listen to Emma Watson's feminist speech to the United Nations to see that.]

In Video 3, the main themes appear in the explanations on feminism (in response to insults and attacks on feminism, which are closely related, as in the comment “don't bother arguing with these *Locas del coño* feminazis who aren't nearly as great as they think, these poor little girls are indoctrinated and lobotomized”. More direct attacks on feminism include: “this victimhood feminism and gender ideologies is now running wild, feminism is more and more degenerate and radicalized; in the end there'll be a war between men oppressed by radical feminism and women oppressed by *machismo* society”, or:

Image 18. Example of a comment attacking feminism

Fernando Hace 10 meses (editado)

Lau Millarengo ya vez en el 95% de hogares del s. XX pero, te doy la bienvenida XXI donde todos colaboran. esta "campaña" es estúpida a mas no poder y decir que es lo que va a pasar en el 95% de los hogares no es mas que una forma de probarme que el "feminismo moderno" es peor que el cancer.

RESPONDER 2  

[Lau Millarengo, that was perhaps in 95% of homes in the 20th century but, welcome to the 21st century where everybody collaborates! This “campaign” is stupid as it doesn't or can't say what really goes on in 95% of homes. It's just a way of showing that “modern feminism” is worse than cancer.]

In terms of communicative style, the three cases contain appreciative comments

with simple opinions such as “Hahaha! Great!” (Video 1), “Absolutely love it! 10/10 poor mothers / grandmothers” (Video 3). The argumentative style is more evident in comments on Video 2, as seen in Image 14. However, Video 3 also generates examples of argumentative comments in which the author tries to explain why they disagree with the problem of gender inequality focusing on the kitchen, as in: “It doesn’t need to represent reality, it should offer a solution and the solution that is presented here is pathetic, and does nothing to boost gender equality”, or, “complaining is not the solution, the solution is to instruct, inform, by example, I would have enjoyed this propaganda if it had also shown a resting chair for men, and then all the family just pitching in to help each other”.

The three videos are substantially different in terms of attitudes displayed in the comments. Although about half the comments posted are of an indeterminate attitude, the difference between positive and negative attitude in the comments varies greatly. Videos 1 and 3 elicit very few comments with a positive attitude compared to the negative. For example, Video 1 generates comments such as: “shitty feminists”, “one of the worst ads I have ever seen, shitty feminazi propaganda worthy of Mrs Goebbels”, or, the most graphic comment posted:

Image 19. Example of a negative attitude comment

fattgordon Hace 1 año

Viva la propaganda!
No te cases!
No alimentes a tus hijos!
No cuides tu salud y tu cuerpo!
Odia a los hombres!
El dinero es más importante que tu familia!
Las mujeres nunca están equivocadas!
Destruye todo lo bueno!

Las feminazis estáis locas. Y los hombres estamos cansados de propaganda de mierda.

Mostrar menos

RESPONDER 16  

[Long live propaganda! Don't get married, don't feed your children, don't take care of your body or your health, hate all men, money is more important than your family, women are never wrong, destroy everything good! You feminazis are mad! And us men are sick of your shitty propaganda.]

Video 3 generated comments that presented similar attitudes, with one aimed specifically at a man who had acknowledged the existence of *machismo*: “You’re a real shit-caked knicker-sniffer! You’re repugnant and shameful. Do you think your attitude will help you fuck more women! Go and clean the kitchen, bitch!”

The analysis of categories also differentiated gender in the comments (except in

cases where the users' gender could not be established). Table 2 presents the differences in terms of positioning, discrediting and attitude:

Table 2. Differences in comments according to gender

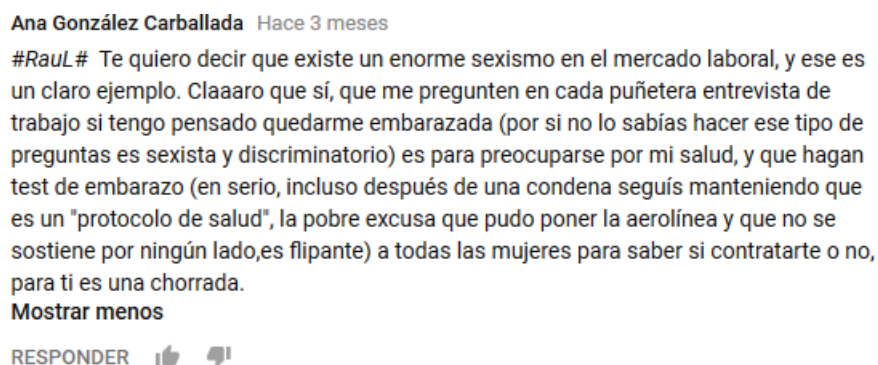
	Deliciosa Calma		¿No te ha pasado que...?		El Sentador de madres	
	Comments posted by:					
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Positioning						
In favor	2	10	3	20	3	4
Against	25	3	16	1	28	1
Themes						
Discrediting	11	2	4	2	11	5
Attitude						
Positive	-	4	5	18	1	3
Negative	18	7	6	5	22	8

Source: authors.

Finally, the last axis of the analysis aimed at detecting the use of testimony in the debate on feminist campaigns: in the three cases, the use of testimony is scarce, especially in Video 1, in which it is superficial and deployed to insult another person: "My father has worked for 23 years, often 12 hours a day, to provide for the family, but don't worry, woman, about getting stressed over the bills you receive because in the end we'll have to give you a pension."

In Video 2, there are several comments that relate incidences of discrimination experienced by men: "has it happened to you that women get in free to discos or liberal nightclubs because they are women while we have to pay 50€ because we're men? THIS HAS HAPPENED TO ME." But women also comment on discrimination they have experienced:

Image 20. Example of a comment containing testimony



[#RAUL#. I want you to know that there is a lot of sexism in the workplace, and this is just one example. Naturally, in every damned job interview they ask me if I intend

to start a family (in case you didn't know that this type of question is sexist and discriminatory), and they say it is because they are concerned about my health, and that I should have a pregnancy test (seriously, do you still think this is just a "health protocol"?), which is the typical weak excuse given by airlines, which is totally out of order!). And they want to know all this before they consider contracting you or not, but for you it is no big deal.]

In Video 3, the testimonies are mainly from men who do not feel represented by the situation, such as: "I don't know if you're living in the 50s or I live on another planet because I've never ever seen anything like the scene portrayed in the video", or, "What you don't understand is that things have been changing for a long time now; in the majority of houses I have been in, the man and the woman share the housework equally, nothing to do with the nonsense in this video. If women want to feel resentful and play the victim for things that most of them have never had to experience, then go ahead".

4. Discussion and conclusions

In this study, we have compared three advertising campaigns that addressed the issue of feminism in three different production settings. The discourse analysis revealed the contrast between the "political" trends in current commercial advertising (Campofrío) and the two projects that aimed to be transformative in new media and civil society (*ElDiario.es* and *Locas del coño*), yet the communication strategies in these two videos diverged: "¿No te ha pasado que...?" is a more transversal narrative (the only one to feature both men and women) based on testimony, while "El sentador de madres" uses advertising rationality to convey its message.

The analysis of the reception of these campaigns by the audience reveals an ambivalence: while general support for the videos was shown by the "likes" clicked on YouTube, the detailed analysis of the comments revealed a high level of verbal hostility around the debate. Many users interpreted the denunciation of *machismo* and patriarchy in the videos as an attack on all men, assuming the discourse as a personal offense (though sometimes with humor), with no empathy for those discriminated against. These hostile reactions reflect current scenarios of offensiveness towards feminism within the cultural counterattack frame (Silva & Mendes, 2015). The presence of trolls and flammers among the commenters, stirring the debate with discourses of hatred towards women and feminism (with rage and using expressions such as feminazis, hembism and misandry) amounts to gender-trolling (Mantilla, 2013), transforming the Net into a battlefield where there are no restraints. The reception of these discourses and the reaction reflected one of the historic strategies behind cultural violence, namely, the construction of the enemy (Butler, 2009; Benet-Ferrando, 2013).

This aversion becomes greater when the communication strategy deployed uses

advertising rhetoric (Campofrío) or sarcasm and generalization (*Locas del coño*), although the proposal of *Micromachismos* in *EIDiario.es* also comes under attack, highlighting the importance and urgency of this communicative undertaking. The main elements that undermine the cultural efficacy of these campaigns are the following:

The “Deliciosa Calma” video generated the most comments that were derogatory and negative in attitude. The rejection of the discourse is set off by the denunciation of the patriarchal attitude, by appealing directly to men in utterances such as “your father can go / let your father do it”, or, “today I haven’t made the children their turkey sandwich for school; here’s your father, so he can do it”. This strategy is interpreted as an attack on men, and is criticized as an example of hembism or misandry. And the fact that this is a commercial discourse also arouses public suspicion, and it makes us question its contribution to the struggle, as the feminism presented is as “light-weight” as the product itself. As the writer and activist Barbijaputa (2016) states, although the message of “another model of woman” reaches millions of women, it continues to perpetuate “the pressure we feel to stay slim, if we are slim, or to lose weight if we haven’t achieved slimness yet. In other words, we are still by no means free of the obligation to fit the patriarchal image”. Yolanda Domínguez (2016) states that “this advertisement, with its feminist pretensions, is oblivious to what feminism is: social pressure on women is transversal, not limited to slim, white heterosexual women, and there is not just one type of social pressure but various”. This was acknowledged by Mónica Moro, general creative director at ad agency McCann, who said it had been a mistake not to have foreseen the consequences of the casting choices for the ad.

“El Sentador de Madres” also generated a lot of negative comments, similar to those received by the Campofrío ad but with more direct attacks on feminism (“it’s worse than cancer”). The hostility directed at this campaign spilled over into other digital contexts like Facebook, which had to close down the *Locas del coño* profile as it was subjected to a concerted male chauvinist onslaught (Rodríguez-Pina, 2016). The analysis of the performativity of the discourses shows that the very struggle that the *Locas del coño* collective’s journal represents can itself shape the defensive position adopted by those who are not even aware of their own machismo construction.

Of the three campaigns, “¿No te ha pasado que...?” generated most support, more comments in an argumentative style, reflecting positive attitude and providing explanations of feminism (understanding the reach of patriarchal culture and the system of inequalities that it creates). This ad also generated more comments on the discrimination felt by men, as a way of devaluing the *micromachismos* dealt with by the video, even renaming them “micrononsenses”. Although “*micromachismos* and incidence of micro-racism are quite simply euphemisms for male chauvinism and racism”

(Gil, 2017), this type of reaction merely underlines the difficulty of raising the awareness of the cultural and structural elements of violence because their causes are less visible than those related to direct violence. The efforts by *EIDiario.es* to raise awareness of these everyday incidents of *machismo* is reflected in other campaigns, as in the one below, with a version of women's testimonies (with transversality and genuine cases)⁸. From the more constructive criticisms generated by the reception of the three campaigns, we extracted two axes for reflection on future initiatives. On the one hand, the need to adopt an approach that is as transversal as possible, as one comment indicated: "It's a question of finding other strategies, other approaches, because totally ignoring the existence of one gender just does not work, and in the long run it has a negative effect on feminism" (Video 2). On the other hand, it is important to explore the approach that focuses on the communication of solutions (DevReporter, 2016) to create discourses that go beyond denunciation of things that are bad, and offer new imaginaries in which both men and women can be inspired, as a comment on Video 3 suggests:

Image 21. Example of a comment that contains constructive criticism

jeison alejandro Hace 10 meses

+Ali quejarse no es la solución, la solución es mostrar, dar ejemplo. Esta propaganda me habría encantado si también se hubiese hecho un sentador de hombre y luego se mostrase a una familia ayudándose entre ellos.

RESPONDER  

[Complaining is not the answer, the solution is to provide good examples. I would have enjoyed this propaganda more if it had included a resting chair for men, and then shown the family all just pitching in to help each other.]

In conclusion, this study shows the communicative tensions at play when attempting to depoliticize contexts and repoliticize them in other frames (Sabsay, 2017), while adopting transversality and nonviolence criteria as efficacy strategies for the transformation of conflicts from the perspective of communicative rationality. These processes of collective argumentation (as in *Micromachismos* by *EIDiario.es*) dialog with humility and discursive sincerity, and apply an invitational rhetoric (Foss & Griffin, 1995) as meeting place.

This would mean transversality in association with the values of inclusivity and universality, as promoted by Mesa et al. (2013), inherent in pacifist feminist activism, and rising to the challenge of nonviolence in order to represent values of emancipation and transgression, such as "breaking away" (from previous models) or the various forms of "liberty" and "emancipation" needed to bring about social justice. In this way, we observe

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MB-ySGEYF10>

the tensions between advertising rhetoric and political discourse in “Deliciosa Calma”, with its inclusive values such as “collectiveness”, “sisterhood” and “connection”, and universal values like “equality of opportunity” or “the power of the word”.

Yet the question remains: Would “Deliciosa Calma” gain in transversality and cultural efficacy (and the corporate communication of *Pavofrío*) if instead of feeding “another model of woman”, it fed “another model of society” (a frame that would be more coherent with the feminist, cultural and structural struggle, in which the woman is the agent in her context)? Would “El Sentador de Madres” gain in transversality if it had been named “Levantador de traseros” (Raiser to get you off your backside) that would push all family members to share responsibilities?

We close this chapter with proposals for new communication challenges to the seriousness of the conflict, with the question of whether the cultural efficacy criteria described by Kirk (2014) or PIRC (2017) can articulate spaces for innovative transformative innovation in this scenario. Their analysis of communication practices on development, social justice or equality leads them to conclude that the narrative itself must be the axis of any campaign (symbolic constructions, performativity), that a narrative is not only words but also the images and each element of the discourse; not to start from frames of violence but to propose alternatives that are political (which appeal to the history of the causes, the origin of that violence, showing that the oppression is structural, intersectional and interdependent), which means not trivializing but clearly showing the challenges and difficulties, and the vulnerability of the individuals, collectives and organizations.

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