Association for Information Systems

AIS Electronic Library (AISeL)

AISWN International Research Workshop on Women, IS and Grand Challenges 2020

AIS Womens Network College

12-13-2020

ICIS 2020 India: Social media movements of #GBV in South Africa

Tendani Thabela-Chimboza

Ammaarah Abrahams

Wallace Chigona

Follow this and additional works at: https://aisel.aisnet.org/aiswn2020

This material is brought to you by the AIS Womens Network College at AIS Electronic Library (AISeL). It has been accepted for inclusion in AISWN International Research Workshop on Women, IS and Grand Challenges 2020 by an authorized administrator of AIS Electronic Library (AISeL). For more information, please contact elibrary@aisnet.org.

ICIS 2020 India:Social media movements of #GBV in South Africa

Completed Research Paper

Tendani Thabela-Chimboza

University of Cape Town
Leslie Commerce; Private Bag X3
Rondebosch, 7701
Tendani.chimboza@uct.ac.za

Ammaarah Abrahams

University of Cape Town Leslie Commerce; Private Bag X3 Rondebosch, 7701 abrammoo2@myuct.ac.za

Wallace Chigona

University of Cape Town Leslie Commerce; Private Bag X3 Rondebosch, 7701 Wallace.chigona@uct.ac.za

Abstract

Despite the spike in violence on women and femicides, South Africa has had successful social media movements to combat GBV. The #GBV movement in South Africa resulted in the formation of a new policy framework to address femicides and GBV. South African universities have also placed structures in place to safeguard and address the occurrence of GBV on their campuses. This success is an example of the significant role of Information and Communication Technology (ICTs) in achieving social justice. Through qualitative content analysis, we analyzed 478 Twitter posts on #GBV and related #hashtags. The current study developed a conceptual framework that proposes factors that can be used to evaluate the success of social media movements. The study also argues that, while social media is successful in achieving social justice, Information Systems (IS) researchers need to pay attention to possible unintended consequences. These include GBV victimblaming and cyberbullying.

Keywords: Gender-based violence, digital activism, social justice, ICTs, social media movements

Introduction

Information Systems (IS) research has paid little attention to the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in achieving social justice. Through ICTs, social movements are no longer confined to public strike action but can take place online, and in some cases make a significant impact on social justice. The advent of social media has seen a rise in online/digital activism. Digital activism is an online or technology-based public effort with collective grievances directed to authority aimed at achieving social justice (Schejter and Tirosh 2015). It includes digital petitions and social media movements. A digital petition allows activists to sign an online petition to enforce change from the top through majority signatures (George and Leidner 2018). Activism is no longer dependent on funds and well-educated united participants but is now available to anyone with the resources George and Leidner 2018). On digital platforms, individuals are shielded by anonymity which gives them the courage to share their own opinion without fear (Piat 2019). Anonymity is crucial especially in countries where individual freedoms are suppressed.

Social movements are "an effort by a large number of people to collectively solve a problem that they feel they have in common" (Toch 2014, p. 5). Some of the most common social media movements have taken place in developed countries. A common example is the Arab Spring movement in Egypt which took place in 2011. This movement is a famous social media movement topic of study with the agenda of the movement being a political revolution. Howard and Hussain (2011) studied the role of social media in the Arab Spring movement. Although the studies found the effectiveness of social media use in the movement, it did not look at the success factors of the social media movement.

Despite the digital divide in South Africa, the rise of smartphones and the modern-day internet has equipped citizens with easy access to social networking sites (SNS) (Bornman 2016). This coupled with South Africa's freedom of speech online is instrumental in getting social media movements in South Africa nationally and internationally recognized. The current study reflects on the role of social media movements in achieving social justice. The <u>#GBV</u> movement in South Africa is one such example. #GBV is a social media movement established by women in South Africa to share their grievances about women's abuse, sexual violence, and femicides. Essentially, the major research question is:

RQ1: What are the success factors of #GBV social movements in South Africa?

The study uses qualitative content analysis to explore the role of social media in achieving social justice. A conceptual framework is proposed to explain the success factors of social media movements. The major contribution rests on the framework which can be replicated to measure success factors of digital activism at the national level. Moreover, the study shows evidence that internet freedom is a fundamental component of democracy. In addition to digital activists, we believe that government officials will benefit from the framework as it indicates elements that need to be addressed for social media to achieve social justice.

The Centre of Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSRV) (CSVR 2016, p. 4) defines GBV as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women". While there is a debate about GBV also affecting men in South Africa, women have to a lager degree suffered the most from these crimes (Brodie 2019). The violent crimes killing women in South Africa are often compared to ones that take place in a war zone. Earlier (Omari 2013) reported that 55 000 sexual violence crimes against women were reported annually. The South African Police Service (SAPC) estimated that, for every 36 seconds, a female is raped in South Africa (Omari 2013). Some studies have also reported that 1 in 5 women in South Africa has experienced a form of rape or sexual violence in their lives (John et al. 2020). It is also estimated that 15% of these crimes are experienced by under-age children (Brodie 2019). By 2019, SAPS confirmed that 41% of rapes reported affected children. The majority of GBV incidents take place in townships or areas that have informal settlements (Mpunzi 2020). Such violent crimes have made South Africa be cited as the most dangerous place in the world (World Population Review (WPR) 2020).

Social media plays a major role in exposing the gravity of GBV in South Africa. For the longest time, issues of GBV had been hidden from the public. Most scholars attribute this to the failed justice system and some patriarchal ideologies which prohibit women from talking about sexual violence (Sonke Gender Justice and Health-E News 2017).

The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed another serious challenge resulting from GBV, i.e., femicide. Femicides as the intentional killing of women based on their gender (World Health Organisation 2018). Femicide also refers to the killing of women by an intimate male partner (Brodie 2019). During President Cyril Ramaphosa's speech on the easing of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, he mentioned that the femicide rates have sparked during this time and that South Africa is facing "another pandemic" in the form of violence against women and children (Crabtree 2020). He further stated that 51% of South African women have experienced violence at the hands of someone with whom they are in a relationship. Moreover, according to the latest statistics from the SAPS, a woman is murdered every three hours (Crabtree 2020).

Literature review

The role of ICTs in achieving social justice

Social justice is an effort that strives to achieve societal equal access to wealth, opportunities and privileges (United Nations 2006). In this study, we position the role of ICTs in achieving social justice in digital

activism literature. Traditionally, aggrieved citizens would take to the streets and perform various forms of protests authority. ICTs such as social media platforms afford users the ability to mass communicate. In some contexts, ICTs allow people to freely express their feelings without fear of victimization by the authority(Zheng and Walsham 2008). Social media platforms such as interest groups on Facebook may provide safety nets for marginalized people to express their feelings to achieve some sort of psychological empowerment over their traumatic experiences (Li 2016). Moreover, social media platforms afford users to share information instantly which can impact other people anywhere in the world (Schejter and Tirosh 2015). The ease of use of technology in communicating powerful messages through videos, photos, and texts to thousands of people has contributed to enticing people to join digital activism. Through social media platforms, digital activism paved way for social media movements. The content shared on numerous social media platforms drives users towards empathy and solidarity that creates online demonstrators who collectively protest social media (Forero and Álvarez 2019).

The success of social media movements rests on #Hashtags (Ince et al. 2017). The latter is a metadata tag used by social media platforms to categorize a topic and allows users to easily recreate news or expressions about the same topic (Ince et al. 2017). The success of a #Hashtags the social media trend list depends on the number of people talking and commenting about the topic. A topic can trend for many days in a month or a year which makes it more topical, and in some cases can lead to a change. Cosby (2018) emphasize that #Hashtags are powerful in that although they take place in the digital domain, they have consequences in the real world as they can influence decisions and modify online behavior. For instance, #BlackLivesMatter has attracted many people globally over time, and somehow creating a discourse of valuing blackness (Ince et al. 2017).

The ability to take direct action using digital activism activities is a striking characteristic of digital activism (George and Leidner 2018). Although there may be a range of other activities performed in digital activism, this list includes the most common activities namely (George and Leidner 2018; Majchrzak et al. 2013; Piat 2019):

- Slacktivism/clicktivism used to express political action through 'liking', 'posting', or 'sharing' a political post or 'follow' an activist on social media or blog.
- Metavoicing sharing, retweeting, reposting, and commenting on social media posts created by another.
- Assertion creating content via videos, audio, images, or text media to inform others.
- Digital petitions an online petition in support of a cause or to request a review of an issue.
- Botivism using digital robots for social media movement communications.
- Hacktivism "...use of computers and technology to promote a political or social message, usually
 by exerting strong and immediate pressure on government or corporations" (Piat 2019, p. 166).

Online activism in South Africa

Due to the unique nature of South Africa and its diverse people ranging from lower to the upper class with major disparities between them, the country has a domestic digital divide. These disparities are also the causes of social problems within and/across different classes, which are being brought up more and more online. Online activism offers the promise of increased visibility and political power for marginalized groups" (George and Leidner 2019, p. 1). Online activism activities in South Africa makes it one of the few nations in Africa whose citizens enjoy democracy through freedom of speech.

South Africa has witnessed some of the most successful social media movements since the emergence of digital activism in the region. The nation-wide Fallist movements such as #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall which erupted in 2015 have had a significant impact on financing education and decolonizing education in South African universities (Bagui 2019). Combined, these movements had three major demands (Lishivha 2019). Firstly, they demanded the removal of any symbol that carried colonial oppression. Secondly, called for universities to open opportunities for students from historically disadvantaged homes to study with little stress of tuition fees. Thirdly, the movement demanded the decolonization of education with less focus on Eurocentric learning activities. Political analysts believe that, in terms of free education, this movement has achieved a lot compared to political parties. To date, there are more students accessing universities through the national student loan (Bagui 2019). In 2016, when

female students observed a scourge of sexual assaults in South African universities, they developed the #EndRapeCulture movement which forced universities to develop rapes from increasing (Gouws 2019).

Another major social media movement in South Africa took place in 2016. This relates to Amabungane, an investigative journalism group that created #GuptaLeaks and #StateCapture which exposed corrupt activities implicated political elites including the governing political party African National Congress (ANC), then-president Jacob Zuma, major corporate companies such as KPMG, Deloitte, SAP, EOH, Bell Pottinger and major state-owned enterprises (SEO) such as Eskom, South African Airways and Transnet, to only mention a few (Faull 2017). Through these #hashtags, South Africans became aware that these corrupt activities allowed the looting of R4.9-trillion (\$ 104.3 billion) that crippled the national Fiscus (Bateman 2019). Furthermore, these #Hashtags resulted in the #ZumaMustFall movement in 2017 that led to the president stepping down before the end of his term as well as a State Capture Commission of inquiry established to investigate all parties involved. By 2019, there several #Hashtags against ANC and some of its members. Several ANC members including the then-president had GBV/sexual violence #hashtags created by the public for them. Examples include #RememberKwezi, a movement aimed at reminding the public that the former president had raped an HIV-AIDS patient before he became head of state (Kubheka 2016). After the national election in 2019, although it won the elections, ANC had lost a significant number of votes in its traditional stronghold in three out of nine provinces, dropping from 249 to 230 sits in parliament compared to the previous election (Nicolson and Mabasa 2019).

Conceptual framework

We consulted literature to develop a conceptual framework (see Figure 1) that can be used to evaluate success factors for social media movements. The conceptual framework consists of three constructs; social class and connectivity (Bornman 2016; Schradie 2018), internet freedom (Parks and Mukherjee 2017), and active civil society organizations (Narayan 2013)

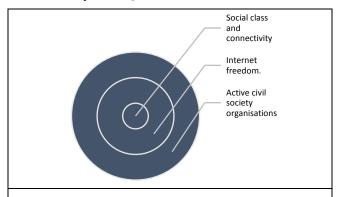


Figure 1. A conceptual framework for evaluating success factors of social media movements

Social class and connectivity pertain to the socio-economic status of the society which affects their level of digital participation. the social class of the society determines their level of connectivity and digital participation Schradie (2018). Nations with high poverty levels and high data costs tend to have higher digital inequality. In the context of digital activism, social class is connected to the digital divide which affects mobile ownership and overall access to information. For example, it is highly likely that nations such as Madagascar, Malawi, and Niger (nations with high data costs and high poverty levels) would have large social media movements (Ang 2020; Krönke 2020).

Internet freedom refers to the existence of surveillance programs, stringent censorship or social media policies, blocking of social networks, and in some cases, the abduction of social media users to limit or discourage freedom of speech on digital platforms (Rad et al. 2018)Social media movements may not be successful in countries that suppress online freedom (Parks and Mukherjee 2017). For example, while #ZimbabweanLivesMatter resulted in more than 700 000 tweets, it was not sufficient to enforce regime change as it was envisaged (Ndlovu 2020). Moreover, on the day scheduled for offline protest against the

government, six activists of the movement #ZimbabweanLivesMatter were arrested and feared for their lives in prison (Heywood 2020). Although these two concepts relate to freedom, social class and connectivity solely pertain to economic freedom, while internet freedom relates to political freedom. Furthermore, as seen with China, it is very possible to have economic freedom but not achieve internet freedom (Zheng and Walsham 2008). We are arguing that a combination of these freedoms is essential for online activism or participation.

Also referred to as the "third sector" civil society organizations are community groups, professional associations, societal watchdogs, or non-governmental organizations or labor unions who have a shared interest and advocate for social justice (Cooper 2018; Jezard 2018). For Narayan (2013), civil society organizations offer activists a sphere for participation and conceptualization of a movement. In social media movements, civil society organizations are instrumental in mass mobilization (Narayan 2013). A good example is <u>#TaxePasMesMo</u>, a social media movement that took place in Benin in 2018. The movement was a protest against censorship efforts through a social media tax introduced by the Benin government in 2018 (Affegnon 2018). Although the country has expensive data of about R464,80 (\$27.22) per 1GB which may affect participation, civil society organizations succeeded in organizing 14 642 members to sign a Change.org petition to force the Benin government to cancel the social media tax.

Research methodology

We adopted qualitative content analysis to explore the online discourse of GBV in South Africa. In social media research, qualitative research contributes to the understanding of user reactions to a social in their context. It reveals how people use language to frame aspects of life and how they affect them (Bengtsson 2016). An inquiry that employs qualitative content analysis is concerned with features of language as communication (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). In this type of inquiry, the content producers (users), content (social media posts), and context (locality) are the foundation of meaning (Armborst 2017). Furthermore, meaning in qualitative content analysis emerges from the dominance and co-occurrence of concepts (Ummaha 2014).

To collect data, we observed Twitter users' interaction about #GBV and related hashtags between 2016 and 2020. The period was selected because social media movements against GBV became more prevalent in 2016 with #EndRapeCulture – a movement that started with university students to expose the pervasive sexual assaults in South African campuses. Furthermore, we also used secondary data from global indexes regarding connectivity, data costs, internet freedom as well as social media use. Data were collected between February and August 2020. For each of the #hashtags, we focused on posts that at least more than 30 comments/replies to avoid capturing similar comments. The technique of focusing on a bigger number of comments was also employed by Orth et al. (2020)to observe different reactions of people about the same topic.

Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2019)was employed to analyze 478 comments from Twitter users' interactions. The first stage of analysis involved coding Twitter comments on NVIVO software as guided by the constructs on the Conceptual framework for evaluating success factors of social media movements (recall Figure 4.1). This was followed by conducting pattern-matching to generate themes that provide insight into the role of social media in the South African GBV movement.

Noteworthy, researchers had to adhere to ethical considerations regarding social media information. To ensure the confidentiality of Twitter users, we had to omit their names.

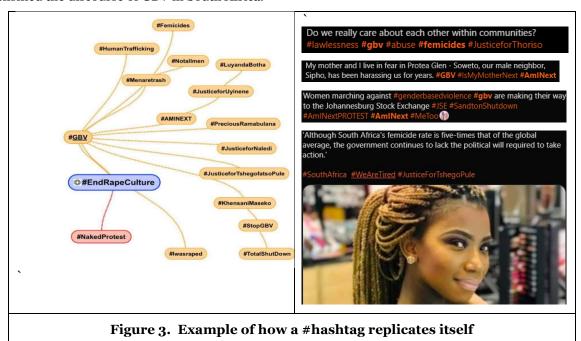
Findings

Drawing on 478 twitter comments and relevant international indexes, we investigated the success factors of social media movements. The paper revealed interesting insights regarding the role of social media in achieving social justice. The recent #GBV movement through its multiple campaigns has seen the South African government launch a draft policy to regulate the plight of violence against women.

The manifestation of success in the #GBV social media in South Africa

A successful social media movement is one that increase awareness about a social ill. Most importantly, social media movement is deemed successful if it forces leaders to implement change. The launch of the draft policy for GBV in South Africa is one of such success stories (Isilow 2020). Furthermore, as the GBV discourse intensified in the media, most universities established committees to oversee related violence on campuses (Heinecken 2020).

We found #hashtag replication to be the primary determinant of social movement continuity. In this context, #hashtag replication pertains to a #hashtag that replicates itself through different #hashtags of a similar subject but with a different name. As demonstrated in Figure 3, the different names of the #hashtags can emanate from a fresh campaign (e.g., #AMINEXT, or #TotalShutdown) or a new case (e.g., #PreciousRamabulana or #JusticeForTshegoPule). The early days of GBV movements in South Africa were concerned with rape or any form of sexual violence, an example of these is the #EndRapeCulture and #NakedProtest. However, as the violence increasingly became rape and murder, we observed that #GBV strengthened, and was often used with #Femicides. Furthermore, as the #hashtag replicated itself, it intensified the discourse of GBV in South Africa.



Most topics about GBV that trended on Twitter ended up in main-stream media. The interactions in Twitter established strong discourses which attract media attention, and thereby continuity of discussions. In South Africa, reporting about GBV generally increases during periods dedicated to related campaigns. For example, in August (national women's month) and during the 16 days of Activism (25 November – 10 December). Between 2018-2019, social media movements seem to have increased more media attention at any given GBV case regardless of the period of the year (Gender Links 2019).

Because of the instant interaction among members, social media movements are powerful means of mobilization. For example, Social media became the new organizing tool in the Fallists social movements because of its ability to disseminate information rapidly and reach thousands of students across South Africa (González-Bailón and Wang 2016). The time and place of the protest, as well as the details of offline participation, can be found on social media platforms (Nwammuo and Salawu 2018). In September 2019, the date and time for the #AMINEXT protest at the South African parliament were on Twitter. Social media plays a significant role in attracting interest and promoting conversations among protestors, journalists, and sympathizers (González-Bailón and Wang 2016). Social media is globalized therefore, users may convey social movement messages to a broader audience and thereby, expand the social movement to mobile across

larger territories (Hwang and Kim 2015). Through citizen journalism, Social media also empowers users to generate messages to recruit more members.

As GBV continued to instill fear in the women of South Africa, the #GBV movements strengthened as championed by the university students. One of the most influential GBV social media movements was led by students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) through #AMINEXT. The campaign was triggered by the death of a UCT student who was raped and murdered by a government employee while going to send a parcel at a post office. The frustration of the public was exacerbated by the fact that the place of crime was closer to a police station. #AIMNEXT along with #LuyandaBotha (name of the perpetrator) raised various questions and changed the discourse concerning the vetting of government employees and the justice system in South Africa. The government conceded that the perpetrator had previous convictions, but the employment process was relaxed in that they did not exercise proper vetting.

"4 bodies were found in Luyanda Botha's backyard Including his wife". #RIPNENE #RIPUyineneMrwetyana

Twitter afforded users anonymity, which in turn, empowered them to talk about their #GBV experiences. The interactions on social media movements offer users space to freely exchange emotional and motivational thoughts. Furthermore, the aspect of anonymity also empowered users to talk about taboo topics associated with Anonymity and Taboo topics. In African nations such as South Africa, it is often taboo to discuss sexual matters (Amadiume 2015).

Social media movements reveal interesting insights about the gravity of sexual violence in South Africa. As seen in the posts below from <u>#Iwasraped</u>.

#Iwasraped There are many people out there who were raped but couldn't say a word because of fear. The very same people remember the incident almost each and every night when they go to sleep..

"They told me he was drunk and he is family" #Iwasraped

"I was told he was family and i must never ever mention him doing anything to me because it will tear the family apart" **#Iwasraped**

I was only 5-6 years old living with granny my own older cousin would rape me every Thursday & sundays when granny went to church then I was unable to hold pee. Pads are my daily bread now #IwasRaped#IhateMen

This was similar to the #Metoo movement which saw many women, globally coming out to talk about how they were sexually assaulted in the entertainment industry. Secondly, these posts indicated that most of the perpetrators are family members, and there is a degree of secrecy held around sexual offenses. Furthermore, because of the secrecy, victims are often left to deal with the trauma by themselves because of fear.

Success factors of #GBV social media movements in South Africa

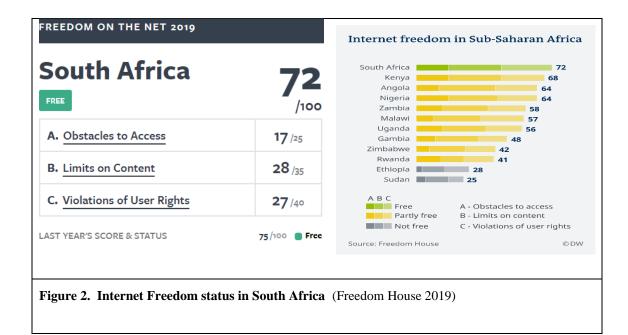
The study noted that the success of GBV social media movements rests on the type of technology used and a combination of national contextual factors (See Table 1). Social media has many affordances that act as catalysts for the successful social movements around the world (Lopes 2014). The neglected sky-rocketing femicides in South Africa (Bax 2020). The second task is to choose a social media platform. With 3.8 billion active social media users in the world (Kemp 2020), it affords the ease of creating discourses in society and distributing information. It affords activists the ability to document the unfolding of protest events in real-time and share their emotions regarding these events (Poell and Van Dijck 2015). Communication does not only occur on front-end social media but also in the back-end, for example, Facebook chats, groups, and instant messaging services such as WhatsApp thus, enhancing collective identity and internal communication (Cosby 2018).

Table 1. Success factors of #GBV social media movements in South Africa
Factors
Technology - Ease of use
- Visibility & reach Social class and connectivity
Internet freedom
Active civil society organizations

We found that there is a relationship between social class and connectivity. People with poor socioeconomic status are less connected because they may not afford data (van Deursen et al. 2014). While South African battles inequality, there has been an increase in mobile phone ownership thus, enabling citizens at the lower end to be more connected and offering more opportunities for communication (Bornman 2016). Although 36% of adults do not own a smartphone, 59.3% of South Africans have access to mobile data or the internet (Kemp 2020; Krönke 2020). Furthermore, because of the competitive telecommunication industry in South Africa, data costs have decreased allowing more citizens to access the internet (Gilbert 2019). In turn, this also increases the number of social media users participating in movements.

In #GBV movements epicenters, 72.2% of adults in Gauteng and 68.5% in Western Cape province have sufficient connectivity (de Villiers 2019). Recently, South Africans were reported to be spending at least 8 hours 23 online which is shared amongst social media platforms (Kemp 2020). Furthermore, students, from all classes in South Africa society today play a large role in online activism (Krönke 2020). Arguably, students have been at the forefront of the most successful social media movements in South Africa. This success can be attributed to the idea that whilst they come from different social classes, all students in South Africa are connected while on campus. Because of the level of connectivity, information about protests moves faster. Moreover, as most students are active on social media platforms (Bagui 2019), the cost of activism and mobilizing other students is relatively lower.

Internet freedom enables social media movements to thrive as users are free online. Essentially, "countries with more internet freedom tend to have a positive attitude towards their democracy and political conditions (Gainous et al. 2016). Moreover, citizens in nations with internet freedom have online speech freedom and can hold their leaders accountable. As shown in Figure 2, the Freedom House considers South Africa as having 72% freedom of the internet. This makes South Africa the only nation that has achieved internet freedom in its democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa.



Aspects of internet freedom are also associated with a national aspiration for transparency. National aspiration for transparency involves governments allowing acceptable levels of transparency with their activities (Song and Lee 2016). This includes governments that adopt social media platforms to enhance information dissemination and interaction with the public (Song and Lee 2016). Most of the South African departments and ministers have Twitter accounts. Through tagging, digital activists can use #Hashtags to send direct messages to national departments' or the ministers Twitter handles for faster communication. For example, in South Africa, citizens and activists tagged the president, SAPS and the minister of police in most #GBV incidents. Furthermore, awareness about #GBV increased because of citizen journalism, and that users can freely tag journalists from the big news station and tell them about the incidents. The posts below show some examples of online practice.

Bheki Cele [Minister of Policy] when South Africans speak up about <u>#GBV</u> and #HumanTrafficking

Bheki Cele **#GBV** you're quiet now **#HumanTrafficking** South Africa needs a new leadership

Active civil society organizations are at the center of conceptualizing core ideas of movements. Through consultations with their members, they decide on how to frame the problem and which authority should be accountable. However, there are contexts in which, like internet freedom, these organizations cannot freely participate in social justice activities. South African civil society organizations are supported at the government level and are considered instrumental for policy development. Furthermore, these organizations operate as warning systems by highlighting GBV through social media movements. Recently, it was reported that the South Africa government had set aside R1.6bn to be given to NGOs in GBV (Mbolekwa 2020). In 2019, the president established an interim committee to deal with matters of supporting these organizations as a response to another #GBV movement called #TotalShutDown. Noteworthy, the work of these organizations has been more successful than the arms of political parties such as the ANC Women's League that is expected to be vocal about GBV (Gouws 2016).

Discussion and conclusion

This paper engaged with the discourse of achieving social justice through ICT, i.e., social media movements. With a focus on #GBV movements, we suggest that type of technology used, social class and connectivity, internet freedom and civil society organizations are critical to achieving social justice through online activism. Secondary data from international indexes show that South Africa is a conducive environment for

online activism given political and economic freedoms associated with online participation. The analysis of Twitter users' interaction around #GBV in South Africa shows that a social movement is successful when its offline protests allow activists to achieve social justice. Social media movements are deemed successful if they attract the attention of the authority to act on the social wrong. Thus far, the biggest GBV movement in South Africa in terms of following and impact is #AMINEXT. The movement resulted in the national president addressing the women on the 5th September 2019 at the parliament. Also, the #GBV movement nudged the government to draft the policy framework to address GBV. Moreover, the movements led the president to mention #GBV incidents during the COVID-19 lockdown address. Currently, other African nations such as Nigeria, Botswana and Namibia are also starting their own #GBV movements.

Despite the success of GBV social media movements, these platforms may pose unintended consequences (Schejter and Tirosh 2015). One of the common unintended consequences is victim-blaming and cyberbullying. This involves users turning against the victim. For example, a rape victim could be asked why they report years later after it took place. This was the case for a former UCT student who claimed a sexual harassment incident that took place in 2012. The alleged perpetrator appeared in UCT News as the first black actuarial science lecturer. Other Twitter users perceived this as an act of punishing a successful man; they questioned why she waited for him to become successful. Essentially, what could have been a warning for UCT not to hire a possible questionable character turned to be an attack on the victim.

The study contributes to theorizing the successful factors of social media movements. The conceptual framework that was developed from literature mapped both technological and national contextual factors that influence social media movements' success. However, from a theoretical perspective, future studies may use the theory of affordances to identify technology affordances that enhance online activism. We analyzed success factors at the macro level, i.e. at the national level. Future studies can investigate these success factors from an individual level.

References

- Affegnon, Q. 2018. '#Taxepamesmo: A Campaign To Cancel The "Facebook Tax" in Benin Internet Sans Frontières', *Internet Sans Frontières*, p. 1. (https://internetwithoutborders.org/campaign-to-cancel-facebook-tax-benin/, accessed September 29, 2020).
- Aguilar Forero, N., and Cifuentes Álvarez, G. A. 2019. Education in the Knowledge Society Education, Activism and Digital Technologies: A Systematic Review Educación, Activismo y Tecnologías Digitales: Una Revisión Sistemática, (20), pp. 1–14. (https://doi.org/10.14201/eks2019_20_a14).
- Amadiume, I. 2015. Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society, (2nd Editio.), London: Zed Books.
- Ang, C. 2020. 'What Does 1GB of Mobile Data Cost in Every Country?', *Visual Capitalist*, , July 3, pp. 1–1. (https://www.visualcapitalist.com/cost-of-mobile-data-worldwide/, accessed September 29, 2020).
- Armborst, A. 2017. 'Thematic Proximity in Content Analysis', *SAGE Open* (7:2) (https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017707797).
- Bagui, L. 2019. 'An Analytical Tale of the Social Media Discursive Enactment of Networked Everyday Resistance during the #feesmustfall Social Movement in South Africa', University of Cape Town. (https://doi.org/10.1007/s10008-007-0419-9).
- Bateman, C. 2019. 'True Cost of State Capture Incalculable a Shocking Reprise', *Biznews*, Johannesburg, p. 1. (https://www.biznews.com/leadership/2019/03/01/true-cost-state-capture-incalculable).
- Bengtsson, M. 2016. 'How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis', *NursingPlus Open* (2), Elsevier, pp. 8–14. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001).
- Bornman, E. 2016. 'Information Society and Digital Divide in South Africa: Results of Longitudinal Surveys', *Information Communication and Society* (19:2), Taylor & Francis, pp. 264–278. (https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1065285).
- Braun, V., and Clarke, V. 2019. 'Thematic Analysis: Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences', in *Thematic Analysis: Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences*, pp. 843–860.

- Brodie, N. R. 2019. 'Using Mixed-Method Approaches to Provide New Insights into Media Coverage of Femicide', *University of Witwatersrand*, University of Witwatersrand. (https://hdl.handle.net/10539/29294).
- Cooper, R. 2018. 'What Is Civil Society, Its Role and Value in 2018?' (https://www.csis.org/programs/human-rights-initiative/strengthening-civil-society).
- Cosby, N. B. 2018. 'The Revolution May Not Be Televised But It Will Be Hashtagged: The Impact of Social Media on Social Movements, Racial Perceptions, and Real-World Activism', *Ragent University*, Ragenty University.
- Crabtree, J. 2020. 'South Africa's Femicide Rate Spikes as Coronavirus Lockdown Lifts CGTN', *CGTNews*, pp. 1–1. (https://news.cgtn.com/news/2020-06-20/South-Africa-s-femicide-rate-spikes-as-coronavirus-lockdown-lifts-RskMmKKcus/index.html).
- CSVR. 2016. 'Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in South Africa: A Brief Review', *Report 03-40-05 (June,2018)* (53:April), pp. 1–17. (https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004).
- van Deursen, A., van Dijk, J., and Helsper, E. 2014. 'Investigating Outcomes of Online Engagement', Media@LSE (28).
- Faull, A. 2017. 'Who Can Stop the Rot?', *South African Crime Quarterly* (61), pp. 3–6. (https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2018/von61a3065).
- Freedom House. 2019. 'Freedom on the Net: The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism', *Freedom House*, Washington D.C. (https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2018/rise-digital-authoritarianism).
- Gainous, J., Wagner, K., and Gray, T. 2016. 'Internet Freedom and Social Media Effects: Democracy and Citizen Attitudes in Latin America', *Online Information Review* (40:5), Emerald Group Publishing Ltd., pp. 712–738. (https://doi.org/10.1108/OIR-11-2015-0351).
- Gender Links. 2019. 'Gender. Diversity & GBV in South African TV: 2018-2019', Johannesburg.
- George, J. J., and Leidner, D. E. 2018. 'AMCIS 2018 New Orleans Paper Submission Why Marginalized Groups Struggle to Leverage Digital Activism', *Americas Conference on Information Systems 2018:* Digital Disruption, AMCIS 2018, pp. 1–10.
- George, J. J., and Leidner, D. E. 2019. 'From Clicktivism to Hacktivism: Understanding Digital Activism', *Information and Organization* (29:3), Elsevier, p. 100249. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infoandorg.2019.04.001).
- George, J., and Leidner, D. 2018. 'Digital Activism: A Hierarchy of Political Commitment', *Proceedings of the 51st Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (9). (https://doi.org/10.24251/hicss.2018.288).
- Gilbert, P. 2019. 'The Most Expensive Data Prices in Africa Connecting Africa', Connecting Africa, Johanesburg, p. 1. (http://www.connectingafrica.com/author.asp?section_id=761&doc_id=756372).
- González-Bailón, S., and Wang, N. 2016. 'Networked Discontent: The Anatomy of Protest Campaigns in Social Media', *Social Networks* (44), Elsevier B.V., pp. 95–104. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2015.07.003).
- Gouws, A. 2016. 'Women's Activism around Gender-Based Violence in South Africa: Recognition, Redistribution and Representation', *Review of African Political Economy* (43:149), Taylor & Francis, pp. 400–415. (https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2016.1217838).
- Gouws, A. 2019. '#MeToo Isn't Big in Africa but We Launched Our Own Versions', *The South Africa*, p. 1. (https://www.thesouthafrican.com/lifestyle/metoo-africa-launched-own-versions/, accessed September 29, 2020).
- Heinecken, L. 2020. 'What's behind Violence in South Africa: A Sociologist's Perspective', *The Conversation*, p. 1. (https://theconversation.com/whats-behind-violence-in-south-africa-a-sociologists-perspective-128130, accessed September 25, 2020).

- Heywood, M. 2020. 'Zimbabwean Lives Matter Movement Grows with Support from Big Names', *Meverick Citizen*. (https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/world/africa/2020-08-04-zimbabwean-lives-matter-movement-grows-with-support-from-big-names/).
- Howard, P. N., and Hussain, M. M. 2011. 'The Role of Digital Media', *Journal of Democracy* (22:3), pp. 35–48. (https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0041).
- Hsieh, H. F., and Shannon, S. E. 2005. 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research* (15:9), pp. 1277–1288. (https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687).
- Hwang, H., and Kim, K. O. 2015. 'Social Media as a Tool for Social Movements: The Effect of Social Media Use and Social Capital on Intention to Participate in Social Movements', *International Journal of Consumer Studies* (39:5), pp. 478–488. (https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12221).
- Ince, J., Rojas, F., and Davis, C. A. 2017. 'The Social Media Response to Black Lives Matter: How Twitter Users Interact with Black Lives Matter through Hashtag Use', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (40:11), Taylor & Francis, pp. 1814–1830. (https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1334931).
- Isilow, H. 2020. 'S.Africa Announces Gender Based Violence Law', *Anadolu Agency*, Johannesburg, p. 1. (https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/safrica-announces-gender-based-violence-law/1965718).
- Jezard, A. 2018. 'Who and What Is "civil Society?" | World Economic Forum', World Economic Forum,, April 23, pp. 1–1. (https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/04/what-is-civil-society/, accessed September 29, 2020).
- Kemp, S. 2020. 'Digital 2020: July Global Statshot DataReportal Global Digital Insights', *Digital Portal*, p. 1. (https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-july-global-statshot, accessed September 25, 2020).
- Krönke, M. 2020. 'Africa's Digital Divide and the Promise of e-Learning', *AFRO Barometer* (66), pp. 1–20. (http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Policy papers/pp66-africas_digital_divide_and_the_promise_of_e-learning-afrobarometer_policy_paper-14june20.pdf).
- Kubheka, T. 2016. 'Khwezi "thankful" for #RememberKhwezi Protest', *Eye Witness News*, Johannedburg, pp. 1–1. (https://ewn.co.za/2016/08/08/RememberingKhwezi-supporters-say-she-is-humbled-by-solidarity).
- Li, Z. 2016. 'Psychological Empowerment on Social Media: Who Are the Empowered Users?', *Public Relations Review* (42:1), Elsevier Inc., pp. 49–59. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2015.09.001).
- Lopes, A. R. 2014. 'The Impact of Social Media on Social Movements: The New Opportunity and Mobilizing Structure', *Journal of Political Science Research.*, pp. 1–23.
- Majchrzak, A., Faraj, S., Kane, G. C., and Azad, B. 2013. 'The Contradictory Influence of Social Media Affordances on Online Communal Knowledge Sharing', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* (19:1), pp. 38–55. (https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12030).
- Mbolekwa, S. A. 2020. 'R1.6bn Fund to Fight GBV but Some Women's NGOs Haven't Seen a Cent', *Times Live*, Johhanesburg, p. 1. (https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-08-07-r16bn-fund-to-fight-gbv-but-some-womens-ngos-havent-seen-a-cent/).
- Mpunzi, Z. 2020. 'These Are SA's 30 Gender-Based Violence Hotspots', *Times Live*, Johannesburg, p. 1. (https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-09-22-these-are-sas-30-gender-based-violence-hotspots/).
- Narayan, B. 2013. 'Social Media Use and Civil Society: From Everyday Information Behaviours to Clickable Solidarity', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (5:3), pp. 32–53.
- Ndlovu, R. 2020. 'Zimbabwe Descends into Rule by Law Activists Arrest...', *Business Day*, Johanesburg. (https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-07-31-zimbabwe-descends-into-rule-by-law-activists-arrested-and-abducted/).
- Nicolson, G., and Mabasa, N. 2019. 'ANC Victorious, but Loses Seats in Parliament and Acros...', *Daily Maverick*, Johannesburg, pp. 1–1. (https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-05-11-anc-

- victorious-but-loses-seats-in-parliament-and-across-most-legislatures/).
- Nwammuo, A., and Salawu, A. 2018. 'Are Social Media Platforms Not Effective? Analysis of Social Movements for the Release of Nigerian School Girl Leah Sharibu Abducted by Boko-Haram', *Ubuntu : Journal of Conflict Transformation* (7:2), pp. 95–119. (https://doi.org/10.31920/2050-4950/2018/v7n2a5).
- Omari, S. 2013. 'Women in South Africa Are Living in a War Zone Women's Media Center', *Woman Media Caentre*, Cape Town, p. 1. (https://www.womensmediacenter.com/women-under-siege/women-in-south-africa-are-living-in-a-war-zone).
- Orth, Z., van Wyk, B., and Andipatin, M. 2020. "What Does the University Have to Do with It?": Perceptions of Rape Culture on Campus and the Role of University Authorities', *South African Journal of Higher Education* (34:2), pp. 191–209. (https://doi.org/10.20853/34-2-3620).
- Parks, L., and Mukherjee, R. 2017. Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies From Platform Jumping to Self-Censorship: Internet Freedom, Social Media, and Circumvention Practices in Zambia. (https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2017.1290262).
- Piat, C. 2019. 'Slacktivism: Not Simply a Means to an End, but a Legitimate Form of Civic Participation', Canadian Journal of Family and Youth (11:1), pp. 162–179. (https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004).
- Poell, T., and Van Dijck, J. 2015. 'Social Media and Activist Communication', *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*, pp. 527–537. (https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315717241).
- Rad, D., Rad, G., Kelemen, G., and Torkos, H. 2018. *Cultural Differences in Youth Perception about Online Freedom of Speech*, (XXI), pp. 327–330.
- Schejter, A. M., and Tirosh, N. 2015. 'Seek the Meek, Seek the Just": Social Media and Social Justice', *Telecommunications Policy* (39:9), Elsevier, pp. 796–803. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2015.08.002).
- Schradie, J. 2018. 'The Digital Activism Gap: How Class and Costs Shape Online Collective Action', *Social Problems* (65:1), pp. 51–74. (https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spx042).
- Song, C., and Lee, J. 2016. 'Citizens Use of Social Media in Government, Perceived Transparency, and Trust in Government', *Public Performance and Management Review* (39:2), 2015, pp. 430–453. (https://doi.org/10.1080/15309576.2015.1108798).
- Sonke Gender Justice, and Health-E News. 2017. 'Reporting on Gender-Based Violence: A Guide for Journalists and Editors', Cape Town. (www.genderjustice.org.za).
- Toch, H. 2014. The Social Psychology of Social Movements (Psychology Revivals), New York: Routledge.
- Ummaha, T. H. 2014. 'Understanding Acceptance Decisions and Identity Associated with Smartphones: A Qualitative Enquiry', *Uct*, p. 140. (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijimpeng.2014.02.021).
- United Nations. 2006. 'The International Forum for Social Development Social Justice in an Open World United Nations', New York. (www.un.org/esa/).
- de Villiers, J. 2019. 'South African Internet Users Spend Much More Time Online than Americans and Europeans', *Business Insider South Africa*, p. 1. (https://www.businessinsider.co.za/south-africa-one-of-the-worlds-top-internet-users-hootsuite-report-2019-2, accessed September 30, 2020).
- World Health Organisation. 2018. 'WHO | Strengthening the Health System Response to Violence against Women', WHO, Geneva: World Health Organization. (http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/violence/internationalday/en/).
- World Population Review (WPR). 2020. 'Crime Rate By Country 2020', World Population Review, WPR2020. (https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/crime-rate-by-country).
- Zheng, Y., and Walsham, G. 2008. 'Inequality of What? Social Exclusion in the E-society as Capability Deprivation', *Information Technology & People* (21:3), pp. 222–243. (https://doi.org/10.1108/09593840810896000).

Social media movements of #GBV in South Africa