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'Sexdemic': counter gender- based hate crimes. Virtual practices, cyber-bodies, micro-celebrity and sex crimes

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Abstract

The various forms of participation on the web, such as likes, posts, tweets, leave 'traces of our selves', fragments of our identities that we are unaware of, that we cannot control and that we cannot delete.

In recent months, we have witnessed more and more diverse situations online, such as those involving groups of teenagers who use social networks to build identities, micro-celebrity paths and distribute photos/videos of beatings, torture, murders, but especially live suicides.

The causes and consequences of these forms of deviant behaviour, which are reproduced in the virtual dimension, are many and varied: depression, envy, the search for power and visibility, the transformation of a simple user into a cyber-victim, sometimes without even realising it, and the "telling off" on social networks, especially through self-produced videos and photos. Drawing on international sociological and psychological literature, this paper aims to reflect on some forms of online deviance related to 'pathological' communication practices concerning the body and (cyber) sexual violence.

Le varie forme di partecipazione in rete, come i like, i post, i tweet, lasciano "tracce di noi stessi", frammenti della nostra identità di cui non siamo consapevoli, che non possiamo controllare e che non possiamo cancellare.

Negli ultimi mesi abbiamo assistito a situazioni sempre più diversificate in rete, come quelle che coinvolgono gruppi di adolescenti che utilizzano i social network per costruire identità, percorsi di micro-celebrità e diffondere foto/video di pestaggi, torture, omicidi, ma soprattutto suicidi in diretta.

Le cause e le conseguenze di queste forme di devianza, che si riproducono nella dimensione virtuale, sono molteplici: la depressione, l'invidia, la ricerca di potere e visibilità, la trasformazione di un semplice utente in una cyber-vittima, a volte senza nemmeno rendersene conto, e il "raccontarsi" sui social network, soprattutto attraverso video e foto autoprodotti.

Attingendo alla letteratura sociologica e psicologica internazionale, questo articolo si propone di riflettere su alcune forme di devianza online legate a pratiche comunicative "patologiche" riguardanti il corpo e la violenza (cyber)sessuale.

Keywords

Sex; crime; digital media; celebrity; online reputation; bodies, hate speech; crimini sessuali; media digitali; celebrità; reputazione online; corpi

1. Introduction: the culture of violence and celebrity

The fact that we live in a technological society of the image and exhibitionism is demonstrated by the numerous cases of online deviance, which report a type of homicidal and suicidal behaviour, mainly by minors.

Such events are increasingly accompanied by new media practices (a video or a selfie) that remain forever on the web, as a form of ‘memory’ or long-term ‘digital memory’” (Ziccardi 2016), which depict live the violent act and the death of the victim.

The same FBI investigative agency has even reported the existence of numerous closed groups within social media where it is possible to discuss the topic of suicide, asking members for suggestions on how and when to practice such behaviours online.

In this context, the criminologist David Garland (2004) and the American educationalist Henry Giroux speak of a new “culture of violence and cruelty” as a result not only of particularisation but also of a “refined deselection of what we see”.

Violence on television and the Net is becoming a daily trans-media narrative that makes us more protagonists (‘spectator-actors’) and perhaps too easily guarantees an easy, unconscious and violent entry into the world of virtual micro-celebrity in search of visibility and power. The current open question is the relationship between adolescents, the Web and forms of virtual deviance.

There is a need to understand how the representation of violent acts and suicidal behaviour develops within social platforms, who the cyber-victims are, what the *modus operandi* is, and what the social implications of the production, display and direct consumption of this type of content in online and offline life are for ‘new audiences’.

In recent years, we have also seen an increase in violent cyber-behaviour such as bullying and sexting on the Net, and it is on the latter point in particular that most of the proposed analysis in relation to education and sexuality in adolescence will focus.

For Danah Boyd (2014), there is a very simple way of describing the relationship between the Net and adolescents: it is about fear and the need for identity, the need to appear and to tell their stories: this is because they are always connected, therefore “together but alone” (Turkle 2012).

Young people are perfectly familiar with the new digital space in which they move, constructing multiple identities, but allegedly unable to distinguish between the real and the virtual, ready to accept the end of the private dimension, which they unconsciously and paradoxically keep alive, however, by acting out false online identities, often embodying roles of perpetrator and/or victim.

The ability to easily use social and digital media to interact with others automatically multiplies the messages each individual produces about themselves.

There is a big difference between 'being in public' and 'being public' and this is the biggest gap to be bridged: Instead of acting to obtain privacy, thus limiting the visibility of their online content and actions on social platforms, adolescents develop other strategies to obtain it in public (Boyd 2014).

The phenomenon of the selfie, i.e. the habit of taking pictures of oneself with one's smartphone and disseminating them a few seconds later on the web, is one of the new mass practices and strategies of "social window dressing" (Codeluppi 2015), which constitute a communicative model based on spectacularisation and the exhibition of one's external attractiveness.

In 2001, the French psychiatrist Serge Tisseron proposed the term 'estimity' to describe the desire that drives many people to stage some of their intimacy on television, while today this movement has taken on considerable proportions on the Internet (Tisseron 2001).

The relationship between intimacy and estimity can only be understood if a third element is included: self-esteem.

2. Sexting as a digital subculture

The construction of self-esteem requires intimacy (one's own space), but it also requires esteem, as it allows one to be validated by others.

The desire to find oneself is primary, and recognition by other users within digital platforms is just the easiest way to get there, especially when one chooses or finds oneself showing oneself, one's body, one's intimacy.

But all this can have important consequences in the offline space.

Sexting is conventionally defined as 'the exchange of sexually oriented messages or images' (Livingstone et al. 2011) and 'the creation, sharing, or forwarding of nude or semi-nude images' via mobile phones and/or the Internet (Lenhart 2009).

The definition of 'sexting' is inherently confusing, although Lounsbury et al. (2011) recommend using a narrower definition to better capture the phenomenon at hand, focusing on the exchange of images between minors

under the age of 18, thus adopting a discriminatory criterion based on the nature of the offence.

Wolak and Finkelhor (2011) use the severity of the act as a yardstick, ranging from so-called 'experimental' sexting, carried out by adolescents in a climate of physiological experimentation with sexuality, to the extreme of 'aggravated' sexting, which leads to non-negligible consequences and criminal acts.

Schools have gradually had to come to terms with this phenomenon, as have parents, children's services and operators.

From a regulatory point of view, attempts have been made to understand how to intervene in situations ranging from the creation to the distribution of sexual material relating to minors, with solutions ranging from a milder form of justice to the adoption of a more extremist approach (Lenhart 2009).

In addition, there are numerous scientific studies on the psychological and social condition of the victim, but equally important is the research that highlights how juvenile offenders often live in a situation of family/sociocultural distress that limits their ability to control, self-regulate and assess consequences (Loeber and Farrington 2001).

Sexting remains an issue that is often approached with positions ranging from prohibition to total indulgence, in the context of a 'sexualised' culture and society where processes of mediatisation have overwhelmed even complex social phenomena such as the one we are talking about.

This can be seen in television programmes such as 'How to Look Good Naked', popular in the UK, where women are encouraged to photograph themselves naked in order to increase their confidence and trust in themselves and their sexuality (Ringrose et al. 2013).

According to the 'cultivation theory' model (Gerbner 1994), young people's constant exposure to media would gradually 'cultivate' the belief that the real world coincides with the digital one.

Exposure to sexually explicit and pornographic content in this way appears to have a direct impact on intimate relationships, esteem and respect for one's partner, and the violent ways in which couples behave (Braun-Courville and Rojas 2009). The sexual content circulating on the internet, known internationally as SEIMS (sexual explicit internet materials), presents an unrealistic, riskless and often violent view of sexuality that denigrates women.

Young people who are constantly exposed to this kind of sexuality online are more likely to experience and judge risky sexual behaviour as normal and to adopt discriminatory representations of the opposite sex.

The key point is that there is no 'digital dualism' between real and virtual life, as the sociologist Nathan Jurgenson points out, and it is precisely in the

absence of this awareness that the phenomenon of cyberbullying and the many forms of net addiction tend to worsen.

According to a study carried out by NCMEC a few years ago (2009), American teenagers aged between 13 and 18 said that 9% of the time they had sent messages/emails containing sexually explicit references and photos, 17% of the time they had received such messages and 3% of the time they had forwarded them to someone else.

A 2009 study in the UK called 'Sex Tech' found that half of the teenagers surveyed (48%) had received sexual messages. 12% of British teenagers admit to having recorded or participated in a sex video (Barter 2015). Recent studies by Telefono Azzurro (Italy) and Doxa Kids (2016) show that 11% of teenagers know someone who has engaged in sexting.

This practice does not always involve two minors, in some cases an adult stranger hides behind the smartphone or computer screen; in fact, digital technology has changed the concept of 'abuse', making children and adolescents more vulnerable.

On the internet, paedophiles have many opportunities to come into contact with children through various means, such as chat rooms, social networks, online games, etc.

Whereas in the 1990s a paedophile had an average of 150 images of children, today he has an average collection of 150,000 images (UNODC 2014); the so-called sex offenders in question often collaborate online, based on what experts call 'collegial friendship'.

In the United States, 13% of young people between the ages of 10 and 17 report having received requests for contact from strangers (Wolak et al. 2010); moreover, it is not uncommon for the relationship established online with the stranger to be continued in an offline context, as the culmination of a system that begins with gaining the minor's trust, sexualising the relationship to the point of maintaining control over the other (Livingstone et al. 2010).

As far as Italy is concerned, we have data from the 1.96.96 helpline of Telefono Azzurro:

The solicitation of minors by adults represents 4% of the requests for help related to internet problems that reach the 1.96.96 helpline (Telefono Azzurro, Centro Nazionale di Ascolto, 1 April - 31 December 2015).

Importantly, however, recent research shows that the majority of young people, at a hormonally imbalanced age when they are trying to build social relationships online, do not know the boundaries between cyberbullying, child pornography and sexting, although they admit that some forms of the latter are extremely humiliating and offensive (Shaheen 2017). In the digital age, sexual exploration activities have clearly shifted from 'kissing in the back of the car' to engagement on social networking sites.

In addition to the apparent lack of sexual and digital education among many young people, part of their confusion is also due to the nature of media narratives on these issues: many media reports, as well as the various policy initiatives, end up conflating the violence of the bully with the actions of a paedophile or an online sexual groomer of minors.

3. Rape culture... in mass culture

Public policies in many European and Anglo-Saxon countries have so far focused exclusively on young people and have ended up criminalising their behaviour in front of screens, as if they were the only ones practising forms of humiliation and harassment in virtual spaces, when the same attention should be paid to the models offered by adults in mass culture and in the so-called “rape culture” that is increasingly practised in the online adult world.

“Rape culture is the term used in gender studies, feminist and postmodern literature to analyse and describe a culture in which rape and other forms of sexual violence are common, and in which prevailing attitudes, norms, media practices and attitudes normalise, justify or encourage rape and other violence against women.

The first definition of the term is attributed to the 1975 documentary *Rape Culture*, in which filmmaker Margaret Lazarus describes how rape is portrayed in film, music and other forms of ‘entertainment’.

In a 1992 article in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Patricia Donat and John D’Emilio instead suggest that the term originated in Susan Brownmiller’s 1975 book *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape as a ‘culture that supports rape’*.

It is generally agreed that such a culture can be defined as a set of beliefs that encourage male sexual aggression and support violence against women. This takes place in a society where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent, where any form of physical and emotional terrorism against the female figure is considered ‘normal’ (often devastating for the victim, as it can compromise her physical-psychic health and profession).

Unfortunately, even in institutional and media environments (online), we often find sexist, misogynist attitudes (through posters, posts, messages, tweets), especially when it is women who are in positions of leadership and “exploit” this role to express conscious opinions and reiterate feminist points of view, thus creating a strong sense of insecurity and destabilisation in male subjects.

Amanda Hess, a well-known journalist who is very active on the Twitter platform, has repeatedly received death threats for writing about issues related to sex: “I see that you are not physically attractive” or “I’m going to look for

you and when I find you, I'm going to rape you and rip your head off" are just some of the threats she has received (Hess 2014); even the programmer and blogger Kathy Sierra was forced to cancel several public appearances after receiving severe death threats online, which were deemed "reliable" by the police.

From a sociological point of view, the relationship between rape culture, mass culture and its impact on the behaviour of teenage girls who publish intimate and nude photos online, which they then share with their peers, whom they initially trust, but who later turn out to be anything but friends, as they decide to publish them in public digital spaces for revenge or for fun (often unaware of the real consequences).

Reflections on feminist culture point to the fact that women and girls in today's society are encouraged to take on leadership roles, to occupy first positions in the world of education and work, to step out of the old and restrictive role of "mother-wife-homemaker" typical of the traditional family, which is no longer valid in the so-called postmodern families, where instead women live, build and strengthen their identity, reputation and relationships both in private and in public spaces, thus sending strong messages of sexual independence.

Since the 1990s, the same mass media have created an information space in which we find images of openly 'sexualised', assertive, highly paid women at the centre of the film, television and music industries, and all this for the opposite sex, which is rather confused by such social changes, irrefutable proof of women's 'power' and independence (Shaheen 2017).

This state is not easy to achieve immediately, especially for those teenage girls who are still immersed in their studies and tied to their families, but who recognise in the celebrities exalted by mass culture, such as Lady Gaga, Rihanna, Beyoncé, this position of strength and freedom that is still too far away for them and that they feel they must achieve now, at all costs, because this is the female figure that 'wins' today in the society of image and entertainment.

Thus, the tendency of girls to sext, to send naked photos, driven by the desire to be 'connected and searched' on the Internet as if they were micro-celebrities, could be explained as an attempt to achieve the status of success, independence and power that they see in their idols, but which is obviously not yet possible at the age of 12 or 15.

Biological time does not coincide with time in virtual space, which translates into a state of "window dressing" (exposing oneself in order to impose oneself) and an acceleration of things, now supported by a condition of transparency and traceability of our person on the net.

4. Micro-celebrity and (dis)education in the new media

According to sociologist Jessica Evans, the media and celebrities are mutually constitutive and vehicles for the creation of social meanings: on the one hand, the media invest immense resources in the promotion and coverage of celebrities; on the other hand, the celebrity always represents something more than herself, harbouring values, perceptions, beliefs.

Media coverage in newspapers, films, television and social networks plays a crucial role in the perception and organisation of our world. The process of 'celebrification' is characterised by a strong displacement in a plurality of media offering different inputs and outputs: film celebrities, television celebrities and today's well-known 'youtubers' are completely different figures in terms of narrative, personality, audience, time and space, all of which are changing today as a result of media globalisation and the convergence process.

Television has created many stars and each of them suffers the consequence of being 'dailyised' by it, which causes them to lose their power (Coudry 2015).

Compared to the past, TV and film stars no longer seem so distant, superior and unattainable, but are simply part of the everyday lives of ordinary people. The stars of yesteryear are considered to be on the same level as today's youtubers, who cultivate their success every day by collecting likes (a measure of personal success) and gaining an impressive number of followers, without necessarily having any specific expertise in the field.

Today, thanks to Facebook and Twitter, new young (micro) celebrities are emerging, taking advantage of the transparency and interactive nature of digital media to establish direct channels with their audiences in a short time and at no cost, moving through social platforms as expert influencers.

New practices such as the selfie keep celebrities and the public in close contact, constantly updated on the professional and emotional life of the star, with the private dimension completely absent from the beginning of the relationship between them.

Moreover, with social media, the experience of the body also becomes public: a globalised and transparent body that creates interconnectedness, success or failure, power or fragility, but what is now certain is that everyone can at least try to build a path of micro- and self-celebrity.

We no longer look at the world to learn, to know or to be excited, but only to be appreciated by others, to expose ourselves (web reputation).

We try to capture the world around us, to lock it up, to show others ourselves and what we see: one, none and a hundred thousand celebrities in a single profile.

To be a small celebrity is now an easy and obvious step, almost a must, but to maintain this position online and offline for a long time is the real obstacle of the small 'contemporary star'; an obstacle that can only be overcome through a path of awareness and learning to educate and educate oneself in the 'on/off-life' environment.

5. Conclusion

Cyber-bullies, cyber-pedophiles, cyber-terrorists, these are the new criminals operating on the Net, using the new digital languages to implement persuasive and manipulative communication strategies for their own interests, to harm people, to destabilise institutions, to steal data and private information.

This is the violent and criminal side of contemporary communication, these are the modern 'criminal superheroes' who do not always have a name or a face, but who still function and intrigue in the media.

Deviant media, virtual and social realities, where there are no more borders and where the risk of distortion and the learning of certain behaviours and languages are becoming more and more concrete.

There is also an obvious problem and confusion regarding the identity and role of victim and perpetrator: who is the good guy and who is the bad guy?

Because if the media language used always and only focuses on the troubled past and the psychopathologies of the criminals, as if to justify them, it may be a twist in a fictional story or in a manga comic, but it cannot be a real fact where the characters are real subjects.

The message perceived by the viewer, already disturbed by the event, is that the 'poor' killer is not as responsible for his act because he is ill or because he has learned certain behaviours from friends and family.

So you cannot cover up or justify attitudes or behaviour just for the sake of the audience.

The perception of such risks is still very low, but the possibility that what is now a perception becomes a concrete social fact is getting closer and closer.

This now common system of communication, representation and narration of certain phenomena and individuals by the media, and the uncontrollable and excessive curiosity of the viewer to know violence at any cost, is thus present on the Web without limits or safeguards.

This condition only strengthens the individualism, the aggression, the desire for domination and control over others that characterise human relations and the emergence of a new "culture of violence" (Gallino, 2006).

It is therefore not only a problem of communication relations, but also a profound educational and cultural problem.

educational and cultural problem.

There is no longer a single cultural centre, but a plurality of very often contradictory and different value options, or better still, a plurality of subcultures (often deviant and violent), defined as a subset of cultural elements shared by the elements of a group, understood as “internal relationality more consistent than external relationality”, which are in open or hidden opposition to the norms and values of the dominant culture in which they are embedded.

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La Rivista semestrale *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società* intende la *Sicurezza* come una condizione che risulta dallo stabilizzarsi e dal mantenersi di misure proattive capaci di promuovere il benessere e la qualità della vita dei cittadini e la vitalità democratica delle istituzioni; affronta il fenomeno del *Terrorismo* come un processo complesso, di lungo periodo, che affonda le sue radici nelle dimensioni culturale, religiosa, politica ed economica che caratterizzano i sistemi sociali; propone alla *Società* – quella degli studiosi e degli operatori e quella ampia di cittadini e istituzioni – strumenti di comprensione, analisi e scenari di tali fenomeni e indirizzi di gestione delle crisi.

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