

Original Article



10.1590/1809-58442026126en



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Misogyny and hate speech: A netnographic study on WhatsApp

*Misoginia e discurso de ódio: Um estudo netnográfico no WhatsApp**Misoginia y discurso de odio - Un estudio netnográfico sobre WhatsApp*

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Editorial Details

Double blind review system

Article History:

Received: 10/28/2024
Accepted: 11/11/2025
Available online: 05/30/2026
Article ID: e2026126

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XML Editing and Markup:

IR Publicações

Funding:

CNPq

How to cite:

LEITE, Raquel Pereira R.; BOTELHO FRANCISCO, Rodrigo E. Misogyny and hate speech: A netnographic study on WhatsApp. São Paulo: INTERCOM – Brazilian Journal of Communication Sciences, v. 49 (2026), e2026126. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-58442026126en>

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Abstract

This study examines how hate speech against women manifests in open WhatsApp groups, based on an in-depth analysis of one group. The research adopts a netnographic approach, structured through a methodological pathway that includes the development of a theoretical framework; a documentary analysis of WhatsApp's terms of service; artificial participant observation in open WhatsApp and Facebook groups; content analysis; and semi-structured interviews with experts. The analysis identifies behaviors ranging from dehumanization to incitement to violence, highlighting key characteristics of misogynistic discourse as well as the cultural and behavioral dynamics of participants. The findings reveal gaps in WhatsApp's terms of service, expose misogyny, and demonstrate how hate speech reflects power relations and aims to subjugate women, harming democracy and human dignity.

Keywords: Hate speech. misogyny. WhatsApp. digital platforms. cyberculture.

Resumo

Este artigo relata como o discurso de ódio contra mulheres se manifesta em grupos abertos de WhatsApp, a partir da análise aprofundada de um grupo. Adotou-se a perspectiva Netnográfica, composta por um percurso metodológico que incluiu: construção do referencial teórico, análise documental dos Termos de Serviço do WhatsApp, observação participante artificial em grupos abertos do WhatsApp e Facebook, análise de Conteúdo e entrevistas semiestruturadas com especialistas. Foi possível identificar comportamentos que vão da desumanização à incitação de violência, destacando as características dos discursos misóginos e os aspectos culturais e comportamentais dos participantes. Os achados evidenciam lacunas nos Termos de Serviço do WhatsApp, expõem a misoginia e demonstram como o discurso de ódio reflete relações de poder e objetiva subjugar mulheres, prejudicando a democracia e a dignidade humana.

Palavras-chave: Discurso de ódio. misoginia. WhatsApp. plataformas digitais. cibercultura.



CRedit

- Conflict of Interest: The authors certify that they have no commercial or associative interests that represent a conflict of interest regarding the manuscript.
- Authors' Contribution: Conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, visualization, writing – original draft: LEITE, Raquel P. R. Supervision, validation, writing – review and editing: FRANCISCO BOTELHO, R. E.

Data Availability:

All data supporting this article are contained within the body of the text.

INTERCOM encourages data sharing; however, in compliance with ethical guidelines, it does not require the disclosure of any means of identifying research participants, thereby preserving their privacy. The practice of open data aims to enable the reproducibility of results and ensure full transparency of published research outcomes, without requiring the identification of research subjects.

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Resumen

Este artículo describe cómo se manifiesta el discurso de odio contra las mujeres en grupos abiertos de WhatsApp, con un análisis en profundidad de un grupo. Se adoptó la perspectiva Netnográfica, un enfoque metodológico que incluyó la construcción del marco teórico, el análisis documental de los Términos de Servicio de WhatsApp, la observación participante artificial en grupos abiertos de WhatsApp y de Facebook, el análisis de contenido y entrevistas semiestructuradas con expertos. Fue posible identificar conductas que van desde la deshumanización hasta la incitación a la violencia, destacando las características de los discursos misóginos, los aspectos culturales y el comportamiento de los participantes. Los hallazgos resaltan lagunas en los Términos de servicio de WhatsApp, exponen la misoginia y demuestran cómo el discurso de odio refleja relaciones de poder y apunta a subyugar a las mujeres, dañando la democracia y la dignidad humana.

Palabras clave: Discurso de odio. misoginia. WhatsApp. plataformas digitales. cibercultura.

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Introduction

Online gender-based violence is intensified by features of digital environments, such as opaque rules and weaknesses in reporting mechanisms, which facilitate the persistence of practices such as hate speech. Misogyny remains one of the most prevalent forms of hate speech in Brazil's digital environment and has shown significant recent growth. In 2025, SaferNet Brasil recorded 8,728 reports of misogyny, making it the second most reported type of violation and the one with the highest proportional growth in the period, with an increase of 224.9% compared to the previous year (Agência Brasil, 2026). This increase can be attributed both to the normalization of misogynistic hate speech and to greater social awareness, which has led to increased reporting. However, it also highlights women's vulnerability on digital platforms.

Given this phenomenon, understanding group cultures, platform policies, and reporting mechanisms is essential for advancing the debate on hate speech on digital platforms. This study addresses the following research question: "How does hate speech against women manifest in open WhatsApp groups?" To address this question, fourteen groups were observed, with one selected for in-depth analysis. WhatsApp was chosen for its extensive reach in Brazil, as the app is present on about 98% of smartphones in the country and is accessed daily by approximately 96% to 97% of users, making it the main digital communication channel among Brazilians (Opinion Box, 2025); and one of the ways to use it is through open groups, in which anyone can join simply by having the link or access invitation.

The study aims to understand the communicational dynamics within these environments. A netnographic approach was employed, including the development of a theoretical framework, documentary analysis of WhatsApp's terms of service, artificial participant observation, content analysis, and semi-structured interviews. The findings demonstrate that gaps in the terms of service, lack of awareness of these agreements, and unclear sanctions contribute to the dynamics of gender-based hate speech in open WhatsApp groups. Furthermore, it was possible to draw a portrait of misogyny and the Brazilian man's behavior in these cyberspaces, showing what is important to him, what may be stigmatized, what is offensive, and what is tolerable.

Hate speech on digital platforms

Regarding hate speech as a social phenomenon entails considering oppressive language as a form of violence (Butler, 2021), itself a manifestation of power (Arendt, 2020). In the digital environment, violence is intensified by sexist, racist, and homophobic groups, especially in gender relations, which are historically shaped by patriarchal structures rooted in capitalism and coloniality (Segato, 2021).

Tontodimamma et al. (2021) highlight the complexity of defining hate speech, although they identify central elements such as the targeting of groups, the intention to cause harm, and the context that may result in violence. Hate speech is defined as that which stigmatizes individuals or groups through words, images, or symbols, with the intention of dehumanizing, inciting violence, and discrimination (Braga, 2018; Carmo, 2016); it is associated with racist, xenophobic, homophobic, and misogynistic practices, violating the principles of respect and tolerance (Brown, 2017). Freedom of expression, commonly used to defend hate speech, is not absolute, as it cannot be used to violate the rights of others. Therefore, hate speech is a form of conduct, not merely an opinion (Voos, 2020; Valente, 2020; Latgé; Schneider, 2024).

Digital platforms play a crucial role in amplifying behaviors, demonstrating how they can encourage, facilitate, and amplify harmful trends (Gillespie, 2018). Women, in particular, face a growing threat of online attacks motivated by misogynistic and discriminatory speech. It is understood that they are the main targets of hate speech due to the historical embedded in this form of violence. Among the posts and comments containing hate speech is misogyny, informally characterized by hatred or aversion to women, but fundamentally, it concerns power and social control. This practice functions to pressure women to conform to patriarchal norms, under threat or direct punishment when they do not (Richardson-Self, 2021). Studies on WhatsApp communities (Zanello, 2020; Braga; Carauta, 2020; Vilaça; D'Andréa, 2021; Silveira; Souza; Rosa, 2022) and on other platforms (Peres-Neto; Pereira, 2019; Matos et al., 2024; Valente, 2026) reveal the sexual objectification of women and the perpetuation of gender stereotypes.

Digital platforms are "reprogrammable digital infrastructures that facilitate and shape personalized interactions between end users and complementors, organized through the systematic collection, algorithmic processing, monetization, and circulation of data" (Van Dijck et al., 2020, p. 4). This concept reflects the transformation of platforms into structural elements of contemporary digital life. In Brazil, WhatsApp



has become the main source of information for 79% of the population (Agência Brasil, 2019), despite its contradictions, such as privacy policies and terms of use (Valente, 2020). To some extent, all platforms prohibit hate speech, even within broader categories, such as “personal attacks” (Gillespie, 2018). The established rules may indicate some concern with various forms of hate, but the practical application of these policies is often questioned (Silva et al., 2019; Dos Santos et al., 2023; Santos Junior, 2025; Sassi; Rosa, 2024).

WhatsApp defines rules against hateful content in its Terms of Service, but their application is limited, and content moderation depends on user reports (Ullmann; Tomalin, 2020). Within these terms, Meta defines explicit rules for unacceptable conduct, including the prohibition of illegal, obscene, defamatory, or hateful content, reserving the right to remove content, restrict functionalities, and ban users in case of violations (WhatsApp, 2021). However, the ambiguity of the terms not only challenges the identification and removal of harmful content but also suggests that the platform may tolerate messages that violate its policies. An analysis of WhatsApp’s Terms of Service reveals vague and subjective terms, such as “Acceptable Use,” to describe policies related to violations, which raises questions about the effectiveness and clarity of these mechanisms, allowing tolerance of certain discourses (Gillespie, 2018).

Methodological procedures

To answer the research question, a netnographic approach (Kozinets, 2014) was adopted, which guided the chosen methodological procedures across six stages. In the Cultural Entrée, the guiding principles and fieldwork plan were established, including immersion in selected groups and artificial participant observation (Oliveira, 2016), characterized by the researcher’s entry into groups with controlled participation, monitoring interactions without actively interfering in the environment’s dynamics. The snowball technique was used (a chain sampling method based on successive recommendations, through which new groups were identified via participant connections). As a result, five Facebook groups were identified, which served as the basis for locating 14 open WhatsApp groups.

From 2020 to 2022, the researcher conducted exploratory observation of these groups. In the stage referred to as Checking, one group was selected for in-depth analysis, and its name was anonymized as “Group 2.” This group was selected because it most clearly functioned as a community, with social bonds, shared identity, and a distinct culture. In this context, a community is understood as a space where traditions, rituals, and moral responsibilities are shared, reflecting contemporary social and cultural dynamics. WhatsApp exemplifies these characteristics in open groups, where free communication and network formation are evident.

In “Group 2,” after five days in January 2020, the researcher was removed for not participating or interacting with other group members. However, given WhatsApp’s functionalities, all participants have access to messages and multimedia content and can export conversations, with limits defined by the platform for the number of messages included in each file (WhatsApp, 2021). Thus, in the data collection and analysis stage (Kozinets, 2014), a preliminary survey of all relevant posts totaling 4,772 lines was conducted. After data cleaning, 127 messages were selected as the corpus for content analysis (Bardin, 2016), resulting in six analytical categories: “Dehumanization,” “Ridicule,” “Harassment,” “Silencing,” “Attack and Incitement to Violence,” and “The Closest Woman.”

For data validation (Kozinets, 2014), given the sensitivity of the topic and the impossibility of returning to group members, three specialists with expertise in hate speech and gender studies were selected. Coded as Specialists X, Y, and Z, the participants include university professors and researchers in the field (Table 1). The semi-structured interviews were conducted between July 5th and 13th, 2022, lasted an average of 1.5 hours, and were recorded and transcribed. In addition to validating the content analysis categories, the specialists contributed to interpreting the findings and linking them to the theoretical framework.

Table 1 - Profile of interviewed specialists.

	Professional profile	Area of expertise
Specialist X	University professor and researcher	Online hate speech and digital platforms
Specialist Y	PhD candidate and researcher	Cyberfeminism, net-activism, and digital games
Specialist Z	University professor and researcher	Hate speech and digital media

Source: the authors (2024).



From Kozinets' (2014) netnographic perspective, ethical considerations were adopted throughout the research process. However, it is important to note that cyberspace remains a relatively recent domain, and a clear ethical framework is still under development to guide researchers (Townsend; Wallace, 2016). In potentially harmful digital environments, such as groups that promote hate speech, this is particularly relevant when the researcher (especially if a woman) is involved in collecting violent data. Relevant ethical issues in netnographic research include the public or private nature of communities, informed consent, ownership of posted data, and the influence of international boundaries (Kozinets, 2014). In open WhatsApp and Facebook groups, where participants are unknown and fluid, verifying information is challenging. Given these complexities, the study adopted measures to ensure an ethical approach, including prior acceptance of platform terms by participants, anonymity of all individuals involved, data collection conducted within the parameters of the terms of service, and the presentation of results in a way that preserves confidentiality, without exposing names, phone numbers, or other identifiable information.

During more than two years of netnographic research, a continuous process of observation and recording was conducted, resulting in the development of a field diary (one of the fundamental techniques of netnography), which includes not only archived, collected, and created data, but also perceptions about observed behaviors.

Analysis and discussion of results

The chosen community, here called "Group 2," is described as focusing on fun, friendship, sticker exchange, and making new contacts. It is formed mainly by men, as indicated by profile photos and contact names, when available, but mainly by the conversations that take place in the space. These dynamics reflect broader aspects of Brazilian culture, which is based on patriarchy and machismo. The group, with up to 256 participants (a number that varied during participation), is aimed at social interaction and entertainment, with members from different regions of Brazil, identified by area codes from multiple states, with concentrations in various regions, as well as the presence of international numbers.

To classify these messages as hate speech, the research relied on the theoretical framework, as well as what the platform calls "Acceptable Use." The complete reading of the messages was essential to identify the context and thus select the corpus that best represented the dynamics of hate speech against women in the studied cyberspace. With this, 127 messages were selected that fit the definitions of gender-based hate speech and misogyny, and that, a priori, violate WhatsApp's Terms of Service.

The existence of hierarchies in "Group 2" was observed, reflecting historical and colonial aspects of gender construction. It is known that members occupy defined roles in the community's social pyramid. Some members sent more than a hundred messages during the observed period; others sent only two and remained silent; people who joined, encountered that content, and left the group, and others.

Table 2 - Criteria for Content Analysis categories.

Category	Key Concept	Incidence	Examples of Words	Context	Theoretical Operator
Dehumanization	Power	30 messages containing hate speech related to the dehumanization and animalization of women	Bitch, cow, orca, whale, trash, dragon	Offenses that reduce women to animals, trash, dragons, or offerings, whether based on appearance or behavior within the group	Richardson-Self (2021)
Ridicule	Power	21 messages that mock, ridicule, and make fun of women based on behavior, age, or physical appearance	Old woman, nursing home, sagging breasts	Attacks directed at women who are part of the group and interact with it but do not conform to a beauty standard	Zanello (2018)

Harassment / Objectification of Women	Power	19 messages demanding the sending of intimate photos and constant sexualization of these women	Naked, breasts, tits, pussy	From the moment women enter the group, there are requests for photos and references to sexual relations	Zanello (2018); Richardson-Self (2018; 2021)
Silencing / Misogyny	Subordination	5 messages that induce women to remain silent	Shut up, be quiet, take this and be quiet, no	In situations where women act differently than expected, there is pressure for them not to express themselves or not to be “unpleasant”	Butler (2021); Richardson-Self (2018; 2021)
Attack and incitement to violence	Misogyny	16 messages with content involving physical violence	Beating, bullet, whore, slut, smash	Threats and insults related to women’s moral conduct, physical violence, and references to rape	Arendt (2020); Zanello (2018); Segato (2021); Richardson-Self (2018)
Closest woman	Patriarchy	36 messages containing hate speech directed at mothers, sisters, or girlfriends of group members	Your mother, sister, girlfriend, cousin	Attacks directed at the women closest to male group members as a way to offend them	Zanello (2020); Richardson-Self (2021)

Source: the authors (2024).

When analyzing an online community, it is essential to identify the most active members and leaders, understand the main topics, the group’s history and any conflicts, as well as the demographic characteristics and interests of the participants, observe the language, rituals, and common practices of the community (Kozinets, 2014). Asking these questions of the data also made it possible to perceive a hierarchy regarding power relations: women who meet the group’s expectations are treated differently from those who do not. Beyond the messages, these dynamics are central, as those who fit a beauty standard, remain silent in the face of attacks, or comply with male requests (sending photos, audio, replying immediately, responding to private messages) are more likely to remain in “Group 2.” This conclusion is reinforced by Specialist Y, who, upon reviewing the material, states: “On WhatsApp, if they could stay in the group, it’s because they had something worthwhile, probably beauty, sensuality, they mocked women who weren’t like that, these things.”

There are different demands for them and a language that changes when they are included in conversations, especially to “correct” behaviors. It is expected that the woman is there to meet the group’s desires, which are more related to the availability for violence than for fun. It is a game in which one’s power over another directs the tone of conversations. In this sense, Zanello (2018, p. 230) says that the “Hierarchy Game” is dynamic and that “some men can make alliances under the shield of homophobia and thus feel strengthened in rejecting ‘queers’ or disqualifying women and attributes considered feminine.” This is because rejection and repudiation are important parts in the affirmation of masculinity.

To understand these and other dynamics from the interpretation of the collected data (Bardin, 2016), criteria such as the key concept used in categorization, incidence (i.e., the number of times it appears in the corpus), examples of words found, the context of these messages, and the theoretical operators that aid in interpreting the findings (Table 1) were followed. Below, each of these dynamics is reported, with examples of messages and comments from the specialists invited to validate the findings.

In the concept of hate speech, Dehumanization is a key element, as it refers to offenses that deny the humanity of that person and harm human dignity by referring to an individual as lesser or of less value than another. One message, “Late, cadela” (“Bark, bitch”), exemplifies moments when a woman was being compared to an animal not only by the term “cadela” but also by the verb “bark.” This diminishes the voice and place of these women in the group. Messages refer to women using animal terms referring to weight, moral conduct, or hygiene. The intent of these messages, by using expressions like “porca gorda” (fat pig), “orca,” “baleia” (whale), and “cadela feia” (ugly bitch), is to place them in an inferior position. As Specialist X points out, “this has a huge impact, even for moderation strategies. If we are talking about what attacks human dignity, it is necessary to understand what humans are and what dignity is first.”



Ridicule appears in messages intended to mock, tease, expose, embarrass, deride, or diminish women based on identified characteristics, such as age, appearance, aesthetics, and manner of speaking, among others. These discourses mainly include fatphobia, ageism, and ridicule of appearance. For example, a woman who refused to send photos of her intimate parts received the message: “I don’t send my tits because I haven’t gotten silicone yet.” This example demonstrates ridicule based on physical attributes, especially nuances of fatphobia, and shows how hatred of women is related to their value. In a particular message (“If I liked stinky fat chicks, I’d give you 23cm”), a member uses the term “stinky fat chick” and insinuates that if he liked that, he would have sex with her. The message, despite its common construction in gender hate speech, is, according to specialists, disturbing and degrading. Although there are similarities between the expressions used here and in Dehumanization, this category was separated from the previous one because it is more about mockery and humor than dehumanizing intent.

The Harassment category includes messages showing, mainly, the approaches made when new women join the group. As there is a rule to “introduce yourself with a photo, name, and city,” women were often harassed with messages like “Now send a pussy pic, you whore.” The rule is enforced more strictly for them, and those who do not comply are treated with repugnant terms like “ugly,” “fat,” “whale,” “old,” and so on, as seen in the Dehumanization and Ridicule categories. However, women who comply with the rules are also attacked: if their photo is perceived as sensual, they automatically receive pornographic comments; if they respond in kind, they are called “whore” and “slut.” The harassment is constant, with requests for photos, invasion of privacy, and unsolicited sexual comments.

Some messages are similar in their imperative tone: “if you don’t send a boob pic, you’ll be removed,” “show those tits for us,” and “take off those clothes, slut,” are strategies used by men in “Group 2” to harass newly arrived women, which is also seen elsewhere. According to Specialist Y, “sexualization is common, in the sense that it’s normal for them to talk like that, about our tits, our pussy, our shaved cunt. It’s the kind of thing that’s in the language of these men and boys who treat women as sexual objects.” This finding aligns with Zanello (2020), who categorized types of misogynistic comments in all-male WhatsApp groups, with the main category being the objectification of women. Harassment is a clear consequence of this objectification, seeing these women as sources of pleasure, either by their pleasantness or appearance. If she sent that “little photo,” it’s because she’s interested in sex, as seen in the message “With that little pic, you want a pounding, right? hahaha.” A recurring pattern suggests that “the ultimate goal of female existence is to please men in some way, either by being pleasant, being pretty, and not fulfilling this makes her deserve to be insulted in some way” (Specialist Z).

According to Richardson-Self (2021), in this logic, the woman has no sexual agency but is instead a sexual object in various senses. That is why it is expected that they want to be the object of a man’s desire, instead of being sexual agents themselves. The author states: “the woman is figured as something that is acted upon: the man fucks, the woman is fucked—that is, women’s submission and passivity are made normative” (Richardson-Self, 2021, p. 47).

Next, content was classified in the Silencing category, with phrases like “Shut up and show your tits, cow.” The main harm of this practice is the removal of women’s voices. This is harmful both because these discourses are aggressive but also because of the exclusion of women from certain spaces. In the messages “Be quiet, female” and “Here you go! 🍼 Put it in your mouth and be quiet. Didn’t you know how to ask for milk?” this is evident, because in gender-based hate speech, according to Richardson-Self (2018, p. 265), “the coercive factor is at play in the attempt to silence women, either by shaming them or making them feel threatened.” For Specialist X, this category makes it explicit that “there’s social damage here, it removes the person from public debate, silences, and seeks submission, verticalizing the relationship.”

Butler (2021, p. 39) affirms that “what hate speech does, then, is constitute the subject in a subordinate position.” But when Harassment and Silencing fail to subjugate women in the “Group 2” dynamic, a new layer of hate speech was observed, focused on a new category: Attack and Incitement to Violence. In this sense, this raises the question: “Is there a more dangerous, greater hate speech that deserves more attention? This question remains open. Considering this aspect, there are different weights for silencing and attack, at least for moderation purposes” (Specialist X). Thus, the division presents a category that represents misogyny in its purest and most violent form. Sixteen messages containing physical violence or direct verbal aggression were analyzed. Among them are two particularly sensitive messages: “Next time you leave me hanging, I’ll beat you up, you filthy slut,” and “I’ll rip your face with a bullet.” In general, these messages contain explicit physical threats, either through “beating,” insinuation of rape, or “bullet.” These are reactions in a context

where the woman did not behave as expected, did not fulfill a request, or simply did not reply to “Group 2” messages quickly.

According to Arendt (2020, p. 63), “nothing is more common than the combination of violence and power, nothing is less frequent than finding them in their pure form and, therefore, extreme.” And these men, who sent messages with threats and suggestions of corrective rape, benefited from the power they held in “Group 2.” This behavior reflects broader constructions of masculinity in Brazilian society. Segato (2021, p. 101) argues:

This masculinity is constructed through initiation. A subject is obliged to acquire the status of masculinity by facing trials and even death, just as in the Hegelian allegory of master and slave. This masculine subject must constantly orient himself towards masculinity, as he is always under the evaluating gaze of his peers. He must confirm and reconfirm his resistance and aggressiveness, as well as his ability to dominate women and extract from them what I call feminine tribute, in order to demonstrate that he possesses the full range of powers - physical, martial, sexual, political, intellectual, economic, and moral - that would allow him recognition as a masculine subject.

Finally, the category “The Closest Woman” was established for messages like “Send the pussy of the bitch you call your mother,” which carry hate speech that spreads not only on digital platforms but also seeks to attack other men by offending the women closest to them: mothers, most often, but also girlfriends and sisters. The figure of the mother frequently appears in hate speech, to offend the other, such that “I can sexualize, objectify, and assault women, but not those who belong to this group of respectable women - those related to me, a man” (Specialist Z). The terms “mother” or “sister” alone would not identify hate speech. In this sense, qualitative analysis is advantageous, as it captures these nuances. For example, in this category, the “your” indicated by both specialists above appears in a context where the mother is yet another possession of the man, even being compared to objects, as in “Does your mother come as a bonus?” and “Your mother is my lunchbox, not long until I call her a woman.” Again, the category reflects the sender’s intention. In this case, it is not to threaten a woman in the group or incite violence against her; rather, it is to further demoralize another man by attacking the women closest to him.

Final considerations

This research examined open WhatsApp groups, with an in-depth analysis of a specific group, and collected information that allowed an understanding of hate speech against women on digital platforms. The normalization of hatred and misogyny was revealed in six categories of hate speech, which grow in aggressiveness, in groups intended for making new friends. Hate speech against women is a misogynistic expression rooted in a culture of gender abuse and oppression, characterized by aggressiveness and the pursuit of subjugation. This type of speech not only attacks, stigmatizes, and silences women in cyberspace but also creates an unsafe environment for all women, whether or not they are direct victims.

Meta is a central participant in “Group 2,” as it is through the company that data flows. It is Meta that governs this information, leads and sets market practices, and provides the infrastructure for these virtual communities to exist. WhatsApp, as a technical artifact, is a non-human actor in this relationship, which also has biases, including misogynistic ones. Non-humans are also colonial, capitalist, patriarchal, and heteronormative, as they were developed and are managed by this society.

WhatsApp groups operate as spaces for free expression, with no effective moderation or transparency by the platform. It is believed that these groups play a role in spreading hate speech due to the disinhibition provided as a central affordance of WhatsApp. There are no clear sanctions and no reports, as the content there does not horrify any of them; on the contrary, it is tolerated. This perception raises the question of how institutionalized hate speech is, to the point of being part of the culture.

Limitations are recognized regarding the time frame, methodology, and content, as well as the need for a more intersectional approach and the involvement of gender hate speech perpetrators. Amid opportunities for future research, there is an invitation to reflect on the treatment of hate speech and misogyny

in contemporary Brazilian society, highlighting the importance of challenging and combating these forms of violence in cyberspace and beyond.

The study also highlights the need for more robust approaches to address hate speech on digital platforms, emphasizing companies' responsibility to promote safe and respectful environments. Furthermore, the research addresses WhatsApp, its terms of use, affordances, and characteristics within the time frame in which the researchers were in the field. In the group analyzed, gender-based hate speech is based on power and subordination relations, and when directed at women, seeks to determine their behavior based on a colonial construction that brings harm to democracy, tolerance, and human dignity.

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