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From a Tweet to the Street: The Effect of Social Media on Social Movement Theory

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*From a Tweet to the Street: The Effect of Social Media on
Social Movement Theory*

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By Elizabeth Romary

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"There is no noise as powerful as the marching feet of a determined people."

- Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"We will have succeeded when not a single woman who is violated ever, ever asks themselves the question, 'What did I do?' We will have succeeded when no man who raises a hand or takes a violent action against a woman is able to say with any credibility in their own mind, 'Well, they deserved it.'"

- Joe Biden

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the role of social media within social movements and social movement theory and focuses on applying these theories to the Ni Una Menos movement of Argentina. I focus on three social movement theories: the resource mobilization theory, the political process theory, and the cultural approach. I also analyze the rise of social media in the 21st century and how they fit within the framework of the three theories. I then apply these theories to the Ni Una Menos movement. I argue that the Ni Una Menos movement emerged as a cultural movement, and shifted towards a resource mobilization movement and has only recently begun to fit the political process theory due to new laws and governmental plans. Social media is the main resource for this movement and is responsible for the formation and success of Ni Una Menos.

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Introduction

On June 2, 2016, I participated in a march in the streets of Córdoba, Argentina during my time abroad. The march was part of a larger social movement that protests against violence against women in the country. The protest movement is called Ni Una Menos, or Not One Less, and we were encouraged to attend the march by our Spanish professor, who felt strongly about the issue after losing a friend to femicide. Femicide is a large problem in Argentina and encompasses the intentional killing of women and girls. One night, a woman around my age was killed in Córdoba, five city blocks away from my house, and three blocks away from where I attended classes. It was after that incident I knew that I wanted to research the issue of violence against women in Argentina and the power of the Ni Una Menos movement.

As my research progressed, I found that the Ni Una Menos movement emerged very quickly and started as a completely digital concept. Several social media posts were made after multiple incidents of femicide in 2014, and those posts were then elevated and organized into a hashtag, #NiUnaMenos, that rapidly expanded into a physical protest march held on June 3, 2015. Since then, the movement has grown rapidly in Argentina and has spread to other countries in Latin America, such as Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and more recently Brazil. Social media allowed for simultaneous organization and synchronization of these sister marches and allowed the movement to grow beyond Buenos Aires.

The question I want to answer with this thesis is how does social media impact social movements, particularly Ni Una Menos in Argentina? My goal is to measure social media's impact on the movement as well as define the role of social movement within

three social movement theories: the resource mobilization theory, the political process theory, and the cultural approach to social movements. I will apply these theories to the Ni Una Menos movement and measure which theory best defines the movement and how social media plays a role.

Hypothesis:

Ni Una Menos started on social media in 2015 and progressed to a march of over 200,000 participants in Buenos Aires one month later. The day after the march, the Argentinian Supreme Court announced the creation of a National Femicide Registry in order to collect sufficient data and to find solutions to the problem (Highton 2015). Lawmakers and current president, Mauricio Macri, announced the "Plan for the Prevention, Assistance, and Eradication of Violence Against Women" in 2016 (Shafafy 2016). This plan focuses on reforming education about gender violence, improving justice for survivors of violence, and giving more autonomy to women.

It is because of these developments that I believe the resource mobilization theory and the political process theory best fit the evolution of Ni Una Menos. Social media is utilized as a resource in order to bring attention to the cause as well as function as a mechanism to mobilize other resources such as people and protest plans. Political actors have played a role in helping to increase the impact of Ni Una Menos by meeting demands and working with movement representatives in order to form stronger laws and enforcements. While the cultural approach still plays a part, it is not as large of a facilitator because it seems that political action is more likely to make actual change than just attempts to change the culture without substantial laws or support.

Methodology and Data

In order to conduct this research, I first examined the three social movement theories. I utilized literature from the founders of the various theories. John McCarthy and Mayer Zald created the resource mobilization theory in 1977, stating that there must be available resources that can be mobilized in order for successful social movements to occur and that these resources vary in their ability to impact movements. They can be either material or non-material (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Doug McAdam then expanded this theory in 1982 in order to encompass political factors as resources, creating the political process theory, which involves capitalizing on political opportunities in order to make a movement successful (McAdam 1982). The cultural approach utilized the works of several scholars in order to encompass how culture impacts movements. The most notable are David Benford and Robert Snow, who developed frame theory in 2000, which involves social movements using certain types of "frames" in order to reach target audiences. Another development to the cultural approach to social movement is the theory of connective action, presented by Lance Bennett and Alexandra Spegerberg in 2012, which is the idea that social media allows for individualization within a social movement rather than one large collective identity.

In order to conduct the case study of Ni Una Menos, I analyzed the history of the movement, the progress it has made, and the participation involved. The University of Buenos Aires (UBA) conducted a study of the participants of the movement concluding that 95% of participants had experienced some form of harassment or gender violence and that 61.2% of participants had learned of the march from social media (UBA 2017). I also analyzed photos from the protest, social media posts, and the aftermath of the

various protests. I then divided movement occurrences between the three theories in order to gauge the validity of each towards the movement.

Thesis Overview:

This thesis contains four sections and a conclusion. Chapter One focuses on the definition of social movements, the history of protesting in Argentina, and gives an introduction to the Ni Una Menos movement. Chapter Two takes resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and the cultural approach and analyzes their effectiveness of explaining social movements and whether or not one is more reliable than the other. The third chapter explores the rise and popularity of social media and focuses on its impact and involvement with each social movement theory. Chapter Four enters the case study portion of the research by applying each theory to the Ni Una Menos movement in Argentina and attempts to explain the reasoning behind its success. I finish with a conclusion to explain my analyses and findings.

Chapter 1: Social Movements in Argentina: Ni Una Menos

Introduction

A protest is the act of challenging, resisting, and/or making demands of authoritative figures, power holders, and/or cultural beliefs, standards, and practices held by a group or an individual. A protest can be standalone or can be a part of a larger social movement. A social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and non-institutional challenge to authoritative figures, power holders, and/or cultural beliefs and practices (Goodwin and Jasper 2006, 3). Social movements are similar to a protest, however the key to a social movement is the sustainability. The goals and actions of the movement continue after the protest itself is over.

Media is often defined as means of communication, whether it be through television, film, newspapers, magazines, live performance, or the Internet that reach and/or influence a large group of people. Media control what issues are spread to the masses and can even censor vital pieces of information in order to shape social movements and issues into completely different things. A protest of a few hundred people can be made to look as though it was attended by at least a few thousand or vice versa, depending on a factor as simple as camera angles.

At the beginning of the 21st century, social media began to thrive on the Internet. These networks consisted of growing companies like Facebook and YouTube and have now expanded to include Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat among others. These networks have been important in the rise of globalization and inter-connectedness amongst people around the world. They have also contributed to the growth and global recognition of many social movements. Many of these movements would not have

garnered the attention, support, or even the success they had if not for social media platforms and being able to reach a wider audience.

Social Movements and Protests in Argentina

The region of the world in which protest has become the most commonplace is Latin America, especially Argentina (Duterme 2011). In 2008, it was reported that almost one-third of Argentina's citizens participated in protesting, at least to a limited extent, in the previous year (Moreno & Moseley 2010). In 2016, the city of Buenos Aires reported 158 picketing events for the month of October, equating to five protests per day (Belén Etchenique 2016). This is twice the amount of protests reported in 2015, which was on average two and a half to three per day (Giusto 2016).

In Argentina, as is the case for many countries, including the United States, the right to protest is protected within the constitution. Argentina's constitution states that citizens have the "right to petition authorities" and further that citizens also have the rights to be members of workers unions and hold the "right to strike" (Art. 14 & 14 bis, Const. Arg). The constitution further states that citizens have the "right to introduce bills before the House of Deputies" as long as they are not "bills referring to constitutional reform, international treaties, taxation, budget and criminal activities," for these bills are not to "originate in popular initiatives" (Art. 39). Protests sometimes stem from larger social movement, which introduce legislation and demands to Congress as they see to be fit and beneficial. However, many protests that occur are often to bring attention to an issue, with further action to come later.

Recently, under the administration of President Mauricio Macri, the right and freedom of assembly has come under scrutiny. In 2016, Amnesty International found that

there had been many reports of excessive and unnecessary use of force against public protesters (Amnesty International 2017). The National Ministry of Security issued the "Protocol on Security Force Conduct during Public Protests" on February 17, 2016, stating that forces should repress peaceful protesters and that the justice system is able to criminally prosecute those protesters (Amnesty International 2017). In March 31, 2016 the Public Prosecutor's Office of Buenos Aires issued judgment FG N 25/2016, which was an accordance that led to "serious risks of undue restriction on the right to peacefully assemble" (Amnesty International 2017). However, these measures received heavy backlash and there has not been any word since their initial introduction on whether or not they will be implemented into law.

Argentina, like many other countries, has seen a rise in the popularity and usage of the Internet as access has become easier to obtain. It makes up the largest percentage of Internet usage in Latin America, at 80% of the region (Rosa, 2016). Argentinians also spend the most amount of time per day on the Internet and engaging in social media than other countries, spending 4-5 hours per day on a computer and 3.5 hours per day on a cellular phone (Rosa 2016). Social networks have also become more popular with the rise of laptop and smartphone usage. As of 2016, 97% of Internet users in Argentina use Facebook, 70% utilize WhatsApp, a messaging application, 62% use Google+, and 46% of users are on Twitter (EMarketer, 2016). This is out of the 27 million people, or 62% of the population of Argentina that are engaged in at least one social network (Rosa, 2016).

Ni Una Menos

Since 2008, Argentina has seen a spike in the amount of gender-based violence reports. A large problem is that of "femicide" which has been generally defined as an

intentional murder of women because they are women. Some broader definitions include any killings of women and girls (World Health Organization 2012). Femicide is usually committed by men, however there are some cases in which female family members may be involved. Partners or ex-partners commit most cases of femicide and these cases tend to involve ongoing abuse within the home, threats and/or intimidation, sexual violence, and/or involve situations in which women hold less power and have access to fewer resources than their domestic partner (World Health Organization, 2012). The term was first coined in 1976 when Diane Russell was addressing the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women that year (Russel and Van de Ven, 1990).

The Belem do Pará Convention, which is the first international binding instrument that takes specific and nominal care of violence against women and was adopted June 9, 1994, defines violence against women as a form of gender violence as well as a demonstration of the unequal power dynamic between men and women in existing state institutions, private corporations, and within the privacy of the home (Amnesty International, 2017).

Domestic violence and femicide have been recognized as major issues in Argentina by both the Argentinian government and the international community. The Committee for Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1992) issued General Recommendation 19 during their 11th session, which states that countries must recognize discrimination and other problems caused by gender violence and urged them to take positive measures to eliminate all forms of violence against women (CEDAW 1992). Twelve years later, CEDAW referred to Argentina directly in their closing remarks of their 31st session, urging the government that a comprehensive approach

needed to be taken in order to address the problem of violence against women and girls (CEDAW, 2004).

From 2008-2015, there were 2,043 incidents of femicide in Argentina (Sarmenti 2016), (Economist, 2016). Of the incidents of the past nine years, 329 involved the murder of an adolescent between the ages of 16 and 21 (Clarin 2017). Within the first 43 days of 2017, 57 femicides occurred (Hoy 2017).

The Ni Una Menos movement emerged in 2014 in an effort to raise awareness and to put an end to the increased number of femicides in Argentina. The initial march on June 3, 2015 was sparked, in part, by the murder of 14-year-old Chiara Paez by her boyfriend. She was a few weeks pregnant at the time of the murder and was found buried in the backyard of her boyfriend's parents' house. Her body was found May 11, 2015, and it was determined that she was force-fed medication to terminate her pregnancy and then beaten to death (World Post 2015).

The movement's start on the social media platform Twitter is credited to radio journalist Marcela Ojeda. The tweet read: "Actresses, politicians, artists, businesswomen, social activists … women, everyone, bah ... aren't we going to raise our voices? THEY ARE KILLING US" (Ojeda 2015).[1] This was the rallying cry that led to more than 200,000 women to march on the Congress in Buenos Aires, demanding more enforcement for the violence against women laws currently set in place.

After the initial tweet, organization began in order to manifest this outrage into a solid force for change. First, a Facebook page and a Twitter account were created under the name of Ni Una Menos by a group of organizers consisting of prominent feminist

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[1] *"Actrices, políticas, artistas, empresarias, referentes sociales…mujeres, todas, bah…no vamos a levanter la voz? NOS ESTAN MATANDO"*

journalists, artists, and lawyers. These organizers then reached out to their social and

professional networks that included connections to the media and other prominent figures

of Argentine society. The topic of violence against women became a popular topic on

talk shows, newspapers, and radio programs. It also became a trending topic on both

Facebook and Twitter (Friedman and Tabbus 2016). The exposure gained in turn helped

the new movement recruit members to the Facebook and Twitter pages. Then, after

members joined the page, a nation-wide protest march was organized and held on June 3.

Social media was the main resource used in order to initiate the movement and recruit

members who, in turn, participated in the march. Other organizations, including public

universities and the association for state workers, got involved and supported the march

and subsequent protests by providing material (monetary) resources and support as well

as additional support online and with the participation of more protesters that were not

necessarily members of the #NiUnaMenos movement, but supported the cause. The

action of these organizations was arranged by the Confederation of Workers of the

Popular Economy (CTUP) (The Daily Beast 2016).

61.2% of participants in the march heard about it through social media, mainly

Facebook and Twitter (UBA, 2015). Sister marches occurred all over the country, and the

movement spread throughout Latin America. In 2016, there was another march that

spread to 100 countries worldwide and a national strike known as Miércoles Negro

(Black Wednesday) on October 16, 2016. The strike involved women walking out of the

workplace and taking to the streets in order to protest gender violence. 138 protests

occurred in Argentina as well as sparking a transnational that spanned across Latin

America. 25 protests occurred in Chile, seven in Mexico, two in Uruguay, and two in Honduras among others (Friedman and Tabbus 2016).

The University of Buenos Aires (UBA) conducted a survey of the participants on the initial march in 2015. The study surveyed 281 women from "distinct places, ages, and backgrounds" (UBA, 2015, p. 2).[2] It was found that 53.4% of participants attended the march in groups with their friends, 17.1% with their families, and 14.2% attended the march alone. 46.4% of participants were between the ages of 21 and 30, which is also the average age of many victims of femicide. 22.9% of the participants were the age of 41 and above, 18.2% being 20 years and younger, and only 12.5% of participants were between the ages of 31 and 40. Many of the participants in attendance had had personal experiences with gender-based harassment and violence. 95.5% of participants had at least experienced some form of street harassment, including inappropriate comments, and public humiliation. 58% had experienced some form of psychological abuse/harassment, 56% had experienced underestimation of their abilities and discrimination in the workplace due to their gender, while 28% had experienced physical aggression, and 23.4% had experienced sexual abuse and intimidation. However, of these experiences, 83% of the women never reported them due to lack of confidence in response organizations, fear of retaliation and possible repercussions, fear of reoccurrence, and having embarrassment about the situation (UBA, 2017).

Ni Una Menos has placed emphasis on stronger enforcement of existing laws, primarily Ley 26.485, which was signed into law in 2009, however has not seen full implementation in Argentina. It is considered one of the most significant laws regarding

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[2] *"La investigación logró reunir las voces de 281 mujeres de distintos lugares, edades y trayectorias..."*

violence against women due to its depth. Its predecessor was Ley 24417, which defined domestic violence as "injury or physical or psychological abuse" inflicted upon an individual by family members (Ley 24417, 1994). It allows for the eviction of perpetrators of this violence to be evicted from the family home if found guilty (Ley 24417, 1994, Article 4a), requires mandatory reporting of instances of domestic violence by public servants and health care professionals for cases in which the victim was a minor, elderly, or incapacitated (Ley 24417, 1994, Article 2), and also allows for judges to recommend rehabilitation to both the survivor and the perpetrator in certain instances (Ley 24417, 1994, Article 5).

Ley 26.485 extends these parameters significantly. It extended the initial definition of domestic violence to include different types of abuse and methods of carrying out said abuses (physical, emotional/psychological, economical, sexual, etc.) (Ley 26.485, 2009, Article 5). It also calls for more severe sentencing of perpetrators. While this law is a big step in the right direction for more protections against domestic violence and femicides, there is still a large lack of political will in order to fully implement and enforce the laws in order to make them actually useful (Cavallo, 2015). At the Ni Una Menos march in 2015, only 32% of participants knew of Ley 26.485 and what it entails, while 35% did not know the law at all. 32% of participants had heard of the law but did not know of what it consisted (UBA, 2015). A major goal of Ni Una Menos is to pressure the government to enforce this law through increased training of the police, health workers, and public servants as well as public education about the law and other resources.

In addition to this, Ni Una Menos set other initial demands for the Congress in order to increase enforcement of the existing laws as well as to set other laws that challenged the "machismo" that exists in Argentine laws and culture. In the summer of 2015, the organization released a contract of five promises to be made by electoral candidates during the elections. These demands were posted on Twitter and Facebook along with the hashtag, #DeLaFotoDeLaFirma, "A photo of your signature", in order to confirm that the candidates had read what was demanded of them and were going to adhere to it. They asked of the candidates to support programs that would focus on ending violence against women, guaranteeing swifter and more fair justice to victims of violence, establishing a national registry for victims of femicide, guaranteeing and providing adequate equal education among genders, and guaranteeing the protection of victims of gender violence (#NiUnaMenos 2015).

Immediately after the march of 2015, Supreme Court Justice Elena Highton announced that the Supreme Court would establish a registry of femicides in Argentina, a resource that had not existed, making data about occurrences of femicides difficult to obtain. She stated that this registry would make this data more readily available and easier to organize, so that hopefully the causes of the problem can be more properly identified and handled (Highton, 2015).

In 2016, the movement garnered international attention and has succeeded in initiating government action through the announced "Plan for the Prevention, Assistance and Eradication of Violence Against Women". This plan makes up a package of 69 measures and 137 forms of action along with the coordination and cooperation of 50 organizations to carry them out. These measures and actions include more gender focused

teaching in schools, the provision of microcredit in order to give women more autonomy, and rehabilitation programs for men who commit acts of violence against women (Shafafy 2016). While these results have yet to come into full effect, the movement has made huge strides in a short amount of time.

Chapter Two: Structural vs. Cultural Analysis in Social Movement Theory

Introduction:

In studying social movements, it is important to go beyond the study of what the movement is, the issue at hand, and the potential changes from that movement. It is vital to analyze and understand the reasoning behind the movement, as well as how and why it formed and became organized into something much more than just a few like-minded actors wishing for change. In order to do this, there are two sets of theoretical approaches to study social movements, which help scholars to recognize how the movement formed and how it developed, as well as predicting the changes it is able to make, whether they be within culture or the political world: the structural approach and the cultural approach.

The structural approach of studying social movements involves objective factors that contribute to a movement's success. The two major structural theories are the resource mobilization theory and the political process theory. The resource mobilization theory analyzes the resources available to protesters during the development of a movement (Porta and Diani, 2006, 14). These resources can be both material, such as money and physical capital, and non-material, such as volunteers, extensive knowledge or previous activist experience. John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald developed this theory in the late1970s and focuses on the entrepreneurial or economic stipulations of resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

The political process theory focuses on political resources, or opportunities. Rather than focus on an economic perspective like resource mobilization, it focuses on the potential of the movement to use political actors and opportunities to their benefit. These opportunities can include access to political elites, a rift between elites over an

issue, and support given to the movement by political actors (Porta and Diani, 2006, 15). This is the political approach to resource mobilization, as it considers political actors and opportunities as resources to be utilized. This theory was originated by several social movement theorists, most notably Doug McAdam, who claimed that the structure and availability of political opportunities is a main determinant of political protest and that the crucial point of this is that the political system can be more open or less open to challenge at different times (McAdam 1982, 40-41).

The cultural approach to studying social movements involves the analysis of perceptions, rhetoric, symbols, and emotions rather than objective resources. This approach takes into account how a movement presents itself and suggests that sometimes a movement could possibly succeed on moral appeal alone, without any assistance provided by resources or political opportunities. They could also succeed when they are able to change cultural norms and/or values. This occurs when the movement challenges these norms and garners enough support to establish new norms or values in their place. This changes the culture in the long run. There are several theories within the cultural approach. Frame theory studies the way in which movements present themselves to others, in other words how they "frame" their purpose and goals (Snow and Benford, 1988). The theory of collective identity explores the notion that more people will be recruited into a movement and be driven to actively participate if they feel part of something much larger than themselves.

These theories, while different than one another, must be used together in order to gauge a fuller understanding of why social movements become what they are. Perceptions alone can catapult or squash a movement, but at the same time a lack of

resources or disinterest expressed by political elites can also halt a movement from progressing, even if its cultural perception is positive. These theories must be broken down and examined in order to apply them to movements in our reality.

Structural Approach

The Resource Mobilization Theory

The Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) within social movements is a structural theory, which suggests that collective action derives from a calculation of the costs and benefits of having the movement, which is influenced by the presence of resources (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Organizations and movement "entrepreneurs" play a key role in mobilizing collective resources upon which action is based. Organization and the strategic actions of utilizing those resources are necessary for the development of a social movement (Porta & Diani 2006, 14). After a need is expressed for a social movement and/or protest, planning has to occur in order for these movements to become large and successful. Mobilization stems from the ability of a movement to organize their discontent beyond anger or a few voices among a large population. Once this occurs, the cost of action must be reduced, solidarity networks among existing organizations and highly influential individuals must be utilized, incentives should be shared among members and external consensus must be achieved. The resources available explain the tactical choices made by certain movements and the resulting consequences of this collective action (McCarthy and Zald 1977).

Five types of available resources have been classified under two larger resource umbrellas that can and should be utilized by social movements in order to gain traction

and achieve their desired goals. The two forms of resources are the material and the non-material. Material resources include money and physical capital such as concrete benefits, incentives, and services. Non-material resources are split into four different groups: moral, social-organizational, human, and cultural (Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Moral resources include solidarity and support for the movement's goal among members. Social-organizational resources are social networks, bloc recruitment, and organizational strategies in order to use existing members to gain more members, as well as push the message to a larger audience. Social media is a social-organizational resource that has grown in status in recent years (Obar and Wildman, 2015). Human resources include volunteers, staff, leaders, and even non-members of the movement who communicate about it. Finally, cultural resources include prior activist experience and an understanding of the issues at hand. Movement members with more knowledge of the cause, the goals, and the benefits are much more likely to benefit and expand the movement than members who cannot clearly state the goals.

The Political Process/Political Opportunity Theory

The Political Process (or Political Opportunity) Theory (PPT) of social movements stems from resource mobility theory, but emphasis is placed on the systematic attention paid to the political and institutional environment in which social movements operate (Meyer, 2004). This theory examines the relationship between institutional political actors and the protest itself, rather than just the material and nonmaterial resources available to the protesters (Porta and Diani 2006, 15). Two examples that illustrate the political process theory are the women's suffrage movement and the American Civil Rights movements.

The suffragette movement made demands directly of the state rather than just push for a change in social consciousness and societal norms. The participants within this movement, as with others like it, made claims for new rights. Women were demanding to be granted the right to vote. Therefore, the state was involved not only as the target of the movement but also the "adjudicator of politics" (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009). Within this view, social movements are viewed to be seemingly rational. Protesters were seen to be normal people, pursuing their interests and desires for change by getting involved with politics and attempting to use their limited spheres of influence as best as they could. The political process theory also attempts to explain how social movements arise from the emergence of political opportunities that are provided by the state.

There are three components necessary for the formation of social movements according to PPT. The first is insurgent consciousness. There must be cases of certain members of society who feel mistreated and/or deprived and have grievances towards a system they feel is unjust or biased in favor of other members of society. This starts to culminate into a collective sense of injustice, which in turn motivates individuals to become movement members and leaders in order to push for a change or overhaul within the current system (Cragun 2006). The goals of the movement are not chosen at random, because the entire purpose of the movement is to make a specific change, whether it is the call for new rights or the eradication of a part of the current system. It is the political context that stresses grievances and desires around which movements organize and mobilize (Meyer 2004).

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s was a political movement that demanded rights from the state and began with an insurgent consciousness. African-

Americans in society as well as allies to their cause felt that the governmental system at the time was unjust and biased against them. The collective sense of injustice towards African-Americans grew and as time went on, more people were motivated to become members of the movement.

The second vital component for the formation of a social movement within the context of PPT is the presence of organizational strength. A social movement must have strong and efficient leadership and sufficient resources in order to be successful or, at the very least, gain traction. This is similar to the resource mobilization theory, especially since the focus here is being placed on the mobilization of resources external to the movement in order to build internally and to influence political actors. Associated organizations that may not have direct ties to a movement are very important in the recruitment and motivation of actors to join and participate. It is a common occurrence for rising social movements to merge with pre-existing organizations and/or blocs of highly organized individuals devoted to the same cause who will lend the movement resources and support (Tarrow 1998).

The third component for social movements within this context is the presence of one or more political opportunities. If the current political system is or becomes vulnerable to any sort of challenge, it creates an opportunity for members of a movement to issue a challenge and put pressure on that vulnerability in order to create change. Vulnerabilities can include an increase in political pluralism, a decline in repression, an increase of division among political elites, especially in the cases in which there is a strong support in favor of some kind of organized opposition, and an increase in political enfranchisement (Cragun, 2006).

Political opportunities also stretch beyond vulnerabilities within a system. They also present themselves when members of a movement use their connections and resources to their benefit and gain. Often times, there is an increased access to a political decision making power. In the case of the Civil Rights Movement, many of the leaders also had connections to several well-regarded political figures such as members of congress that would vote on behalf of the movement as well as the president of the United States himself. Another opportunity was the opportunity of the leaders themselves, which usually involves access to elite allies outside of a political system who still have a massive influence, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. These elite allies can also help movement members run the movement during times in which it may struggle (Meyer, 2004).

From these three vital components emerges the ability for those involved and active in a political protest to recognize their collective strength in numbers, allies, and resources and be able to take advantage of political opportunities as they become available in order to weaken political opposition to their movement. This is also known as cognitive liberation (McAdam 1982). From this, members of the movement may begin to feel a sense of symbolic efficacy, which is essentially defined as the ability to enact strategic change within the political spectrum. This, in turn, allows for more recruitment and growth opportunities. However, this does not guarantee that change, if any, will actually be enacted. Even in the case of a weakened opposition, political actors may choose to not recognize and/or fill the demands of the movement due to other outside factors that cannot be classified by PPT.

While this theory is useful in helping to explain the success of older movements, many critics say that it relies too much on "structure" even though many of the factors it employs are not structural at all. Many rely on unpredictable influences and outcomes, which make them unreliable. Also, the methodology is often trivial and contradictory. It provides a few sensitizing concepts that are helpful in researching social movement theory; however critics say that the theory presents unrealistic expectations and should not be the end goal of research. It is helpful in measuring movements, but should not be relied upon alone (Goodwin and Jasper 1999).

The Cultural Approach

While there are merits to studying movements in terms of structure, culture is a key factor that must also be considered when studying the emergence, function, and potential success of social movements and protests. Cultural perceptions help to propel a movement, or could have the opposite effect and essentially shut it down. In many cases of social movements, especially in the age of social media, cultural perceptions are just as, if not more important than some pre-conceived underlying reality that is suggested by structural theorists. Movements are studied culturally in order to determine who joins protests, which people stay with the protest, and how the protest can potentially make change outside of a state. While there are several cultural approaches that are studied in regards to social movements, the three that are usually widely focused on are frame theory, collective identity, and connective identity, which deals with the development of social media.

Framing

In frame theory, protesters "frame" their message in order to convince and recruit new members to the cause. In other words, frames serve as simplifying devices that help for those involved to understand and organize the complexities of a movement and to break it down into terms that people can essentially get behind. There are three components for framing: the diagnostic frame, the prognostic frame, and the motivational frame (Snow & Benford 2000).

The diagnostic frame of the movement identifies a problem or what the movement is critiquing. The problem is stated in a clear and easily understood way. With diagnostic framing, there is no middle ground or "shades of gray". It is the belief that what the outside, or "they", do is wrong and the social movement, or "we", recognize that wrong and will fix it. For example, the anti-marriage equality movement has an uncompromising insistence that marriage is between a man and a woman and that no other variations are correct or even exist (SOC Open Course).

Prognostic framing involves setting a frame around what is the desirable solution to the problem or critique. It also usually involves stating how said solution should be implemented (Snow and Benford 2000). Using the same example of framing marriage equality by the anti-gay movement, the prognostic plan is to include that marriage is restricted to one man and one woman, and that civil unions are to be used for other partnerships instead of marriage.

Motivational framing is the call to action by a social movement by suggesting ways to solve the problem and encouraging members and nonmembers to go out and do so. This frame occurs once there is an agreement between the diagnostic and prognostic

frames. Once a problem and a solution to that problem are identified, action must be taken in order to see effective change (Snow and Benford 2000). An example of this would be the pro-marriage equality movement encouraging its members and supporters to vote "no" on anti-marriage equality resolutions in their state governments or encouraging phone calls to congressmen and women.

Collective Identity

Another component of cultural approach is the concept of collective identity. In simple terms, collective identity is the shared sense of belonging to a group. Social movements that emphasize the sense of collective identity present themselves in a way that makes them feel inclusive to many types of members. It also gives these members a feeling of being a part of a larger group they think they can help in order to motivate devoting time and effort towards protesting and furthering the cause. Collective identity can also be recognized within collective action, which is the action taken by a group whose goal is to enhance their status and to achieve a common objective (Chen and Liao 2014).

Connective Action

In recent years, internet-mediated social movements have overthrown governments or forced them to change policies, and have brought a spotlight to many issues, both major and minor, that societies are facing (Chen and Liao 2014). The speed and scale of social media mobilization is unprecedented in that they are able to launch large-scale collective actions in a short period of time. Social movements have been transformed dramatically in terms of organizational modes and communication methods

because anyone can participate regardless of their level of technological skills (Chen and Liao 2014).

As discussed earlier, collective action is the action taken together by a group of people in order to achieve a common goal and to enhance their status. This is often seen in social movements in order to enhance the presence of the movement within a society and to achieve the common goals of the movement whether it is to enact change, to prevent change, or to bring more awareness to an important cause. Based on this theory, the theory of connective action has been proposed in order to encompass the presence social media has in facilitating social movements. This theory emphasizes two major transformations brought about by Internet technologies: the personal action frame and communication technology as organization (Chen and Liao 2014).

As opposed to a collective action frame, which focuses on a group, a personal active frame focuses on the individual. Community-based websites (social media) ensure that each individual user has a space within the digital world through which individuals can express themselves. When users use social media for personal expression they are also imparting this content to their "friends" or online contact list of other users which in turn is imparted to the additional friends and contacts of those users creating a social network (Bennett and Segerberg 2012).

As social media sites have developed, they have become natural channels for the expression of both political satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Users desire to receive feedback whether it is through likes, shares, comments, or views of their content. They achieve this by posting and sharing news, pictures, text, and videos. If other users acknowledge them, their content and information is spread quickly to users beyond their

network. With the personal action frame, others who agree with a message sent out by a user do not have to share it in its original form. Instead, each person that wishes to share is able to use any method they prefer in order to express their own opinion about the original message (Chen and Liao 2014). This process of communication allows for further personalization of opinions. So, with the personal action frame, individuals working towards the same goal share the same underlying message, however each individual expresses their opinions in their own way, unlike collective action which requires a common organizational slogan.

Also within the theory of connective action is the use of communication technology as organization. It does not require the large-scale organizational operation that is needed for collective action in order to provide resources, or a central coordination for all actions taken within a social movement (Bennett and Segerberg 2013). Rather, communication technologies create a large network made up of other smaller networks that are created to connect various interests together.

Networks facilitated by online communication technologies have several utilities in order to enable the rapid flow of information. The first utilization is the quick distribution of resources. Individuals are able to report from the scene of events, circulate reports from mass media, including those of independent media, engage in new discussions and discourse, allocate funds to various actions, and provide important information to those at the scene of events. For example, individuals unable to participate in a physical protest event can still share information about lodging, food, and aid with individuals that are able to attend. Also regarding this information, digitally networked action can respond rapidly to emergencies and/or spontaneous demonstrations by

coordinating immediate action online. Users can alert others to show up to provide

support, avoid conflicts with law enforcement, and take new action as needed (Bennett

and Segerberg 2013).

While connective action is beneficial in analyzing social movements in the age of

social media, there are still problems with the theory. The first problem is that

psychological factors such as a common consciousness, which is a feeling that one's

actions can influence others through the internet and push others to improve society

through action and influencing government policy. Connective action emphasizes the role

of the individual so much that it takes away from a feeling of community within social

networks. People focus so much on how to frame the overarching message to meet their

needs that they do not pay attention to how other individuals contribute to the movement

overall. With this overly emphasized individualization it is difficult to build a conscious

network with a connection to one another. The action of taking to the streets could be

overshadowed by only having low commitment users pledging their support online, but

doing little more than composing tweets or status updates about it.

The second problem of connective action is that it is impossible to avoid a

leadership conflict through digitally networked action. Within networks created by

online technologies, the facilitation of power is hard to facilitate, therefore it is hard to

determine a leader and sub-leaders for various tasks. It is difficult to determine who is

able to take a leadership role and who has to stay confined to a simple membership role.

The Utilization of Both Culture and Structure

More often than not, the three aforementioned theories are integrated with one

another in order to explain the origin, continuation, and success in social movements. In

my analysis of each theory I have found that they all contribute to the formation and success of movements in one way or another. In many cases I have researched, there are usually cultural factors, such as aspects of culture and society that beckon change, or resources that allow for the initiation of change, such as political or economic opportunities, that opens the door for a social movement. This then leads to more resources, political opportunities, and cultural opportunities to be made available, often in integration with one another.

The cultural approach to social movements emerged from both RMT and PPT after both theories had been criticized for being too objective in regards to social movements and not taking into account factors other than available political and economic resources (Goodwin and Jasper 2006, 13). Sometimes, too much focus may be placed on expected resources and opportunities that do not take into account possible sudden cultural/societal shifts, or sudden changes in resource availability. I have observed that social movements need various resources in order to be successful and must mobilize those resources effectively. I have also found that movements also need some kind of call to action, whether it is from the political system or the common culture of a society, in order to inspire others to join a movement in order to create change.

An example that most nearly exhibits this integration is the movement of the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. This movement was created in 1977, a full year after the beginning of the military juntas of Argentina, also known as "La Guerra Sucia" or, "The Dirty War". It was named to be a dirty war in reference to the unofficial civil war taking place between leftist Argentinians in support of political reform and the Argentinian military which was backed by the right (Koepsel 2011). The primary goal of

this conflict was to "compel all people, by force and persuasion, to uphold a conservative national identity and patriarchal ideology" (Bejarano 2002, 146). These juntas lasted from 1976 until 1983 during which time over 30,000 Argentinians became "desaparacidos", "the disappeared" (Haberman, 2015). They were taken from their homes either to be interrogated in torture centers or to be killed (Haberman, 2015).

In reaction to these disappearances, the mothers of the missing Argentinians mobilized in order to demand the truth about their missing children from the government. Together, they created La Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Association of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) and engaged in peaceful protests that took place in front of the Casa Rosada (Pink House), in the center of the capital (Domenici and Foss 2001, 237). The organization continues its work today and still organizes every Thursday at 3:30pm in the Plaza de Mayo wearing their trademark white headscarves and carrying photos of their children in order to deny the government of forgetting the past and their failure of bringing the guilty to justice (Koepsel 2011).

The movement stemmed from a problem in the government: Argentinians were disappearing due to their political ideologies. There was no political opportunity present for the mothers to take advantage of, since organization and protest was illegal at the time. So, they used their cultural status as mothers in order to take on the government and yet be "untouchable" (Koepsel 2011). They utilized the concept of "marianismo", which is the cultural concept of feminine spiritual superiority and self-sacrifice, which constitutes the ideal wife and mother in Latin America. The combination of cultural glorification of motherhood and the respect it brings gave the Madres the power to be able to demand the truth from the government without the consequences faced by other

oppositions (Domenici and Foss 2001, 240). There was also a collective identity present during the formation of the Madres movement. Although they all came from diverse backgrounds, each woman shared the loss of her child, which drove all of them to do something about it.

The resources available to the Madres were limited, yet were mobilized in an effective way. The Plaza de Mayo is an open location that is directly in front of the Casa Rosada, which serves as the residence of the President. This not only allowed them the opportunity to get the attention of the government, but also allowed them to engage with citizens passing by the Plaza that may have shown curiosity about the protest (Koepsel 2011). They also wanted to utilize a large and unprotected area in which they were willing to show that they would risk their safety and possibly their lives in order to learn what happened to their children (Domenici and Foss 2001, 245). They also turned their children's white diaper kerchiefs into a recognizable symbol by wearing the kerchiefs around their heads during the protest. This unlikely resource made the organization recognizable and became a symbol for the disappeared children that will never be forgotten (Domenici and Foss 2001, 243-245).

At the end of the military juntas, the Madres were able to take advantage of a more open political system in order to locate the whereabouts of their missing children if they were still alive. They also were able to locate the estimated 500 children of the disappeared that were taken away from their mothers and given either to military families or put up for adoption in other countries. As of 2014, 113 of the missing grandchildren were located (Haberman 2015). They were also able to work with politicians in order to strengthen human rights laws in the newly democratic Argentina to ensure that events

like the Dirty War would never occur again. It brought attention to the human rights violations that occurred and effectively created a means of releasing mass information about the disappeared to thousands of people (Bejarano 2002).

Utilizing both cultural and structural approaches to analyze social movements is vital to the deep understanding as to why and how these movements occur and how they can be successful and productive. Resources and cultural perceptions and ideologies are necessary for effective mobilization. As technology improves, these approaches continue to blend together more. Through the development of social media, cultural perceptions become a more important resource, since shared perceptions are discovered more quickly through the utilization of connective social networks.

<center>**Chapter Three: Social Media and Social Movements**</center>

Introduction:

  The rise of social media has taken place throughout the twenty-first century with the development of sites such as Facebook and Twitter and later with mobile applications like Instagram, Snapchat and WhatsApp. These developing networks have allowed for quick communication between different areas of the world and have also allowed for new outlets for news.

  Social movements have transformed methods of communication between individuals and groups. They have also changed the time for reception of news and organization. Social movements have been heavily affected by the rise of social media because of quicker communication and organization. Many movements have now shifted from traditional brick and mortar organizations with functional headquarters and specific protesting sites, to organized groups and pages online that spread messages through hashtags and contain multiple protesting sites.

Defining Social Media

  While interconnected systems of communication have existed since the beginning of the twentieth century, rapid communication between the far corners of the world developed with the Internet. Later, this communication was refined into special network applications that not only continue to facilitate rapid communication but also allow users to share information about themselves as well as articles, videos and photos with others to whom they are connected. These networks have become known as "social media". What makes this a unique phenomenon is that social media are kept alive through

connective networking between users that allows them complete control over the content they see and the people with whom they interact.

The "social" part of the term social media refers to the interactions that take place between people by sharing information and receiving information in turn. The "media" part of the term refers to an instrument of communication. In this case, this method of communication is the Internet, which allows access to these information-sharing networks (Nations 2017).

Since Facebook was founded in 2004, social media has dominated web and mobile communication. As of the end of 2016, Facebook had 1.86 billion active monthly users. Twitter, a platform launched in 2006 that allows users to post thoughts, opinions and newsbites in 140 characters or less has 319 million active monthly users as of the end of 2016. Other apps for photo sharing, Instagram, and instant messaging, WhatsApp, currently have 600 million and 1 billion active monthly users, respectively. Table 1 shows the amount of active users for Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp as well as other social media services as of the beginning of 207.

Table 1: Top Worldwide Social Networks By Active Monthly User Accounts, Millions

Service	Active Users
Facebook	1,871
WhatsApp	1,000
QQ	877
WeChat	846
QZone	632

Instagram	600
Tumblr	550
Twitter	317
Baidu Tieba	300
Snapchat	300
Skype	300
Sina Weibo	297

Source: Statista.com as of January 2017

The development of social media and the rise of active accounts worldwide has allowed for an interconnectedness that had never before been achieved. It has allowed for globalization to occur much faster than it had before the time of the Internet. This rapid communication has also paved the way for rapid organization and growth of movements through organized groups and pages as well as hashtags and trending topics.

As social media develop, the defining characteristics have become more specific and refined, mainly into four main aspects that differentiate it from other forms of Internet communication (Obar and Wildman 2015).

The first aspect of defining social media is that social media services are currently Web 2.0 internet-based applications. Web 2.0 can be characterized as a shift of the purpose of the World Wide Web from user as a consumer to the user as a participant. As a participant, users not only consume information and content found on the Internet, they also produce it (Ritzer and Iurgenson 2010). Mobile and Web-based applications are designed and created to enable users to create, interact, collaborate, share, and view in the

process of creating as well as consuming content generated by other users. It is a space

for content to be created, published, and consumed, as well as being able to be

"continuously modified by all users in a participatory and collaborative fashion"(Kaplan

and Haenlein 2010).

The second aspect that defines social media is that user-generated content is what

allows social media to exist (Omar and Wildman 2015). User-generated content spans a

large range. It is much more than articles posted by writers onto news sites. User-

generated content encompasses everything on social media: personal profile information,

network connections made through "friending" and "following", status updates and

tweets, comments left on posts of other users, posted photos, and countless other

interactions that populate social media sites. These user-generated interactions link

people together and are the fuel of the network. If these interactions did not exist, social

media would not be considered "social". They would be empty pages full of content that

no one sees and that no one cares about.

The third aspect to define social media is the fact that individual users and groups

create user-specific profiles that serve as the backbone for social media networks (Omar

and Wildman 2015). Various social media networks offer users the option of creating a

username, providing contact information like an email address, and the ability to upload a

picture. Other options are available and these often vary from service to service. User

profiles enable social network connections between user accounts by allowing them to be

searchable and identifiable. User identification also enables network functions such as

sharing and liking posts and other content. Profiles also allow users complete access to

the site and its functions, which are usually limited or restricted for non-registered individuals attempting to view the content of actual users.

The fourth and final aspect of defining social media also includes the ambiguity that still exists when doing so. It is that social media services facilitate the development of social networks online and through their mobile-based applications by connecting a user profile with the profiles of other individuals and groups (Omar and Wildman 2015). While the nature of these connections vary from site to site, making these connections involves the creation of a list of individuals with whom an individual would like to connect. The user as well as the social media service manages these interactions. On social media networks such as Facebook and Snapchat, these connection lists are referred to as "friends", and on Twitter and Instagram, these lists are called "followers". Content consumption is directly affected by these connections because users will first see and interact with content posted and shared by their friends and those whom they follow (Omar and Wildman 2015).

The ambiguity of defining social media is that it can be argued that other communication technologies such as the telephone also allowed individuals to form, develop, facilitate, and maintain social networks. This suggests that communication technologies based on line or on web-supported mobile applications should not be identified as uniquely social. Ambiguity also remains given the fact that social media functions are being added to products not traditionally designed for social networking purposes, thus calling into question if those products should also fall under the umbrella of social media.

Social Media and Social Movement Theory

Social movements are becoming more digitized as social media develop and grow into larger platforms and reach wider audiences. As mentioned in Chapter One, social media stems the idea of connective action, in which each user develops a personal action frame for each issue or cause they support. This allows for the individualization of a widespread message and gives users personal connections to causes that they can share with the world in turn (Bennett and Segerberg 2012, 747).

Resource Mobilization Theory

RMT is most applicable to social media because they can act both as a resource as well as a tool to mobilize other resources. Social media can serve the purpose of spreading a movement through the actions of creating, liking, and sharing content that spreads the intended message. For example, a hashtag on Twitter dealing with a current social issue or political problem may spread throughout the connective networks of the creator and into other networks, becoming a trend. This is a resource to spread a message. Social media networks such as Facebook can facilitate other resources by becoming a point of organization. Members of a movement can become organized as a part of a group, schedule locations for physical meetings and protests, as well as create an identity for itself through discussion about symbols, ideas, and potential demands in order to create change.

Often, social media use in regards to social movements in protest is referred to as "hashtag activism", which is another term to describe digital activism, or expressing one's opinion and/or solidarity with a cause online, particularly on social media (Dewey 2014). Sometimes these hashtags will manifest into physical movements that take place in the real world and not just on social media sites. However, many of these will remain

digital and may never result in any tangible changes other than possibly a brief period of piqued interest in a cause. This form of activism has been divisive in how it is received by the public. It has once been described as more of "a kind of collective digital graffiti than a measure of engagement: *I saw this thing, it spoke to me for at least one second, and here is my mark to prove it"* (Carr 2012). Many times, these hashtags mean to further interest in a cause, but do not have any clear goals or intent.

RMT states that costs and benefits of a potential social movement are analyzed and considered before action takes place (McCarthy and Zald 1977). In terms of utilizing social media as a resource to spread a message, such as a that included in a hashtag, it costs nothing to type the hashtag, adding an additional message, and publishing the new content. While some people will actually take up causes originating from a hashtag, however most will simply pass it along (Carr 2012).

Political Process Theory

Social media is less prominent within PPT because while it offers a connection between political entities and their constituents, it does not provide any significant form of political opportunity for social movements to mobilize possible political resources. Many government institutions and political actors have created accounts on Twitter and Facebook in order to provide updates about what is currently going on within their jurisdictions and to connect with the public. However, it would take more than a simple online interaction between a political figure or institution and a constituent in order to facilitate change. If multiple people come together to contact a political actor about an issue or cause, they might gain an audience with that actor. However, more action is required than utilizing this one opportunity.

Cultural Theory

Social media has become integrated into modern culture. As mentioned earlier, over 1.5 billion people use some form of social media network (Statista). On social sites, users can share their opinions of cultural perceptions, discuss these opinions with others, and develop their ideas. This, once again, allows for the individualization of a common message through connective action. Each individual user is also able to frame their personalized messages in various forms that will then be taken into consideration by other users within their connective networks.

Social media is best integrated into the framing theory, for it provides an outlet for different types of content. The best example of which is Twitter. On Twitter, users are able to express themselves in a limited 140 characters. So, their tweets must be concise. This way, users can identify an issue, usually through the use of a hashtag, and then issue a diagnosis, prognosis, or motivation regarding said issue. A diagnosis would be recognition of the problem, prognosis would be a possible solution to the problem, and the motivation would be suggested actions in order for the suggested solutions to come to fruition (Snow & Benford 1988).

Chapter Four: A Case Study of the Ni Una Menos Movement

Introduction:

An important method in the development of social movement theory has been to analyze both successful and unsuccessful movements and protests from the past. This involves identifying patterns and similarities between the movements themselves as well as among outside influencing factors of political opportunities, available resources, and culture norms for the time.

Social movement theory is constantly developing since not all social movements and protests are similar. It is important to incorporate ongoing and new social movements into theory development so that it takes into account newer platforms such as the Internet and social media. Social movements that defy current theory must also be studied critically. We must be able to identify in what ways these movements defy theory, why that is, and the explanation for this occurrence.

Social movements and protests in Argentina offer numerous sources to study the divergence from theory. This is due to the sheer number of protests that occur within the country and the unorthodox methods they use. According to current theory, many of these movements should have failed. And while some do, many see some kind of successful outcome. A good example of this is the Ni Una Menos movement that was introduced in Chapter One, which emerged in Argentina in 2014 and held its first organized march in 2015. It takes its name from its Twitter hashtag, making it easily recognizable and also categorizing it as a social media movement as well as a movement of physical protest.

In order to understand the rise and success of the #NiUnaMenos movement, it is important to apply it to various social movement theories as well as take into account the significant impact social media has had on its development and progress. It is also important to consider the presence of connective action, since this movement began on social media, and whether or not it explains the rapid spread of this movement across Argentina, Latin America, and the world.

Ni Una Menos and Resource Mobilization Theory

The resource mobilization theory (RMT) of social movements highlights the importance of available resources and how movements use those resources. These resources are divided into material and non-material resources. While resources do not necessarily make or break movements, RMT suggests that the availability of resources affects a movement's ability to grow and reach desired goals.

In the Ni Una Menos movement, the most significant resources are primarily non-material. Social capital played a major role to the facilitation of the movement. Argentina is a well-educated and fairly well developed country and has high levels of social capital, especially among the middle and upper-middle classes, in which the movement holds a stronger presence. The Internet, primarily social media, also played a large role in the creation of the movement. The murder of Chiara Paez was yet another high-profile case of femicide in the country that became the catalyst for the movement. Marcela Ojeda's tweet was the call to action, and the anger of the populace was organized and drawn together to create the movement.

RMT suggests that social movements need organization in order to develop into anything. This occurred with #NiUnaMenos developing a social media platform and later

creating tangible goals in order to bring the personal stories of femicide to the forefront, creating a national registry of femicides, and for the Congress to strengthen current laws and the enforcement of those laws.

The Internet and social media allowed the movement the ability to reach a large amount of people in a short amount of time even before Ni Una Menos was officially organized, and even more so after it was established. This resource was used as a tool that allowed the movement accelerated growth and fostered more support. Twitter was used as a call to action, initiating several responses and calls for a protest. A Facebook page was created in order to garner likes and post regular updates about the movement, its goals, demands, and physical protests and strikes. Social media was used to garner support by the movement itself and also from its supporters. The use of hashtags such as the initial #NiUnaMenos and later #VivasNosQueremos, #WeWantUsToLive, and in 2016 were used in posts in order to get the movement "trending" and viral on social media sites.

Another aspect of RMT is that it presumes that social movements should be rational, in that individual participants as well as the organizers calculate the costs of formation and participation and weigh them against the benefits of the movement and its potential outcomes (McCarthy and Zald 1977).

One potential cost would be backlash from naysayers towards the movement. But since violence against women is very publicly unpopular, those who disagree with the movement are less likely to make a public statement for fear that they would be perceived negatively by the general public. The benefits of joining the movement would be to have an outlet in which to express anger at the current culture and government in a safe and

productive manner as well as the ability to share the personal stories of femicide victims, which is able to connect the movement to reality. Another benefit is the ability to join in demanding the government for change as well as being a force for cultural change. Many participants may have also seen this movement as an opportunity to create justice for their own circumstances, which draws on the earlier mention of the fact that 95% of the participants in the 2015 march had at least had an experience with harassment in the streets, while others dealt with incidents of domestic and sexual violence (UBA 2015). In the case of Ni Una Menos the benefits of joining and staging demonstrations for the eradication of femicide in Argentina outweigh the potential costs.

Anger against gender-based violence had been building for decades in Argentina and throughout the world. The death of Chiara Paez and Daiana Garcia seemed to be what tipped the scale towards public outcry. This outcry was then organized through social media, in which like-minded individuals on this issue could find and connect with one another and grow this new community. The organizers used their connections to other activist networks as well as the media in order to bring this piece of news to the forefront, which turned citizens to the cause and enabled many of them to join in. Social media allowed for people to come together in order to act on the issue of femicides. It then allowed for the mobilization of people, locations, a slogan, symbols, goals, and desired actions in order to transform Ni Una Menos from an online hashtag movement to something physical with boots on the ground.

Ni Una Menos and the Political Process Theory

Political Process Theory (PPT) is another structural approach to social movements. It is similar to Resource Mobilization Theory, but is politically oriented through the current political/institutional system and the availability of political opportunities (McAdam 1982). According to PPT, for social movements to be successful, there must be the presence of the three vital components: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities (Cragun 2006).

Ni Una Menos protesters demanded harsher punishments for perpetrators for sexual violence and femicide, government funding for the implementation of the anti-femicide law which exists but does not have any guidelines for enforcement and proper protocol, and official statistics on the occurrence of femicide in Argentina, since there were no precise data for the amount of occurrences and the names and locations of the victims. They were making demands directly of the political system and these demands needed the cooperation of the government in order to come to fruition.

Insurgent consciousness occurs when members of society feel deprived, mistreated, and have several issues with the current system (Cragun 2006). They perceive this system to be unfair and unjust. This consciousness motivates people to become members of social movements that represent their concerns. The goals are not chosen at random in order to maximize their success (McAdam 1982). The Ni Una Menos movement can be considered to be a result of an insurgent consciousness because supporters of this movement claim that support for victims of domestic violence within the justice system is lacking, nothing is being done to combat the increasing number of femicides, and the lack of information and support for victims, such as the registry for incidents of femicides that was later implemented after the first march. Many people were

angry with the growing number of femicides in Argentina and the lack of response by the government towards changing this trend. As the issue became more serious, more and more people chose to create and join a movement that would hopefully make a change.

In the three years the Ni Una Menos movement has existed, it has seen an increase in organizational strength. At the beginning, it was nothing but a trending hashtag on Twitter. It grew to be a formal movement that spread across Argentina, Latin America, and several other countries all over the world. It is considered formal because it is recognized by the Argentinean government, which has accepted the demands and claims to be making progress on meeting them (Carbajal 2017). At the beginning of the movement, Ni Una Menos was characterized by RNT in that it utilized the resources of social and professional networks both in the virtual and real worlds, as well as hosting demonstrations with a large number of protesters. The movement then began to transition to more of a political process approach once it started making demands of the government and gathering support from politicians and other political elites.

Political opportunities emerge when there is a vulnerability in the current systems that members of a social movement can take advantage of in order to make progress. Before the organization of the movement, two major problems within the system existed: the inability to prevent femicides from occurring, and the lack of governmental recognition and response to the growing number of instances occurring. Citizens wanted to change this. At the same time, Argentina is a democracy and as of 2015 had a female president as well as a government in which female representation was a high issue on the political agenda. This seemed to offer an opportunity for a political and social movement focused on gender. This also gave female politicians the opportunity to position

themselves within this issue in order to capitalize on the quota system for legislative elections and gain support from the movement and possibly be elected to office. As the movement grew, more political opportunities arose, specifically, the 2015 general election, which was taking place at this time and as of recently, the 2017 midterm elections are in preparation: the support from certain members of the Congress, the initiation of the creation of a femicide registry, and the support of former president, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner. However, this last opportunity has decreased in its credibility since the former president is currently under investigation for fraud. However, during the #NiUnaMenos strike in October 2016, her words gave the movement more attention in the public eye.

#NiUnaMenos and the Cultural Approach

The cultural approach to analyzing social movements involves taking into account cultural perceptions: the perception of the current culture held by the movement, and the perception of the movement held by the current culture. Movements use framing and collective action in order to shape the perceptions of them in their favor, as well as present a challenge to the current culture based on their own perceptions.

A major complaint of the Ni Una Menos movement is that there is a strong presence of "machismo" or strong and aggressive masculine pride within Latin American culture. Males are considered to have aggressive sexual appetites, which can be described as "expansive and almost uncontrollable", and it is their right as a man to satisfy this sexual desire in any way they choose. In contrast to this idea, female sexuality is considered to be an object over which men have control (Hirsch, Meneses, Thompson,

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Negroni, Pelcastre and Rio 2007). Traditionally, women were only expected to have one sexual partner and none before or outside of their marriages, however this ideology has become less common in recent years. While this ideology used to be reflected within the governing laws, it has become less prominent. Also, while this stereotype about men is common in Latin America, it is not true for all men.

Since the end of the military juntas in 1983, the status of women had been elevated within Argentina in that they receive comparable opportunities for higher education and are well integrated into cultural and intellectual life within the country. According to the Global Gender Gap Report by the Global Economic Forum released in 2013, Argentina ranked 34th out of 136 countries regarding equal opportunity between women and men (GEF Report 2013). However, there is still a gender pay gap and women face the serious problem of domestic and sexual violence and struggle with the time taken in order to prosecute rape.

Part of the cultural approach to analyzing social movements, the tactics used by the movement in order to recruit new members and foster support must be considered. The movement, in order to solicit a positive perception, must frame itself in a way that is appealing to members and non-members. Frames help to present the basic idea of the movement and organize it into terms that people can easily understand and rally behind. The three frames are a diagnostic frame, which identifies a problem, a prognostic frame, which suggests a solution to the problem, and a motivational frame, which offers tangible opportunities to fix the problem and encourages movement members to take advantage of these opportunities.

The diagnostic frame was the most commonly used frame in the beginning of the Ni Una Menos movement. Many tweets consisted of statements such as "They Are Killing Us" and of the numbers of femicides that had occurred during that month. The tweets and Facebook posts pointed out the problem of machismo, the lack of enforcement for violence prevention laws, and the mishandling of cases by the justice system. This also served as a call-out to the current societal norms that seemed to ignore or downplay the prominence of femicide within the country. The way to combat this problem was to point it out and then offer solutions as to how to change it.

Photo 1: A woman asks, "Does killing me make you more manly?"

Photo by Rubén Paralore for Telám

In Photo 1, a woman holds a sign that asks, "Does killing me make you more of a man?" This fits the diagnostic frame, because it recognizes the problem of femicide as well as the problems with the cultural concept of machismo. Many supporters of Ni Una

Menos believe that machismo is one of the main factors that contribute to violence against women in Argentina. Photo 3 also demonstrates the diagnostic frame with the sign held by the woman on the left. It reads, "Sorry to bother you, but we are being murdered," which again identifies the problem of femicide in Argentina as well as giving the reason why the march is taking place. Women are being murdered, and the protesters need to call attention to it.

The prognostic frame has not been used as often for the Ni Una Menos movement. The first time a prognosis was set was in the initial call to action tweet after the murder of Paez making the request to "Stop Killing Us". This offered a "solution" to the problem of femicide. It is the most logical. If women are being murdered then the simplest solution would be for the perpetrators of these murders to stop their actions and for the potential perpetrators to not go through with their plans. The second prognosis was the list of demands released to the Congress of Argentina in 2015 for the initial march. These demands call for the heavier enforcement of anti-violence laws, police reform, and the formation of a national registry of femicide. The third prognosis is another list of demands, demanding action where none has taken place, for the second march in 2016 as well as Black Wednesday in October of the same year (Ni Una Menos).

Photo 2: A man holds a sign that reads, "He who loves does not murder!!! No more Femicides. #NiUnaMenos".

Photo by Melanie Guil

In Photo 2, a man holds a sign that states, "He who loves does not murder!! No more femicides! #NiUnaMenos". This can be categorized as a prognosis, because he offers a simple solution to a complicated problem: If a man loves a woman, he will not kill her or harm her in any way. He also asks for no more femicides, which is another common declaration of the Ni Una Menos movement. This "solution" this and other similar signs and tweets offer will most likely not solve the problem since the issue runs deeper than a simple matter of ceasing. However, it fits the prognostic frame.

The motivational frame is now the most commonly used frame for the Ni Una Menos movement, since the main force behind the movement is the physical demonstrations set by the members. The motivational frame consists of offering opportunities for members to get involved in action in order for the solutions to come to fruition. Part of this is encouraging members to constantly talk about the issue and to not

ignore it as it comes up in conversation. It also encourages men to reconsider any violent tendencies they may have and also encourages them to stand in alliance with women in order to influence others to do the same.

Photo 3: Two women demonstrate both diagnostic and motivational frames. The first sign reads: "Sorry to bother you, but we are being murdered." The second sign reads, "We are the cry of those who no longer have a voice".

Photo by Julián Varela for Telám

Photo 4: Signs from left to right read: "Beautiful gem: Never stop shining. Your body belongs to you, and nobody else!!! #NiUnaMenos" and "From the street to my home, I want to be free, not brave. #NiUnaMenos."

Photo by Emilio Rapetti for Telám

Photos 3 and 4 demonstrate the motivational frame. The woman on the right side of photo 4 carries a sign that reads, "We are the cry of those who no longer have a voice". The girl on the right of Photo 4 carries a sign that reads, "Beautiful gem, never stop shining. Your body belongs to you, and nobody else!!!" These fall under the motivational frame in two ways. The woman in Photo 3 is showing motivation through empowerment of all of the protesters. Her statement gives validation to why they are participating. They are there to be the voice and potentially the justice for the women who have lost their lives to femicide. The girl in Photo 4 is showing motivation by giving encouragement to

all women who may face the issue of gender violence and harassment. She is giving validation to those the march is helping.

Collective and Connective Action

Ni Una Menos began as a social media movement through the hashtags and the Facebook page initially created to follow the issue of violence against women prevention in Argentina. It grew to having thousands of supporters, each posting individualized messages about the movement. Every user connected online had their own variation of reasons as to why they were drawn to the movement. For some, they lost a loved one to this issue. Others did not want this to happen to them, and others for various other reasons. Each post online reflected this individualization of a common goal.

Digital networks were also vital to the communication of this movement between members and also with those who do not take part. The hashtag allowed for easy access to all of the tweets and posts pertaining to news about the movement as well as links to articles and sources beneficial to the gathering of information about movement events and facts. These networks also allowed the message of Ni Una Menos to spread to beyond its followers. Connected users would share or post content pertaining to the movement, marches, and goings on. In turn, their digital connections of friends and followers would see these posts and many would take an interest. Some may even re-post the message onto their own pages, which then allows for more unconnected users to view. This creates a large web of connections and a larger base of support.

While this connective action functions well for the Ni Una Menos movement, it does not rule out the importance of collective action and identity. While Ni Una Menos has a very strong presence online and needs that presence in order to continue, it also

needs physical actions in order to make effective change. Social media brings awareness, but physical protests, marches, and strikes are what bring the concrete proof that the movement is a success. It was not until after the first march that lawmakers agreed to establish a national registry for femicide and initiate a plan of action. It also shows which members of the movement dedicate themselves to the cause beyond their computers and mobile devices. The numbers are large and carry more weight in the long run than the number of times the hashtag has been used.

Conclusion

This analysis has sought to determine the role that social media plays within social movement theory and how it can be effectively applied to modern day social movements. In order to answer this question, I focused on three main social movement theories: Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), Political Process Theory (PPT), and Cultural Approach, as well as exploring the newer theory of Connective Action that has risen from the prevalence of social media and its effect on the organization of movements. To apply these theories, I researched many social movements from around the world, but created a case study of the Ni Una Menos movement, which originated in Argentina in 2014.

Before this research, I hypothesized that RMT and PPT would be the two main theories that have the largest influence on Ni Una Menos and its success. However, after applying the theories to the movement I have observed that each theory has influenced the movement as it evolved. It began as both a cultural and RMT movement. People saw a flaw in the culture, i.e. femicides and violence against women happening at an increased rate in Argentina, so they used a popular resource, social media, in order to bring attention to this issue. The resource of social media was then used to recruit support for the movement and was then transformed into an instrument for mobilization of a physical protest. After the initial march, Ni Una Menos began to fit PPT, in that once the movement gained hundreds of thousands of participants demanding change; the government was pressured to respond. Political actors are now more involved with the movement in order to create new laws and strengthen enforcements on current laws in

order to help eradicate this issue. These actors are now a vital resource for the continuation of the movement and its impact.

In regards to social media, I found that it facilitated this movement, and without the wide reach of these connective networks, the movement would not have reached a wide audience and garnered as much support as it did. It would have also been less likely that Ni Una Menos would have spread across Argentina and into other Latin American countries in order to fight violence against women beyond one country. Social media, in this case, is the most vital resource for the continuation of Ni Una Menos. It was able to provide organization to concerns about current laws and culture, recruit support, create an actual march, and extend to political actors and influential people.

Overall, in my research I have found that social media is a vital resource to social movements, and the process of social movement organizing will never be able to regress to what it once was: traditional headquarters base with established leaders and a large amount of time for organization and action plans. It is now quick, with posts being made on social media with corresponding events taking place weeks, days, sometimes hours after the initial posting. Movements utilize social media in order to grow their following and reach wider audiences. It is also a good initializer for social movements since it offers a space for users to express their concerns with political and cultural issues. However, social media is not the main cause for action and change. This still comes from physical participation and actions, not just using the trending hashtag in order to show solidarity.

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