

#NiUnaMenos: How a movement can create and maintain political salience through social media

Sheridan Swee

Submitted under the supervision of Lisa Hilbink to the University Honors Program at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor Arts, *cum laude* in political science.

April 23, 2019

Abstract

Ni Una Menos, an Argentine feminist movement, has spread throughout Latin America largely due to its use of social media. As an organization, they are able to hold a role of social accountability for both the Argentine government and society overall, keeping women's rights in the spotlight as an issue that has yet to be resolved. This study examines Ni Una Menos' Twitter account since its formation in 2015 by organizing tweets qualitatively, then quantitatively. General patterns can be found through this process, leading to a deeper analysis of how the organization has evolved over time, and how they continue to fight for women's rights.

Introduction

Approximately every 30 hours in Argentina, a femicide is committed (Ni Una Menos, 2015). In a region of the world shaped by *machismo*, or hyper-masculinity, violence against women is pervasive, taking various forms. After the brutal 2015 murder of teenager Chiara Perez in Argentina, a new social movement called Ni Una Menos formed to combat femicide and other acts of violence against women (Struminger, 2017). On June 3, 2015, Ni Una Menos held its first protest in front of Argentina's National Congress, gathering an unprecedented 200,000 people for women's rights (Porter, 2015). The movement has since spread online and offline to other countries through the use of social media and protests, creating a powerful momentum across Latin America for women's rights. Ni Una Menos provides an opportunity to study how social media is being used by grassroots movements in Latin America, and how it can contribute to and influence the political and social landscape of a country. By analyzing tweets posted by Ni Una

Menos, this study examines the ways in which ideas are projected through social media, and how groups can use social media as an accountability mechanism.

The Power of Social Media in Politics

To begin, research surrounding social media and its influence on politics is often challenging because numerous factors can play a role in how people engage in political participation. As researchers, we know social media can have an effect on politics and political organization, but to what extent is hard to determine. In other words, it is immensely difficult to isolate the direct or indirect causes and ramifications linked to social media (Aday et al., 2010). Nonetheless, there are present and clear examples of social media being linked to political movements around the world.

The Arab Spring in 2011 notably generated a wealth of knowledge related to social media and how it can influence politics (Kharroub and Bas, 2016). During that regionally tumultuous time, social media enabled the acceleration and spread of information throughout the Arab world, creating a technologically unprecedented movement (Zhou et al., 2011). During the Egyptian Revolution specifically, social media use was greatly responsible for people who participated in the first day of protest (Tufekci and Wilson, 2012). The logistics and communication surrounding protest locations and activities were largely shared through Facebook, and the protests themselves ultimately led to the ousting of dictator Hosni Mubarak, demonstrating how social media can facilitate dramatic political change. Similar ways of organizing protests through social media have been found in cities such as Moscow, Kiev, Istanbul, Ankara, Tripoli, Athens, Madrid, New York, Los Angeles, and Hong Kong (Jost et al., 2018).

Another more specific and powerful example of political organization through social media is Black Lives Matter. As a phrase and social media hashtag, Black Lives Matter began gaining traction in 2014 after various killings of unarmed African Americans by police officers. It gained ubiquitous national attention after the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, which led to heightened racial tensions and riots throughout the city. Interestingly, protesters throughout the country chanted and held signs with Black Lives Matter, though “organized demonstrations against the killings of black civilians and the formation of activist organizations (such as the Black Youth Project 100) were established prior to Brown’s killing (Ince et al., 2017). In other words, Black Lives Matter was able to spread through social media despite the fact that it was co-opted offline by previously established organizations and civilians. As most social media platforms allow the use of hashtags, which link ideas together in a searchable way, Black Lives Matter demonstrates the ability “to create a community of like-minded people who can sustain a conversation and even mobilize offline,” (Ince et al., 2017).

In addition, the types of posts that tend to receive the most traction through social media include images. Images have the power to convey and elicit strong emotions. The Arab Spring may not have happened at all if the image of Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian vegetable vendor who self-immolated in protest, hadn’t been shared online (Kharroub and Bas, 2016). Images also seem to be preferred by social media users. During Egypt’s Revolution, Tufekci and Wilson (2012) found that nearly half of all protesters surveyed produced and shared video or image content on social media. This has significant implications and is important to study in and of itself, as the brain processes images and visual input more efficiently than verbal input (Gazzaniga, 1998; Salzman-Erikson and Eriksson, 2018). Social media posts that include

images are ultimately more likely to spread than text-only posts. Though some studies have analyzed images on social media quantitatively, little has been done to analyze images qualitatively (Liebhart and Bernhardt, 2017). This is a growing field of research as various social media sites increasingly emphasize posts with images or videos more than others. Facebook, for example, recently began adding a visual element to posts that otherwise would have only been text, presumably due to the stimulating quality images have on users (Lopez, 2016). Facebook posts with photos, in fact, receive 2.3x the amount of engagement online than posts without photos. Twitter shows similar results; tweets that include photos receive 150% more retweets on average than those without images (Mawhinney, 2019).

More generally, social media provides a medium of communication that is difficult for regimes to control, thus giving more power to average people (Richard, 2009). Anyone with access to the internet can participate. As noted during the Arab Spring and elsewhere, this makes political organization and protests easier to coordinate and implement. More sinisterly, however, it can also be used by states to monitor citizen activity. In China, for example, the state actively censors its people online in an attempt to crush protests before they can begin, while also tracking public opinion through social media (King et al., 2013).

Ultimately, the speed at which political ideas can take hold through social media has been considered “an acceleration of processes that normally occur much more slowly,” (McGarty et al., 2013). Part of the rapidity is due to the curated nature of social media sites. In a sense, most content a user sees has been approved in some way (either posted, liked, shared, favorited or retweeted) by a source the user follows (Ackland, 2013). This allows users to access information quicker, especially relating to political participation. As put by Jost et al., social media “helps

individuals to calculate the costs and benefits of various forms of political participation and also helps them to figure out how (and from whom) they can acquire additional information, encouragement, and support,” (Jost et al., 2018).

Overall, social media facilitates “connective action” or social organization through digital media platforms. Connective action includes more individualistic participation compared to older “collective action” groups that are typically united through shared ideology or social identity. Participants make the choice to post and share their individual beliefs rather than on behalf of an organization. In contrast to past collective action groups, social media has allowed “co-production and co-distribution” of ideas, eliminating the need for hierarchical organization (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012). In other words, social media is transforming activism and organizing in a way that is often less formal, but more inclusive. This is not to say that these newer forms of connective action are necessarily more successful than their counterparts, but rather demonstrate how social organizing is changing.

What can be considered success in either connective or collective action is the ability to create social accountability. Social accountability “refers to actions carried out by actors with different levels of organization that recognize themselves as legitimate claimants of rights,” and often manifests itself through “eliciting accountability from elected politicians, designated officials, government agencies and institutions such as the police, or independent institutions such as the judiciary,” (Behrend, 2006). Social accountability can lead to mobilizations, agenda setting, investigations, judicial review, new laws, impeachments and more (Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, 2006). Overall, civic associations, NGOs and social movements often achieve accountability through media attention, as visibility is key (Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, 2006).

Without visibility, it is unlikely that a large portion of the population will know or care about the issue at hand, thus making it more difficult for politicians and other figures to feel pressure from the public. An illustrative example of social accountability is the Me Too movement. Me Too started in 2006 as a small nonprofit, attempting to educate the public on sexual harassment and sexual assault while supporting survivors (Me Too Movement, 2019). It operated as a collective action group until it was appropriated as a hashtag by celebrities such as Alyssa Milano in 2017 (Ohlheiser, 2017). Due to the widespread use of the hashtag #MeToo by individuals, it has since become a connective action group, uniting millions of women and leading to high-profile methods of social accountability. Largely because of the media attention it receives, the #MeToo movement has pressured companies to fire employees accused of sexual assault or harassment, and more women have felt empowered to report misconduct (Elting, 2018). Notably, over 200 men in powerful positions have been removed since 2017, including movie producers, news anchors, actors, journalists, senators, representatives and more (Carlsen et al., 2018).

Methods and Research Design

Ni Una Menos plays an important role in the discussion of connective action and social accountability as well. As the movement began as a Twitter hashtag created by journalists and activists, calling for women to protest in front of Argentina's National Congress, it could be argued that Ni Una Menos would not exist if not for social media. Ultimately, this paper will try to examine how Ni Una Menos uses their Twitter presence in Argentina to influence politics and the social climate surrounding women's issues while propelling their movement forward. More specifically, I am asking how Ni Una Menos holds society and government accountable; how

does Ni Una Menos keep the issue of violence against women at the forefront and how does their social media reflect the role of social accountability? By analyzing the images of their Twitter account, I argue we can see a narrative of how the organization has shaped Argentina's political and social landscape, while simultaneously illustrating a new way of debate and political participation.

This paper will demonstrate how Ni Una Menos in Argentina is using Twitter to spread their cause and hold a position of accountability to drive discussion forward. Similar to a study of images from a presidential candidate's Instagram by Liebhart and Bernhardt (2017), I examined and categorized all images tweeted by @NiUnaMenos_, the official Twitter account of the movement, since the creation of their account in May 2015. I only included images generated and posted from their Twitter account, thus images from retweets or favorites are not a part of this study.

I chose the case of Ni Una Menos due to its social media relevance and because it began in Latin America and spread throughout the world. #NiUnaMenos began on Twitter as a call from journalists and activists to protest the Argentine government and machismo in society. Since its creation in 2015, it has since spread to Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Spain, while also being an influence behind the 2017 Women's March, the largest single-day demonstration in United States history (La Izquierda Diario, 2015). Without the use of social media, this movement may not have started or had any impact at all. Because this paper focuses on the effects of social media on social and political discourse, Ni Una Menos offers an opportunity to study a movement entirely shaped by social media and outreach, rather than a movement created prior to the mass use of Twitter and other

platforms. Additionally, little information exists surrounding movements like Ni Una Menos within Latin America. This paper hopes to contribute knowledge regarding how modern Latin American politics is being driven, especially as the internet and social media are becoming more accessible throughout the world.

Using Twitter, I analyzed and coded all 540 tweets posted to date by @NiUnaMenos_ that included images. As images are more likely to be shared and often take more thought and effort to produce, tweets with images are a reliable glimpse into what an organization wants to promote on social media. It also provided a way to minimize my sample size, as Ni Una Menos' Twitter account has more than 1,600 tweets overall. Similar to a previous study following the account of then presidential candidate Alexander Van der Bellen in Austria, I categorized images based on content (Liebhart and Bernhardt, 2017). Using a methodology developed by Grittman and Amman (2011), images are categorized both quantitatively and qualitatively. Patterns are found among the images first and quantified into categories, and then qualitatively analyzed for significance and meaning.

Accordingly, I searched for dominant visual themes in terms of image content. As I was analyzing images, certain patterns became clear, allowing for general categorizations to be made, such as calls for government action, support photos, protest announcements, mission-related images, and images related to a violence index project. Additional categories included images surrounding the International Women's Strike in 2017, images in support of legalizing abortion in Argentina, among others. These categories, and the amount of tweets within them, ultimately reflect the organization; its purpose, its use of social media, and its achievements.



Figure 1 (Left). An example of a call for government action.



Figure 2 (Right). An example of a support image.

In further detail, the category of calls for government action contain images where the organization is demanding the Argentine government change, create, or implement laws. This is most frequently found in the form of a five-plank platform (Figure 1). The support category contains images of people holding signs with #NiUnaMenos, thus demonstrating their support of the organization (Figure 2). Protest announcements are images related to the logistics of where a protest is being held, and at what time (Figure 3).

The category of mission-related images are classified as those containing text surrounding the goals and purpose of the organization, for example, an image containing the text, “Porque en muchas provincias no hay programas que asistan, protejan y acompañen a mujeres víctimas de la violencia machista,” (Figure 4). These images ultimately serve to remind social media users why Ni Una Menos exists, and why people should rally behind their cause.



Figure 3 (Left). An example of protest announcement.



Figure 4 (Right). An example of a mission-related image.

Additionally, Ni Una Menos launched a campaign to create a national violence index in 2016, and tweets surrounding this campaign constitute their own category. As the goal of that project was to collect real stories and data for an archival purpose, many tweets were posted to encourage as many women as possible to share their experiences. These often include images containing quotes from real women, or a tally of women who had already shared their stories (Figures 5 and 6).

Ni Una Menos also took part in the 2017 International Women’s Strike, which became known as #8M or #8MParo in Argentina, with “8M” representing the eighth of March, International Women’s Day, and “paro” meaning strike in Spanish. Numerous images related to this specific protest were tweeted, and thus make up a separate category.

Lastly, Argentina’s political and social landscape was rocked in 2018 by debates surrounding the legalization of abortion. Though legislation ultimately did not pass, Ni Una Menos posted photos in support of legalization throughout 2018. These are among the most



Figure 5 and Figure 6. Examples of tweets related to the violence index Ni Una Menos created in 2017.

recent tweets to date by the organization, and photos related to legalization (#AbortoLegalYa) were designated as their own category.

Other image categories included images centered around victims of violence and messages from their families, statistics of violence against women, public signs and banners in support of Ni Una Menos, and a category of miscellaneous images. For the purpose of analysis, I decided to exclude these categories as they are smaller, and have less impact in understanding how Ni Una Menos uses Twitter.

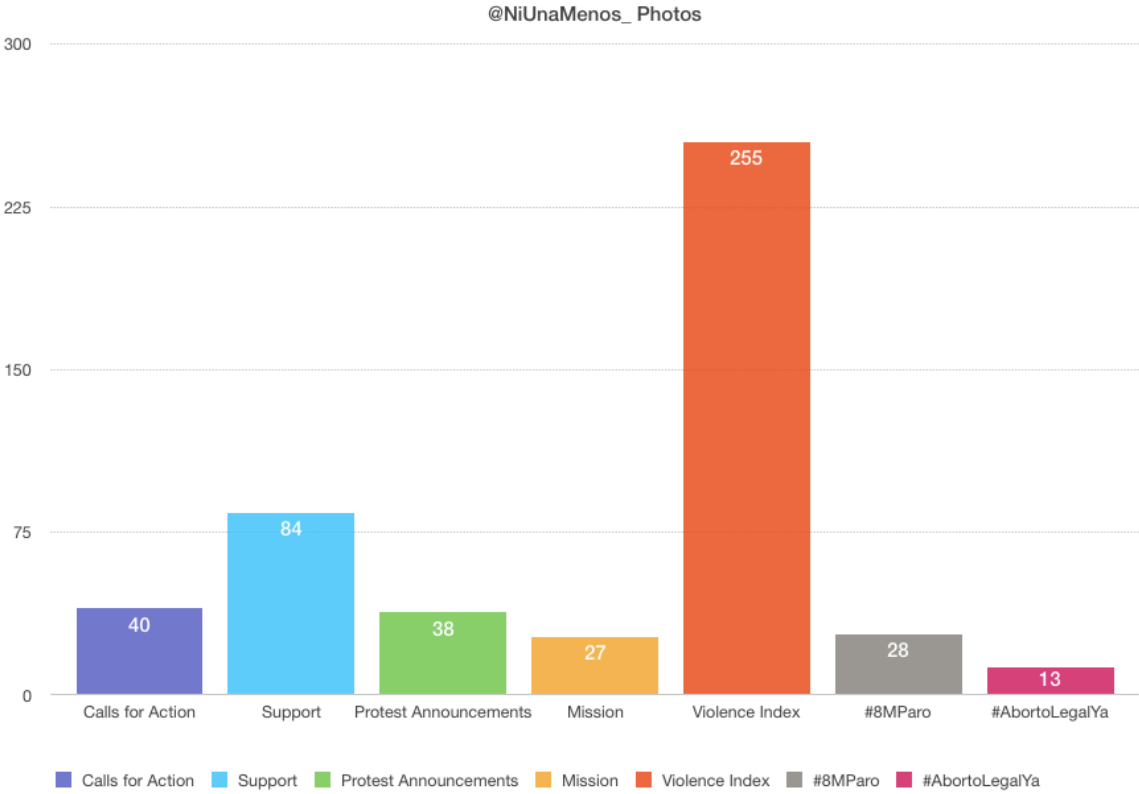
Analysis

Of the total 540 images analyzed and categorized, 40 are calls for government action, 84 are images of support, 38 are protest announcements, 27 are mission-related images, 255 are related to the violence index, 28 are related to the International Women's Strike of 2017 (#8M), and 13

are related to #AbortoLegalYa, respectively. What's fascinating about this data is not only the amount of tweets found in each category, but also the timing of when these tweets were posted, as they present a story of their own. By analyzing Ni Una Menos' tweets categorically and temporally, there is a clear and striking narrative of the organization and its impacts on political and social society, one that may be different and more detailed than a mere biography of the organization and its accomplishments. Compared to the information on their website, their Twitter emphasizes the history of the organization and individual campaigns as they occurred; you can see the development of the organization and its overall progression. Over time, it has adapted and incorporated different issues and ideas. Ni Una Menos' website, in contrast, highlights the mission of the organization and only some events, but overall is a snapshot of the organization at the present moment (Ni Una Menos, 2019). Ni Una Menos' Twitter, thus gives a better understanding of how the organization has held a role of accountability since 2015, and how that role is constantly evolving.

To begin, Ni Una Menos' Twitter account was created in May of 2015, a month before their first and largest protest in Argentina. The group was officially created after the murder of 14 year-old Chiara Perez, who was savagely killed by her boyfriend after learning that she was pregnant (Pomeraniac 2015). Her death raised the issue of violence against women to a national level, and soon became the impetus behind Ni Una Menos. It should be noted, however, that the movement didn't seek justice for Chiara Perez alone, but rather sought to address violence against women as a whole.

Ni Una Menos was formed by female journalists and activists who previously did not know each other, but were able to organize themselves via Twitter after the death of Perez. Not



Timeline of Ni Una Menos' Tweet Frequency

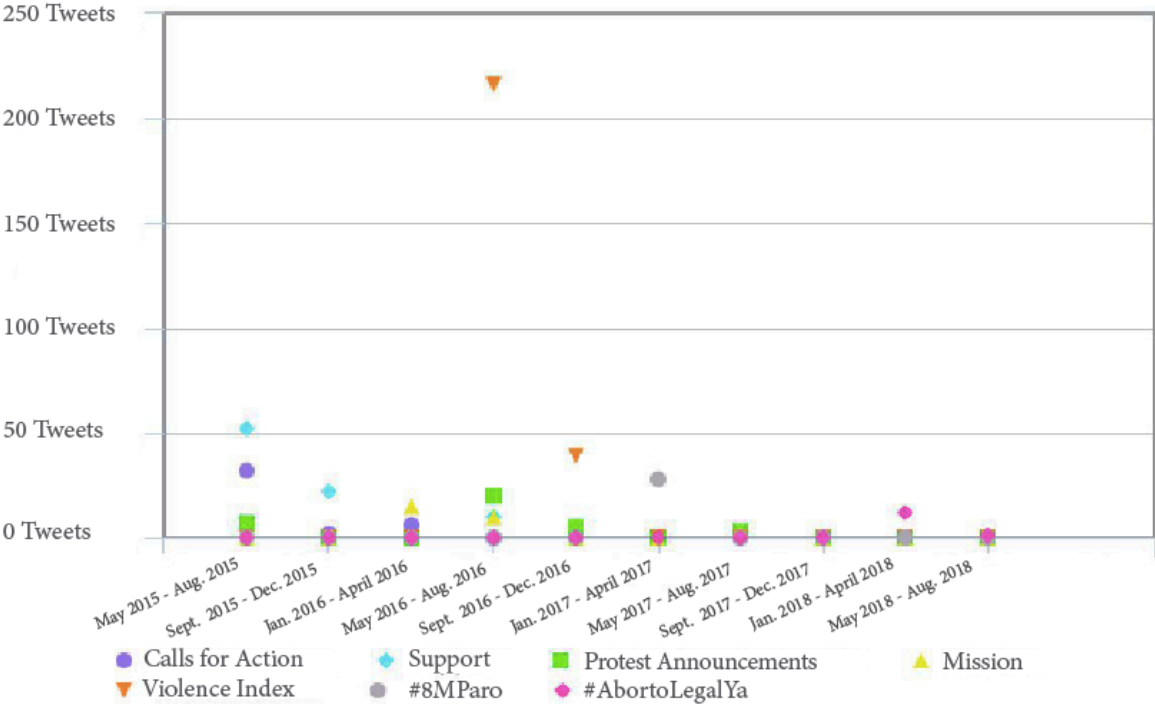


Figure 7. A bar graph showing the number of tweets that fell into the main seven categories.

Figure 8. A graph showing when tweets that fell into the main seven categories were published.

only does their formation speak to the power of social media and its ability to connect individuals, it also highlights the power of media and visibility in social accountability movements. Because these founding women were journalists, they already had a platform for their cause, whereas many other civil society organizations lack “appropriate forums and public spaces that allow visibility at a national level,” (Behrend, 2006). Their professional positions as members of the press gave Ni Una Menos a larger outlet than groups without initial media connections. Thus, when radio journalist and founding member of Ni Una Menos, Marcela Ojeda tweeted the rallying cry “Aren’t we going to do something? They’re killing us,” there was already an audience (Ojeda, 2015).

From the very beginning, the group had clear intentions of social accountability. According to Hinde Pomeraniac, one of the ten journalists involved in organizing the first June 3 protest:

We [the organization leaders] knew that what we wanted was not, or at least not exclusively, some form of collective venting of frustration. We wanted to ask for concrete action, not only by politicians and the justice system, but also by other sectors of civil society such as the media,” (Pomeraniac 2015).

This notion of accountability is also echoed in Ni Una Menos’ tweets from this time period. Leading up to the June 3, 2015 protest, photos calling for government action were tweeted frequently along with support photos. The most common and repeated government action photo was the text of five goals the organization wanted to see changed or implemented. These included: firstly, implementing necessary resources and monitoring the National Plan of Action to Prevent, Assist, and Eradicate Violence Against Women, a law that wouldn’t be implemented

in Argentina until the following year (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2016); secondly, guaranteeing victims' rights to a fair judicial process; thirdly, developing an official register of violence against women in Argentina; fourthly, guaranteeing and providing sexual education at all school levels, and lastly, guaranteeing the protection of victims of violence by monitoring abusers and assuring they do not violate judgements passed against them. These five, concrete goals demonstrate why Ni Una Menos felt the need to organize and protest in the first place, but also offer legitimate solutions to the problem they are trying to overcome. These posts also speak to the organization's role in pushing the issue of violence against women forward. As Pomeraniac noted, the movement wasn't created to express frustration, but rather to foster real change.

Additionally, the types of support photos tweeted at this time show how impactful Ni Una Menos is as an organization and how far it has been able to reach. Notable support photos came from Argentina's Secretary of Commerce's office, multiple news organizations, professional soccer teams and even presidential candidates. These photos ultimately legitimized the movement before its first protest, and demonstrate how Ni Una Menos and its message were able to permeate every level of society, from government to the country's most popular sport, and everything in between. In effect, the recognition and support posts illustrate how social media can create greater societal pressure; prior to social media, these photos may have reached a limited audience, in print or otherwise, dimming their effectiveness. Because they are contained in tweets, however, they are easily found and spread, creating a sense that if one government official, soccer team, news organization or group supports Ni Una Menos, others should as well.

What's also notable is that men were included in these photos. As men underlie the issue of violence against women and sexism, their participation in women's movements can be impactful. While men are less likely to recognize sexism when it occurs, Drury and Kaiser (2014) found that men who are aware of and choose to confront sexist situations are received more positively by their peers and are listened to more than women in the same situation. Men can thus be valuable allies in the struggle for gender equality, and Ni Una Menos' decision to include photos of men in their posts can be considered a method of persuasion. These photos show that the organization is not just a self-interested women's movement, but one that is also supported by men. It's also symbolically powerful as men are holding themselves and other men accountable, while recognizing they are part of the problem and the solution.

After the June 3rd, 2015 protest, there was a continuation of support coming from some of Argentina's most prominent actors and actresses. Ni Una Menos held a presence at the Martín Fierro Awards, using the star power of celebrities to further support of the organization. Through the use of social media, we can see how Ni Una Menos reached prominent levels of society, bringing the issue of violence against women to the forefront of Argentine society.

Additionally, as 2015 was a presidential election year in Argentina, Ni Una Menos prioritized and emphasized the role of government in producing change. They continued to post the image of their five goals, reiterating the importance of voting for candidates that would support these measures. As both major presidential candidates, Daniel Scioli and Mauricio Macri, gave their support to Ni Una Menos, the organization didn't endorse a specific candidate, but rather stressed the implementation of their five goals into the winner's agenda. Though Macri won and has yet to implement all five goals into his agenda, it is notable that both he and his

opponent publicly supported Ni Una Menos. It ultimately demonstrates how influential the organization is politically; both candidates from either party felt the need to address and encourage the organization, at least optically. This is important in understanding how Ni Una Menos pushes for social accountability as well. Part of what is considered success in this arena is the ability to leverage social sanctions, such as the threat of bad publicity and losing essential votes (Behrend, 2006). These candidates, along with other political figures previously mentioned, must have viewed Ni Una Menos as important enough to their voters to take it seriously.

Entering 2016, Ni Una Menos was seemingly trying to reinvigorate the momentum and purpose surrounding the movement. Leading up to the anniversary of the June 3rd, 2015 protest, the organization tweeted many mission-related images. These tweets served as both reminders and rallying cries for the organization's followers, meant to stir emotions and persuade them to protest again on June 3rd of 2016. The messages were effective in the sense that people returned to protest with the organization in more than 200 cities across the country that year (Ámbito, 2016). These mass mobilizations demonstrate the organization's ability to keep the issues relevant rather than allowing them to dwindle over time.

Perhaps the most interesting and influential way Ni Una Menos has shaped the political and social landscape through social media involves their campaign to create a national violence index. As this was one of the organization's five goals it wanted the government to implement, it is particularly notable that Ni Una Menos took this project into their own hands. From June 3rd, 2016 through September 3rd, 2016, the organization posted numerous photos (the most of any category by far), to collect stories of violence from women across the country. This culminated in

nearly 60,000 women sharing their experiences, and the organization was able to create its own database of how prevalent violence against women is and in which forms it presents itself most frequently.

Without the persistent promotion of this campaign through Ni Una Menos' Twitter account, it is unlikely they would have been able to collect as large of a sample size, thus demonstrating the use of social media as a tool for outreach. Not only was this social media campaign significant in the results it produced, it also made a statement; if the Argentine government won't create an index documenting violence against women, we will. This campaign ultimately shows the ability of grassroots movements to use social media in a way that supersedes government. The organization didn't need government resources to achieve its goal. However, it simultaneously demonstrated how useful and important a national violence index is in understanding the issue of violence against women in Argentina.

The violence index also pushed for accountability in the sense that it kept the issue of machismo relevant and present. Through crowdsourcing to such an extent, Ni Una Menos managed to get over 60,000 involved in their cause, making the conversation surrounding violence against women imperative. In order to implement social sanctions and accountability, a significant portion of the public must be impacted to make politicians care (Behrend, 2006). Ni Una Menos achieved this well after its initial debut in May 2015, keeping violence against women in the spotlight as a national issue.

Additionally, Ni Una Menos' Twitter shows how social media is being used to connect people locally and internationally in pursuit of political and social change. Their tweets surrounding the International Women's Strike encouraged women, not only in Argentina, but

around the world to participate in this global event. Some of their tweets included important logistical information related to the strike in both English and Spanish, a rarity in the case of Ni Una Menos' Twitter feed. Nearly all other posts are completely in Spanish, thus the use of English is meant to reach different audiences than usual. Because the International Women's Strike was a joint effort created by various women's groups from around the world, it also demonstrates Ni Una Menos' collaborative efforts with other organizations in the name of women's rights. The use of social media has allowed the group to connect strangers that are physically very distant, an achievement unlikely to happen without sites like Twitter. Overall, it displays Ni Una Menos' ability to influence and participate in social change on a global level, in addition to their established network in Argentina.

Lastly, Ni Una Menos had a major role in the debate surrounding the legalization of abortion in Argentina in the spring and summer of 2018, as their Twitter reflects. As Argentina is a predominantly Catholic country, protests and arguments on either side of the issue were heated and emotional. Though the organization tweeted numerous videos and other posts in support of legalization, most photos that were tweeted were related to the actual text of the bill in question. Ni Una Menos tweeted the text of all ten articles of the proposed law, allowing Twitter users to read what may have been passed. For such a sensitive and turbulent time in Argentine politics, the organization's strategy seems unexpected, however smart. By publishing the actual text of the law, devoid of direct emotion, it perhaps persuaded some Twitter users to support legalization more than other methods. Overall, Ni Una Menos' Twitter account served as an outlet for those in support of legalization, using the momentum and reputation they had built from other campaigns to create solidarity for this issue. Though Argentina's Senate narrowly rejected the

bill in August of 2018, Ni Una Menos' ability to organize through social media illustrates the force and influence one single group may have due to the invention of Twitter and other sites. Ultimately, they've made it clear that the debate isn't over; though they haven't tweeted anything since, their website states that they intend to keep fighting to legalize abortion, including it in their new platform, and offering additional resources. In other words, Ni Una Menos isn't a past movement, but rather continues to have a role of accountability in the present and plans for the future.

Conclusion

For this project, I asked how Ni Una Menos has and continues to play a role of social accountability through social media. As social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook have spread across the planet, these sites are powerful tools for sharing moments, events and ideas. Although they are not tangible, these sites can create a sense of community, and connect people who have never met behind a single cause. Ni Una Menos is a product of such interactions, both locally in Buenos Aires, and globally.

By looking specifically at the tweets of Ni Una Menos in Argentina, I discovered ways in which the organization uses their Twitter account to promote and push for social accountability. This is significant because it illustrates how one organization can have a meaningful role in how modern politics is being shaped. In the case of Ni Una Menos, their ability to use and garner media attention contributes to their success. If journalists hadn't been some of their founding members, it would have been more difficult for the group to receive the same level of recognition. Additionally, their use of Twitter is effective as a mechanism to make their demands

clear, pressure more politicians and celebrities to support them, and connect their existing supporters with protest details. Their outreach through Twitter has also crafted new types of accountability, as exemplified in the creation of a violence index. The index itself serves as a check on the Argentine government, emphasizing why they should implement the law they passed. Not only did they partially achieve one of their five initial goals, they also demonstrated the importance of having a national database on violence against women through data.

Ultimately, more research needs to be performed surrounding grassroots movements and social media, as well as research analyzing social media from an accountability perspective. Because so many organizations have Twitter, Facebook, Instagram or even Snapchat accounts, there is a vast multitude of information to be accessed and examined. However, due to the lack of information surrounding Latin American social movements, more work needs to be done to better understand this region and how it's being shaped in a contemporary setting.

Things change rapidly. An advantage of social media and the internet is that it can reflect the brisk pace and fluidity at which newer “connective action” groups take shape and evolve. Ni Una Menos’ Twitter also demonstrates where and when the focus of the group has shifted, likely to its advantage. The ability to adapt and incorporate different issues has allowed the organization to press forward and stay relevant. From demanding that certain laws be introduced and implemented, to adopting the legalization of abortion into their central goals, Ni Una Menos is successful at agenda setting and maintaining its pertinence. This allows them to be a force of social accountability, both for society and the Argentine government.

Overall, Ni Una Menos is a powerful example of how modern political organizing and change is happening. With the use of social media, it is far easier to connect people with causes

they care about, and offer a means of participation, even if it's only online. Ni Una Menos' use of Twitter in particular has been able to rally thousands for the issue of women's rights and may be a positive example for other social movements. Its ability to raise awareness has inspired many already, and as it continues to spread throughout other countries, its activism should be celebrated. Violence against women, unfortunately, is prevalent in every society; Ni Una Menos' willingness to dedicate time and energy into organizing against it is a sign of hope. Gender equality remains unresolved, but those who are willing to speak out, offline or online, are pushing society closer to justice.

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