ICTs’ for Feminist Movement Building

ACTIVIST TOOLKIT
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The following features will provide deeper understanding as you work your way through the toolkit:

- This icon points you to a link within the toolkit or an external source where you can find more information.
- This icon asks you to think about a set of principles or questions.
- This icon indicates a quote sharing different voices and views.
- This icon indicates a definition of a relevant term or concept.
- This icon indicates a case study and gives a description of how a strategy or tool has been used in a real life situation.
- This icon indicates a quick summary of key tips in regard to developing a communications strategy.
- This icon indicates an applied case study – of an organisation using this toolkit to develop a communications strategy.
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Across the world, women are using information and communication technologies (ICTs) to support rights agendas, tell their own stories and challenge emerging issues in regard to access, women’s voices and violence.

We can use ICTs for social, political and economic participation. Women can access education and health information that can change their lives and use ICTs to organise for change.

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**Information and communication technologies (ICTs)**

Technology and tools that people use to share, distribute, gather information and to communicate with one another, one on one, or in groups. ICTs can be grouped into three categories: Information technology includes computers, which have become indispensable in modern societies to process data and save time and effort. Telecommunications technologies include telephones (with fax) and the broadcasting of radio and television, often through satellites. Networking technologies, of which the best known is the internet, also extend to mobile phone technology, internet telephony (VoIP), satellite communications, and other forms of communication that are still in their infancy.

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Chapter 4: The internet and ICTs as political spaces and tools

In Africa, women writers and organisers are using the internet, radio, art and other ICTs to make sure women’s voices are heard and challenging how they are represented. African women are writing about sexuality, women members of parliament use social media to promote their political agendas, rural women access market prices via mobile phones, students find journals online and save themselves money.

We know that much of our activism and organising happens and always will happen in person and “offline”. Linking to the tools of the online world, however, creates powerful ways to make visible our campaigns in new and wider spaces and to engage expanded networks of people.

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Chapter 2.3: Our context and the digital divide

As with all communication, ICTs can be used as a powerful tool for our liberation, but they can also be used to threaten and marginalise us. Just as in the offline world, women can face violence and security threats online.

Chapter 4.1: Being secure when you use technology

ICTs impact us all, so we need to understand them, influence how they are developed, empower ourselves to use them and harness them to make a difference.

Just as women have less access to resources in the world, they have less access to information and communication technologies. Women’s voices, stories and experiences are not often told in newspapers or on television. When we do hear women’s stories, they are rarely told by women themselves. Many stories show women as victims who need to be rescued rather than leaders and actors in their own lives.

Chapter 2.1: Women’s voices and representation

Connecting offline organising, with online activism

In 2013, the Saartjie Baartman Women’s Centre (Cape Town, South Africa) was facing closure due to lack of resources. With the African Gender Institute they created a short video that captured the voices of women survivors of domestic violence. Thousands of South Africans used Twitter to share the video widely, raise awareness and put pressure on the provincial leader to provide urgent and ongoing funding for the centre. This resulted in the
province giving emergency funding as well as local communities bringing in food, clothing and money to support the centre.2

**Chapter 5: Social media tools  Twitter**

The offline organising (including the provision of a shelter, skills-building and job-seeker support and awareness-raising on violence against women) plus the use of (ie use of an ICT) an ICT tool to tell the stories of women who benefit from these services (digital video) and online ICT (Twitter) proved to be powerful and bring about immediate change.

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**What is this toolkit?**

This toolkit aims to help organisations and activists to strengthen our use of ICTs to help build movements that challenge inequality and put women’s voices and experiences front and centre in our communications. We cannot create change alone. We must build movements that work on many fronts and lift up the voices and experiences of many.

**Movement building**

We organise in our communities to bring about change. When we connect with others (organisations or people) we are stronger and can create long-lasting change. A movement is not a single organisation, but includes organisations, allies and individuals who join together for a common purpose. In this toolkit, when we refer to ‘movements’ we are talking about the kinds of movements we are building to bring about social justice.

Women’s organising has brought about many changes and created a more equal world but we still face many challenges. We must take advantage of the extraordinary potential of ICTs to help us bring about social justice, including gender equality (equality between women and men, as well as for all oppressed groups).

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2. Urgent Call to Action – Save the Saartjie Baartman Women’s Centre from Closinghttp://agi.ac.za/multimedia/urgent-call-action
Women’s organisations and other organisations interested in gender equality need to use ICTs strategically – to improve how we communicate to amplify women’s voices, influence agendas and change attitudes.

We want movements that are effective, resilient, visible and safe. Building **feminist communication strategies** using ICTs helps us achieve this.

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**Chapter 2.5 Challenging negative power and building positive power**

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**Feminism**

A range of theories, practices and political agendas that aim to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women due to sex and gender as well as class, race, ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, geographic location, nationality, or other forms of social exclusion.

A **feminist approach** – recognises and challenges all forms of power along these lines and puts women’s experiences at the centre.

**Feminist movement building**

Just Associates (JASS) calls our movement building “feminist” because our work encompasses the struggles in women’s personal lives for dignity, safety, equality and control of our bodies, as centrally as their shared organising and leadership in public arenas. All our work is imbued with an understanding of the need to challenge and transform power relationships so that women can rise and flourish.

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In this toolkit, we draw on the experience and contexts of women activists in southern Africa and beyond. And while we focus on women’s rights activists, anyone who is part of a movement for social change will find it useful.

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How can you use this toolkit?

The toolkit aims to assist activists to think through their communication strategies in a way that supports movement building. It offers a practical guide to writing a communication strategy and reviews a number of tools (ICTs) and technology-related campaigns which can be used in organising work.

This toolkit can help you if you want to:

• experiment and be creative in the way you communicate
• think about how communications can help us to build movements for social justice
• develop a feminist communication strategy for your organisation that amplifies women’s voices and supports them to tell their own stories
• think about which ICTs to use and when
• adopt a feminist approach to your use and understanding of ICTs
• communicate in ways that challenge gender stereotypes
• think through safety and security concerns that women activists face when using technology
• understand how power works in design, governance and access to ICTs and challenge inequality in our world
• design a workshop for your organisation on ICTs and communications
This toolkit is not about *how* to use the tools (there are many resources you can find on this including *How to Design an Online Campaign* and the *Women’s Rights Campaigning Info-activism Toolkit*) but rather about how to make strategic choices and decisions regarding strategies and tools. Whether you choose to use T-shirts in a campaign rather than Twitter, or SMS messages rather than Facebook, or perhaps some combination, this toolkit aims to assist you with these choices.

The toolkit is also about feminist practice and how to use tools and communicate in ways that are democratic, make women’s voices stronger and louder whilst challenging stereotypes and discriminatory social norms.

We hope it will assist activists in making creative, safe and sustainable choices in using ICTs in our communication strategies.

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5. By APC and Violence is not our Culture, https://www.apc.org/en/pubs/books/how-design-online-campaign-toolkit

This toolkit is a collaboration between three organisations interested in women’s rights and using ICTs to build movements for change.

**Just Associates** (JASS) is a global women-led human rights network of activists, popular educators and scholars in countries. We work to ensure women leaders are more confident, better-organised, louder and safer as they take on some of the most critical human rights issues of our time. Learn more, meet the JASS team and take part in the Women Crossing the Line Campaign at: www.justassociates.org.

**Women’sNet** is a South African-based non-governmental organisation that strengthens women’s and girls’ movements for social change through the strategic use of ICTs and advocacy that promotes access, the right to information and freedom of expression.

**The Association of Progressive Communications** (APC) is both a network and organisation that works to empower and support organisations, social movements and individuals in and through the use of ICTs to build strategic communities and initiatives for the purpose of making meaningful contributions to equitable human development, social justice, participatory political processes and environmental sustainability.
www.apc.org
CHAPTER TWO

This toolkit’s political framework

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Radios. Television. Cell phones. Laptops. Desktop computers, digital cameras. Technology changes the way that we live our lives, the way that we interact with one another and it expands the possibilities for interaction beyond our local communities and national borders.

ICTs, from mobile phones to computers and the internet, have become more and more part of our everyday lives and work. These technologies provide many different ways for us to communicate, create groups and communities, and feel connected to others. Whether you live in Blantyre or Bulawayo or Biera, you will have come into contact with some form of communication technology.

For many, ICTs represent an opportunity to communicate in ways that were not possible even twenty years ago.

“My cell phone is the only way for me to communicate with people in my organisation and in other networks. It is important for my work. Someone may be stuck somewhere and need my help. Because I have my cell phone with me, they can call me and I can help them as an activist. Also, someone can send a message to tell me to check email to find and print a document they have sent me. (The printer and laptop are not mine but the cell phone is). In the past it was difficult for me to access emails – I could go for two weeks or even more without using the internet. But on my new phone I can look up information on the internet and share it. I can go on Facebook. I can even get the news. Of course, I have to buy airtime to pay for using the internet. A cell phone doesn’t store much information, not as much as a laptop. A cell phone is easy to for someone to steal. But, still, it is very useful to have one.” – Tiwonge Gondwe, Women Forum in the North, Malawi
2.1 Women’s voices and representation

When you open a magazine or newspaper or watch the news, you’ll notice that there are few stories about women and even fewer written by women. Women’s stories, experiences and realities are often excluded and ignored. The stories we hear about women often shame and blame without giving room for their points of view and agency. For example, many of the stories published in Zimbabwe’s H-Metro newspaper, a popular tabloid, tend to blame women and shame them for violence they experience. One story published in H-Metro encouraged the idea that a woman dressed provocatively in church “deserved” to be verbally, physically and sexually abused by her pastor because she was “tempering a man of God”.

The framework of these stories is not an accident. They are the result of editorial policy-political choices made by those who have the power to decide what stories we hear and how we hear them (newspaper owners, editors, etc.).
Activist conversation: Women and the media in Zimbabwe

Media is a powerful weapon; it sheds light on issues that are in the dark. What are your thoughts on the current context and mainstream media in Zimbabwe?

Chibairo – Today media in Zimbabwe is propaganda against womanhood, feminism and power as women. We see the bad things about women in the media. If you look at H-Metro there is only bad things about women or you see the powerful women who have made it into politics. It is as if there is nothing happening within the communities. The media divides us from ourselves. We need our own voices to speak to what women are doing positively for women.

Natasha – Seen but not heard. Please remember this. I was engaged to review the media code of conduct and there is nothing about regulating reporting on women. There are more gruesome stories about women, more witches, rapists, “small houses”. But women are not the only one committing crimes. Women are quoted as sources in newspapers less than men. But there are more stories with women depicted in them. They are seen but not heard. I would like to hear a women commenting about women witches. It is important to think outside mainstream media especially for feminist activists. Our context is highly politicised, often you need to get global support to tell your story, and find alternative ways to bring out narratives that are more objective and that get out to the public.

Winnet – Mainstream media protects the interests of the Master’s House [referring to patriarchy/rule by men]. How many editors are women? Our voices and stories and issues will be negated because editors are men. Mainstream reflects the stereotypes: women as hookers, rapists. The faces of the women rapists were everywhere when the story broke. But every day men are raping. The media protects the interests of the Master.

Chibairo – Ownership of the mainstream media is highly political. The state owns the media; this is synonymous with Mugabe [Zimbabwe’s President 1980-current]. Whoever owns the media dictates the kind of coverage and orientation. Women can also own the media. But this is hard.
Women’s stories are often silenced online, just as they are in the offline world. We can take the power back by writing about our own lives online, narrating and representing their stories in their own ways.

Young black lesbians from Alexandra township spoke out when they made digital stories, harnessing technology to tell of their own experiences in a series of short movies – My Life, My Story, My Terms: Queer women from Alex speak out.8

Black women and ICTs

For black African women, the stories that we hear about ourselves and our bodies are extremely biased. We asked women from across the African continent to share their feelings about how black women are portrayed in the media. Nearly every woman who shared her perspective mentioned how beauty in many post-colonial African contexts, from Nigeria to Morocco to South Africa, is always defined in relation to European ideals.

“[Black women] are also not allowed the space to be beautiful in the traditional sense (with skin often being lightened).”
– Tiffany Mugo

“We don’t often see [black] women who sport their natural hair, skin—there is a mainstream idea of beauty and all in the mainstream must adhere to it.”
– Nebila Abdulmelik

This means, light skin = beautiful, dark skin = ugly or even dangerous. More Eurocentric features are prized over those considered to be “African”. “Good hair” (straight and long) is more desirable than “bad hair” (kinky, afros) even braids and other styles that are considered too ethnic. These perceptions of beauty are so widely accepted that women across the continent have turned to lightening creams and other body modification products, some of which can be detrimental to health e.g. skin bleaching lotions that lead to scarification, and some cancers.

While these ideas of “beauty” are not without complexities—they are just the beginning of the story as Tiffany Mugo, a feminist writer says, “black women are often [portrayed as] oversexualised or victims which is infuriating”. This hypersexualisation covers a broad spectrum ideas of what black woman should and should not be allowed to do, think, feel and be. From pervasive images of motherhood and women solely as machines for reproduction to women being viewed as sexual objects that exist solely for male pleasure. These images affect women around the world but there is a need to understand how they apply specifically in our local contexts.
“Often it is the problem that black women are seen as not being empowered and any that are an anomaly rather than the norm. The ‘black woman’ [if we can use this generalised blanket term for how the diversity of black women is so often diminished] is a victim of culture (please see most stories on the girl child within Africa), the ‘good woman’ who is married and heterosexual and seeking to have children (often witnessed in local newspapers in the form of how-to guides and articles shaming women for seeking alternate paths).” – Tiffany Mugo

We live in a society where women are seen as less worthy than men. In this world, women are often subject to restrictive binaries—“good women” vs. “bad women”—that proscribe our behaviour, defining everything from what is appropriate in terms of dress to how and with whom we choose to have sex. These rules are that much more difficult to confront and overcome for black women.

In southern Africa the development industry has generated and perpetuated specific images about black women as victims who are incapable of being agents of change in their own lives. These images are often part and parcel of how development and non-governmental organisations write and think about the people they represent. Our job as feminists and activists is to destabilise and disrupt these images and celebrate the resilience and power of women to change themselves, their communities and the world, wherever they are situated.

Ideas about black women have their own regional and national flavours wherever you go, influenced by how religion and culture intersect with social norms and values, economic status, political contexts. Across the board, they tend to impact everything from the choices that women make on what to wear and for many young urban women, the possibility of being harassed on the streets for dressing “provocatively” is ever-present. For many of us, the consequences of stepping outside of these rules can be violence, backlash, discrimination and stigma.

For South African activist and co-founder of SAY-F (South African Young Feminist Activists), Wanelisa Xaba, as a woman “you become aware of how
your body is read... It’s [particularly] complicated for black women because we’re criminalised or we’re hypersexualised. Either way our bodies are being read. In Johannesburg a few years ago a woman was stripped in a taxi rank. And there was a lot of this ‘respectability politics of dress’, that if women have to dress in a certain way and if they don’t, they ‘deserve’ to be raped or attacked or shamed. It’s policing women’s bodies and [in South Africa I find] I’m monitored because I’m a woman but I’m also monitored because I’m black.”

Women across Africa are fighting back against these negative and destructive stereotypes. Nana Darkoa, the founder and curator of the blog Adventures from the Bedrooms of African Women, uses her platform to shatter stereotypes that African women are just passive actors when it comes to sex. Through her blog, she offers a safe space where the complexities and challenges of African sexualities are discussed by black African women. Zanele Muholi, a photographer and visual activist, is using media education to put forward the stories of lesbian, bisexual, and trans women in the public arena to show that there are many different ways to “be a woman” and to “be a black woman” whatever one’s sexual orientation or sexual identity.

2.2 Technology in our lives

Just as technology is changing our daily lives, it is also changing the way that activists mobilise. Activists around the world are making use of ICTs and the internet to inform and mobilise. One major example of the power of ICTs for activism is what we saw during the revolutions in Arab nations in 2011 when citizens used mobile phone communications and social media platforms to activate large networks in protest marches that led to the toppling of governments in both Tunisia and Egypt.

ICTs have opened up new opportunities to mobilise in vast numbers, allowing us to link our struggles and share huge amounts of information.

In 2014, Kenyan women took to the streets to march against street harassment and violent attacks on women for wearing mini-skirts and other supposedly
inappropriate articles of clothing. They used the hashtag #MyDressMyChoice on Twitter. Soon, the hashtag had generated a global outcry, with thousands of tweets coming in from around the world of women and men standing in solidarity with Kenyan women in the struggle against violence.

Similarly black students in South Africa protesting the lack of transformation at the University of Cape Town used the hashtag #RhodesMustFall to bring down the statue of British coloniser Cecil John Rhodes at the centre of the University and sparked solidarity protests at university campuses across the world.

Technology opens the door for localised struggles to become global rallying cries.

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**Hashtag**

A word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (#) used on social media sites such as Twitter to identify messages on a specific topic. You can ask your Twitter “followers” to use the hashtag in critical messages and reach many more people across the world. If someone searches for that hashtag on the internet they can read the related messages.

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For women, and other marginalised people including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people (LGBTI), the internet can be an empowering space that allows for the exploration of identity, sex and sexuality. For example transgendered women and men use a popular transgender site to share their struggles in transitioning, including treatment options, unlearning dominant gender norms, celebration of achieved milestones and exchange of experiences of discrimination faced.  

However, it is important to understand that the internet in and of itself is not always a safe space and can, like other ICTs, be used as a way to perpetuate violence, discrimination and oppression. For example in 2011, in Cameroon, Jean Claude Roger Mbede, was arrested for sending an SMS to another man.

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saying, “I’m in love with you”. When the text message fell into the hands of the police, he was arrested on suspicion of homosexuality, and subsequently found guilty and sentenced to three years in prison.\(^\text{11}\)

**Feminist communication rights activists** are working in many spaces to ensure that women’s rights are at the centre of policy and regulation that govern technology and the internet, challenging the existing inequalities in the manufacture, production and governance of the internet which regulates how we communicate. For example at the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), gender activists have started the Gender Dynamic Coalition which works to ensure that gender is included in the deliberations and outcomes of the IGF. They have created a gender score-card which is used to monitor and assess the level of gender parity and inclusion at IGF workshop sessions.\(^\text{12}\)

The rights we have offline – and that we fight to protect, for example, freedom of expression- we take with us when we go onto the internet. We have the right to meet and protest offline, as we do on the internet. It is important to imagine the internet we want and ensure that women are fully participating in the decisions around technology and that we are able to assert and protect our rights.

### 2.3 Our context and the digital divide

Across southern Africa as in much of the world, the gap between men and women, rich and poor, urban and rural is growing wider. It is more difficult for citizens, especially women, to access resources, rights, services and justice.

Conservative religious and cultural traditional practices define the way many Africans live and determine what is acceptable for women to do and not do. Violence against women in its many forms has increased. Women’s organising has brought about changes in many countries (for example the right to vote or laws that protect our rights) but we still face many challenges. Rights and women’s rights in particular are under attack, and in many places, activists are in danger.

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20 ICTs FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENT BUILDING
Because women are seen as the carers of families, we are at the frontline of these struggles in all areas of life – for water, for housing, for decent work, against the exploitation of natural resources like coal – and for access to and control over technology.

The **digital divide** we see when we look at access and usage of ICTs mirrors the divide between rich and poor, North and South, men and women –those with money and other privileges can access ICTs more readily.

Within the digital divide is a gender divide which finds women having less access and ability to use technology given lower levels of education, literacy and employment.

In Africa, women are 23% less likely to own a mobile phone\(^\text{13}\). According to the International Telecommunication Union, 16% fewer women than men used the internet in developing countries in 2013\(^\text{14}\). That figure jumps to 45% in sub-Saharan Africa, partly due to the costs of mobile broadband making up a higher percentage of women’s limited income.

The majority of women in southern Africa are poor and live in rural areas – where technology infrastructure is scarce.


\(^{14}\) [https://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press_releases/2013/05.aspx](https://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press_releases/2013/05.aspx)
In social movements, we are further separated by race, class, geographic location, sexuality, (dis)ability and so on, which influences our capacity to access and use these transformative tools. As we consider which ICT tools to use, therefore, we need to make sure that they fit our audiences and contexts. Many women do not have easy and **meaningful access** to these tools. We must talk about “meaningful access” because access is not just about having the tools and being able to pay for the connection, it is about being able to have the confidence, knowledge and ability to use them effectively and safely. We should be mindful to not create divisions between those who have access and those who do not and work to build our collective capacity to use a range of tools and take steps to ensure access for everyone.

ICT tools and spaces are not neutral. Many tools are developed and designed by men in the North for the purpose of making money. This means that they often do not take account of the realities women face in access and use of technology. Being aware of this helps us understand these tools and to shape and adapt them for our use.

**Women shaping technology in Africa**

As we know from our activism, women are often written out of history. An important aspect of a feminist approach to technology is to acknowledge and promote the women who have shaped, invented and contributed to technology.

In Africa, our modern pioneers include Dorcas Muthoni, who promotes free and open source software\(^\text{15}\) use and mentors young women in technology careers. She was inducted into the Internet Hall of Fame in 2014.\(^\text{16}\)

Ory Okolloh co-founded the crisis – mapping platform called Ushahidi\(^\text{17}\) and the Asikana Network\(^\text{18}\) which is an organisation that seeks to empower women and girls through technology.

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\(^15\) Known as FOSS. See Chapter 4 The internet and ICTs as political spaces and tools for more information on FOSS.  
\(^17\) [http://www.ushahidi.com/](http://www.ushahidi.com/)  
\(^18\) [http://asikananetwork.org/](http://asikananetwork.org/)
Online versus offline?

As technologies have become more and more integrated into our daily lives, the lines between “offline” and “online” life have blurred. Many of the issues and concerns that occupy activists in real life take on different yet familiar forms in the online world.

The offline world is the physical world in which our bodies live. The online world is the world that internet opens up to us in which we also live. These worlds are not separate and what happens in one can impact what happens in the other.

Increasingly the offline and online are becoming blurred and intersect in interesting ways. Digital technology has become another factor that shapes our social, political and cultural world. We can choose whether to become an online actor e.g. producing online content or engaging in debates in the online world but whether we are online or not, it impacts on us.

The online world often replicates and sometimes worsens the offline world’s existing opportunities and inequalities for women.

Social media posts can reach thousands of people instantly. This means that private information like your home address or a photo of you at a protest can be shared without your consent or control.

“Technological advances mean that women must be prepared to deal with new avenues for violence and need to be equally prepared to reclaim technology to further their own social justice struggles including of combatting violence and overthrowing patriarchy.” – Shereen Essof, Just Associates, South Africa/Zimbabwe

19. South African Country report on Violence against Women and Information and Communication Technologies
   http://www.genderit.org/sites/default/upload/south_africa_APC_WNSP_MDG3_VAW_ICT_ctryrpt_1.pdf
Harassment, blackmail and stalking are violences against women that also happen online.20

Governments and non-state actors are using surveillance to track activists. Our privacy can be undermined when we use the tools and spaces in an unprotected way. Sexual and reproductive rights activists are particularly targeted.

Chapter 4.1: Being secure when you use technology and the internet

Since our offline and online worlds are linked, we can use both offline and online communication strategies to make lasting change.

What would a feminist internet look like?

Feminist communication rights activists work to map and claim women’s rights in this online world. A major part of this is imagining what a feminist internet would look like and working towards this.

Chapter 4.3: A feminist internet

Feminist communication activists like the Association of Progressive Communications Women’s Rights Programme are also encouraging cross-movement work so that feminist practices and principles of technology are included in women’s rights agendas. They are bridging the gap between feminist movements and internet rights movements. There are many intersections and strategic opportunities to work together as allies and partners.

20. https://www.takebackthetech.net/know-more
2.4 Who’s got the power?

Fundamentally communications and technology are embedded in a larger context of inequality and power\(^\text{21}\) – who has power, who does not, how it is used and for what. As activists we need to understand how power is working in our lives so we can challenge the negative power dynamics that stop us from achieving our social justice objectives. This understanding will make our communication strategies and use of ICTs much more strategic and impactful.

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**Power**

*The ability to achieve a purpose and bring about desired change. It includes the ability to secure access and control of resources including financial (money), human (our bodies), material (land or seeds or food) and intellectual (knowledge and skills). Power can be both positive and negative depending on who has it and how they use it.*\(^\text{22}\)

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A feminist movement building approach to ICTs confronts power in the use, access, development and impact of communication technologies and helps us to make smarter and more strategic choices.

Power dynamics in our daily lives are often complicated. From our most intimate relationships and families, to our workplace and larger community, we have to navigate power differences and dynamics. This is also true in communications and social media – from the tools we use and the access that we have, to the media and messages we both produce and experience.

Understanding how power works in the use of ICTs, particularly for women, is the first step that allows us to use these tools strategically.

What are the things about our context that make it hard for women to access the use of a computer or the internet? These factors could be linked to how much money it costs to buy data for a cell phone or regular electricity cuts

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\(^\text{21}\) This section is adapted from http://www.justassociates.org/en/resources/mch3-power-concepts-revisioning-power-justice-equality-and-peace

\(^\text{22}\) Ibidem
that make it impossible to use the computer at your local internet café. Or they could be about society thinking women should not be using technology or learning about it.

If we want to develop good, effective strategies that will bring about change, we need to understand and identify the power dynamics in a given context. We need to ask: **Who has the power?**

A useful way to begin to think about how power operates when it comes to communication is to understand that there are many different ways in which power can be expressed. Often, we tend to think of power as negative, the power over someone else to coerce, dominate, exploit – or take away a person’s freedom or rights.

But power can also be a positive force for personal growth, sharing, connecting, and collective action for change. In terms of communication, using our power can be speaking out and telling our stories, challenging the status quo, putting forward our ideas, making the case for change and galvanizing people to take action. So we also need to ask: **How can women claim their power in this context?**

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**There are 3 forms of positive power**

1. “Power within” is our own sense of self-worth, the thing that tells us we are important and that we should look after ourselves.

2. “Power to” is our ability to take action to change our world (agency).

3. “Power with” is the power we get from acting together (collective action).

Together these forms of power make us a force to be reckoned with. Importantly, power with can make us safer and more powerful than acting alone. We want positive power to build strong movements for social justice.

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To really get at who holds the power when it comes to information, communication, technology and media so that we can better strategise as activists, we need to understand the different faces of negative power.

23. Ibidem
There are three faces of negative power:

1. **Visible (making and enforcing the rules)**

   Visible power refers to formal decision-making bodies (governmental, legal) – budgets, policy, law, policing; including biased laws and undemocratic decision-making processes.

   Actors could include governments or policy-makers.

2. **Hidden (Setting the agenda)**

   Hidden power refers to powerful actors behind the scenes that are highly influential and that influence who gets to the decision-making table or what issues get put on the agenda and the outcome.

   Actors could include newspapers/media owners, multi-national corporations or Churches/non-state actors who have influence over the State.

3. **Invisible (shaping thinking, values and what is “normal”)**

   Invisible power refers to influential or internalised beliefs, including cultural norms, values, practices, ideologies and customs that shape public thinking and debate. Dominant norms and ideologies are often skewed towards a particular group’s interests (e.g. a belief system like sexism which benefits men and oppresses women).

   Actors could include anyone in society including traditional chiefs, religious leaders, family members and ourselves!

   If our movement building strategies only take on one or two forms of power, we will not be successful. Good strategies combine challenging all forms of power – although perhaps in different ways and at different times. Invisible power is the most critical to challenge in terms of changing hearts and minds (attitudes).

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24. Ibidem
There is another form of power that we need to think about. We cannot see it so we call it invisible. Invisible power includes the norms and values that define what we should and should not do. For example, the idea that women should not speak out or be seen on public platforms is not written in law but we may be taught it in our families and communities. It may seem so normal for us that we think the same. This is a critical form of power because however natural it may seem, there is a group that is benefiting from these ideas (often men) and a group that is not (often women). Our communication strategy can interrupt social norms and create space for new ideas and beliefs to be voiced.

Often our communication strategies focus on impacting policy and opinion at the government, the United Nations or other international/national levels of decision-making power. These individuals and groups have visible power. They are visible in that it is easy to identify them and in many cases they are seen as “legitimate” decision-makers because they are “representing us”.

However, there are many other actors who are less visible but hold a huge amount of influence. This is hidden power. For example big companies like Shell influence our governments’ policies on the extraction of natural resources; the Church, especially the Catholic Church, may influence policy on sexual and reproductive health and rights. Our communication strategy can help expose the influence of hidden power.

It is important in our communication strategy that we contend with the realities of both visible and hidden power. Otherwise we may, for example, get a law changed but the law is not implemented because the government has been influenced by the hidden power.

To identify visible power we ask “who decides?”

To identify hidden power we ask “who influences?”

To identify invisible power we ask “what are the norms and values? And who benefits?”
In order to have a successful communication strategy we need to make sure that we **understand and challenge all forms of negative power and build our positive power.**

For example, if we want to make sure that all women have access to safe and affordable sexual and reproductive health services services we could carry out the following power analysis:

**Hidden** The media determines what kind of content we can access online, on TV or in newspapers; as well as whether we can find out about different types of contraceptive or whether stories are written condemning women for using contraceptives.

**Visible** The state decides on the law that determines whether and how women can access services and what those services look like.

**Invisible** Healthcare providers refuse to provide terminations based on their personal beliefs despite legal provision.

You will see later in the communication strategy section, that this becomes important when we think through who our strategy is directed at (our audience) when we need to ask **who has the power?**

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*Chapter 3.3: Developing your communications strategy  Audience (page 73)*
We need to ask what face of power we are targeting with a particular communication:

- Are we challenging particular interests/positions (visible/hidden power)? What influence/power do they have over the issue we are organising on? What can we ask/persuade them to do about it?
- Or are we challenging particular ideas? And what ideas/messages do we want to communicate?

This will help us think about how we are tackle all the faces of power in our communication and our broader movement building work.

2.5 Challenging negative power and building positive power

Our communication strategies need to be based on our understanding of how power works in our lives and communities, how it is shaping the issues we care about and how we can use communication effectively given all of this to strengthen our organising.

We need to build movements that confront inequality, mobilise our numbers and strategise to make change in a context of visible, hidden and invisible power.

In this toolkit, we argue we need to build feminist movements in which we recognise the diversity of women’s experiences, solutions and voices—putting them at the forefront of our organising.

JASS’ Change Theory

With the power of our numbers—organised around common agendas—women can better challenge inequality and violence, transform power, and make strides in ensuring justice and peace for all.

From this premise, JASS equips women individually and collectively by structuring and sustaining safe spaces where women:

- deepen their analysis of power and injustice in their lives and their world
- gain and generate new tools, information and strategic skills
- renew energy and spirit
- spark and deepen their organising
- practice and innovate new forms of power, leadership and organisation
- strengthen political relationships of trust
- develop common agendas to address needs, rights and safety and
- build vertical and horizontal links across identities, sectors, issue silos, and locations.

Once women are equipped in these ways, JASS believes that they are better able to:

- mobilise and amplify political influence
- generate and demand resources and freedom from violence
- respond to urgent situations, and protect frontline activists and
- resist injustice and ultimately transform power in both the personal and public arenas.

Communications is a key part of movement building. Feminist communication strategies as part of broader organising have the potential to amplify women’s voices, shift attitudes and connect local struggles to global solidarity.

If we understand how power works and what kind of impact we want to generate, we can use feminist communication strategies to challenge the status quo, and make our movements bigger, mobilising more people to join our struggles and to take on our messages.

Our communication strategies become targeted and specific, capable of reaching out to huge numbers of people because we understand how to
increase our reach and develop messages that challenge the way people think and what they do.

In a world where the media and communications are subject to control from a wide range of forces, being able to understand those forces and develop sharp responses to them in our organising will only make us more effective.

When we make choices around how to communicate and which ICT tools to use we should ask ourselves some questions to ensure that our communications is challenging negative power, building positive power and is feminist in content and process.

**We should ask ourselves**

- What interests and positions (hidden/visible power) are we challenging?
- What ideas (invisible power) are we trying to challenge?
- What ideas are we trying to communicate?

*Chapter 3.3: Developing your communications strategy*
Principles for feminist communications

We must ensure:

• we produce content in a democratic manner. Women take the lead. The process serves to build positive power

• women’s experiences and stories are visible. Women are telling their own stories. They are agents in their own stories. Our communication responds to the context and the issues that sit close to women’s hearts

• respect for diversity across multiple lines e.g. sexuality, location, class, ability, race

• inclusion of the voices of marginalised people e.g. women, LGBTI, sex workers

• ICTs chosen are appropriate to a southern African context

• ICTs are secure and will not put women at risk

• skills are shared and everyone in the organisation is equipped to use the technology safely

• informed and continuous consent of any quotations, videos, interviews and photographs

• your organisation has planned for the human capacity, skills and money to support your communications
CHAPTER THREE

Communicating for feminist movement building

In this chapter:

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3.1 Communication as central

Communicating creatively and effectively is critical for feminist movement building. As activists, we need to know how to make the most of media to make women’s voices visible and louder and to spotlight women’s change agendas and experiences.

Whether we are communicating to women about their sexual rights at a local hospital in rural Zimbabwe or launching an international campaign to address violence against women, we need to be able to convey a clear message that highlights the real issues and encourages people to take action.

Along with our message, we must use tools that work in our specific contexts and that speak to our audience. This demands that we analyse WHAT we want to say, WHEN, HOW, to WHOM and most importantly WHY. Without this critical thinking, we will not be able to develop effective communication strategies that change the world.

Essential elements of a feminist movement building communication strategy

There are many reasons why we communicate for change.

1. **Telling our stories/amplifying voices** If you open up a newspaper or a magazine, stories about women are often told in biased ways that play on harmful stereotypes or aren’t told at all.

   One reason we communicate is to break the silence and transform these kinds of stories by making sure women can stand up and share their own stories in their own voices. We call this *amplifying* women’s voices.

   We can use these stories to expose the actions, hypocrisy, motives, inaction of powerful political players both in visible decision-making roles and hidden actors who wield influence and power – this exposes how *invisible* and *hidden power* are operating.

2. **Educating and shifting public opinion** We also communicate to *educate*, *inform* and *shift public opinion* (*invisible power*) in order to create a just
world. This is useful for uncovering invisible and hidden power through the use of popular education methodologies that bring the issues we don’t usually see to the forefront.

3. **Advocating to decision-makers** We communicate to shake things up by advocating to those in visible power who make decisions that impact women’s lives. By sharing women’s experiences, we can provide evidence of how a specific policy or action is affecting women and make a case for improvements or changes.

4. **Generating knowledge** Through the use of popular education methodologies that bring the issues we don’t usually see to the forefront, we surface our own knowledge, analysis and understandings that free us from the dominant ideas that silence and marginalise us.

If we want to be able to advocate and educate others, we need to document the work we do as activists and use this new analysis to improve our strategies. This is called generating knowledge and can challenge invisible, hidden and visible power.

5. **Mobilising for action** At the heart of feminist movement building is moving people—changing their hearts and minds—for transformation. We know we cannot do this work alone, and that together we are stronger. We need to be able to mobilise people through our communications.

6. **Building our movements** These ways of communicating can be external – but in order to build and sustain strong informed movements and organisations, we must also communicate internally. This includes work to communicate in democratic decision-making processes as well as work to educate and share skills and experiences within our own organisations and to communicate decisions/ and actions to our constituency.

7. **Urgent action** Women activists face risk and violence in their work. In order to support them, we may need to communicate for urgent action—this means sending out a message that elicits a speedy and organised response.
If we put all of these elements together, we can build a solid communication strategy for feminist movement building. We need to be clear about what we want to accomplish before we move onto selecting the ICTs we need to use. And when we get to selecting our technology tools, we will want to be aware of issues of safety, security, privacy and control.

Chapter 4.2: Being secure when you use technology and the internet
3.2 The different elements

In the next section we will take a deeper look at the different reasons why we communicate in feminist movement building and share some inspiring examples of women using ICTs in their organising work on a range of issues to change the world. After each case study you will find a number of thought-provoking questions that can be used by your organisation or by workshop participants to think more deeply about the critical questions related to the choice and use of ICTs in feminist movement building.

AMPLIFYING WOMEN’S VOICES

As part of our feminist movement building, we need to challenge the kinds of stories that we hear about women. In many cases, women’s voices and experiences are not visible, and it is very rare to hear women telling their own stories. One way to challenge this is to produce women’s stories that put women’s experiences and perspectives front and centre.

Storytelling is an effective way to get women to empower themselves by sharing their own stories. It also allows us to build community and solidarity in our organisations and movements — as we hear women share their experiences and understand better how we can learn from and relate to one another and fight for justice. The more women’s stories are told and shared, the more it will become the norm that women’s stories are important and valuable. By telling our stories, we create more space for other women to tell theirs.

“Storytelling has made me believe more in myself, I have come to realise that I am not the only one in this situation, and I have learnt that others also passed in the same situation too. Storytelling makes me feel powerful because others are motivated, inspired and encouraged by what I say and what I have done. I feel I am in safe hands because when I cry they cry with me and when am happy they are happy with me and this makes me what I am now. I have been inspired with what others have said in their stories and that has helped me a lot in building my listening skills and building the movement. I have realised that stories talk about who you are and if you
share these stories that are when we know about each other and what is happening in our communities. Short stories educate us, entertain us, inspire us and touch our hearts and it is because of the stories that make us come together with our different backgrounds and different issues and act collectively to achieve our goals.” – Sibongile Singini, Our Bodies, Our Lives, Campaign Coordinator, Malawi

Telling Herstory – Basali Amoho

“Traditionally or culturally-speaking women are not allowed to talk about the problems or challenges they go through. It is okay to be battered—even to death—by your spouse or for your daughter to be sexually abused and to keep silent about it. [I believe that] my story will help break the ‘barrier of silence’ that is rife in our society, enable women to come out in the open and stand up for their rights.”
These were the words of a member of Basali Amoho [Women Together] after a JASS feminist movement building process. Basali Amoho supports women in Zambia organise against a range of harmful practices.

The set of oppressions that Zambian women face daily, reinforced by tradition and culture, are hidden and often veiled in silence. This storytelling initiative started with where women are—their lives and experiences—putting into practice the principle that women’s lives, experiences and voices do matter and are critical if we hope to create sustained and effective change. The process opened the door not only for deeply personal and powerful stories of change but also for reflection and analysis. Through stories, participants were able to think more deliberately and clearly about their contexts and draw the links between their shared experiences of violence, stigma and discrimination—all of which is a vital part of activist reflection and strategising. Each woman connected to the issues that affected her and together, the group built an analysis of how patriarchy and other systems of oppression work together on women’s bodies, and at the deepest and most personal levels, to begin strategising for action.

“It’s a vital step, that’s the starting point — after the storytelling, activities started coming up for our group. Without that, we didn’t know where to begin, we didn’t know what we as a group wanted to do and why we are here but when we told our stories we saw the issues clearly.” – Sombo Kuku, Basali Amoho, Zambia

“For me it’s the politicisation of the issues. When you tell stories, you then have to see the bigger issues, the way in which patriarchy and power are playing out in our lives and then you come to have an analysis. It’s important to not forget this piece of the process — where you draw the threads together and bring the collective together to think about the similarities, the differences and the implications of the story at different levels.” – Anna Davies-van Es, Just Associates, South Africa

26. The storytelling process was supported by JASS and Youth Vision Zambia.
“Every woman’s lived experience is important to movement building. In the story circle, a woman can move from her individual self and begin to understand that the struggle of the woman sitting next to her is also her struggle. She realises that something needs to be done and that we must come together as women to take action against oppression.

Through this storytelling process we discovered that although our stories differ, we as women suffer the same problems. That the power over us from men is violent and often we have not consented to the experiences which have infringed our human rights.” – *Basali Amoho in Zambian Women Speak*

We share feelings of shame and fear to speak about our experiences even though we are educated. We have experienced stigma, discrimination and backlash for speaking out. None of us has had our issues resolved through the legal system. But we also discovered that history shows us women’s power and we have all resisted and tried to change our situations.” – *Nana Zulu, Just Associates consultant, Zambia*

For Basali Amoho, the stories demonstrate how vulnerable women’s bodies are, how the ‘power over’ that women confront daily has a physical impact on their bodies.

The stories grapple with traumatic experiences of gender-based violence, stigma and discrimination, forced transactional sex, fragmentation and displacement, property-grabbing, economic reliance and abuse. However, they also show us how coming together can help build a collective understanding and cultivate different levels of empowerment. As one participant said “Although we are told ‘as a married woman, my body belongs to my husband’, empowerment has made me realise I have rights over my body. We have realised that there are norms that make us act in ways that put our bodies in situations they don’t want to be and that many of the abuse of women are hidden.”
Basali Amoho, decided that they wanted to print their stories. Many of the women they work with do not have access to the internet so it was important that they had actual physical books to share. Since many of the stories were intimate and could put the individual women at risk, the group discussed the issue of confidentiality and decided that each author could choose how to identify themselves. Some used their own names, others their first name or a pseudonym and others chose to be identified as “woman/feminist activist”.

JASS assisted in the editing and design process, so that the stories could be published as Amplifying Women’s Voices: Zambian Women Speak27 and shared the women’s stories transcribed in their own voices and words with a larger global community on the JASS website.

By publishing their stories, Basali Amoho is choosing to break the silence and share their stories in the hope of healing the story weavers, reaffirming their individual and collective commitment to activist work and inspiring other women to come together to build women’s collective power for sustainable change. Basali Amoho members are now using the book to share their stories to mobilise other women to take on these issues in their communities and to raise funds.

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Appendix 1: Tools – Print

**Ask yourself**

- Why did Basali Amoho choose storytelling as a strategy?
- What did they learn?
- What support did they need?
- What ICTs did they use?
- Why was consent so important?
- What did they use the stories for?
- What other ICTs could they have used?

CHANGING PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion and worldview is shaped by social norms and dominant belief systems, in other words, invisible power. If we want to create change that gives women greater freedom, rights and resources, we have to engage public opinion. For example, we must make visible and challenge the norms and values that make it acceptable for women to be beaten or for girl children to not be offered science or maths as options at school.

If we want to win gains—for example change the way something is done at our local community centre or to change a law—we need people on our side, with the knowledge and ability to take action. We often need to break the silence on the issue, tell people what is really going on and cause outrage amongst the broadest possible group so that they will feel compelled to take action. We need to educate people outside our movement and share information. This means we need to find ways to ‘talk beyond ourselves’—sometimes we use ‘code’ words or jargon that ‘outsiders’ do not understand. We must find ways to speak to them so that they understand our messages.

Although we need to educate people outside our movement we also need to educate ourselves—to build a collective analysis that informs action and to ensure that we are not creating an ‘elite’ within our movements who are the only ones informed enough to speak/create content.
Katswe miniskirt march

Katswe Sistahood, a young women’s movement in Zimbabwe, uses a range of strategies to educate and provoke conversation. In October 2014, Katswe led nearly five hundred women in a march throughout Harare’s city centre to “Reclaim Our Streets” and protest violent attacks on women wearing miniskirts and others forms of clothing that are considered “inappropriate”. The march garnered national attention and proved a powerful way for Katswe to begin a dialogue with Zimbabweans about violence against women, cultural and traditional expectations of what women should and should not wear and do. Katswe was able to engage in this discussion through radio and national newspapers. Katswe also used social media (Facebook) as a way to engage a wider group of people beyond Zimbabwe’s borders. Using colourful posters with provocative messages, songs, theatrical presentations and slogans, the women were able to draw scores of people to the march and gain a lot of attention.

While Reclaim Our Streets sparked a national conversation it also drew negative reactions from taxi drivers and bus conductors who heckled the marchers with explicitly sexist verbal abuse. On Twitter and social media, commenters made fun of the women marchers and shamed them for coming together to fight against sexism and violence. But the protestors refused to back down. They kept marching on to break the silence on violence and sexism, as well as the particular risks that women of all ages face in the street and on public transport.

The miniskirt attack in Zimbabwe is not an isolated incident

In November 2014, a Kenyan woman was stripped naked in broad daylight by a mob of men at a city bus stop in Nairobi for what she was wearing and the brutal attack was caught in graphic detail on a subsequently viral and later-deleted video on YouTube. Women responded by taking to the streets
in their hundreds to defend their right to wear what they choose and uniting under the hashtag #MyDressMyChoice.

In February 2014 Ugandan women protested notorious Ethics and Integrity Minister, Simon Lokodo’s “miniskirt law”, a measure to ban women from exposing their breasts, buttocks and thighs and from “dressing indecently in a manner to sexually excite”. Uganda is not the first country to consider public “indecency” legislation that is created almost entirely to monitor and restrict women’s choices and movements in the city. Similar attacks have taken place throughout southern Africa, including in Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa. These attacks are a symptom of a larger patriarchal system that favours men, and demands that women be “good” women in order to be acceptable. The meaning of “good” changes depending on our contexts and the moment, and often this meaning can be contradictory. However, it does prompt an opportunity for regional solidarity and even international movements that inspire women to claim and reclaim ownership of their bodies. We can use communications powerfully in order to shed light on local problems that have regional implications.

After the march, Katswe developed a number of safety and security strategies to protect themselves in demonstrations and other forms of public action. One of these was to create a private WhatsApp group to be able to check in with each other regularly and update in case of emergency.

*Ask yourself*

- What were the key messages?
- Why are miniskirts an important issue for Katswe?
- Why do you think Katswe chose this strategy?
- Which ICTs did Katswe use? What others could they have used?
- What were the risks? Did they have a safety plan?
ADVOCATING

Lots of women’s organisations focus their communication strategies on advocacy.

We usually advocate to those who have power to decide on the issue e.g. the government to change laws or an international body to take action in a time of crisis. Advocating is a way to inform duty bearers and/or decision-makers of women’s experiences and hold them accountable. This is a critical strategy because it can win concrete gains if you are successful.

Advocacy is a visible strategy that makes “noise” on a particular issue. Often the mainstream media will cover advocacy attempts that are directed at the power players that they are interested in covering. Most national newspapers will cover press conferences in which their government puts out a position on an issue of interest. This can mean that advocating can both shift policy and change public opinion.

The most successful advocacy work is linked to broader movements and a mobilised constituency in which the most affected take the lead and speak for themselves.

We must be cautious about advocacy groups who are not connected to the issues or are not part of a movement themselves. There are too many example of so-called progressive laws being adopted which later have no impact on the daily lives of women and face ongoing pressure to be reversed without a movement ready to take action and defend the gain. Advocacy gains must be connected and protected!
Malawi Campaign for ARVs

The Our Bodies, Our Lives: The fight for better ARVs campaign is the culmination of a six-year-organising and training effort that mobilised hundreds of HIV-positive Malawian women in a unified initiative to protect the health and rights of one of the most marginalised and stigmatised populations in the nation.

The campaign launched in October 2012 at the National Women’s Dialogue on ARVs was hosted by the Malawi Network of Religious Leaders Living With or Personally Affected by HIV and AIDS (MANERELA+) and JASS Southern Africa. The dialogue brought together over 250 community-based women activists and their organisations from across Malawi to celebrate positive women’s organising, engage with stakeholders and decision-makers, build a collective analysis on the current context and demand an immediate roll-out of alternative quality ARVs. The convening gained national attention and included an interfaith service with over 200 congregants of wide-ranging denominations and faiths who preached and shared their own testimonies fostering community solidarity across religious differences.

Most importantly, out of the dialogue emerged a concrete list of demands anchored in the immediate needs and realities of HIV-positive women, that all involved could pursue as a united front.

Through MANERELA+’s relationship with the Ministry of Health, a group of ten women activists were able to present a communique directly to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health who committed to be responsive to the issues raised, especially in terms of stock-outs of key drugs.

In Malawi, many women wear a type of sarong called chitenje on a daily basis. The campaign adopted a campaign chitenje in bright blue, with the JASS and M+ logos and their key demand (quality ARVs) on it. This helped build the movement by providing a collective identity, and reaching more women with our message. The chitenje became synonymous with the campaign, raising its profile, and got a huge amount of media coverage.

28 Antiretroviral (ARV) drugs are a treatment used to suppress the HIV virus.
Since the launch of the campaign, many gains have been achieved. Critically, through the campaign’s mobilising and collaboration with other HIV/AIDS sector organisations involved in sustained organising on the issue, political commitment to rolling out alternative quality ARVs nationally was secured and roll out began in 2013. The Our Bodies, Our Lives campaign remains active monitoring the roll out and other issues affecting women’s access to quality ARVs and healthcare.

**Ask yourself**

- Who led the campaign?
- What did they achieve and how?
- Who were the audiences and why?
- Did their strategies respond to their context? Would all of them work well elsewhere?
- When is using multiple strategies a good idea and why?
- What tools did the campaign use?
In order to do the work of amplifying women’s voices, educating and mobilising we must have information. *Knowledge generation* is a critical part of movement building. Feminist knowledge generation is about how knowledge is created in ways that respects women’s experience and reflects its meaning. It is also about the politics of *knowledge production*.

There are power imbalances around knowledge production that silence women, especially in the global south. In a context where the media, organisations and so on are dominated by male experiences and so-called experts speak on behalf of ordinary people, we must produce counter-sets or alternative forms of knowledge based on women’s experience. We need to challenge who gets to create knowledge as well as what we consider to be ‘knowledge’.

We talk a lot in this toolkit about how important it is to understand our context and to analyse it. However often the information we need is not available, or does not specifically look at how an issue impacts on women. So it is important to produce *context-specific analyses* and *reflections* – this is a key part of knowledge generation. From this we can contribute to dialogue and debate and get feedback on strategies or new ideas.

As part of movement building it is important that we reflect on our activism, and learn from it. We can then share with other activists to exchange and
strengthen our activisms across the world and across contexts. Part of this is recognising the importance of documenting women’s stories and movement building processes in order to show how change happens, for women to reflect on their experiences, to see them as legitimate and to use them as the basis of mobilising. ICT tools support knowledge generation both for sharing information within organisations and how we produce knowledge for documentation of process, messages or advocacy products.

The work of knowledge generation helps us build our networks to support our work (including across divides – such as amongst activists, academics and donors).

**Feminist Africa**

*Feminist Africa* is a continental gender studies journal produced by a community of feminist scholars to ensure that African women activists and academics were writing and publishing their own knowledge, on their own terms, and in their own voices, after observing that much knowledge about Africa’s women was being produced in the North and did not represent the realities, lives and experiences of women living and working in Africa.

The journal has an African-wide advisory committee. They are made up of women deeply involved in activist and academic struggles on the continent and who are linked into networks of feminist activism and knowledge production.

The advisory committee come from different disciplines. They discusses current debates, issues and trends which impact women on the continent. The committee decide themes for the journal and suggest writers, artists and contributors using email and skype to keep in touch if they are not able to meet face-to-face.

*Feminist Africa* encourages innovation in terms of style and subject-matter as well as design and lay-out. It promotes dialogue by stimulating experimentation as well as new ways of engaging with text for readers.

Because *Feminist Africa* wants to ensure that African women’s knowledge production is taken seriously and that intellectual rigour is central to
Feminist Africa, it is an accredited journal and has an International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) which means that libraries can find and identify titles in automated systems more quickly and easily. It also means that the larger intellectual community will take the journal more seriously which is important as African women’s knowledge is often published through informal means and cannot be easily located.

Feminist Africa has produced nineteen issues since it started in 2002 and covers diverse topics from sexuality to technology, land and labour to militarism. It is available as full-text online, which means anyone can read, download and print the journal if they can get onto the internet. People can also ask colleagues to access the journal and email or print for others. This makes the journal accessible to many.

Until 2014 it was also printed on paper and distributed to anyone who was interested. Now costs do not allow this.

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**Ask yourself**

- Why was the journal started?
- What issues does it address? What constitutes knowledge or issues worth writing about?
- Who defines the content it will publish?
- Who contributes?
- How is it produced?
- How is it distributed?
- Why does the journal have an ISSN number?
- What tools did they choose?
- What else could they have used?
- What risks are there in using this tool?
To make our movements more effective and more visible we need to grow our numbers. We can do this in a number of ways but it is important to begin with the issues that affect the people in our communities and constituencies the most. These issues are not isolated to one or two individuals but they are part of a larger system of problems that affect many of us. Once we can connect to others based on our experiences, some of which may be shared, we can come together to build a common agenda.

Chapter 2.4: Who’s got the power?

To draw even more people to our cause, we need to use creative communications to spread our message in language that many can understand. We need to agitate and make so much noise that we can no longer be ignored and we can energise people to act with us and join our action.

We also need to communicate internally in order to keep everyone updated and to inform democratic decision-making.
Putting your issue out there – SMUG and LGBTI masks

Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) is a group that fights for the rights of LGBTI people. In 2013, the Ugandan government passed a legislative bill to punish gay sex with long prison terms. SMUG and other Ugandan human rights groups mobilised nationally and globally to draw attention to the law and push the Ugandan government to revoke it. They organised several demonstrations that sparked a national conversation about the rights of LGBTI, sexual identity and sexual diversity. One of the ways that SMUG caught the imagination of people not only within Uganda but around the world was the use of colourful masks based on traditional Ugandan designs – each painted with the colours of the LGBT flag. This was a powerful statement for Ugandan LGBTI because it expressed the fact that it is legitimate and acceptable to be gay or lesbian or bisexual and be Ugandan. It also ensured that participants in the march could not be easily identified and arrested.

Through their efforts to raise the visibility of LGBTI experiences in Uganda, SMUG managed to get millions of signatures in solidarity with their struggle and to fight back against the government. They did this through their website and Facebook which they use for networking with other LGBTI organisations.

Ask yourself

• How did SMUG get attention?
• What message was communicated?
• How did they address issues of safety and risk?
• How did they get into mainstream press/get coverage?
• Why did they do this action at that particular moment?
• What tools did they use?
• Why did SMUG use those tools?
• What else could they have used?
• What risks are there?
BUILDING OUR MOVEMENTS

Often we develop communication strategies that are external. But in order to build strong informed movements and organisations, we must also have good strategies and practices to communicate internally. This includes work to stay in touch with our constituencies; to share information and consult as part of democratic decision-making processes. It is also the work to educate and share skills and experiences within our own organisations.

Building a movement may involve many different organisations, individuals and allies – this makes internal communication critical. There may be different teams tasked with different responsibilities, and they may or may not be in the same town or country. This means how they communicate and when they need to consult needs to be clear – and everyone needs to be able to use the chosen communication tools. As we organise we must be careful to ensure everyone in the organisation is clear on the agenda, is able to support each other and when necessary ask critical questions that keep the movement on track.

Internal communication is also important in regard to reporting and monitoring – so we can keep each other abreast of developments and ensure we are able to make informed changes to plans as necessary.

SWEAT and Please Call Me

The Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) in South Africa wanted to make their services accessible to anyone who needed them. They assumed that one of the reasons that sex workers were not reaching out for assistance was the cost of mobile phone calls. So they introduced a free call service. Please Call Me is a free service that allows all mobile phone users to send an SMS message to any other person, requesting them to call him or her back. The message delivered will read ‘Please call me’ and will feature the cellphone number of the person requesting the callback. In South Africa Please Call Me requests are free with a maximum of two messages allowed daily. The initiative was a huge success as the calls for assistance started rolling into SWEAT.
There are specific contextual and situational challenges very particular to SWEAT’s constituency including frequently stolen phones. Please Call Me allows a sex worker to access services through a borrowed phone. Sex workers began to see their phones as a resource for safety. In the province of Limpopo, shortly after a sex worker had been murdered and her body found in a police van, another sex worker was taken into custody by the police. Fearing for her life, she managed to hide her phone and contact SWEAT from the back of the police van. SWEAT was thus able to track her safety and ensure that she was eventually released.

The Please Call Me service allows sex workers to feel safer, supported and more able to rely on SWEAT and on one another through using mobile phones where they do not have to always have to pay for the calls. It is an extremely effective and useful tool for sex workers to use.

Nowadays smartphones carry a lot of information. It’s a good idea to keep mobile phones and their information safe.29

Chapter 5: Tools Messaging Applications (page 152)

Ask yourself

- How did SWEAT review/adapt its strategy?
- What contextual factors were into account?
- Who did they see as a core base and why?
- What lessons were learnt?
- What are the implications on staff and organisation e.g. bills, time?
- How did/Did this strengthen the network?
- How did this contribute to the safety of sex workers?
- Why did they use the tools?
- What else could they have used?
- What risks are there in using this tool?

29. Tactical Tech’s Guide to digital security for activists has two sections on mobile phones and smart phones https://securityinabox.org/en
APC and multiple ICTs

The Association for Progressive Communications (APC) is a global network and organisation where staff and members work in different parts of mostly the global south. They work out of organisations or from home in what is called a virtual office. This means people communicate using the internet and different ICTs on a daily basis.

The ICT tool that is most used is email. Mailing lists are set up for different topics and for different purposes. So for example there is a dedicated mailing list for all staff and there are mailing lists for different programme areas (like the Women’s Rights Programme) and for issues and projects (such as on the subject of digital security or the sexual rights project) and for workshops. Mailing lists are the main source of keeping networks informed and updated and for requesting assistance.

APC uses Jit.si and Skype for voice and video calls between individuals and sometimes for meetings. Jit.si is free and open source software (FOSS)\(^{30}\) whereas Skype is proprietary. APC chooses Jit.si over Skype for that reason but sometimes they have to use Skype depending on who they have to communicate with (APC is constantly encouraging people to explore and experiment with FOSS tools).

For more information on FOSS see Chapter 4 The internet and ICTs as political spaces and tools

Jit.si allows you to set up text chat rooms so that team can type collective messages and receive an immediate response from colleagues (Google Hangouts does a similar job). Sometimes during the chat, staff will share an online document (using a tool like Google Docs or Etherpad) and work on it together in real-time. Messages can be archived and read later if colleagues are not online at the time the chats take place.

Meeting platforms are used when there are lots of people attending an online meeting. These platforms allow participants to use voice, video and text as well as a whiteboard where the agenda is pasted so everyone can
see it. There are options for voting on a topic and icons for “putting your hand up” if you want to make a point.

Working in a global organisation means that there are always people online working. This can make collaboration quite difficult if most of one person’s working day takes place during another colleague’s bedtime. Sometimes staff have to start their day very early or end very late when time zones are so different. For their well-being, staff have to set boundaries regarding the online work-day.

Because APC is a global network with the need to be transparent to its members, they need to store documents where everyone can access them. APC uses OwnCloud for storing documents on the internet, which is FOSS and a more secure option than, for example, Dropbox (although recently Dropbox has increased its security). OwnCloud has additional functions such as a calendar which staff use to share events, leave-days, etc.

Because they are not always in their offices at a laptop, APC staff also use mobile phone applications to keep in touch and to send urgent messages. They use applications called Telegram and Text Secure which are similar to Whatsapp but have more safety features.

Sometimes there is quite a bit of “noise” at the virtual office with people on Skype, emails coming in and messages coming through mobile phone. Sometimes, staff have to switch some tools off in order to focus and to not be distracted by too many things happening at once. Health and well-being needs to be taken into account when working with so many tools and with so many different demands.

Another consideration for well-being is digital security. APC tries to make choices of tools that are more secure so that their communication is safe and people’s information will not be compromised.

For political and security reasons, APC tries as far as possible to use free and open source software rather than proprietary software.

If APC is doing research and wants to do a survey to find out what people think, they will use the FOSS internet survey form Limesurvey. If they want
to find out when people can have a meeting, they use a free service called Doodle Poll where people put their preference for a meeting. If they want to send out a bulletin, they use CiviCRM\(^{30}\), which is a FOSS contacts database that also allows for email bulletins, similar to Mailchimp, and even event registration.

The choices APC makes in the tools they use always focus first on making sure that the person with the least access can be included, that the tools are FOSS and that they are as secure as possible.

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**Ask yourself**

- What technology is used and why does APC make these choices?
- Why does APC use multiple platforms of communication – what are the implications of that?
- What is the impact of using so many tools to facilitate work? What are the benefits and pitfalls? How do you address/manage all the noise? How do you set boundaries?
- How does this facilitate movement building?
- What other tools could they have used?
- What risks are there in using these tools?

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\(^{30}\) https://civicrm.org/
URGENT ACTION

When activists confront power, we often face backlash or risks to ourselves, our communities and our organisations. This backlash can look different depending on the context and nature of the work. To respond to violent push-back, activists mobilise urgent action strategies or strategies that respond quickly to a given situation in order to “make noise”, draw attention to the struggle and push for change. In Zimbabwe, the police have raided the offices of the Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) multiple times. In 2014, the chair of GALZ’ board was charged with running an illegal organisation, a charge for which she appeared in court. She felt unsafe and that she was under surveillance. To support her, GALZ mobilised funding to ensure that she could move to a safe house and also support her legal battle.

When one person, group or organisation are attacked or hindered in doing their activist work, it can have a chilling effect on other organisations. This is why solidarity, locally and globally, is important. If we find ways to connect and share our struggles, we can strategise against backlash and be stronger as a result. Sometimes we need to focus our solidarity work locally and other times, it is critical to use communications to raise the profile of our struggles beyond our communities and countries to the world. This allows us to make our issues a global agenda.

Undertaking this kind of communication requires resources and strategies that respond to our context and urgent needs while also thinking ahead. For this reason, it is important that the people closest to the situation shape and define the kind of response that is needed. At times, visibility is just what an activist needs to stay safe and keep actions against them in check. But sometimes more visible forms of urgent action can put activists in even more danger. Other times, the messages that we send out as part of our urgent action and solidarity work may not be appropriate or useful.
The Egypt Seven

In June 2014, seven women human rights defenders were arrested for protesting peacefully against Egypt’s Protest and Publicity Assembly Law. They were held in prison for months before their trial in October that same year.

The arrests shocked the world. Led by local organisations, thousands of activists from across the globe signed petitions to free “the seven” immediately and drop the charges in accordance with human rights laws of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. An international campaign led by human rights actors including the Women Human Rights Defenders Coalition, the International Service for Human Rights and Nazra shared critical information and mobilised online actions on Twitter and Facebook, in order to raise the visibility of the violations of the rights of Egyptian defenders.

In October, the seven women along with other protesters were sentenced to three years’ imprisonment, followed by three years’ conditional release and a fine. While the efforts of activists did not push Egyptian authorities to drop the charges, it is still a powerful case of how local efforts can be amplified and bolstered internationally through communication strategies.

Chapter 5: Social media tools  Microblogging  Twitter (page 138)

Ask yourself

• Why did they use these tools?
• What else could they have used?
• Who decided which actions to take?
• What risks are there in using these tool?
Phone recordings – using technology to turn the tables on power

In November 2013, a young transgender sex worker had made a transaction with a client on the streets of Cape Town. As they were walking towards the client’s car, a police van stopped and they were both arrested.

One policeman took the sex worker in his car and another policeman took the client in yet another police car. The sex worker knew that when this happens it is usually to bribe both the client and the sex worker. Before they were taken away in separate cars, the sex worker whispered to her client to accept the call she was going to make to him and then leave his phone on but hidden from the police.

The sex worker then switched on a mobile phone app which recorded the conversation between the policeman trying to bribe the sex workers’ client rather than charging him at the police station. In the meantime, the police-officer she was with, was recorded saying he would not charge her if she would give him sexual pleasure. The sex worker then played back the recording of the conversation between the client and the policeman in the other car and said they now had evidence of police bribery so they both better be let go.

It was a brave thing for her to do as the police could have turned violent and tried to take the mobile phone. She had no other tools but the mobile phone application to use. This time however, the sex worker was the winner.

Sonke Gender Justice, Digital Stories/ with Male and Transgender sex workers
3.3 Developing your communication strategy

In this section, we have identified eight key steps to get you started on designing or reviewing your communication strategy. These are not linear so we are presenting them in a circular way to demonstrate how they relate to each other. In the next section we will take you through each step. They appear in an order that will make sense if you are starting from scratch (first make sure everyone is clear on what the problem you are trying to address is) but you can start anywhere and work your way around the circle. Each step has a number of sub-steps with questions that will help you think through your strategy and make decisions. After each key step, you will find an applied case study of an organisation who used this process to create a communication strategy.

A communication strategy is made up of many different tactics and you may use (many) different tools at different times. We assume in this section that you belong to an organisation or that you are a group of people coming together to decide how best to communicate on a particular issue. These steps will take you through the process and challenge you to be more strategic about who you communicate to, how you do it, what tools you use, and what messages/content you develop. We will call the group of people that comes together to decide on and implement a communication strategy – the communications team.
These are non-linear and you can start anywhere unless you are at the stage of reviewing your communication strategy / intervention in which case you should start with the review step.
**Step 1:** *What is your purpose? What change in the world do you want to bring about?*

It is important to start by reviewing/discussing what the purpose of your organisation is. This helps to create a shared starting point and a basis to reflect back on whether your communication strategy will help you achieve your purpose.

**Step 2:** *What is the problem you want to address?*

In discussing your purpose, you have probably identified a number of problems that you will need to address in order to achieve your purpose. You now need to decide which problem you want to focus on in this communication strategy. Discuss the problem fully. Make sure everyone in the team participates and understands by ensuring that everyone speaks and is able to ask questions.

**Step 3:** *What are the key issues relating to this problem?*

List all the key issues that arise from the problem that may need to be addressed.

**Step 4:** *Which one will you focus on?*

As a group decide which issue you will focus on for this communication output / task / product. It is important to be specific so that your communication strategy is more targeted and as a result more successful.

**Step 5:** *Why is this the most important issue to focus on now?*

There may be an event or an incident that has just happened that means it is critical to act. It may be an issue that gets no media
coverage but it is important to your constituency/community – we call this the political moment. We need to ensure that our messages are responsive to the political moment. Make sure everyone agrees that this is the issue that is most important to focus on right now.

**Step 6:** Are there other critical issues?

Do any of these need communication strategies? If so, make a list of them and decide on a timeline for when you will go back to the list, who will be responsible for ensuring you do this?

This will allow you to arrive at the critical issue on which this communication strategy will focus on.

**Step 7:** If you communicate on this issue will it contribute to what you want to achieve?

If not, you may need to revise what you want to achieve or the issue you chose to communicate on. In which case, start the steps again. This is never a waste of time, as the more clear you are as a communications team, the better your communications product will be.

**Step 8:** What do you want to say – what is key message?

Now you have your critical message you need to decide what you want to say—this is not about deciding on the exact words—, we will get to that later—but about what your message is. There are probably many messages in the media on the issue you have chosen – some you may agree with, others not. What do you want to say about the issue?

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*Content* is what you are expressing. There are many different types of ‘content’ that we can produce. For example, produce, for example, information provision about an issue, evidence, women’s stories, or analysis. Your content is decided on depending on your message, your audience and your medium (in this case the ICT tool).
### Table 3.1: CONTENT – APPLIED CASE STUDY

**Young Women Arise design a communication strategy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What change do you want to bring about?</th>
<th>We want to change attitudes in regard to young women’s access to sexual and reproductive health and rights.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the problem you want to address?</td>
<td>Young women’s access to services, in particular contraception.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| List all the key issues as they relate to the problem | Availability of services  
The law  
Attitudes of health clinic staff  
Families not supportive  
Distance/transport to clinics. |
| What is the critical issue? | The nurses’ attitudes. |
| Why is it critical to address this right now? | Many young women we work with are reporting this as a critical thing that stops them from accessing contraceptives. It makes them start to question whether they have any right to contraceptives, as a result some of them are engaging in risky sexual practices rather than accessing contraception. |
| What issue will you address next? | The group decided that the next issue that they will focus on is safe abortion access since over half of the group felt this was critical. |
| Is this in line with our purpose? | Yes, we are focusing on changing the nurses’ attitudes. This relates to our purpose because this will aid changing attitudes towards young women’s access to sexual and reproductive health rights. |
| What is the key message? | Young women have the right to access contraceptives. |
We want our production to be democratic. We must ensure that everyone’s voices are heard and that those who are most affected by an issue are taking the lead.

Often powerful member/s of a group will decide on the messages that an organisation puts out. They may be powerful because they have particular skills or hold a leadership position. This can result in less powerful members, who might be most affected and are often women, being silenced. If we want our activism and communications to be different, we need to do things differently. This means that how we create content, deciding on how we communicate and to whom, should be different. We call this the production process.

**Step 1:** Who will be involved in deciding on the content? Who will make the final decisions – an individual or a group/committee?

It is important to be clear on this. In your communications team you may have different skills and/or roles but the decision-making should be clear and agreed to by the whole team.

**Step 2:** What will your process be for writing the content – who will draft, who will edit? And are those affected by the issue taking a lead?

In this step you should think about all the different stages in developing the content. For example, you will probably generate a first draft which captures the key ideas or gives a few options. This can then be discussed and editing feedback given before a good second draft is done. Sometimes you will produce many drafts, so you need to be clear on what the process is and who will be involved in the different steps. Ideally your full communications team—led by
those most affected—should be in agreement on a final draft which can then be copy-edited by someone with the skill.

**Editing** involves changing the content. Copy-editing is checking for accuracy and fixing any spelling or grammar mistakes.

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Chapter 5: Tools  Print: How to make a magazine or newsletter

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**Step 3: Do you have consent to use quotes or women’s stories?**

A key part of your process is taking responsibility to ensure that you have accurately captured any quotes, stories or statistics you are using. In regard to quotes and stories you need to make sure you have informed consent. This means making sure that everyone involved understands how their story or quote will be shared and that they agreed to use their full name or their first name or a pseudonym. If it is an individual women’s story being shared, it is important that you share a final draft with her before publishing.

**Step 4: Who controls the technology?**

If you are going to draw on the skills of someone outside your organisation e.g. a radio producer, or a photographer, or an organisation that is letting you use their office or equipment, you need to have an agreement with them about who the final product will belong to and who gets the final say in the message. You may want to collaborate or it may be important that the communications product is owned by you. This is important in order to ensure your message is not distorted by someone who may not agree with your message.
Process is important

When one person or a group of people ‘take charge’ in an organising process and make all the decisions in the production process, things can move very quickly. But this quick pace comes at a loss. Often it is those who already have skills, privilege and a degree of power that take on the task to communicate for an organisation or group. This gives them even more power to decide for the organisation what the message should be and how it should be given and to whom.

It can mean that some of the people who are most affected by the issue, and know the most about it, do not get their voices reflected in the message.

It is also a missed learning opportunity – when we discuss and decide together we learn more about the issue and about the people we are working with and we build our knowledge base and our community.

Importantly, in feminist movement building, we must be careful not to speak for others or extract stories from a community and then go and speak on their behalf! We all have a story to tell, and we should own our stories and respect the right of others to own theirs.

It is important to ensure we have consent to use stories/quotes/images/photographs. As feminists we talk about continuous informed consent – this means making sure the person whose information we use understands the purpose for which it will be used, how and where it will be used and continuing to check with them if they consent. The political context could change and it may be risky for the story to published on a website or the person’s views or sense of identity may have shifted. We must recognise these possibilities and plan accordingly. It is important to remember that once something is put online, it is ‘permanent’ and may continue to be available online – even after it has been deleted elsewhere.
“We need to think about the ethics when we write and work with women. Media can be quite extractive. What does the process about generating feminist content look like? And how can we be supportive of women telling their own stories?” – Anna Davies-van Es, Just Associates, South Africa

There are many different ways to produce content – we must ask ourselves:

- Is the process democratic (or ‘horizontal’, as opposed to top-down and where people are being told what to think or do)?

- What are the ways we can decentralise it so as many people are involved as possible?

- Can we use this opportunity for a skills exchange where we share our skills and experience about for example using an ICT tool?
**Table 3.2: PROCESS – APPLIED CASE STUDY**

*Young Women Arise design a communication strategy*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: Who will be involved in deciding on the content? Who will make the final decisions – an individual or a group/committee?</th>
<th>We are a group of four on the team. We will decide together but we need to share the final draft with the steering committee of our group – they will make the final decision based on our recommendations.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 2: What will your process be for writing the content – who will draft, who will edit? And are those most affected taking the lead?</td>
<td>We are going to discuss the content together and brainstorm it. Two people will then do the actual writing, then the other two will review and re-write. We may need an editor. Everyone in our group has been affected by this issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3: Do you have consent to use quotes or stories?</td>
<td>We did a storytelling workshop a few weeks ago and there was a really powerful story shared by one of the group members. We are going to ask her permission to use it and get her to sign a consent form. We will discuss with her whether to use her name or not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4: Who controls the technology? Will they distort our message?</td>
<td>Our sister organisation has offered to let us use their printer. One staff member offered to help us with editing. They have the same values as us so it should not be a problem. But one person on our communications team is going to check it to make sure the message has not changed. We talked to the coordinator and agreed that the content and final product will belong to us, with only our logo – but they may help us distribute it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Step 1: **What is the context?**

Break into small groups and discuss the main messages that already exist on this issue – in the newspaper, on radio, etc. What do people say? You want your communications product to turn these messages into your message.

Step 2: **Who are the people, organisations and institutions that influence how people think about this issue?**

Make a list of all the people who have influence (positive or negative) on the issue.

Step 3: **Whose beliefs / views do you want to change?**

List them.

Step 4: **Choose ONE.**

This is going to help you focus in on an audience and design a message that specifically speaks to them.

Step 5: **What kind of power do they have to influence the issue?**

They may have decision-making power (visible) or power to influence in more subtle ways (e.g. setting the agenda) (hidden power) or they may contribute to the ways in which your community/society thinks about the issues (e.g. traditional leaders) (invisible power). Our communication strategy could target all three faces of power or only one or two – but remember that unless we challenge all three faces of power, our movement building may bring about short-term gains but will not be successful in the long-term.
It may be useful to make a list of all the different actors under visible, hidden and invisible – noting that some may appear on more than one list. Over time you will need to communicate with everyone that has power over the issue you are organising on, in order to be successful.

Chapter 2.4: Who’s got the power?

**Step 6: What are their beliefs?**

In order to frame your message so that they will actually read/engage with it, you need to understand what they currently believe/think.

**Step 6: What do we want them to believe?**

Think back to your content, or main message – how will it change the way they think? And what do we want them to think after reading/engaging with it?

**Step 7: What are their needs and expectations?**

What do they believe or value? Do they share anything in common with you? If you can connect your message to a value you both share then it will be more powerful.

**Step 8: Is this the right group to communicate to?**

Go back to your purpose, will communicating to this group on the issue you have agreed on bring about the change (in full or in some way) that you want to see? If not, you need to reassess – should the purpose or the content or the group be different?
| **Context** | Unmarried women should not have sex.  
Sex is only for reproduction.  
Women should not have sex for pleasure.  
Women should have lots of babies.  
Contraception is western.  
Making contraception available encourages promiscuity. |
|---|---|
| **Who?** | The church  
The government  
Traditional leaders  
Hospital personnel  
Parents  
Aunts  
Teachers |
| **Whose beliefs do you want to change?** | Nurses, hospital staff, parents |
| **Choose one** | Nurses |
| **Power?** | They have visible power to decide who gets the contraception or not.  
They have invisible power because they shame women trying to access contraception. |
| **Beliefs** | ‘Good’ women should not use contraception.  
Women who do are sexually promiscuous/sex workers.  
They think because we live in a poorer area, we should just be grateful to have a clinic and should not ‘make a fuss’. |
| **What should they believe?** | That all women have the right to access contraception (regardless of class or location).  
That it is women’s choice to decide for themselves.  
That women have better reproductive outcomes when they have access to contraception. |
| **Common ground** | They may have concerns about women dying from unsafe abortion.  
We all want to ensure women’s health.  
They may believe that population growth rates are a concern for sustainable development. |
| **Does it match our purpose?** | Yes, we want to shift attitudes and this is one of the group’s whose attitudes we want to shift. |
The way an issue is framed is the way it is seen or viewed (usually from outside). The frame changes the way we view the problem.

**FRAMING**

- **Quick Tips**
  - The longer your sentence, the harder it will be for your reader to understand.
  - We can easily fall in the trap of ‘talking to ourselves’. Make use of a second-reader – ask someone who might be removed from your activist work to read an article or a poster message, and if they cannot understand it, you may need to revise the language so it is easier to understand. Ask them questions – sometimes people who are not advocates can shed new light on the way that we frame and communicate our messages.
  - Be conscious. If we want to write differently about women, we must question ourselves and the way we think! If you would feel disempowered or silenced or misrepresented by the way a certain story or article is written, then there’s a good chance that there is something wrong and you need to address it.

You can think of ‘framing’ as the angle from which you approach a problem, with the following as examples:

- Activists might want to avoid framing their message as “violence against women” or by talking about “gender” because they may face backlash or it may stop their intended audience from even listening to them/taking them seriously. Instead (like Raising Voices, an organisation in Uganda...
working to prevent violence against women and children) you could invite communities to discuss power and to work to build better relationships.

• To mobilise around sexual and reproductive health, activists might frame their message as “safe motherhood” rather than “the right to choose”. For organisations of workers, framing their communications around “a liveable wage” may be more strategic than the headline “the right to organise”.

• These framings may be less controversial and allow for activists and their intended audience to find common ground and it could serve to keep you safe from potential backlash. At other times, you may choose use more controversial language in order to provoke debate or to reclaim language like ‘gender’ or ‘feminist’ as a way of articulating a need for radical change and a conversation about power.

**Step 1:**  How will it be best to frame your message for your chosen audience?

In the ‘audience’ section, we asked you to think about what kind of power the audience you are targeting has in regard to the issue you are raising. This will help you figure out how to frame your message. For example, there is no point framing your message to take an action that is not in their remit e.g. asking priests to change the law. You need to frame what is their responsibility and what you want them to do e.g. lobby the Vatican to support a particular position.

It is also smart to frame your message using the common values you have identified above. So instead of the audience feeling accused or berated, they feel like they want the same change as you.

**Step 2:**  Is your message simple and brief? Can you delete any words without changing the meaning?

Sometimes the more words you use, the less powerful your message. Try and delete some words, without changing the meaning and see if it is more powerful.

**Step 3:**  Can you include a story or quote to bring your message to life?

When we hear a story it can evoke emotions and make the issues real to us. It makes it stop being a ‘policy issue’ and makes it about people, their lives and hopes.
Step 4: Are you providing solutions and encouraging your audience to take action?

Unless your communication is a slogan, you should ensure that your content includes both your analysis of the problem/issues and what possible solutions could be. Alongside this, you can ask your audience to take specific actions in order to address the issue. This is not so much about telling people what to think or do, but providing them with possibilities and/or inspiration.

Step 5: Test your message

If at all possible, test your message on your target audience. Ask someone from your target audience or someone unfamiliar with the issues to review your message and give you feedback.

Table 3.4: FRAMING– APPLIED CASE STUDY

**Young Women Arise design a communications strategy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: How will it be best to frame your message for your chosen audience?</th>
<th>We are going to use the frame of “women’s health”.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 2: Is your message simple and brief? Can you delete any words without changing the meaning?</td>
<td>Yes. We are going to use a poster so the message needs to be short and snappy. In our second edit we made sure to take out any repeated words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3: Can you include a story or quote to bring your message to life?</td>
<td>Yes, we are using quotes and will develop slogans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4: Are you encouraging your audience to take action and providing solutions?</td>
<td>Yes. We are asking the nurses to think about how they are treating young women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5: Test your message</td>
<td>We asked some nurse friends and they said the messages were clear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Successful messaging checklist

These are some of the key elements of constructing a successful message:

1. **Know your political environment and moment**
   
   Your context will shape your message. Are there any issues that you are not allowed to talk about? Often it helps to link your message to another issue that has public attention. Comparisons with other well-known problems help audiences understand the seriousness of your issue.

2. **Use clear, simple language**
   
   When we communicate for radical change, it is important that people are able to understand us. Using “jargon” or words that are specific to our organisation or political background can make it difficult to inform, educate and reach people who may be outside of our movements. Even common terms like ‘sustainable development’ and ‘civil society’ are not understood by most people. Find creative ways to explain what you mean in simple language.

3. **Speak in shared values**
   
   Values are more powerful than facts. Work out what you and your audience both care about, and communicate based on these shared values.

4. **Use real life stories and quotes**
   
   Political debates are often reduced to facts and broad social analysis that may not reach most audiences, even policymakers. One of the best ways to get people to pay attention is if we start with people’s experiences. The human element is what makes a problem real. When we amplify people’s voices and real life experiences through our communications, people will listen.

5. **Use creative, precise and powerful language**
   
   Use words that paint pictures your audience can relate to, with local examples that speak to your audience. Clear facts and numbers are also

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a powerful way to present information and share knowledge. Your tool and your message will inform the kinds of information you can share, for instance, a poster may not be the best tool to use if you want to share the results of a research project. However, you can summarise those results and use precise and powerful language to get people to pay attention and understand the key facts.

6. **Adapt the message to the medium**

Each medium has its own possibilities and limitations. For example, radio is made up of sound. So you should use different voices, background sounds and music to add to make your message compelling. For television, make full use of the visual element and reduce written and spoken information. For street theatre, engage the audience by asking questions, inviting responses, speaking to individuals and making people laugh.

7. **Encourage the audience to take action**

Your audience—whether policymakers or citizens—need to know what they can do to support your cause. Offer simple suggestions, like “visit your local councillor” or “discuss this matter in your Parent Teacher Association” or “vote ‘yes’” or “call the Campaign for a Living Wage to register support”.

8. **Present a possible solution**

Activists sometimes spend too much time talking about problems. Instead, make sure your message clearly communicates actions that your audience can take part in. Tell your audience what you propose to solve the problem. Keep the solution simple, such as the government needs to show its commitment by providing adequate funding” or “new laws are needed to keep people safe”.

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80 ICTs FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENT BUILDING
Feminist messaging

We want our messages to be successful but we also want them to be feminist. Feminist messaging seeks to change the way in which women are portrayed and communicate stories from women’s perspectives.

**Feminist messaging**

Messages that challenge sexist thinking and challenge the reader/viewer to think differently.

Women have the right to information. Women are often excluded from receiving information due to lack of money, access to computers and the internet, specialised knowledge and other resources. A lot of online content about or for women is trivial (beauty tips, how to catch your man) or about sex. If you do a search for ‘women’ on the internet you will also find a difference in what comes to the top of the search for different women. For example, after searching on “Zambian women” the top ten results on Google included: how to attract a Zambian woman, dating sites, the most beautiful Zambian women, articles about Zambian women drinking and one more ‘serious’ link about Zambian culture. If you conduct a search on “English women” the top 10 results are similar but also include a page on women writers, philosophers and comedians! Feminist activists need to take the lead on creating content that women need to know and want to share.

**Step 6: Do your messages amplify women’s voices?**

How are women’s voices present in your content/message? It’s best if the message amplifies the experiences of the whole group/constituency even if individual stories are used to represent that experience.

**Step 7: Do they challenge gender stereotypes?**

Are we analysing and assessing the root causes of women’s experiences and lived realities? Go back to your discussion of the issue – is your communication sharing this analysis? Are you presenting women as victims or as agents of change?
Step 8: Are we meeting women’s real needs and addressing their problems?
Are we providing information to support women to make decisions for their own transformation? Again, this is not about telling people what to think but helping them question the status quo and start to think about things differently.

Step 9: Are we showing solidarity to other struggles?
If we can, we should in our communications show our solidarity with other struggles – whether it be on housing, health services or labour issues. This is not always possible, but when it is it helps to break down the “issue silos” we tend to work in and show how the issues are connected. For example, the fact that people do not earn decent wages impacts on the standard of health care services.

Table 3.4 (Continued):
FRAMING– APPLIED CASE STUDY
Young Women Arise design a communication strategy

| Step 6: Do your messages amplify women’s voices? | Yes, we are going to use stories and quotes to make the posters more powerful. |
| Step 7: Do they challenge gender stereotypes? | We are not sure about this. We need to be careful not to present the women in the stories as victims – and to share how they have taken action for change in their own lives. |
| Step 3: Can you include a story or quote to bring your message to life? | Yes, we are using quotes and will develop slogans. |
| Step 8: Are we meeting women’s real needs and addressing their problems? Are we providing information to support women to make decisions for their own transformation? | Yes, this is the issue facing the women we work with. We are not going to tell the nurses what to think, we are going to ask them questions. |
| Step 9: Are we showing solidarity to other struggles? | No, we want to – but the text on posters needs to be quite short. We have an idea though that if this strategy works, we can take the posters to other clinics/communities. |
Using feminist content and messages:

• reclaim women’s power and voice
• tell ‘herstories’ and reclaim women’s history of struggles
• raise consciousness and awareness about women’s stories and struggles
• address regressive (cultural and traditional) beliefs
• analyse and assess the root causes of women’s experiences and lived realities
• based on principles of women’s rights, inclusion and equality
• produce content in democratic ways, giving space to all voices and allowing women to tell their own stories

To achieve this, aim to design content that will:

• amplify women’s voices and experiences
• represent women as actors, change agents and survivors, not as objects, constant victims or mere recipients
• challenge the harmful, degrading stereotypes of women in mainstream media (highly sexualised, ‘emotional’ in a derogatory sense, powerless, weak, incompetent, confined only to acceptable societal roles such as mother, good women, caregivers, victims or negative societal archetypes such as the witch or ‘loose’ woman)
• expose how ‘power over’ women is operating in regard to the problem (provides an analysis of inequality and discrimination)
• promote respect for diversity and sexual rights
• make the connection between the main problem and broader social issues

32. Source: Adapted and added to the ideas from http://modemmujer.org/odm3/docs/tecnicas_reflexiones_feministas.pdf
TOOLS

Quick Tips

- Take the time to get to “know” your tools. Most people are afraid to make mistakes or fear that they may break something. But whether you’re working with a camera or an online programme, the best way to get proficient is to experiment, play and practice so that you get used to using the tool.

- Sometimes “less is more”. We can get excited or carried away with the sheer number of possibilities. But sometimes it’s strategic to focus on one or two tools so you can refine and use them effectively.

Choosing the right technology

The most effective use of technology happens when the most suitable devices and media are used to do the chosen task or activity. Just like you wouldn’t drive a tractor to get to your next-door neighbour 50 metres away, you wouldn’t make a professional video to send a message to one or two people. For example:

- For a large campaign it would be expensive and time-consuming to communicate by landline, rather than by using the internet or radio.

- If you wanted to find out people’s ideas and have a debate around issues, it would be better to have a community meeting than to ask people to SMS their views. Sending a message out electronically might not reach the people its intended for, especially if electricity is not easily available in the area.

- Presenting information as a video can have a big impact, but is a waste of money if most of the audience doesn’t have screens or monitors to view the video easily.
• Older and rural audiences might feel more comfortable with and trust messages over the radio, even if they have access to the internet.

Ideally an organisation should have multiple strategies for different kinds of communication and different campaigns. That way it is more likely the best tool will be used, and the strategy will be successful.

**Step 1:** What are the most effective tools to get your message across?

List the tools that will most easily carry your message.

**Step 2:** What tools does your audience have access to?

Make a list. Identify the one they most commonly use to get information.

**Step 3:** Do we have access to this tool?

If we do not and there is no way that we can get access (e.g. through a sister organisation) then we need reassess and chose another tool that both our audience and we have access to.

**Step 4:** Will it cost anything?

Some tools are more expensive to use than others. The ‘cost’ might not only be financial; some may take more time or required a specific set of skills.

**Step 5:** Draft your content and see if it works on this tool

You might want to show it to a colleague, your mother, or a sub-set of your constituents.

**Step 6:** What do you need to do or think about to adapt your message to the tool?

Some tools like pamphlets might let us say (almost) everything we want, others like posters or stickers mean we need to adapt the message in particular ways so it fits.
**Step 7: How will you maximise using this tool?**

By now you have chosen a tool and should have a clear idea about your message/content. Now you need to think about how to make your message have the most impact and how you will make sure as many of your chosen audience members will get to see/read/hear the message. What visuals do you need? What font will be easily read? What will the design be? Where should you put up the poster to avoid it being hidden or taken down? Which radio station will broadcast for you? Where should you stand to distribute pamphlets? Who can help you get into the venue where your audience members are meeting?

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**Design**

Design or graphic design is the how the content you have developed will look on the printed medium (page/t-shirt) or screen (email or webpage). The design determines where the text and visuals will go. There may be other design elements – like formatting or logos and watermarks.

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**TIPS ON WHICH TOOLS TO CHOOSE**

- **Twitter** is good if your audience uses it as you can reach a wide audience and get a lot of visibility if you plan well and ask others to retweet and add appropriate hashtags. A tweet can include links to further information, images and videos. It is a short message like SMS so people get the message without having to read a lot.

- **Petitions** are good if you want to raise people’s awareness around an issue or event and get them to commit to supporting the issue in order to make a demand of a company or government. Online petitions do not take long to sign and can circulate widely and quickly in combination with social media and email, and you can get a lot of people signing on in a short space of time from diverse geographic places.

- **T-shirts** are good if you are going on a march and you want your message to be visible or if your community does not have easy
access to radio, TV and the internet. The message is also always visible when people wear the t-shirts.

- Facebook is good if the people you want to reach and involve use Facebook. You can use a good image or photograph to catch attention and a few words of text. You can also link it to a longer article on the issue, include a Twitter hashtag and ask people to repost the Facebook link.

### Table 3.5: TOOLS– APPLIED CASE STUDY

**Young Women Arise design a communication strategy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: What are the most effective tools to get your message across?</th>
<th>Pamphlets, posters, t-shirts, radio.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 2: What tools does your audience have access to?</td>
<td>All of the above. They most commonly get information from radio but then the messages would not be targeted at them specifically as nurses. We are going to try pamphlets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3: Do we have access to this tool?</td>
<td>Yes, our sister organisation has offered to help us layout the pamphlet and print.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4: Will it cost anything?</td>
<td>Yes, we have to buy the paper to put in their printer. It will take our group a lot of time to cut up the pamphlets as we do not have a guillotine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5: Choose one tool to try out. Draft your content and see if it works on this tool</td>
<td>It was really tricky to come up with the content, then one of the communication team members said they did not think the nurses would read such a long thing. So we decided to go for posters instead. Luckily our sister organisation has a printer that you can feed poster-sized paper into.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 6: What do you need to do or think about to adapt your message to the tool?</td>
<td>We want our poster to be dynamic and interesting and for the busy nurses to be able to read quickly and understand our message.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 7: How will you maximise using this tool?</td>
<td>Posters means we can use a combination of text and visuals. We want to find a photograph that is very powerful.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RISK

Use a strong password on all of your equipment and online tools – make sure that it incorporates symbols, numbers, upper and lower case letters.

Make sure you log out of your personal accounts and machines after use, particularly if you are using a computer at work or at an internet café. Don’t just close the browser window!

Make use of antivirus software, keep it up-to-date and ensure you download updates only from the antivirus website.

Back up your files regularly using a USB memory stick or an external hard drive. If you work for an organisation with enough resources, try to set up a server system to make sure that you can back up your files.

Step 1:  Think about what the potential risks are

Your team should reflect on the context – is what you are advocating for in your country, city or region illegal or if it is highly discriminated against or seen as taboo by some people? Identify the types of risks e.g. can the organisation be attacked in the press, lose funds, have its physical installations damaged? Will workers be physically harassed? Will individuals and their families be at risk from neighbours? Identify how likely it is that this could happen. It is also useful to identify who has the power to attack or cause harm and how this potentially could happen.
**Step 2. Who will face these risks?**

You should list all the people and/or organisations that may face risk and then discuss each case in detail. Sometimes we need to take some risks in order to bring about change but we cannot put others at risk without consulting with them and taking steps towards safety.

**Step 3: What can be done to mitigate risk?**

This requires more discussion—weighing up the pros and cons—and thinking about your context (e.g. what your legal framework is or how the police respond to activists). There are many different ways to mitigate risk – including protecting individuals involved and framing the message in less antagonistic ways. Yours will depend on your context and the risk or set of risks you will face. You can speak to other organisations to find out how they have mitigated risk and use risk analysis tools.

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Protect your Information from physical threats,
https://securityinabox.org/en/guide/physical

Workbook on security: practical steps for human rights defenders at risk,
https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/files/workbook_eng.pdf

Take back the tech,
https://www.takebackthetech.net/know-more

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**Step 4: Are there any other risks in this communication strategy? What will you do to mitigate them?**

Apart from safety concerns for the individuals and organisation/s involved, there may be other risks you face that could lead your communication strategy to fail. For example, if your chosen audience does not receive your message or if the tool you choose does not function as expected or if your message is misinterpreted.
Table 3.6: RISK– APPLIED CASE STUDY

Young Women Arise design a communications strategy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: Think about what the potential risks are.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to contraception is legal, but termination is only legal under certain conditions. Some community members will be angry if they know about what we are going to do – they will say we are advocating for young women to have sex before marriage. They may tell our parents if they know who we are.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 2: Who will face these risks?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We are going to use one of our members’ stories and those of us who are putting up the posters.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 3: What can be done to eliminate / mitigate risk?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We are going to use a pseudonym. Someone pointed out that even using a pseudonym would not work if someone was familiar with her situation – so we also decided to change the location of the clinic and describe her differently. We are going to get consent from the clinics, and use our nurse-friends to support us.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 4: Are there any other risks in this communication strategy? And how will you mitigate the risks?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The clinics might not let us put the posters up – we will have to talk to the management staff and build relationships with key people there. We wanted to include a phone number so people could contact us, but that might put our coordinator at risk of harassment. So we are going to put an email address and the landline number of our sister organisation who can then point people towards the resources they need.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MONITORING

• Develop your monitoring and evaluation process as a team – that way everyone understands their roles and responsibilities and you can identify resource people to support.

• Think of creative ways to share the impact of your work. Good quotations and pictures are a great way to bring other people into your activism and get them interested.

Quick Tips

Step 1: What kind of possibilities for monitoring does your tool have?

Website statistics (showing how many people visit a page or site), the use of Twitter hashtags and the distribution of newsletters or t-shirts can be recorded. This will tell us about numbers distributed and reach but not impact. There are online tools that can help us monitor e.g. Google Analytics.

What resources will you need?

Step 2: How will you know that your communication has had an impact?

This you could find out from your target audience (or a sample of your target audience) by asking them a simple set of questions (a survey). For example, how did you understand the message? Did it shift how you think about the issue? What do you think needs to happen now? There are online tools that can help us do this e.g. SurveyMonkey.
**Step 3:** *Do you want to track big shifts (the policy changed or did not) or individual change (a policy-maker made a statement in support of our issue) or both?*

This means monitoring media outlets and other forums in which your issue is being discussed. If you want to do a more rigorous analysis of the impact then you may need to design a research process and bring researcher skills onto your team.

**Step 4:** *Will you monitor negative shifts?*

Sometimes we can prove we made an impact because those with power tried to block us in some way (e.g. policy-maker made a statement against our issue as a way to influence the debate).

**Step 5:** *What resources will you need?*

Will you need more staff, more skills or to pay for a tracking programme?

**Step 6:** *How will you collate the information collected?*

Once you have the information what will you do with it? How will you collate it? And where will you publish and who will you share it with?

Part of follow-up may include updating your audience and there are online tools to support this e.g. many petition websites let you give your audience updates about the success of a campaign or share next steps.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: What kind of possibilities for monitoring does your tool have?</th>
<th>Posters are tricky to monitor. We can count how many we distribute and how many are put up in the clinic/surrounds. We can also check after a week to see if they are still there.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 2: How will you know that your communication has had an impact?</td>
<td>We are going to interview the clinic coordinator before we put up the posters and a month later. We want to know whether the nurses are talking about the posters and what they are saying. We will also talk to our constituency to see if they notice any difference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3: Do you want to track big shifts (the policy changed or did not) or individual change (a policy-maker made a statement in support of our issue) or both?</td>
<td>Individual, but also the group of clinic sisters who are specifically being nasty to the younger women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4: Will you monitor negative shifts?</td>
<td>We are going to make sure we ask questions in our review about attitudes not just positive shifts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5: What resources will you need?</td>
<td>We will need transport and we may want to take the clinic coordinator to somewhere away from the clinic so she can talk freely – this may have cost implications. We have never done monitoring before, but we are going to ask for help from our sister organisation to come up with the questions and access to their computers to type up the responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 6: How will you collate the information collected?</td>
<td>We want to use this information to develop an advocacy tool. We are also building a relationship with a local journalist who may be interested in doing a story.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This section provides a guideline for reflecting on your activism, especially your communication strategy. Reflecting and reviewing is important because:

- You can develop a balanced understanding of the activity or strategy by identifying the successes, failures, strengths and weaknesses.
- You can then take decisions or actions to build on the strengths and remedy the weaknesses.

As the communications team, work through the following questions:

**Pre-discussion**

Prepare a few simple and broad questions that you would like everyone to respond to in their own time. This will allow them the opportunity to reflect by themselves.

**Open discussion**

- As a group allow everyone to express their feelings or opinions about the strategy or activity. Limit individual discussion to a few comments.
- Remind the group of the overall strategy; the communication strategy and what was done.
- Then discuss these questions as a group. One person should take notes. For each question try not to limit discussion to a yes/no response but draw out answers in greater detail.

**Quick Tips**

Don’t forget to use the reflections and analysis that comes out of your review process the next time you implement a communication strategy so that you and your team are always learning and improving!
**Did your communication help you achieve your goal?**

1. Did we identify the problems and what we wanted to change clearly and concretely?

2. Did we identify our audience accurately?

3. Did we analyse the faces of power accurately?

4. Did our message convey what we wanted to say?

5. Did we choose the most effective medium?

6. Did we choose best tool?

7. What was the impact?

8. What was effective in our communication:
   8.1. Internally? Why?
   8.2. Externally? Why?

9. What was ineffective in our communication:
   9.1. Internally? Why?
   9.2. Externally? Why?

10. How could we have improved communication?

11. How could we have improved the technology tools we used?

12. Did we improve our skills?

13. Did we identify risk?

14. Was there anything we could have done to mitigate the risk?
CHAPTER FOUR

The internet and ICTs as political spaces and tools

In this chapter:

4.1 Being secure when you use technology and the internet 104
4.2 Technology-related violence against women 110
4.3 A feminist internet 113
ICT tools are developed for a profit, usually by powerful companies owned by men located in the North. They are not neutral but are gendered as women have little ownership and influence over the production and eventually use of the tools. If we know this, we can be more political in our choice and use of tools for our communication strategies. The computers and mobile phones we use run on proprietary or free and open source software also known as FOSS. Proprietary software is owned by the individual or company that developed it. There are usually big restrictions on using it, and the source code that makes up the software is almost always kept secret. It also usually means we pay for it in some way. Microsoft and Apple produces are mostly proprietary. (IE is not proprietary – one of the few Microsoft Windows produces that is not).

With FOSS anyone is freely licensed to use, copy, study, and change the software in any way. It is often free or much less expensive than proprietary software, including the upgrades. Web browsers like Google Chrome and Firefox, and the mobile phone system Android are FOSS. As feminists we are politically committed to open and inclusive spaces and products and deciding to use FOSS tools and platforms is a choice rooted in our politics where people can create and experiment freely with technology. We also teach each other and share knowledge about how to creatively and sustainably include ICT tools in our work.

When we make decisions around what tools to use in our communication strategy, we need to know who we are communicating to. We must know our audience. The people we are communicating to or between and what tools they can access, what languages they speak, how they usually communicate. If women do not have easy access to the internet, then perhaps it is best to use posters or SMS. But it is also important to encourage women to use ICT tools and the internet so that they are not left out of this new public space. It is very important that women are full citizens in this digital world.

How the internet works

The internet is one of those things. You know, those things we use everyday, and rarely understand. Light, radio, language, our minds. In the interest of better understanding let’s try to strip a little of the mystery from this great web, if we can.

1. Language
Everything on the internet depends on the computers being able to communicate with each other – for that they need a common language or Protocol Suite.

The Internet Protocol Suite (literally a set of protocols) is known as TCP/IP.

The protocols used in the internet are overseen by The Internet Society, a non-profit group established in 1992.

2. Location, location, location
In order for computers to connect to each other, they need addresses, these addresses can be thought of as names. Each address is a string like this: ###.###.###.### (where # is the number).

These addresses are called IP Addresses.

3. How does one get an IP address?
Your ISP (Internet Service Provider) has a number of IP’s assigned to them.

Your ISP assigns you a dynamic or static IP address, depending on the type of connection you have. Dynamic addresses change every time you log in, static addresses do not.

CRIMINALS BEWARE
ISP’s keep logs of what IP Addresses they give out – and will surrender these logs on court order.

4. Okay, I’ve got my address how does information get to me?

You enter domain name

DNS gives you an ISP

Your ISP

NAP Server

DNS

Their ISP

ISP takes request to your ISP, NAP server, their ISP, to the other computer then back to you!

5. How does the internet work physically?

Computers convert information you enter into ones and zeros. These ones and zeros are then converted to electronic signals – transmitted as electrical signals across different wires (LAN) or of different sounds (modern) or radio waves (WiFi) to a router – which then sends them to an ISP.

The ISP converts the zeros and ones to lights which are sent over fibre optic cables.

On the other hand the light is changed back into electricity, and then into ones and zeros, and then if necessary, into text, images, sound or video.

6. Most domains and pages are stored on servers. Servers are stored in massive data centers:

Data centers often consume 40+ megawatts of electricity: enough power to 35,000 homes.

And yet, the total world consumption of power for the Data Centers that run much of the internet represents only about 1% of the world power consumption.

Half of that power is actually storing, retrieving, and manipulating the information. The other half is used cooling the data centers.

The internet is a set of interconnected networks operated by government, industry, academia, and private parties which allow computers and other electronic devices in different locations to exchange information. The internet includes services such as the world wide web, electronic mail, file transfer, chat and remote access to networks and computers.

The internet is so much part of contemporary life. The changes it has brought to society are often compared to the effects of the industrial revolution because it impacts and shapes democratic participation, access to resources, and so on. We talk about a digital divide which exists between North and South, rich and poor. A divide which mirrors privilege and sees the rich being able to afford and use technology easily. As mentioned earlier, this digital divide includes a gender divide.

Women are greatly under-represented in the production of technology, in the governance of the internet, in the enterprises which encourage the shaping of new tools. Women are also at a disadvantage when dealing with issues such as media ownership, censorship and content regulations, privacy and intellectual property rights because we are not always directly represented in local, regional, national and international decision-making. This gender divide also mirrors the privilege which men have in access to education, employment, technical skills which are encouraged in boys and not in girls.

Because the internet offers us so many possibilities for self-empowerment and gives us voice to shape our own rights agendas, we need to ensure that women have the agency to access and use ICTs and the internet. We have noted that there are large disparities in terms of who has access to ICTs and who is able to use and shape it. But increasingly we are seeing women’s movements in all sorts of contexts understanding and using the potential of the internet more fully in their activism.

Chapter 2.3: Our Context and the Digital Divide
Earlier on in this toolkit we spoke about online and offline spaces and how these are becoming increasingly blurred in our lives and in our activisms. This blurring can be useful in our communication strategies. If we use posters in a campaign to reach women located in places where the internet does not reach, we can put those same posters online to reach women in different geographical areas who have a good connection to the internet. The posters can then be downloaded from the internet and distributed even further.

Sometimes activists live in physical spaces which are unsafe. For example LGBTI activists may live under constant threat of physical violence. They are able to use the online space to find solidarity, support and to strengthen their hearts and movements. But the internet is not without its complexities and dangers. For example, depending on their context, LGBTI activists may have to use online spaces under pseudonyms or anonymously to stay safe. This is because some governments and people such as religious fundamentalists, use surveillance technologies to monitor and track LGBTI activists.

When we go online, we are going online as a human being with rights and responsibilities. The rights we have offline are the rights we should have online. For example the right to privacy, the right to express ourselves freely and without fear of intimidation or arrest. The internet is a resource that should be accessible to all and also be respectful of the rights of others.

The internet is a powerful space to occupy. This is why governments are increasingly regulating the internet in order to control its citizens. In this online world we are communicating, sharing information and creating new knowledge. We are living our lives in this public space. As in the offline world, there are people and governments who want to limit what we do, particularly as women and as feminist activists. We want to see a free and open internet which is safe for women to live and work. We want to be able to access information e.g. on sexual and reproductive rights without our searches being monitored and our rights being violated.

Professional women journalists, bloggers, researchers and activists—in fact any woman with a high level profile online—are disproportionately likely to be targeted by online attacks compared to men. Violence against women online (also known as technology-related violence against women) is an issue which is increasingly causing harm to women and making the online world as unsafe as the offline world.
**WHAT IS TECHNOLOGY-BASED VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN?**

Technology-based violence against women (tech-based VAW) encompasses acts of gender-based violence that are committed, abetted or aggravated, in part or fully, by the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs).

The findings are from 1126 cases reported on the Take Back the Tech! online map from 2012 to 2014.

1. Women 18-30 years old and younger are the most vulnerable online.
2. The majority (40%) of cases are perpetrated by someone known to the survivor.
3. 3 general categories of women who experience tech-based VAW:
   - Someone in an intimate relationship whose partner has become abusive
   - A professional with a public profile involved in public communication (e.g. writers, researchers, activists and artists)
   - A survivor of physical assault – often from intimate partner abuse or rape.
4. Emotional harm (33%)impeding women’s full participation in online and offline life has been reported in a majority of cases.
   As well as:
   - Harm to reputation (18%)
   - Invasion of privacy (18%)
5. 11% of cases reported physical harm, which means the internet is used to facilitate offline violations and violence.
6. Facebook (26%) and mobile phones (19%) are the platforms where most violations were reported.
7. In less than 1/3 of the cases reported, action has been taken by the service provider.
8. Less than ½ of the cases (41%) reported to the authorities have been investigated.
   - 49% of cases were reported to authorities

It’s our right to live a life free from violence in all the spaces we occupy. Take action, end violence against women. Take Back the Tech!

www.takebackthetech.net/mapit | www.genderit.org/VAWonline-research

The Take Back the Tech! online map is part of the APC “End violence: Women’s rights and safety online” project funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGIS) and is based on a strong alliance with partners in seven countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Mexico, Pakistan and the Philippines.

34. Source: http://www.genderit.org/resources/infographic-mapping-technology-based-violence-against-women-take-back-tech-top-8-findings
It is not only governments that are being lobbied around combatting technology-related violence against women. This advocacy happens at a national and global level with policy-makers and key actors to identify responses that can protect women’s rights and safety online. Communication rights activists are working in internet governance spaces to demand that gender be included in the regulation of the internet. Corporations such as Facebook and Youtube are being lobbied to take responsibility and action against misogyny on their platforms. An example of this engagement is a campaign to invite women to score social media platforms, Facebook, Youtube and Twitter on how they responded to violence against women.35

Although there are some difficult challenges on the internet, there are many projects which are taking control of technology and shaping the tools and platforms that we are using for our activism. Take Back the Tech! is a global campaign which encourages women and girls to use ICTs for fight violence against women through learning new tools and claiming their power as women who can tech. The Global Fund for Women is funding projects that are using technology and their IGNITE project encourages women in science, maths and technology.

**Safety and security**

Because of the threats we are experiencing online, women’s rights activists are taking their digital security more seriously. This is vital and as we take safety measures offline to make ourselves secure, so we need to do this online. Digital threats and combinations of offline and online issues are seriously compromising women’s rights activists’ freedom of expression and association and our right to participate actively as citizens. But we can make ourselves secure!

Many governments, and conservative forces who want to control women’s lives and bodies, can see how the internet can be used for dissent and disruption. They are increasingly using surveillance measures to infringe on our right to privacy. To try and prevent technology-related VAW and accessing of our online lives, we should take precautions which will keep us safe.

When we search the internet for information, governments can filter what we look for which really means censoring the information we can access. For example, if we search for information on safe and legal abortion, the word abortion will be filtered and information put up by sexual and reproductive rights activists could be blocked. We have to be especially vigilant of our search engines that control access to most of our information. As citizens, we can lobby government to stop this kind of censorship as it is our right to know!

There are also strategies and tools that we can use on an individual basis to have a safe and pleasurable experience of the internet. Our digital security is linked directly to our physical security. So if you put your phone number or physical address online, people can find this and will know where you live. So whatever tool or platform you are using, be it a mobile phone, the internet from a computer or social media, always check your privacy settings and the security of your equipment.

4.1 Being secure when you use technology and the internet

Chapter 3.3: Developing your communication strategy

It is important to think through the possible risks of using ICTs so that we build in being safe in our communication strategies. Using online tools creates another layer of insecurity for activists so we need to be smart and strategic.

When women are attacked online, our rights are under threat. This violence aims to silence us, to push us offline and keep us from participating in all levels of society. Women human rights defenders and women generally are more at risk than men when they use the internet. The threats and attacks that happen are usually sexualised and meant to demean.36

The ICT tools and platforms that we use are powerful and effective if we use them with awareness. These same tools that we use in our activism can be used to disrupt our work, to track us and invade our privacy. As long as we take the power and take action to be safe, our feminist communicating will be effective. As feminists we must take responsibility to make sure that we and our communities are protected.

Our activism happens in the offline world and in the online world and the spaces in between. Just as we try to be safe in the offline world, we must also be aware of the risks and dangers of using ICTs and the internet. Also, online danger can have consequences in our offline lives. For example, if we have left our mobile phone unattended and it does not have a password to protect it, someone could pick it up and read the texts or steal images. This could be used against us and our networks.

Often our personal lives and work lives are interlinked. This often happens with ICTs and the internet. We may use the same computer and mobile phone for personal communications and for work communications. This means if we are not being safe, both our work communities and families could be exposed.
Here we share some tips to help you mitigate potential risks when you use computers, mobile phones, applications and the internet. However we recommend strongly you explore this further by reading *Be Safe, a guide for women’s right activists working online* by the APC Women’s Rights Programme.

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**Be safe**
https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe

**Cyberstalking**
https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe/cyberstalking-related-rights

**Hate speech online**
https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe/hate-speech-related-rights

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**TIPS TO MITIGATE RISKS**

**Safe use**

1. **Make sure your computer is secure**
   - Keep your computer and devices in rooms that are kept in locked and secure
   - Never leave your computer open without a screensaver password being active
   - Shut down all your programmes when you are not using your computer
   - Always log off the internet when you leave your computer unattended.
   - The same with social media. If you are logged in to any social media or email accounts that are active, log off when you leave your computer unattended.
   - Make sure that you backup your computer regularly and store the backup in a safe place
   - It is best to store a back up at another physical venue
   - Practice this with your mobile phone as well
2. **Have anti-virus material uploaded and updated**

One of the most important security tips is to have an updated anti-virus software programme which you use daily! Anti-virus programs not only detect and remove viruses from your computer but also remove malware. Malware is software that is intended to damage or disable computers and computer systems and can be very dangerous. Malware can also leave spy programmes on your computer or mobile phone which can watch what you are doing. We suggest using Avast.38

3. **Use passwords safely and securely on all devices, including your mobile phone and computers**

- Make sure your passwords are secure. Don’t use obvious or short passwords. If you use personal information in your password, such as the name of your children or birthday it is much easier for others to guess. The longer your passwords are the better. In fact it is better to use a passphrase. This means using a mixture of numbers and letters or special characters. You can also use phrases such book titles or song titles that cannot be personally connected to you. (In other words don’t use a song that everyone knows is your favourite).
- Don’t share your password with anyone not even your partner or child!
- Don’t use the same password for every account you have. This means that if someone breaks into one account, they can break into all of them.
- Change your password at least every month.
- If you have trouble remembering your passwords, try using a password manager, which will create an encrypted database of your passwords so it is safe to store it on your computer, USB or even your phone. We recommend Keepass38

37. Avast (www.avast.com)
38. Keepass (keepass.info)
4. **Use encryption**

One way of using email safely is using Pretty Good Privacy (PGP). Open PGP is a free and open way for encrypting email. What this means is that you can encrypt or jumble up the email so it is unreadable to anyone other than the people that have your PGP key.

For accessing websites, you can use the plug-in Https Everywhere available for Chrome and Firefox browsers, and for mobile phones.

5. **Check on the privacy settings of the service provider**

When you use social networking sites, always check the privacy settings of your service provider. The easiest way is to do this is through a search engine. For example search for “Facebook privacy settings” and they will come up. If you are not happy with the privacy settings of the service provider or the information you work with is very sensitive, consider using other services. If it is difficult to understand what these privacy policies mean, ask someone you know for help explaining. For example, do the privacy settings make your email account visible to anybody or does using the service give your geographic location? This could be potentially dangerous to you and your work. You can also check https://www.takebackthetech.net/social-media-privacy which is a handy chart to find out where different social media privacy settings are located.

6. **Be aware and mindful**

It is quite difficult to be completely safe with social networking services as social networking means being visible and available online. So the best way to use these services safely is to be mindful of what you say, what you do and what you post to these platforms.

If you still want to use these services, use them with extreme care. Don’t disclose your phone number or your physical address. Don’t upload photographs that you don’t want to be public and never upload pictures of other people without their permission. Do not tag photos on Facebook of others if you do not have their permission.
4.2 Technology-related violence against women

Violence against women online or what we call technology-related violence against women is an issue which is increasingly causing harm to women and making the online world as unsafe as the offline world. Women who are writing, working, creating and contributing to online spaces are harassed, humiliated and abused in many ways. Women are being stalked, harassed, having photographs manipulated and put on the internet. Comments about women are usually sexualised with men making comments which range from judging women’s body size to threatening rape, to death-threats. It can be very frightening and some women chose to go offline.

If women breakup with boyfriends, the ex-boyfriends sometimes upload intimate photographs or videos taken consensually during the relationship. This leads to humiliation and harm to reputation.

However, this can be complicated because why should women feel ashamed of their sexuality? This kind of abuse just reinforces the offline world’s sexualisation of women’s bodies and the need that men have to control women’s bodies.

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39. You can learn more here https://www.takebackthetech.net/know-more/hatespeech.
Technology-related violence against women

Violence against women through ICTs, has become an increasing problem that women face. The threats we face are from:

- Individuals or groups who target you because of the work you are doing, such as homophobic, fundamentalist and patriarchal and sexist groups
- The state or companies if they find your work threatening to their power and authority.
- People you know, intimate partners or family members who wish to harm you and show power over you.

Acts of violence include:

- Online harassment
- Tracking and monitoring of women’s movements and activities online (also called cyberstalking)
- Invasion of privacy by gaining access to phones and email accounts without consent
- Images of women that are private are distributed without the consent of the women involved.

What makes VAW using ICTs different to offline VAW?

The internet and technology makes it possible to do things that would be harder to do offline.

Most negative online activities are linked to issues of safety and privacy. These forms of violence, abuse and exploitation are very real and painful even though they happen online and ‘from a distance’.

What things make online VAW different to offline VAW?

- **The extent to which things can be shared or distributed:** It is possible to send abusive images or texts to literally millions of people using platforms such as Facebook or YouTube. For example, images and videos of women being raped have been distributed online or via mobile phones.

- **The difficulty in stopping distribution or deleting material:** Once images or data are on the internet it is almost impossible to delete or recall them or stop their distribution. But this should not intimidate us
and stop us contributing to the internet. Just be aware of what you are uploading and that it could be distributed beyond your networks.

- **The fact that abusers can be anonymous:** Women are also targeted online for speaking up for themselves and for challenging norms and power structures. The attackers typically act anonymously, making it very difficult to stop or challenge the abuser. But being anonymous can also benefit women.

What Privacy and anonymity have to do with tech-related VAW
https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe/how-deal-privacy-and-anonymity

- For example if a woman is fleeing from an abusive relationship, creating an anonymous email account or changing her mobile phone number can keep her safe from the abuser tracking her.

- **The openness and connectivity of the internet and mobile phones:**
  The reality is that information that is stored and sent through the internet and mobile phone networks, AND the technology used, such as computers, mobile phones and cameras are in danger of being accessed and used by others. Very little is private or safe from others. When you send information through email for instance, the information travels through different points before it gets to the email address of the person you are communicating with. This data can be intercepted and accessed along its route. Similarly websites and mobile phones can be hacked by others.

Always remember that if you experience online violence, it is not your fault! Just as you may experience violence on the street, you may experience it on the internet. If you do experience violence on the internet, document it so that you have evidence to use when you report the abuse, check your privacy settings on email and social networks, turn to a friend for support.

Blackmail: Strategies
https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe/blackmail-strategies
4.3. A feminist internet

Feminists recognise that the internet is a tool and a public space that is powerful and yet so exclusionary of women. We have a right to freely and safely occupy and use this space in our lives and in our activism. The feminist principles of the internet were developed at an inter-movement meeting where sexual and internet rights activists developed a set of fifteen principles which we see as critical to a feminist internet. Because technology advances and changes so quickly, these principles are evolving and are open for feminists to adapt.

Principles of a feminist internet

1. A feminist internet starts with and works towards empowering more women and queer persons—in all our diversities—to dismantle patriarchy. This includes universal, affordable, unfettered, unconditional and equal access to the internet.

2. A feminist internet is an extension, reflection and continuum of our movements and resistance in other spaces, public and private. Our agency lies in us deciding as individuals and collectives what aspects of our lives to politicize and/or publicize on the internet.

3. The internet is a transformative public and political space. It facilitates new forms of citizenship that enable individuals to claim, construct, and express our selves, genders, sexualities. This includes connecting across territories, demanding accountability and transparency, and significant opportunities for feminist movement-building.

4. Violence online and tech-related violence are part of the continuum of gender-based violence. The misogynistic attacks, threats, intimidation, and policing experienced by women and LGBTQI people are real, harmful, and alarming. It is our collective responsibility as different internet stakeholders to prevent, respond to, and resist this violence.

5. There is a need to resist the religious right, along with other extremist forces, and the state, in monopolizing their claim over morality in silencing feminist voices at national and international levels. We must claim the power of the internet to amplify alternative and diverse narratives of women’s lived realities.

6. As feminist activists, we believe in challenging the patriarchal spaces that currently control the internet and putting more feminists and LGBTQI people at the decision-making tables. We believe in democratizing the legislation and regulation of the internet as well as diffusing ownership and power of global and local networks.

7. Feminist interrogation of the neoliberal capitalist logic that drives the internet is critical to destabilize, dismantle, and create alternative forms of economic power that are grounded on principles of the collective, solidarity, and openness.

8. As feminist activists, we are politically committed to creating and experimenting with technology utilizing open source tools and platforms. Promoting, disseminating, and sharing knowledge about the use of such tools is central to our praxis.

9. The internet’s role in enabling access to critical information—including on health, pleasure, and risks—to communities, cultural expression, and conversation is essential, and must be supported and protected.

10. Surveillance by default is the tool of patriarchy to control and restrict rights both online and offline. The right to privacy and to exercise full control over our own data is a critical principle for a safer, open internet for all. Equal attention needs to be paid to surveillance practices by individuals against each other, as well as the private sector and non-state actors, in addition to the state.

11. Everyone has the right to be forgotten on the internet. This includes being able to access all our personal data and information online, and to be able to exercise control over, including knowing who has access to them and under what conditions, and being able to delete them forever. However, this right needs to be balanced against the right to access public information, transparency and accountability.

12. It is our inalienable right to choose, express, and experiment with our diverse sexualities on the internet. Anonymity enables this.

13. We strongly object to the efforts of state and non-state actors to control, regulate and restrict the sexual lives of consenting people and how this is expressed and practiced on the internet. We recognize this as part of the larger political project of moral policing, censorship and hierarchization of citizenship and rights.

14. We recognize our role as feminists and internet rights advocates in securing a safe, healthy, and informative internet for children and young people. This includes promoting digital and social safety practices. At the same time, we acknowledge children’s rights to healthy development, which includes access to positive information about sexuality at critical times in their development. We believe in including the voices and experiences of young people in the decisions made about harmful content.

15. We recognize that the issue of pornography online is a human rights and labor issue, and has to do with agency, consent, autonomy and choice. We reject simple causal linkages made between consumption of pornographic content and violence against women. We also reject the umbrella term of pornographic content labeled to any sexuality content such as educational material, SOGIE (sexual orientation, gender identity and expression) content, and expression related to women’s sexuality.
In this chapter:

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Making phone calls using the internet 150
Messaging applications 152
This is not an exhaustive list of tools – what we want to do is inspire you but also to make sure you are critical and strategic with all the tools you might use.

For each tool you will be able to find out:

- how it works
- what it is useful for
- risks
- alternatives
- case studies
- and be asked some questions to help you decide whether this tool is right for the task.

ICTs are types of digital tools we use to communicate. We don’t want to ignore the value of more traditional communication tools like t-shirts, posters and pamphlets (which nowadays are produced using digital technology anyway) so we’ll start with print, a traditional tool, not an ICT.
PRINT

Print publications, whether they are pamphlets, t-shirts or magazines, are an important part of activism. Like other media, most mainstream print publications such as newspapers and magazines are not produced with women’s issues and struggles in mind.

Text is written or an image is designed and then it is printed onto a surface, depending on whether it is for a newsletter (paper) or a t-shirt (textile) or a sticker (plastic). There are different ways of printing. For example, newspaper organisations use huge printing presses, while small organisations can easily handprint a few t-shirts or posters.

Newsletters and magazines are print publications that are one-off or repeat publications. They are good for dealing with more in-depth information, discussions and articles.

T-shirts, stickers, badges and posters are perfect for short powerful messages. They give your work and activism visibility, and are especially effective when combined with action.
How print can be used

1. **You can make a magazine or newsletter to inform others**, including members, about what is going on, to educate and for people to express their views. For example, a magazine or newsletter can have articles, a letters page, an advice column and a notice board.

Magazines and newsletters are interesting and appealing when they have:

- A good balance of text and visuals
- Clear headlines and sub-headings
- Printed text that is easy to read
- Visuals like pictures or diagrams that help explain the text
- Information, like captions, or labels that describe what the picture is about

**Visuals**

Something that is visual relates to what we see. Visual images include photographs, drawings, maps or diagrams.

**How to make a magazine or newsletter**

Producing a magazine or newsletter takes specialised skills and there are different roles involved besides the writing of the articles. Many magazines are produced by collectives, a group of people working together to make the magazine happen and who want to collaborate and draw.

Here are some of the traditional roles involved in creating a magazine. In a collective that is interested in addressing unequal power, these roles can be shared:

**Publisher/editor:** A publisher or chief editor is the person who decides what will be in a magazine or newsletter. Sometimes these decisions are taken collectively. The editor also makes sure that all articles are clearly written without mistakes in the facts or in spelling and grammar.
**Writer/ author/ journalist:** This is the person who does research and writes the articles or text.

**Illustrator/ photographer:** An illustrator will be responsible for drawing any pictures needed to illustrate an article. A photographer will take photographs to include in the article.

**Designer:** The design is the visual part of the publication. A designer makes decision about what the publication looks like, what information goes where and how to place images. The design includes aspects such as the size of the magazine or newsletter, the size of letters and the type of font, the number of pages, whether colour will be used, etc. The layout is the way that all the pieces, such as the text and pictures, are arranged on a page. People who work on design and layout professionally use computer programmes to do this work.

**Proof-reader:** Before printing the proof-reader reads through the article a few times to make sure there are no mistakes in spelling or grammar.

**Printer:** How expensive printing is depends on the paper you use and the number of colours. The cheapest is to use black and standard print paper.

**Sources:** You should always clearly source where your information/statistics/quotes come from and/or who said it and when. E.g. There are 924,800 people living with HIV/AIDS in Malawi (Source: UNAIDS, 2009) or “**Women do not have money to buy nutritious food stuffs to sustain their health**” – Linnah, Our Bodies Our Lives Campaign, Malawi.

2. **You can make a zine or e-zine to save money.** Print publications don’t have to be expensive, glossy and professional. ‘Zines’ are simple magazines often using handwriting and illustrations. They are photocopied and stapled together. This gives it a very personal feel. You can type your zine content on computer and print it, fold the pages, photocopy and staple together in booklet form. It is important to get the pages right, so they read in the correct order.
Some printers allow you to print a booklet – so that it reads just like a magazine. Pamphlets which are great for advertising events can be made through the same way.

Making a zine, http://rookiemag.com/2012/05/how-to-make-a-zine/.

An e-zine (short for electronic magazine) is a website that is an electronic version of an existing print magazine. Most e-zines make money through including advertising but a few charge a subscription.

Making an e-zine
http://www.feministezine.com/feminist/
http://www.hercircleezine.com/

3. You can print a message on a T-shirt, poster and sticker

T-shirts, posters and stickers are all good ways of selling an idea. Like advertisements they have to be:

- noticeable by use of big letters, bright colours or messages and pictures that grab attention
- easy for the average person to understand
- summarise the message in a few words

Women Crossing the Line

Women from all walks of life are Crossing the Line every day to stand up for themselves, their families, their communities and the human rights of all people. They tackle violence, environmental degradation, corruption, stigma, and prejudice, all while fighting for their own rights with few resources and little recognition. When women speak up and organise with others for
change, together, they push against the boundaries of sexism, racism, and inequality often at great risk for their own safety.

“CAUTION: Women Crossing the Line” is JASS’ organically grown slogan. First created in Spanish in 2004 as part of a strategy to spotlight how women were resisting backlash, it was translated into English for t-shirts demanded by our allies in Africa and Asia to make our community visible at the 2008 AWID Forum in Cape Town. The original slogan was the product of a small JASS team, designed in-house by an activist who happened to be a great techie designer. Across JASS, the slogan is present everywhere in our work and particularly for street actions and spaces where our broader community rally. Women Crossing the Line has developed into a platform for bringing people together to amplify voices, visibility and impact.

www.justassociates.org/en/women-crossing-the-line

JASS’ widely-recognisable symbol speaks right to the heart of women across the southern African region – our stickers find their way onto laptops, diaries, notebooks and even cars. From rural activists in Northern Malawi to young women in Lusaka, the call to “cross the lines” of inequality and oppression rings true. In 2014, JASS translated the CAUTION: Women Crossing the Line logo into Chichewa and Shona.

**Posters**

Posters are a powerful way for activists to communicate an issue visually and creatively. Whether prepared digitally for online use, printed professionally on silkscreen or created by hand on paper or cardboard, posters can be a simple way to share information, raise awareness about a cause or issue, and catch attention. Posters can be a cost-effective way to communicate our messages if we make them ourselves with paint or markers.
A good poster needs to be simple, clear and striking. These rules apply whether you use words or a slogan/statement to get your point across or some kind of image. Your first step if you decide to use posters as a communication tool is to think about the purpose. Are you trying to share detailed information about a particular issue? Are you announcing an upcoming event like a rally or a march? Are you raising awareness about a critical issue? Do you want people to provoke or inspire people to action? Do you want to raise solidarity around a particular issue?

Many times, we may require different kinds of posters to communicate successfully. For example, a large banner on paper or silk-screen can be an effective way to get your message out there during a march or a rally.

If you want to share critical information such as community resources for women survivors of violence or key analysis of a particular issue, it might be more efficient to use smaller posters that lay out our points simply and can be handed out. Depending on our context, we might use hand-written posters or more expensive professionally-printed ones.
In 2012, HIV-positive women activists in Malawi came together to mobilise for better antiretroviral treatment and healthcare through an initiative called the Our Bodies, Our Lives campaign. They decided to use a march during the Global Race to Save Lives from HIV and AIDS Conference as an opportunity to shine a spotlight on their issue and get attention from not only national organisations but the world.

The women activists came together to develop key messages that they agreed on as a group. They did not want to misrepresent their issue and felt that it was important to have some consensus about what it is they wanted to say as a collective that represented thousands of other women around the country. Setting time aside to get this kind of input from our communities is an important step in unrolling feminist strategies and making the most of tools.
Some of the messages that the Our Bodies, Our Lives campaign leaders agreed upon were controversial. They demanded that the Malawi government, and specifically President Joyce Banda, make good on the promise to provide quality ARVs for all Malawian citizens.

It is crucial for us to take care when we use posters that might have photographs or other images that we do not use harmful stereotypes about women and that we get consent from anyone who is pictured. If we intend to put posters on a wall or a billboard, we may need to get permission and pay for the space we use.

Feminist poster project,
www.feministposterproject.wordpress.com/

Stencil a t-shirt:
www.takebackthetech.net/take-action/2007/12/04

What are some of the risks?

Wearing a message publicly on a t-shirt can make the wearer a target for people who are against your cause, so it is important to think through how and when you use t-shirt messages. The same can be said for stickers and posters. If people disagree with the message, the bearer could become a target.

It is important to get consent if you do use clear images of faces to ensure that women have a choice in how their images are used and also that you do not put them at risk in their communities or personal lives.

If you want the reader of the poster to contact your organisation, you must consider security and whether you use a general organisational contact address or not.

Where is the best place to put a poster? Is it positioned strategically so that people can see your message?
• Think about messages on t-shirts and posters that you find inspiring. Why are these good messages?

• How do we develop our messages? Do we have the input of our constituencies and their experiences? Why is this important?

• Are we reproducing harmful images or stereotypes of women or the world in our images?

• How do we make it possible for people to consent fully to the use of their images in our posters? How do we gain permission to use photographs or logos that do not belong to us in our posters?

• Think about when you can wear these t-shirts, or where you can hang the posters so that they are most visible?

• How do we make sure that our posters, and the imagery we use on posters, is not re-creating stereotypes and harmful images about women or the world?

• What are the opportunities and risks of putting a phone number on a poster?

• How can you link them to actions you take? For example, a poster might also inform people about a meeting around a campaign, or a t-shirt might be made specifically for protest action.

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**Positives and negatives of print**

**Positives**

Pamphlets, newsletters and magazines can reach audiences who don’t have access to the internet, TV or radio. They can be kept, re-read and shared with others.

Posters, t-shirts and stickers are great ways of getting a message out there in a way that is very public, easy-to-notice, reaches large numbers and is appealing.
T-shirts and badges can create a sense of belonging or group identity amongst members.

**Negatives**

Printing and materials can be very costly, especially high quality, glossy magazine-style material. However there are cheaper ways of doing this.

The following are examples of how feminist activists have used print:

**Sister Namibia**

In Namibia, Sister Namibia publishes a magazine covering issues affecting women in Namibia but also all over the African continent, including health issues and sex work. It includes profiles of women leaders in society and informs readers of laws and policies important for women’s rights. Sister Namibia invites anybody who is interested to write a piece for the magazine. Through its Facebook page[^42] and website[^43] the magazine invited women to submit their stories. The magazine comes out every second month. They print 10,000 copies each time and distribute them through NGO networks. Their magazine has subscribers from all over and is sent to libraries around the world.

With only about 12% of the population in Namibia able to access the internet, print is an important way of spreading Sister Namibia’s message. As Sheena Magenya of Sister Namibia explains “Magazines are a good way of sharing important information, because they can do it in a way that is personal and enjoyable”.

[^42]: https://www.facebook.com/SisterNamibia
[^43]: http://www.sisternamibia.org/
SPEAK Magazine: A women’s collective project

SPEAK magazine was started in 1982 by a group of South African women who were members of the Durban Women’s Group. This was the time of Apartheid in South Africa and anti-Apartheid activism was at a height. These women wanted to make sure that the struggles for liberation would include liberation for women too. The project began as a newsletter and turned into a national magazine. “Through these pages we were able to raise discussion and debate on issues of concern to women. And we gave support to the organising efforts of women. When distributing SPEAK through our visits to factories, and through sales at rallies and meetings, we continued the discussion and debates with readers, and we got important feedback which we brought into subsequent issues of SPEAK”.44 The magazine was a space for women to inspire, support and learn from each other.

The magazine was developed and run as a collective. This means that the women worked together to produce it without having a hierarchy or separation between their roles.

“When we started we all worked voluntarily. It was more than just another project. It was a political project. We met once a week in each other’s homes – usually in the homes of those with the smallest children, who had no alternative childcare. We worked on the design and layout on living-room floors and kitchen tables. We went out individually to interview women and wrote drafts which were then passed around for comment to each of the five or six collective members. Then we wrote up the final article after several rounds of passing copy around, so that by the end each article was a truly joint product.”

Draft

A first version of a text that can be changed and improved before the final version.

Using print media to build identity and community

There are plenty of other fun ways to share your message but t-shirts and badges can create a sense of belonging or group identity amongst members. But it does not always have to be t-shirts, there may be something that is more cultural appropriate or cheaper to buy/produce. For example, when we are organising a public demonstration we may ask everyone to wear red so we can easily identify each other and make ourselves noticed.

In Liberia, the women’s peace movement used white clothing—which everyone had—to create a sense of identity and project their message of “Peace, No more War”. Later on when the organisation had some money they printed t-shirts with their logo and messages on it.

In Malawi the Our Bodies, Our Lives campaign decided to print three thousand chitenge—a multipurpose piece of cloth commonly worn by women—for its members. The print combined the two lead organisations’ logos and had the core message of the campaign printed on it in Chichewa and English – Matupi athu moyo wathu: kumenyerera kupezekeka kwa mankhwala abwino; Our Bodies, Our Lives: The fight for better ARVs. The cloth became the identity of the group and made a powerful statement when all the women were together demanding change.

Many feminist activists in different places wear t-shirts that say “this is what a feminist looks like” or simply “Feminist”. It shows pride in identifying as feminist. If people don’t know what feminism is it can be an entry point for a discussion on feminism. When these t-shirts are worn by men it is a powerful statement of solidarity and opposes the idea that “feminists are women who hate men”.

Today HIV-positive t-shirts have become part of HIV and AIDS activism all around the world, in different parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They have been shared at meetings and are a powerful symbol of solidarity with people who are HIV-positive. The t-shirt was first worn in South Africa by activists for the Treatment Action Campaign which campaigned for access to HIV and AIDS treatment for South Africans. The activists developed the idea for the t-shirt after a woman, Gugu Dlamini, was murdered in KwaZulu-Natal for being HIV-positive. They wanted to come out and show solidarity with HIV-positive people. As TAC founder Zackie Achmat said, “All people irrespective of their status can wear it and show their solidarity with people with HIV”.

Images

Digital photographs, usually referred to as images, have become a normal part of communication. People regularly use and depend on photographs to tell others about what they are doing. Images are used in magazines, newspapers, posters and billboards to support the text, and communicate ideas and events. Most photos today are taken using digital cameras and smartphones.

The invention of digital cameras has made it easier to take photographs and cheaper to take lots of them. Since the introduction of mobile phones that can take photographs it’s become even easier.

As activists, we can use photos to “tell a story” about the work we are doing in a striking and powerful way. It is important to think about the kinds of stories we tell. Just as with other communications tools and strategies, we need to think about how we represent women and women’s struggles in photographs.

Some important points to remember about images

It is always important to remember that the photographer has chosen what to photograph. An image might only show part of a scene and not always show the real situation. This means that photographs don’t always give the complete story and their selection of what is shown can be used to influence viewers.

Images can be staged or changed using photo-editing software like Photoshop. In other words, what you see in an image might not be real.

Most photographs we see are taken by men, and most photographs of women are used in advertising to sell consumer products.

How do we use images in our activist work? (the positives)

1. As visual information to support written text in print and internet publications such as newsletters, reports, brochures, emails and websites. A photograph can make a description of something clearer and easier for the reader to picture or visualise.
2. **To evoke powerful emotional reaction in viewers.** Often people respond to images and pictures instinctively, especially when we use striking images. photographs are a good way to communicate for advocacy campaigns, whether we are capturing activism or documenting cases or situations of abuse. You can use photos to agitate, educate and advocate. for example you could photograph conditions in your local clinic as evidence to pressure government to improve conditions.

3. **As a powerful storytelling method.** Activists can use photography as a creative, empowering and often healing way to tell a story. These stories can be used to amplify women’s voices and in your education, advocacy and agitation work. Using photographs for telling stories is very different to using them for reports to a donor for example. Photos that tell stories can be understood in different ways. When you use photos to tell stories you need to mostly think about what is important to you and how you can express that through the photographs. When you take photos for a donor or advocacy campaign you think about the story but also you think more about the audience, such as the donors, and what you want them to see.

4. **To present a particular message or idea.** Photographs enable one to select and control what the viewer will see. When you take photographs you are controlling the tool and how women are shown through it. For example, by taking photographs of women being independent, powerful and strong, you can change the story of women being shown as sex objects and victims.

Photographs are good for communicating when people can’t read, or speak a different language to you. A picture tells a story – you don’t have to imagine it as when you are reading or listening to a story. When photos are used with writing they support the writing and give it a personal feeling. Seeing the organisation, or people you are writing about can make them more real for you.
What are some of the risks

- Cameras and smartphones that can take pictures are still expensive.
- You may need to download pictures to a computer to be able to edit them.
- Software and some skill is needed to edit photographs to use them in documents.

Safety

Getting permission from the people we take photographs of before we use them is very important. Taking pictures of people, and then sharing the pictures in public spaces, can be dangerous for them.

Digital photographs can be re-used, changed or manipulated using computer software. It is important to know that when we put photos on the internet, on our website or Facebook page, it is possible for other people to use these photos in different ways. They can share them with others, download them and even change the image and send them out again.

If you are going to share photographs with people’s faces via the internet and this may put them in danger, you can use software to blur faces so that they cannot be recognised. You can also use special software to make people unrecognisable. This software is called Obscuracam.

https://guardianproject.info/apps/obscuracam/

When you take a photograph with your mobile phone or a camera, in addition to the photographed image your device also stores information about the photo within the image file. Called meta-data, this information can include the time and date a photo was taken, the model and make of your device and the precise GPS location (i.e. where the photo was taken). It is best if you switch these functions off on your phone or your camera as you may not want to show where and when the photo was taken.45

45. https://www.takebackthetech.net/be-safe/safety-toolkit
Photovoice – GALZ

The Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) joined forces with Katswe Sistahood and JASS to carry out a powerful photography project called Tinzwei [Hear our Voices]. GALZ fights for an inclusive democracy and the rights of gays and lesbians nationally. Katswe is a feminist organisation of young women fighting for the rights the full attainment of the sexual and reproductive health rights. Guided by renowned South African photographer and activist, Zanele Muholi, a small group of women were trained in how to use photographs to tell their personal stories. The project challenged the ways in which lesbian women are often silenced and made invisible in Zimbabwe. “In Zimbabwe, the lesbian community is not given space to articulate themselves, a space to be able to themselves in Zimbabwe,” said Katswe Sistahood’s Winnet Shamuyarira.

Tinzwei gave women the space to voice who they are in a way that they were comfortable with. Muholi taught participants how to use digital or phone cameras to capture “things that mattered to them,” to tell their stories. She gave them advice on how to take photographs in different places including how to take them without anyone else noticing. This is necessary in countries like Zimbabwe. One woman photographer shared, “We were not allowed to take photos – like photographing the ZANU PF headquarters, the Harare central police station or Parliament. You can’t be seen taking photos of those buildings but we manage to do that”.

“Photovoice is a participatory-action research methodology based on the understanding that people are experts in their own lives. Using Photovoice methodology, participants allow their photographs to raise the questions, ‘Why does this situation exist? Do we want to change it and, if so, how?’ By documenting their own worlds, and critically discussing with policy-makers the images they produce, community people can initiate grassroots social change.” – Zanele Muholi

The photos showcased different parts of the women’s personal and political experiences. One was of a scar on a women’s breast telling part of the story of her struggle with cancer. Another was of a hometown, the place where
the woman discovered she was lesbian and felt safe enough to come out. One of Winnet’s photographs was of a broom. She explains her photo: “A broom in a way is a symbol of women’s roles in society. It’s used to sweep away dirt and women are the ones who normally use a broom, sweeping in the home. I think it spoke about how we can build a movement as women and it also symbolised sweeping away all the negative things that impact us as women”. The experience was empowering for the women. As Winnet put it: “I never thought I could use a camera to tell my own stories. There are so many stories to tell”. Winnet says that at the exhibition, “Others would ask, “What are you trying to say?”, and others would try to tell stories for you – and you could see there are multiple stories to be told by using one photo”.

The photos the women took were shown at an exhibition on posters which also told the story of each woman. “There was a lot of excitement, enthusiasm; it was a thrilling sensation being part of it. There was excitement about how photos can be used as a space to speak about issues that affect women,” said Winnet.

- In the case study, we saw how women can use photography to claim their voices in a context where they might be excluded or silenced. How do you think these women thought about their safety and security within this project?
- In some countries, cameras are expensive – is there a different way to do a Photovoice project to ensure that everyone can participate?
- When we think about photographs and social media, how do we protect our communities and ensure that we protect people’s privacy even as we want to share our work?
All of our activism includes networking and organising. This is the work we do to connect with other people and win more supporters of our issues and causes. It also includes the work you do to communicate with your members and supporters to make plans and share your plans for action. And finally it includes the work to get your messages out there and inspire others to act.

**How it works**

Social network services are online services, platforms or web sites that build on social relations among people, who, for example, share interests, location and/or activities. Most social network services are web-based and consist of a representation of each user (called a profile), her/his social links and a variety of additional services. There are many websites you can use to share photos, send messages, debate and plan events.
It’s easier and more engaging to share information with large groups through social networking sites. Using these online tools is great for amplifying women’s voices, connecting and mobilising and educating and agitating.

Some examples of websites designed for sharing information, through which you can set up networks of people to whom you communicate regularly:

**Microblogging – Twitter**

Twitter allows users to “tweet” short messages (up to 140 characters) which are shared with their network. When you choose to follow someone on Twitter you receive all their tweets. The advantage of Twitter is that it allows people to share short immediate updates. When you use Twitter from your mobile phone it is an especially powerful means of instant communication. Activists use it to highlight ongoing debates on certain issues using hashtags to be able to identify and follow a discussion. Some use it to provide live coverage of events, and it is very useful as a support to campaigns, both online and off – to spotlight the campaign but also point to more information and ways to get involved.

**Blogging – WordPress or BlogSpot**

A blog is a type of website. It is much easier to set up your own blog than your own website. It can be as easy as setting up an email account. A blog is typically arranged like a diary with entries organised by date. Blogs are good for posting long articles. You can also use photos and video. Blogs are open to be read by anyone and found on the internet through searches. To comment you may have to be a member. They are not as interactive as Facebook.

**Video sharing – YouTube and Vimeo**

These are sites dedicated to storing and sharing videos. You can upload your own videos and also create “channels” that spotlight either your creations or videos you’d like to support, in specific subject areas. You can post links to YouTube and Vimeo on Facebook or a blog.
Photo sharing – Flickr and Picasa

These sites are specifically for sharing photos. Facebook and blogs can be used for sharing photos but these sites can store a lot more. Instagram is another site that is good for sharing photos and has gained popularity in the last few years.

Her Zimbabwe – Creating an online community

Her Zimbabwe is a great example of using the internet to create an online community. Her Zimbabwe is a space for Zimbabwean women to share and express their different ideas and experiences through a website and Facebook group. The founder of Her Zimbabwe, Fungai Mahirori, started the website in 2012 after she saw that many young Zimbabwean women using new social media, especially blogs, to express themselves. The potential for these tools to encourage women to question and express their many identities and worldviews was obvious to her. “It’s a space where we encourage women to speak on issues,” she says. The main audience for the website is 20 to 35 year old Zimbabwean women who are living in different countries, including Britain, South Africa and the United States. The website creates a space for these Zimbabwean women connect. Different women contribute stories to the website. The topics range from relationships, body and sexuality, politics and activism.

Facebook

Facebook is an online social networking platform that is accessible by mobile phone or computer via the internet. In many southern African countries, if you use social networking platforms like facebook you need data bundles and these can be expensive.

Facebook can be a powerful way to connect with friends and your larger community by sharing information, photos or videos or regular “status updates”.

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You can use Facebook personally and as an organisation. For organisational use, or for an event or a campaign, you need to create a page.

Facebook is especially useful for some organisations that may not have the resources to host a full website. While the platform does not have all the capabilities of a website, it does allow you to reach huge audiences if you can use it strategically. Facebook works really well for campaigns and urgent action activities that can mobilise your community.

**Guerrilla Feminism** is a powerful global network and organisation that uses Facebook to reach thousands of people. With over 50,000 likes on Facebook, and regional and country pages, Guerrilla Feminism describes itself as the largest pro-intersectional feminist page in the world. Using Facebook as a way to share information, new analysis on women’s issues, news stories, and personal experiences is how Guerrilla Feminism stays connected to its community. To do this, they employ a team of interns whose job it is to monitor the Facebook page, upload new articles, and ensure that any discussions and posts are in line with the feminist perspective of the network as a whole.

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**What are some of the risks?**

- Like many social media tools, Facebook often blurs the line between the personal and the public. As activists, it is not always easy to draw a line between our public and private, our professional and personal lives.

- Security and privacy are big issues when it comes to Facebook. How do we protect the people in our community or our friends? When we share photos, how do we make sure that we have consent from the people in the photos? Who can view your photos?

Facebook’s privacy settings are constantly changing, it is important to keep your personal and organisational settings up to date.

As a corporate platform that uses advertising, that you “like” or view on Facebook are captured in corporate search engines. These search engines put advertising banners on your page. This has implications on your privacy as well.
The Pink Chaddhi Campaign

The Pink Chaddhi campaign is an example of how Facebook was used in India to mobilise around violence against women. In 2009, in the Indian city of Mangalore, a group of men from a right-wing group called Sri Ram Sena attacked women in a bar for “disrespecting Indian culture” by being out and drinking publicly. The attack was videoed and spread through the news media, YouTube and social networking sites. The leader of Sri Ram Sena supported the attacks and said that they would be targeting unmarried couples who were out on the upcoming Valentine’s Day and force them to marry. In response, a group of women started a Facebook group called “Consortium of Pub-going, Loose and Forward Women”. The name of the group was partly a joke, but the cause was serious. They wanted to support the right of women to go out and enjoy themselves. Within one week the group had 40,000 members. The organisers asked the members to send pink “chaddhis” (underwear) to the founder of Sri Ram Sena, and set up collection points for the chaddhis. One of the organisers of the group explained their action: “Chaddhi is a childish word for underwear and slang for right-wing hardliner… It amused us to embrace the worst slurs, to send pretty packages of intimate garments to men who say they hate us”. They also asked women to go out to bars on Valentine’s Day to show support for the women who were attacked. Members of the Facebook group also posted photos of the pink chaddhis they were sending. The campaign got widespread media attention around the world and was debated on television. Over 2000 pink chaddhis were delivered to Sri Ram Sena, embarrassing them. Days before Valentine’s Day, the group called off their planned Valentine’s Day attacks.

The Pink Chaddhi campaign capitalised on the energy and frustration that women had in the wake of the attacks. As one of the organiser’s said: “Many of us feel isolated in our unhappiness with right-wing groups of any religion disrupting our way of life. This campaign was aimed to protest the climate of fear being created by right wing groups in Mangalore. And to an extent we have succeeded in creating a dent — giving people a sense

of hope”. This story shows the possibilities for online social networks as platforms for connecting and mobilising creatively. The organisers did not plan a big campaign when they started the group. In fact the group did not have a leader but organised collectively through Facebook.

While Facebook was a good site for the campaign—because there were many potential supporters who could be easily reached and join the group—there were some challenges with it.

Once there are more than 5000 members in a Facebook group you cannot send members messages and can only communicate by posting messages on the group’s wall, like a discussion board. The organisers felt this was not as effective as being able to send direct messages to people.

The group was hacked by people who broke the security settings for it and posted harassing messages. This is a problem that other groups on Facebook have experienced. Facebook staff were not very helpful in response.

Other groups were set up copying the Pink Chaddhi group. There was little the organisers could do about this. Facebook allows other to freely re-post your information, which is great for spreading your message but also means that you can have less control over your information.

- How does the Pink Chaddhi campaign show the power of social networking as well as the risks?
- How can you mitigate the risks of harassment or hacking on social networking sites?
- Do you think your organisation needs a Facebook page and a web page?
- If you are part of an organisation where employees use Facebook, do you have agreement on what privacy and consent procedures are?
- Facebook is a “social” networking site—how do you use it and interact with it personally and professionally? What does this mean for your personal security and privacy?
DIGITAL STORYTELLING

Every person has a story to tell, and when we tell our stories and listen to the stories of others, we discover how much of our experiences and learning we have in common with each other. Telling stories can also have a life-changing impact on the story teller. When we tell our stories we hear ourselves more deeply and understand more about our experiences.

Digital stories are short video stories, usually between 3-5 minutes long, made by the story-teller herself. The technology is simple to use and women who have very little experience with computers have made their own digital stories. The focus is on the storytellers’ control over the process, choice of words, pictures and music so that the video is powerful for the story teller and for the person who watches the story.

You need a computer with a simple video-editing programme (e.g. Windows Movie Maker or iMovie), digital photographs or a digital camera or cell phone to take photos, a photo editor (such as Gimp) and a microphone or a mobile phone to record the story which is then edited (using Audacity). The elements of photos, voice and music are then transferred to Windows Movie Maker or iMovie where you can add effects to the photos. The video-editing software helps put it all together and creates a short movie.

Digital storytelling has also gone mobile with storymaker
https://storymaker.cc/

The APC Women’s Rights Programme has used digital stories for documentation, evaluation and healing and see they are powerful tools for advocacy.
**Amplifying women’s voices (Southern Africa)**

“There is a similarity in all our stories. We tend to stigmatise and blame ourselves. I was feeling embarrassed… but opening up and listening makes you feel closer to the other. Telling your story is powerful.”

“Telling my story still felt like it was not mine. I still wanted to make it less than it sounds. I mean was it really that bad? I felt I had to still make it sound a bit nice. If we have been in silence for so long when we speak it, it doesn’t sound right.”

“It was like recovering from a chronic illness. Honestly, I don’t know if this has something to do with magic or what. I hope I will continue to feel the way I feel now.”

“I am really glad. The workshop has made me stronger from knowing my story is not vain; and affirms[ed] that I have the right to feel the way I do. Listening to other people’s stories also has motivated me towards action; enabling me to brace up for the challenge of telling my story and seeking justice.”

Digital storytelling has been part of feminist movement building in southern Africa for almost a decade.

Digital stories produced by women from Namibia, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia, have been broadcasted on JASS’ website and on YouTube as tools to reflect on issues of power and resistance, patriarchy, HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive rights, motherhood and feminist organising. A story from Namibia was used alongside other advocacy tools in a recent case against forced sterilisation of HIV-positive women in the country. The story is entitled *Robbed from Motherhood*.

www.justassociates.org/screeningdigitalstories.htm
www.justassociates.org/digitalstories.htm

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47. Women’s Electronic Networking Workshop, Durban 2008 hosted by APC and Women’sNet
http://www.justassociates.org/digitalstories.htm
What is it useful for?

Women are telling their own stories in their own voices. They are speaking of what is important to them without an outside movie producer questioning and leading them. The storytelling circle is one where women witness each others stories through listening and telling their own stories. The making of the digital stories puts the technology in women’s hands. The workshops build communities as women are sharing their stories in circles of trust and intimacy.

This sharing of stories also means that women feel that they are not alone in having these thoughts and feelings. It is supportive on a personal level and women’s rights activists get the chance to network and motivate and support each other in their activism. The groups of participants sometimes become communities.

Women can use their mobile phones to take pictures and record their voices. The digital stories can be used for advocacy, to educate about issues affecting women and even to evaluate projects.

Some FOSS tools you can use

Gimp is a photoediting tool which you can download for free off the internet and works just like Photoshop which you have to pay for.

Audacity is a sound recording and editing tool which is available on the internet for free. Both programmes are FOSS.

Risks

Storytellers need to decide if they want to put their story on the internet or not. If it does go on the internet, you lose control over who will view it and there is the risk that someone could download and change the movie in a way the storyteller may not like. If something is uploaded to the internet is cannot be erased. Even if you pull down your digital story, someone else may have posted it somewhere else. So you have to be sure you don’t mind that. You can choose instead put the digital story on a DVD or a USB stick to
share with others. You can also choose to “copyright” your story using Creative Commons\(^\text{49}\) and dictate who can use and change your story. If you have this licensed it gives you back up if you are reporting inappropriate use of your video, for example, on YouTube.

Our lives are not static and we change over time. The story that we told five years ago may not be true for us currently.

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- *When you are making your story what do you need to think about in relation to consent?*

- *What would be some of the safety and security issues you would need to think about?*

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\(^{49}\) [https://creativecommons.org/](https://creativecommons.org/)
Radio is the most commonly used medium of communication in southern Africa, and is found throughout the world. The popularity of radio means that it is a highly effective way to spread information, whether in the home or in a car or bus, or in a public space like a supermarket. Activists can use radio as a way to mobilise great numbers of people and share their messages with the guarantee that they will reach thousands. Radio is also a powerful way for those who have been silenced or excluded from certain conversations to carve their own space to speak out — whether it is women who are not allowed to speak up for their rights or positive people who want to have a say in national HIV policy.

Types of radio stations:

Commercial radio stations are a business that aims to make profits and income from the advertising on the radio. This influences their content choices which are often based on a stereotypical understanding of women. For example, programmes targeting women are more likely to be about beauty products than about running a business.
**Community radio stations** are non-profit stations that are supposed to service the local community they are part of. They should have a board that represents the community and take into account the interests of people in the community in their radio programmes. They should also include community members in decisions about their programming.

**Internet radio stations** also known as web radio is an audio service transmitted via the internet. Broadcasting on the internet is usually referred to as webcasting. You could also use an online video conferencing platform (such as Google Hangouts) as a live discussion forum, recording it and making it available afterwards as a podcast.

Activists can also use the internet to share audio material as a **podcast**. A podcast is an audio or video digital recording that comes in episodes that you can listen to or watch on the internet. You can also download podcasts and listen or watch at your convenience. Internet users have their own channel. They are very popular with schools and universities.

All you need is an internet connection and a microphone or camera, where you can record your programme episodes and upload them onto a website or channel. Then other internet users are able to download and listen to what you have to say.

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**Feminist radio on the internet**

Radio FIRE is an example of an internet radio station. FIRE stands for Feminist Radio Endeavour. Their slogan is “By all means connecting voices, technologies and actions, amplifying women’s voices worldwide”. The shows on the station are for women, about women and created by women. It was the first international women run internet radio station and has shows in English and Spanish. Women from all over the world listen to Radio FIRE. The radio station also creates a community. Women can send in letters, emails, call in and put up information on their website. You can also write to them to post copies of their audio shows to you on a CD. Radio FIRE has many different kinds of shows. They play programmes from other women’s radio
stations, they have a monthly show interviewing women who have done important work on women’s rights and run special broadcasts supporting and discussing campaigns.

www.fire.or.cr/indexeng.htm

What are the risks?

- People may not want to be identified on the radio speaking out about human rights abuses as they could be attacked or imprisoned. Not using real names or editing the voice so that it is not recognisable is a way of securing people but still hearing what they have to say.
- Sometimes people may not trust what is said on the radio unless they know the people or the organisation presenting the information.
- Malicious people could hack your podcast.

Think about Radio FIRE, how would an internet radio station be a powerful way for women to speak out on the issues that affect them?

How would you go about developing content for a radio programme?

How would you think about safety and security when using radio as a communications tool in your organising?
MAKING PHONE CALLS USING THE INTERNET

It is now possible to have a spoken conversation with another person or group of people over the internet using software applications. You can also see the other person using a web camera known as a webcam. It is also possible to send text messages. This is called VOIP or Voice Over Internet Protocol which is basically a phone service over the internet. If you have a good internet connection you can use VOIP instead of using your telephone line. VOIP means that you can call people from your computer, tablet or mobile phone. You need to be connected to the internet to use it. It is a much cheaper alternative to making telephone calls as you can make calls to people anywhere in the world just using an internet connection.

To use VOIP you would need to download the software which is free, register and give yourself a name and a password to login. Ask your colleagues and families to download the same programme and you add them to your contacts list. You can then call them and switch on a video tool which allows you to see them. You can also send text messages.

Calls are free if you and the people you are calling use the same software. If you want to call to a person’s landline or mobile phone, you have to buy what is called credits. You need a credit card to do this. When you have credits you can call from your computer, using VOIP software to any landline or mobile phone in the world. It is much cheaper than landline calls.

You can have conference calls by calling in other people who also have the same VOIP software. If the connection is bad and you can’t use voice, you can use text. You set up a chat room and add all those who you want to communicate with at the same time. If you have an internet connection, this is very cost-effective and gets more done than sending many emails.

The most popular and commonly known and used software is Skype. However, Skype is not as safe as it should be, meaning that if you want to talk about sensitive information, Skype would not be a good software to use. It would be better to use Jit.si, meet.jit.si or Google Hangout.
What are some of the risks?

- There are risks that you and who you are talking to could be monitored. In other words people could find it easy to listen in or read your text messages if you use software like Skype that is not fully secure. If you want to discuss sensitive and private issues it is best to use a more secure alternative like Jit.si.

- Skype conversations in text can be archived and could be read by others.

- Which VOIP software would benefit your communication strategy?

- What challenges or risks do you imagine you may encounter when using this tool with your networks?
MESSAGING APPLICATIONS

Mobile phone messaging applications, known as apps, are very popular. A mobile messaging app allows you to exchange messages on your smartphone without having to pay for SMS. In addition to basic messaging, users can create groups, and send multimedia files such as images, video and audio media messages. Some apps, such as WhatsApp, recently introduced voice phone calls as well, which use your internet data connection to make the call rather than cellphone minutes.

In order to access the app, you have to install the app on your phone. While it is significantly cheaper than using SMS, it does require an internet-enabled phone, data or a Wifi connection in order to be accessed. In South Africa, it is possible to access apps with minimal data or money in your phone.

Messaging apps are powerful tool to help people communicate and exchange information globally. Unlike SMS, messaging apps have space for limitless characters in messages. Remember sending files and videos will use more data.

There are many messaging apps to choose from. WhatsApp is probably the most well-known, although is not the most secure messaging app. There are many others such as Viber, Telegram and TextSecure.

What are some of the risks?

Using WhatsApp as an example, if you use What’sapp on your phone, it is necessary to disclose your mobile number which can make you insecure. When you are added to a group, other people in the group that you may not know will have access to message you and your phone number. The “last seen” setting on WhatsApp makes it possible for people to track your movements. This can be disabled manually.

The Association for Progressive Communications team makes use of Telegram and TextSecure to keep in touch as an organisation. TextSecure is open source and works with a username instead of your phone number, so you must share
it with others who use TextSecure in order to be in contact. You can have three different usernames on your phone, which allows you to separate work from personal life, for example.

**Alternatives to WhatsApp**

For activists, a good alternative to WhatsApp is Telegram, a messaging app that focuses on speed and security. Telegram is “cloud-based” which means it can be used across several devices (phones, tablets, and computers) at the same time and allows users to share an unlimited number of photos, videos and files. Telegram provides a fast, reliable service that is free and includes extra *privacy* and *security* features such as “Secret Chats” with self-destructing messages, photos and videos. This app is heavily encrypted, which offers another layer of protection. You are also able to lock the app on your device with an additional passcode.

Telegram is very similar to WhatsApp in functionality, and like WhatsApp when you download it alerts you if any of your contacts are also using it. However, if you create a group in Telegram, others in the group who are not on your contact list will not have access to your phone number. The Women’s Rights Team utilises Telegram because it is more secure and allows for a greater exchange of files.

- *What kind of information are you sharing on your mobile phone app?*
- *Are you sure that you are using an application that has safety features to keep what you share secure?*
List of sources


- Take Back the Tech
https://www.takebackthetech.net/
List of credits

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