SCIENTIFIC ANNALS OF „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA" UNIVERSITY OF IAȘI
VOLUME XIX/1, SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK, 2026

DOI: 10.47743/asas-2026-1-900

MEASURING THE INVISIBLE: A STATISTICAL APPROACH FOR CYBERVIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Nadji RAHMANIA[1]

Abstract: The rise of digital technology has transformed our daily lives, offering new ways to communicate and interact. But this evolution has also been accompanied by new forms of gender-based violence. This article examines cyberviolence against women in Europe, drawing on data from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), and Eurostat. Through comparative statistical analysis, it explores how different manifestations of this violence, online harassment, non-consensual image sharing, threats, and identity theft, vary from one country to another. The results reveal marked territorial and generational inequalities and establish a link between the intensity of online violence and the level of access to digital tools. The study also highlights the shortcomings of existing reporting systems and the wide diversity of legal responses across Member States. In conclusion, she emphasizes the urgent need to strengthen prevention, improve digital education, and strive for better harmonization of laws to more effectively protect women in the European digital space.

Keywords: Cyberviolence, women, multivariate analysis.

Résumé : L'essor du numérique a transformé notre quotidien, offrant de nouvelles façons de communiquer et d'échanger. Mais cette évolution s'accompagne aussi de formes inédites de violences fondées sur le genre. Cet article se penche sur la cyberviolence envers les femmes en Europe, en s'appuyant sur les données de l'Agence des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne (FRA), de l'Institut européen pour l'égalité des genres (EIGE) et d'Eurostat. Par une analyse statistique comparée, il explore comment différentes manifestations de cette violence — harcèlement en ligne, partage non consenti d'images, menaces, usurpation d'identité — varient d'un pays à l'autre.
Les résultats font ressortir des inégalités territoriales et générationnelles marquées, et établissent un lien entre l'intensité des violences en ligne et le niveau d'accès aux outils numériques. L'étude met également en lumière les lacunes des systèmes de signalement existants et la grande diversité des réponses juridiques selon les États membres. En conclusion, elle souligne l'urgence de renforcer la prévention, d'améliorer l'éducation au numérique et de tendre vers une meilleure harmonisation des lois, afin de protéger plus efficacement les femmes dans l'espace numérique européen.

Mots-clés : cyberviolence, femmes, analyse multivariée.

[1] Professor PhD., Laboratoire Paul Painlevé, Université de Lille, nadji.rahmania@univ-lille.fr

Rezumat: Ascensiunea tehnologiei digitale ne-a transformat viața de zi cu zi, oferind noi modalități de comunicare și interacțiune. Însă această evoluție a fost însoțită și de noi forme de violență bazată pe gen. Acest articol examinează violența cibernetică împotriva femeilor în Europa, bazându-se pe date de la Agenția pentru Drepturi Fundamentale a Uniunii Europene (FRA), Institutul European pentru Egalitatea de Șanse între Sexe (EIGE) și Eurostat. Prin analiză statistică comparativă, acesta explorează modul în care diferite manifestări ale acestei violențe – hărțuirea online, partajarea fără consimțământ a imaginilor, amenințările și furtul de identitate – variază de la o țară la alta.
Rezultatele dezvăluie inegalități teritoriale și generaționale marcate și stabilesc o legătură între intensitatea violenței online și nivelul de acces la instrumente digitale. Studiul evidențiază, de asemenea, deficiențele sistemelor de raportare existente și marea diversitate a răspunsurilor juridice în statele membre. În concluzie, ea subliniază nevoia urgentă de a consolida prevenirea, de a îmbunătăți educația digitală și de a depune eforturi pentru o mai bună armonizare a legislației, pentru a proteja mai eficient femeile în spațiul digital european.
Cuvinte-cheie: violența cibernetică, femei, analiză multivariată.

1. Introduction

Social and professional networks have revolutionized our relationships and ways of interacting. But this hyper-connectivity has also transformed how interpersonal violence manifests itself. More traditional forms of aggression have mutated, now taking on complex and sophisticated digital forms, such as cybersexual harassment.

Yet, this violence is not confined to a „virtual" space. It lies at the intersection of essential issues related to gender, sociology, and digital culture. Far from being a space for gathering and solidarity, the internet has often become an extension of old patterns of separation and oppression, reproducing the systemic violence already present in physical public spaces.

Two structural characteristics of the web exacerbate this phenomenon: anonymity and virality. Thanks to anonymity, aggressors can easily conceal their identity. And with the virality of content, nonconsensual intimate images or defamatory comments become impossible to erase. Victims then find themselves relentlessly harassed, at all hours, via their devices, often without knowing where to turn.

Cyberviolence is fundamentally an expression of gender-based discrimination and perpetuates, through digital means, existing networks of patriarchal oppression to reinforce domination over women.

A 2020 Plan International study conducted in France reveals that 58% of women aged 18 to 24 have experienced online sexual harassment, leading 19% of respondents to consider completely deleting their social media accounts. Perpetrators of these attacks disproportionately target women in public positions, journalists, activists, and academics, who are also affected by intersectional identities. The identities most exposed to online sexual violence include, but are not limited to, women of color, LGBTQIA+ people, and women with disabilities.

By exploring Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence (1998) and its different forms of oppression, we see that cyberviolence comes more from social dominance than from isolated acts. Under a facade of neutrality, the internet continues the same gender hierarchies we see in the offline world. Michel Foucault described power through public surveillance and shame (1975). These ideas today enable the „digital silence" of women, who feel they must self-censor to avoid harassment from anonymous users online. To tackle cyberviolence, we must use data before conducting statistical analysis. In this research, we view data not as simple numbers, but as a vital tool for sparking systemic change.

• The Scale: Data changes personal experience into a numeric basis for describing a social crisis.

• Empirical Advocacy: Quality data is necessary to engage platforms in implementing change and motivating policymakers to take action quickly.

• Intersectionality: Disaggregated data can be used to identify those at risk due to their demographics or identities and develop interventions that target them specifically.

• Progress Tracking: Data collected over time allows for an evaluation of whether efforts to make people safe has been effective or ineffective.

• Solutions Development: Quality data is essential in developing better moderation solutions, creating more legal protections and programs to support the establishment of digital ethics education.

The research conducted in this project reviews definitions/typology of cyber abuse throughout the EU (Including France, Romania, Italy and Spain) by analyzing respective data collected by both EIGE and FRA as well as Eurostat. To that end, the study has established three key objectives, which include:

1. Demographic Variance: Understanding regional differences, age-group differences and socioeconomic strata in their experiences with digital abuse.

2. Forecasting (2024 - 2030): Utilizing statistical models to assess whether rates of cyber-violence will plateau or continue to rise.

3. Socio-political accountability: Assessing possible long-term societal impacts due to current legal gaps and creating a strong evidence base for EU Member States to ensure their national laws align with the digital realities of 2030.

The following chapter considers the structural power relations that determine digital platforms and an analysis of the means of digital domination using the concept of panopticism (Foucault) and the idea of symbolic violence (Bourdieu). This follows the previous chapter's examination of existing empirical data that relates to violence against women through the lens of digital technologies.

2. Digital violence

Cyberviolence towards women is rooted in power structures that define the design of the internet and how it operates today. In theory, the internet can be seen as an unmediated, democratic space for public free speech. However, in reality, we see how the internet perpetuates social as well as gender inequality; the

two are inextricably linked to each other. The use of digital space continues to hide or reveal the dominance of one group over another when it comes to issues of gender. The violence inflicted by technology continues to silence women's voices; this is what will be explored here using ideas from Foucault's work on panoptic architecture and Bourdieu's work on symbolic violence.

– Michel Foucault and the Decentralized Panopticon (Foucault,1975)

Foucault's notion of panopticism creates self-discipline through constant visual surveillance. The panoptic structure of digital spaces creates a 'digital panopticon' (Henry & Powell, 2018) in which users are always viewed by either an identifiable or non-identifiable audience. This results in women who have public, open opinions, such as journalists, activists, and scholars, silencing themselves due to self-imposed restrictions.

The permanence and virality of content published online intensify silencing among women, as women can see how tweets, photos, or opinions made publicly on the internet could hurt their reputations at some point in the future. The cell phone now allows everyone to constantly be connected to a „pocket panopticon," making it even harder to delineate between public versus private space for women and further increasing the amount of emotional labour and vigilance required by women.

– Pierre Bourdieu and the Habitus of Domination (Bourdieu,1998)

Bourdieu extends and complements Foucault's work by providing a theoretical explanation of the ways in which symbolic violence creates socially accepted hierarchies through a common system of cultural norms. As a result, it is possible to „naturalize" domination over a group of people without a reliance on overt coercion. The conception of cyberviolence has the effect of reinforcing a gendered habitus and continuing the use of digital gatekeeping to inhibit women's digital access. Banet-Weiser and Miltner (2016) contend that cyberviolence incidents are structurally organized events rather than random occurrences. Gendered, sexualized, and racialized acts of cyberviolence reaffirm patriarchal boundaries and serve to establish which individuals „belong" on the internet. Techno-libertarians use free speech principles to defend these acts of harassment as debates, rather than instances of structural violence, leading to continued underrepresentation of women in technology.

– Platform of control

Digital domination is based not just on the content being consumed but also on the infrastructure that creates and conceals it. Marginalized populations are subject to various forms of oppression, such as through surveillance-based technologies, through algorithms that amplify censorship, and through acts of symbolic coercion. In general, algorithms that amplify outrage create a significant disadvantage for women who challenge patriarchal social norms. The conceptual framework developed by Bourdieu and Foucault allows us to reinterpret violence facilitated by technology in the context of long-standing and ongoing power structures. By identifying forms of surveillance, coercion and social reproduction,

we can broaden the response strategy for acts of violence and make both structural and technological interventions to address both technology and the social context.

3. Cyberviolence against women in the EU: trends, projections and structural patterns

3.1. Introduction

Within a critical theoretical framework, quantitative methods demonstrate the structural character of cyberviolence beyond isolated cases (Rahmania & Teodorescu, 2024). Feminist theory identifies discursive domination processes, while statistical modelling reveals macro-patterns reflecting gendered hierarchies across EU contexts (Jane, 2014).

This study employs harmonized indicators from three main EU sources covering 2018-2024: Eurostat ICT Surveys & Crime Statistics (2025) for cyberviolence prevalence (% women aged 16-74 experiencing online harassment, non-consensual image sharing, threats, or identity theft over 12 months; Citron & Norton, 2011); EIGE Gender Equality Index (2024) for multidimensional equality measures (work, power, knowledge, health, violence); and the FRA Violence Against Women Survey (2021-2024) supplemented by national cybersecurity agencies (France, Italy, Spain, Romania).

The analysis combines descriptive statistics, hierarchical clustering, and linear projections across the EU- 27 Member States. Missing data were imputed via linear interpolation; all variables were normalized for cross-country comparability (Lewis et al., 2017).

This mixed-methods approach tests theoretical assumptions against observable trends, establishing the intersection of critical theory and computational analysis in gender-technology studies.

For all our statistical analyses, we used the R software, version 4.3.2.3.2.

3.2 Trend analysis: Selected countries (2018-2024)

To keep the analysis clear and focused, the first section will be based on four countries, France, Italy, Spain and Romania, plus an average for the EU. These 4 EU countries represent different regions, cultures and levels of digitalization (DESI 2024); therefore, they will provide an accurate and appropriate summary of the most important trends found in the analysis, while retaining a comparative framework for the other European countries.

The observed cyberviolence rates against women, 2018-2024(France, Italy, Spain, Romania, EU-27 average are given in Figure 1.

The figure shows a steady and marked increase in cases of cyberviolence in these five categories between 2018 and 2024. This continued increase seems to reflect the growing role of digital technology in our daily lives, and with it, the expansion of online risks across Europe.

- France: Above the EU Average and Rapidly Accelerating High initial rate: France began the observed period above the EU average (9.4% in 2018 compared with approximately 8.7% for the EU as a whole). Substantial growth: The national rate increased strongly, rising from 9.4% in 2018 to 13.2% in 2024. Leading position: By 2024, France recorded the highest rate among the observed countries, considerably surpassing both the EU average and other Southern European nations. This acceleration may be explained by both an actual surge in incidents and improved awareness and reporting systems.

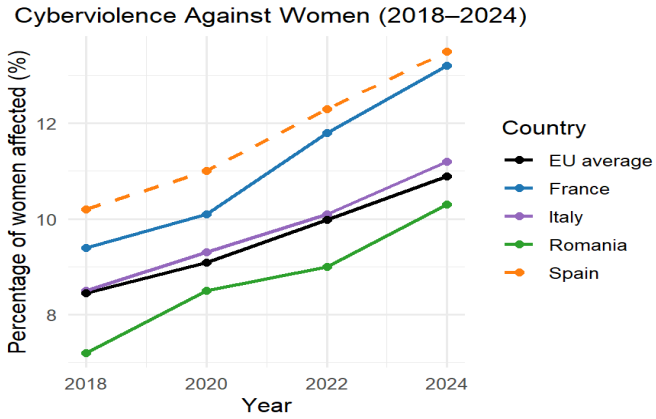


Figure 1. Observed cyberviolence rates against women, 2018-2024 (France, Italy, Spain, Romania, EU-27 average).

- Italy: Moderate yet Steady Increase

At the beginning level, Italy was at the EU average for 2018, with a somewhat lower overall total. Progressively increasing rate: From 2017 to 2023, the Italian rate of gender-based cyberviolence rose steadily and corresponds to the overall increasing rate of gender-based cyberviolence in Europe and to the increasing visibility of online gender-based violence.

- Spain: Marked Increase & Increasing Awareness

Near average starting position: Spain was slightly below the EU average when compared to the EU average of 2018. Considerable increase in the rate: By 2024, the reported rate had increased considerably, denoting both the increasing rates of prevalence & the increased social recognition of gender-based cyberviolence.

- Romania: The Slowest Increase with Rapid Convergence

The lowest baseline was Romania's start of 7.2% in the year 2018. The fastest catch-up will move the rate to 10.3% at 2024, being close to the EU average. Rapid convergence illustrates the fact that there are no EU countries that will be immune from the expansion of gender-based cyberviolence.

- EU Average: This is a Good Reference Point that Increased over Time

The EU average has steadily increased from roughly 8.70% in 2018 to nearly 10.60% in 2024. Relative to this period of time, it is a midpoint for comparison:

France has remained above that average for the entire period, while Romania has been closing the gap to this average each year.

In summary, the data confirms that online gender-based violence continues to rise alarmingly across Europe. While countries are affected to varying degrees and the situation is evolving at different paces, a common trend emerges: the problem is serious and demands a collective response. All of Europe must unite to implement an effective strategy, combining prevention, education, and stronger laws, to stem this tide of digital violence.

In the following section, we will explore different scenarios for 2030 and analyze the policy measures that could either curb or, conversely, encourage the spread of cyberviolence within the European Union.

3.3 Predictions Until 2030: Cyberviolence Future Trends

To establish our projections, we used a simple linear extrapolation. Essentially, we assume that the trend observed in the past will continue steadily. We fitted a straight line to the data from 2018 to 2024, which gives us an estimate of the average annual increase or decrease in the rate of cyberviolence.

It is important to keep in mind the limitations of this approach. Our model is intentionally simple: it does not take into account external events that could change everything, such as the implementation of new regulations. Furthermore, it assumes a perfectly linear relationship over time.

Figure 2 provides a longitudinal forecast of cyberviolence prevalence from 2018 through 2030, and the projected percentage of women impacted over this period, across four specific countries: France, Italy, Romania, and Spain. The graph compares these national trends against the European Union average, highlighting an alarming, statistically significant increase across Europe.

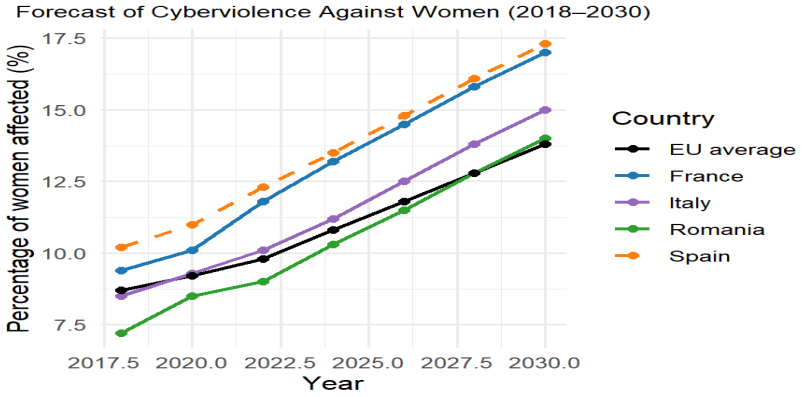


Figure 2. Linear projections of cyberviolence rates against women, 2025-2030 (France, Italy, Spain, Romania, EU-27 average).

It follows from this figure that:

- Countries with a High Level of Cyberviolence: At the beginning and throughout the period described in this report, Spain has had the highest level of

cyberviolence, with nearly 10% of women affected by cyberviolence in Spain. The estimate for that percentage was expected to continue to grow to approximately 17% by 2030. France is next in line and will continue to increase at about the same rate as Spain and remain below the EU average but above the average of countries in the EU.

- Trends in Italy: Italy began at about the EU average in 2018, with approximately 8.5% of women affected by cyberviolence, but is on track to have approximately 15% of women affected by 2030, which is higher than the European average for growth.

- Growth in Women Victimized in Romania: While the initial estimate of approximately 7.2% of Romanian women being affected by cyberviolence was the lowest rate, its straight-line trajectory is very steep, and Romania's percentage of women victim technology is expected to reach approximately 13.8%, which is at or near the EU average.

Socio-Technical Implications

The figures speak for themselves: the more digital technologies develop to facilitate our interactions, the more acts of cyberaggression appear to multiply. According to this study, in each of the countries analysed, these behaviours could almost double over the next twelve years. This worrying trend calls for a coordinated response at the European level.

For example, Spain and France have a higher rate of connectivity and digital literacy than the European average. While this is a strength, it also exposes their populations—particularly women—to greater online violence. The more the digital landscape expands, the greater the risks become, unless appropriate legal and educational safeguards are put in place.

3.4. Clustering

To better understand the dynamics of cyberviolence in Europe, we analysed Eurostat data from 2018 to 2024. The aim was to group the 27 EU member states according to their profile, taking into account not only the reported rate of cyberviolence and its evolution, but also other factors such as internet access, social media use, and the gender equality index. All this data was harmonized to allow for reliable comparisons between countries.

The objective is to identify regional groups that reflect similar political contexts or levels of digital integration. By observing these groupings, we can detect trends, identify potentially at-risk countries, or pinpoint common digital behaviors. This provides European policymakers with concrete guidance for adapting their actions.

Specifically, we used a hierarchical grouping method, using Euclidean distance and Ward's aggregation criterion. The process begins with each country considered individually, and then progressively merges the most similar ones until a complete tree of groups is formed. To measure this similarity, we relied on Euclidean distance and Ward's linkage method, which aims to create clusters that are as coherent as possible by minimizing the differences within each group.

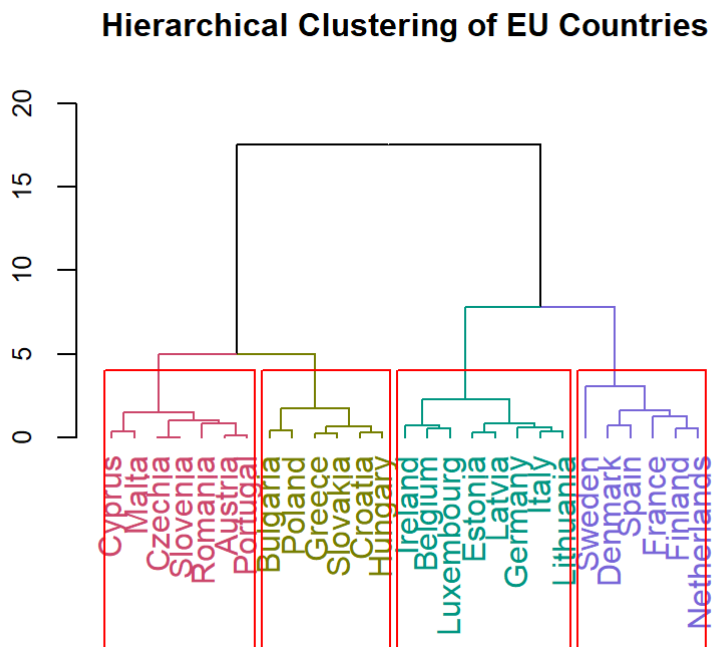


Figure 3. Hierarchical clustering dendrogram of 27 EU members States (Cyberviolence profiles, 2018-2024).

The resulting dendrogram (Figure 3) allows us to group the 27 EU Member States into several distinct categories, each exhibiting similar dynamics regarding cyberviolence. The analysis revealed that the optimal solution corresponds to k=4. Beyond this number, merging the groups would significantly reduce their internal cohesion. By adjusting the cutoff point on the tree, we can either obtain broader groupings, at a geographical scale, or conversely, identify more precise subgroups, thus highlighting the convergences and disparities between European countries.

Cluster 1: Denmark, France, Spain, Sweden, Finland and Netherlands

Cybercrime has increased very fast in these countries, while they also had the highest incidence of the crime. This was a group of Northern European leaders in digital commerce (so-called Nordic countries plus Netherlands) plus France and Spain. The increase in cybercrime is associated with an increased number of internet users, increased social media users, and improved reporting systems that have made the crime more visible or reported on, and therefore an increase in actual cybercrime to be reported.

Cluster 2: The upper half of Europe: Austria, Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Latvia,
Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Slovenia.

These 11 countries (Made up of the Central/Baltic region of Europe) have shown a continuing trend of growth in cybercrime. These countries have all

consistently increased their presence in and usage of the digital economy, and are likely to continue growing because they will remain less digitally developed than the digitally advanced neighbouring countries and the countries in the other clusters.

Cluster 3: South/Continental core of the world (Low to Fewer than moderate growth)

Countries included in this category include Croatia, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Italy, and Portugal. The average of these countries is approximately 8.0% of total growth, so they can be expected to experience moderate levels of activity. The data could either reflect a high degree of resilience with regard to culture, low intensity among social media users, and/or an underestimation due to lack of engagement. Germany is especially notable as it is considered a national leader in digital evolution and is therefore used as a benchmark for other nations.

Cluster 4: Eastern European resilience (very low/nil). Countries represented include Bulgaria,

Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, which demonstrate the lowest frequency of total activity, as well as the lowest frequency of growth in general (or, at best, no growth). Several factors may play a role in this result, such as: limited opportunities for digital participation; cultural challenges limiting social interaction through social media; underestimation due to embarrassment/stigma associated with being a digital „loser"; or lower-than-average prevalence of „outsiders" because contributors to the primary form of social systems in the region historically have been face-to-face.

Data analysis reveals clear differences from east to west and from north to south. Countries with highly developed digital economies are more vulnerable to cyberviolence because they experience more attacks. Yet, Eastern European nations seem to be more resilient, or perhaps they report fewer incidents, than their Western neighbours. This geographical distribution of cybercrime demonstrates the need to adapt prevention strategies: high-risk areas cannot be approached in the same way as those where violent incidents are less frequent.

i) Statistical Validation of the Cluster Structure

After completing the hierarchical clustering analysis, a series of additional statistical tests were performed on the four-cluster solution to confirm whether or not it was statistically valid. The one-way ANOVA results demonstrated a significant difference between the four clusters for all of the key outcomes ($F=7.53$, $p < .001$).

Tukey HSD tests also confirmed that means of cyberviolence and growth of cyberviolence were significantly different between the four clusters and that means of cyberviolence and growth of cyberviolence were homogeneous within each cluster.

ii) Linear Discriminant Analysis (LDA)

The results of the Linear Discriminant Analysis (LDA) showed a varying degree of influence from each of the variables toward separation between the clusters based on their association with each variable.

– The Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI) is an indicator of the level of digital performance in all of the European Countries based on five general areas: connectivity, digital skills, and internet usage; integration of digital technology; and the provision of public services through digital channels (i.e., eGovernment services. The DESI explains 68% of the variance observed between the clusters and is the strongest contributor toward differentiating the groups (i.e. were defines the grouping of the clusters).

–. The EIGE Index, on the other hand, is a measure of advancement towards the Promotion of Gender Equality across multiple dimensions, including the areas of work, knowledge, power, and health. While the EIGE Index does provide a level of insight, it accounts for only 24% of the variance across the clusters. This means that gender equality represents a secondary but potentially important determinant of the differences within and between the clusters.

iii) Conclusion

Combined use of several distinct methods (HCA, ANOVA, and LDA) yields strong conclusions about the differences in cyber-violence against women in Europe, being a strong result of the structural relationships between levels of digitalisation of European societies and degrees of gender equality in each Member State. The evidence supports a structural gradation that exists between highly digitalised countries with advanced institutional frameworks for gender equality and less digitalised countries with less advanced institutional frameworks for gender equality. Evidence exists that countries with a high degree of digitalisation, particularly in Northern and Western Europe, experience higher levels of cyberviolence than less digitalised countries. This fact is explained not by a greater degree of violence per se, but rather through the interaction of two factors.

First, the increase in the number of online interactions, due to the increasing digitalisation of European societies, affords individuals ever-increasing opportunities to receive negative, violent, or sexist messages.

Second, the high levels of gender equality in digitalised countries create environments supporting greater social and institutional recognition of the phenomenon and resulting higher levels of willingness to report incidents and seek available protections.

Conversely, countries with lower levels of digitalization and more pronounced gender inequalities appear to record fewer cases of cyberviolence. However, this apparent decrease is primarily due to underreporting. In societies where access to digital technology is limited, and awareness of this type of violence remains low, victims are less likely to report what they experience, unlike in countries where digital technology is more prevalent, and the issue is more visible.

In the vast majority of cases, acts of cyberviolence are still too often minimized, ignored, or perceived as mere personal conflicts, rather than as a specific form of gender-based violence.

The results of this study clearly confirm that the distribution of cyberviolence in Europe stems directly from the structural and digital inequalities that persist within the European Union. By demonstrating how digital transformation influences and interacts with gender relations, cyberviolence becomes a revealing indicator of current social divisions. This underlines the need to further integrate the gender dimension into digital transition policies, so that women can move about in the digital space with equality, safety, and protection.

4. Conclusion

The overall analysis of Europe includes data from the years 2018-2024, plus estimates for 2030, and illustrates that cyberviolence against women is a structural issue rather than a series of isolated events. There has consistently been an upward trend across all Member States, as results are driven by increased digitalization of everyday life.

Key Findings and Patterns:

– The link between digitalization and cyberviolence is clear: the more digital and social technologies develop, the more online harassment increases. Countries like France and Spain, with their advanced digital economies, are particularly vulnerable due to widespread internet access and a more connected population.

– There is a paradox in the reporting of this violence. In several Eastern European countries, official figures are low, but one might wonder: is this because women there are less exposed to the digital world, or because they are more hesitant to file complaints for fear of prejudice? Conversely, in Northern and Western Europe, rates of cyberviolence against women are higher. This is partly explained by the existence of well-established support systems that encourage victims to come forward.

– The situation is urgent. The projections are alarming: by 2030, the prevalence of this violence could almost double compared to 2018 in the countries studied. No EU member state will be spared from this increase.

The study emphasizes that this violence stems from structural inequalities, amplified by the digital world. To reverse this trend, a coordinated European response is essential. Digital transition policies must integrate a gender perspective. The solution lies in a combination of prevention, education, and firm law enforcement to build a safe and equitable digital space for all women.

References

Amnesty International. (2018). *Toxic Twitter: Violence and abuse against women online*. Amnesty International Ltd.

Banet-Weiser, S., & Miltner, K. M. (2016). Masculinity So Fragile: Culture, structure, and networked misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*(1), 171–174. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1120490

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *La domination masculine*. Seuil.

Citron, D. K., & Norton, H. L. (2011). Intermediaries and hate speech: Fostering digital citizenship for our information age. *Boston University Law Review, 91*, 1435–1484.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

European Institute for Gender Equality. (2017). *Cyberviolence against women and girls*. Publications Office of the European Union.

FRA. (2021). *Crime, safety and victims' rights, Fundamental Rights Survey*. Publications Office of the European Union.

Foucault, M. (1975). *Surveiller et punir : Naissance de la prison*. Gallimard.

Henry, N., & Powell, A. (2018). Technology-facilitated sexual violence: A literature review of empirical research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 19*(2), 195–208. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838016650189

Jane, E. A. (2014). „Your a ugly, whorish, slut": Understanding e-bile. *Feminist Media Studies, 14*(4), 531–546. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2012.741073

Lewis, R., Rowe, M., & Wiper, C. (2017). Online abuse of feminists as an emerging form of violence against women and girls. *British Journal of Criminology, 57*(6), 1462–1481. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azw073

Mantilla, K. (2015). *Gendertrolling: How misogyny went viral*. Praeger.

Rahmania, N., & Teodorescu, C. (2024). Using multivariate analysis for better and predict intimate partner violence: Scientific Annals of A.I. Cuza University of Iasi (New Series), Sociology and Social Work. Vol.17, n°1. https://doi.org/10.47743/asas-2024-1-753

Plan International. (2020). Libres d'être en ligne : Les expériences des filles et des jeunes femmes en matière de harcèlement en ligne. Plan International France

Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2017). *Sexual violence in a digital age*. Palgrave Macmillan.

UNESCO. (2021). *The chilling: Global trends in online violence against women journalists*. UNESCO Publishing.