Online Homophobia: Hate Speech and Conspiracy Theories towards LGBTQI+ people on Twitter in Spain

FRANCISCO JAVIER SANTOS FERNÁNDEZ

1. **Affiliazione Autore / Authors' information**
   Department of Sociology, Social Work and Public Health, University of Huelva, ESEIS/COIDESO, Spain

2. **Contatti / Authors' contact**
   francisco.santos[at]dstso.uhu.es

Online Homophobia: Hate Speech and Conspiracy Theories towards LGBTQI+ people on Twitter in Spain

Francisco Javier Santos Fernández

University of Huelva, ESEIS/COIDESO, Spain

Email: francisco.santos[at]dstso.uhu.es

Abstract

This article examines hate speech and conspiracy theories against LGBTQI+ people in the Spanish Twittersphere, on the occasion of the celebration of International LGBTQI+ Pride Day and the debates before the entry into force of the Trans Law. A dataset of 410,015 organic tweets in Spanish between 2020 and 2022 was collected using the twarc2 tool in Python, as part of the "Conspiracy Theories and Hate Speech Online: Comparison of patterns in narratives and social networks about COVID-19, immigrants and refugees and LGBTI people [NON-CONSPIRA-HATE!]", PID2021-123983OB-I00, funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033/ and by FEDER/EU. The data were processed and analysed using several packages in R, following a mixed methods approach. The analysis revealed the existence of several discursive axes of hate and conspiracy thinking, with interconnected patterns of communication. Among the narratives identified, the pathologisation of affective-sexual diversity, biological reductionism, heterosexism and Catholic morality stand out, with ideas associating LGBTQI+ people with paedophilia, indoctrination and genital mutilation of minors, the erasure of cisgender women and the destruction of social order and cultural models.

Keywords: Online hate speech, Conspiracy theories, LGBTQI+ people

1. Introduction

The expansion and integration of social media in the context of affective-sexual diversity has brought about an unprecedented sexual revolution and liberation, moving from a world in which LGBTQI+ people had to meet in secret places for fear of police persecution, discrimination and violence, to one in which they use digital platforms as collective spaces to express ideas, opinions, dissent, strengthen their identity and visibility, combat homophobia, seek emotional support and find peers. However, the Internet has also become an ideal medium for the spread of hate speech against LGBTQI+ people, fostering stereotypes, social representations, and negative collective imaginaries against them.

1.1. Homophobia, hate speech and online radicalisation

Homophobia is the hatred, rejection, hostility, intolerance and fear towards homosexuality, bisexuality and transsexuality (ILGA, 2024; Resolution 2012/2657(RSP), 24 May 2012; European Institute for Gender Equality, 2024; European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights, 2009), whether real or perceived, or towards their behaviour and lifestyles or cultures (Parliamentarian for Global Action [PNUD/PGA], 2017), based on a social prejudice that is culturally constructed and internalised through socialisation (Pichardo Galán et al., 2015, p.11), which portrays LGBTQI+ people as different, inferior or abnormal (COGAM, 2005), and which

manifests itself in the public and private spheres through hate speech and incitement, discrimination, ridicule, verbal, physical and psychological violence, persecution, murder and unjustified restrictions on rights and freedoms (Resolution 2012/2657 (RSP) of the European Parliament of 24 May 2012), resulting in the restriction of LGTBIQ+ people's access to their rights, recognition, power and prestige (Garrido & Morales, 2014).

In terms of online hate speech, social media has become the perfect context for radicalisation and the dissemination of hostile narratives. Hate speech refers to any form of written, verbal or behavioural communication that attacks or uses derogatory or discriminatory language towards a person or group based on identity factors such as sexual orientation and gender identity (United Nations, n.d.). It also includes other violent manifestations such as humiliation, harassment, contempt, dissemination of negative stereotypes, stigmatisation or threats (General Policy Recommendation No. 15, 21 March 2016).

Furthermore, in order to understand the social and structural mechanisms and dimensions underlying homophobic hate on the Internet, it is necessary to consider heteronormativity as a precursor to social exclusion and violence against LGBTQI+ people, as it privileges heterosexuality and imposes a gender binary in which romantic and sexual relationships between different sexes are presented as natural, desirable and appropriate. Heteronormativity (also referred to as heterosexism) is an ideology that has its origins in the patriarchal system, and is constituted as a hegemonic model of sexuality based on monogamy, phallocracy, reproductivism and heterosexuality (Muñoz Rubio, 2012, p. 47). In fact, various feminist theories emphasise the idea that heterosexuality must be understood as a regime of political discourse that produces a system of difference and otherness and imposes itself as an absolute core (Witting, 1992; Rich, 1996; Butler, 2007). In this way, the categories of man and woman become normative and exclusive (Butler, 2007), producing a dichotomous discourse of sex and gender (Caldero Cuevas, 2022) and a biological and moral supremacy of heterosexuality (PNUD/PGA, 2017), which is enshrined as an absolute and unquestionable binary (ILGA, 2024). Similarly, these types of ideologies are reinforced by gender technologies, a set of techniques, tools and cultural practices that influence the social construction of gender identities. According to Cordero Polanía (2018), these technologies oppress people, which translates into discrimination, social targeting and aggression against those who transgress the systems imposed on society as natural and true. This leads to the stigmatisation of people because of their genitals. Therefore, homophobia is the main consequence of heterosexist thinking by perpetuating the representation of heterosexuality as something normal and natural (Cordero Polanía, 2018), thus becoming an instrument of regulation, control and social homogenisation based on learned, assumed and exercised discrimination to undermine alternative gender identities (Andrade Salazar et al., 2016), pointing to subjects with dissident sexualities as sick and perverse (Cordero Polanía, 2018). Likewise, homophobia remains rooted in most societies, constituting a structural problem that embodies the domination and reproduction of male power and heterosexist values (Cruz Sierra, 2002), the denial of any homosexual tendency (Lozano, 2009) and the projection of an enormous symbolic potential, real and imaginary, through actions that legitimise attacks and violence against LGBTQI+ people (Andrade Salazar et al., 2016). For example, several studies have shown that heterosexual men tend to show higher levels of homophobia than women (Nieto-Gutiérrez et al., 2019; Kwak et al., 2019; Georgius et al., 2018; Colonnello et al., 2020; Álvarez-

Conde & Rodríguez-Castro, 2017). This is because femininity in men is socially perceived as a sign of failure and weakness (Nieto-Gutiérrez et al., 2019).

On the other hand, the development of extremist communities and groups on the Internet has led to a rapid increase in hate practices against LGBTQI+ people. According to Miró-Llinares (2016), Web 2.0 has become a tool that encourages the increase of crime. Furthermore, the author argues that the lack of censorship in cyberspace facilitates the emergence of violent radicalisation, aggressive behaviour and the exchange of hostile messages in an easy and universal way. These factors are exacerbated by the lack of effective measures and policies to moderate hate content on digital platforms, as well as the technical characteristics of social networks. This makes online hate speech an uncontrolled social phenomenon with a high potential for harm and dissemination due to the risk of viralisation (Gagliardone, 2015) and the fast and low-cost dissemination mechanisms offered by digital platforms (Ştefăniţă & Buf, 2021). The design architectures, functionalities and interfaces of social media can also facilitate the spread of hate speech. For example, according to Munn (2020), YouTube's recommendation system has a strong influence on users by encouraging the consumption of hostile content. The author also points out that the Facebook feed can generate offensive content and views, in this case through a stimulus-response cycle in which hate speech is easily generated and normalised. Furthermore, this situation is exacerbated by roaming between different websites, anonymity, the permanence of pseudonyms and the transnational nature of cyberspace (Cabo Isasi & García Juanatey, 2017). And other intrinsic characteristics of websites, such as their ease of use, scalability and openness to the general public, turn these platforms into tools for spreading hate and organising uncivil activities (Paschalides *et al.*, 2020). This polarises discourse and creates contexts in which netizens vent their personal frustrations and spread hatred towards those they perceive as culturally different or different (Keller & Askanius, 2020). Even psychopathy, impulsivity and thrill-seeking can trigger hate speech and uncivil behaviour online (Sorokowski et al., 2020).

1.2 Consequences of homophobic online speech

The exposure of Internet users to certain harmful ideologies can lead to their normalisation, creating beliefs that are instilled in audiences and encouraging others to spread hateful content (Kilvington, 2021). Indeed, when hate speech is prevalent online and encouraged by public figures, it is no longer perceived as taboo, leading to a decrease in empathy towards certain social groups and a decrease in sensitivity to hostile language (Bilewicz & Soral, 2020). Therefore, the tendency to normalise abuse and desensitisation may perpetuate violence on social media (Ştefăniţă & Buf, 2021) and make episodes of harassment and hate more frequent online than offline (Keum & Miller, 2018).

When it comes to homophobic hate speech on the Internet, its forerunners normalise this type of violent expression under the pretext that all opinions must be valued and respected through a supposed right to free speech without censorship. This is a very worrying fact, as online hate speech can trigger a possible homophobic hate crime. In fact, several studies have demonstrated the link between online hate and an increase in hate crimes against vulnerable social groups (Muller & Schwarz, 2020; Awan & Zempi, 2016), the link between online and offline events (Olmos et al., 2020), the amplifying effect of online hate on bad social behaviour (Frenda et al., 2019), and the ability of online hate speech to generate violent behaviour and situa-

tions on a global scale (Huberty, 2015). Furthermore, a simple message can encourage, promote or incite hatred against a sector of society by demonising it, convincing third parties of the danger of certain social groups and encouraging them to attack its members (Arcópoli, 2021). This makes LGBTQI+ people particularly vulnerable to violence.

Finally, online homophobic hate speech can cause serious psychological harm to victims, including sleep disturbances and panic attacks (Nyman & Provozin, 2019); self-blame motivated by their sexual orientation, leading the person to isolate themselves to reduce exposure to hostile content or close their social networks as a defence mechanism (Ştefăniţă & Buf, 2021); feelings of sadness, anxiety, anger, stress, shame, low self-esteem and suicidal thoughts (Hubbard, 2020); internalised homophobia, i.e. internalising and normalising the homophobic rejection they experience online, adopting defence and avoidance mechanisms by hiding their sexuality (Ghafoori et al., 2019), and constructing their sexual identity by internalising and accepting the homophobic stigma and the values, norms, beliefs, rules, stereotypes and hegemonic prescriptions of the heteronormative model (Campo-Arias, Herazo & Oviedo, 2015); and distorting the self-concept, leading victims to have difficulties interacting with other people, as well as inappropriately using smart devices when seeking emotional support to alleviate their negative emotions (Lee et al., 2019). Furthermore, LGBTQI+ people are more likely to experience online hate than heterosexual people, particularly trans people, who suffer the most destructive effects of online hate (Ştefăniţă & Buf, 2021).

1.3 Conspiracy theories towards LGBTQI+ people

Conspiracy theories are based on the belief that certain secret groups or organisations are plotting and manipulating certain events, circumstances and situations to achieve negative interests (European Commission, 2022). Conspiratorial thinking has very specific characteristics that distinguish it from other digital phenomena, such as: a group of conspirators who intend to cause harm and perceive themselves as victims of persecution (Lewandowsky & Cook, 2020); the belief in the existence of a plan hatched by certain groups or organisations with hidden agendas to achieve political, social and economic benefits (Gallo, 2019); and the claim that nothing happens by chance, everything is connected and individuals and social groups are used as scapegoats (European Commission, 2022).

Furthermore, while conspiracy theories may be thought of as being developed by people predisposed to psychosis, they are quite common (Vega-Dienstmaier, 2020). Even these types of narratives are not always driven by genuinely false beliefs (Lewandowsky & Cook, 2020) but are integrated into people's lives at all levels as a way of interpreting reality (Gallo, 2019) and can be amplified for strategic and political reasons to avoid inconvenient conclusions (Lewandowsky & Cook, 2020).

As for conspiracy theories targeting LGBTQI+ people, they are based on the belief that there is a gay lobby imposing gender ideology, questioning the natural order and indoctrinating minors to spread homosexuality (Salvati et al., 2024). According to Dzuetso Mouafo (2023), the defenders and supporters of this type of conspiracy rely on traditional values to justify discrimination against these people. Furthermore, the author highlights that this type of traditional values defends the existence of only two biological sexes, which is in sharp contrast to the idea of a biopsychosocial gender. The concept of gender has become a key word in the construction and dissemination of "gender ideology", a term used by fundamentalist groups to refer to the gender approach or studies that support progressive policies and measures (Carrera

Walling, 2021), in order to delegitimise feminism and credibility based on emo-tional-sexual diversity. An example of this is the social movement 'Con mis hijos no te metas', which emerged in Lima (Peru) in 2016 as part of a campaign against the gender content of the Ministry of Education's new National Curriculum for Basic Education, which presents homosexuality as a disease, something diabolical, an eter-nal divine punishment or a condition that can be treated and cured (Meneses, 2019). The organisation has also argued that a new world order aims to promote the homo-sexualisation of society and the destabilisation of the traditional family (Duimich & García Gualda, 2020).

2. Objectives

Following the theoretical contextualisation of this research, the objectives to be achieved are described below. The general objective of this research is to study the hate speech and conspiracy theories articulated and disseminated on Twitter against LGBTQI+ people in Spain between 2020 and 2022, in the context of the celebration of International LGBTQI+ Pride Day and the debates prior to the entry into force of the Trans Law (officially called Ley 4/2023, de 28 de febrero, para la igualdad real y efectiva de las personas trans y para la garantía de los derechos de las personas LGTBI - Law 4/2023, of 28 February, for the real and effective equality of trans people and for the guarantee of the rights of LGTBI people, which I will refer to as the Spanish Trans Law).

In order to achieve this general objective, the following specific objectives are proposed:

1.1. To identify the main hashtags used to spread hate speech and conspiracy the-ories against LGBTQI+ people.

1.2. To explore the links between the main hashtags used to spread hate speech and conspiracy theories against LGBTQI+ people.

1.3. To identify the main discursive axes around which hate speech and conspir-acy theories against LGBTQI+ people are articulated and constructed. This can be done by mapping the different typologies of conspiracy and hate narratives, the un-derlying meanings of the discourse and the connections between arguments.

3. Methods and data

3.1 Data collection

Twitter was chosen as the main source of primary data for this article. As part of the project "Conspiracy Theories and Hate Speech Online: Comparison of patterns in narratives and social networks about COVID-19, immigrants and refugees and LGBTI people [NON-CONSPIRA-HATE!]", PID2021-123983OB-I00, funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033/ by FEDER/EU., with the support of the Py-thon programming language and using the twarc2 tool (Summers et al., 2023) and the Academic API v2 of Twitter, Jacinto Mata extracted a dataset of 410,015 organic tweets in Spanish between 2020 and 2022 (LGBTQI+Dataset, 2020-2022), which forms the empirical basis of this article. The extraction of the dataset did not take into account the spread of the message, so only organic tweets were selected and retweets were excluded. The words and hashtags used for the collection followed the

objectives of the aforementioned project and were defined by Estrella Gualda, Francisco Javier Santos Fernández and Jacinto Mata.

In terms of search criteria, the following hashtags and words were used as keywords: "lgtbiq+", "#lgtbiq", "#lgtbq", "lgtbq+", "#lgtb", "#lgtbi", "#orgullogay", "#orgullotrans", "#orgullolgtb", "#orgullolgtbi", "#diadelorgullo", "#transfobia", "#transexuales", "anti-gay", "anti-trans", "ley anti-lgtb", "ley trans" and "anti-ley trans". The aim was to identify both tweets with a global reference to LGBTQI+ people and other messages that referred to speeches with a more positive bias (in line with International LGBTQI+ Pride Day) or a more negative pole or susceptible to public debate (using keywords related to the Spanish Trans Law as a reference). Figure 1 describes the data collection process:

Figure 1. Data collection technical details of the LGBTQI+ dataset 2020-2022

Dataset Name	*LGBTQI+Dataset 2020-2022*
Description	The messages about LGBTQI+ people, the International LGBTQI+ Pride Day and the debates before the Trans Law came into force in Spain.
Dates	2020 – 2022
Dataset size	410,015 organic tweets
Main language	Spanish
Platform	Twitter
Collected through	*twarc2*, Python
Collected by	Jacinto Mata
Project	NON-CONPIRA-HATE! Project, grant PID2021-123983OB-I00

Source: Author, from the *LGBTQI+ Dataset 2020-2022*.

3.2 Data processing and analysis

The first step was to eliminate the search criteria for data collection. Then, several preprocessing and cleaning tasks were performed, such as removing punctuation, stop words (articles, pronouns, prepositions and words that do not provide important information) and URLs (to avoid duplication of speeches, as there were many repeated tweets). Secondly, quanteda in R (Benoit et al., 2018), specifically the quanteda.textplots package, was used to build a semantic network based on the co-occurrence of hashtags.

Subsequently, repeated tweets found in the dataset were removed to avoid some narratives being redundant. Although thousands of hashtags were collected to build the network, a description of the connections between the 50 most frequent hashtags in the dataset was made to synthesise the analysis (for space reasons).

In addition to the co-hashtag network (Figure 2), a classification of the top hashtags, keywords, and tweets in the dataset was also performed using R and tidyverse to better understand the narratives (Wickham et al., 2019).

In turn, the collection of tweets was tagged with an ad hoc codebook specifically designed to detect hate towards LGBTQI+ people and the institutions, celebrities and public figures that support them. This codebook was used to map the main discursive axes of homophobic hatred and conspiratorial thinking circulating on Twitter.

Furthermore, a mixed methods approach was used to analyse the data. Specifically, a quantitative thematic content analysis was conducted by counting hashtags and keywords, complemented by a critical discourse analysis of the tweets to identify underlying meanings and connections between narratives.

Finally, to illustrate the main categories of discursive axes, examples of tweets are included in section 4.2. The tweets were originally distributed in Spanish, so an English translation was made as close as possible to the original meaning. In addition, for privacy and ethical reasons, the nicknames of the Internet users were removed in order to preserve their identity, and the username was replaced by "@User". This makes it impossible to recover the Twitter messages.

4. Results

4.1 Hashtag co-occurrence network in LGBTQI+Dataset 2020-2022

Although the dataset showed a strong polarisation of discourse, with many supporters of LGBTIQ+ people as well as counter-narratives attempting to dismantle homophobia, this article will focus on the negative pole.

The results showed that hate speech and conspiracy theories in the dataset are mainly spread through the hashtags #irenemonterodimision and #stopleytrans, which are two of the most common hashtags identified on Twitter, ranking in the top 50 hashtags. Other hashtags involved in the spread of online homophobia are #stopdeliriotrans, #noleytrans, #vox, #feminismonovotatraidores, #ideologiadegenero, #noalaleytrans, #noleyestrans, #leytranspatriarcal, #noseascomplice, #pedofilia, #leytransesmisoginia y #leytranssonbarbarie.

These hashtags are used as amplification tools for the dissemination, visibility and viralisation of homophobic narratives with a strong and recurring emotional charge and moral grievance, mainly directed against the Spanish Trans Law, the former Minister Irene Montero (the precursor of this law), LGBTIQ+ people in general and the celebration of International LGBTQI+ Pride Day. Figure 2 shows the semantic co-hashtag network of the top 50 hashtags found in the *LGBTQI+ Dataset 2020-2022*.

Figure 2. Semantic co-hashtags network of the top 50 hashtags
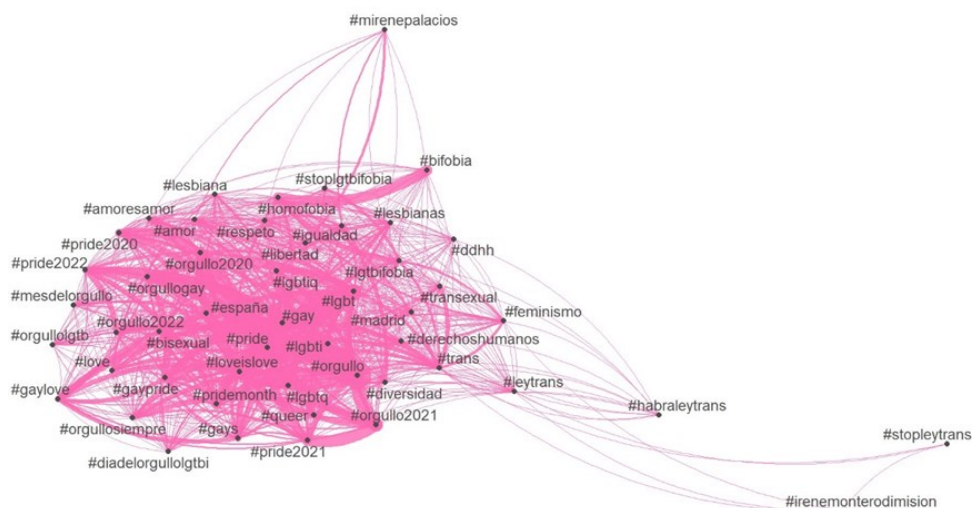
Source: Author, from the *LGBTQI+ Dataset 2020-2022*. Search criteria for the collection of data were deleted before getting the network through *quanteda* in R (Benoit et al., 2018).

To understand and contextualise the reason for the proliferation of these hashtags on Twitter, in 2020 the Ministry of Equality, at the time led by former Minister Irene Montero, proposed the creation of a law that would allow free gender self-determination.

According to Blanco (2022), among the key points of this law are Gender self-determination, which excludes the accreditation of reports, expert tests and medical diagnoses for a person to request an official gender change in the Civil Registry; the depathologisation of trans people; the prohibition of conversion therapy and genital modification surgery for intersex people up to the age of 12; the promotion and development of LGTBQI+ policies; the inclusion of content on emotional, sexual and family diversity in education; the promotion of the social and labour integration of intersex people and the guarantee of their health; the promotion and development of LGTBQI+ policies; the inclusion of content on emotional, sexual and family diversity in all levels of education; the promotion of the social and labour integration of trans people and the guarantee of their comprehensive health care; and the right to filiation for the sons and daughters of female couples. However, the principle of self-determination led to a significant divergence of opinion between political groups on the right and left. There was also a rise in transphobic sentiment on social media platforms.

4.2. Main hate and conspiratorial discourses, narratives and arguments towards LGBTQI+ people

4.2.1. Online hate speech

Several interrelated discursive axes of hate were identified, which are illustrated using tweets extracted from the *LGBTQI+2020-2022 Dataset*, detailed in the methodological section. Table 1 provides a description of the main typologies of homophobic discourse identified in the dataset.

Table 1. Online homophobia: main discursive axes

Type of hate speech	Description
Mental health disorder	Pathologising affective-sexual diversity (claiming or suggesting that LGBTQI+ people have a mental disord
Biology	Scientific discourse that uses biological reductionism to reject and deny the existence of non-binary sexualities.
Heterosexism	The imposition of heterosexuality as the only correct model of human sexuality and the defence of the patriarchal system and traditional gender roles.
Paedophilia	Discourses that associate LGBTQI+ people and the institutions, celebrities and public figures that support them with paedophilia.
Morality	Moral discourses (often religious in nature) that condemn, stigmatise and disapprove of the sexual practices and lifestyles of LGBTQI+ people.
Social cohesion	Discourses that portray affective-sexual diversity as a threat to social and cultural cohesion and order, and reject the body of laws and policies that promote LGBTQI+ inclusion, rights, freedoms and equality.
Damage	Discourse that claims or suggests that LGBTQI+ people deserve harm, suffering or death.

Source: Author, from the LGBTQI+ Dataset 2020-2022.

One of the discourses identified is the pathologisation of sexual orientation and gender identity, with narratives suggesting or affirming that LGBTQI+ people are ill, associating homosexuality, transsexuality and other non-heteronormative affective-sexual diversities with various mental disorders. Some discourses even suggest that LGBTQI+ people are like this because they were systematically sexually abused in childhood, ensuring that they can be cured through conversion therapies.

> "Mental degenerates who put frozen tomatoes up their asses to simulate menstruation. You will be able to define yourself as women with the trans law and you will be able to enter our toilets".

In addition, discourses that appeal to biological reductionism are common, with a strong emphasis on the natural order, genetic determinism and sexual dimorphism of the human species. Indeed, these narratives tend to classify LGBTQI+ people as unnatural and stigmatise them on the basis of their genitality, especially trans women, who become the target of insults such as 'men dressed as women', 'operated men' or 'non-biological women'. There are also recurring arguments that attempt to invalidate and deny gender identity and trans physicality, with mocking and humiliating comments about how trans women perceive themselves, comparing their self-perception to identifying with an animal or object.

> "@User Heterosexuals want women with a vulva, not a penis. The #LGTBI and their satanic brainwashing, let them go to shit, or rather, to hell.".

Another narrative identified is the heterosexist or heteronormative discourse, which manifests itself in attitudes and ideas that favour opposite-sex sexuality. These arguments emphasise the belief that heterosexuality is the valid, natural, superior and 'normal' sexual orientation. There is also a strong rejection of gender expressions or roles that do not conform to patriarchal norms, social codes and cultural models. LGBTQI+ people are even accused of distorting and diluting the traditional gender roles socially ascribed to women and men.

> "I call men dressed as women men dressed as women. If you want to be proud, get a job, do something for your country and stop crying about privileges because of your sexual orientation. Things are the way they are. #Pride2020 #LGTBIPride".

However, the most aggressive, hostile and emotional narratives are those that link paedophilia to LGBTQI+ people and the institutions, celebrities and public figures that support them. In addition, trans people in particular are accused of promoting the sexual abuse of children and trying to make it visible as a sexual orientation, reinforcing the idea that contact with homosexuals and trans people is dangerous for children.

> "Well, you'll see, with the trans Llaw in place, public swimming pools will be the perfect hunting ground for all paedophiles and degenerates".

> "🔵 #Paedophilia and #LGBT: a lot in common.
> Originally, paedophiles were part of the gay community and even marched together for freedoms.
> #NoToPaedophilia #NoTo GenderIdeology".

Moral discourses were also identified on Twitter, often with religious connotations. These narratives are characterised by: (a) Condemnation, stigmatisation, moralisation and disapproval of homoerotic practices, specifically associating gay men and trans women with vice, indecency, sin, perversion and moral degeneration. (b) Perceiving non-normative sexual orientations and gender identities as a threat to the traditional family model, the institution of marriage and Catholic values. (c) Associating LGTBIQ+ people with sexual promiscuity, risky sexual practices, paraphilias and the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV and monkeypox.

> "Depraved bastards and disgusting degenerates, Emilio and all the #LGBT garbage. @User".

Other narratives also claim or imply that LGBTQI+ people are a threat and danger to social and cultural order and cohesion, and that they do not deserve the same rights, freedoms and opportunities as heterosexual people. Similarly, discourses were identified that reject the range of inclusive laws and policies that guarantee real and effective rights and equality for LGBTQI+ people, showing strong opposition to the Spanish Trans Law, which they accuse of being misogynistic and violating the rights of cisgender women.

> "If you are a sane person, you should never support an aberration like the draft trans law. It is nonsense, there is no way to take it seriously and it is probably the most misogynistic law since Gallardon's abortion law".

Finally, particularly virulent and malicious narratives were also identified, expressing that LGBTQI+ people deserve harm, suffering or death.

> "Abortionists, feminazis and movements of social destruction like #LGBTQI+ try to influence the lives of the little ones to create confusion in them. "All MAP paedophiles must be hanged in a square! ".

4.2.2. Conspiracy theories

The analysis of the data revealed that conspiracy thinking is constructed and disseminated through several discursive axes, including the propagation of hate, misinformation, fake news, and negative social representations of LGBTQI+ people. Table 2 illustrates the principal conspiracy theories identified within the dataset.

Table 2. Online homophobia: main conspiracy theories

Type of conspiracy theory	Description
Gender ideology	Believing that LGBTQI+ people promote and plan: (a) gender indoctrination, genital mutilation and hormonal treatments of minors. (b) Heterosexual recruitment and forced integration. (c) The destruction of Catholic values, the traditional family and marriage, cultural models and social cohesion. (d) The creation of an LGBTQI+ "conspiracy" or plot to serve the 2030 Agenda.
Grooming	LGBTQI+ people are accused of promoting paedophilia and the sexualisation of children through sex education, cartoons, literature and inclusive laws. LGBTQI+ lobbies are said to be behind a global child sex trafficking network.
Global pandemics and drug plan	The belief that LGBTQI+ people are spreading (sometimes intentionally) certain diseases such as Monkeypox or Covid-19, claiming

	that these are global pandemics programmed by the 2030 Agenda. It is also claimed that trans laws serve the financial purposes of pharmaceutical companies through hormone treatments.
Replacement of cisgender women	The belief that trans laws aim to replace cisgender women with trans women, perpetuate gender violence and patriarchy, and destabilise feminist movements.

Source: Author, from the LGBTQI+ Dataset 2020-2022.

Firstly, there are recurring discourses that affirm or suggest the existence of a supposed gender ideology created by LGBTQI+ people, based on the following beliefs: (a) The denial of human biology, the imposition of gender, the elimination of sexual differences between women and men, and the transsexualisation of minors through genital mutilation and irreversible hormonal treatments. (b) Indoctrination and recruitment of children and adolescents in schools through affective-sexual education workshops. Narratives claiming that certain multinational leisure and consumer companies such as Disney, Netflix and LEGO recruit heterosexuals through mental manipulation techniques and forced assimilation. (c) Destruction of the Catholic religion, the nuclear family, traditional marriage, social cohesion and cultural models. (d) Creation of a homosexual "conspiracy" at the service of the 2030 Agenda, hatched by LGBTQI+ pressure groups with perverse aims to impose a global tyranny.

"No boy or girl thinks about changing sex.
Unscrupulous adults introduce queer garbage into children's brains, paving the way for the legalization of paedophilia.
That's what the aberrant trans law is about, in addition to the erasure of women.
You are the ultimate culprit, @User
#StopTransLaw".

Secondly, narratives that appeal to 'grooming' (a form of sexual abuse in which an adult contacts a minor, gains their trust and involves them in sexual activity) were identified. This type of discourse accuses LGBTQI+ people of promoting and practising paedophilia and the hypersexualisation of children through sex education in schools, cartoons, children's literature and inclusive policies and laws, with clear references to the Spanish Trans Law, which is accused of being an instrument of corruption of minors. In addition, these narratives claim the alleged existence of a global child sex trafficking network orchestrated by public figures, celebrities, businessmen and high-level politicians who serve the interests of LGBTQI+ pressure groups. Some users even suggest that LGBTQI+ people are more likely to engage in deviant and perverse sexual practices than heterosexuals, and aim to make paedophilia visible and recognised as a sexual orientation.

"🔴 Indoctrination in schools by sex therapists"
👉This is happening in numerous schools in #Madrid and no one says/does anything....
#LGBTI infiltrate schools to teach our children to masturbate or try new experiences".

Another identified form of conspiracy thinking is to point to LGTBIQ+ people as the source of certain global pandemics such as monkeypox, Covid-19 and HIV. Indeed, these narratives emphasise the idea that the source of contagion lies in the massive celebrations of LGTBIQ+ Pride and in gay clubs, pubs and saunas, and associate homosexuality with sexual promiscuity and risky sexual practices. What's

more, in the specific case of monkeypox, messages have been found claiming that the disease is part of a plan hatched by LGTBIQ+ lobbies and that it responds to the economic interests of Agenda 2030. Even the Spanish trans law is repeatedly accused of being the machinery of a plot orchestrated by pharmaceutical companies whose aim is to transsexualise the population in order to make millions from hormone treatments and sex reassignment surgery.

> "Walensky: \"\"Homosexuality brings monkeypox to children. We have seen two cases in children associated with people in the gay community\"\" #Monkeypox #LGBTI]".

And the fourth discursive axis is based on the irrational belief in the theory of female substitution, according to which the Spanish trans law aims: a) To eliminate cisgender women from traditional social spaces in order to replace them with trans women. (b) To distort the social status of women and reduce their biological condition to mere gestational objects in order to satisfy the economic interests of surrogacy and homoparental adoption. (c) To perpetuate patriarchal privilege and gender-based violence. (d) To destabilise feminist movements. (e) To grant privileges to sex offenders who change gender in order to access women's spaces and sexually assault women and girls, and to gain advantages in legal proceedings for gender-based violence.

> "@User @User ""The trans law will make men certify that they are women in order to go to their prisons and abuse them there"".

> "Gender dysphoria is a disorder. The trans law means the elimination of women and our spaces. It doesn't help trans people at all. #TransPatriarchalLaw. What a time to be alive.

5. Discussion & Conclusions

The results revealed interconnected patterns of communication in the spread of hate speech and conspiracy theories towards LGBTQI+ people in Twitter debates.

The intense media debate against the Spanish trans law stands out, with hostile narratives articulated mainly through a recurring transphobic feminist discourse that excludes, pathologises, stigmatises and denies the identities and life stories of trans women (Alegre, 2020). In fact, the results showed a fragmentation of the feminist movement with a strong polarisation of discourse, in this case between the opponents of the law and its supporters, with narratives that direct their hatred towards gender self-determination, which is perceived as a threat to the constitutional guarantees of women's rights and to feminist achievements and milestones. In this sense, an instrumentalisation of gender violence has been observed as a weapon launched against the trans law, accusing it of being misogynistic, patriarchal and of oppressing and eliminating cisgender women from traditional social spaces (Sierra Arzuffi, 2021); denying the biological condition of women and reducing their gender to a feeling or an aesthetic expression (Alonso, 2022); attempting to turn the female body into a mere gestational and sexual object at the service of the economic interests of surrogacy and homoparental adoption; and, more seriously, promoting legal fraud in favour of sexual predators who will use gender self-determination as an alibi to request a change of sex in the civil registry, evade judicial sentences for gender violence,

obtain advantages in quota laws, and enter public female spaces to perpetuate sexual assaults against women and girls.

For its part, conspiracy thinking acts as a tool to amplify transphobic hatred online, demonising trans people and making them scapegoats for all kinds of conspiracies, hoaxes, fake news and misinformation. This discourse is mainly manifested through the theory of gender ideology, a term frequently used by Twitter users with the aim of delegitimising gender studies that support progressive social policies (Carrera Wailling, 2021) and comparing them to false ideologies (Cornejo-Valle & Pichardo, 2017), thus invalidating the demands and dissent of LGBTQI+ movements. Likewise, a moral discourse of fear has been identified, manifested through narratives constructed with pejorative terms and recurrent insults of great moral offensiveness and high emotional charge, which seek to sow hatred, ridicule and harm to trans people, in this case through the instrumentalisation of minors through alarmist discourses linked to the dangers of transsexuality for children. This is because minors are a group that generates a high level of social and moral sensitivity, so that certain groups of haters take advantage of the situation and use them to incite transphobia on social networks, associating trans people with paedophilia, genital mutilation and irreversible hormone treatments in childhood and indoctrination in schools.

Indeed, the hatred and conspiratorial speeches against the Spanish Trans Law show that LGBTQI+ people, but especially trans people, are perceived as a threat to the social and moral cohesion of society (Cornejo Espejo, 2012), perpetuate the belief that they deserve to be hated because they cannot control their sexual desires and impulses (Toro, 2012), invalidate the acceptance and full development of sexual diversity (Jesús Souza, da Silva & Santos, 2015), and generate a biopower that pathologises homosexuality (Andrade Salazar et al., 2016). As a result, LGBTQI+ people are accused of promoting the idea that sex, gender identity and gender roles can be chosen at will, destroying all biological differences between women and men (Dall'Orto, 2016) and generating beliefs and ideas that link these people to alleged homosexual propaganda that recruits heterosexuals to turn them into homosexuals (Tjipto et al., 2019).

Finally, considering the social dimensions, effects and impact of online hate speech and conspiracy thinking on LGBTQI+ people, it is suggested that future lines of research should address counternarratives as a strategy to undermine homophobic hate on social media. These types of discourses are a positive alternative to extremist propaganda by deconstructing and delegitimising it (Tuck & Silverman, 2016), satirising it and undermining its credibility (Jääskeläinen, 2020). Therefore, the intervention of online users is essential to counter hostile discourses that degrade vulnerable social groups (Iganski, 2020; Obermaier, Schmuk, & Saleem, 2023). This will allow for a broader and deeper understanding of the dynamics underlying online hate speech and the potential development of social intervention strategies in fields such as social work, sociology, social psychology, and equality policy.

Acknowledgments

References

Alegre, V. (2020, September 23). Quiénes son las terf y por qué las queremos lejos del feminismo. *Pikara Magazine*. https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2020/09/quienes-las-terf-las-queremos-lejos-del-feminismo/

Alonso, M. (2022, November 2). Por qué la ley trans divide al feminismo. *Elle*. https://www.elle.com/es/living/ocio-cultura/a41775733/ley-trans-feminismo-polemica/

Álvarez-Conde, T., & Rodríguez-Castro, Y. (2017). Evaluación de los conocimientos y actitudes hacia la sexualidad de futuros/as docentes de educación primaria. *Revista De Estudios E Investigación En Psicología Y Educación*, (06), 101–105. https://doi.org/10.17979/reipe.2017.0.06.2332

Andrade Salazar, J. A., Borja Acosta, A. M., Soto Cardona, J. A., & Camelo Osorio, S. P. (2016). Homofobia: Apreciaciones desde tres perspectivas psicológicas. *Revista Jangwa Pana*, 15(1), 13–27. https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=588069586002

Arcópoli. (2021). *Informe de incidentes de odio motivados por LGTBfobia en la comunidad de Madrid*. Observatorio Madrileño contra la homofobia, lesbofobia, transfobia y bifobia https://contraelodio.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Informe-ObsMadLGTBI-2021-compressed-1.pdf

Awan, I., & Zempi, I. (2016). The affinity between online and offline anti-Muslim hate crime: Dynamics and impacts. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 27, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2016.02.001

Benoit, K., Watanabe, K., Wang, H., Nulty, P., Obeng, A., Müller, S., & Matsuo, A. (2018). quanteda: An R package for the quantitative analysis of textual data. *Journal of Open Source Software*, 3(30), 774. https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.00774

Bilewicz, M., & Soral, W. (2020). Hate speech epidemic. the dynamic effects of derogatory language on intergroup relations and political radicalization. *Political Psychology*, 41, 3–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12670

Blanco, U. (2022, December 22). ¿Qué es la "ley trans" en España y cuáles son sus puntos más importantes? *CNN*. Retrieved from https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2022/12/22/espana-ley-trans-orix/

Butler, J. (2007). El género en disputa: el feminismo y la subversión de la identidad. Paidós.

Cabo Isasi, A., & García Juanatey., A. (2017). *El discurso del odio en las redes sociales: Un estado de la cuestión.* Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://www.injuve.es/sites/default/files/2019/02/noticias/el_discurso_del_odio_en_rrss.pdf

Caldero Cuevas, A.M. (2022). Lógicas binarias, heteronormatividad y reduccionismo biológico por debajo de la mesa: Problematización de la disforia de género y el DSM 5. *Revista [IN]Genios, 9(1),* 1–10. https://www.ingeniosupr.com/vol9-1/2022/12/21/lgicas-binarias-heteronormatividad-y-reduccionismo-biolgico-por-debajo-de-la-mesa-proble-matizacin-de-la-disforia-de-gnero-y-el-dsm-5

Campo-Arias, A., Herazo, E., & Oviedo, L. (2015). Homofobia internalizada en hombres homosexuales: Un estudio cualitativo. *Duazary, 12*(2), 140–146. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5156564

Carrera Walling, S. K. (2021). *¿Persuasión o manipulación? Con mis hijos no te metas: análisis crítico de su discurso en Facebook* (Undergraduate thesis). Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima. https://cybertesis.unmsm.edu.pe/handle/20.500.12672/17300

COGAM. (2005). *Homofobia en el Sistema Educativo.* https://docta.ucm.es/rest/api/core/bitstreams/15a977e1-e6d9-4aef-9f30-d922ebc0d669/content

Colonnello, E., Toccini, L., Ciocca, G., Limoncin, E., Moscato, G., Andreoni, M. & Jannini, E. (2020). Attitudes and knowledge towards homosexuality: an observational study on a sample of medical students. *Journal of Sexual Medicine*, *17*(6). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsxm.2020.04.019

Cordero Polanía, M. C. (2018). Tecnologías de género, discurso homofóbico y prácticas de resistencia. *Entornos*, *31*(1), 239–250. https://doi.org/10.25054/01247905.1792

Cornejo Espejo, J. (2012). Componentes ideológicos de la homofobia. *Límite*, *7*(26), 85–106. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/836/83625847006.pdf

Cornejo-Valle, M., & Pichardo Galán, J. I. (2017). La "ideología de género" frente a los derechos sexuales y reproductivos. El escenario español. *Cadernos Pagu*. https://doi.org/10.1590/18094449201700500009

Cruz Sierra, S. (2002). Homofobia y masculinidad. *El Cotidiano*, *18*(113), 8–14. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/325/32511302.pdf

Dall'Orto, G. (2016). The Confusions of Young Gender. *H-Ermes Journal of Communication*, 7, 33–60. https://doi.org/10.1285/i22840753n7p33

de Jesus Souza, E., da Silva, J., & Santos, C. (2015). Homofobia na escola: as representações de educadores/as. *Temas em Psicologia*, *23*(3), 635–647. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/5137/513751492009.pdf

Duimich, L.F., & Garcia Gualda, S. M. (2020). El debate reconocimiento-redistribución en dos casos "políticamente incorrectos": Nueva Soberanía y Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas. *Universidad Nacional de Quilmes. Secretaría de Posgrado; Divulgatio, 5*(13), 155–171. https://doi.org/10.48160/25913530di13.106

Dzuetso Mouafo, V. (2023). The Denial of Homosexual Identity as a Mediator of the Link between Beliefs in a Gay Conspiracy and Hostile Intentions towards LGBTQ People in a Highly Heteronormative Context: The Case of Cameroon. *International Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences*, 13, 29–37. http://dx.doi.org/10.5923/j.ijpbs.20231302.01

European Commission (2022). *Identifying conspiracy theories 10 infographics to counter conspiracy theories.* https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/coronavirus-response/fighting-disinformation/identifying-conspiracy-theories_en

European Institute for Gender Equality (2024). *Glossary and thesaurus*. https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/thesaurus/terms/1133

European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights (FRA) (2009). *Hate Speech and Hate Crimes against LGBT Persons*. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/1226-Factsheet-homophobia-hate-speech-crime_EN.pdf

Frenda, S., Ghanem, B., Montes-Y-Gómez, M., & Rosso, P. (2019). Online Hate Speech against Women: Automatic Identification of Misogyny and Sexism on Twitter. *Journal of Intelligent & Fuzzy Systems*, *36*(5), 4743–4752. https://doi.org/10.3233/JIFS-179023

Gagliardone, I. (2015). *Countering Online Hate Speech—UNESCO.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284157227_Countering_Online_Hate_Speech_-_UNESCO

Gallo, A. M. (2019). Teorías de la conspiración: de la paranoia al genocidio. Estudios Humanísticos. Filología, 41, 217–243. https://doi.org/10.18002/ehf.v0i41.5942

General Policy Recommendation Nº15, March 21 2016, on combating hate speech. European Comission against Racism and Intolerance. https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-combating-hate-speech/16808b5b01

Georgius, Y., Patsantaras, N. & Kamberidou, I. (2018). *Homophobia predictors - a case study in Greece: heterosexual physical education student attitudes towards male and female homosexuality*. *Journal of Physical Education and Sport*, *18*(S2), 1209–1216. https://doi.org/10.7752/jpes.2018.s2180

Ghafoori, B., Caspi, Y., Salgado, C., Allwood, M., Kreither, J., Tejada, J., Hunt, T., Waelde, L., Slobodin, O., Failey, M., Gilberg, P., Larrondo, P., Ramos, N., von Haumeder, A., Nadal, K. (2019). *Global Perspectives on the Trauma of Hate-Based Violence: An International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies Briefing Paper.*

https://istss.org/ISTSS_Main/media/Documents/ISTSS-Global-Perspectives-on-the-Trauma-of-Hate-Based-Violence-Briefing-Paper_1.pdf

Garrido, R. & Morales, Z. (2014). Una aproximación a la Homofobia desde la Psicología. Propuestas de Intervención. *Psicología, Conocimiento y Sociedad, 4*(1), 90–115. http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=475847268005

Hubbard, L. (2020). *Online Hate Crime Report: Challenging online homophobia, biphobia and transphobia.* London: Galop, the LGBT+ anti-violence charity. https://galop.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Online-Crime-2020_0.pdf

Huberty, M. (2015). Can we vote with our tweet? On the perennial difficulty of election forecasting with social media. *International Journal of Forecasting,* 31, 992–1007. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijforecast.2014.08.005

Iganski, P. (2020). Civil courage as a communicative act Countering the harms of hate violence. *Pragmatics and Society*, *11*(2), 316–335. https://doi.org/10.1075/ps.18075.iga

ILGA (2024). Our glossary. https://ilga-europe.org/about-us/who-we-are/glossary/

Jääskeläinen, T. (2020). Countering hate speech through arts and arts education Addressing intersections and policy implications. *Policy Futures in Education, 18*(3), 344–357. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210319848953

Keller, N., & Askanius, T. (2020). Combatting hate and trolling with love and reason? A qualitative analysis of the discursive antagonisms between organized hate speech and counterspeech online. *Studies in Communication and Media, 9*(4), 540–572. https://doi.org/10.5771/2192-4007-2020-4-540

Keum, B.T., & Miller, M.J. (2018) Racism on the Internet: Conceptualization and recommendations for research. *Psychology of Violence, 8*(6): 782–791. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000201

Kilvington, D. (2021). The virtual stages of hate: Using Goffman´s work to conceptualise the motivations for online hate. *Media, Culture & Society*, *43*(2): 256–272. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0163443720972318

Kwak H.W., Kim, M.Y., & Kim, M.Y. (2019). Severity and Influencing Factors of Homophobia in Korean Nursing Students. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *16*(23). https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16234692

Lee, J.I., Yen, C.F., Hsiao, R. C., & Hu, H.-F. (2019). Relationships of homophobic bullying during childhood and adolescence with problematic internet and smartphone use in early adulthood among sexual minority men in Taiwan. *Archives of Clinical Psychiatry*, *46*(4), 97–102. https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-60830000000203

Ley 4/2023, de 28 de febrero, para la igualdad real y efectiva de las personas trans y para la garantía de los derechos de las personas LGTBI. Boletín Oficial del Estado, n. 51, Ministerio de la Presidencia, Justicia y Relaciones con las Cortes, España, pp. 2023–5366. https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2023-5366

Lewandowsky, S. y Cook, J. (2020). *Guía Para las Teorías de la Conspiración*. http://sks.to/conspiracy

Lozano, I. (2009). El significado de homosexualidad en jóvenes de la ciudad de México. *Enseñanza e Investigación en Psicología*, *14*(1), 153–168. https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=29214111

Meneses, D. (2019). Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas: un estudio de discurso y poder en un grupo de Facebook peruano opuesto a la «ideología de género». *Anthropologica*, *37*(42), 129–154. https://dx.doi.org/10.18800/anthropologica.201901.006

Miró-Llinares, F. (2016). Taxonomía de la comunicación violenta y el discurso de odio en internet., *IDP: Revista d'Internet, Dret i Política*, 22, 82–107. https://doi.org/10.7238/idp.v0i22.2975

Müller, K., & Schwarz, C. (2020). Fanning the flame of hate: Social Media and Hate Crime. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *19*(4), 2131–2167. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeea/jvaa045

Munn, L. (2020). Angry by design: toxic communication and technical architectures. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 7, 53. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00550-7

Muñoz Rubio, J. (2012). La ciencia hegemónica contemporánea y la homofobia. In Homofobia: Laberinto de la ignorancia. Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, UNAM. https://ru.ceiich.unam.mx/handle/123456789/3200

Nieto-Gutierrez, W., Komori-Pariona, J. K., Sánchez, A. G., Centeno-Leguía, D., Arestegui-Sánchez, L., Katherine M. De La Torre-Rojas, Niño-Garcia, R., Mendoza-Aucaruri, L., Mejia, C. R., & Quiñones-Laveriano, D. M. (2019). Factores asociados a la homofobia en estudiantes de Medicina de once universidades peruanas. *Revista Colombiana de Psiquiatría*, *48*(4), 208–214. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rcp.2018.01.003

Nyman, H., & Provozin, A. (2019). *The Harmful Effects of Online and Offline Anti LGBTI Hate Speech* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Linnaeus University, Sweden. https://lnu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1355445/FULLTEXT02.pdf

Obermaier, M., Schmuck, D., y Saleem, M. (2023). I'll be there for you? Effects of Islamophobic online hate speech and counter speech on Muslim in-group bystanders' intention to intervene. Media & Society, *25*(9), 2339–2358. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211017527

Olmos, A., Rubio, M., Lastres, N., & Martín, P. (2020). *Jóvenes, redes sociales virtuales y nuevas lógicas de funcionamiento del racismo: Etnografía virtual sobre representaciones y discursos de alteridad e identidad.* Centro Reina Sofía Sobre Adolescencia y Juventud, Fad. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3666178

Paschalides, D., Stephanidis, D., Andreou, A., Orphanou, K., Pallis, G., Dikaiakos, M. D., & Markatos, E. (2020). MANDOLA: A big-data processing and visualization platform for monitoring and detecting online hate speech. *ACM Transactions on Internet Technology*, *20*(2). https://doi.org/10.1145/3371276

Pichardo Galan, J.I., de Stéfano Barbero, M., Faure, L., Sáenz, M., & Williams Ramos, J. (2015). Abrazar la diversidad: propuestas para una educación libre de acoso homofóbico y transfóbico. Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de Oportunidades, Madrid, España. https://www.inmujeres.gob.es/actualidad/NovedadesNuevas/docs/2015/Abrazar_la_diversidad.pdf

PNUD/PGA (2017). Promoviendo los Derechos Humanos y la Inclusión de las Personas LGBTI: un Manual para los Parlamentarios y las Parlamentarias. https://www.pgaction.org/inclusion/pdf/handbook/es.pdf

Resolution 2012/2657(RSP), May 24, on the fight against homophobia in Europe. European Parliament. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-7-2012-0222_EN.html

Rich, A. (1996). Heterosexualidad obligatoria y existencia lesbiana. *DUODA: estudis de la diferència sexual*, 10, 15-48. https://raco.cat/index.php/DUODA/article/view/62008

Salvati, M., Pellegrini, V., De Cristofaro, V., & Giacomantonio, M. (2024). What is hiding behind the rainbow plot? The gender ideology and LGBTQ+ lobby conspiracies (GILC) scale. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 63, 295–318. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12678

Sierra Arzuffi, A. (17th of may, 2021). ¿Qué significa TERF y quiénes son terfs?. *Homosensual*. https://www.homosensual.com/lgbt/trans/que-significa-terf-y-quienes-son-terfs

Sorokowski, P., Kowal, M., Zdybek, P., & Oleszkiewicz, A. (2020). Are online haters psychopaths? Psychological predictors of online hating behavior. *Frontiers in Psychology,* 11. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00553

Ştefăniţă, O., Buf, D. (2021). Hate speech in social media and its effects on the lgbt community: A review of the current research1. *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, *23*(1), 47–55. https://doi.org/10.21018/rjcpr.2021.1.322

Summers, E., Brigadir, I., Hames, S., Van Kemenade, H., Binkley, P., tinafigueroa., Ruest, N., Walmir., Chudnov, D., Thiel, D., Betsy., Chartier, R., Celeste, Lin, H., Alice., Chosak, A., Lenz, M., Miles McCain, R., Milligan, I., Segerberg, A., Shahrokhian, D., Walsh, M., Lausen, L., Woodward, N., Eggplants., Ramaswami, A., Nguyen, B., Hereñú, D., Milajevs, D., & Elwert, F. (2023). DocNow/twarc (v2.14.0). https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7799050

Tjipto, S., Mayawati, E. H., & Bernardo, A. B. (2019). Percieved Threat of Homosexuals in Indonesia: Construct, Measurement, and Correlates. *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia*, *23*(2), 181–193. https://doi.org/10.7454/hubs.asia.1111219

Toro, J. (2012). El Estado Actual de la Investigación Sobre la Discriminación Sexual. *Terapia Psicológica*, *30*(2), 71–76. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-48082012000200007

Tuck, H. y Silverman, T. (2016). *The counter-narrative handbook*. Institute for Strategic Dialogue. https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Counter-narrative-Handbook_1.pdf

United Nations (n.d). *Understanding hate speech. Hate speech versus freedom of speech.* https://www.un.org/es/hate-speech/understanding-hate-speech/hate-speech-versus-freedom-of-speech

Vega-Dienstmaier, J. (2020). Teorías de conspiración y desinformación en torno a la epidemia de la COVID-19. *Revista de neuro-psiquiatría*, 83, 135–137. https://doi.org/10.20453/rnp.v83i3.3792

Wickham, H., Averick, M., Bryan, J., Chang, W., McGowan, L.D., François, R., Grolemund, G., Hayes, A., Henry, L., Hester. J., Kuhn, M., Pedersen, T.L., Miller, E., Bache, S.M., Müller, K., Ooms, J., Robinson, D., Seidel, D.P., Spinu, V., Takahashi, K., Vaughan, D., Wilke, C., Woo, K., & Yutani, H. (2019). Welcome to the tidyverse. *Journal of Open Source Software*, *4*(43), 1686. https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.01686

Wittig, M. (1992). *El pensamiento heterosexual y otros ensayos*. Beacon Press.