

Bayasibulala:

#AmINext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

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MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

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Trigger Warning: mentions of Sexual Gender-Based Violence, Gruesome acts of violence, Violence, Rape, and Sexual Assault.

Table of Contents

Contents	
Table of Contents	4
Dedication	7
Acknowledgements	9
Abstract	10
Chapter One	12
Introduction	12
South Africa, Colonisation and residual violence.	13
A gendered violence	16
The history of Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa	18
The intersections of violent masculinities and Sexual Gender-Based Violence.	21
A fight that never ends	23
Objectives of Study	25
Research Questions	26
Sub Questions	26
The rise of hashtag/digital feminism	27
The evolution of Instagram	28
Instagram in South Africa	30
Reflective Analysis of me being a researcher on online-based content	31
Significance and Rationale of the Study	33
Conclusion	34
Chapter Two	37
2.1 Theoretical approach and review of literature	37
Other theories	40
2.2 Hashtag feminism in South Africa	42
2.3 The parameters of hashtag feminism	44
2.3a Awareness and Advocacy	44
2.3b Organization and Mobilisation	46
2.3c Action and Reaction	47

2.4 Civic Engagement	48
2.5 Collective Action	49
2.6 Hashtag Feminism as a branch of Citizen Journalism	50
2.7 Hashtag Hijacking	52
Conclusion	53
Chapter Three	54
Methodology	54
3.1 Research Approach.....	54
3.2 Coding and Thematic Analysis	55
3.3 Content and Semiotic Analysis	55
3.4 Sample Size of research	57
3.5 Data gathering process	57
3.5 Ethical Considerations.....	58
3.6 Anonymity	59
Chapter Four – Findings	60
4.1 Citizen Journalism, Raising Awareness, Information Sharing, and Infographics.	60
Introduction.....	60
4.1a Raising Awareness and being Advocates for change.....	60
4.1b Semiotics and Eye-catching infographics	63
Conclusion	63
Chapter Five	65
Calls To Action, Fundraising and Mobilisation.	65
Introduction.....	65
5.1 This is a Call To Act! Now!	65
5.1a Fundraising.....	66
5.1b Mobilisation.....	67
Chapter Six	70
Hashtag Distortion, Legitimacy, Spam and Self-promotion.	70
6.1 Hashtag Distortion/Hijacking.....	70
6.1a We have a bot problem!	71
6.1b How Legitimate is this activism?	72
6.2 Who has access?	72
Chapter Seven	74

Limitations and strengths of research..... 74

Areas for future research 74

Conclusion 74

References..... 77

Appendices..... 92

Appendix A: Coding Framework 92

Appendix B: Data Set 92

Dedication

To uMama wam. Mandisa Viola Mazana, who when I wrote a poem in grade 4 that ended up getting published nationally, gathered all her money to take me to the Pretoria State Theatre to show me other people who lived and breathed the Arts and told me to hold this gift as tightly as I can. To uMama wam who when I told her I wanted to become a lawyer in grade 10 because everyone wanted to become a lawyer, it was safe and made sense, frowned and said “not wena mntanam, eyakho iyeza”. To uMama wam who I woke up at 3 AM before school because I had a presentation to give, and I had to make sure I delivered it the way she would. To uMama wam who would walk me to the bus stop every morning at 6 AM and tell me to not give up on the things I absolutely loved. Even when she is not here anymore. To uMama wam who softly left the earth and went to go lay amongst the angels right before her 50th birthday. To uMama wam who despite her not being present on earth, keeps making sure I remember exactly what I promised. MaRhoyi, amazwi ndibuya ndingabinawo, kodwa ndiyabulela Mama wam. Ndiyayazi ba apha ukhoyo, wonwabile. Yi mizamo yakho le Ntanzu. Nguwe wonke lo.

To uTata wam. uBoyce Makwedinana Mazana. I remember calling you every few days of my honours year. I cried saying Academia is difficult, I want out. You sat there every day listening to me and every time the call would end, you would simply say “kodwa iMasters yona izophuma”. We fought about this Masters degree till the very end. Till the very end. To you Tata wam who at every single chance you would get, would tell every passing person that your only daughter is Masters candidate at the University of Cape Town. I am sorry you did not live to see this day come to pass, but we did it Gatyeni. I wrapped this grief around me and wrote this with your wishes in my heart. I did it, solely because I promised you that I would. Ndiyabulela Tata wam.

Bazali bam, ndiyabulela, I know I am the first of your kids to get this far and I know you're both jubilant about this achievement. I hope the other side lights up with great joy for you too because this moment belongs to all of us. Ndiyavuya ndikwazile ufika apha, yimizamo yenu noba bini le. Camagu.

To every single woman, child, and person whose lives were cut short because of Sexual Gender-Based Violence and the Femicide crisis in South Africa. I write this because your memories live on. This fight is never-ending. I am sorry the system failed you. I am sorry the government failed you. I am sorry that the world failed you. I am sorry we failed you. May you rest easy. May the other side welcome you kindly. May justice one day arrive and may your memories live on.

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I would first like to thank the activists who spend long hours dedicating themselves to this dangerous and fatiguing fight against a social ill that refuses to end in South Africa. May your voices be heard and when they are not, may you keep shouting louder.

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To uMakazi wam, uNompumelelo “Mpum-Mpum” Gcilitshana, thank you for taking me in, over and over again. You have encountered a lot of pain and excruciating grief but you are unwavering in your pursuit of everything that is warm and kind. When Lockdown Level-5 had started and I had nowhere to go, I ran to your home, as I always do when I am afraid and uncertain. I spent months there and you would watch as I worked on school. Your eyes filled with worry and wonder. Thank you, mama, for always trusting my judgement and letting me lead my life as I desire.

To my Ruby Ruvimbo Chikwiri. You have held me through the darkest and most intense periods of my life. Thank you for the weekly calls and your constant reminder that I will finish this. You are a friend of my entire heart. You are my one.

To my friends and family, thank you for bearing with me as I went distant for months. Thank you for the constant check-ins and reassurances of love. Thank you for the care. Thank you.

To Prof. Ndlovu who stepped in right after I was left to figure myself out. Thank you. Iyabulela ilali Bab’Ndlovu.

[every 3 hours, one of us does not make it] – Koleka Putuma

Abstract

Research over the years has shown that there is a global rise in hashtag activism, this type of activism has also inspired what scholars call - hashtag feminism. Hashtag feminism utilizes Social Networking Sites to raise awareness about issues that are often not covered in traditional news media outlets such as TV, newspapers, and Radio Stations. Through this paper, I seek to investigate how Instagram has become one of the Social Networking Sites that has recently started being used for online activism in South Africa. This is done by conducting a qualitative analysis of 700 posts from the hashtag #AmINext, with a period focus of 3 months during South Africa's COVID-19 Level-5 Lockdown. The findings suggest that activists follow similar lines of the hashtag and social media activism parameters such as those of the #MeToo and #BeenRapedNeverReported movements. The analysis found that activists use Instagram to participate in Citizen Journalism by sharing information, raising awareness, organizing, mobilizing, and advocating (Vegh, 2003).

Furthermore, there is clear Civic Engagement and Citizen Journalism through things such as sharing information and having calls to action while utilizing hashtags as a way to gain momentum and attention. The findings suggest that these hashtags are able to cultivate a community of activists all around the country while also making sure to encourage more participation. The analysis also shows how there is an importance of such activism when movement is restricted due to national Lockdowns implemented to curb COVID-19, as many victims of SGBV found themselves at home and trapped with their abusers.

In paying attention to this analysis, I conclude that perhaps through the exploration of new ways of activism, we can ensure that no voice is ever left behind. Furthermore, despite the possibilities of these new ways of raising awareness and activism, it is always important to see how we can apply the old with the new.

Key words: COVID-19, SGBV, GBV, South Africa, Violence, Violent Masculinities, Instagram Activism, Hashtag Activism, Hashtag Feminism.

Chapter One

Introduction

Social Networking Sites (SNS) have become a daily part of many people's lives and this is due to the expansion of technology and the innovations of the new millennia (Dion, 2016). SNS's such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram and Facebook have become an integral part of people's livelihoods and have overtaken other traditional forms of media such as radio, newspapers and television (Drogos, 2015). This means that people rely on these SNS in order to get their daily news, interact with people and create communities, and this is due to the amount of time people spend on them daily (Feltman, and Szymanski, 2018).

This paper focuses on Instagram as a tool used for Sexual Gender-Based Violence activism in South Africa. With a focus on how activists utilize the #AmINext hashtag to share images, captions and information to raise awareness about the Femicide happening in South Africa. Due to the visual stimuli, Instagram offers its followers, it is important to see interrogate how an app that was created for sharing images and videos with friends and families can be used as a tool to combat SGBV in a country such as South Africa. This analysis is also propelled forward by the fact that Instagram is growing in South Africa and currently is the third most-used app with 6.03 million active users in South Africa (Statista, 2022). The majority of these users are women and 34, 1% of these users are between the ages of 25-34 (Statista, 2021).

There is extensive research on Sexual Gender-based Violence in South Africa, yet there is a lack of exploration of SGBV activism on Social Networking Sites such as Instagram. This paper seeks

to contextualize this form of activism in South Africa while also exploring the violent histories of colonialism and apartheid that are still present in today's society.

Research over the years has shown that there is a global rise in hashtag activism, this type of activism has also inspired what scholars call - hashtag feminism. Hashtag feminism utilizes Social Networking Sites to raise awareness about issues that are often not covered in traditional media outlets such as TV, newspapers and radio. Instagram is one of the SNS that has recently started being used for online activism in South Africa. Through the content and semiotic analysis of 700 posts from the Instagram hashtag #AmINext, the findings suggest that this hashtag is used for similar lines of the hashtag and social media activism similar to those of the #MeToo and #BeenRapedNeverReported movements. The analysis found that the hashtag is for Citizen Journalism, Civic Engagement, Advocacy, and Collective Action. In as much as there are positives to the findings, the study also illustrates how much like everything else online, there will be detractors in the form of Hashtag Hijacking and Social Media Bots. The findings suggest that this hashtag is able to cultivate a community of activists all around the country while also making sure to encourage more participation. The analysis also shows how while South Africa was facing a new unprecedented time through a pandemic, many women and LGBTIAQ+ were at home facing another pandemic which is SGBV.

South Africa, Colonisation and residual violence.

There is an incessant need to conduct a comprehensive study that can depict the plight of violence in South Africa and to be able to carry out a comprehensive study about current-day South Africa

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and the high rates of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence, it is important to use a critical and honest historical lens to offer perspective on how violence can reproduce itself in a multitude of ways. This will also aid in the location of how there was a formation of present-day violent masculinities. “South African society is very violent. Decades of apartheid State-sponsored violence and reactive community insurrection, meticulously described in the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, have contributed to a situation in which for many people physical violence is a first-line strategy for resolving conflict and gaining ascendancy” (Jewkes, *et al.*, 2002).

South Africa’s history is riddled with violence due to many reasons, but most notably, is the history of colonialism and apartheid (Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger, 2012). This violent history stems as far as the start of the European settlements in 1652, these settlements brought violent and brutal removals of native people from their land (Morell, *et al.*, 2012). This led to the dispossession and landlessness of the indigenous and native people of South Africa. Thereafter, there was forceful military expansion, migration, exploitation of mineral resources and armed conflicts between the settlers who forcibly took over indigenous land (Morell, *et al.*, 2012). South Africa became a country in 1910 and was colonized by Britain until 1961, furthermore, it only became a democratic country in 1994 (Morell, *et al.*, 2012). From 1652 till 1994, South Africa was under racial domination by the white minority and this domination led to disempowerment, dispossession, fear, demoralization and increasing violence (Morell, *et al.*, 2012). Due to this specific and horrific history and the politics of the past and how they feed into the present through neo-colonialism, poverty, lack of jobs and no housing – violence is still a present issue that is grappled with daily (Ratele, 2006).

South Africa only transitioned into a democracy 27 years ago and before that, the apartheid state perpetuated unjust human rights abuses that included; torture, detention without trial and

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politically motivated assault (Kaminer, *et al.*, 2008). Despite what was deemed as a peaceful transition into democracy, there have been studies that have been conducted to show that violence is most likely to be linked to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in most South African adults. In a study by Kaminer, *et al.*, (2008), the findings illustrated that “among men, political detention and torture were the forms of violence most strongly associated with a lifetime diagnosis of PTSD, while rape had the strongest association with PTSD among women”. This means that a progression towards a post-apartheid South Africa does not erase the violence that came with years of suppression and human rights violations (Kaminer, *et al.*, 2008). Gqola (2007), states that colonialism and slavery were deeply steeped and rooted in violence and the denial of marginalized lives, further tearing apart of families due to labour migration, and the ingraining of self-hate. This denial of human rights led to the rise of self-defence and the need to take up arms to fight against white supremacy and dictatorship, therefore Liberation Army Umkhonto weSizwe was created, to fight against the systemic violence of the apartheid government (Cherry, 2012: 13).

Due to the patriarchal societies in South Africa, the high violence and militarization of apartheid and colonialism were orchestrated along gendered lines (Gqola, 2007). The violence inflicted on Black people in the past was never dealt with adequately, and the remnants of heavy militarization and violation still implicate South Africa in the present, and this can be seen in the high levels of Gender-Based Violence due to violent masculinities (Gqola, 2006). Morell (2012) states that this violent and militarized history cannot be divorced from the present hegemonic and violent masculinities of South Africa.

Within grappling with a violent history, we cannot erase that women and children were also subjugated to violence and harm under the apartheid regime, whether it was state violence or interpersonal violence (Posel, 2005). There is a lack of research on Sexual Gender-Based Violence

MZNNAN001

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during Apartheid because before 1994, rape was defined as, “the imposition of unwanted vaginal sex by an adult man upon an adult woman” (Posel, 2005). This then meant that homosexual rape was excluded from this understanding, furthermore, there was a clear hierarchy within the conception of rape that deemed this only plausible if it was a heterosexual encounter that happened outside of the home (Posel, 2005). This understanding of rape then meant that rape was only understood to be committed by adult men who are strangers to the victim. Thus limiting the type of statistics that would be brought forward. Furthermore, Black women and LGBTIAQ+ people would often not report their rape due to the fear of being turned back or being understood as informants of the state by their communities (Armstrong, 1995). Thus, systemic violence was not only experienced by men and thus it would be unjust to frame the violence of South Africa’s history as only affecting masculinities because women and children also experienced this violence (Moffet, 2006).

A gendered violence

Sexual Gender-Based violence is described as violence inflicted on someone because of his, her or their gender and the expectations of their role in a society or culture (Patel, Raizes, and Broyles, 2020). The most affected by violence and inequalities, in South Africa, are women and children (Patel, *et al.*, 2020). Even though there is a lack of statistics on Sexual Gender-Based violence in South Africa, there is a certainty that every 3 hours a woman is killed (Wilkinson, 2020). This means that the murder rate of adult women due to Gender-Based violence was at 15,2 per 100,000. Due to this high statistic, the World Health Organization put South Africa in the fourth position in female interpersonal violence and this was a ranking made out of 183 countries (WeForum, 2019).

Despite having commissions such as The Commission for Gender Equality, which is an independent chapter nine institution that was “established in terms of Section 187 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 in order to promote respect for gender equality, and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality” (Government ZA, 2020). South Africa still finds itself in a violent Femicide and SGBV crisis. This is because a society that is built on extreme levels of violence will always bring about more violence, especially when the root causes of the violence are never dealt with properly.

Gqola (2007) states that South Africa lives in a contradiction because women and children are protected by the legislature and yet they are not safe at home, on the streets or even at the post office. This then goes back to the history of violence and how it has produced violent masculinities that use their societal power to harm, abuse and kill those they feel less powerful to them (Britton, 2006). Thus, there is a prevalent presence of violent masculinities, because in countries such as South Africa violence is a marker of manhood (Msibi, 2009). This can be seen in how men are socialized into society, by being told to conflate strength with being emotionally hard and the language used to describe women (Gqola, 2007). Furthermore, the intersections of Gender-Based Violence and violent masculinities can be seen in how men think women are just bodies that ought to be controlled, whether culturally or in the workplace (Gqola, 2007). Moffet (2006) states that this violence against women starts feeling like a group project that is socially approved because there are no repercussions, instead this behaviour is endorsed through culture and societal norms. There is a social belief that what is deemed as inappropriate acts of femininity must be policed, tortured and even killed (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose, 2018).

Violent behaviour is deeply woven into the new democratic South Africa, despite it often being understood as violent crimes committed by men who do not know better, this is a false dichotomy

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#AmiNext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

(Graaff and Heneicken, 2017). Men in positions of power are celebrated for being violent in post-Apartheid South Africa. For example, Jacob Zuma raped a close family relative and then blamed it on her type of clothing (Gqola, 2007). Even Zuma's theme song which is framed around his machine gun endorses violence (Graaff and Heneicken, 2017). This type of violence is often understood in a vacuum, but this is impossible within a society such as ours.

Due to the violence of present masculinities in South Africa, the presence of online activism offers us an alternative sphere into activism and raising awareness about persistent Sexual Gender Based-Violence. This is important when considering how perpetrators tend to hold powerful positions that can be used to silence survivors who wish to come forward. Especially in South Africa where a man can get accused of rape and still become a President for two consecutive terms (Gqola, 2007). The lack of repercussions for perpetrators in South Africa creates a culture of silence amongst victims who fear stepping forward and speaking on their issues due to fear of being called attention-seeking or being told they asked for it due to their inappropriate acts of femininity (Gqola, 2007).

The history of Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

The history of violence in South Africa placed different pressures on men and women. Much of the suppression as Gqola (2007) states was against gendered lines. Men were encouraged to take up arms to fight for liberation while women were expected to take care of the homesteads (Morell, 2012). Even outside of the expectation to fight for liberation, men were also a big percentage of migrant labour in the gold mines, with statistics showing that over 60% of the total labour force from 1989 to 1996 was migrant labour (Harrington, *et al.*, 2004). We often understand violence as

an act that is visible and outwardly, when there was psychological violence to the ongoing suppression of the apartheid government. There is violence that is inherent in being displaced and forced to migrate without an option (Graaff and Heneicken, 2017).

When one experiences violence, whether, on a societal or personal level, it is easy to then interpret this as an appropriate way of living. Violence then becomes an acceptable way to respond to situations, no matter their cause (Armstrong, 1994). Men become socialized through a society ingrained in violence and the highest standard level of masculinity is to be achieved through reenactments of behaviours that are violent to other often marginalized groups (Graaff and Heneicken, 2017). Thus, the insurgence of Sexual Gender-Based Violence can be understood as one of the repercussions of a history that was violent. Violence begets violence and what has presented itself in current times is a cycle that has caused men who feel emasculated by societal inequality to then reclaim their power over those they feel are less powerful than them (Graff and Heneicken, 2017). Ratele (2006) states that when speaking about Sexual Gender-Based Violence we cannot dislocate and shift blame, it is important to name the violence and state that men in South Africa are violent. This is because heterosexual masculinity is not only about what a male does or says, but also about the techniques of power utilized (Ratele, 2006: 57).

Moffet (2006) further unpacks that through research we are able to draw parallels between Black people under apartheid and women in current South Africa, although women in South Africa are statistically a majority, their marginalization within this country by men can be understood as a form of control. The violence can be understood and described as a way to firstly, demonstrate the power and to make them compliant with patriarchal societal norms. This can be seen in how violence against women is often seen as an issue of debate on whether they deserved it or not.

Where women are accused of inappropriate acts of femininity and thus warrant the violence
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actioned towards them. Inappropriate acts of femininity speak to the patriarchal and misogynistic violence placed on women where women are either good or bad, and if they fall outside of being “appropriate” they are deemed “inappropriate” and therefore deserving of being sexually assaulted or raped (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose, 2018). This can be seen in the example of how in 2008, Nwabisa Ngcukana who was 25 at the time, was walking at Noord Taxi Rank in Johannesburg when she was attacked by taxi drivers and hawkers for wearing a mini skirt (News24, 2008). The crowd tore off her clothes and taxi drivers inserted their fingers in her private parts while the rest of the crowd called her names and poured alcohol over her body. This was all done because they decided they needed to teach her a lesson about wearing a mini skirt (News24, 2008). This is an example of the control men in South Africa desire to have over women and how they want to use violence to control women they see as exhibiting inappropriate acts of femininity.

Gqola (2007) unpacks this further when giving an example of how people blamed former South African President Jacob Gedleyhlele Zuma’s rape victim for asking for it because she wore a Kanga. There is always an unequal scale of power between victim and perpetrator, especially in South Africa where the Gender-Based Violence statistics are extremely high. Thus there is an insistent need to name the violence we have encountered and continue to deal with on a daily basis in South Africa. From the devastating statistics about SGBV to 38 miners being shot down for asking for a living wage (Vetten and Ratele, 2013). There is an issue of violence that is pertinent and this violence is often along gendered lines.

The intersections of violent masculinities and Sexual Gender-Based Violence.

Sexual Gender-Based violence is described as violence inflicted on someone because of his, her or their gender and the expectations of their role in a society or culture (Patel, Raizes, and Broyles, 2020). The most affected by violence and inequalities, in South Africa, are women and children (Patel, *et al.*, 2020). Even though there is a lack of statistics on Sexual Gender-Based violence in South Africa, there is a certainty that every 3 hours a woman is killed (Wilkinson, 2020). This means that the murder rate of adult women due to Gender-Based violence was at 15,2 per 100,000. Due to this high statistic, the World Health Organization put South Africa in the fourth position in female interpersonal violence and this was a ranking made out of 183 countries (WeForum, 2019). Despite having commissions such as The Commission for Gender Equality, which is an independent chapter nine institution that was “established in terms of Section 187 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 in order to promote respect for gender equality, and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality” (Government ZA, 2020). South Africa still finds itself in a violent Femicide and SGBV crisis. This is because a society that is built on extreme levels of violence will always bring about more violence, especially when the root causes of the violence are never dealt with properly.

South Africa lives in a contradiction because women and children are protected by the legislature and yet they are not safe at home, on the streets or even in the post office (Gqola, 2007). This then goes back to the history of violence and how it has produced violent masculinities that use their societal power to harm, abuse and kill those they feel less powerful to them (Britton, 2006). Thus, there is a prevalent presence of violent masculinities, because in countries such as South Africa violence is a marker of manhood (Msibi, 2009). This can be seen in how men are socialized into

society, by being told to conflate strength with being emotionally hard and the language used to describe women (Gqola, 2007). Furthermore, the intersections of Gender-Based Violence and violent masculinities can be seen in how men think women are just bodies that ought to be controlled, whether culturally or in the workplace (Gqola, 2007). Moffet (2006) states that this violence against women starts feeling like a group project that is socially approved because there are no repercussions, instead this behaviour is endorsed through culture and societal norms. There is a social belief that what is deemed as inappropriate acts of femininity must be policed, tortured and even killed (Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose, 2018).

Violent behaviour is deeply woven into the new democratic South Africa, despite it often being understood as violent crimes committed by men who do not know better, this is a false dichotomy (Graaff and Heneicken, 2017). Men in positions of power are celebrated for being violent in post-Apartheid South Africa. For example, Jacob Zuma raped a close family relative and then blamed it on her type of clothing (Gqola, 2007). Even Zuma's theme song which is framed around his machine gun endorses violence (Graaff and Heneicken, 2017). This type of violence is often understood in a vacuum, but this is impossible within a society such as ours.

Due to the violence of present masculinities in South Africa, the presence of online activism offers us an alternative sphere into activism and raising awareness about persistent Sexual Gender Based-Violence. This is important when considering how perpetrators tend to hold powerful positions that can be used to silence survivors who wish to come forward. Especially in South Africa where a man can get accused of rape and still become a President for two consecutive terms (Gqola, 2007). The lack of repercussions for perpetrators in South Africa creates a culture of silence amongst victims who fear stepping forward and speaking on their issues due to fear of being called

attention-seeking or being told they asked for it due to their inappropriate acts of femininity (Gqola, 2007).

A fight that never ends

Women in South Africa have long stood up and fought against Sexual Gender-Based Violence, especially in post-apartheid South Africa when it became clear that the issue of SGBV was more threatening than before. The transition into democracy was marked by a 30% voluntary quota representation of women in the ANC (Gouws, 2006). A democratic parliament also introduced general laws which pertained to women which were; The Public Services Act of 1994, the New Tax Tables of 1995, the Labour Relations Act of 1996, and the National Policy Framework on Gender Equality (Memela, and Ayogu, 2005).

The entrance of women into the state was made possible through state structures such as Gender Desks, The Commission for Gender Equality, the Office of the Status of Women, the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Status of Women and the multi-party Women's Caucus (Gouws, 2006). These state structures allowed for women to be able to deal with issues that affected them, in a tangible way. This period allowed for a purpose that guided clear policymaking that had the potential to change the lives of many women in South Africa. The period from 1994 to 1999 was a fertile ground for gender activism and the eradication of gender inequality (Britton, 2006). This started to change during the Thabo Mbeki era, which was from 1999 to 2008, this was because gender activists were growing weary of Mbeki's defiance to criticism about his HIV/AIDS denialism (Gouws, 2006). As Mbeki was certain that there was no link between HIV and AIDS (Britton, 2006).

This work towards gender progression was further regressed when Charlene Smith, a rape survivor noted how rape in South Africa has become a way of life and the crime statistics in South Africa do not show how rape has become inter-connected to HIV/AIDS (Britton, 2006). Mbeki responded to Charlene's observations by stating that she was stuck in a "psychological residue of apartheid" and that her race and privileged race and class status has altered her perception and understanding of the matter of Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa (Britton, 2006). This has proven to be a shortfall to Mbeki's years as president as his term was marked by extreme consequences where many women and children lost their lives. Bateman (2007) states that "had the national government begun rolling out the prevention of mother-to-child transmission in 1998 and rolled out HAART at the same time and pace as the Western Cape, then between 1999 and 2007 an additional 343 000 deaths and 171 new HIV infections could have been prevented". This is structural gendered violence and much of it could have been avoided had the president not been in denial about the necessary treatments needed.

Women have also long stood up against the violence in South Africa. In 2008 women marched alongside Nwabisa Ngcukatana because she was violently stripped naked at Noord Taxi rank because men believed her mini skirt was too short (BBC News, 2008). Even in 2018 when women all over South Africa took to the streets to demand the #TotalShutdown of Gender-Based Violence (UN Women, 2018). Furthermore, organizations such as Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust have existed since 1976 (Rape Crisis, 2020). These organizations and activists are consistently working to ensure that they support survivors while also lobbying for the government to implement policies that will ensure that the Gender-Based Violence statistics are curbed in South Africa.

Objectives of Study

This minor dissertation is an extension of a pilot study done by me in 2020 to investigate the usage of the Instagram page @keeptheenergy as a place to share knowledge on GBV/Femicide victims in South Africa (Mazana, 2020). This pilot study was done in order to expand knowledge on how a Social Networking Site such as Instagram was being utilized to raise awareness about an issue that was plaguing South Africa. An issue that is both political and personal for many women in South Africa.

This current study seeks to create a deeper investigation into this and unpack the use of the #AmINext hashtag on Instagram as a form of Gender Activism in South Africa. There is a necessity to expand on our knowledge of the ever-evolving spectrum of activism on pertinent issues in South Africa, furthermore, this need expands as we experience alarming SGBV and Femicide rates in this country due to unprecedented times such as a pandemic and subsequent Lockdown due to COVID-19. Therefore, by conducting this study the objective is to see how the landscape of activism is changing and how Social Networking Sites offer activists new opportunities to form communities, raise awareness about issues that do not receive main media attention and share important information for lobbying and making a change.

This study seeks to offer insight into the growing knowledge of digital activism in South Africa while also acknowledging that as scholars we often focus on Twitter as a central point of digital activism Globally and in South Africa because it is often recognized for having the potential to completely reconfigure group advocacy (Konnolly, 2015). The SNS offers users a forum to spread awareness and information while having conversations on social justice issues (Konnolly, 2015).

As a researcher, I have also spent time investigating Twitter users and their interests in social justice.

This study will offer insight into how an SNS that was configured as visual stimuli to share beautiful images with family and friends has now pivoted and allowed users to be able to tackle social justice issues in a valuable way. This will be done to be able to evaluate the potentials and limitations of a new sphere of digital activism while also analysing the type of content shared. Based on the specified premises, the study aims to address the following research questions.

Research Questions

How do activists/users use Instagram as a tool for GBV activism in South Africa?

How do activists/users use Instagram to raise awareness on Instagram?

How do they use Instagram to build communities and networks?

How do they use Instagram hashtags to share valuable information around SGBV in South Africa?

How do they use Instagram to call to action and organize protests?

Sub Questions

Is Instagram an appropriate apparatus for SGBV activism in South Africa?

What are the limitations of using Instagram as a tool for SGBV in South Africa?

The rise of hashtag/digital feminism

The last decade has seen a rise in many activists using social media as a crucial part of their activism (Mudavanhu, and Radloff, 2013). This has caused an increase in what scholars call hashtag feminism, which can be understood as the creation of virtual spaces where victims of abuse or unjust structural inequalities can share experiences and co-exist in spaces that do not dismiss their pain and narrative (Dixon, K, 2014). Hashtag Feminism has become a popular way to raise awareness for activists (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). This is because of the ability to build momentum on Social Networking Sites using hashtags, examples of this being the #MeToo and #BeenRapedNeverReported hashtags (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). Both these hashtags have something in common, which is Gender-Based violence. Hashtag Feminism is able to amplify voices that are often ignored or silenced offline (Cumberbatch, and Trujilio-Pagan, 2016). Furthermore, this type of activism affords the survivors of Gender-Based Violence anonymity (if they choose) and a sense of community (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). This increase in online activism is relatively new and is something that has been brought forward by the digital age, this there is very little research and investigation of it within the African context (Wasuna, 2018).

In 2019, after the brutal murder of Uyinene Mrwetyana, the hashtag #AmINext trended on South African Twitter, Facebook and Instagram as survivors were coming forward to expose their abusers and perpetrators (The Citizen, 2019). Accounts, such as @AmINext_SA were created to have survivors tell their stories anonymously (The Citizen, 2019). This is one of the reasons hashtag feminism is becoming a popular tool of activism because perpetrators often have powers to silence victims, through anonymity – victims are not able to come forward. Additionally, in South Africa, victims of Gender-Based Violence are often ignored by the South African Police Service. In 2017, former Police Minister, Fikile Mbabula said, “SAPS neglected many cases of

violence against women by failing to accept cases of gender violence, not investigating reported cases, or losing dockets” (Merten, 2017). This neglect of cases of GBV pushes survivors deeper into the corner of fear, therefore these online spaces offer them a voice that is often stripped away.

This study focuses on the #AmINext hashtag for analysis because it was created to ensure that the momentum from the 2019 online activism does not come to a halt. Furthermore, to analyse how these types of hashtags are often created to spread awareness and share information that is never displayed on traditional forms of media (Williams, 2015).

The evolution of Instagram

Instagram was created in 2010 by Mike Krieger and Kevin Systrom (New Audience Media, 2020).

The application was created for users to be able to share polaroid like pictures using filters. Since its initial release, Instagram has been able to garner over 400 million users (New Audience, 2020).

Making it a very popular app among the youth and young adults. It appeals to the younger generation because it provides its users with an immediate opportunity to capture and share their experiences (Stapleton and Chatwin, 2017: 142).

Furthermore, it has been reported that the youth uses Instagram more than Facebook (Ting, Ming, de Run, and Choo, 2015). Social Networking Sites such as Instagram are favoured over others due to the visual stimuli they provide to their users (Feltman and Syzymski, 2018).

The favouritism of Instagram is also because it allows its users to take photos using their phones and share them with others instantly (Ting, *et al.*, 2015).

Due to this sharing of images and not just text, communication with friends, family and communities of similar interest has become much easier and more fascinating (Ting, *et al.*, 2015).

Additionally, due to the connectivity that comes with the digital age, there has also been an increase in people who share resources in order to better everyone’s understanding of certain things. These

include fitness trainers sharing training schedules, chartered accountants sharing financial advice, or even activists sharing resources and information. Shirky (2010) describes this as the Cognitive Surplus. He states that the internet will change how people collaborate, especially in their spare time (Shirky, 2010). Furthermore, people are learning different ways to use their time constructively and in a manner that is empowering to themselves and others (Shirky, 2010). This Cognitive Surplus can be utilized for important things such as political participation (Bosch, 2017). As the world evolves, so does how people engage in political participation, the youth are finding new ways to engage governments and policymakers and this can be seen through youth political activism such as #FeesMustFall, and #RhodesMustFall (Bosch, 2017).

Instagram is one of the more popular networks alongside Facebook and Twitter (Priadana and Tahalea, 2021). Despite this popularity, there is not much research on the political participation that happens on it, but unlike Facebook and Twitter, Instagram offers us a perspective and insights into how people use photos and videos to share their environmental, social and cultural beliefs (Hu, *et al.*, 2014). Instagram users have five primary social and psychological motives: social interaction, archiving, self-expression, escapism, and peeking (Lee, E., Lee, J.A., Moon, J.H. and Sung, Y., 2015). Instagram over the years has evolved into a space where people can share thoughts on political issues with the use of things such as infographics accompanied by informative captions. In other instances, such as when the hashtag #ChallengeAccepted trended, awareness was being raised about the femicide rates in Turkey by imploring women all over the globe to share black and white images on Instagram and using the hashtag (Akdemir, 2021). This is an example of how a Social Networking Site that was created to share images with filters has now evolved to use the same pictures to share important information.

Instagram in South Africa

In pursuit of a study that is inclusive and socially aware, it is imperative to invest time into understanding how Instagram is utilized in South Africa. This provided its own difficulties as there is not a lot of peer-reviewed research on how South African's utilize Instagram. This further reflects the need for media scholars to further expand the scopes of studies to analyse the ever-growing knowledge on the different Social Networking Sites.

According to Statista (2022), as of July 2021, there were exactly 6.03 million South Africans with Instagram accounts. Furthermore, when investigated along gendered lines, women accounted for 54.2 % of South African Instagram users while men were at 45.8% (Statista, 2022). With a population of 60.4 million people (StatsSA, 2021), this means that only about 10% of the population utilizes Instagram. This is in comparison to the 61.2% of users on Facebook and the 13.4% on Twitter (Statcounter, 2022). Through these stats, we can see that Facebook is the first preference for many South Africans, a study also illustrated this when it was found that more South Africans use Facebook more than they consume Television (Business Tech, 2017).

Another hindrance for the general population of South Africa when it comes to being on Instagram is that this particular SNS consumes more data than its competitors (CPR, 2019). It is estimated that Instagram consumes 60-90 MB per five minutes, and this is extensive considering that South Africa ranks highest when it comes to data prices across African countries (Edward-John, 2020). Therefore, in a country where an estimate of 11 million people live on R28 a day and R800 per month, the purchasing of data to be browsing SNS such as Instagram is a luxury to many (Mlaba, 2020).

Furthermore, there is an association amongst people that Instagram is a place where people often have to be flashy and wealthy due to this SNS being predominantly visually-based. Whereas on Twitter and Facebook, people share their thoughts and can also post images (Jackson, 2019).

Reflective Analysis of me being a researcher on online-based content

As a scholar, my interest in this study stems from my history as a Gender Studies and Media & Writing student. I spent my undergraduate years deeply invested in the intersections of gender and media – the access to both disciplines allowed me to consistently use interchangeable lenses in both. I graduated with my first degree from UCT with triple majors, in International Relations, Gender Studies and Media & Writing. This degree played a critical foundation for me because through this initial degree, I always knew that my work would be deeply entrenched in social justice issues, especially those that pertained to women and LGBTIAQ+ folk. My first study in post-grad sought to uncover the biases of print media in post-apartheid South Africa. This study offered me insight into an issue that often felt too personal to explain in academic terms, but through exploration and reading academic literature – I learnt that the personal is political (hooks, 2000) and that as Black scholars we need to aim to share our own stories, instead of always looking and hoping that someone else will.

When the Level 5 Lockdown happened in South Africa due to the spreading of COVID-19 cases, the whole country found itself at home with nowhere to go unless you offered essential services. What started as a 3-week Lockdown to flatten the curve, ended up going on for months. The country would await communication from the President every Sunday on what would happen next and whether we would eventually return to normal. What started as unprecedented and foreign to

us, became routine. We would get daily updates on the news on cases, deaths and the work the Department of Health was doing to curb the spread of this new virus. I remember one update that frightened me as I tuned into the news, and Minister Bheki Cele noted that a week into Level 5 Lockdown in South Africa, SAPS received 87 000 gender-based violence calls (Mlambo, 2020).

This revelation did not want to leave me as I started investigating what I would do for my research project in one of my Master's courses. I remember one day as I scrolled through my Instagram explore page, I saw a post that had a carousel with pictures of a young South African woman slain by her partner with the exact information of what happened and who the man was. After spending time investigating this, I realized that there were pages and hashtags created by South African users on Instagram to share information about SGBV and the Femicide crisis in South Africa.

Through this realization that Instagram was offering us a new perspective into SGBV activism in South Africa while furthermore doing something completely new to an SNS that is often dedicated to glamorized versions of ourselves. Hereunder these hashtags and pages were activists coming together to lobby, share information, raise awareness and fundraise. Despite my nonexistent experience in digital research, I dedicated months to carefully compiling the data and ensuring that I am respectful of the privacy of all users on Instagram.

This process was extremely daunting, despite me only analysing 700 posts for my study which would seem minuscule to many, but for me what dawned on me was that with every 3rd post I would see – there was a woman whose life was taken violently. As a scholar, the Lockdown meant that there was not much to navigate around in terms of physical research, and this felt completely different to me but I pushed forward.

Before starting this study, I had preconceived notions on what constitutes as Activism and what does not. Through engrossing myself in the digital space during a period where normal activities such as gathering in large groups were understood as illegal, I came to appreciate the ability of the digital space to offer us new perspectives and opportunities to fight a long fight in new ways.

Significance and Rationale of the Study

When the internet was first created in the 1960s, there was not much knowledge of the extent to which it would grow (Shirky, 2010). Decades after it was first created, it has become a way for many people to socialize, build communities, share opinions, learn information and many other things. It is impossible to imagine the world we live in presently with no internet because it has become a way of life for many (Shirky, 2010). For some people, it is impossible to imagine a world with no internet while for some the beginning of the internet seemed like an unfathomable thing (Manago, 2015). With the start of the digital age and the evolution of the internet came the innovation of what we could do with the internet (Cerf, 2004).

Manago (2015) states that “the digital age is a time of profound socio-cultural change driven by technologies that facilitate the transmission of information faster and more efficiently than ever before in human history”. This evolution towards the internet being such an easily accessible place for many has created what scholars call Networked Publics, this is the restructuring of how we interact as the public due to networked technologies (boyd, 2010). Networked Publics offer a new way to interact and form communities outside of their friends and family based on social, cultural and civic purposes (boyd, 2010). How activists are able to form communities online in order to raise awareness about social justice issues is an example of Networked Publics.

As scholars, we gain insights into how these Networked Publics work while further expanding on the theories of forming community, especially in the activist spaces. There is an increasing need to invest ourselves in imagining what the future will look like, and the only way this can be done is if we analyse the current. Thus, the study is relevant because we must analyse how Social Networking Sites are offering new perspectives and opportunities for activism especially during unprecedented times such as COVID-19. Through the research of sites such as Instagram and Twitter, we expand the terrains of human capabilities. As Shirky (2010) states, humans are utilizing their free time differently than they did 100 years ago and now that there is so much access to interactive media, people are moving from just being consumers to being more involved. There is a necessity to explore how hashtags such as #AmINext spread information on Instagram about SGBV and the Femicide crisis in South Africa. This study simply seeks to expand on existing knowledge of hashtags and digital activism, especially in the South African context. Furthermore, by completing this study, there can be a bit more perspective and understanding on how SGBV activism had to be altered to adhere to the Lockdown restrictions put in place to curb COVID-19. When the whole world was at home and everything was at a standstill, SGBV did not halt, thus there is an importance to note the construction of new mobilization tactics by young and old activists.

Conclusion

This dissertation will move beyond “how” Instagram is used to tell a tale of SGBV in South Africa and seek to explore how history and our current circumstances have made it imperative for activists to constantly look at new ways of raising awareness. Through this exploration of data, there will

also be a bigger understanding of what is shared, how it is shared and what type of text accompanies it. Furthermore, by laying the foundation of the past, there is an understanding that this paper does not seek to indicate that using Instagram is the only way to combat the issues plaguing South Africa but rather that this is a new sphere on an ever-growing terrain of SGBV activism in South Africa.

Hu, *et al* (2014) state that scholars and researchers must invest time in researching Instagram in the same way that Twitter and Facebook are researched because we often stray away from doing this research due to Instagram being such photo and video orientated Social Networking Site, but through the study of Semiotics, we understand that a picture can tell a tale words cannot. In addition to this, due to images and videos being followed with captions, we can also fill in the blanks in our understanding (Mikhaeil and Baskerville, 2019).

Dissertation Outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one introduces the intersections of a history of Violence, and Sexual Gender-Based Violence and further expands on how the fight against SGBV in South Africa has been. Furthermore, drawing attention to how activism has evolved to include digital and hashtag feminism and finally how Instagram use in South Africa has evolved over the years.

Chapter two unpacks the theories utilized to gather insights pertaining to digital activism/hashtag feminism. This study draws on three theories, namely, Shirky's Cognitive Surplus Theory, in order to detail how people are utilizing their resources and time to share information and resources

online. While also employing Crenshaw's framework of intersectionality to detail how gender, race, and class intersect with SGBV in South Africa.

The theory of Networked Publics will also be utilized to interpret how communities of activists are being cultivated online. Furthermore, how Social Networking Sites are allowing people from all over the country an opportunity that often feels like the public where people can form collectives based on civic, social and cultural purposes (boyd, 2010).

Chapter three will be dedicated to the methodology. In this study, I utilized a mixed-methods approach of qualitative and quantitative. This is due to the desire to compile a comprehensive study where data is present amongst content analysis. This chapter will also explain the issues of online research and ethics through an honest analysis of the methods used.

Chapter 6 discusses the possibilities of digital/hashtag activism in South Africa while detailing the findings. Chapter 7 considers the barriers of Social Networking Sites and digital/hashtag activism, especially in countries such as South Africa. Chapter six is dedicated to concluding the study while tying up the findings concerning the hypothesis of the study. Furthermore, it details future considerations for research and limitations.

Chapter Two

2.1 Theoretical approach and review of literature

This chapter reviews literature that is framed around digital/hashtag activism, and hashtag feminism as a branch of this. Further going deeper to unpack the complexities of utilizing Social Networking Sites as spaces to raise awareness about social justice issues. Furthermore, detailing how Instagram has offered activists a space to be able to protest in what is often understood as visually stimulating. In addition to this, this chapter will unpack the usual modus operandi of hashtag feminism and the ways in which activists form Networked Publics. Lastly, there will be a review of the theories utilized to conduct to study.

This discussion will utilize three theoretical frameworks: namely, cognitive surplus, networked publics, and the framework of intersectionality. Due to the connectivity that comes with the digital age, there has also been an increase in people who share resources in order to better everyone's understanding of certain things. These include fitness trainers sharing training schedules, chartered accountants sharing financial advice, or even activists sharing resources and information. Shirky (2010) describes this as the Cognitive Surplus. He states that the internet will change how people collaborate, especially in their spare time (Shirky, 2010). Furthermore, people are learning different ways to use their time constructively and in a manner that is empowering to themselves and others (Shirky, 2010). This Cognitive Surplus can be utilized for important things such as political participation (Bosch, 2017). As the world evolves, so does the ways in which people engage in political participation, the youth are finding new ways to engage governments and

policymakers and this can be seen through youth political activism such as #FeesMustFall, and #RhodesMustFall (Bosch, 2017).

Shirky (2010) states that “although the activities that we use our cognitive surpluses for may be frivolous (such as creating memes) - the trend as a whole is leading to valuable and influential new forms of human expression”. Cognitive surplus is a synthesis of the surplus of people's time, energy, creativity, and generosity that leads to productivity, creation, and sharing amid technology realms (Shirky, 2010). This can be seen in political activism such as the #BlackLivesMatter and the #MeToo movements. Social Networking Sites provide access and a voice to marginalized groups that would probably be silenced in offline spaces (Kasana, 2014: 246). This does not mean that political activism that uses Social Networking Sites is always effective, but it does assure the activists some sort of anonymity and activism that is decentralized and without hierarchies (Kasana, 2014). This anonymity offers Sexual Gender-Based Violence activists an opportunity to not be scrutinized or doxed when they use Social Networking Sites as a tool for their activism (Kasana, 2014).

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1990) coined the term Intersectionality in order to describe how Black and Coloured people have identities that cannot be separated because they are interictally connected. Crenshaw first used the term to describe the issues Black women were facing and experiencing in Law. She presented the argument that when dealing with anti-racist strategies, Black men's experiences are utilized as the definition while when dealing with issues of the women's movement, white women are foregrounded (Gouws, 2017). Therefore, in dealing with structural racism, and feminism – Black women are deemed invisible.

A Black woman cannot be either Black or woman, she is both. Therefore, when engaging in any type of activism that deals with structures and systems that exist, it is important to always be intersectional in approach (Crenshaw, 1990). Over the year's intersectionality has accounted for LGBTIAQ++ folk and how they also cannot be either-or. Intersectionality accounts for class, race, gender, age, and social status (Crenshaw, 1990). Collins (1990) describes this as the matrix of domination, because instead of saying person A is Black and then they are a woman then working-class, instead we acknowledge that all of these are interlocking and overarching structures of domination. Thus, any social justice activism that aims to be able to have lasting effects must use an intersectional praxis. Especially in South Africa where the demographics are different and structural inequality does not affect white, Black or Coloured people the same. This framework is important when considering formerly colonized states where the matrix of domination was in relation to the intricate intersections of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy and colonialism (Gouws, 2017).

Therefore, in the efforts of ensuring that the analysis of GBV activism on Instagram is thorough, Intersectionality will also be employed as a theoretical framework. This is because activism that takes place on Social Networking Sites, creates opportunities for the people that find themselves standing at the intersection of several oppressions that overlap to build alliances and to also have a voice. These alliances will work together to call truth to power and deconstruct the interlocking systems of power (Clark-Parsons, 2019).

Finally, I investigate the theory of Networked Publics which Ito (2008) explains as “a reference to a linked set of social, cultural, and technological developments that have accompanied the growing engagement with digitally networked media”. As Social Networking Sites expand and grow globally, the theories and dynamics of Networked Publics can help us understand why people

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MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmiNext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

engage on SNS' like they do, how they can form communities of far and wide and form connections based on a plethora of issues (Manago, 2015). Thus utilizing Networked Publics to analyze what unfolds on these sites serves as a very insightful framework (Manago, 2015).

The notion of Networked Publics looks at how networked technologies rearrange how information flows due to the fact that over the years, consumers have gained more access (boyd, 2010). Furthermore, due to the overflow of access and choice given to consumers through the evolution of the internet and technology, people now react to new information and each other differently (boyd, 2010). What the digital age has shown us is that we are at a stage of profound socio-cultural change due to how the transmission of information is more accelerated in the current age (Manago, 2015). This can be observed through how much traction posts can garner online in a small amount of time. We can therefore observe Networked Publics as an effect of existing in what scholars term the Global Village, where the only distance that exists is in kilometres but not in the transmission of information (Wellman, 2018). As people were all under restricted Lockdown due to COVID-19 in South Africa, the formation of Networked Publics allowed for interconnectedness through technology, whether it was Zoom, Skype, Whatsapp and Social Networking Sites. In South Africa, it also gave activists a new perspective on mobilisation through the use of digital/hashtag feminism to raise the bell on the women being killed in their homes.

Other theories

Other theories explored in this study include the Networked Feminism theory as an extension of the Networked Publics framework and the Interactivity Theory. Networked Feminism describes the growing use of the internet as a tool for activism for feminists to fight against misogyny, rape culture and sexism (Wasuna, 2018). This term explores how feminists globally are combatting the

silencing of salient issues on traditional media by using Social Networking Sites to raise awareness themselves (Wasuna, 2018). This can be seen in how Black feminists in America created the hashtag #SayHerName to raise awareness about the Black Women who were often othered when #BlackLivesMatter was mentioned (Brown, *et al.*, 2017). Networked Feminism, much like Networked Publics offers feminists the space to be able to use an intersectional approach to raise their issues. Networked Feminism speaks to how women globally are able to come together on salient issues and form communities that end up being great spaces for learning, organizing and growing engagements (Clark-Parsons, 2021).

The Interactive Theory can be defined as many things as possible depending on the sphere and industry which is being researched, but mainly the theory is interested in how users of mediums are able to influence the type of content they consume on the medium itself (Meikie, 2009). In this paper, Berner-Lee's (1999) description of the theory will be applied, this states, "We ought to be able not only to find any kind of document on the Web but also to create any kind of document, easily. We should be able not only to follow links but to create them between all sorts of media. We should be able not only to interact with other people but to create with other people. Intercreativity is the process of making things or solving problems together. If interactivity is not just sitting there passively in front of a display screen, then inner creativity is not just sitting there in front of something 'interactive'". Much like how the aforementioned Cognitive Surplus Theory by Shirky states that people are not being passive consumers of content anymore, they are finding new ways to make sure that their time is spent interactively (Shirky, 2010).

All the theories stipulated above seek to construct a paper that is aware of the different constructs that are needed to formulate online activism while also being comprehensive in applying theories that benefit the methodology utilized.

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MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

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2.2 Hashtag feminism in South Africa

As technologies evolve, so does activism, mobilizing and lobbying against issues that plague societies. Activists have now started to use different tools to ensure that their voices are heard, and these tools often intersect and work simultaneously (Cumberbatch, and Trujillo-Pagán, 2016). This can be seen through the rise of social media activism, like #BlackLivesMatter, #FeesMustFall, #MeToo, etc. All these hashtags have been part of massive shifts in society that have impacted the way in which activists protest in the 21st century due to the access to technology (Cumberbatch, and Trujillo-Pagán, 2016). This type of activism has been called hashtag activism due to the utilization of hashtags to drive conversation while also ensuring that people who would like to know what issues are being raised can just easily follow the hashtag to know (Small, 2011). Through the term hashtag activism, hashtag feminism was born (Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller, 2018).

The last decade has seen a rise in many gender activists using social media as a crucial part of their activism (Mudavanhu, and Radloff, 2013). This has caused an increase in what scholars call hashtag feminism, which can be understood as the creation of virtual spaces where victims of abuse or unjust structural inequalities can share experiences and co-exist in spaces that do not dismiss their pain and narrative (Dixon, K, 2014). Hashtag Feminism has become a popular way to raise awareness for activists (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). This is because of the ability to build momentum on Social Networking Sites using hashtags, examples of this being the #MeToo and #BeenRapedNeverReported hashtags (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). Both these hashtags have something in common, which is Sexual Gender-Based violence. Hashtag Feminism can amplify voices that

are often ignored or silenced offline (Cumberbatch, and Trujilio-Pagan, 2016). Furthermore, this type of activism affords the survivors of Sexual Gender-Based Violence anonymity (if they choose) and a sense of community (Mendes, *et al.*, 2018). This increase in online activism is relatively new and is something that has been brought forward by the digital age, this there is very little research and investigation of it within the African context (Wasuna, 2018).

In 2019, after the brutal murder of Uyinene Mrwetyana, the hashtag #AmINext trended on South African Twitter, Facebook and Instagram as survivors were coming forward to expose their abusers and perpetrators (The Citizen, 2019). Accounts, such as @AmINext_SA were created in order to have survivors tell their stories anonymously (The Citizen, 2019). This is one of the reasons hashtag feminism is becoming a popular tool of activism because perpetrators often have powers to silence victims, through anonymity – victims are able to come forward. Additionally, in South Africa, victims of Sexual Gender-Based Violence are often ignored by the South African Police Service. In 2017, former Police Minister, Fikile Mbabula said, “SAPS neglected many cases of violence against women by failing to accept cases of gender violence, not investigating reported cases, or losing dockets” (Merten, 2017). This neglect of cases of SGBV pushes survivors deeper into the corner of fear, therefore these online spaces offer them a voice that is often stripped away.

It is important to note that despite the possibilities of digital activism, there is only so much that can be achieved through online avenues (Kasana, 2014). Thus, there is a necessity to mobilize offline, understand the policies and act in ways that are not just in the digital space (Kasana, 2014). Despite these limitations, we cannot ignore how much possibility digital activism offers people, especially in countries such as South Africa, an example of this is how in the 2010s, many women came together to raise money for the Saartjie Baartman Centre as it was facing extreme financial difficulties and there was not enough coverage of how such an important centre that helps women

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MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmINext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

who have been victims of SGBV did not have enough money to keep operating (Linder, *et al.*, 2016). Black and brown feminists' all over the globe are constantly coming together to utilize Social Networking Sites to fill in the gaps of media coverage (Williams, 2015). What this digital landscape is offering us as researchers is an illustration of how the cognitive surplus within humans can help them form networked publics that are intersectional.

2.3 The parameters of hashtag feminism

Organizing online often follows similar classifications and actions as it would in a physical offline space, instead now activists choose to either utilize the internet fully or use it to enhance their already existing offline political efforts (Vegh, 2013). If we were to explain the type of parameters this activism looks like, there would be similarities between traditional and online activism because there are often the following categories: awareness/advocacy; organization/ mobilisation; and action/reaction (Wasuna, 2018). Studies have found that hashtag activism/feminism, much like traditional ways of activism is also often utilized for fundraising (Lewis, Gray, and Meierhenrich, 2014).

2.3a Awareness and Advocacy

Wasuna (2018) states that this aspect of activism is based on creating public awareness about a social justice issue and this is done to gain public disapproval and damnation around it in hopes of resolving it substantially. The one aspect that has made online tools more preferable for activists when it comes to Awareness and Advocacy is that when it comes to traditional media, there are often barriers that exist to getting information to the general public and therefore being able to

raise awareness about it. Whereas with online activism, the barriers of restriction are much less (Vegh, 2003). Furthermore, when it comes to certain issues such as racism and sexism, traditional media such as news broadcasts have a way of setting certain agendas and utilizing certain framings to retell stories. This is something activists can avoid with utilizing online tools as they can tell the story exactly as it happened (Rentschler, 2014).

Furthermore, due to the wide reach of the internet globally, there is an amassed reach meaning that the utilization of online tools can aid in already existing social justice issue that is being dealt with by activists offline (Vegh, 2003). When we look at the rise of the #MeToo movement, we hear how activist Tarana Burke started using the words Me Too almost a decade before they were seen for the first time on social media and used a hashtag. She spent the early 2000's listening to Black and POC communities share their experiences of being victims of Sexual Gender-Based Violence and she came up with the concept in 2006 as a way for the victims to share and connect without feeling isolated (Bhattacharyya, 2018). This is an illustration of the intersects of activism that is traditional and that which is new and online. Furthermore, there is an illustration of the power of hashtag activism in allowing activists to further lobby for issues that have long plagued society but have gone unheard (Vegh, 2003). This can be seen in how on the 28th of May 2018, Harvey Weinstein was charged with sexual misconduct despite what many people deemed as old crimes. Activists came together from all sides of the world to raise awareness on the fact that much of what is seen as normalized behaviour is predatory and dangerous. (Bhattacharyya, 2018).

2.3b Organization and Mobilisation

Vegh (2003) establishes that there are three ways that online activism can be utilized for mobilisation and or organization. Firstly, it can be used for calling for offline action, an example of this could be how in 2018 at the start of Women’s Month – women and gender-nonconforming (GNC) people in South Africa mobilized online and called for a total shutdown of the country while using the hashtag #TotalShutdownSA (Okech, 2021). The protests were arranged to happen all over the country, on the same day and at the same time, to basically bring the country to a standstill by withdrawing the labour of women and (GNC) people to raise awareness about the femicide crisis in South Africa (Okech, 2021). The hashtag was utilized online for days in order to mobilize, organize and share vital information about the protests offline and this is an example of how the offline and online space can be used by activists.

Secondly, when it comes to mobilizing and organizing, hashtag feminism can be utilized as a Call To Action that can be done offline but is better done online due to the efficiency the internet provides (Vegh, 2003). An example of this can be the rise of how people in America are creating templates that make it easy to email Congress and complain about pertinent issues. This was a form of a call to action that was utilized a lot during the 2020 #BlackLivesMatter protests that happened after the murder of George Floyd and this was partly due to the ongoing pandemic and the restrictions that were put in place to curb the spread of COVID-19 (Wolny, 2020). Email templates were created to make it easier for people on social media to send as many messages to politicians about the protests as possible (Wolny, 2020). Much as how traditionally there would be letters and memorandums that are physically written and handed to politicians, this offers a

different possibility due to the ease and efficiency the internet can offer citizens and activists. This can also aid in participation because of the ease it offers (Vegh, 2003).

Thirdly, this is a call to action that is based online only, where the outcome desired can only be achieved by utilizing online tools (Vegh, 2003). This type of action is usually done by making sure that several people can be online and doing the same action simultaneously in order to either disrupt a server, cloud a medium with one message or disrupt the flow of information (Vegh, 2003). The most recent example of this is from the 2020 #BlackLivesMatter protests that happened globally, and how more than 28 million people came together to post black squares on Instagram using the hashtag #blackouttuesday. This was done to raise awareness about systematic racism and police brutality (Monckton, 2022). This is an action that can only have such a massive reach due to being digitally hyper-connected on the internet and existing in what is often deemed as a “global village” (Mudavanhu, and Radloff, 2013).

2.3c Action and Reaction

This type of activism is often very simple and is usually a springboard for the above-mentioned actions because most social justice activism is based on the premise that people see something they do not understand as right, then they react to it and form a plan of action (Wasuna, 2018). Vegh (2003) states that despite this category being the springboard for all types of action, it is mostly used to describe the act of hacktivism. When the conflict over Kosovo began, no one would have imagined how it would basically be a catalyst to the use of hacktivism as a way to raise awareness using the internet. It has been characterized as one of the first wide-scale demonstrations of a war on the internet where the government and activists utilized the internet to share information, spread propaganda, lie about their opponents and then try and garner support for themselves (Denning,

2007). Hackers utilized the internet during this to share their disapproval of both NATO and Yugoslav by hacking into government websites and disrupting the streams of information sharing created to make sure the propaganda being shared was not getting to the citizens and the rest of the world (Denning, 2007).

2.4 Civic Engagement

Research has also shown that activists utilize online activism for Civic Engagement, which is a process that is heavily based around shifting someone's perspective from having apathy about important social justice issues to understanding and having the motivation to take the necessary actions (Obar, Zube, and Lampe, 2012). This is especially important when we consider the age groups of people who utilize social media and how they are often seen as a generation that is apathetic to political issues when instead they are crafting innovative ways to engage (Bosch, 2017). Loader (2014) states that as researchers we ought to observe how the shift towards a civic engagement that is orchestrated on the internet is on the rise and this is especially true when considering how many political conversations have happened online ever since COVID-19 started in 2020.

This does not mean that the internet makes Civic Engagement easier and more accessible, due to many limitations such as access to the internet and the digital divide that exists globally furthermore how the young people of the Global South and the Global North do not have equal access (Loader, Vromen, and Xenos, 2014). Despite these troubles, we also cannot ignore the vast

possibilities that exist due to the ease of access, because there needs to be an altering when it comes to the barometer used to measure Civic Engagement, especially after a period where everyone had to be home and adhere to Lockdown restrictions. Therefore, there is a need to see how despite how young people are steering away from traditional practices of Civic Engagement they are moving towards what they feel works for them and their ideological standpoints (Loader, *et al.*, 2014).

2.5 Collective Action

Another present positive of Social Networking Sites especially when it comes to any type of activism is what Shirky pinpointed when he emphasized how despite technology providing us with the means to be passive consumers, there is something profound in how easy and efficient it is for people with similar political standings to group together and mobilize around pressing issues (Shirky, 2010). Whereas with traditional forms of activism, much labour was required to band together and spread the word about issues and garner enough attention, nowadays activists are able to mobilize great numbers within a few days (Loader, *et al.*, 2014). This can be done in guerilla tactics by using sites that are anonymous such as Telegram and Reddit or done on a grand scale by using hashtags and all Social Networking Sites. A great example of SNS aiding in collective action would be the rise of #FeesMustFall in South Africa and how student bodies in different provinces were able to get communication through to one another and to the media, instantly (Langa, Edwin, and Vilakazi, 2017).

The instantaneous way in which information travels has aided in collective action in several ways, and this can be seen in how a petition started two years ago to draw attention to SGBV and implore

the government of South Africa to do something that currently has 815,145 signatures which is just 184855 of its 1,000,000 signatures goal (Change.org, 2022). This type of collective action that is far-reaching, would not be possible without the internet. This is not to say that all collective action that happens through SNS is always positive, because much like any type of activism, there is always a right and a wrong, a right and a left. Despite this, it is impossible to imagine any type of collective action in the 21st Century without the use of the Internet furthermore any Social Networking Sites (Margetts, John, Hale, and Yasserli, 2015).

2.6 Hashtag Feminism as a branch of Citizen Journalism

In describing and unpacking the parameters of Hashtag feminism, it is important to ensure that a clear link is drawn between the similarities of traditional and new ways of activism, this is because as we evolve, we also innovate the old ways of doing things in order to ensure that we keep up with the times. Citizen journalism can best be described as the involvement of citizens in the sharing, analysis, curation and creation of information and news in the public space (Roberts, 2019). In the age of the internet and SNS, citizen journalism can be seen in the creation of an online space like The Daily Vox which was created in 2014 to share information about the South African elections “from the perspective of the South African Streets” (The Daily Vox, 2022). From that, this online space then became a platform for the youth of South Africa to share stories and for stories to be written from the perspective of those usually not included in the current media space (The Daily Vox).

Citizen Journalism is not new, instead, it is an ever-evolving way of citizen engagement in a society’s issues. Citizens have long participated in the sharing of information, for example, during 9/11, many of the reports on the news slots were being driven by eyewitnesses (Jurrat, 2011). As internet access grows and technologies evolve, there is an increasingly collaborative effort between the fourth estate and citizen journalism (Leake, 2012). This can be seen in how news reports will include eyewitness accounts and even footage from eyewitnesses. This collaborative effort though does not always mean that what citizens witness or know will make it to the prime time slot on the

News because, despite the growing access to everything happening, the political economy, agenda-setting and framing still exist when it comes to many traditional forms of media.

Thus, the acknowledgement that even without the fourth estate, citizen journalism does not gain legitimacy from that (Roberts, 2019). Citizens are starting to realize that they can also be the ones who are in charge of sharing information, and this can be seen in how information can be shared on blogs, SNS, forums, BC's, etc this can be done by commenting on things, tagging relevant people and using hashtags (Roberts, 2019). What activists do online to raise awareness about forgotten or seldom reported issues is citizen journalism at work. Especially when sharing vital information. As the distrust of mass media increases due to political affiliations and biases, there seems to be an increase in citizens deciding to be the custodians of news (Ritonga, and Syahputra, 2019). Furthermore, due to the expansion of SNS, citizens started seeing better avenues for sharing information, this included the rise of using Twitter and Facebook to share videos and images of what was happening (Ritonga, and Syahputra, 2019). This can be illustrated in how almost 8 years ago, Michael Brown was shot by a police officer in Ferguson and videos of this altercation were circulated all over social media, which then lead to the creation of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter (Ray, *et al.*, 2017). What this has shown is that citizens are growing distrustful of mass media reporting and would rather be share news individually on SNS.

The growing distrust of news media globally is often worrying as it is a signifier of greater issues and these are often surrounding the ownership and political affiliations within the media (Ritonga, and Syahputra, 2019). This can be seen in how South Africa has what researchers often deem as a concentration of power, where Telkom has a monopoly over fixed lines and infrastructure, MTN and Vodacom with extensive control over the digital media space, the SABC with a considerable amount of control and power over radio and television and Naspers with its control over television, newspapers, and magazine holdings (Angelopulo, and Potgieter, 2013). The distrust from citizens has led to an increase in citizen journalism, and we see it in South Africa where hashtags trend every week and people are often taking collective action over pertinent issues.

Thus, the use of hashtag feminism for activists who often feel that the portrayal of SGBV and coverage in South African media is not as it should be (Boonzaier, 2017). Therefore, it is rather beneficial to also use tools such as SNS to share news of the crisis that is happening rather than

wait for the news media to act (Ritonga, and Syahputra, 2019). Furthermore, there have been studies that have shown that news media representation of victims of SGBV can be distorted as often happens with marginalised groups throughout history where it becomes harder and harder for truths to be told and for voices to be heard (Wasuna, 2018). What this rise in citizen journalism has done cannot be undone for many activists who have been able to finally get enough collective action to steer towards change.

2.7 Hashtag Hijacking

Despite all the positives that exist for activism online, there are as many negatives as possible. The biggest issue for many activists online outside of the ever-growing worries of legitimacy is the rise of what is known as hashtag hijacking. This is understood as a form of online content that happens on SNS (Xanthopoulos, *et al.*, 2016). It refers to when a hashtag that is assigned to a particular issue or topic on a SNS is then taken by other users with the intention to negatively critique, mock or make satire out of the original intent the hashtag was originally for (Gilkerson and Berg, 2017). This can include sharing misinformation and spamming (Xanthopoulos, *et al.*, 2016). An early example of this was when McDonald's launched the #McDStories campaign on Twitter in hopes of having customers share any heart-warming stories about McDonald's meals and their lives (Hill, 2022). Instead, this hashtag was taken over by stories of people's McDonald's horror stories, which ended up distorting the initial hashtags intended purpose (Hill, 2022).

Much of the literature about hashtag hijacking has been framed around marketing and Public Relations campaigns and it is mainly written about in popular media, but seldom in research studies (Xanthopoulos, *et al.*, 2016). Despite it often being understood as an act against big corporates, there is also a need to also study its effects on online activism where hashtags are used to disseminate information in an orderly manner. There have been growing issues, especially in South Africa where a hashtag about an important issue can trend on Twitter and as you go to find out more information, you are met with spam or tweets unrelated to the issue. The

hashtag can be for vital information, but people will take it and use it for malicious spamming, hate speech and signal boosting content that is unrelated to what the hashtag's intended purpose was (Mousavi, 2021).

Conclusion

This chapter sought to review the literature that is framed around digital/hashtag activism, and hashtag feminism as a branch of this. Through this investigation and unpacking complexities of utilizing Social Networking Sites as spaces to raise awareness about social justice issues the frameworks aim to bridge the gap between the hypothesis and findings.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter of the study is dedicated to the research methodology used to conduct the research. It will delve into the procedures and techniques used to gather and analyse data to answer the questions posed by the hypothesis. This chapter will explain the process of conducting a study on a Social Networking Site such as Instagram and explain the sampling, coding and analysis process. A section will also be dedicated to ethical considerations and challenges encountered during the period of this work.

3.1 Research Approach

This study's focus was online on Instagram. It draws on the sample size of 700 posts from the Instagram hashtag #AmINext in an attempt to analyze the visual and textual content shared by users who employed the hashtags in their posts. To deeper understand how Instagram is being utilized by activists to fight against the SGBV crisis in South Africa. This study involved coding the findings and then thematically grouping them in order to conduct content and semiotic analysis. In order to conduct thorough research that answers the hypothesis, A qualitative approach is utilised. This will be done by using coding, and then a (thematic) content analysis based on the findings from the coding.

A qualitative, as opposed to a quantitative only approach to social media analysis, allows researchers more insights into text and sentiments around issues (Gasper, *et al.*, 2016). For this study, a qualitative approach offers a listening ear and an analytical eye over what is going on in terms of the hashtag the samples were collected from, furthermore, there is a depth that will be missed when a study such as this only focuses on numbers and percentages. Instead, this is a move towards ensuring that there are credible findings that are supported by numerical evidence (Snelson, 2016). Thus, the use of Coding alongside Content and Semiotic Analysis.

3.2 Coding and Thematic Analysis

Coding is understood as a qualitative research approach that includes comprehensive that allow for data to be collected and then categorized, assembled, and thematically sorted (Williams and Moser, 2019). This then allows a researcher to construct meaning (codes) from the findings within the data set (Williams and Moser, 2019). Coding allows for researchers to then engage in a dimension of analytical processes, such as categorization, content analysis and theory building (Wicks, 2017). Nvivo is also be utilized in order to make the coding credible (Lai and To, 2015: 138).

Coding can be a fundamental structural operation for big data sets that seek to find meaning (Williams and Moser, 2019). Through coding, researchers are afforded an opportunity to categorize their findings and thematically sort through them (Wicks, 2017). It is therefore important to ensure that the process is rigorous and defined from the beginning to avoid issues (Wicks, 2017). It provides consistency, repeatability and legitimacy for the study (Adu, 2019). NvivoPlus is utilized for this study in order to categorize the findings using an automated process and also make the coding credible (Lai and To, 2015, 138). Due to this not being a quantitative study, the coding was allowed to overlap. Meaning that if one post existed in two or more categories, it was counted several times.

3.3 Content and Semiotic Analysis

Content Analysis (CA) is used after coding the data due to seeking to unearth the meaning the texts carry and seek out what findings can be concluded from these findings (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2004). Content Analysis is a widely used research methodology that was first introduced as an apparatus for analysing texts from advertisements, magazine articles, political speeches, newspapers, textbooks, hymns, riddles and folktales (Cho and Lee, 2014, 5). The content analysis

offers us the ability in which to analyse and break data down into its composing elements (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2004). It also allows researchers to sift through large volumes of data without difficulty. Due to the ability to code data and thematically analyse it and deduce what certain texts and human behaviours mean (Stemler, 2000, 51).

Furthermore, despite Content Analysis having origins in traditional text analysis such as magazines, and newspapers, it is also utilized for social media research (Cho and Lee, 2014). When a researcher uses qualitative Content Analysis they aim to “systematically describe the meaning of materials in a certain respect that the researcher specified from research questions” (Cho and Lee, 2014). Thus, Content Analysis can be utilized to conduct social media research (Small, 2011: 879). Through Content Analysis, this study aims to analyse the posts on the #AmINext hashtag, and this will include text and imagery.

Due to Instagram being a visual-stimulating Social Networking Site, it is also important to dedicate the analysis to looking into how imagery is used alongside text on the posts. Chandler (1994) states that semiotics is the study and analysis of anything that has to do with sign systems. These signs can be photographs, paintings or drawings (Berger, 2018). There is a lot of meaning that is created through images on SNS, but even more meaning when it comes to posts often created for activism (Onursoy, 2015).

When we look at traditional forms of activism, we understand that the poster a person carries to a physical march usually communicates a sharp message to the reader, whether it is a poster reading *#FthePatriachy* or *Say Her Name*. A poster can drive a poignant point home through minimal language too, therefore this also applies to online activism too, where posters are swapped for posts

on Instagram (Onursoy, 2015). The posts are usually scathing texts accompanied by eye-catching images that solicit conversations.

3.4 Sample Size of research

In order for the analysis to be credible, there must be a sample size (Stokes, 2012). Therefore, the sample size for this analysis is 700 posts from the Instagram hashtag (*#AmINext*) and the period is from 26th of March 2020 to the 26th of June 2020, this meant that this was data of a full three months. The data collected is then collated into a spreadsheet and separated according to codes and analysed to see what the recurring themes are. The data is also inputted into NvivoPlus to verify the manual findings found and to make the coding credible (Lai and To, 2015: 138).

3.5 Data gathering process

Due to this study being on the backdrop of the pilot research done in 2020, the data was only increased from 200 posts to 700 posts. This had to be done manually through a spreadsheet as there were constant troubles with Instagram's public application programming interface (API) (McCrow-Young, 2021). This is due to data scandals such as the Cambridge Analytica and Facebook issues (McCrow-Young, 2021). Through retiring its old API, finding suitable third-party applications that could have a customizable time frame and sample size. These issues led to the creation of a spreadsheet that was labelled according to the coding conventions. It was a tedious and exhausting process but due to the troubles of finding a working plug-in, manual labour was the better option. This spreadsheet was inserted with the necessary data over the period of 3 months and then also inputted into NvivoPlus. The need to ensure that my manual coding was verified was necessary as the coding was only done by one person and inter-coder reliability was not possible.

All of the data gathering processes was conducted online through manual processes and tracking of dates and number of posts. The 700 posts were gathered into the spreadsheet created and then

the themes were picked up manually. Then the process of analyzing the data began and it was then confirmed through NvivoPlus to get an overview of the themes by running a word frequency query,

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Analysing User-generated content from Social Networking Sites has its own varied ethical challenges and implications since users do not verbally consent to have their digital footprint analysed (Townsend, and Wallace, 2016: 5). Due to this, qualitative researchers who analyse Social Networking Sites choose to either work with anonymity or ensure that they analyse public profiles that are not private (Townsend, and Wallace, 2016). This study chose the anonymity approach, and this was done by searching the #AmINext hashtag and then only choosing public posts.

The issue of ethics when doing research on human subjects is a constant negotiation and consideration, it is therefore important that researchers honour their subjects by making sure that they do not place them in dangerous positions that could potentially harm them (Neuendorf, 2016: 210). Therefore, for this research to be ethical and considerate, the Instagram hashtag being analysed was chosen due to it being public. Furthermore, this research does not share any private information that cannot be found on the public hashtag itself.

Social media users on sites such as Twitter and Instagram also agree to terms that state that their data might be utilized by third parties such as journalists or researchers (Townsend, and Wallace, 2016). This does not mean that they consented to be researched, but due to the nature of the Instagram hashtag that is being analysed for this paper, and the fact that it has over 43552 public posts, the research of the hashtag done on Instagram does not infringe on Instagram's terms and

conditions. Lastly, no images accompany this study, to respect the privacy of SGBV victims and activists who have posted.

3.6 Anonymity

As established in the literature mentioned above, many activists feel comfortable utilizing social media to raise awareness about social justice issues. This is usually due to the anonymity it offers while also ensuring that there is no targeted harassment towards activists. Despite the sharing of information on a public SNS such as Instagram, this study will not publish any posts or personal profiles of the people whose posts are analysed. Instead, the only names that are shared are those of public pages that are solely dedicated to sharing SGBV information on Instagram. While remaining cautious as to not publish anything that could be an invasion of anyone's privacy, this study will adhere to anonymity and stray away from anything that might cause harm to the activists whose posts form part of the data collated.

Chapter Four – Findings

4.1 Citizen Journalism, Raising Awareness, Information Sharing, and Infographics.

Introduction

This chapter of the study delves into analysing and presenting the first part of the findings. The first part of the findings show how the hashtag #AmINext is utilized by many activists to participate in citizen journalism by playing an integral role in raising awareness about issues, sharing vital information and furthermore investing time in creating infographics that can easily be digested and understood by readers, this is an example of what Wasuna (2018) states as being an important aspect of hashtag feminism where activists invest time in raising awareness about social ills in order to have the general public know exactly what is going on.

The most prevalent theme that presented itself during the analysis of the hashtag was the use of the space Instagram offered as a forum for citizen journalism. This stood as prevalent due to how posts were dedicated to sharing vital information and raising awareness about issues that were not in news media (Vegh, 2003). Some posts were also dedicated to educating people about a myriad of topics, from *what to do when raped* or *how to report your abuser when scared*, these were mostly in the form of infographics and bite-sized pieces. This chapter will delve deeper into these findings to answer the questions posed by this study around how Instagram is being used as a tool for SGBV activism in South Africa.

4.1a Raising Awareness and being Advocates for change

What the data made clear was that the theory of a Cognitive Surplus that motivates internet users to move towards being collaborative by Shirky (2010) was in line with the findings for this study. Whereas the internet was created for many purposes, how people now utilize SNS in the 21st Century has been a display of how we are learning different ways to use time and this often includes being constructive in a manner that is empowering to ourselves and others (Shirky, 2010).

This was proven in how 495 of the posts were about raising awareness and further encouraging important conversations amongst people who saw it. This means that out of the 700 posts analysed, 70.1% of them were people who took time out to raise awareness about SGBV and advocate for change (Refer to Appendix A). These posts usually included keywords such as women, speak up, silence, killed, men, and protest. Raising awareness is a big component of hashtag feminism, this is due to the issues aforementioned and how people are often distrustful of news media, and this leads to increased citizen journalism. Where citizens would rather share information themselves rather than wait for news media to share them.

Being an advocate for change goes hand-in-hand with raising awareness about issues because when one states what is going on, most posts also used the words, change, act or now. This is done because the internet is far-reaching and can aid in social justice issues that have been prevalent for long periods (Vegh, 2003). When posting and raising awareness of an issue, there is a soft reminder to the government and citizens of South Africa that the SGBV crisis has not stopped, especially during the time when the COVID-19 pandemic had just started, and South Africa was in Level-5 Lockdown due to restrictions put in place by the government. Dyk (2020) wrote a spine-chilling article in the height of Level-5 Lockdown titled, “*The lockdown women planning their escape from abusive homes*” where they told the story of two women who were planning their escapes from their abusive homes during a period where it was difficult to move around without permits or if you were not essential workers (Dyk, 2020). This article told the tale of how while for some people COVID-19 was the only pandemic, but for many others, SGBV was another pandemic they had to face.

There was therefore a growing necessity to ensure that while people remained home with restricted movements, the fight against SGBV does not go silent. This can be noted as one of the reasons there were so many posts dedicated to raising awareness and sharing information. Furthermore, the posts were not just directed at raising awareness to ordinary citizens but some of them were also filled with information for victims of SGBV. There were posts with information on how people could escape, with one that had a slide of 10 images that were designed infographics with the titled “*How to plan an escape for GBV victims*”. These posts were often harrowing reminders that were designed in small bite-sized info cards that were quickly readable without having to spend time reading long text.

Furthermore, these posts included an aspect of citizen journalism that deviates greatly from traditional media forms of sharing information. Out of the 700 posts analysed, 208 of them were pictures of victims and in some instances their killers. This means that 29% of the posts that were collated for this study included posts that were dedicated to sharing information about SGBV victims that had been killed. These posts would be followed by captions detailing exactly what happened and when. This aspect of raising awareness was the most poignant because the victims of the Femicide crisis in South Africa are often faceless and unknown to many people (Olawumi and Osunkunle, 2020). Citizens are often informed via news media of a victim, but they are usually faceless, but on Instagram accounts such as @womenforchangesa and @keeptheenergy would post these images and use the #AmINext hashtag where several people would see and because Instagram has a sharing option that works alongside an algorithm that favours reach and engagement, people would see these posts either being shared via Instagram stories or even on their explore (Hu, *et al.*, 2014). An example of this would be in how I ensured that when I conducted this study I did not follow or like any of the posts from this hashtag and constantly cleared my caches. On the 25th of May 2020, news broke that Kgothatso Pula, who had been missing since the 2nd of January was found in a shallow grave in her boyfriend's backyard (Ramothwala, 2020). I saw 10 pictures of her with the accompanying story of her death on Instagram, all of these with the hashtag #AmINext included.

There is also a clear distinction of intersectionality within this data set analysed. Where the images of victims are of women, children, and LGBTIAQ+ people. This feeds into the theory of this type of activism aiding in ensuring that voices that are often unheard and pushed aside get a chance. There is often silence around SGBV in South African news media, especially SGBV against Black women and LGBTIAQ+ folk where cases that gain prominence are often of white women such as Reeva Steenkamp who was murdered by her then-boyfriend Oscar Pistorius (Vimieiro, and Vimieiro, 2013). There is often misrepresentation in how Black women are portrayed in the media, where ties are usually made to promiscuity or over-sexualization (Pilane and Iqani, 2016). Thus there is a need to observe how this use of Instagram is taking a distinct approach in sharing images of victims of SGBV in South Africa no matter their age, race, or class. The hashtag would also often include posts of young kids murdered brutally too, such as Bandile Skosana who was a 4-year-old who was stabbed 18 times and then smashed violently with a boulder (Njilo, 2020).

4.1b Semiotics and Eye-catching infographics

Hashtag feminism and activism that is carried out on Instagram is also notable in how there is a use of infographics that are created with the intention of sharing information as clear and concise as possible. The colours often used were light pastels or black and white, and all of these would adhere to the visually stimulating culture of Instagram where people get interested in information based on how eye-catching it is (*Hu, et al., 2014*). With most of the posts geared towards sharing information or raising awareness, there is a distinct characteristic of imagery and colours to do as above stated and be able to capture a reader's attention and also ensure that the post can travel as far as possible and reach as many people as possible.

This form of hashtag activism has been deemed “social justice slideshows” by popular media (Nguyen, 2020). This is because as mentioned above, the posts usually include a slideshow or carousel of infographics with important information about social justice. Nguyen (2020) explains the rise of these slideshows by stating that activists are using them because they are essentially co-opting popular brand designs in order to ensure going viral and gaining engagement on posts about the issues being raised. Although this does not always mean a post will be seen by enough people, this is essentially much like what physical activism would look like if a protest was held outside of a Nike store. Most of the infographics shared on the #AmINext hashtag also followed similar conventions where the colours are simple and the text, even more, simpler, to ensure that when someone sees the post they spend a minimum amount reading as people who use Instagram are usually not on this SNS reading long text, therefore this activism must pander to that limitation and make it work for their aims.

Conclusion

This chapter unpacked how the predominant part of the data analysed for this research was around citizen journalism and how despite this type of journalism seeks to disrupt social norms. Activists are constantly seeking new ways to ensure that the messages they share are communicated clearly and heard by as many people as possible. Through identifying how the raising of awareness, advocating, sharing of information work to ensure that citizens are informed of what is going on, there is a clear message of how this type of activism requires rigorous social listening skills and

being aware of what is going on when. As the activists need to ensure that they share timely and correct information in order to stay credible.

Chapter Five

Calls To Action, Fundraising and Mobilisation.

Introduction

This chapter of the findings explores the concept of Civic Engagement and Collective Action and how activists are using Instagram to engage the public and call for action against the SGBV crisis in South Africa. With considerations of how these calls to action were done during a time when it was seen as illegal to gather in large groups due to the Lockdown Restrictions. It reflects on the intricacies of mobilizing when there is minimum movement and even less opportunity to gather in physical spaces. It also analyses the possibilities of activity that has long been understood as needing to happen in traditional ways now having to be carried out in online spaces. Furthermore unpacking how Instagram is used by activists to mobilize for protests offline and online.

5.1 This is a Call To Act! Now!

The calls to take action against SGBV in South Africa during a time when our movement was extremely restricted differed greatly from what we are traditionally used to. One post within the data set had an infographic with the words, “*calling all influencers*” and this post was detailing how people influencers could utilize their big audiences to raise awareness about SGBV and help in the efforts of activists. Influencers are people with big audiences due to the high number of followers they have. They are deemed as influential due to the fact that their audiences are usually susceptible to believing them when it comes to product and place recommendations (De Veirman,2017). These influencers usually partner up with brands in order to advertise their products in exchange for remuneration (De Veierman, 2017). There were 15 posts within the data analysed that were directed towards South African influencers with the message being that they must use their influence to help spread the word on the sky-rocketing SGBV rates during Level-5 Lockdown.

The calls to action also included petitions directed at the government in order to ask for them to not forget that Shelters needed money to be able to support SGBV victims during that time. This

MZNNAN001

MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmiNext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

was done because the government was funnelling a lot of money towards ensuring that the Department of Health is equipt to deal with the ramifications of the COVID-19 virus but there was limited focus on shelters dedicated to SBV victims, despite the growing concern of women being locked in their houses with abusive partners for long periods of time (Dyk, 2020). The issue of Lockdown restrictions was a growing concern for activists who noted that during times of unrest and anxiety, men usually direct their violence towards their partners and children, therefore making the home an extremely unsafe space (Muchena, 2021).

5.1a Fundraising

The calls to action also included calls to help raise money for shelters and organizations that are geared towards helping SGBV victims. Of the 700 posts analysed for this study, 49% of them were posts about fundraising. These posts were usually geared towards ordinary citizens who had money to spare to either buy products or donate to shelters such as The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC) which is described as a “one-stop centre for women and children who are survivors of abuse” (Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children. 2022). The fundraising efforts for shelters is not a first, as activists have long created campaigns to help in the funding of shelters in South Africa as these shelters are usually heavily limited in the help they can offer due to budget constraints. This is extremely alarming as studies have shown how women in South Africa rely on shelters to help them navigate out of dangerous situations (Rasool, 2012).

One post that stood out to me was one where a company was selling berets and each purchase meant that a R100 would be donated to The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC). This post had 30 comments consisting of people stating that they would be participating and sharing. Furthermore, the posts calling for donations were detailed in how they stated exactly what someone needed to do in order to donate. There was one post that had the words “*How to donate in less than 3 minutes*”. These types of posts and calls to action are a depiction of the collective actions that are framed around ease of access and information for readers. Harnessing users on SNS to donate money to causes is not something new, as we often see politicians also issue fundraising requests (Auter, 2018).

Social Networking Sites also offer a new perspective to research when it comes to fundraising, in the fact that people seem to be more comfortable donating online due to ease but also because unlike in other new media practices of websites and email. SNS factor in the form of parasocial relationships where there is a two-way communication line and individuals are able to engage organizations in a less formal way (Saxton, *et al.*, 2014). This fosters interconnectedness and community building as people start feeling as if the cause they are donating to is important. The engagements can also alter behaviour whereas an organization might read an email from an organization asking for money and not succeed but the same organization can start a campaign on Instagram and get more donations due to the inter-connectedness (Saxon, *et al.*, 2014).

5.1b Mobilisation

Mobilisation is understood as the act of gathering individuals to deal with pertinent social justice issues in order to garner mass action that will aid in change (Auter and Fine, 2018). This can be in the form of protests, demonstrations, parades, and meetings (Enjolras, *et al.*, 2013). Studies have shown that there is a profound shift that is happening at a structural and individual level when it comes to mobilizing that is done via Social Networking Sites (Enjolras, *et al.*, 2013). There is a growing mobilization of specific demographics who often do not have any access to any type of activist spaces offline and this is changing how individuals are staying motivated to participate and informed on issues (Enjolras, *et al.*, 2013). This type of mobilization is bringing together new and uninformed people with knowledgeable activists, therefore imparting important knowledge and inspiring action.

The most notable actions of mobilisation in the data analysed was when there was mobilization around an online protest was held alongside an offline protest. The posts were filled with simple graphics explaining the when, where and how. Some of the text in the caption even accounted for how there are Lockdown restrictions and therefore, organizers would file for paperwork in order for gatherings to be allowed. One post had information about the date and time of the protest and had a caption accompanying that said, “*Are you unable to make it to your nearest protest? If so, you can still take part in the virtual protest. We need to make it clear that we are serious about wanting change. Our calls for action are important*”. This type of mobilization using the

MZNNAN001

MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmiNext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

#AmINext hashtag on Instagram seems to have yielded results as the protests being held around the country simultaneously had an attendance, despite Lockdown restrictions.

The protests took place on the 27th of June 2020, when the country was on Level-3 Lockdown and movement was a bit less restricted (Andrews, 2020). This was also the National Day of Action Against GBV and the protests were held nationally in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Gauteng (Andrews, 2020). Each protest in each province had a memorandum that had 28 demands to hand over to government officials (Andres, 2020). Despite the gathering in large numbers during Level-3, it was only the Durban group of protesters who were met with force from the police. At the time of collating data, another National Day of Action was being planned for the end of August.

This type of mobilization is offering us as researchers' insights into the Networked Publics being formed over SNS. Where people who are relative strangers in the sense of physical interaction, are able to mobilize across provinces with ease due to access the internet affords users. Mobilization also falls into Vegh's (2003) analysis of the parameters of hashtag feminism and how activists can use calls to action to fulfil several purposes. Another intersectional issue that this type of mobilization provides is accessibility and choice, especially when it pertains to people with disabilities who seek to join protest actions (Li, *et al.*, 2018).

People with disabilities often face many barriers when it comes to being involved in offline protests where there is often a lot of walking and movement (Li, *et al.*, 2018). The virtual/online protests offer a space where the barriers are less and everyone can participate and also feel encouraged to share their view (Li, *et al.*, 2018). Li (2018) notes that Disability Activists started showing more interest in disability protests when the barriers by lessened due to being online. There is also a need to note that disabilities are not just impairments to walking or sight, this can also include mental impairments (Reid-Cunningham, 2009). Therefore, even people who deal with excessive amounts of Anxiety, ADHD, Depression, and many more, can participate in virtual protests without having to worry about being in a public place.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed how innovative activists are being on Instagram with their Calls to Action, Mobilisation and Fundraising. Through this analysis, it is clear that there is a move towards

MZNNAN001

MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmINext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

Networked Publics and Networked Feminisms where activists are able to utilize hashtags to call for collective action while also building community. Social Networking Sites have allowed for innovation of traditional practices in activist spaces and these new practices are inclusive and aware. Despite the shortcomings presented by any type of activism, there is a necessity to also applaud the innovation of being able to do actions that usually require offline actions, predominantly online due to Lockdown Restrictions. A virtual and physical protest was arranged due to the use of Social Networking Sites without any plenaries physically and everyone was able to coordinate and have memorandums ready. This is a signifier of how activism at its core is disruptive while it is being innovative in approach.

Chapter Six

Hashtag Distortion, Legitimacy, Spam and Self-promotion.

As mentioned above, Hashtag Activism has to do with users deciding to use a hashtag assigned to a certain issue and using this for something completely unrelated (Xanthopoulos, *et al.*, 2016). It refers to when a hashtag that is assigned to a particular issue or topic on a SNS is then taken by other users with the intention to negatively critique, mock or make satire out of the original intent the hashtag was originally for (Gilkerson and Berg, 2017). Hashtag Hijacking can include Spam and Bots too. This chapter of the paper seeks to unpack the shortcomings of hashtag activism and how these issues can present movement when it comes to trying to gain legitimacy, especially when it comes to sensitive topics such as SGBV. Furthermore, the paper will look at the problem of SNS and the ever-growing digital divide.

6.1 Hashtag Distortion/Hijacking

About 25% of the posts analysed for this study were posts completely unrelated to the hashtag. Where some posts would be about events some of them would be trolls who would take the #AllLivesMatter approach to SGBV activism in South Africa. This term presents itself as a double-edged sword because, in Public Relations, there is an understanding that when corporates utilize hashtags for campaigns, there is a possibility that the hashtag will be utilized by activists to share important issues people do not know, usually about the organization or individuals in the organization (Gilkerson, and Berg, 2018). An example of this would be when Florida State University started the #AskJameis campaign and users instead hijacked the hashtag and ask questions about Jameis' legal problems (Gilkerson and Berg, 2018). On the other hand, activists are also faced with the same issue when it comes to their own posts and activism, where people can then co-opt these hashtags and distort them. This presents itself as a big problem because for many people these hashtags are the only access, they have to current affairs.

Furthermore, in South Africa where Instagram numbers are relatively lower than Facebook numbers, there is a necessity to ensure that the lines of communication are not disturbed. Even

more because of how Instagram arranges posts on the explore page. If one person decided to one day go and search #AmINext on Instagram and arrives to several posts about an energy drink, they will assume that the hashtag has no helpful information when instead the problem is that the vital information is being buried beneath the hijacker's posts.

6.1a We have a bot problem!

A bot is a word short for a social media robot where a social media account is completely controlled by software (Ferrara, 2020). This means that there is no user behind the account but rather programming that is running with the coding of what the bot must do (Ferrara, 2020). There were 20 posts in the data set that was from bot accounts and furthermore there were comments on some posts from bots. These social media bots are programmed well, and this often makes them very sophisticated while being menacing (Ferrara, 2016). This poses a great threat to any type of organizing and formation of Networked Publics because these bots can pass off as human users, therefore gaining important intel and placing activists in danger.

The posts from bots were relatively low and consisted of posts about crypto, self-help and forex. These bots will also comment on posts under the same hashtag and talk about their crypto or forex. This is another way hashtags are hijacked and this leads to a delegitimization of a cause. There is uncertainty on what the intentions of these bots are, but not all bots are bad because brands and organizations often use them to monitor SNS and offer answers to FAQ's (Ferrara, 2016). But they can also be extremely harmful because, in some instances, a consumer does not want a repetitive answer to their questions. Social Media Bots can also share misinformation about issues and therefore lead to a panic (Ferrara, *et al.*, 2016).

A study by Ferrara, Varol, Davis, Menczer and Flammini (2016) analysed Twitter posts around the Boston Marathon Bombing in 2013 and found that false accusations were circulated widely through posts made by Social Media Bots, and this was dangerous as a lot of information during emergency events comes from SNS as it is usually a by-the-minute type of reporting (Ferrara, *et al.*, 2016). This posed a great danger for people who seek to utilize the hashtags and posts to stay updated on loved ones who were also part of the Boston Marathon. Therefore, there is a clear

illustration of how Social Media Bots can engage hashtags and content, making it more noticeable to wider audiences while also posing a great threat to the cause. People end up distrustful of posts and hashtags when they keep seeing Social Media Bots because it then poses the question of legitimacy and whether the hashtag trending is even credible.

6.1b How Legitimate is this activism?

When people think of activism, they often think of settings where there is physical disruption, blockades, and protests (Greijdanus, *et al.*, 2020). For many people, especially in countries such as South Africa where Service Delivery protests are seen as the norm, the deviation towards having activism that is mobilized online is often new and this causes scepticism (Alexander, 2010). This section is informed by a comment from a lady who asked “*how certain are we that the donations will get to the relevant people*” on one of the posts asking people for donations. This is not unheard of in organizing spaces as people worry if activists organizing have their hearts in the right places or not. Scepticism is warranted with any type of activism, but there is also an obvious distrust that will arise from any type of innovative practices people are not used to. Especially on SNS such as Instagram where much of the content is based around similar lines of curated and well-timed photos, the disruption of seeing any type of deviance from this raises valid concerns.

As mentioned above, the issue of “Slideshow/PowerPoint activism” is a fairly new practice on Instagram that was brought about by the fact that despite all of us being home and in Lockdown. Social justice issues do not pause, instead, they seem to intensify (Nguyen, 2020). There are no verification processes for hashtag feminism as SNS does not have vetting processes for individuals that seek to be activists and utilize their SNS to raise awareness about issues. This presents itself as an issue when people seek to also participate by donating funds and attending protests.

6.2 Who has access?

As mentioned in the introduction, South Africa is a third world country with extremely high data costs. Meaning that a relatively high number of South Africans are not even on Instagram in any

capacity and cannot see or access any of the activism that happens there. This then creates further digital divides because and asks the question of who this type of activism is for. Despite the vast array of possibilities of activism that utilizes Social Networking Sites such as Instagram, there is a growing worry amongst scholars that these movements seem to only be widening an already gaping digital divide and therefore only concerning themselves with issues pertaining to the middle class only (Elliott and Earl, 2018).

Access to the internet is constantly increasing in South Africa and this can be seen in how we currently have an internet penetration of 68.2% (Statistica, 2022). Despite this increase, issues of access are still prevalent as activists start adopting online tools in order to organize, raise awareness and mobilize (Elliott and Earl, 2018). Studies have shown that there is great potential in utilizing these tools to mobilize but there are growing fears of a widening digital and social class divide (Schradi, 2020). It would be dishonest for me as a researcher to not acknowledge the prevalent class and social stratifications of a Social Networking Site such as Instagram, which was created mainly to share lifestyle content. The general South African population is not on this SNS and this makes the activism that happens on the SNS a question of access.

Despite these growing worries about a widening digital divide when it comes to ICT, this form of activism allows for bridging between another divide which is the lack of information around issues such as these. Especially when considering how much revolution has been orchestrated utilizing Social Networking Sites such as Facebook and Twitter. When people were able to overthrow Egyptian President Mubarak after eighteen days of protests online and offline (Ali, 2011).

Chapter Seven

Limitations and strengths of research

Like any study of Social Networking Sites, there will always be a vast array of limitations when it comes to such a study. Firstly, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this study was done predominantly online as it was started during a time when movement was heavily restricted. Furthermore, there is a desire to add a layer of activists' voices to this study and investigate what they perceive their work as. Lastly, the sample size needed to be bigger, and this would require a study conducted by more than one person as the main researcher, as coding data can be an extensive process that requires concentration. Despite these challenges, the research has answered its main hypothesis and also investigated a topic through a historical lens that provided an overview of how much the past influences the present.

Areas for future research

As mentioned above, in future research, there should be an investment into the voices of the activists and perhaps juxtaposing this with the perceptions of users who consume the content on SNS's. This would provide a comprehensive overview of just how much work is being done and how much more can be done. Future research will benefit greatly from ensuring that there is a well-rounded approach to the question by including interviews or surveys in the methodology.

Conclusion

South Africa currently finds itself at a place where a lot of things are being reimagined due to the changing times where everything is evolving but seems to be staying the same. This was seen in how historically, despite a steer towards a peaceful and democratic state, our society still found itself still being plagued by issues of violence. Many activists realized that for any change to take place, there needs to be collective action and work. This is why we were able to witness the creation of Gender Commissions. Despite this, the statistics still showed an incessant rise in Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in South Africa, and this was a clear depiction of how violence requires

rigorous action to be uprooted and dealt with. This can be seen in the consistent efforts of SGBV Activists who organize and mobilize constantly.

Collective Action from Gender Activists has been a constant, whether it was organizing the #TotalShutdown march to fundraising for The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC). Shirky states that activism is an impactful depiction of the use of the Cognitive Surplus and this is clearly illustrated when looking at the history of activism against SGBV in South Africa. As technologies were innovated, so were the efforts towards eradicating a growing crisis. Where activists started employing social media tools in order to broaden their work and reach the relevant people. Petitions started being made and hashtags were being created. Through this evolution, there was the start of using Social Networking Sites such as Instagram as tools to aid in a never-ending fight. The use of Instagram hashtags for activism has illustrated a very poignant point – that activism is innovation and evolution. When everyone was confined to their homes and worried about victims of SGBV being stuck at home with no escape, many activists took to Instagram to share information on how an escape can be planned and what you can do to report your perpetrator. Furthermore, fundraising was done for centres that are dedicated to helping survivors. But the most spine-chilling part was how the hashtag was being used to share the faces of victims who were killed due to SGBV. Victims we would never see on traditional news spaces.

The theories utilized to conduct this study aided in comprehensively analysing the data. Furthermore, they provided a view of what is possible through hashtag feminism. As with any work that requires honesty, the findings also pointed to issues of legitimacy due to Hashtag Hijacking and Social Media Bots. Furthermore, illustrates how despite the best efforts to defeat the matrixes of domination, not everyone in South Africa has internet access or even enough data to access Instagram. This presents a problem and a space for future solutions.

Through this study, the main hypothesis of how activists/users use Instagram as a tool for GBV activism in South Africa led to a paper riddled with history and the present. While also answering how communities are formed through these hashtags, information is shared while mobilizing and organizing for offline and online protests. There was also a comprehensive overview of the limitations this type of activism presents.

In conclusion, there is an intersection of what we understand as new and old activism and this intersection is illustrating how a never-ending fight requires a lot of rigorous effort from activists who want to see change.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Coding Framework

Category	Code	Key	Key Terms Included
Fundraising	1	Any posts geared towards calling for donations	Donations, Money, Buy.
Information Sharing	2	Any posts that contained information about SGBV. This could include posts on how to escape a toxic situation or how to contact safe people	How To, This is How, Call this number, Are you, Staying Safe, Available Help.
Infographics	3	Any posts with designed images and carousels with information.	No key terms, instead focus is on the imagery.
Picture of Victim	4	Any posts with images accompanied by captions about death.	Rest In Peace, Killed, Violently Killed, Police.
Hashtag Hijacking	5	All posts that contained anything unrelated to SGBV.	No key terms required manual analysis.
Calls To Action	6	Any posts where the focus was on ensuring that people know about a required action that must be taken	Join Us, Take Action, Tell your friends.

Appendix B: Data Set

Category	Code	Number	Percentage
Fundraising	1	345	49%

MZNNAN001

MA POLCOMM – Bayasibulala:

#AmiNext? an analysis of Instagram as a tool for activism against Sexual Gender-Based Violence in South Africa

Information Sharing	2	514	73%
Infographics	3	403	57%
Picture of Victim	4	208	30%
Hashtag Hijacking	5	176	25%
Calls To Action	6	118	17%

