

# She's Such a Bitch!

## The Representation of Women as Bitches in Gender-Based Violence Campaigns<sup>1</sup>

¡Menuda perra!

La representación de las mujeres como perras en campañas de violencia de género

IRENE LÓPEZ-RODRÍGUEZ

### Author / Autora:

Irene López-Rodríguez  
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, España  
[irlope05@ucm.es](mailto:irlope05@ucm.es)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8644-9815>

Submitted / Recibido: 05/05/2024

Accepted / Aceptado: 20/10/2024

### To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:

López-Rodríguez, I. (2025). She's Such a Bitch! The Representation of Women as Bitches in Gender-Based Violence Campaigns. *Feminismo/s*, 45, 234-264. <https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2025.45.09>

### Licence / Licencia:

Este trabajo se comparte bajo la licencia de Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual 4.0 Internacional de Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0): <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>.



© 2025 Irene López-Rodríguez

### Abstract

This paper examines the representation of women as «bitches» in gender-based violence campaigns. It analyzes a purpose-built corpus consisting of 22 campaigns from 17 countries dated from 1999 to 2023 that represent women as «bitches». Many of these campaigns have been financed by general and state governments; others, by non-governmental organizations or associations in defense of children. Some campaigns have been created on the internet; others are based on the lyrics of popular songs and even on street graffiti. Some take the form of posters, television and radio commercials and even documentaries. They constitute, therefore, a wide and diverse repertoire of gender-based violence campaigns. The project considers the linguistic, visual and acoustic representations of women as bitches given that several campaigns juxtapose photographs of battered women and real female dogs, characterize women as literal bitches by portraying them kneeling and with

---

1. This article is dedicated to my daughter, Helena. Thanks for being in my life.

a leash around their necks held by a man and evoke the canine image through word play and onomatopoeia. The study employs the metaphor identification procedure for the spotting and coding of the metaphoric «bitch». Through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the paper shows that gender-based violence campaigns resort to «bitch» to illustrate how this commonplace slur contributes to the dehumanization, objectification, sexualization and belittlement of women. It also shows that, despite the cultural and linguistic differences of the countries where the campaigns have been produced (Spain, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, China, the UK, Canada, the USA, Australia, France, Lebanon, Italy, Norway, Denmark, etc.), «bitch» is at the core of gender-based violence. The article, ultimately, demonstrates the close link between «bitch» and (the language of) gender-based violence.

**Keywords:** bitch; dehumanization; metaphor; gender-based violence; gender-based violence campaigns; misogyny; women representation; conceptual metaphor theory.

## Resumen

Este trabajo examina la representación de las mujeres como «perras»<sup>2</sup> en campañas de violencia de género. Analiza un corpus compilado para este fin compuesto por 22 campañas datadas de 1999 a 2023 procedentes de 17 países en las que las mujeres aparecen representadas como una «perra». Muchas de estas campañas han sido financiadas por gobiernos nacionales o autonómicos; otras, por organizaciones no gubernamentales o en defensa de la infancia. Algunas campañas han nacido en internet, a raíz de letras de canciones e incluso en murales callejeros. Constituyen, por tanto, un amplio repertorio de campañas de diversa naturaleza e impacto mediático. Algunas se han creado en formato póster mientras que otras se han producido como anuncios en radio o televisión e incluso en documentales cortos. Constituyen, por lo tanto, un amplio y diverso repertorio de campañas de violencia de género. El proyecto tiene en cuenta la representación lingüística, visual y acústica de las mujeres como perras dado que varias campañas yuxtaponen fotografías de mujeres maltratadas con perras animales, caracterizan a las mujeres como perras literales al presentarlas arrodilladas y con una correa alrededor de su cuello que sujeta un hombre e incluso evocan la imagen canina de la mujer por medio de juegos de palabras y onomatopeyas. El estudio utiliza el Procedimiento de Identificación de Metáfora para la identificación y codificación de la metáfora «perra». A través de la lente de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual, el artículo demuestra que las campañas de violencia de género recurren a «perra» para ilustrar cómo este insulto tan corriente contribuye a la deshumanización,

---

2. The literal translation of English «bitch» is Spanish «perra». However, the senses conveyed through the metaphoric «bitch» are closer to Spanish «zorra» (i.e., vixen).

cosificación, sexualización y denigración de las mujeres. Asimismo, el estudio revela que, a pesar de las diferencias culturales y lingüísticas de los diferentes países donde se han producido las campañas de violencia de género (España, México, Colombia, China, Reino Unido, Canadá, Estados Unidos, Perú, Australia, Francia, Líbano, Italia, Noruega, Dinamarca, etc.), «perra» constituye el eje central de la violencia de género. El estudio demuestra, ante todo, la íntima relación que existe entre «perra» y (el discurso de) la violencia de género.

**Palabras clave:** perra; deshumanización; metáfora; violencia de género; campañas sobre violencia de género; misoginia; representación de las mujeres; teoría de la metáfora conceptual.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In Denmark in 2009, the organization Children Exposed to Violence at Home launched «Hit the Bitch!». The gender-based violence campaign featured a videogame where the player must smack a woman (i.e., «the bitch») using either a mouse or his own hand if he has a webcam. The harder the woman gets hit; the more points are scored. At the top, a counter keeps track of the player's performance, who starts out as 100% *Pussy*—another negative animal metaphor with a female referent—and 0% *Gangsta*—a term that signals membership<sup>3</sup>. The Gangsta rating goes up every single time the player hits the woman. When the player reaches 100% and the woman has been brutally beaten, the word *idiot*—in capital letters—appears on the screen as a put-down. Despite its highly controversial nature on turning the social scourge of violence against women into a ludic videogame (Pagel, 2010; Sharp, 2009), the Danish campaign reproduced one of the most frequent slurs hurled at women, namely, «bitch» (Kleinman et al., 2009; Lacalle et al., 2024).

Figuratively applied to a nasty, manipulative, and bossy woman, to a promiscuous, lewd woman, and even to a sex worker (Hughes, 2006), «bitch» is a gendered metaphor (Kleinman et al., 2009; López-Rodríguez, 2009). It transmits stereotypical notions of femininity that help sustain male dominance in society (López Maestre, 2020; Shokhym et al., 2022). Probably

---

3. Literally a cat, the word «pussy» metaphorically refers to the vulva. The furry animal is also used derogatively to the female partner in sexual intercourse. When applied to a man, the feline metaphor denotes weak or cowardly (López-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 85).

the most common term of opprobrium for a woman (Ghosh, 2021), «bitch» permeates misogynous discourses, such as political, sports, mass and social media, and popular culture.

The metaphorical «bitch» figures prominently in the political arena. Female politicians are constantly derided and discredited through comparisons with dogs. Former US president Donald Trump vilified Hillary Clinton as «a bitch» with the slogan «Trump that Bitch» during his 2016 campaign (Erichsen et al., 2020). He also referred to German Chancellor Angela Merkel as «that bitch» when she publicly criticized his refusal to accept the results of the 2020 presidential election (Gallagher, 2022, p. 1). Canadian foreign minister Peter MacKay made a canine remark when describing liberal member of parliament Belinda Stronach as «an ugly dog» and «a bitch» after she left the Conservative party and her husband (Kassam, 2018). Brazilian congressman Eduardo Bolsonaro, son of far-right president Jair Bolsonaro, further elaborated on dog imagery on describing feminists as «bitches who eat dog food from a bowl» (Menezes, 2019). The Philippines ex-president Rodrigo Duterte used the same faunistic invective to ridicule those women attending an event for National Women's Month: «all those loud bitches are good for nothing» (Ellis-Petersen, 2019, p. 1).

In the sports world, «bitch» is always at hand to denigrate or to praise female athletes. Romanian coach Ilie Nastase called Keothavong and Konta «fucking bitches» for not living up to his expectations at a tennis tournament (Ostlere, 2017, p. 2). Serena Williams also referred to Maria Sharapova as «little bitch» after losing to her in 2004 (Mitchell, 2019). The US press baptized the Norwegian women's soccer team as «The Viking Bitches» after the US's defeat in 2021 (Yang & Linegan, 2021) whereas British cyclist Shane Sutton spoke of his colleague Jess Varnish in terms of a «terrific bitch» when describing her magnificent performance («Shane Shutton», 2017).

«Bitch» has been documented in mass and social media. It is ingrained in on-line communities of the so-called *manosphere* to address women on sites such as X (formerly Twitter), Reddit or Facebook (Hopton & Langer, 2022; Lacalle et al., 2024; Tranchese & Sugiura, 2021). Dating websites such as OkCupid or Plenty of Fish similarly show how male users tend to refer to their (potential) female matches as «bitches» when faced by silence and rejection or to express their sexual entitlement: «Why don't you talk to me,

bitch!» or «Bitch, I said hi!» (Shaw, 2016). (Sexual) frustration and (personal) dissatisfaction are likewise channeled through «bitch» in the incels universe (Melo, 2023; Tranchese & Sugiura, 2021). Posts like «those are retarded bitches» or «those stuck-up bitches are only good for fucking» can be read on the Incels.me Forum (Jaki et al., 2019).

Popular culture provides a wide repertoire of the symbolic transformation of women into «bitches». The titles of popular songs—«Smack My Bitch Up» (The Prodigy, 1997), «Sexy Bitch» (David Guetta, 2009), «Work Bitch» (Britney Spears, 2013)—, television series—*Bitches* (2004-2005) and *Imaginary Bitches* (2008-2009) —, books—*The Self-Help Book for Bitches* (Cassidy, 2019), *Why Men like Bitches* (Argov, 2004)—and comics—*Bitch Planet* (DeConnick & De Landro, 2014)—bear witness to the common identification of women with «bitches». Numerous businesses have also been named after this animal (e.g.: Food Bitch, Style Bitch, or Fashion Bitch) whereas others have appropriated the label «bitch» to market a wide array of services and products (Landers, 2015).

Finally, the language of the male abuser is usually articulated around «bitch» imagery. Newspaper articles mirror the recurrence of this slur when reporting on gender-based violence (López-Rodríguez, 2023; Sampert, 2001). Australian Desmond Campbell called his fiancée «a fat, ugly, dumb bitch» before throwing her down a cliff (Jacobsen, 2007). In Canada, Richard Mantha repeatedly addressed his date as «bitch» while raping her (Grant, 2024). In the UK, Dean Frame shouted «bitch» at his girlfriend before attacking her (Dunfermline, 2019). Health-care providers similarly document «bitch» as part of the abusive behavior of batterers (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997) and of the traumatic experiences of female victims (Beiras et al., 2015): «What do you think you're doing out there, bitch?» (Lawless, 2001, p. 11) or «If he said I was a bitch, I believed I was a bitch» (Smith et al., 1999). Police officers and other professionals working with battered women in the judicial system are likewise familiar with «bitch» in cases of gender-based violence (Cook, 1999; Novak, 2012).

It appears, then, that «bitch» has become ubiquitous, permeating politics, sports, the entertainment industry, mass, and social media as well as popular culture. Due to its pervasiveness, its derogatory meanings and pernicious effects on the intended female target may go unnoticed, for the

slur has become internalized; in other words, it has become part and parcel of (unconscious) everyday misogynistic practices (Bearman et al., 2009). As a matter of fact, as Kleinman asserts, «[b]itch is everywhere, so people have become desensitized to its harms» (Kleinman et al., 2009, p. 64). The fact that the previously mentioned Danish campaign represented a woman victim of gender-based violence as a «bitch» might be indicative of the (ab) use of this canine metaphor.

## 2. OBJECTIVES

Although research has focused on different strategies used by gender-based violence campaigns to raise awareness of and eradicate this social scourge (Robb-Jackson & Campbell, 2022), no study, to date, has analyzed their employment of «bitch» imagery in the representation of women. To fill this void, this paper aims to analyze the metaphoric «bitch» in gender-based violence campaigns. It analyzes a purpose-built corpus consisting of 22 campaigns from 17 countries dated from 1999 to 2023 (inclusive) that portray female victims as «bitches». The dates selected reflect the beginning and end of this research project, whose point of departure was the well-known Peruvian campaign «Perrahabl@» [Bitch@Speech] (Garzón, 2005). Devised by Gender Studies Professor Natalia Iguíñiz Boggio, «Perrahabl@» literally covered the main streets of Lima with posters that, echoing popular parlance, showed the common identification of women with «perras» (i.e., «bitches») to stigmatize their sexuality, choice in relationships and even clothing (Mayordomo, 2021). «Perrahabl@», thus, served as a springboard to further investigate whether other campaigns worldwide also recurred to «perra»—or its English equivalent «bitch»—to highlight and condemn violence against women. In addition, the search for campaigns took place between 2021 and 2023, when funding for this project was obtained<sup>4</sup>.

The study employs the metaphor identification procedure (MIP [Pragglejazz Group, 2007]) for the identification and coding of the metaphors. Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the methodological framework, which underscores the pivotal role played by metaphor in both

---

4. Funding for this project was obtained through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Research grant number 756-2023-0001).

cognition and action (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Mussolf, 2012; Semino et al., 2018), the paper studies the ideological implications conveyed through the figurative «bitch». The project, then, seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What cultural values and ideologies are conveyed through the representation of women as «bitches» in gender-based violence campaigns?
2. To what extent do these campaigns reproduce well-entrenched misogynous discourses articulated around canine imagery?

The paper begins with an overview of the origins and meanings of the metaphor «bitch». A brief history of the term is followed by a summary of studies that highlight the practical consequences of describing humans in animal terms. The next section focuses on the methodology used to compile the corpus. After explaining the different steps involved in the Metaphor Identification Procedure, the results are shown in a chart that lists gender-based violence campaigns according to their production date and country of origin. Drawing from research on metaphor, gender, psychology and sociology, the article then discusses the use(s) and meaning(s) of «bitch» in these gender-based violence campaigns. Finally, some conclusions are drawn regarding the (ab)use of bitch metaphors in gender-based violence campaigns, particularly in relation to long-established misogynous discourses in society that label women as bitches.

### 3. BITCH: A GENDERED METAPHOR

Strictly speaking, the word «bitch» refers to the female of the dog or of some other carnivorous mammals (Oxford English Dictionary [O.E.D.]). The term, however, has undergone semantic change, expanding its literal animal meaning. Through metaphor, today «bitch» can be applied to a) a malicious, spiteful, or overbearing woman, b) an outspoken, powerful woman, c) a lewd, promiscuous woman, d) a female sex worker, e) something that is extremely difficult or unpleasant, f) a complaint, g) a non-heteronormative man and h) a sexually dominated man (Kleinman et al., 2009; Sutton, 1995). Despite its multiple apparently unrelated senses, «there's no doubt that the word [bitch] has a female referent and a non-human one» (Kleinman et al., 2009,

p. 47). From the outset, then, the metaphorical meanings of «bitch» need to be understood in relation to its feminine origin.

Etymologically, «bitch» seems to have its roots in Old English «bice», that is, female dog (O. E. D.). The first shift in meaning from beast to human must have taken place circa 1400 AD, when, presumably motivated by the sexual behavior of dogs, «bitch» was used to describe a lewd, promiscuous woman, a prostitute (Hughes, 2006; Stollznow, 2024). Similar to contemporary usage, then, calling a woman «a bitch» was an insult. This offensive use also occurred through its associations with female power. Before the advent of Christianity in England, the Anglo-Saxons worshipped different deities, including female ones. One was Freyja, from Viking mythology; another one was Artemis/Diana from the Greek and Roman lore. Freyja was linked to fertility and love affairs. She was well-known for her multiple amorous relationships with gods, giants, elves, and dwarfs. Artemis/Diana was the goddess of chastity and of the hunt. She was often portrayed in the company of dogs—and even as a dog herself. The imposition of Christian beliefs went hand in hand with the erasure of paganism and of the sacred feminine (Caputi 2004). The patriarchal and puritan dogma of Christianity entailed the condemnation of (female) sexuality and power. Freyja's sexual conduct, thus, was compared to a dog in heat, and the goddess started to be seen as a bitch. As for Artemis/Diana, their followers were called «sons of a bitch», a derogatory expression meant to brand them as non-Christians.

«Bitch» as a slur denoting a libidinous woman continued through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The term gained popularity during the suffragette movement, when it acquired the senses of annoying and belligerent disparagingly applied to women's right activists (Ghosh, 2021). Contemporary society has witnessed the re-appropriation of «bitch», particularly in popular culture (Wurtzel, 1998), so that the zoomorphic metaphor can connote a strong, powerful, outspoken female. It can also express solidarity and endearment among women (Nuun, 2015; Triska, 2013).

A diachronic approach to «bitch» shows that this is a gendered metaphor, for it contributes to the transmission and perpetuation of patriarchal beliefs (Kleinman et al., 2009; Reuter, 2007; Shokym et al., 2022). Based on the image of a domestic animal, «bitch» somehow aligns with the stereotype of domestic womanhood (López-Rodríguez, 2009). In fact, its senses of spiteful



and bossy discredit powerful and assertive women, for they deviate from this canon of the submissive feminine. Besides, given that dogs are mainly reared to keep company and entertainment, the figurative «bitch» serves to reduce women to the category of (sexual) playthings. Loaded with stereotypical concepts of femininity, gendered metaphors like «bitch» contribute to shaping sexist attitudes towards women (López Maestre, 2020). They ultimately influence the way people think about and behave towards women.

The figurative female dog has served to undermine the power of women and to chastise female sexuality. Its sexist origins are still latent in its degrading emasculating effect on using the metaphor to describe a male as weak, cowardly, and effeminate (Kleinman et al., 2009, p. 53). Besides, in the argot of prisoners, «bitch» refers to the man who is sexually dominated (Sabo et al., 2001, p. 9) whereas in gay slang it describes an obnoxious man, a man who complains a lot and even a male prostitute (Hughes, 2006).

«Bitch» can also be used as a generic noun to denote something difficult, unpleasant, or upsetting, like in «life's a bitch» or «that test was a bitch» (*O.E.D.*). Despite this apparently neutral referent, this sense seems to draw on the figurative meaning of «bitch» as a pejorative term for women (Kleinman et al., 2019, p. 51). Hence, although subtle, the negative feminine substrate is still present in this usage.

The metaphor «bitch» is also pejorative in other languages. Its Spanish equivalent «perra», for example, can figuratively refer to a) a nasty woman, b) a libidinous woman, c) a prostitute, d) a tantrum, e) an obsessive, recurrent topic, f) money, g) drunkenness, and h) a joke (*R.A.E.*). Polish «suka» refers to a) a sexually attractive woman, b) a promiscuous woman, c) a contemptible person—usually but not necessarily female, and d) a snitch (Chamizo & Zawilawska, 2006, p. 146). The meanings of Italian «cagna» include a) female dog and b) female sex worker (*Collins*) whereas in Danish «tæve» has the senses of a) female dog, b) spiteful woman, and c) slut (*The Danish Dictionary*). A cross-linguistic analysis of «bitch» also demonstrates that this metaphor is imbued with patriarchal ideology. The female dog figuratively objectifies and sexualizes women in different languages.

#### 4. ANIMAL METAPHORS LIKE *BITCH* AS PART (OF DISCOURSES) OF VIOLENCE

Metaphors —like «bitch»— are not divorced from the world of people's perceptions and conceptions, but, rather, firmly rooted in it. Metaphors, indeed, allow individuals to express a picture of reality and to make sense of selves and experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Cognitive mechanisms that convey abstract or complex ideas in terms of more concrete, bodily ones (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphors call forth a likeness between entities that are essentially different (Semino et al., 2018). As carriers of conceptual meanings, cultural values, and ideologies (Mussolf, 2012), then, metaphors provide mental frameworks to apprehend reality (Semino et al., 2018). They can, therefore, force individuals to see something through a specific lens, often leading to a distorted vision of reality that may make people believe in and commit to certain actions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 67; Hawkins, 2001). With time and repeated exposure, people become familiar with metaphors to such an extent that they become non-conscious (Bock & Burkley, 2019, p. 263). Hence, although their original intent may no longer be discerned, metaphors, nonetheless, convey ideologies and cultural values that can be detrimental to a specific community or social group (López-Rodríguez, 2009).

Different metaphorical framings are conducive to different ways of thinking about and acting towards the subject presented (Semino et al., 2018). Framing a person's cancer situation as a war instead of a journey has been proven to have detrimental effects on the patient, who is more likely to develop negative emotions such as low self-esteem and guilt if recovery does not take place (Hendricks et al., 2018). When workers' strike is presented as a dance as opposed to a battle, participants show more positive beliefs and attitudes, and willingness to negotiate (Robin & Mayer, 2000). The perception of romantic relationships in terms of a unity rather than as a journey has been linked to increased feelings of loss and emotional pain during a break-up (Lee & Schwarz, 2014). People express more admiration for scientists when their discoveries are framed as light bulbs that brighten than as seeds that grow (Elmore & Luna-Lucero, 2016).

Seeing a woman as a «bitch», first and foremost, implies her dehumanization—which has been linked to the promotion of negative attitudes and even violent behaviors (Goldernberg et al., 2009; Haslam et al., 2011; Kteily & Landry, 2022). Secondly, her animalization is embedded within a hierarchical structure—The Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Rigato & Minelli, 2013)—in which people are placed above animals due to the ideology of human superiority to beasts (Goatly, 2006). The identification of people with animals entails a degradation in the status of humans since the former are attributed with the instinctual and brutal qualities of the latter. Most animal metaphors describe contemptuous human characteristics and behavior (Haslam et al., 2011; Waśniewska, 2018). Calling someone «a pig», «a rat», «an ape», «a whale», or «a leech» carries a derogatory meaning (Baider & Gesuato, 2003) and a strong emotional and moral charge (Lacalle et al., 2024). Similarly, the label «bitch» not only transmits pejorative views regarding the sexuality and personality of a woman, but the slur also activates intense negative sentiments that are deeply ingrained in the collective imagination (Asbury, 2006).

Animal metaphors are generally offensive. As such, they often articulate «hate speech» (Enock & Over, 2023), which conveys animosity or disparagement of an individual or group on account of distinct characteristics such as race, ethnicity, origin, religion, disability, sexual orientation, political beliefs, or gender. Falling into the scope of the language of aggression, figurative fauna not only expresses hatred, but it also fosters violence towards the target group (Andrighetto et al., 2016). Likening blacks to apes has traditionally been used to justify racial segregation and to condone police violence against them (Goff et al., 2008). The depiction of immigrants as beasts of burden has led to their exploitation in labor (Taylor, 2021) and to the implementation of stricter migratory laws and border controls (Mujagić & Berverović, 2019). Casting homosexual men as predatory animals has resulted in their prosecution and incarceration (Mora, 2019). The understanding of women as preys has materialized into the incitement and legitimization of sexual abuse and rape (Bock & Burkley, 2019; Shanbazi et al., 2023). Using images of rodents to characterize Jews has promoted antisemitism and the annihilation of this religious community (Bock & Burkley, 2019). The representation of the poor as stray animals and vermin has exacerbated their social exclusion;

even prompting attacks against homeless people (Andrighetto et al., 2016). Framing sex workers as «bitches» has been associated with their (sexual) exploitation as well as with ostracism from state-run institutions and public policies (Crago, 2014; Rudman, 2012).

Holding a prominent place in the intersection of the normative and the marginal, animal metaphors are always at hand to attack—verbally, physically, institutionally—individuals or groups that do not conform to the established norm. The identification of people with animals helps in the expression and perpetuation of collective evaluations about their role in society (López-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 80). On drawing social boundaries, animal metaphors pigeonhole people into the normative binary set of «the Self»—the white heterosexual male—and «the Other»—all those who do not fall into the Self category (Coviello & Borgerson, 2004). Metaphors like «bitch», then, have this social function of marking and excluding women who do not conform to the feminine ideal forged by the patriarchy.

## 5. METHOD

### 5.1. Corpus

Data for this study were collected through the google search using a combination of English and Spanish key words relevant to the research questions with a focus on the metaphorical «bitch» in gender-based violence campaigns. The terms selected were «bitch»/ «perra» and «gender-based violence campaign»/ «campana de violencia de género». As a result, a total of 22 campaigns from 16 countries were retrieved. As such these campaigns were produced in different languages, namely, English, Spanish, French, and Italian.

The campaigns gathered come from a wide variety of sources that include (non-) governmental organizations—national and regional governments, health administrations, public transportation services, police departments, women's, animals' and children's associations—commercials of brands like Dove, Wiggles or Maybelline, individual researchers, artists, and activists, projects based on internet dating sites and applications, as well as on dictionary definitions and popular music. The format of these campaigns is also varied: posters with(out) illustrations, videos, television and radio

commercials, billboards, short documentaries, leaflets, banners and slogans. In addition, while some of these campaigns achieved worldwide dissemination (e.g.: «Hit the Bitch» or «Dear Daddy»), the circulation of others was limited within a specific geographical location (e.g.: «Ça suffit» in France and «Flip the Bitch Switch» in New Zealand).

Despite the eclectic nature of the corpus, the project attempts to shed some light onto the uses and functions of the metaphor «bitch» in gender-based violence campaigns. That is why the only criterion used when compiling the corpus was the employment of «bitch» in any campaign aimed at raising awareness of violence against women

«Bitch» was used as a unit of analysis to code the campaigns. This was done by applying the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), which consists of three steps: 1) read the entire text-discourse to get the general understanding of the meaning, 2) decide if each lexical unit in the text has a more basic, concrete or historically older meaning in other contexts than in the given one, and 3) if so, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. The resulting corpus was comprised of 20 metaphorical tokens, as seen in the table below:

Table 1. Gender-based violence campaigns that use «bitch» for women

Campaign	Country	Date	Funding organizations of the campaign	Source
Perrahabl@ [BitchSpeech]	Peru	1999	Peruvian artist Natalia Iguñiz	<a href="https://lc.cx/Nlrbyc">https://lc.cx/Nlrbyc</a>
Fight Domestic Violence	New Zealand	2001	Victorian Health Promotion Foundation	<a href="https://lc.cx/Gjin5_">https://lc.cx/Gjin5_</a>
Spread the Word	Canada	2007	Domestic Violence Services Canada	<a href="https://lc.cx/mQX1ae">https://lc.cx/mQX1ae</a>
Hit the Bitch	Denmark	2009	NGO Children Exposed to Violence at Home	<a href="https://rb.gy/yynb0q">https://rb.gy/yynb0q</a>
Words Hurt	Lebanon	2013	Lebanese non-profit organization KAFA	<a href="https://rb.gy/klxc6r">https://rb.gy/klxc6r</a>

This is a Bitch	USA	2013	NGO Backbone Zone organization	<a href="https://rb.gy/adzclc">https://rb.gy/adzclc</a>
Bye, Felipe	USA	2014	Alexandra Tweten	<a href="https://www.byefelipe.com/">https://www.byefelipe.com/</a>
Usa la razón [Use your Head]	Colombia	2014	International organization Global Voices	<a href="https://lc.cx/4ygQSK">https://lc.cx/4ygQSK</a>
She's Next. Report Animal Abuse. Report Domestic Abuse	USA	2014	Desmond's Army Animal Law Advocates	<a href="https://lc.cx/udicFi">https://lc.cx/udicFi</a>
Ça suffit [Enough is enough]	France	2015	The French government	<a href="https://lc.cx/eoFUED">https://lc.cx/eoFUED</a>
Dear Daddy	Norway	2016	Care Norway Organization	<a href="https://lc.cx/6F18h6">https://lc.cx/6F18h6</a>
Flip the Bitch Switch	New Zealand	2018	Rodney Police Department and College	<a href="https://lc.cx/ORMdPS">https://lc.cx/ORMdPS</a>
#LetrasParaLaPaze Igualdad [Words for Peace and Equity]	Ecuador	2018	Change.Org organization	<a href="https://lc.cx/qhZKlx">https://lc.cx/qhZKlx</a>
#ViolenciaES [It is Violence]	Mexico	2019	University Iberoamericana City of Mexico	<a href="https://lc.cx/mCpleH">https://lc.cx/mCpleH</a>
Si soy una perra es porque soy fiel a mí misma [If I am a bitch is because I am faithful to myself]	Spain	2020	Dove cosmetics brand	<a href="https://lc.cx/xzlwPZ">https://lc.cx/xzlwPZ</a>
It's time to flip the sexist script	UK	2021	Women's Aid organization	<a href="https://lc.cx/XbHD5w">https://lc.cx/XbHD5w</a>
Internet Violence Museum	China	2021	Anonymous	<a href="https://lc.cx/A-BaxR">https://lc.cx/A-BaxR</a>
SheIsABitch	India	2021	Pet Care Brand Wiggles	<a href="https://lc.cx/h-plzS">https://lc.cx/h-plzS</a>
Not your Bitch	Italy	2021	Italian feminist activist Maria Beatrice Giovanardi	<a href="https://lc.cx/Qk3yy9">https://lc.cx/Qk3yy9</a>

Hail Bitch!	Canada	2022	Léa Clermont-Dion and Guylaine Maroist	<a href="https://lc.cx/FWvHxu">https://lc.cx/FWvHxu</a>
Te amo own you]	Spain	2022	Sevilla City Hall	<a href="https://lc.cx/Mi2RLK">https://lc.cx/Mi2RLK</a>
Through their Eyes	Australia	2023	Make-up brand Maybelline New York	<a href="https://libros.uam.es/tfm/catalog/view/456/851/672">https://libros.uam.es/tfm/catalog/view/456/851/672</a>

## 6. FINDINGS

Data analysis showed that two campaigns used «bitch» to draw attention to the blatant sexism inherent in language. «Not Your Bitch» (Italy 2021) and «LetrasParaLaPazeIgualdad» (Ecuador 2018) recurred to the dictionary definitions of «cagna» and «perra»— «bitch» in Italian and Spanish, respectively—to highlight how these animal terms are part of a wide repertoire of words that stigmatize women based on their (perceived) sexual behavior (Bacchi, 2021; Guterres, 2018). In accordance with a wealth of research that has pointed out the entrenchment of misogyny in dictionaries and its pernicious effects on the creation of belief systems within a speech community (Guzzetti, 2023), these campaigns ultimately championed the elimination of terms like «bitch» from the lexicon since they hurt women.

Juxtaposing images of women and female dogs, two campaigns explicitly criticized the widespread use of «bitch» to refer to powerful and confident women:

- (1) This is a bitch. This is a woman who speaks up her mind (USA 2013)
- (2) She's pricey. She's snooty. She's controlling. She's a bitch (India 2021)

All of them differentiated—both visually and linguistically—the animal from the human; advocating, in this way, for the elimination of «bitch» when the referent is a woman. «ViolenciaES» (Mexico 2019) similarly censored this use of «bitch». The Mexican campaign further emphasized the violence conveyed through this zoomorphic slur via its motto: «Es una perra. Tiene carácter fuerte, no merece tu violencia» [She is a bitch. She has a strong personality; she does not deserve your violence] (Mexico 2019). The campaign ultimately reflects the use of «bitch» to undermine female power in

accordance with research that explores this slur to attack women in positions of influence and leadership (Mitchell, 2015). «Spread the word» (Canada 2007) shows how «bitch» not only constitutes verbal violence, but it is also the preamble to physical aggression. The video shows a waitress who is called «fucking bitch» and physically assaulted by a male client because accidentally she spilled some coffee on him.

«It's time to flip the sexist script» (UK 2021) explicitly connected «bitch» with domestic abuse. The British campaign illustrated how sexist words like «bitch» often translate into gender-based violence: «Sexist Script: Women are sexual objects. Flipped script: The sexual objectification of women underpins domestic abuse. No to dirty, bitch, slag, slut, and nympho». As research has pointed out, turning women into objects and animals may result in abusive behaviors towards them since females are deprived of their human condition (Haslam et al., 2011).

«She's Next. Report Animal Abuse. Report Domestic Abuse» (USA 2014) and «Te amoTu amo» (Spain 2022) literally identify women with «bitches» to underscore the inhuman treatment that victims of gender-based violence endure. The former placed a photograph of a beaten dog next to the photograph of a frightened woman who is about to be hit by her male partner, for research has demonstrated that there is a link between violence to animals and gender-based violence (Jegatheesan, et al., 2020). Giving a warning about imminent gender abuse, the campaign illustrates how men often project violence towards pets onto their female partners. The use of a literal mistreated bitch that is replaced by an abused woman—a symbolic «bitch»—certainly mirrors the language of the male batterer, for studies have documented this animal slur in episodes of domestic violence (López-Rodríguez, 2023, 2024). As for the latter, a picture of a blinded woman who is kneeling and wearing a dog's collar that is held by a man conjures up the canine portrayal of the female victim. The poster further reinforces the submissive position of the woman through the slogan «Te amo no significa tu amo»—a play on words based on the polysemy of «amo», meaning I love and owner in Spanish (Sánchez-Montilla, 2015, p. 48). In this way, the campaign raises awareness of toxic possessive relationships.

The corpus also revealed that the representation of women as «bitches» served to establish a direct link between this form of verbal aggression and



psychological damage. The Lebanese «Words Hurt» featured a photograph of a battered woman whose facial wounds mimic the shape of the audio waveforms of the word «bitch» to reflect on the long-lasting negative effects that this insult has on the female target: «Bitch. Words Hurt. You can't see them but the scars from verbal abuse are real and can last for years» (Lebanon 2013). In like manner, New Zealand's «Fight Domestic Violence» (2001) showed pictures of women with the word «bitch»—in capital letters—smeared over their heads (Donovan & Vlasis, 2005, p. 68).<sup>5</sup> The imprint of «bitch» in this part of the body—metonymically representing an individual's state of mind—stressed the mental health problems derived from this form of verbal aggression. As a matter of fact, studies have shown that calling a woman «bitch» is one of the most common psychological and emotional tactics used by male batterers to inflict damage and exert control over their female partners (Hayes & Jeffries, 2016). Analyses of the language of male abusers have provided a good insight into the high frequency of this slur (Havard & Lefevre, 2020; Lawless, 2001). Additionally, «bitch» metaphors permeate the narratives of abused women (LaViolette & Barnett, 2013), who often recall this slur as part of their traumatic experiences (Smith et al., 1999).

In «Hit the Bitch!» (Denmark 2009) and «Dear Daddy» (Norway 2016) the metaphor «bitch» functions as a red flag, for it anticipates physical and sexual aggression. Whereas the former portrays a beautiful strong woman as a «bitch» with the purpose of beating her up in a videogame that, ironically, shows that gender-based violence needs to be taken seriously (Sharp, 2009); the latter takes the form of a missive sent by a girl to be born to her father where she envisions «bitch» as part of the normalized name-calling that she will be subject to at school and that eventually will lead to her physical and sexual abuse:

- (3) I need to ask you a favor. Warning: it's about boys. Because, you see, I will be born a girl. Which means by the time I'm 14, the boys in my class will have called me a whore, a bitch, a cunt and many other

---

5. This campaign has been retrieved from a document that compiles campaigns of gender-based violence and although the campaign explains the photographs of women with the word «bitch», no photographs have been included.

things. It's just for fun, of course, something boys do. So, you won't worry. And I understand that. By the time I turn 16, a couple of the boys will have snuck their hands down my pants while I'm so drunk I can't even stand straight. And although I say no, they just laugh. It's funny, right? [...] Dear daddy, this is the favor I want to ask. One thing always leads to another. So please stop it before it gets the chance to begin. Don't let my brothers call girls whores, bitches, because they're not (Natividad, 2015, pp. 1-7).

«Bitch» is at the core of four campaigns that recreate dating scenarios and everyday situations where men express their (sexual) entitlement, (sexual) dissatisfaction and (sexual) frustration through this slur. The Peruvian «Perrahl@» [BitchSpeech] (1999) was based on popular beliefs that justify calling a woman «bitch» because of her clothes, physique, and partner choice: «si caminas por la calle y te dicen perra tienen razón, porque te pusiste una falda muy corta y traicionera» [if you are walking on the street and they call you bitch, they are right because you were wearing a very short and treacherous mini-skirt], «si dos chicos dicen que eres una perra, tú te lo has buscado por calentar a uno de ellos o a los dos» [if two men say that you are a bitch, you deserve it because you have turned one or both of them on] «si tu ex te dice perra está en su derecho, está dolido porque lo dejaste» [if your ex calls you bitch, he has the right to do so, he is suffering because you broke up with him] (Garzón, 2005, p. 196). In the French «Ça suffit» [Enough is enough] «bitch» is part of the daily interaction between a man and a woman who ignores his sexual advances while on the metro (Guay, 2015): «Hello, Mademoiselle. You're lovely. Let's get to know each other. Is that short skirt for me? You're hot, you're turning me on. Answer me, dirty bitch. Stop—that's enough» (France 2015). The US campaign «Bye, Felipe» (2014) used real screenshots from on-line dating sites and applications where male users address women who disregard their proposals as «bitches»: «Bitch, I said hi», «what a bitch, or «That's a bitch move» (Shaw, 2016). Drawing from the lyrics of popular reggaeton songs that liken women with «bitches», the Colombian «Usa la razón» [Use your head] (2014) highlights how this animal metaphor that sexualizes women promotes and justifies sexual violence against them (García-Calderón, 2015). In the campaign, the lyrics «Es una perra caliente que lo quiere, que lo quiere» [She is a bitch in heat who wants sex, who wants sex] and «esa perra busca guerra» [That

bitch is looking for a sexual war] are illustrated with the photograph of a girl wearing a mini skirt.

These campaigns not only bring to the fore the pervasiveness of «bitch» in a woman's daily life by contextualizing the slur in frequent conversations on the street, public transportation, dating sites, and even popular music, but they also present the metaphor within the toxic rhetoric of masculinity that conceives women as men's (sexual) objects (Pearson, 2019). In fact, «bitch» has been documented in cases of sexual harassment (Greenwald, 2012) and the metaphor has also been associated with rape myths, rape proclivity and rape acceptance (Bock & Burkley, 2019). Studies have proved that when women are perceived as «bitches», people are more likely to exert and justify (sexual) aggressions (Sobieraj, 2018). In this sense, «Flip the Bitch Switch» (New Zealand 2018) has the binomial «bitch»-sexual aggression as its backbone. The campaign, which puns on the sound similarities between «switch» and «bitch», portrays women as «bitches» to promote free self-defense courses that will help them protect from men's sexual assaults (Rowe, 2018).

According to the corpus, three campaigns tackled cyberviolence against women through the metaphoric «bitch». The «Internet Violence Museum» (China 2021) blanketed a hill with red flags that displayed excerpts taken from the internet where women, particularly feminist activists, were called «bitches» in messages that promoted sexual violence and even death threats: «Little bitch, screw you» or «I hope you die, bitch» (Davidson, 2021). Similarly, «Hail Bitch: Misogyny in the Digital Age» (Canada 2022) is based on a documentary about four women leaders whose lives are overturned by misogynistic comments like «bitch» on the cyberspace. In the documentary «Through their Eyes» (Australia 2023) two well-known Australian male gamers, who pretend to be women while playing on-line, were bombarded with «bitch» insults such as «stop playing, fucking bitch», «fuck you, bitch!» or «move, bitch» to prove game discrimination and online defamation against women («Maybelline & Hero», 2023).

Finally, data analysis revealed one instance of re-appropriation of «bitch» («La provocadora campaña», 2020, p. 1). The Spanish campaign «Si soy una perra es porque soy fiel a mí misma» [If I am a bitch is because I am faithful to myself] (2020) exploits the positive associations of faithfulness attached

to dogs to reclaim the gender-stigmatizing label. In the campaign poster a woman self-identifies as a «bitch». Taking pride in a slur can be seen as a process of empowerment (Ferriss & Young, 2006) and as a form of building group solidarity among women (Godrej, 2011). It can also represent a reversal in the power dynamics held through oppressive linguistic practices that deride women to the category of female dogs.

Despite being produced in countries that are distant geographically and culturally speaking, these gender-based violence campaigns resort to «bitch» in the representation of women. Their use of the canine metaphor serves to expose and denounce the sexism, verbal, psychological, physical and sexual violence that women endure in societies across the globe.

The linguistic and visual contexts where «bitch» is presented in these campaigns—rhyming patterns like «switch bitch» and «perra guerra», acoustic reproduction of the insult «bitch» taken from on-line games and real situations of domestic violence, a photograph of a beaten female dog next to a photograph of a battered woman, a picture of a woman kneeling and wearing a dog's collar that is held by a man, etc.—help to strengthen the identification of women with the female dog. In doing so, these campaigns ultimately echo the (ab)use of «bitch» in a woman's daily life. In this sense, they mirror the commonplace and normalized violence conveyed through the canine slur.

Given that, to the author's knowledge, no empirical research has been carried out regarding the media impact of these campaigns on the target audience, the takeaway message that people get when exposed to «bitch» can only be hypothesized. On the one hand, the use of «bitch» in these campaigns may certainly ring a bell to the public, who is likely to associate the slur with the language of misogyny and gender-based violence. Yet, on the other hand, it could also be argued that, on recurring to this faunistic insult, these campaigns may unwittingly be reproducing and reinforcing hate speech—with the pernicious and real-life consequences that this type of language has on women. Hence, instead of functioning as a deterrent against the sexist metaphor, these campaigns may promote and reinforce abusive language.

On representing women as «bitches», these gender-based violence campaigns place the focus on female victims instead of on their male batterers,

who are the real root of the problem. In this regard, research has pointed out that gender-based violence campaigns seem to be more effective when they target male perpetrators, whose mentality and conduct need to be changed to safeguard women's integrity and life (Kodwo, 2023; Oddone, 2017; UN, 2013). Furthermore, given that animal metaphors usually signal unacceptable behavior, gender-based violence campaigns should cast male abusers—instead of female victims—in the guise of beasts to underscore and condemn their inhumane actions. There are, indeed, several campaigns that tackle abuse against women where male batterers are seen through an animal lens. «¿Qué clase de animal eres?» [What sort of animal are you?] (Spain 2006, <http://buenamente.blogspot.com/2007/06/>) explicitly asks male abusers to self-identify with an animal based on their brutal actions. «No seas animal» [Don't be an animal] (Spain 2018, [https://lc.cx/fq\\_GVw](https://lc.cx/fq_GVw)) portrays men as predators (i.e., an owl, a vulture, octopus) and other creatures associated with dirtiness (i.e., pig) and arrogance (i.e., rooster) to censor (sexual) harassment. «Only animals can't control their lust. Stay human. Stop harassment» (Egypt 2019, <https://rb.gy/k8lt2w>) similarly casts men that stalk women as lustful animals whereas «Men for Women» (Lithuania 2015, <https://www.liberties.eu/en/stories/social-campaign-insults-both-men-and-dog-owners/4132>) uses the image of fighting dogs to depict male abusers.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has explored the representation of women as «bitches» in gender-based violence campaigns. It analyzed a purpose-built corpus of 22 campaigns from 17 countries dated from 1999 to 2023 where women are portrayed as «bitches». Through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the study has shown that framing women as «bitches» in gender-based violence campaigns highlights the sexism, verbal, psychological, physical and sexual violence experienced by women worldwide.

Finally, because in the words of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1974, p. 43), animals are important in people's lives not only because they are good to eat, but more importantly because they are good to think with, the study of the representation of women as «bitches» in gender-based violence campaigns deserves closer examination, especially in light of statistics of the

World Health Organization that assert that 1 out of 3 women will experience some kind of gender-based violence throughout their lives («Violence against women», 2024). Hence, notwithstanding the numerous shortcomings of this research (i.e., its theoretical nature, its limited use of campaigns, its use of campaigns that may not be representative of many countries and cultures, its lack of detailed descriptions of the images and sounds used in the campaign posters and videos, etc.), this study has attempted to shed some light on how gender-based violence campaigns often represent women as «bitches» to bring to the fore and condemn the violence conveyed through this common animal metaphor.

## 8. REFERENCES

- Andrighetto, L., Riva, P., Gabbiadini, A., & Volpato, C. (2016). Excluded from all humanity: Animal metaphors exacerbate the consequences of social exclusion. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 35(6), 628-644. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X16632267>
- Argov, S. (2004). *Why men like bitches*. Adams Media Corporation.
- Bacchi, U. (2021, March 5). *Not your bitch. Campaign against sexist dictionaries moves to Italy*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL5N2L24C8/>
- Baider, F., & Gesuato, S. (2003). Masculinist metaphors, feminist research. *The online Journal metaphoric*, 5(1), 6-25. <https://lc.cx/gfakR3>
- Bearman, M. S., Korobov, N., & Thorne, A. (2009). The fabric of internalized sexism. *Journal of Integrated Social Sciences*, 1(1), 10-47.
- Beiras, A., Canteras, L., & de Alencar, R. (2015). I Am a Bull! The construction of masculinity in a group of men perpetrators of violence against women in Spain. *Universitas Psychologica*, 14(5), 1525-1538. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-5.bcmg>
- Bock, J., & Burkley, M. (2019). On the prowl: Examining the impact of Men-as-Predator and Women-as-Prey on attitudes that perpetuate sexual violence. *Sex Roles*, 80(5), 262-276. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0929-1>
- Caputi, J. (2004). *Goddesses and Monsters: Women, Myth, Power, and Popular Culture*. The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cassidy, A. (2019). *The self-help book for bitches*. Independent Publisher.

- Chamizo, P. & Magdalena, Z. (2006). Animal names as insults and derogation in Polish and Spanish. *Philologia Hispalensis*, 20, 137-174. <https://doi.org/10.12795/ph.2006.v20.i02.01>
- Collins Cobuild. (n.d.). Bitch. In *Collins Cobuild Dictionary*. Retrieved July 21, 2024, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/bitch>
- Cook, J. L. (1999). Bitch vs. Whore: The current trend to define the requirements of an actionable hostile environment claim in verbal sexual harassment cases. *J. Marshall Law Review*, 33(1), 465-487.
- Coviello, J., & Borgerson, J. (2004). Tracing parallel oppressions: A feminist ontology of women and animals. *Feminista*, 3(4), 23-54.
- Crago, A. L. (2014). Bitches killing the nation: Analyzing the violent state-sponsored repression of sex workers in Zambia, 2004-2008. *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 39(2), 365-381. <https://doi.org/10.1086/673087>
- Davidson, H. (2021, May 13). *China's feminist protest wave of online abuse with «internet violence museum*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/13/chinas-feminists-protest-against-wave-of-online-abuse-with-internet-violence-museum>
- DeConnick, K., & De Landro, V. (2014). *Bitch Planet*. Image Comics.
- Diccionario de la lengua española. (n.d.). Perra. In <https://dle.rae.es/>. Retrieved August 7, 2023, from
- Donovan, R., & Vlasis, R. (2005). *VicHealth review of communication components of social marketing/public education campaigns focusing on violence against women*. VicHealth.
- Dunfermline. (2019, March 8). *Dunfermline man called girlfriend a «fat bitch» and attacked her*. <https://www.dunfermlinepress.com/news/17488126.dunfermline-man-called-girlfriend-fat-bitch-attacked/>
- Eisikovits, Z., & Buchbinder, E. (1997). Talking violent. A phenomenological study of metaphors battering men use. *Violence against women*, 3(5), 482-498. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801297003005003>
- Ellis-Petersen, H. (2019, March 12). *Rodrigo Duterte calls women at gender-equality event bitches*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/12/rodrigo-duterte-calls-women-at-gender-equality-event-bitches-philippines>
- Elmore, K., & Luna-Lucero, M. (2016). Light bulbs or seeds? How metaphors for ideas influence judgments about genius. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 8(2), 2-29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550616667611>

- Enock, F., & Over, H. (2023). Animalistic slurs increase harm by changing perceptions of social desirability. *Royal Society Open House*, 10(7), 230-253. <https://doi.org/10.1098%2Frso.230203>
- Erichsen, K., Schrock, D., & Dignan, P. (2020). Bitchifying Hillary: Trump's supporters' vilification of Clinton during the 2016 Presidential Election. *Social Currents*, 7(6), 526-542. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496520941022>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.
- Ferriss, S., & Young, M. (2006). Chicks, girls and choice: Redefining feminism. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, 6, 1-11. <https://junctures.org/index.php/junctures/article/view/121/125>
- Gallagher, K. (2022, September 28). *Trump referred to German chancellor Angela Merkel as «that bitch»*. Business Insider. <https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-sarcastically-prayed-for-ruth-bader-ginsburg-2020-2022-9>
- García-Calderón, G. (2015, February 2024). *The campaign against gender-based violence in reggaeton lyrics*. Global Voices. <https://globalvoices.org/2015/02/24/the-campaign-against-gender-based-violence-in-reggaeton-lyrics-phase-2/>
- Garzón, M. T. (2005). Si te dicen perra... Tienen razón. Representación, identidad política y ciberfeminismo en perrahbl@. *Nómadas*, 23(1), 195-201. <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=105116741020>
- Ghosh, N. (2021, June 8). «Bitch»: *The gendered slur that took off post women's suffrage in the west*. Homegrown. <https://homegrown.co.in/homegrown-explore/bitch-the-gendered-slur-that-took-off-post-women-s-suffrage-in-the-west>
- Goatly, A. (2006). Humans, animals, and metaphors. *Society & Animals*, 14(1), 15-37. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853006776137131>
- Godrej, Farah (2011). Spaces for counter-narratives: The phenomenology of reclamation. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 32(3), 111-133. <https://doi.org/10.1353/fro.2011.a461367>
- Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J., Williams, M., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not yet human: implicit knowledge, historical dehumanization, and contemporary consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(2), 292-306. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.2.292>
- Goldernberg, J., Heflick, N., Vaes, J., Motyl, M., & Greenberg, J. (2009). Of mice and men, and objectified women: A terror management account of infrahumanization. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 12(6), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209340569>



- Grant, M. (2024, January 24). *Woman who met predator Richard Mantha through Kijiji ad testifies he drugged, raped her*. CBS News Calgary. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/calgary-trial-richard-mantha-sexual-assault-complainant-day3-1.7092792>
- Green, D. (2013, March 7). *Here's what domestic violence ads look like in the Middle East*. Business Insider. <https://www.businessinsider.in/heres-what-domestic-violence-ads-look-like-in-the-middle-east/articleshow/21224590.cms>
- Greenwald, J. (2012, July 31). *Bitch as sexual harassment: context matters*. Ohio Employer Law. <https://www.ohioemployerlawblog.com/2012/07/bitch-as-sexual-harassment-context.html?m=0>
- Guay, B. (2015, November 10). *The French campaign targets sexual harassment on public transport*. France 24 News. <https://lc.cx/jkiUn2>
- Guetta, D. (2009). *Sexy bitch* [Song]. *One Love* [Album]. Virgin Records.
- Guterres, A. (2018, August 6). *Campaña el grito de la literatura libre de violencia de género*. Change.org. <https://lc.cx/s7frmv>
- Guzzetti, M. (2023). *Forbidden words and female anatomy: Gender and language taboos in the Oxford English Dictionary*. *Lea*, 12(1), 137-156. [https://doi.org/10.36253/lea-1824-484x-14254\\_](https://doi.org/10.36253/lea-1824-484x-14254_)
- Haslam, N., Lughnan, S., & Sun, P. (2011). *Beastly: What makes animal metaphors offensive?* *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 30(3), 311-325. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X11407168>
- Havard, T. E., & Lefevre, M. (2020). *Beyond the power and control wheel: How abusive men manipulate mobile phone technologies to facilitate coercive control*. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*, 4(2), 223-239. <https://doi.org/10.1332/239868020X15850131608789>
- Hawkins, B. (2001). *Ideology, metaphor and iconographic reference*. In R. Dirven, R. M. Frank & C. Illie (Eds.), *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* (pp. 27-42). John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.205.03haw>
- Hayes, S., & Jeffries, S. (2016). *Romantic terrorism? An auto-ethnographic analysis of gendered psychological and emotional tactics in domestic violence*. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 6(2), 11-29. <https://doi.org/10.22381/JRGS6220162>
- Hendricks, R. K., Demjén, Z., Semino, E., & Boroditsky, L. (2018). *Emotional implications of metaphor: Consequences of metaphor framing for mindset about cancer*. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 33(4), 267-279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926488.2018.1549835>

- Hopton, K., & Langer, S. (2022). «Kick the XX out of your life»: An analysis of the manosphere's discursive constructions of gender on Twitter. *Feminism & Psychology*, 32(1), 3-22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09593535211033461>
- Hughes, G. (2006). *Encyclopedia of Swearing: The Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language, and Ethnic Slurs in the English-Speaking World*. M.E. Sharpe.
- Jacobsen, G. (2007, May 1). *Man called his wife «fat, ugly dumb bitch»*. The Age. <https://www.theage.com.au/national/man-called-his-wife-fat-ugly-dumb-bitch-inquest-told-20070501-ge4sao.html>
- Jaki, S., De Smedt, T. Gwozdz, M., & Panchal, R. (2019). Online hatred of women in the *Incels.me* Forum: Linguistic analysis and automatic detection. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 7(2), 12-39. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00026.jak>
- Jegatheesan, B., Enders-Slegers, M. J., Ormerod, E., & Boyden P. (2020). Understanding the link between animal cruelty and family violence: The bioecological systems model. *International Journal of Environmental Response Public Health*, 30, 3116-3129. <https://doi.org/10.3390%2Fijerph17093116>
- Kassam, A. (2018, January 1). «Babes», «bitches», and «dogs». *Harassment of female politicians crosses party lines*. Herizons. [www.thefreelibrary.com/Herizons/2018/January/1-p54883/](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Herizons/2018/January/1-p54883/)
- Kleinman, S., Ezzell, M., & Frost, C. (2009). Reclaiming critical analysis: The social harms of bitch. *Sociological Analysis*, 3(1), 47-68.
- Kodwo, E. (2023, December 1). *Why work with boys and men to end violence against girls and women?* Innovate for inclusion. <https://www.includovate.com/engaging-men-boys-violence-against-women-girls/>
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Kteily, N., & Landry, A. P. (2022). Dehumanization: trends, insights, and challenges. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 26(3), 222-240. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2021.12.003>
- Lacalle, C., Gómez Morales, B., Vicent, M., & Narvaiza, S. (2024). «Seals», «bitches», «vixens» and other zoomorphic insults: the animalization of women as an expression of misogyny in the Spanish Manosphere. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 11(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2298056>
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.

- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: a field guide to poetic metaphor*. University of Chicago Press.
- Landers, A. (2015, December 8). *Bitch, please: branding with bad words*. Medium. <https://medium.com/@alexandralanders/bitch-please-branding-with-bad-words-48cd550cab08>
- LaViolette, A. D., & Barnett, O. W. (2013). *It could happen to anyone: Why battered women stay*. Sage Publications.
- Lawless, E. J. (2001). *Women escaping violence: Empowerment through narrative*. University of Missouri Press.
- Lee, S., & Schwarz, N. (2014). Framing love: When it hurts to think that we were made for each other. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 54(1), 61-67. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.04.007>
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1974). *Totemism*. Penguin.
- López Maestre, M. D. (2020). Gender, ideology and conceptual metaphors: Women and the source domain of the hunt. *Complutense Journal of English Studies*, 28(1), 203-218. <https://doi.org/10.5209/cjes.68355>
- López-Rodríguez, I. (2009). Of women, bitches, chickens and vixens: Animal metaphors for women in English and Spanish. *Culture, Language and Representation*, 7, 77-100. <https://raco.cat/index.php/CLR/article/view/226358>
- López-Rodríguez, I. (2023). An analysis of animal metaphors in episodes of gender-based violence reported in Spanish and Canadian newspapers. *ES Review. Spanish Journal of English Studies*, 44(1), 81-110. <https://doi.org/10.24197/ersjes.44.2023.81-110>
- López-Rodríguez, I. (2024). Metaphors used by male batterers in cases of gender-based violence: A look at Canadian and Spanish newspapers. *The GROVE. Working Papers on English Studies*, 31(1), 10-43.
- Maybelline and Hero ask gamers to see through their eyes*. (2023, February 2023). Hero Creative Agency. <https://lbonline.com/news/maybelline-and-hero-ask-gamers-to-see-through-their-eyes>
- Melo Lopez, F. (2023). What do incels want? Explaining incel violence using Beauvoirian Otherness. *Hypathia*, 38(1), 134-156. <https://doi.org/10.1017/hyp.2023.3>
- Menezes, C. (2019, June 4). *Sadism and misogyny in Bolsonaro's Aryan Nation*. BrasilWire. <https://www.brasilwire.com/sadism-and-misogyny-in-bolsonaros-aryan-nation/>

- Mitchell, C. V. (2015). *Breaking through «bitch»: How women can shatter stereotypes and lead fearlessly*. Red Wheel/Weiser.
- Mitchell, K. (2019, August 24). *Maria Sharapova and Serena Williams put 15-year feud online at US Open*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2019/aug/24/maria-sharapova-serena-williams-15-year-feud-us-open>
- Mora, V. (2019). Ciencia, política y sexo. La homosexualidad durante el franquismo según sus textos. *La manzana de la discordia*, 14(1), 37-49. <https://doi.org/10.25100/lamanzanadeladiscordia.v14i1.8303>
- Mujagić, M., & Berverović, S. (2019). The IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media. *Explorations in English Language and Linguistics*, 7(1), 22-51. <https://doi.org/10.2478/exell-2020-0005>
- Mussolf, A. (2012). *The study of metaphor as part of critical discourse analysis*. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(3), 301-310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2012.688300>
- Natividad, A. (2015, December 15). *An unborn girl reads a loving, pleading letter to her father in this heartbreaking PSA*. Ad Freak. <https://www.adweek.com/creativity/unborn-girl-reads-loving-pleading-letter-her-father-heartbreaking-psa-168631/>
- Novak, M. E. (2012). The trouble with «Bitch»: Rethinking the seventh circuit's approach to causation in sexist harassment cases. *Seventh Circuit Review*, 8(1), 152-165.
- Nuun, G. (2015, October 30). *Power grab: reclaiming words can be such a bitch*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/mind-your-language/2015/oct/30/power-grab-reclaiming-words-can-be-such-a-bitch>
- Oddone, C. (2017). Poner el foco en los hombres para eliminar la violencia contra las mujeres. *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, 117, 145-172. <https://doi.org/10.24241/rcai.2017.117.3.145>
- Ostlere, L. (2017, April 22). *Iliea Nastase sparks Fed Cup chaos with foul-mouthed outburst in Romania vs GB*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/apr/21/ilie-nastase-faces-censure-racist-comments-serena-williams-tennis>
- Oxford English Dictionary. (n.d.). *Bitch*. Retrieved November 1, 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=bitch>
- Pagel, C. (2010, March 18). *«Hit the Bitch» Anti-violence PSA stirs controversy*. The Huffington Post. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/hit-the-bitch-domestic-vi\\_n\\_362311](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/hit-the-bitch-domestic-vi_n_362311)

- Pearson, E. (2019). Extremism and toxic masculinity: The man question re-posed. *International Affairs*, 95(6), 1251-1270. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz177>
- Pragglejazz Group. (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22(1), 1-39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480709336752>
- Reuter, M. (2007). The significance of gendered metaphors. *Nora. Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 14(3), 151-169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740701204265>
- Rigato, E., & Minelli, A. (2013). The great chain of being is still here. *Evolution: Education and Outreach*, 6(1), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1936-6434-6-18>
- Robb-Jackson, C., & Campbell, S. (2022). 'Healthy relationships campaign': Preventing and addressing family and gender-based violence. *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health*, 8(1), 125-130. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jmvfh-2021-0014>
- Robins, S., & Mayer, R. E. (2000). The metaphor framing effect: Metaphorical reasoning about text-based dilemmas. *Discourse Processes*, 30(1), 57-86. [https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326950dp3001\\_03](https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326950dp3001_03)
- Rowe, D. (2018, May 22). 'Flip the bitch-switch'. *Self-defence gets real in Rodney*. The Spin-off. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/22-05-2018/flip-the-bitch-switch-self-defence-gets-real-in-rodney>
- Rudman, A. (2012). Whores, sluts, bitches and retards—what do we tolerate in the name of freedom of expression? *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 26(3), 72-80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2012.716666>
- Sabo, D., Tupers, T. A., & London, W. (2001). *Prison masculinities*. Temple University Press.
- Sampert, S. M. (2001). *Bitch on the bench: Canada's national newspapers and feminist ideology in the no-means-no case*. National Library of Canada=Bibliothèque nationale du Canada.
- Sánchez-Montilla, M. (2015). *Approaching domestic violence from a multimodal perspective. A multilingual contrastive study on anti-domestic violence campaigns*. [MA Thesis]. Portal de TFMs Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Semino, E., Demjén, Z., & Demmen, J. (2018). An integrated approach to metaphor and framing in cognition, discourse, and practice, with an application to metaphors for cancer. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(5), 625-645. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amw028>

- Shanbazi, H., Sadeghi, M.A., & Panaghi, L. (2023). Dehumanization in female victims of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Injury and Violence*, 15(1), 83-95. <https://doi.org/10.5249/jivr.v15i1.1676>
- Shane Sutton: Former British cycling coach was loved by staff despite bullying claims (2017, November 11). BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/sport/cycling/41956761>
- Sharp, G. (2009, November 18). *Hit the bitch. Danish anti-domestic violence campaign.* Sociological Images. <https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2009/11/18/hit-the-bitch-danish-anti-domestic-violence-campaign/>
- Shaw, F. (2016). «Bitch I said hi»: The Bye Felipe campaign and discursive activism in mobile dating apps. *Social Media + Society*, 2(4), 8-43. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2056305116672889>
- Shokym, G., Zhumasheva, K., Khassanov, G., Azhgaliyev, M., Sultangaliyeva, M., Ramanova, A., & Gasdesheva, A. (2023). Images of men and women in the mirror of gender metaphors. *Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 8(2), 272-282. <http://dx.doi.org/10.32601/ejal.911560>
- 16 days of activism campaign aids to eliminate gender-based violence. (2020, November 2020). VIU News. <https://news.viu.ca/16-days-activism-campaign-aims-eliminate-gender-based-violence>
- Smith, P. H., Smith, J. B., & Earp, J. A. L. (1999). Beyond the measurement trap: A reconstructed conceptualization and measurement of woman battering. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23(1), 177-193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1999.tb00350.x>
- Sobieraj, S. (2018). Bitch, slut, skank, cunt: Patterned resistance to women's visibility in digital publics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(11), 1700-1714. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1348535>
- Spears, B. (2013). Work bitch [Song]. *Britney Jean*. [Album]. RCA.
- Stollznow, K. (2024). *Bitch: The journey of a word*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sutton, L. A. (1995). Bitches and sklankly hobags: The place of women in contemporary slang. In K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Women and language: Gender articulate; language and the socially constructed self* (pp. 279-296). Routledge.
- Taylor, C. (2021). Metaphors of migration over time. *Discourse & Society*, 32(4), 463-481. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926521992156>
- The Danish Dictionary. (n.d.). *Taeve*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://ordnet.dk/ddo/ordbog?query=taeve>

- The Prodigy (1997). Smack my bitch up [Song]. On *The fat of the land* [Album]. Maverick Records.
- Tranchese, A., & Sugiura, L. (2021). «I don't hate all women, just those stuck-up bitches»: How incels and mainstream pornography speak the same extreme language of misogyny. *Violence against Women*, 27(14), 2709-2734. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801221996453>
- Triska, Z. (2013, October 18). You say «bitch» like it's a bad thing: Examining the implications of the notorious word. The Huffington Post. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/post\\_b\\_2526243](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/post_b_2526243)
- United Nations. (2013). *Men, boys must speak out, take action to end gender-based violence, delegates tell commission on status of women*. United Nations. Retrieved July 1, 2023, from <https://press.un.org/en/2013/wom1949.doc.htm>
- Violence against women. (n.d.). *Violence against women*. World Health Organization. Retrieved 9 October, 2024, from [https://www.who.int/health-topics/violence-against-women#tab=tab\\_1](https://www.who.int/health-topics/violence-against-women#tab=tab_1)
- Waśniewska, M. (2018). A dog or a wolf—The role of connotations in animalistic metaphors and the process of dehumanisation. *New Horizons in English Studies*, 3(1), 3-17. <https://doi.org/10.17951/nh.2018.3.3>
- Wurtzel, E. (1998). *Bitch*. Doubleday.
- Yang, S., & Linegan, M. (2021, July 20). *USWNT rivalries through the years: From «Viking Bitches» to Marta's Brazil*. The Athletic. <https://theathletic.com/2718430/2021/07/20/uswnt-rivalries/>