MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

Not One (Woman) Less

Social Media Activism to end Violence Against Women:
The case of the Feminist Movement 'Ni Una Menos'.

Cecilia Sjöberg

Abstract

The struggle to end violence against women and girls has long been a priority topic for women's and feminist movements in Latin America. Lately, since the changes in the new media landscape (Castells 2015; Lievrouw, 2013) with the increased use of information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter, the way women and feminist movements advocate their intentions are changing (Harcourt, 2013; Mathos, 2017). Departing from this reality, the aim is to investigate the role the use of social media activism played for the recent feminist movement, Ni Una Menos (NUM [Not One Less]), in Argentina and Chile while advocating for the end of violence against women. Taking a cross disciplinary approach this research combines theories from the fields of feminist studies, social movement and communication sciences. Through in-depth interviews with core activists from NUM both in Argentina and Chile as research method, it has been possible to identify the role of certain social media platforms for NUM's tactical repertoire in their strive to advocate for the end of violence against women and girls. The findings also demonstrate the activism on social media platforms by the NUM movement has played an important role to set the topic on the public agenda in these countries, resulting in a generally greater awareness. Regardless off the role social media activism played, the importance seems to lie in a combination of activism on social media and the streets for feminist movements advocating to end violence against women because it assures a broad reach to all people in society**.** Nevertheless, to end violence against women in these countries much more effort is needed by society at large.

Keywords: Violence against women, Feminism, Feminist movements, Social Media Activism, Digital activism, Networked social movements, Information and Communication Technologies, Collective action.

Table of Contents

Table of figures:

1. Introduction

This qualitative case study aims to investigate the role that social media activism played for the feminist movement Ni Una Menos ((NUM [Not One Less]), one of the biggest contemporary feminist movement struggling to end violence against women, in Argentina and Chile. The focus is on the two events that initiated the hashtag #NiUnaMenos in Argentina in 2015 and in Chile in 2016, and which both used social media platforms as the main channels for dissemination and information towards society.

With the increased use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) like social media platforms such as Facebook, it seems the struggle of feminist movements and women's organizations in this area has got a push forward and the possibilities to reach out to society and activists has definitely been harnessed by the advances in technologies. Scholars like Harcourt (2013) argue in this sense that "online networks thus emerge as political tools that can assist in pushing forward change" (p. 422).

The NUM movement first initiated in Argentina, Buenos Aires, in early 2015 as a response to an increasing wave of gender-based violence and the weak implementation of anti– violence legislation (Laudano, 2017; Basu, 2017). They later succeeded to both virtually and physically organise one of the biggest public actions against gender violence and support of women's rights in Argentina's history in June 2015 (Laudano, 2017). The movement is present still upon today.

In Chile, NUM was created one year later in 2016, both inspired by the success of the movement in Argentina, but also inspired by the transnationality of NUM all over the Latin American continent. NUM Chile started with a similar call for a big public event in October 2016, resulting in a massive use of social media activism and traditional media like TV and newspaper, to organize one of the biggest public rallies against sexual violence in the country's history. As I will explain more in depth further on in my research, the NUM movement has had a great impact on the struggle for women's rights recently and particularly helped to make visible the phenomena of violence against women and girls in these two countries.

The thesis is organized in seven sections. To start, the background section presents the context of violence against women and girls and how feminist movements in Latin

America have benefitted from the increased use of ICTs as a communication tool to advocate. The Ni Una Menos Movement is also introduced. The Literature review section presents existing research about social movements increasingly use of ICTs for their activities in a changing media landscape. Further in the Theory section the main theoretical fields within which this research is situated are discussed. In the research methodology section, the main methods used for my investigation are explored. In the analysis, I present and discuss the empirical material based on the interviews with core activists from NUM in Argentina and Chile. Finally, in the conclusion I conclude the main findings aiming at responding the overall research question for this investigation.

2. Background

This section aims at giving a brief overview of the context of violence against women globally and in Latin America to understand why it's of such great concern and one of the main demands of women's and feminist movements in the past decades. It also includes a description of the increase of transnational feminist movements struggling to end violence, finally zooming into Latin America feminist movements and the NUM movement in Argentina and Chile.

2.1 Violence Against Women in Latin America: A Serious Human Rights Violation

Violence against women and girls, is defined by the United Nations (UN) as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women[1]…" (World Health Organization, 2018). It's classified as a serious social problem and a human rights violation for women and girls (Un Women, 2018). Moreover, violence against women negatively affects the well-being of women and prevents their full participation in society according to UN Women. The violence also impacts their family, community and country because it's associated with high costs, ranging from an increase in health care expenses and legal services. In this sense, it can be considered a real obstacle to development, as it has an impact on national public budgets (Un Women, 2018).

---

[1] Including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

The UN reports that 1 out of 3 women worldwide have experienced physical or sexual violence at some point of her life (The Worlds Women, 2015). In Latin America, UN estimates about 14- 38 % of women have experienced intimate partner violence at least once in their life (Ibid, 2015). In the countries of focus for this study, the numbers show 86,700 Argentinean women reported in 2017 a case of physical or psychological aggression (El Pais Argentina, 2018). The number of femicides[2] are increasing and due to the lack of official statistics, the non-governmental organization (NGO) La Casa del Encuentro reports, "between January and December 2017, as much as 295 women were killed by men, at an average of one woman every 30 hours" (La Casa del Encuentro, 2017). The number was the worst since the first registration in 2008 and equalled the record of 2013 (El Pais Argentina, 2018). In Chile, the reports to the police of cases of intrafamily violence[3], were 116,876 cases nationally in 2016, while 91,128 of these reports were made by women (Chilean National Security Department, 2018). Regarding the cases of femicides, the Women's Ministry (SERNAM) report a slight decrease from 58 cases in 2008 to 33 cases in 2016 (Villegas Diaz, 2018).

Faced with the reality of the high amount of cases of violence against women and femicides, social movements and feminist organizations have reacted in an organized manner in Chile and Argentina, carrying out acts of social protest and mass marches such as the case of the NUM movement throughout Latin America. Chilean scholars agree, "This shows not only that a solidarity-based alliance has been generated between women when they are attacked, but also that violence against women has a political connotation because it comes from a special form of society's organization" (Villegas Diaz, 2018, p.4).

2.2 The increase of transnational networks advocating for women's rights

Scholars argue the forms and circulations of feminist activism have changed significantly since the 1990s, and this is partly an "effect of the proliferation of digital technologies but also in response to global social and economic developments" (Scharff,

---

[2] Femicide is generally understood to involve intentional murder of women because they are women, but broader definitions include any killings of women or girls. Femicide is usually perpetrated by men, but sometimes female family members may be involved. Femicide differs from male homicide in specific ways. For example, most cases of femicide are committed by partners or ex-partners, and involve ongoing abuse in the home, threats or intimidation, sexual violence or situations where women have less power or fewer resources than their partner. (WHO, Understanding and addressing Violence Against Women, Information Sheet).

[3] Definition of 'Intrafamily violence': Any abuse that affects the life or physical or psychological integrity of the person who has or has had the status of spouse of the offender or a relationship of coexistence with him (Article 5, Library of the National Congress

Smith-Prei, & Stehle, 2016, p.3). This can be reflected through a range of recent women's and feminist networks such as the Women's March Movement, International Women's Strike [Paro Nacional de Mujeres], #Meetoo, and NUM. These networks have emerged mainly challenging and struggling against the continuing discriminations of women and girls at all stages of society, as well as sexual harassments and violence. They have all mainly relied on ICTs, such as social media platforms, to raise awareness and call for action (Harcourt, 2013 Mathos 2017, Carter Olsen, 2016). One example is the hashtag movement, #metoo, which was initiated by Alyssa Milano in 2017, and which is probably the biggest call to end violence against women through social media on twitter. According to the Guardian (2017), "#MeToo has made waves across the globe, active in 85 countries on Twitter and posted 85 million times on Facebook over the past 45 days".

The interesting phenomena is that these feminist transnational online networks have inspired many smaller national and local movements regarding violence, sexual abuse, and harassments of both women and girls, on and offline. For instance, in relation to #MeToo it's possible to see local representations, such as "#YoTambien" [MeToo] in Spain and Latin America to encourage women and girls to report sexual harassments. Another example is the hashtag #Tystnadtagning [Lights Camera Action] in Sweden reporting on the sexual harassments in the film and theatre industry (SVT, 2017)[4].

Basu (2017), argues that some of the most significant influences on women's movements over the past decades are precisely related to transnational influences, such as global institutions, global discourses and international actors. Among these, Basu (2017) underlines that transnational advocacy networks "have dramatically expanded..." and that these networks have, with no doubt, been fuelled by the shift and the new landscape of ICTs (p.7). Feminist scholars and activists have long debated the effectiveness and the respective rise or decline of feminist activism and movements across the globe (Scharff, Smith-Prei & Stehle, 2016). However, the examples mentioned in this section show evidence of many active feminist movements and networks emerging during the past years which make it relevant to analyse and discuss how the rapid technological changes and

---

[4] In Sweden a collective of 804 female Swedish actors got together using the hashtag #Tystnadtagning [lights camera action] reporting on the harassments in the film and theatre industry.

increased use of digital media have raised questions about how digital technologies transform, influence, and shape feminist politics.

2.3 The struggle of Latin American Feminist Movements

In Latin America, the first evidence of feminist networking took place through Encounters of women's and feminist activists which started in the 1980's,[5]. The aim has always been to bring together movement activists from the whole region, to debate over feminist practices, and goals in the face of economic, political, and social challenges of the region (Basu, 2017). Due to the high and in some parts increasing numbers, violence against women has been one of the priorities for women's and feminist movements in most of the countries in the region. Historically, the commemoration of the 25th of November as the International Day to Eliminate Violence Against Women[6] has resulted in public actions and rallies by feminist and women's movement in most of the capitals around the Latin American continent annually (El Pais, 2018). Other important initiatives are the "16 days of activism" campaign against gender violence[7] and the UN campaign UNiTE[8], to end violence against women (Un Women, n.d). The communication strategies by the feminist and women's movements to reach social and political change and end violence against women has been varied over the years and differs from one country to another in the Latin American Region.

In Chile, one of the biggest advocacy campaigns to end violence against women and girls in Chile, is called Cuidado el Machismo Mata, [Be Careful, The Macho Culture is Killing] (No Mas Violencia Contra Mujeres, 2017). This campaign was first implemented in 2006 by the Chilean feminist network Red Chilena Contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres[9] as a communication campaign that affirms the voice of women and their organizations, aimed as a strategy of cultural political advocacy (No Mas Violencia Contra

---

[5] Called Encuentros Feministas de Latino America y del Caribe [Encounter for Feminists from Latin America and the Caribbean , ECLAC] The ECLAC group has held their meetings almost every year since then; the latest and the 14th Encounter where held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in November 2017 (UN Women, 3d May, 2017).

[6] A date to commemorate violence against women which was created by latin American feminists in 1981 as a day of struggle against social, sexual and political violence against women. This day later became recognized by the UN, in 1999

[7] The 16 Days of Activism is between November 25**th** (International Day Against Violence Against Women) and December 10**th** (International Human Rights Day).

[8] Launched in 2008, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's. The *UNiTE* campaign is a multi-year effort aimed at preventing and eliminating violence against women and girls around the world.

[9] [The Chilean Network to End Violence Against Women] Since 1990 the Network works with the purpose to help to eradicate violence against women and girls. The Network is very active all year round denouncing violence, designing and implementing awareness campaigns, researching and coordinating public interventions in the whole country.

Las Mujeres, 2017). Due to its success, the campaign has continued each year organizing the public commemoration of murdered victims on November 25th (Ibid, 2017).

In Argentina, one example is the national campaign against violence, called Campaña Nacional Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres [National Campaign to Eliminate Violence Against Women]. It was initiated in 2012 by a large number of social movements, feminist and women's organization, and student organizations among other groups (Infonews, 22th of November 2012). The campaign aimed at realizing public gatherings, in central parks of Buenos Aires complemented by public rallies all over the country. The campaign also included 10 specific demands in very diverse areas with the overall aim to decrease violence against women (Ibid, 2012).

2.4 The Ni Una Menos Movement

In Argentina, The NUM movement emerged during 2015 through several public actions, in a combination of recent and increasing cyber-feminism and activism online with feminist activists sharing information and furious posts related to every femicide informed by the media (Laudano, 2017). However, it was a tweet from a local journalist on May 11, 2015, which was the initial element for the creation of NUM (Ibid, 2017)[10]. The tweet generated immediate response amongst a group of her colleagues, following her on Twitter, and consequently they decided to launch a protest action against femicides in the city of Buenos Aires on June 3 at 5pm, 2015, under the slogan Ni Una Menos (Ibid, 2017). At the same instance, the hashtag #NiUnaMenos was created. The action was enormous, gathering 400.000 persons in 240 cities altogether (Laudano, 2017). NUM Argentina used activism on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook for dissemination of the event (Ibid, 2017).

The origins of NUM Chile also date back to 2015 when a group of feminist activists were convicted that it was necessary to create a new feminist movement not related to political parties (The Clinic, 2018). Later, in 2016, two brutal femicides occurred which made feminist activists in Chile furious. They started to organize a mass public rally,

---

[10] The tweet said "Actresses, politicians, artists, businesswomen, social referents ... women, all... are we not going to raise our voices? THEY ARE KILLING US" (Ibid, 2017).

inspired from their sister movement NUM in Argentina, who had the similar experience from the mass public action in Buenos Aires in June 2015 (Ibid, 2018).

Even if NUM in Chile had initiated gently in 2015, it was the public action in Santiago held the 19th of October 2016, which triggered the activism and fuelled the movement. The action gathered over 50,000 people in Santiago and rallies were held in several cities along Chile (Emol, 2016). The public action brought together people of all ages and professions beyond the same slogan with the main objective to demand the end of all violence against women in Chile and in the world (El Mostrador, 2016). After the public action on October 19th, the movement arose with force and a coordination [Coordinadora Ni Una Menos Chile], was set up to organize upcoming activities. Today, NUM Chile work mainly with dissemination, prevention and education.

Due to the national and regional impact Ni Una Menos has had engaging feminists and women's rights activists (in both on and offline activities) across these countries, it becomes a very appropriate case study for this research. Analysing both the Argentinean and Chilean case of NUM will add more information and context about the role of social media activism to reach out and advocate for the end of violence against women.

2.5 Aim of Research and Research Questions

As presented throughout the Background section of this research, the struggle to end violence against women and girls has long been a priority topic for women's and feminist movements in Latin America, and in particular for the movements in Chile and Argentina. In these countries, many different forms of communication campaigns have been disseminated towards the society throughout the last years, but since the expanded use of ICTs, especially the use of social media platforms as a mean of activism by social movements, something has changed in the way women and feminist movements advocate and communicate their intentions (Harcourt, 2013 Mathos 2017). For example, Mathos (2017), states that young women and third wave feminists have been especially active to use the web to "express political views, engage in civic action and mobilize against their oppression" (p. 418). There is also existing research focusing on how online platforms can assist in political and feminist campaign in favour for women's rights as well as in the struggle against patriarchy (Ibid, 2017). Considering these changes in the media landscape

and the new means of activism used by social movements (Castells, 2015) in this research, my objective is to find out what role the use of social media activism played for the contemporary feminist movement NUM in Argentina and Chile, which struggles to end violence against women. I am interested in how these feminist movements approached the social media activism to advocate for women's rights and in particular to end violence against women.

Thereby, aiming to understand what role social media activism played for NUM in Argentina and Chile as a means of communication to engage civil society and advocate towards politicians and the government for the end of all types of sexual violence against women and girls, I will apply the following overall research question: *What role did the use of social media activism play for the feminist movement 'Ni Una Menos' in Argentina and Chile to advocate for the end of sexual violence against women and girls?*

Further, aiming to find an answer on my overall question I found Keller's (2012) argument "Where women's voices are constrained, the internet has given them a voice, that is, an online voice" (as cited in Mutsvairo, 2016, p. 279) a useful hypothesis for my research. Further Antonakis-Nashif (2015) argue in the same direction, stating that the Internet gives feminist a possibility to also be heard by society. Based on these arguments, I therefore ask the following sub research questions: Has the role of social media activism expanded the voices of NUM as a feminist movement in the Chilean and Argentinean societies? Has the use of social media activism helped these movements to be heard by the wider civil society in these countries and setting the topic in the public agenda?
In the following section I will go trough the main disciplines within which this research is situated and explain further the theoretical fields in which my investigation is positioned.

3.   Literature review and existing research

To be able to understand the role of social media activism for this feminist movement, it's necessary to first give a general overview on media, communication, and information technologies focusing on the changing media and communication landscape and how this impacted the way social movements use communication.

3.1 Media, Communication and Information Technologies in a Changing Landscape

The proliferation and convergence of networked media and information and communication technologies[11] during the last three decades have, according to Lievrouw (2013), helped generate a "renaissance of new genres and modes of communication and have redefined people's engagement with media" (p. 1). The important aspect of these new genres and modes of communication is that "media audiences and consumers are now also media users and participants" (Lievrouw, 2013, p.1), altogether immersed in complex ecologies of divides, diversities, networks, communities, and literacies as argued by Lievrouw (2013). She points at the fact this changing landscape has, on the one hand, created unprecedented opportunities for expression and interaction, especially among activists and political or cultural groups. (ibid, 2013).

The new landscape of media and communication technologies offer people a whole range of new devices to communicate individually or as a group to, "…gain visibility and voice, present alternative or marginal views" (Lievrouw, 2013, p. 2). Castells (2015) argues in the same line regarding the potential of communication in this changing media landscape, "the ongoing transformation of communication technology in the digital age extends the reach of communication media to all domains of social life in a network that is at the same time global and local…" (p. 6). These arguments by Lievrouw and Castells are helpful to understand how this new media landscape has fostered the use of activism in the digital space and what role it can play for social movements.

---

[11] Diverse set of technological tools and resources used to transmit, store, create, share or exchange information. These technological tools and resources include computers, the Internet (websites, blogs and emails), live broadcasting technologies (radio, television and webcasting), recorded broadcasting technologies (podcasting, audio and video players and storage devices) and telephony (fixed or mobile, satellite, visio/video-conferencing, etc.), UNESCO glossary (http://uis.unesco.org/en/glossary-term/information-and-communication-technologies-ict)

3.2 Social Movements Increased Use of ICTs

Related to how certain groups like social or political activists have taken advantage of this changing media landscape during the last decades, media and communication scholars engaged in communication or social change have addressed the need to take a closer look at social movements (Tufte, 2017). The focus is especially in relation to the increased use of ICTs and social media platforms as communication channels for their activism and several scholars call therefore for more studies regarding media activism and communication practices within social movements (as cited in Tufte, 2017). Bennett and Segerberg (2016) argue further that recent thinking about movements and communication has expanded as both movement and media forms have changed with the transformation from modern to late modern social structures and as movements and their communication capacities have spilled beyond national borders and adopted social media (as cited in Donatella Della Porta & Mario Diani, 2016).

Historically, Castells (2015) addresses that social movements were dependent on the existence of specific communication mechanisms such as "rumours, sermons, pamphlets, and manifestos, spread from person to person" (p. 15). Nevertheless, this is changing fast in the last few years, "in our time, multimodal, digital networks of horizontal communication are the fastest and most autonomous, interactive, reprogrammable and self-expanding means of communication in history" as argued by Castells (2015, p.15).

The actions of social movements have also often had a transnational spread in the last few years, spanning through many nations and affecting large populations; in this way it invites participation at various levels, from direct physical action to voluminous shows of social support on digital media platforms (Della Porta and Diani, 2016, p. 368). Some examples of this are the anti-war mobilizations before the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the M-15 indignados mobilization in Spain in 2011, the Occupy Wall Street encampments in 2011–2012 and the Arab Spring in 2010 (Ibid, 2016). In recent years, this large-scale communication has experienced a deep technological and organizational transformation (Castells, 2015).

According to Bennett and Segerberg (2016), in line with Lievrouw (2013), one interesting shift in thinking about the role of communication in contention involves "the use of digital and social media to supplement and even displace mass media in terms of

reaching broad publics, often involving them in far more active roles than the spectator or bystander publics of the mass media era" (as cited in Donatella della Porta & Mario Diani, 2016, p. 368). There is also a second shift which involves the use of media to "create organizational networks among populations that lack more conventional institutional forms of political organization" (Ibid, 2016, p. 368). This is especially important to consider because movements often come from the excluded margins of society and their actions seeking to insert their values and demands into the public agenda (Ibid 2016). This last argument is relevant in relation to NUM in both Chile and Argentina, as they struggle to end violence against women, an issue that has for a long time not been taken seriously by the state, and therefore, not been able to set on the public agenda.

3.3 Feminist and women's movement's activism on social media platforms

The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995 already underlined the importance of the internet for women's equality by including this in 1995 Beijing platforms for action: "Women's access to ICTs has essential economic, educational and social benefits" (as cited in Mathos, 2017, p. 421). In relation to this, a range of global initiatives were set up to promote women's rights online (as cited in Mathos, 2017).

The potential of ICTs has made transnational feminist networks adopt new forms of activism, by using the internet for networking, mobilizing politically, and creating awareness around topics such as gender violence (Ibid, 2017). In this regard, Harcourt (2013) argues that "online networks thus emerge as political tools that can assist in pushing forward change" (as cited in Mathos, 2017, p. 422). Regarding the power of ICTs, in particular social media platforms for feminist movement, is a way to insert their feminist discourse in the general public discourse (Gersen, 2017).

Recently, there are many examples of social media activism by feminist movements and widespread online activism in favour for women's and girl's rights, such as the worldwide known hashtag, #bringbackourgirls[12] (Carter-Olsson, 2016). The hashtag is set to be one of the most famous regarding women's and girls' rights issues[13] (Ibid, 2016).

---

[12] Started in April 2014 as a response to the armed kidnapping of 276 girls in Nigeria by the terrorist group Boko Haram. During the first year, the hashtag #bringbackourgirls was mentioned more than 4 million times and the Washington Post reported that it "Spread into a truly global social media phenomenon" (as cited in Carter-Olsen, 2015, p. 773).
[13] The tweet said: "Yes #BringBackOurDaughters #BringBackOurGirls declared by @obyezeks and all people at Port Harcourt World Book Capital 2014,"

Another example of a campaign for women's rights on social media platforms is the Brazilian hashtag #NãoMereçoSerEstuprada[14] [#IDon'tDeserveToBeRaped] campaign, which exemplifies social media's potential for "organizing international communities around life-threatening issues that affect women and girls around the world" (Ibid, 2016, p.778). Carter-Olsen (2016) summarizes this experience, stating that "activists interventions seem to gain more attention when they exploit digital communities to influence real-world publics' policy, conversation, or actions" (Ibid, 2016, p.778).

It has trough this section been able to state that the contemporary social and feminist movements are increslingy applying the use of social media activism as a communication tactic for networking, mobilizing politically, and creating awareness around topics of their concern.

4.   Theory

Due to the different topics covered in this research (Feminist and Womens movements- Information and Communication technologies - Social Media Activism- Violence Against Women), in relation to the overall research question, this research takes a cross disciplinary approach combining theories from the fields of feminist studies, social movement and communication sciences. Within these broader concepts, I have identified the following theoretical underpinnings that particularly serves for the aim of this investigation: feminist and women's movements, networked social movements, collective action on social media networks and cyberfeminism. They will be explored further below.

Feminist and Women's movement

Kitzinger (2000), consider the feminist movement to be a social movement that "challenges the patriarchal and societal systems that serve to oppress women, to advocate for social justice and issues that affect women around the world" (cited in Turley & Fisher, 2018, p. 128). For the relevance of my research, I also apply Friedman (2017) explanation how women's movements in Latin America have assumed three forms of organization;

---

[14] The campaign #NãoMereçoSerEstuprada was created in response to a survey by Brazil's Institute for Applied Economic Research where 65 % of the respondents agreed with the statement, "If dressed provocatively, women deserve to be attacked and raped"(as cited in Carter Olsen, 2016, p.778).

feminist movements, women's movements and movements in which women play a significant role (as cited in Basu, 2017). According to Friedman's (2017) framework, feminist movements is the one most relevant for the study of NUM as it seeks to end women's subordination and gender relations of power, challenging the traditional roles of women and men (as cited in Basu, 2017). NUM apparently challenge gender roles through their struggle against violence, harassment and discrimination of women and girls in both Argentina and Chile.

Despite this, to understand how a feminist movement with this characteristic operates in the new media and communications landscape using ICTs as their primer tool of reaching out, it's necessary to also look at other theories within the field of social movement and communication.

Networked Social Movements

Within social movement theory, Castells (2015) framework about networked social movements provides a useful way for defining organizations such as NUM, due to their characteristics of being both an online movement on social media networks, but also expanding their activities to offline activism in society (Castells, 2015). Networked social movements are "largely based on the Internet, a necessary though not sufficient component of their collective action" (Ibid, 2015.p. 257). According to Castells (2015) while these movements usually start on the Internet social networks, "they become a movement by occupying the urban space" (Ibid, 2015, p.250). This can be through occupation of public squares or the persistence of street demonstrations, but always made by an interaction with the communication on social networks (ibid, 2015). In the case of NUM, this occurred with the first public rally on June 3, 2015 in Buenos Aires and October 19th, 2016 in Santiago and has continued with other street actions where NUM occupy urban spaces and at the same time "connects to the Internet networks" through the social media activism used before and during the public actions organized (ibid, 2015, p.250).

Collective Action on Social Media Networks

To understand collective action or activism on social media it's important to define the concept. For this research, Meikle's (2016) definition of Social media as "networked

database platforms that combine public with personal communication" (p.5) has been applied. In this case, Facebook, is a good example as it works as a form of communication that brings together both the public and personal aspects (Meikle, 2016). As we will discuss further on, the main social media network used by NUM both in Chile and Argentina is precisely Facebook. Castells (2015), in relation to social media discusses the concept of social networking sites (SNS) and argues that the most important activity on the internet nowadays goes through them not just for personal friendships or chatting, but also for socio-political activism (ibid, 2015, p. p.260).

Kavada (2015) and Bennett and Segerberg (2013) argumentation about the potential and empowering potential of social media activism has also been considered as part of the theoretical framework. According to them, there has been a special focus from academics on the capacity of social media for the "quick aggregation of publics around contentious issues and their potential for flash mobilizations, a type of collective action…"(as cited in Kavada, 2015, p. 873). On the other hand, Bennett and Segerberg (2013) emphasize in the same direction, the "empowering potential of social media, suggesting that such platforms are generating a distinct form of protest activity that they call 'connective action" (as cited in Kavada, 2015, p. 873). It's also important to notice social media is thought to "facilitate looser and more personalized forms of collective action, allowing quick coordination among diverse individuals" (Ibid, 2015, p.873).

Further, another aspect that has been applied to this research is in relation to my sub- research question about the possibility of collective action on social media to give feminist movements an online voice. Bennett and Segerberg, (2016) and Lievrouw, (2013), discusses that the increased use of new media has the potential to "blur the usual divisions between media producers and consumers" and that social media networks are a great example as they encourage the participation of audiences in "both creating and distributing much of the information that travels through them" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2016, p.372). This can also, according to other scholars, blur the distinction between "information production and consumption by engaging members of those publics as participants at varying levels of involvement" (Ibid, 2016, p.372). These are important aspects to consider while discussing how social media activism is being used by social movements, but also

regarding the role it can potentially have as a communication tool for dissemination (Ibid, 2016).

I have also decided to place the theories of activism by feminist movement on social media discussed in this research within the concept of collective action, as this is the concept the main scholars in the field are referring to. However, regarding theoretical strands for feminist collective action on social media platforms I rely mainly on Mathos (2017), who among others, states that young women and third wave feminists have been especially active to use the web to "express political views, engage in civic action and mobilize against their oppression" (p.418). I also apply Harcourt (2013) and Carter Olsen (2016), among others, who ague something has changed in the way women and feminist movements advocate and communicate their intentions as previously discussed. The Argentinean scholar Laudano's (2017) research about NUM Activism on social media networks has been applied to understand the process of NUM Argentina but also to support and confirm part of the analysis of the empirical material.

Cyberfeminism

Feminist social media activism is in many ways related to the cyberfeminism approach, defined as "the ways in which women use new technologies to raise awareness about women's issues, seeking to overcome their experiences of exclusion by including themselves within these online platforms and making interconnections with global feminism" (Mathos, 2017, p. 421). However, the concept of cyberfeminism also includes the discussion of the digital divide, which is the "limits of the subversive potential of the web due to material reality of the global political economy of new technologies" (as cited in Mathos, 2017, p.420). With this, Daniels (2009) refers mainly to the digital divide in computer use and access to technology between men and women, comparing the north and the south. However, the digital divide is a current concern regarding cyberfeminism as groups of less privileged, old and unemployed women are among those with less access to online communications and the ICTs, especially in developing countries (Ibid, 2009). This can, according to some scholars (Daniels, 2009; Mathos, 2017) who are more sceptical about the potential of cyberfeminism, be a limitation for online feminists or women's networks in their attempts to have influence in politics. I found the approach of

19

cyberfeminism and the concern of the the digital divide very useful approaches while analysing the empirical material in terms of the role social media activism played for the feminist movement NUM in Chile and Argentina.

5. Research Methodology

To be able to respond to the overall research question I found a qualitative methodology is the most appropriate method because it "helps people to understand the world, their society, and its institutions" (Tracy, 2012, p. 5). This can be related to the main objective of this research, particularly the role social media activism plays to advocate for the end of a social problem such as violence against women and girls. In that sense, qualitative research can be argued to be the indicated method because it "provides knowledge that targets societal issues, questions, or problems" (Ibid, 2012, p.5).

Applying a qualitative methodology, scholars such as Tracy (2012), point out some different concepts the researcher should consider. The first is the concept of self-reflexivity, which means the background shapes the researcher's approach toward various topics and research in general (Ibid, 2012). Considering these arguments, I will discuss further on how my past experiences living in Latin America could have impacted my research design and findings. The second concept to have in mind, according to Tracy (2012) is the context, as qualitative research is about "immersing oneself in a scene and trying to make sense of it" (as cited in Ibid, 2012, p. 3). During all the conversations I had with the activists, interviewed in-depth, I got really close and obtained a lot of important empirical material from the context in which the NUM movement was initiated and developed. I also found out, while applying a qualitative approach, how the activists were operating, their demands, and the context in which they were struggling.

5.1 Qualitative research interviews

By applying semi-structured, in-depth interviews as my main method for obtaining empirical material, my aim was to understand those contexts in society that initiated NUM's demands both in Argentina and Chile as well as understanding the dynamics related to the movements use of social media as a form of activism. To answer my overall research question, I needed to understand the processes behind the scenes, who was

responsible for the strategies of the activism on social media, how did they plan the activism, and what other channels where used for different purposes? Through conducting in-depth interviewing with core activists who had been involved in social media activism on these movements' social media networks, it was possible to find answers on these inquiries which were crucial for the investigation.

I decided to use semi structured interviews, as this allows the researcher to "set the agenda, by prepared questions, however it also leaves room for the respondent's more spontaneous descriptions and narratives" (as cited in Given, 2008, p. 5). While conducting the field work, this method permitted me to adapt the questions to the actual concerns of the movement. I based my interviews on an interview guide with semi-structured questions. (see Appendix C).

5.2 The sample of the cases.

The selection of Ni Una Menos (NUM) as the case study for this research was based on the fact it has been of the biggest contemporary feminist movement struggling to end violence against women in Latin America and considering my privileged position, currently living in Chile and speaking Spanish, I could easily get in contact with activists and obtain information about the movement. According to the literature, a case study is suitable when you "focus on one or a few instances, phenomena, or units of analysis, but they are not restricted to one observation" (as cited in Given, 2008, p.4). I therefore choose to focus on the main events that initiated NUM in a respective country, June 3, 2015 in Argentina and October 19th 2016, in Chile and the social media activism that occurred around that event and what role it played for the movement's work to end violence against women and girls. Due to many factors I will discuss in the analysis, I also discuss the period after these events in a more general perspective and what role social media activism played in a longer perspective for both organizations. By using both the Argentinian and Chilean representation of NUM it's possible to provide a broader sample of the role social media activism played. In the final reflections of the empirical material I discuss both cases and compare some aspects to better be able to answer the overall research question.

5.3 The sample of participants

Altogether I conducted seven in-depth, semi-structured interviews; four of them with activists in Chile and three with activists in Argentina, between June and August 2018 (see Appendix C). I contacted the movements mainly through e-mails or their Facebook pages. Ironically, neither of these contacts resulted. Instead, I had to apply my personal network within feminist organisations to get contact with NUM activists in Chile and Argentina. The snowball effect occurred after the first interview in both countries, where I got the names of other core activists within NUM Chile and Argentina to interview. In Chile, the interviews were conducted face-to-face, in public spaces (e.g., cafés and libraries), normally spending around 1.5-2 hours for each interview.

In Argentina, it was more difficult to get contact at first with the activists, which delayed my planned fieldwork. Once I reached the activists, the interviews were conducted through skype. Conducting online interviews using instant messaging systems and Skype can be a very useful method, because it's flexible and allows the researcher to gather important data that could probably not have been gathered any other way (Ardevol & Gomez Cruz, 2014). Though I couldn't do the interviews in Argentina face-to-face, the advances in technology served as a tool to being able to include their experiences in this research.

All the interviews for this investigation were conducted in Spanish and recorded for the upcoming transcription and content analysis of the material. The excerpts used in the analysis to illustrate the activist's answers and standpoints regarding some topics have all been translated from Spanish into English and I have kept them as close as possible to the original, respecting the individuality of each interviewee. In next subchapter, I will explain further how I analysed the content.

5.4 Content Analysis of The Data.

I applied content analysis to my empirical material because it's a commonly used method of "analysing a wide range of textual data, including interview transcripts, recorded observations...etc" (as cited in Given, 2008, p. 121-122). The literature describes content analysis could be conducted through a qualitative approach which is typically inductive (as cited in Given, 2008). For this research, the recorded material in Spanish was first

transcribed, which at an early stage helped to discover important parts of the interviews and pre-identify categories and patterns that would be interesting to use for the analysis.

When analysing qualitative data such as interview transcripts, which was the case of my research, analysis across the whole set of data typically produce clusters or codes that translate into themes (Ibid, 2008). In the case of my analysis, the themes or categories hadn't been identified a priori, but the questions in the interview guide were set up through careful consideration of responding to the overall research question, based on the theoretical framework for this research (see Appendix C). The main categories identified were the origins of both movements in relation to the public events studied in both countries, the role of social media platforms and social media activism in the organization of the public actions studied. It was also possible to identify how the activists perceived the possibility social media activism has had for them to set the topic in the public agenda and expand their voices in society.

I also reviewed the social media platforms of NUM Argentina and Chile, as well as NUM Argentina's web to understand their origins, the kind of activism they apply and further information about the movements. However, a deeper analysis of their social platforms has not been the aim of this research and a systematic content analysis of each of the social media platforms has therefore not been conducted, just used as a complement.

5.5 Limitations

One of the limitations of this research was to not have been able to conduct face-to-face interviews with NUM activists in Argentina. However, thanks to the evolution of ICTs, their perspective was able to be included using Skye and has added a value to this investigation. Regarding Chile, a limitation important to mention is that NUM Facebook account was unfortunately eliminated on June 10, 2017 due to internal conflicts. As a result of this, all the previous information was lost, as explained to me during the interviews (Activist 2, 2018; Activist 3, 2018). This fact has made it impossible, to review the posts of the call for action on October 19, 2016, and the tactical repertoires applied by NUM on this social media platform.

5.6 Reflections on the Validity and Objectivity of the Results

        I prepared for aspect of validity of the data collected by sending the activists a short resume of the purpose of my investigation and also in some cases, sharing the questions in advance in an attempt to give them time to recall the experience from several years back. I found this a solid method and as a result trough all my interviews, I managed to get the information I aimed to have, independent of the time that had passed.

        Regarding the objectivity of the results and data collected, it's important to have in mind the ways in which researchers' past experiences, points of view, and roles have had an impact (Tracy, 2012). In relation to this, there's a possibility my previous feminist activism in Chile have in some way affected the approach I have taken to this research. On the one hand, my experience from living in Chile has given me a privilege to get close to the activists by interviewing them in Spanish and to understand the context in which these feminist movements are struggling to end violence against women.

        Discussing the validity and objectivity of the results, it's important to mention the interview process in Argentina were only conducted through skype and just one case with web camera. There is a big difference not being able to have a personal contact with the activists interviewed, which probably resulted in these interviews being shorter and less informal than the face-to-face encounters with activists in Chile.

        Finally, the importance of trustworthiness and credibility for the researcher doing a qualitative content analysis are of highest relevance. One suggested way, in social media research, is to complement the interviews with the analysis of documents and social media material produced by the movement, such as press releases, statements, tweets, and Facebook posts (Kavada, 2015). Kavada (2015), argues that scanning the social media sites, like Facebook pages of the movement, serves to illustrate or support the empirical material. I followed this indication by analysing the documents commented in the interviews, such as statements published by the movement related to the public events, and also other documents produced such as campaign material disseminated on social media platforms.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

The activists I interviewed were all informed about the purpose of the research before starting the interview and agreed orally that I could use the content of the interviews for the purpose of my investigation. A statement of consent (see Appendix D) was later sent to all participants by e-mail asking them to sign and send it back in digital format to me for the record. Furthermore, due to some internal conflicts in NUM Chile I decided to not mention any names in my research. Therefore, the activists are named Activist, 1a, 2a, 3a, in Argentina and 1b, 2b, 3b and 4b in Chile. As mentioned above, it's possible to see the date, place, and media used for each interview as well as their role within the movement (see Appendix C).

6. Analysis

In this Analysis the data from the in-depth qualitative interviews with core activists from NUM Chile and Argentina will be presented. The case of NUM Argentina and Chile are presented separately due to the differences of their logic and processes regarding the role of social media activism. In the last sub-section, I tie both cases together, by critically discussing the findings with special focus on its potential to expand the voice of feminist movements, increasing public awareness and setting the agenda regarding violence against women in these countries.

6.1 Ni Una Menos Argentina

As stated, NUM in Argentina emerged during 2014 and 2015, through several public actions, in a combination of online and offline activities among the feminist movement in Buenos Aires. According to the activists I spoke to, the solid network of feminist groups organized throughout Argentina was however the key for the organization for the first massive public event on June 3, 2015. Activists told me it would not have been possible to gather such a huge amount of people (400.000 in 240 places around the country) for a public rally claiming the end of sexual violence and femicides in such a short time, if it had not been for the solid existing feminist movement (Activist 1a, 2018).

Feminism in Argentina was not born with Ni Una Menos, nor with a single tweet. It is sometimes thought that women's movements in Argentina were born with Twitter. The history of feminism in Argentina has many years. (Activist 1a, 2018).

Another activist interviewed, underlined to me that another political phenomenon that was also key for the creation of NUM was the National Encounters of Women [15] [Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres], which has been held every year since 1985 with more than 65,000 women participating in the last few year's events:

The strength of these encounters has made us an organized feminist movement and that was the key to achieving the 'cry for Ni Una Menos' on June 3, 2015. The cry was caused by our history as a feminist movement, not from one day to another (by a tweet). (Activist 2a, 2018).

Through the interviews it was also possible to identify the actions organized from March 2015 and afterwards, which already then highlighted the increased number of cruel femicides in Argentina. It's important to understand the different actions organized, both on and offline, to be able to analyse the role of social media activism for NUM as a movement. One of the most important actions prior to June 3, as underlined by the activists I spoke to, was the Readings Marathon Ni Una Menos [Maraton de Lecturas] against violence and femicides, March 26, 2015 at the Museo de la Lengua [Museum of Language] in Buenos Aires[16].

One of the activists interviewed was one of the creators of the slogan Ni Una Menos and she told me that she proposed the following for the Reading Marathon: "The idea was very graphic: we do not have anybody left over- not one less! Ni Una Menos" (Activist 3a, August 2018).

---

[15] The idea for the gathering of the *the National Encounters of Women* was born in 1985, when a group of Argentine women participated in the World Conference on Women in Kenya. Upon their return, they discussed the need to address issues specific to women in this country. Following the same format of open workshops used in Nairobi, the group launched the first ENM the very next year in Buenos Aires.

[16] Organized by a collective of writers, researchers, poets, academics and other people from the art and culture sphere. The event was called Maraton de Lecturas Ni Una Menos, which made this the first public event organized using the slogan which later would become one of the most known hashtags against sexual violence and femicides in Latin America.

Figure 1. Illustration of one of the most prominent visual icons of the movement. Lininers, D. (2015). Retrieved from: niunamenos.org.ar

Through my fieldwork I also found out that the same group of activists who organized the Reading Marathon, later activated the same network to organize the first Ni Una Menos public rally, on June 3, 2015 (Activist 3, 2018). The goal was according to one of the activists:

A way of reporting the problem, a kind of "shake-up" in society so that everyone would pay attention to this issue, that the femicides were not isolated cases…Our overall aim was to finish with the violence (against women and girls) (Activist 1a, 2018).

The claims from the organizers of the public action on June 3, 2015, was centred on a set of priority issues[17], addressed also by the activists I interviewed. They all insisted on the importance of me reviewing all the public discourses (manifestos) by NUM published on their web page, and to put special attention on the public discourse on June 3, 2015. The aim here is not to make a discourse analysis of the material produced by the movement, however, it was important to understand the claims of NUM to be able to understand the role of the activism they applied both on social media and offline as a result of this.

---

[17] The demands consisted in: a comprehensive implementation of the Law No. 26,485 "Comprehensive Protection Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women; Implementation of the National Plan established in the law, Compilation and publication of official statistics about violence against women including femicide rates; Opening and full functioning of the Supreme Court of Justice's Domestic Violence Offices in all the provinces; Federalization of the telephone line 137 for reporting cases of violence; Guarantees for the protection of victims of violence, among other issues.

Figure 2. Illustration of one of the most prominent visual icons of the movement, Romina Lerda, Romina Moi (2015), retrieved from BBC, 2015, the 20th of February 2019.

6.1.1 Social Media Platforms: The Role of Facebook and Twitter

A study by Laudano (2017) shows Twitter and Facebook were the main channels for dissemination of the NUM event online. However, these channels had different purposes, number of followers and interactions. This information was also confirmed by the interviews with NUM activists I conducted as part of my fieldwork.

Through the analysis of the interviews in combination with secondary sources, it was possible to identify the call for the protest action, which was organized for 23 days (from May 11, 2015 until June 3, 2015). The day after the call was announced on May 12, 2015, the NUM account on Facebook was re-activated; it was opened initially to call for the Reading Marathon on March 26, 2015 (Laudano, 2017). Another account with the same #NiUnaMenos was created on Twitter. Between both groups, an organizing collective was formed with approximately 23 members, most of them journalists with different professional backgrounds, (Activists 1a, 2018, Activist 2, 2018, Activist 3, 2018). One of the activists explained the use of social media platforms like this:

It was almost all (the activism and calls) on social networks, but we had a couple of meetings (...) to define the axes of what our claim was going to be about, because it was not enough with just one title, we had to complement with the content (Activist 3a, 2018).

Analysing both the interviews and the social media platforms, it's possible to conclude that Facebook was and still is the main external communication platform, with 335 842 likes (Ni Una Menos, In Facebook, retrieved February 14, 2019). One of the activists tells:

> We have a Facebook page that is our main communication channel, because Facebook is still one of the most popular tools, and we have a Twitter user, and Instagram and we communicate with each other on WhatsApp. (Activist 1a, 2018)

The same activist explains that Facebook serves to "communicate our actions, we upload our texts, our communications, when there is an important social political event, we write letters and upload them as Facebook messages. On our Facebook page you can find everything" (Activist 1a, 2018).

Internally within NUM Argentina, activists confirmed the communication was and is managed through WhatsApp mainly, consisting in one core group and several sub groups with the federal network of Ni Una Menos. In this way, the core group of activists in Buenos Aires has been able to frame their activities and actions with the rest of the activists around the country. It is important to note however, as Laudano (2017) also points out, that the communication strategies at times between the Facebook group and the Twitter account were discordant (e.g., regarding the colour of the flyers, and the profile and background photos of the accounts). This is confirmed by the interviews conducted; there was no communication strategy for the initial actions organized by NUM, and what I have found out is that there is still no formal communication strategy. Regardless of this, the alliances formed with different actors who contributed in different ways were crucial.

> What happened is that we did not have so much strategy, but reviewing what happened, what worked in that moment, and was fundamental, was the alliance with illustrators, actors and personalities from the world of the entertainment business who joined the mobilization and sensitized about what was happening. (Activist 2a, 2018)

One of the preparative actions online, mentioned by the activists, which turned out to be highly efficient for the dissemination of the cause, was the use of typical selfies with the hashtag #NiUnaMenos. According to Laudano (2017) organizers appealed to celebrities mainly from the entertainment business and the sports world to participate as influencers to reach their public and disseminate the call for the public action.

6.1.2 Social Media Activism

       The main focus of this investigation is to find out the role that social media activism played for NUM to advocate against sexual violence and in this sub-section I will discuss the empirical data obtained from the activists regarding this aspect. As discussed in the beginning of this section, the activists interviewed underlined the importance of the solid feminist movement in Argentina established more than 30 years ago, as one of the fundamental aspects for the creation of the NUM movement with such short notice, as stated by this activist:

       On the one hand, social networks, what they do, is that they amplify and allow a
       more direct communication, but in Argentina, that is, we would not have reached
       that point if we had not had a historical accumulation of feminism. (Activist 3a,
       2018)

To summarize the data, I've got through the analysis of the interviews with activists, I have made a table (see Appendix A), which aims to show the main aspects identified regarding the role of social media activism to advocate for the elimination of violence against women. According to the analysis of the empirical data, it's possible to observe the role attributed to social media activism related to the communication potential both globally and in terms of spreading information (e.g., dissemination, that it can operates like a megaphone). It's also serves to make information available and accessible to everyone and as way of increasing feminist solidarity. The role of creating awareness about the topic was another identified issue that is relevant as this subject many times is neglected and set aside. Further, I will highlight as follow some other aspects identified through the interviews:

The importance to have previous knowledge of communication and digital advantages

According to the activists, what also played an important role was that many of the core members and activists of NUM were journalists who were prepared to communicate the message in a proper manner. "The fact that the majority of us in Ni Una Menos are journalists, because we knew how to build a common language that could challenge the society beyond feminist activism" (Activist 2, 2018). To have the knowledge about how to communicate the messages the movement would like to disseminate seems like an important aspect to succeed. Moreover, through the interviews, it was also possible to analyse the change that the increased use of social media activism played for the feminist movement compared to how communication was applied before:

> Before it was mouth to mouth, from one neighbour to another. Now these forms change through social networks and technologies, but, I say, it's (social media) not the only thing, it's one more thing; and yes there is more information out there. (Activist 2, 2018)

Social media activism increases feminist solidarity

Another aspect highlighted by the activists is how the increased use of ICTs and social media increased feminist solidarity globally. Even though the transnational aspect of NUM is not the focus of this research, it's important to mention this observation by one of the activists:

> Quickly we can get in touch with feminists from other parts of other latitudes and start articulating actions of denunciation, actions of demands. Feminist solidarity is something that is activated with a lot more speed. (Activist 2a, August 2018)

Not all activism is online: importance of street activism

Finally, all the activists underlined the importance of street activism (offline) as a complement to the activism online. "It seems to me that empowerment occurs when we are together in the streets (Activist 1a, 2018). According to Activist 1a (2018) "Yes, we believe that the struggle is still on the street and not in the virtual sphere". The great

achievement of NUM advocating to end violence against women, according to some of the activists I spoke to, is related to the cultural aspect, that violence against women has been accepted culturally in society, but NUM managed to change this:

> For me, the great achievements of Ni Una Menos, are two things: the message to all women is that we are not alone, that is the most powerful message, and as cultural transformation, we won the cultural battle saying that we will not tolerate any forms of violence. (Activist 2, 2018)

Through the analysis of the empirical material regarding the role of social media activism for NUM Argentina, it has been possible to identify several important themes which will be discussed more in depth in the last section, on reflections about the findings.

6.1.3 NUM Activism Up Until Today

The account for NUM actions up until today, both on a national and an international level, advocating for the end of violence against women, are important to consider while analysing the role social media activism played in a broader spectrum. To sum up the direction of the NUM Argentina activism, both on and offline since June 3, 2015, there are a few remarkable actions which had shown a strong mobilizing power that are worth mentioning. First of all, a second public rally was held by the movement one year later, on June 3, 2016 in Buenos Aires and in more than 100 smaller cities around the country (Laudano, 2017). A new hashtag then became a parallel slogan of the movement, complementing #NiUnaMenos, with #VivasNosQueremos [We Want Each Other Alive]. Secondly, the number of participants at the National Encounter of Women, NUM Argentina participated in 2016 increased considerably. Thirdly, because of the previous successful actions during 2016, just a few days after the National Women's Encounter, the first women's strike[18] against sexual violence and femicides was held in Argentina on October 19, 2016, in parallel with public actions and rallies in many other cities around the world

---

[18] The strike was held for an hour, in all possible spaces: work, education, domestic, among others, aiming at highlighting the economic plot of patriarchal violence The subsequent mobilization was truly enormous: more than 250 thousand people in Buenos Aires, and other marches that were added throughout the country.

(among them Chile). NUM declares on their website that this moment inspired NUM groups to start in Chile, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Germany, and in Austria. The fourth important moment to highlight is the first International Women's Strike (IWS)[19] that NUM joined was held on the March 8, 2017.

I will come back to my results regarding social media activism for NUM Argentina and what role it can play for the overall aim to end violence against women in the final section where I critically reflect over the finding in my analysis.

6.2 Ni Una Menos Chile

The great breakthrough of NUM in Chile followed a similar logic as the case of NUM Argentina. Even though, as I explained in the background section, a group of women had been gathering since 2015 using the NUM slogan, the massive public rally on October 19, 2016, was the actual trigger of the movement. Compared to the origins of NUM Argentina, in NUM Chile on the contrary, had both international and transnational influences. This was particularly by NUM in Argentina, but also from mobilizations in Mexico, Spain and other parts of the Latin America during the previous years from 2015-2016. However, according to the activists, it was the combination of the international influences together with the increasing number of femicides in Chile during 2016 which made feminists furious. Through the incipient NUM network and other national linkages of women's organization in Chile, it was possible to organize a call on such a short notice. As explained by one of the former NUM activists:

> The time of preparation and call for the march in Chile (October 19, 2016) was very short and we began to contact all the fellow feminists we know in El Salvador, Peru, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay so we could raise this as Latin America. (Activist 1, 2018)

---

[19] The IWS was organized through an international network on Facebook (Paro Internacional de Mujeres, PIM) and inspired by events such the Women's March in the USA, held in January 2017, but mainly the inspiration came from a group of women in Poland (ibid). The participation of NUM in the strike, together with the network of women's organizations, got support from the trade union centrals to support the initiative of the women's strike, while appealing to an interpellation of the question of work and at the same time doing it as a feminist key issue.

In relation to this, it's worth mentioning that on October 19, 2016, public rallies were held under the slogan #NiUnaMenos in many cities around Latin America, among them Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Guatemala City, Mexico City and La Paz (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2016). The transnational aspect of NUM organizing in Chile is very important, however, not the focus of this investigation. Nevertheless, it shows the possibilities social media activism plays not just on a national level but probably even more transnationally.

"When the march started in 2016, several of us were already connected by other issues, especially here in Latin America for the free abortion law" (Activist 1, 2018).

Regarding the incipient claims that led to the big march in Santiago, Chile, it was mainly the increased wave of femicides, especially young girls who had been murdered. Another activist explains the circumstances which led to the public action in October 2016: "It was the last straw, it was a lot of impotence and we said -let's make a call and let's march in solidarity with the Chileans and the Argentinians" (Activist 2, 2018).

The public event on October 19, 2016 gathered almost 80,000 people according to the organizers and 50,000 according to the official numbers, but the activists estimated even more. "The call for "Ni Una Menos" was very, very large: there were more than 100,000 people. Well, I think it's the biggest march I've seen" (Activist 2, 2018).

Figure 3. The call for the public action, October 19, 2016. Retrieved from from: Twitter, @NiUnaMenosChile, 17 October 2016

The principal claims from the organizers and NUM Chile for this first action was to end all violence against women and girls, with specific attention to end femicides. According to

some of the activists, this time the message towards the state was different and this is what makes NUM different from other existing feminist movement against violence.

"I think the difference with Ni Una Menos is that it was a rebuke to the State. The state have a responsibility because they are not protecting the lives of women in Chile" (Activist 1, 2018).

According to the same activist, this is demonstrated for example, through the fact that the hashtag #NiUnaMenos was shown at the presidential palace on the evening of the march, as well as the fact that several of Chiles ex- President, Ms. Michelle Bachelet's ministers (among them the Minister of Gender Equality) went out to participate in the action on the street.

Figure 4. Photo #NiUnaMenos, visualized at the Presidential Palace, 16th October, 2016. Retrieved from: Izquierda Diario, 20 October, 2016

6.2.1 Social Media Platforms: The Role of Facebook and Twitter

My empirical material confirms Facebook was the main communication platform for NUM Chile, calling upon the first action on October 19, 2016. The activists I spoke to also confirmed it continued to be the main communication tool also afterwards for the upcoming NUM movement. This information has been confirmed through screening of the NUM Chile fan page on Facebook and Twitter accounts. According to the activists, for the initial public action, social media activism was the core of the mobilization:

Everything was on Facebook. Twitter was used but Facebook was the main tool, Messenger internally, Facebook of Ni Una Menos Chile, Facebook groups that were coordinated in each city for the marches all-around the country. A few days before (October 19) we did some massive WhatsApp groups, but it was for the details. (Activist 1, 2018)

The first official fan page of NUM Chile was donated to NUM Chile on October 27, 2016 by the left-wing feminist organization called Pan y Rosas[20] in Chile who already then had a fan page on Facebook against sexual violence with around 5,000 followers in October 2016. After the march on October 19, this page, called NUM Chile, managed to reach 22,000 followers and was administrated by the NUM Chile inner circle. However, as I explained in the methods section, this page was unfortunately eliminated on June 10, 2017 due to internal conflicts (Activist 2, 2018; Activist 3, 2018).

I confirmed Twitter was the second social media platforms used for the call upon October 19, created in May 2015, and currently has 7 085 followers (23th February, 2019). Even though the hashtag #NiUnaMenos went number two on the trending topic list for Santiago, Chile at 1835 on October (Trendinalia, 2016), the traffic on this social media platform was much lower than Facebook, as the activists also explained through the interviews. For instance, the tweet by the organizers to call for the public action on October 19, only got 43 likes and 63 retweets (Twitter, @NiUnaMenosChile, 2016).

It is important to state however, that another communication channel that played a crucial role for the initial mobilization on October 19, 2016, was the traditional media coverage by Chilean television channels who got information about the NUM public action on social media platforms. According to the activists there was no specific strategy to reach the traditional media, but they were contacted by several of the most important TV channels such as CNN Chile, TVN and Canal 13 (Activist 1, 2018).

---

[20] The Pan y Rosas [Bread and Roses] women's group was formed after the National Meeting of Women of 2003, in the city of Rosario, with partners in the Socialist Workers Party (PTS) and independent students and workers. Pan y Rosas believes that the struggle against the oppression of women is also an anti-capitalist struggle, and that is why only the social revolution led by millions of workers in alliance with the poor people and all sectors oppressed by this system, which puts an end to the chains of capital, can lay the foundations for the emancipation of women.

6.2.2 Social Media Activism

In similar way, as the Argentinean activists, NUM activists in Chile underlined the role of social media activism for dissemination and information about the topic of violence against women. Activists also highlighted the transnational aspect and that social media is without no doubt a tool of activism (see Appendix B). In the table (Appendix B) a summary of the main aspects identified through the empirical material is summarized. However, activists also underline some other important aspects such as the possibility to generate a space for feminist movements and that social media must be part of the communication strategy (Activist 3, 2018). A continuation a will list some relevant aspects identified regarding the role of social media activism:

The possibility to make a discourse viral

One of the roles identified was the possibility to spread a discourse on social media platforms, as confirmed by one of the activists. "I think it's (Social Media) a role that makes a speech viral, but it's not just the social network itself " (Activist 4, 2018).   The same activist also underlined that the role social media played for the conformation of these movements would not have been possible if there was not a strong feminist movement behind them like the case presented regarding NUM Argentina (Activist 4, 2018). However, this information was not mentioned as a previous condition by all the Chilean NUM activists interviewed, like the case was in Argentina, which is important to underline.

The possibility to have a voice

Furthermore, another important aspect mentioned by the activists, was the possibility to be actors with their own voice in society.

"It's an important role because we need to be the actors… Inform... give our own testimonies, our own experiences, upload evidence. Invite people … To make ourselves visible in the established media" (Activist 4, 2018).

This statement by one of the activists confirms my initial hypothesis about the possibility of social media activism to give feminist activists an "online voice" (Mutsvairo,

2016, p.279) and a possibility to also be heard by the wider society, for example, as stated by Antonakis-Nashif (2015). I will discuss this further in the critical discussion of the findings.

Accessibility for everyone?

In relation to the role of accessibility that many of the activists attributed to the social media platforms, one of the activists makes an important note regarding the digital divide and that not all the women that NUM would like to reach have internet access, for example, in rural areas of Chile:

> We've also realized that, it's more important to go to the field than social networks…Many people in the smaller towns, who do not have time, who do not have Internet, they have many children, they have a very precarious life. (Activist 3, 2018)

As discussed in the theory section the digital divide is a current concern as it affects groups of less privileged people, among them old and unemployed women with less access to online communications and ICTs, especially in developing countries (Daniels, 2009,). The point I want to make here, is that according to some scholars (Daniels, 2009; Mathos, 2017), who are more sceptical about the potential of cyberfeminism, the digital divide can be a limitation for online feminist or women's networks in their attempts at influencing in politics. It's therefore interesting that some of the activists in NUM highlighted this aspect when asked about the role it can play. I will come back to this aspect in the last section.

The role of helping victims of sexual violence

Finally, another important finding is that activists highlighted the potential that social media activism has had to help victims of violence to get support and someone to talk to when government support has not been not enough. NUM Chile has received and still receives around 20-30 messages a day (until June 2017) from battered women who needed assistance through their Facebook page.

At the beginning they tried to help everyone that contacted them. In the meanwhile, they understood their capacities were not enough to deal with all these cases (Activist 2, 2018; Activist 3, 2018). It's interesting to point out that in the case of Argentina, activists did not mention this aspect as one of NUM Argentina's current activities. I will not go deeper into analysing this phenomenon because of the limitations in this research, but it would definitely be interesting to focus on how social media can be a way of helping battered women directly.

6.2.3 NUM Activism Up Until Today

The Facebook page of NUM Chile currently has 16 517 likes (Facebook, @NiUnaMenos Chile, February 14, 2019). The numbers reflect that this platform has still not yet been able to recover all the followers from before June 2017, when the originally page was eliminated. After the initial event in October 2016, NUM has been concentrating their activism around different smaller campaigns and events to prevent femicides and violence against women in Chile. For instance, they are planning to organize an action on December 19, 2018 as the national day against femicides (Activist 2, 2018). They work a lot highlighting specific cases of cruel femicides through social media, mainly the Facebook page, but there is a lot of activism on twitter as well, which has been possible to detect by screening the account @NiUnaMenos Chile.

To sum up this section about NUM Chile, my aim was to present the empirical material regarding what role the social media activism on the social media platforms played for the initiation and expansion of the movement from October 2016, and onwards. I will continue by analysing the possibility social media activism could have to expand the voice of feminist movements and set the topic of violence against women in the public agenda.

6.3 Critical Discussion of The Findings: Setting the Topic of Violence Against Women on the Public Agenda

Departing this research I wondered if a potential role of social media activism is to give feminist movements, such as NUM, an online voice as argued by Keller "Where women's voices are constrained, the internet has given them a voice, that is, an online

voice" (as cited in Mutsvairo, 2016, p.279) and a possibility to also be heard by the wider society, for example, as stated by Antonakis-Nashif (2015), in their claims for the end of all forms of violence against women. Aiming at answering the sub research questions I will discuss the empirical material, focusing on the interviews with the NUM activists in both countries.

First of all, many of the activists in NUM Chile addressed the possibility that NUM movements have had to expand the voice of the feminist movements and setting the topic in the public agenda:

> I do believe that what is achieved with this mobilization (NUM) is that it takes a step to put the issue of gender violence on the public agenda…it goes from being a theme of feminists to be a concern of the whole country (Activist 4b, 2018).

In these regards, the same activist underlines that she believes the main achievement of NUM Chile is that they have been able to: "(1) simplify the discourse about sexual violence; (2) homogenize it to the society; (3) install it in the public agenda" (Activist 4b, 2018).

Another aspect regarding the possibility of NUM to set the topic of violence against women and girls in the public agenda is that through the activism both on social media and on the streets, helped to denaturalize the concept of violence against women and girls because until today, it's been mostly socially accepted by the Chilean society (Activist 2b, 2018). According to the activists I spoke to in NUM Argentina, the experience is similar. Through a combination of social activism and activism on the streets, the perception is that NUM achieved to install the topic in the public agenda and increased the social acceptance, about what can be identified as sexual violence has changed.

> For me, the great achievements of Ni Una Menos, are two things. The message to women is that - we are not alone- that is the most powerful message, and as cultural transformation, we won the battle and that I find very interesting. We will not tolerate any forms of violence. (Activist 2a, 2018)

It's very difficult to demonstrate with numbers that the activism, both on and offline, by NUM in both countries, has been able to install the topic in the public agenda and expand the voice of the feminist movement and, that's not the aim of this research. However, the qualitative empirical material from the in-depth interviews with core activists, tells us about their impression regarding the potential NUM has had to put the topic of violence against women in the public agenda in both countries, especially related to the big actions such as on June 3, 2015 in Argentina and October 19, 2016 in Chile.

Regarding the possibility of social media activism to expand the voice of feminists or give them an *online voice* as stated by Keller (2012), I will argue that I have also been able to find support for this argument, as demonstrated in the section where I present the role NUM activists attribute to social media activism. Even though these perceptions are much stronger by the activists in NUM Chile where activists mention aspects such as the possibility to make a discourse viral and to be actors with their own voice in society. In this regard, Castells (2015) argues "The autonomy of communication is the essence of social movements because it is what allows the movement to be formed, and what enables the movement to relate to society at large beyond the control of the power holders over communication power" (p.10). This can directly be related to the importance for NUM Chile to use social media activism as an autonomous communication channel.

In Argentina, on the other hand, the role of social media is according to the activists I interviewed, more about the possibility of social media as a dissemination and communication tool to reach out about the topic. This difference could maybe depend on the fact that the feminist movement in Argentina is much stronger and has a long history through more traditional activism actions, such as the National Women Encounters, which are held every year and are a strong national network of feminist organization (Laudaro 2017). Probably in Chile, due to a weaker feminist movement before NUM was installed, the possibility to use social media as a way to become actors with their own voice in society has been much more important.

6.3.1 The importance of activism in the public spaces

One aspect of special concern by many of the activists interviewed is in line with what Bennette and Segerberg (2016) also points at regarding the underestimation of the role of face to face communication and mass media by those who focus on digital media. According to them just focusing on the internet "is misguided when attempting to understand communication in movements" (Ibid, 2016, p. 379). In relation to this, activists from both NUM Chile and Argentina mentioned the importance of face-to-face communication and activism in public spaces. Especially related to the existence of the digital divide in these countries which affects mainly women's access to ITCs because of the "material reality of the global political economy of new technologies" especially in the global south (Mathos, 2017, p. 420). This is of special concern in rural and poor areas[21] of Argentina and Chile, as well for older women, as highlighted by the activists in NUM Therefore, NUM in Chile has opted to also use traditional tactics in their repertoire to reach women activists and spread their messages, for example, by putting up posters in local organization establishments and at union organizations headquarters, among others. As a result, other communication channels become an important compliment to the internet in smaller localities in Chile such as the community radio programs, as explained by one of the activist:

> In the bigger capitals, social media serves much better, but in the smaller cities and especially rural areas, the community radio is very important. Because many women are involved in making community radio or know someone who is participating, so it's a means of dissemination. (Activist 1b, NUM Chile, 2018)

The Argentinean activists on the other hand highlighted the importance of the strength of their feminist movement established many decades ago, especially through the yearly feminist encounters since the 1980s. One of the activists summarizes, "We believe

---

[21] For instance, the national poll for access to technology 2017 in Chile shows that even though access to the Internet in Chile is increasing each year, 12,6% of the population (both urban and rural areas) still does not have access to the Internet at home, (IX Encuesta de Accesos y Usos de Internet, 2017, SUBTEL). In rural areas in Chile the digital divide is more present, as 23,3% does not have access to internet yet.

the struggle is still on the streets and not in the virtual world" (Activist 3a, NUM Argentina 2018).

Finally, in this regard, Bennett and Segerberg's (2016) argument about the contemporary challenge is moreover to "understand the rich range of roles of communication in movements and to more fully theorize how different media fit into different kinds of movements" seems very relevant in this context (p. 379). We cannot assume all movements are the same and they would therefore need different communication tools (Ibid). In relation to NUM, as we have seen, there are differences in the roles social media activism plays just from one country to another, even if they are both in South America, struggling for the same cause. The importance to consider the context of each movement when it comes to study their communication practices and activism is therefore crucial.

7. Conclusions

This research aimed at finding out what role the use of social media activism played for the contemporary feminist movement NUM in Argentina and Chile to advocate for the end of violence against women and girls. I departed from the changes in the new media landscape (Castells 2015; Lievrouw, 2013) with the increased use of ICTs and the new means of activism used by social movements, in particular by feminist movements, such as using social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter for their tactical repertoires (Harcourt, 2013; Mathos 2017). I discussed relevant literature and stated that this research takes a cross disciplinary approach combining theories from the fields of feminist studies, social movement theories and communication sciences.

Through in-depth interviews with core activists from NUM both in Argentina and Chile as the main method for obtaining the empirical data it has been possible to identify the role of certain social media platforms for NUM's tactical repertoire in their strive to advocate for the end of violence against women and girls. The activists in both cases agreed on the role of social media activism as an efficient information and a dissemination channel to raise awareness about the topic because it acts like a megaphone and has the possibility to spread the discourse of no more violence against women on social media network sites. In that sense, it was identified as an available and accessible communication tool for feminist movements in comparison to traditional media channels in these countries.

The role of social media activism for NUM in Argentina and Chile has without doubt been an important tactic in NUM's repertoire, but as demonstrated through the analysis, not the only tool that facilitated to set the topic of violence against women in the public agenda.

Other aspects regarding the use of social media activism detected through the interviews with activists in Argentina highlighted the importance to have previous knowledge of how to communicate a message for a successful activism on social media platforms, which was the case for the activists I interviewed. It was also underlined that social media activism increases feminist solidarity cross the borders because they can reach, support, and get inspired by each other at a distance. These findings confirm the initial arguments of this research about the transnational spread of feminist networks.

As regarding NUM Chile, it was possible to identify that their Facebook page played an important role in helping battered women as they could get support and someone to talk to when possible government support had not been not enough. Moreover, in the case of NUM Chile I found that social media activism had generated a space for them to be actors with their own voice and in that sense, it can be said to have played the role as an "autonomous communication channel online" (Castells, 2015, p.10). This finding is in line with my initial hypothesis based on Keller (2012), who argues that the internet has the possibility to give women's movements an online voice (as cited in Mutsvairo, 2016). In Argentina, on the other hand, I didn't find enough evidence to argue that they had got an online voice in the same way as the empirical material in Chile supports. This difference could maybe depend on the fact that the feminist movement in Argentina is much stronger and has a long history through more traditional activism actions; social media activism has then just been complementary because their voices already have a certain place in society.

The activism on social media platforms by NUM in both countries contributed to set the topic of violence against women in the public agenda. I found that activists perceived their tactical repertoires where able to denaturalize the concept of violence against women and girls and simplify the discourse, especially related to the big actions such as on June 3, 2015 in Argentina and October 19, 2016 in Chile. This has, according to the activists, changed the social acceptation regarding this topic and made it a concern of everyone in society.

However, regardless off the role social media activism played for NUM, the importance seems to lie in a combination of digital and street activism for feminist movements advocating to end violence against women because it assures a broad reach to all women and girls in society – including the ones without access to internet. My findings are in line with Kavada's (2015) research about the Occupy Movements, while identifying that social media played a supportive role to the activities taking place in the physical space. Also, Castells's (2015) arguments that digital communication networks are an indispensable, but not sufficient component of collective action, supports my conclusion.

My research demonstrates the activism on social media platforms by the NUM movement has played an important role to set the topic of violence against women on the public agenda in Argentina and Chile, resulting in a generally greater awareness. However, to end violence against women in these countries much more effort is needed mainly by the states, the court systems, and probably the most important, a cultural transformation in these societies that still will take a long time to achieve. The contribution of NUM and other feminist and women's movements, may it be on social media platforms or on the streets, are a crucial element to strive for the basic right of women and girls to be able to live their lives in liberty without fear of violence.

8.   References

Albo, N. A., & Valdés, L. C., (2016). *Juventud y espacio publico en las americas*, La Habana, Cuba**,** Editorial Casa de Las Americas,

Antonakis-Nashif, A., (2015). Hashtagging the invisible: Bringing private experiences into public debate: An #outcry against sexism in germany. In N. Rambukkana (Eds.), *#Hashtag publics: The power and politics of discursive networks* (pp. 101-115). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Ardevol, E., & Gomez Cruz, E. (2014). Digital ethnography and media practices. In *The International Encyclopedia of media studies: Research methods in media studies*. (Vol. 7). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Basu, A**.** (2017)**.** *Women's movement in the global era: The power of local feminisms*. (2nd ed). New York, NY: Routledge.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2016, October 19). *#NiUnaMenos: Miles de Mujeres se toman las calles en America Latina para exigir el fin de la violencia de género*. Retrieved from: https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-37711297

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2016, October 20). *Quien esta detrás de la imagen de la campaña #NiUnaMenos que se volvió viral?* Retrieved from: https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-37718086

Bruns, A., & Brugess J. (2015). Twitter hashtags from ad hoc to calculated publics. In N. Rambukkana (Eds.), *#Hashtag Publics: The power and politics of discursive networks* (pp. 13-19). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Bennett, W. L. & Segerberg, A. (2016). Communication in movements. In D. Porta & M. Diani (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of social movement* (pp. 367-382). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Carter-Olson, C. (2016). #BringBackOurGirls:digital communities supporting real-world change and influencing mainstream media agenda's. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*(5), (pp.772-787). doi: 10.1080/14680777.2016.1154887

Coordinadora Ni Una Menos Chile, (n.d) In Facebook (@niunamenoschile), Retrieved February 22, 2019, from: https://www.facebook.com/niunamenoschile/

Drüecke, R., & Elke, Z. (2016). Online feminist protest against sexism: the German-language hashtag #aufschrei. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*(1), (pp.35-54). doi: 10.1080/14680777.2015.1093071

Daniels, J. (2009). Rethinking cyberfeminism(s): Race, gender and embodiment. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 37*(1&2), (pp.101-124). doi: 10.1353/wsq.0.0158

Diani, M. (1992) The concept of social movement. *The Sociological Review*, *40*(1). doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x

El País. (n.d.). *Special Edition, International Day to eliminate Violence against Women*, Retrieved from https://elpais.com/tag/dia_internacional_eliminacion_violencia_contra_la_mujer/

El Pais. (2018, November 25). *America Latina; La región más letal para lás Mujeres.* Retrieved from https://elpais.com/sociedad/2018/11/24/actualidad/1543075049_751281.html

El Pais. (2018, March 8). *Argetnina registra 86.700 denuncias por violencia de género en 2017.* Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/03/08/argentina/1520524596_177942.html

El Pais. (2017, December 24). *Yo también' y la revolución de las mujeres*. Retrieved from https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/12/23/actualidad/1514057371_076739.html

Fenton, N. (2016). Left out? Digital media, radical politics and social change. *Information, Communication & Society, 19*(3), (pp.346-361). doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1109698

Gerbaudo, P. & Treré, E. (2015). In search of the 'we' of social media activism: Introduction to the special issue on social media and protest identities. *Information, Communication & Society*, *18*(8), (pp.865-871).

doi:10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043319

Gersen, C. (2017). *Tagging onto Metoo*. Retrieved from https://mastersofmedia.hum.uva.nl/blog/2017/11/16/tagging-onto-metoo

Given, L. M. (2008). Content analysis. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods.* (pp.121-122). doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n420

Given, L. M. (2008). In depth interviews. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods.* (pp.423). doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n420

Given, L. M. (2008). Interviewing. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods.* (pp.471-472). doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n420

Given, L. M. (2008). Semi structured interviews. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods.* (pp.811-812). doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n420

The Guardian. (2017, December 1). *Alyssa Milano on the #Metoo movement: We're not going to stand for it anymore.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2017/dec/01/alyssa-milano-mee-too-sexual-harassment-abuse

Guedes, A., García-Moreno, C., & Bott, S. (2014). Violencia contra las mujeres en Latinoamérica y el Caribe. *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*, *14*(1), (pp.41-48).

Retrieved from https://www.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2014/Foreign-Affairs-2014-Guedes-et-al-Violencia-contra-las-mujeres-en-LAC.pdf

Harcourt W (2013) Transnational feminist engagement with 2010+ activisms. *Development and Change* 44: (pp. 621–637) doi: 10.1111/dech.12038

Infonews. (2012, November 22*). Campaña Nacional Contra Las Violencias hacia Las Mujeres*. Retrieved from http://www.infonews.com/nota/48750/campana-nacional-contra-las-violencias

Karcher, K. (2016). How (not) to "Hollaback": Towards a transnational debate on the "Red Zora" and militant tactics in the feminist struggle against gender based violence. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*(1), (pp.70-85). doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.1093099

Kavada, A. (2015). Creating the collective: Social media, the Occupy Movement and its constitution as a collective actor. *Information, Communication & Society, 18*(8), (pp.872-886). doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043318

Lievrouw, L. (2013). Alternative and activist new media. Oxford: Polity Press.

Laudano, C. (2015). Entre las redes sociales y el #FeminismoLoHizo. In VV.AA. *#NiUnaMenos Vivxs nos queremos*. (1st ed). (pp. 252-258). Buenos Aires, Milena Caserola,

Laudano, C. (2015). Feministas en 'la red'. Reflexiones en torno a las potencialidades y restricciones de la participación en el ciberespacio. En: Rovetto, Florencia y Fabbri, L.(comps.). *Sin feminismos no hay democracia: género y ciencias sociales*. (pp. 31-54.) Rosario: DelRevés,,

La Casa del Encuentro. (2017). *Informe de Femicidio en Argentina Adriana Marisel Zambrano.* Retrieved from www.lacasadelencuentro.org/femicidios03.html

Laudano, C. (2017). *Movilizaciones #NiUnaMenos y #VivasNosQueremos en Argentina. entre el activismo digital y el #FeminisoLoHizo.* Retrieved from http://www.en.wwc2017.eventos.dype.com.br/resources/anais/1503871106_ARQUIVO_Laudano_Texto_completo_MM_FG.pdf

Matos, C. (2017). New Brazilian feminism and online networks: Cyberfeminism, protests, and the female "arab spring". *International Sociology, 32*(3), 417- 432. doi: 10.1177/0268580917694971

Mattoni, A. (2008). ICTs in national and transnational mobilizations, *Triple C: Cognition, Communication, Co-Operation, 6*(2), 105-124. doi: 10.31269/triplec.v6i2.82

Morahan-Martin, J. (2000). Women and the internet: Promise and perils. *CyberPsychology & Behaviour, 3*, 683-691. doi: 10.1089/10949310050191683

Mutsvairo, B. (2016). *Digital activism in the social media era.* New York, NY: Springer International Publishing.

Ni Una Menos (n.d), *Manifiestos,* Retrieved from: http://niunamenos.org.ar/

Ni Una Menos (n.d), *Carta Organica,* Retrieved from: http://niunamenos.org.ar/

Ni Una Menos (n.d), *Acciones,* Retrieved from: http://niunamenos.org.ar/

Ni Una menos (n.d), In Facebook (@NUMArgentina), Retrieved Feberuary 22, 2019 from: https://www.facebook.com/NUMArgentina

Ni Una Menos, (n.d), In Twitter, (@NiUnaMenosChile), Retrieved on February 22, 2019, from: https://twitter.com/NiUnaMenosChile

Ni Una menos, (n.d) In Twitter, @NiUnaMenos_, Retrieved on February 22, 2019, from https://twitter.com/NiUnaMenos_

ONU Mujeres (n.d.). *Poner fin a la violencia contra las mujeres*. Retrieved from http://lac.unwomen.org/es/que-hacemos/fin-a-la-violencia-contra-las-mujeres

Oxfam. (2018). Rompiendo moldes: Transformar imaginarios y normas sociales para eliminar la violencia contra las mujeres. Retrieved from http://209.177.156.169/libreria_cm/archivos/pdf_1679.pdf

Polo, D. (2016, October 13). *Inside the 31st National Women's Encounter*. Retrieved from: http://www.argentinaindependent.com/currentaffairs/analysis/31st-national-womens-encounter/

Red Chilena Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres. (2017). *Campaña cuidado el Machismo Mata.* Retrieved from: http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/cuidad-el-machismo-mata/

Rosales, M. B. (2016). #Niunamenos y los debates fundantes de communicación y género [Ni Una Menos and the founding debates in communication and gender]. Retrieved from

http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/10915/57755/Documento_completo.pdf-PDFA.pdf?sequence=1

Stache, L. C. (2014). Advocacy and political potential at the convergence of hashtag activism and commerce. *Feminist Media Studies, 15*(1), 162-164. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2015.987429

Scharff, C., Smith-Prei, C., & Stehle, M. (2016). Digital feminism: Transnational feminism in German protest cultures. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*, 1-16. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2015.1093069

SVT. (2017, November 19). *Uppropet Tystnad tagning tar plats på scen*. Retrieved from https://www.svt.se/kultur/uppropet-tystnadtagning-tar-plats-pa-scen

Tufte, T. (2017). *Communication and social change: A citizen perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Tracy, S. J. (2012). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Turley, E. & Fisher, J. (2018). Tweeting back while shouting back: Social media and feminist activism. *Feminism & Psychology, 28*(1), 128–132. doi: 10.1177/0959353517715875

Trendinalia, (2016, 19th October), Retrieved from https://www.trendinalia.com/twitter-trending-topics/chile/santiago-161019.html,

United Nations, (2015) *Violence Against Women*, The Worlds Women, (6) Retrieved from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/worldswomenhttp://u

UN Women, (2018) 16 Days of Activism, Retrieved from: http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/take-action/16-days-of-activism

Valenzuela, S., Arriagada, A., & Sherman, A. (2012). The social media basis of youth protests, behaviour: The case of Chile. *Journal of Communication, 62*(2), 299-314. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01635.x

Villegas, D. M. (2018). Violencia contra la mujer: Informe tematico 2017. Retrieved from http://www.uchile.cl/publicaciones/141701/informe-tematico-violencia-contra-la-mujer-en-chile-y-ddhh

Appendix A

The role of social media activism according to the activists:

- It operates like a megaphone- it's easy to spread information

- It's a communication tool

- It's a strategic alliance

- A possibility and power to circulate information

- Serves to spread information (disseminate)

- Serves to make information available and accessible to everyone.

- Creates awareness

- It's immediate

- It's easier to communicate globally

- It's easier to communicate in general

- It increases feminist solidarity (globally)

(Interviews with NUM Argentina activists, see Annex for more information)

Appendix B

The role NUM activists in Chile attributed to social media activism:

- Be actors with our own voice in society

- Inform and disseminate

- Become known in established media channels

- It is accessible

- Supports victims of violence (possibility to contact NUM for help)

- Possibility to make a discourse viral (the discourse of no more violence)

- It's a language bridge

- It was the centre of the organization of NUM Chile

- It's a tool of activism

- It's interconnected

- It helps dissemination on a transnational level

- It generate a space (for disseminating the discourse of no more violence against women)

Source: Interviews with NUM Activists in Chile

Appendix C

Interviews:

Name	Role within movement	Date	Country	Media Used
Activist a	Ex-activist and Coordinator social media NUM in 2016	July 12, 2018	Chile	Face to face
Activist 2a	Activist and current coordinator NUM	August 2, 2018	Chile	Face to face
Activist 3a	Ex-coordinator for social media NUM	July 26, 2018	Chile	Face to face
Activist 4a	Activist NUM	July 18, 2018	Chile	Face to face
Activist 1b	Activist NUM	August 17, 2018	Argentina	Skype
Activist 2b	Activist NUM	August 21, 2018	Argentina	Skype
Activist 3b	Activist NUM and co-founder	August 2, 2018	Argentina	Skype

Appendix D

Statement of consent

I authorize the use of the content of the interview given by me to Cecilia Sjöberg in the master's thesis " The role of social media activism for the Ni Una Menos movements in Argentina and Chile" (provisional name), to be defended in the scope of the Master's program 'Communication for Development' of the University of Malmö, Sweden, and articles for presentation at conferences and publication in academic journals.

I declare that my real name will not be used at work except as authorized by the ☐ below.

☐ I authorize the publication of my real name in the above-mentioned master project and in works related to it.

Signature

_____Santiago, Chile XX, 2018

Appendix E

Interview guide (English Version)

**This guide was translated to Spanish for all the interviews.

General introductory questions

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself, what's your profession, where do you work, are you actively participating in Ni Una Menos? If not, are you participating in any other feminist movement or organization?

About the feminist movement and Ni Una Menos

2. How was the feminist movement organized to struggle violence against women before 2015 in Argentina/Chile? Which were their principle demands?

3. How was Ni Una Menos in Argentina/ Chile created?

4. Was it influenced by the transnational feminist movement in Latin America? (In case of Chile, what was the relation to Ni Una Menos Argentina)

5. (For NUM Argentina Activists) What's the origin of the name of this movement 'Ni Una Menos'?

6. How would you describe Ni Una Menos Argentina/ Chile? Is it a feminist or a women's rights movement, a feminist collective, an organization or a looser network?

7. Which has been the principle demands of Ni Una Menos Argentina/ Chile since its creation?

Communication and social media activism

8. How does Ni Una menos Chile comunicate internally / externally?

9. Which are the main communication channels?

10. Why do you use them?

11. Which are the main tactics to reach out to activists and civil society?

12. In what way does NUM use activism on social media platforms as a tactic?

13. What role does the use of social media activism play?

14. Could you give any examples of advocacy campaigns on the social media platforms used by Ni Una Menos that has or has not been successful in terms of visibility and impact?

15. How do you organize the information the movement transmit to the activists/ public on social media platforms? Do you have responsible persons/s?

Other forms of activism

16. What differences do you see in the activism applied by feminists since the use of social media activism became a common tool to advocate for a certain cause?

17. In what ways the use of social media activism helped Ni Una Menos Chile to influence and engage public opinion and the society about their cause?

- How would you say this is reflected in the society?

18. Could you describe other forms of activism that has been efficient for the purpose of Ni Una Menos in Chile?