

Simone Leid: Legitimizing Virtual Constituencies: How CSOs are Using Digital Technologies to Enlarge the Space for Citizen Participation in Women and Gender Issues in the Caribbean



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Abstract

Online social movements have allowed for a deepening of democracy by allowing individuals to more easily link with causes and issues that are important to them. Especially for the women's rights movement, social platforms have allowed the 'personal' – through the sharing of stories - to significantly impact the way lay-persons understand the political. This is a critical element in achieving gender justice, since it directly impacts entrenched attitudes and beliefs which are the driving forces of discrimination against women.

However, the 'gatekeepers' of democratic decision making processes - governments and multilateral mechanisms - still have the power to decide who participates and how. The gatekeepers use the argument of 'legitimacy' as a way to suppress participation of online social movements/organisations. Legitimacy in this sense is often defined in legal terms (articles of registration, financial and governance structures), but also in terms of 'constituencies'. It may be argued that the ways in which people come to join online social movements - through hashtagging, signing online petitions, participating in cause-related campaigns - make it difficult to identify 'real' constituencies. There are no annual general meetings, no membership fees, no voting in of the board, none of the traditional legitimacy and transparency requirements.

This paper will explore the ways in which online movements are bypassing the gatekeepers and are 'claiming spaces': creating the rules and expanding the definition of legitimacy. It will seek to identify the methodologies and tools used by women and gender-focused CSOs in the Caribbean to legitimize their virtual constituencies and examine their success in impacting policy.

Keywords: civil society organisations, digital technologies, gender, social mobilisation, Caribbean

How to cite

Leid, Simone. 2017. "Legitimizing Virtual Constituencies: How CSOs are using Digital Technologies to Enlarge the Space for Citizen Participation in Women and Gender Issues in the Caribbean." *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* issue 11: 181–218.

Introduction

A vibrant and active civil society is a key feature of good governance, ensuring that national policies, development plans and resources of a country are managed in such a way that the lives and well-being of all citizens are prioritized. Civil society is most commonly conflated with its organised forms - NGOs, trade unions, community groups. However, such actors as individual activists, including online activists, artists and writers and human rights defenders, when they act in the public sphere to advance or defend a viewpoint that others may share, are part of civil society too (Civicus 2013).

The explosion in communications technology and social networking platforms has expanded the reach of civil society organisations and activists. Traditionally, civil society actors relied on the strength of thought leaders and community builders to meet with and interact with persons on the ground to win support for a cause. Today, anyone with access to a computer can establish an identity and invite people to join their cause with the click of a 'follow' button. This democratization has led to an increased sense of personal activism, with persons easily able to link to a cause or issue that is important to them. Followers engage as civil society actors themselves when they 'like' a post, sign a petition, retweet a post, use a hashtag or post their personal opinions via a social media platform. Social media has made it far easier to reach a wider range of like-minded individuals over a larger geographic area, internationalizing the work of many CSOs and facilitating the formation of cross-border coalitions and support networks.

These virtual constituencies have become a key resource for CSOs. According to the 2016 Global NGO Online Technology Report, 63% of all donors prefer to give online with 72% of millennials saying that they are most often inspired to give by social media. The reach of the various communication technologies and social media platforms has facilitated networking and organising for action on a tremendous scale as has been seen with the Occupy Movements and Black Lives Matter phenomena.

But in the absence of high visibility events like protests, how are online constituencies being used to further the issues that CSOs seek to address on a longer term basis? How are CSOs able to prove that their online followers agree with their objectives or policy positions? Does a simple 'like' of a Facebook page constitute agreement? Can an action initiated by community group page claim legitimacy because it has 500 followers? How do we even know if users are real identities? And how do we prove that virtual constituencies are indeed legitimate.

Technology, social mobilization and civil society

Communication technologies have long served to advance civil society objectives. From the expansion in access to press and radio to the introduction of the internet, email and SMS (short messaging systems), communications technologies have made it possible for civil society actors to share information and ideas with their members and supporters as well as facilitate easier mobilisation and coordination of actions such as protests, demonstrations and other tactics for advancing their cause.

However, the second generation of web technology, referred to as Web 2.0, has created a significant change in the nature and scope of civil society organising. Unlike first generation web technologies like email listservs and websites that have enabled civil society activists to share their messages with supporters, Web 2.0 platforms enable individuals to not just be the receivers of information but become co-creators of user-generated content. Social media applications such as blogs, Facebook and Twitter enable individuals to link with others in networked spaces - exchanging ideas, engaging in critical debate and participating in decision-making (Castells 2008).

This not only changes the ways in which individuals participate in movements or causes, but also has implications for the very structure of civil society organising. While more traditionally-structured formal organisations may benefit from this technology by reducing costs for mobilisation and promoting greater sense of

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collective identity, it also enables decentralized and non-hierarchical forms of activism to flourish and makes it easier for movement-entrepreneur-led activism to come to the fore (Garrett 2006). Movements such as Black Lives Matter in the USA and the Life In Leggings in Barbados show how such movements birthed from social media platforms have been able to use networked, decentralised and collaborative structures to expand their influence in the public sphere and be adopted by organisers in other states and countries. What we are seeing in this new era of activism is "a shift from the institutional political system to informal and formal associations of interests and values as the source of collective action and socio-political influence" (Castells 2008, 84).

Still, many scholars question whether web technologies are in fact expanding democratic participation and having significant or sustained impacts on the policy space. While access to information and participation in co-creating content enlarges the potential for amplifying citizen voice, access to internet may not be widely available to persons from poorer communities. In addition, individuals who most often engage in online activist spaces are usually the same ones who are also involved in activism offline, thereby reinforcing existing patterns of political participation in society (Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009, 234).

Questions have also been raised about whether the use of these technologies are having any real transformative impact on the scope and scale of CSO organising. While Web 2.0 technologies have created opportunities to have closer, more direct communication with supporters, civil society organisations have not substantially changed their mobilising strategies. Their 'tactical repertoire' or toolkit of actions (protests, demonstrations, petitions and disruption) continues to be the same, though the internet has provided opportunities to innovate and expand the ways in which these actions are executed. (Garrett 2006, Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009). And although communities of interest can spring up overnight on social media platforms, often after the action they supported is over, individuals often choose to move on and don't feel a need to

get permanently engaged. (Earl and Schussman 2003, cited in Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009).

What has changed in the digital era is that there is less distinction in term of political and non-political social engagement, as online communities dedicated to leisure, professional or social activities also occasionally turn their attention to political issues and protest activities (Polletta et al. 2013). This means that even in the face of apparently ever-increasing public disengagement from formal political institutions and processes, individuals and particularly younger people are incorporating activism as part of their social profile. (cf. Dalton 2008 cited in Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009).

Even if the tactical repertoires of activist organisations have not strategically changed, innovations made possible by the internet (memes, hashtags) are very effective in leveling the power balance between corporations, politicians and the public by increasing accountability. And while the many may be drawn towards 'low threshold' actions such as signing online petitions, it has been found that individuals participating in 'high threshold' (riskier) political actions such as illegal demonstrations have been previously engaged in 'low threshold' actions (Verhulst and Van Laer 2008 cited in Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009). The key to harnessing the support base and maintaining strong ties in social movements lies in 'sustained interactions' which in fact makes new web technologies a valuable resource for civil society actors and organisations, as it provides the largely passive support base a low-intensity forum for issue-based communication, potentially strengthening their identification with the movement (Diani 2000 cited in Garrett 2006) and allowing them to form political opinions through conversation. (Shirky 2011, 37)

Despite the fact that new technologies make possible increased information and knowledge of political issues among supporters, there is no guarantee that this increased online activity correlates to a movement's ability to influence change in official politics (Van Dijk 2006 cited in Groshek 2010). Such change is

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also influenced by the conditions in the political environment including "the relative accessibility of the political system, the stable or fragmented alignments among elites, the presences of elite allies, and the state's capacity and propensity for repression." (McAdam 1996 as cited in Garrett 2006).

Constituencies as the basis for defining legitimacy of CSOs

Legitimacy implies acceptance. For any type of civil society actor – NGOs, community-based organisations, online activists - there must be some general recognition by others that the CSO has the authority to speak on behalf of, and promote, the interests of a specific group of people. This recognition is most directly indicated by an organisation's membership, to whom the board or other governing mechanism is accountable. In the absence of a membership, legitimacy may also come from recognition of the CSO's competence and expertise in the field and evidence of an established relationship with the constituency the CSO purports to represent.

But very often we think of legitimacy in legal terms. Is the organisation legally registered under a government body? Does it have a governance structure? Are there established procedures for accounting and reporting?

Governance and transparency are indeed important for ensuring that organisations are accountable to, and serve the interests of, their members and constituents. However, one of the most important reasons CSOs move to become legally registered is so that they can access funding from donors and government agencies and be invited to participate in policy-making processes such as consultations, committees or state sanctioned civil society advisory boards.

Sometimes CSOs spend a great deal of their energies making themselves 'legitimate' in the eyes of donors and governments at the expense of focusing on the legitimacy derived from constituencies. They set their agenda based on

the priorities and programmes established by donor NGOs, foundations and multilateral agencies, and spend a great deal of their resources building their professional skills in organisational development so that they can be effective 'partners'. This has the effect of actually weakening civil society's 'oppositional consciousness' as organisations get bogged down with bureaucratic details instead of harnessing local energies for change (Barnes 2009).

But legal requirements can also be used as a way to exclude civil society voices and action. In many parts of the world, governments have instituted various laws and regulations that are designed to dismantle CSOs and create hostile environments for civil society. The State of Civil Society Report (CIVICUS 2016) indicates that in 2015, CSOs in 109 countries have come under serious attack. Governments are revoking registrations for organisations, making certain sources of foreign aid illegal, invoking anti-terrorism laws, and threatening activists with imprisonment. The report also notes in particular, that there have been concerted efforts to intimidate and exclude organisations and activists dealing with rights of indigenous communities and LGBTI rights.

With international funding sources drying up in recent years, it has forced CSOs to rethink the ways in which they define their sustainability and more and more CSOs are returning to constituencies as the basis of their legitimacy. There is a growing focus on movement building and networks as strategies to impact social change versus the project modality. In a way, we are seeing a move back to engaging constituencies and prioritizing the issues they identify as important, instead of skewing the organisation's strategies to fit in line with the objectives of external funding agencies.

Civil society as the site of innovation

Often it is civil society that lights a path and creates new ways of looking at and addressing social problems. It is this freedom from institutional norms that gives civil society the space to challenge the dominant cultural and political landscape and create new modes of engagement.

The rise of social media as the site for political action is one of these innovations. Civil society has been able to use social media as a way of enlarging the space for citizen action by creating spaces and opportunities for a wider range of persons, including more marginalized voices, to highlight the issues they deem important and participate in creating change. In fact, many civil society actors and organisations that originated online have been able to win enough support from their virtual constituencies to actually influence major policy changes and/or public interest outcomes that serve to shift public discourse and lead to changes in institutional practices.

So while citizen participation carries its own self-originated legitimacy (Marschall 2002), and legitimacy of CSOs is further strengthened by enlarging the constituency, then legitimizing virtual constituencies consists of strategies aimed at identifying, targeting and creating opportunities for participation of constituencies in the virtual space.

How virtual constituencies are enlarging the space for civil society engagement

A constituency is the group of persons an organisation (or actor) uses as its point of reference. They are the ones whose interests the CSO purports to represent or speak on behalf of. These constituencies may be identified through official membership of an organisation or grouping, where such members are involved in the governance of the entity, or by representation as per a board. Still, many recognized organisations, including those that have originated online, have neither membership nor representation but are “legitimised by the validity of their ideas, by the values they promote, and by the issues they care about” (Marschall 2002). However, organisations that are unable to show a link with and support from their constituencies may have their legitimacy questioned especially as they try to enter policy-making spaces.

Enlarging the constituency base in a virtual space means moving beyond notions of membership and representation, to promotion of common values

and finding intersections where persons converge in relation to a specific issue. Constituency building is enhanced because of the consistent flow of information, exchange of knowledge and sharing of experiences. The connectedness of online spaces further provides greater avenues for alliance building and bringing together resources of different CSOs behind a specific agenda.

Enlarging constituencies guards against the perception of elite capture, and can create the kind of critical mass needed to push for policy changes. Enlarging constituencies has the effect of changing the power dynamic between states and citizens, where CSOs are no longer waiting to be invited to policy making spaces but are creating dynamic spaces where issues are brought to the forefront, compelling governments to come to the table.

The immediacy of digital communications increases democracy and enables direct access and greater engagement with diverse constituents who are able to interact with each other, share ideas, develop common understanding of the issues and suggest strategies for change. Even organisations who do not engage directly in policy work are able to create perceptible shifts in attitudes and practices among their constituents which can significantly impact change.

One such organisation is the Pixel Project: a complete virtual, volunteer-led global 501(c)3 non-profit organisation whose mission is to raise awareness, funds and volunteer power for the cause to end violence against women (VAW) using the power of the internet, social media, new technologies and popular culture/the arts.

Regina Yau (2016), founder of The Pixel Project, says that The Pixel Project's anti-Violence Against Women campaigns and programmes are all designed to reach and engage with specific constituencies which are, more often than not, non-traditional audiences that have previously not supported the cause to end

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VAW. They accomplish this by building communities that are active and engage with the content and messages on an ongoing basis.

She goes on to note that one of their major strategies for enlarging their constituencies is by curating specific campaigns as platforms, using Google Hangouts or blog series to encourage persons with different interests to engage with issues around VAW. Some of these include The Read For Pixels campaign which targets authors, book lovers, and fandoms (especially in the genres of Science Fiction and Fantasy); The Music For Pixels campaign targeting music artistes, music lovers, YouTubers; The People and Pets Say NO campaign targeting pet lovers and animal rights activists and the "30 For 30" Father's Day campaign which highlights the role of dads, father figures and male allies in the fight against VAW.

Virtual spaces also promote expansion of networks which means that the composition of constituencies may evolve over time. SASH Bahamas is an NGO which was established to address HIV among high risk populations, specifically Men who have Sex with Men (MSM). The organisation credits its online engagement with expanding its network and outreach to include not just MSM but also LGBT and at-risk youth. Based on these expanded constituencies, the organisation has rebranded itself from Society Against STIs and HIV to Society Against Stigmatization and Hate.

Online engagement also makes it possible for marginalized groups who face stigma and discrimination to easily find a community where they can access resources and information, share experiences and get support. Further, closed Facebook groups provide safe spaces where persons can more easily highlight their issues openly in a supportive environment.

The Women's Caucus, a Trinidad and Tobago-based organisation whose constituents consist of lesbian, bisexual women and women who love women, have used their closed Facebook group to promote advocacy and empowerment initiatives. The online presence also buttresses their physical

support and networking meetings by providing virtual sharing of information and provision of support.

Similarly, I am One, another organisation whose constituents consist of LGBT and sexual and gender minorities in Trinidad and Tobago, has found their online presence particularly useful for conducting community-building projects such as their photography series and fostering community conversations by sharing news stories and interest pieces. The use of photographs, personal stories and art is a very effective strategy in helping deepen understanding of issues related to marginalized groups and serves to drive social movements and activism in a way that a policy brief cannot.

Domestic Violence Survivors Reaching Out (DVSRO), based in Trinidad and Tobago, also uses a closed Facebook group where their members provide ongoing support and encouragement to each other as well as educating each other on their rights and options. These closed spaces also provide security for women in dangerous situations and provide them with an avenue to reach out and find help, especially in cases where their movement may be restricted by their abusers.

Strategies used by Caribbean CSOs to legitimize virtual constituencies

For CSOs dealing with issues related to women and gender, the virtual space presents a unique opportunity to challenge entrenched attitudes and beliefs - which are the driving forces of gender discrimination. Social platforms have allowed the 'personal' - through the sharing of stories - to significantly impact the way lay-persons understand the political.

Building strong constituencies in the virtual space means giving them the opportunity to participate in the growth of the organisation. While some CSOs use social media platforms as a way to recruit members to the organisation, there are ways in which virtual constituencies, who are not tied to the governance structures of organisations, can contribute to shaping and influencing CSO strategies.

In the following, we will highlight the ways in which Caribbean-based CSOs are defining their constituencies and how their engagement strategies with their online constituencies serve to build the legitimacy of these entities and enlarge the constituency base.

Methodology

Having previously interacted with several CSOs through my organisation -The WomenSpeak Project - and followed their online activity, I had a frame of reference for the types of engagement strategies used by these organisations. I further conducted a scoping exercise to identify additional CSOs involved in women and gender issues in the Caribbean with a presence on the internet, particularly those who were fairly active on social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. By examining the types of posts and interactions most commonly used on these platforms, I was able to identify a range of engagement strategies used by organisations in the Caribbean and internationally to communicate with their online constituencies. I used this information to generate two lists: online platforms used by the organisation and engagement strategies used on these platforms.

Subsequently, I developed an online survey comprising nine questions using a web-survey platform. The first four questions were identification questions regarding type of organisation and contact information. The other five questions, a combination of multiple choice and text questions, sought to elicit information in three main areas:

- a) How CSOs defined their constituencies
- b) What strategies they used to engage with online constituencies
- c) Outcomes of their engagement strategy – at the organisational level or policy level

Approximately 60 organisations throughout the Caribbean region were invited to participate in the study. Invitations, describing the purpose of the study and a link to the online survey, were first sent to organisations via email. However, few organisations responded via this method. Several organisations were then contacted via their Facebook pages which yielded greater responsiveness. The survey was conducted over a two-month period between April and May 2016 with a couple of entries coming in later.

In the end, 26 organisations from nine Caribbean countries completed the online survey. Where necessary, I followed up with respondents to clarify information included in the survey responses and verified this information by examining Facebook and Twitter posts, blogs, related newspaper articles and policy documents available online.

Findings

The findings show that CSOs are using their online spaces to build and legitimize their virtual constituencies in a number of ways including community building, resource mobilization, education and information sharing, monitoring and networking. These strategies serve not only to benefit the growth and legitimacy of CSOs but they are having significant impacts on the policy environment.

Several organisations surveyed have used social media to bolster participation in their events and campaigns. Online engagement not only presents an opportunity to promote the activities of the organisation but to build stronger bonds with constituents and involve them in growing the organisation and supporting the cause.

The Association of Female Executives of Trinidad and Tobago (AFETT) is one such organisation that has used their online presence to significantly expand its reach. It encourages engagement of their followers by inviting constituents (financial and non-financial members, female executives, volunteers) to participate and volunteer in their various programmes and outreach activities.

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Their annual Women of Influence Awards which is held on International Women's Day each year, invites nominations and presents awards to women who have made significant contributions in business, social enterprise and leadership. The organisation also invites volunteers to become mentors for its mentorship programme for adolescent girls. This provides an avenue for engagement with constituents who may not be members of the organisation but who want to contribute to specific objectives of the organisation.

Similarly, through their engagement with their virtual constituents, organisations such as S.T.R.A.W Inc Centre for Young Women (The Bahamas), I'm Glad I'm a Girl (Jamaica) and The Lily Foundation for Human Development (Tobago) have not only received referrals for girls and at-risk youth to participate in their programmes, but have also been able to secure financial contributions from local and international donors and volunteers to advance the work of the organisation.



I Am a Girl Barbados, whose constituencies include girls, parents/guardians and other youth-focused CSOs, have been able to use their online platforms to develop strategic alliances with their constituents in order to win support for key actions. After sharing a poster¹ on their social media sites calling for the development of a sex offender registry, they received a number of inquiries from other CSOs and business entities wishing to

collaborate on developing advocacy strategies to advance the call. Other organisations such as Groundation Grenada who identified their constituents to

be women & girls, LGBTQ, artists and community organisers, have also been able to find collaborators for their projects, including visiting artist residents and fellows who bring fresh perspectives to interrogating issues such as women's rights, sexuality and social justice.

Organisations are also using their online platforms to promote and encourage participation of constituents in international campaigns, bringing international policy and strategies into the local discourse on women and gender.

The Network of Rural Women Producers Trinidad and Tobago (NRWPTT) has been successful in accelerating the reach of the United Nations Secretary General's UNiTE to End Violence Against Women Campaign through their social media presence. They were able to galvanize support for an 'Orange Day' walk in the town of Arima, where thousands, including the mayor and members of the council also marched. They have also been successful in getting senior officials of the Trinidad and Tobago Defense Force and Fire Services to publicly sign on and support the online HeforShe campaign which signals men's commitment to activism to put an end to inequalities faced by women and girls around the world.

Intersect (Antigua and Barbuda), a CSO which focuses on gender and intersectionality used social media to help organise "Orange Flash": a public rally in support of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence campaign which focused on rape, sexual harassment, human trafficking and domestic violence. Raise Your Voice St. Lucia Inc also mobilized online followers to participate in a public march to observe International Day to End Violence Against Women.

The digital space has made it possible for Caribbean CSOs to not only win more diverse constituents, but has also created an important resource in secondary constituents. Secondary constituents may be considered those who have an interest in the organisation's mission/vision, share their values or can contribute

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important resources to the achievement of the organisation's goals and objectives. Unlike primary constituents, they do not have a direct stake in the issue/cause, do not comprise the grouping of persons in whose interests the organisation purports to act, nor are they the point of reference for identifying actions, decisions, programmes etc.(Constantini 2016)

Secondary constituents may include CSOs in different sectors, business enterprises, international development organisations, donors, media, politicians or other persons of influence. These entities bring increased visibility, goodwill, financial and other resources to the organisation and can be important collaborators and promoters of the cause.

Hollaback! Bahamas has noted that especially on their Twitter platform, many of their followers include international organisations and activists. Rather than try to change the composition of that audience, they have worked to build relationships with them. In 2014 Bahamas MP Leslie Miller made comments in Parliament in which he joked about abusing a former girlfriend, while other government ministers said nothing or chuckled in the background. Hollaback! Bahamas launched an online petition² and held a public protest calling for the Government to not only denounce the Minister's statements but to commit to putting measures in place to combat gender based violence in the country. Further, the organisation made contact with international partners attending CSW60³ and encouraged them to engage Bahamian delegates in conversations about the matter. The combination of media attention to Hollaback! Bahamas's action, the interest at an international level, and the pressure of social media chatter, finally led to some Ministers denouncing the statements of MP Miller.

United Belize Advocacy Movement (UNIBAM) whose constituents include LGBT, sex workers and persons living with HIV (PLHIV) have been able to use their international contacts to bring pressure to bear on the government to introduce policies and legislation that secures the rights of sexual minorities and

marginalized groups. In response to a motion brought by UNIBAM's Caleb Orozco challenging the constitutionality of laws which criminalize homosexuality, a government minister, Anthony 'Boots' Martinez was videotaped making statements to the effect that the government of Belize would never recognize the legality of homosexuality because it was against God's law. The video was sent to the partners in the UK and later an article was posted in the Guardian.uk (Williams 2011) highlighting the statements. The organisation believes that the international attention contributed to key wins in regard to the status of sexual minorities in Belize. Since that time the government has approved a revised gender policy which is among the most progressive in the Caribbean region, identifying non-discrimination based on sexual orientation as a key principle. In the document, the government commits to "take special legal and infrastructure measures to safeguard the rights of vulnerable groups (sex workers, mobile workers, men who have sex with men, transgender populations, incarcerated populations, people with STIs and HIV, rural populations."

Apart from the influence of international and other prominent partners, these examples also point to the key role that virtual constituents play in monitoring. The virtual space makes it easier for followers to bring attention to issues that might have gone unnoticed by CSO leaders, and the online space is a very effective tool for holding public officials and others in society to account for their statements and actions.

In 2011, virtual constituents of The WomenSpeak Project - an online community-building forum focused on strengthening women's advocacy in the Caribbean - began expressing outrage that a local television show in Trinidad and Tobago had repeatedly played video of the rape of an adolescent girl by a group of boys. The constituents urged The WomenSpeak Project to bring attention to the issue and do something about the violation. The organisation posted a statement⁴ on its various social media platforms calling on constituents to file complaints with the Telecommunications Authority and the media house responsible for the airing of the television show. The call was widely shared on

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Facebook and other blogs, while other CSOs also issued statements condemning the airing of the video. In the end, due to the large number of complaints received by the Telecommunications Authority, an investigation was launched and the television programme was temporarily suspended. The host of the television show was also charged with three offences under the Sexual Offences Act and pleaded guilty (Loutoo 2013).

Some online forums are specifically created to act as a monitoring tool. The Walking into Walls Facebook page is dedicated to sharing stories of gender-based violence (GBV) in the Caribbean in one central place in order to raise awareness about the magnitude of the problem. Sometimes online followers re-share the posted stories from the Walking into Walls page onto their own timelines and other pages contributing to larger numbers of views by people in their networks and greater overall awareness.

One of the most important ways that online platforms are legitimizing their virtual constituencies is through education. Many of the organisations surveyed highlighted sharing of information on key issues and having discussions on the implications of various legislation and policies, as one of the most important ways they use online platforms. A knowledgeable constituency is essential in moving the agenda forward, deepening commitment to the cause and enabling constituents to become advocates. Twitter chats, Facebook discussions and community-building campaigns all serve to clarify misinformation, solidify key messages and help constituents become conversant with the language.

Equality Bahamas uses education as one of its major strategies. In the lead up to the 2016 referendum on gender equality in The Bahamas, the organisation used its social media to help constituents understand the implications of four constitutional amendment bills that would provide men and women equal rights with regard to key citizenship issues. While the referendum resulted in a 'NO' vote, the issues of women's equality, gender and LGBTI rights were part of the

public discourse over several months, forcing the entire country to engage with these issues.



The image (left) from Equality Bahamas' Facebook page⁵ explains the provisions under Bill #1 of the Referendum.

Powerful Ladies of Trinidad and Tobago (PLOTT), whose primary constituents include female executives and women leaders in business or social development, have used the

online space to highlight the outcomes of their pre-election discussion series, budget reviews and ongoing crime analysis and have established focus groups on crime and national security, the economy, and governance and transparency.



The 51% Coalition: Women in Partnership for Development and Empowerment – a coalition of women's organisations in Jamaica has used Twitter chat as a way of engaging constituents on key issues related to women's empowerment, political representation and leadership. Many of the coalition's member organisations such as We-Change, whose constituents include women aged 18-50 and LBT, also participate in the Twitter chats, thereby expanding the reach of the message and enlarging the constituency base. Below is a selection of responses

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from their Twitter chat on the HeforShe campaign in Jamaica in May 2016.⁶

CSOs are also using virtual constituencies and the inherent networking capability of social media to bring conversations about gender, discrimination and related public policies into the national discourse.

Leave Out Violence in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (LOVNSVG) is an organisation which started as a Facebook group of concerned individuals wanting to find ways to take action to address the problem of domestic violence in the country. Within a relatively short time the organisation, through its online engagement, was able to successfully organise protests, peace walks and fundraising events all with the aim of bringing national attention to the issue of domestic violence. The organisation has also become involved in policy advocacy, engaging its virtual constituents to sign a petition calling on the government to expand provisions under the domestic violence act. Subsequently, the revised Domestic Violence Act 2015 strengthens protections for victims of abuse and expands the definition of abuse to include “any controlling or abusive behaviour that harms the health, safety and well being of the applicant”. There are also new provisions regarding financial abuse, which was one of the recommendations made by LOVNSVG. The group has also been able to impact the political landscape, successfully engaging politicians contesting the general election in 2015 to bring the issue of increasing the legal age of sexual consent from 15 to 18 to the political platform (Admin 2015).

Womantra (Trinidad and Tobago), another organisation that was borne out of an online presence, has been able to create a very vibrant, interested and activated virtual constituency by keeping the online community posted, engaged and invested in matters of gender justice. The organisation notes that often there has been an uptake of interest in certain issues after there has been a groundswell in the online space. In one such instance Womantra organised a protest in front of the Aria nightclub in response to an incident where a gender non-conforming woman was refused entry because of her mode of dress (Ali 2015). The action was covered extensively in the national media thereby

bringing national attention to, and discussion around, issues of gender discrimination, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender norms.

Besides bringing issues of gender justice to the national attention, Womantra has also been able to harness the power of its virtual constituents to initiate actions that can influence policy changes. In February, 2016 the group initiated a petition for the removal of the mayor of the capital city - Port of Spain - after he made comments suggesting that the murder of a Japanese national -Asami Nagakiya- during the Carnival celebrations, might have occurred because of how she dressed or behaved during the festivities (BBC Trending 2016). The launch of the petition coincided with action by another group of activists who were also organising a protest via their social media networks. Both groups joined forces and over 100 persons attended the protest at City Hall with hundreds of others signaling their support for the protest by joining the protest event page on Facebook. The petition garnered over 10,000 signatures and in the end, the mayor did resign with the new mayor agreeing to work with the activists to implement measures to educate public officials on gender sensitivity.

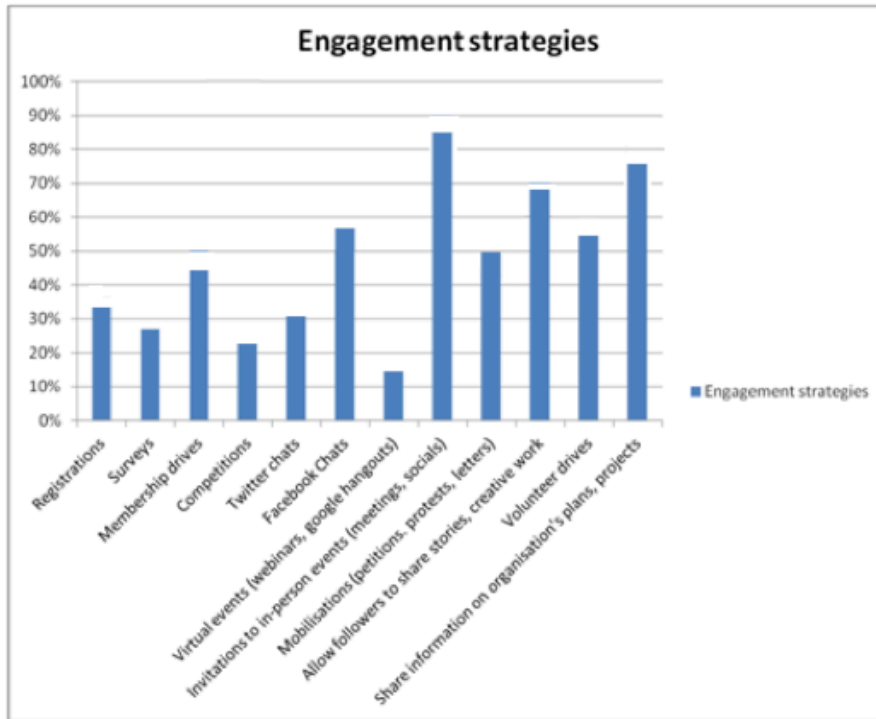
The action shows the power of networks, as the group's followers signed and shared the petition which resonated with others in the virtual space, though these persons had no affiliation with Womantra but found common ground with their values and the message conveyed in the petition.

Towards a protocol for legitimizing virtual constituents

We see then that many Caribbean CSOs have been effective in making virtual constituencies relevant, active and inclusive. An analysis of the survey results reveals that CSOs are mostly engaging in strategies aimed at encouraging virtual constituents to become more active in the organisation and its projects while also aiming to build the virtual community by encouraging sharing of stories and discussing issues via Facebook. Eighty-four per cent of CSOs use the virtual space to invite constituents to in-person meetings or socials; 76% sharing information about the organisation and its plans; 69% use community building

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activities such as sharing stories and creative work of constituents; 57% interact with constituents via Facebook chats and 55% use the online space to recruit volunteers.



While engagement from CSOs to virtual constituents is very active, results of the survey might suggest that strategies aimed at learning more about constituencies and incorporating their views into decision-making is not widely practiced. While 50% of CSOs indicate that they engage virtual constituents for

mobilization (petitions, protests, letters), results for online surveys (27%), twitter chats (30%) and virtual events such as webinars and Google Hangouts (15%) show that these strategies are not regularly used as a means of engaging virtual constituents. Yet, these are precisely the strategies that can be very useful in getting information from constituents, creating deeper dialogue about key issues and educating constituents about key messages. An important part of legitimizing virtual constituents is giving them the opportunity to participate in sharing their ideas and concerns so that the organisation's strategies are, in some part, informed by its constituents. For CSOs that operate virtually for the most part, these strategies become even more essential, while CSOs that are more traditional member-based organisations need to regard their virtual constituencies as a unique constituency in itself, and not regard social media platforms as simply promotional environments.

In an effort to help CSOs think more strategically about the ways in which they can better leverage the power of digital technologies to advance their cause, the following is a proposed **protocol for legitimizing virtual constituencies**.

1. Identify and categorize your constituencies

Take note of who your virtual constituents are and what are their specific interests and stakes in relation to your cause. Distinguish between primary and secondary constituencies so that you understand how to target messages and use the resource of these two groups. Take special note of different demographics that may become more active in the online space. While these individuals might not be the ones you initially targeted, their interest may reveal key areas of intersection that signal a need to redefine or expand focus areas. It may also help to highlight a need or niche that has gone unrecognized or unaccounted for and that your organisation may be well positioned to address. Secondary constituents not only provide much needed financial and technical resources but endorsement from influential and well respected partners can increase the legitimacy of the organisation and the legitimacy of the cause.

2. Facilitate active participation of constituencies

Demonstrating the legitimacy of constituencies means giving them the opportunity to participate. Design activities that serve not only to build community and raise consciousness but that engage constituents in contributing their ideas, skills and talents to the cause.

3. Be accountable to and acknowledge virtual constituents

CSOs need to be accountable to constituents even in the virtual space. Showing accountability means keeping constituencies informed and updated about what plans, projects and activities the organisation is involved in and reporting on the outcomes of the organisation's work especially regarding petitions, funding drives and other activities to which constituents have contributed. If virtual constituents do not find the online space to be useful or relevant to their interests and if they do not feel

valuable or that they are in some way contributing to the cause, their participation will wane.

4. Use differentiated platforms to enlarge constituency

Enlarging the constituency base is essential to building a critical mass of support for the cause. Establishing special platforms or campaigns that tap into people's varied interests increases participation and helps your message reach a wider, more diverse constituent base. Campaigns that intersect with the arts, music or pop-culture provide opportunities to share your message with those who may not ordinarily engage with these issues. CSOs should ensure that their policy position, values and message are clearly articulated through all their social media so that new followers are able to identify with your cause.

5. Build knowledge within constituency

Knowledge gives constituents the tools to become advocates, and builds commitment to the organisation and its cause. The digital space has created infinite opportunities to educate and build knowledge within constituencies. Posters, memes, infographics, hashtags and video can help promote specific messages, deepen understanding of key issues and help constituents to become more conversant with the language of the cause. Hashtagging has become an important force in persons self-identifying as part of the cause. It is not just a tool for branding the organisation or monitoring engagement with a topic, but like #blacklivesmatter and #HeforShe, it also conveys more complex principles, reiterating a policy position in a way that is easily adopted and perpetuated in the virtual space.

6. Provide opportunities for virtual constituents to have a say

Constituencies are the point of reference for a CSO's actions. CSOs that purport to act in the interest of their constituencies must ensure that there are mechanisms in the virtual environment for followers to share their thoughts and express their views on what the organisation is doing and the issues that are important to them. Even if just a small percentage of

constituents respond to feedback mechanisms such as surveys, it is important to show that you are making an effort to have two-way communication with your constituents. Creating online forums where constituents can share personal stories that highlight the issues they face or report on their experiences accessing public services can be important ways in which CSOs can provide evidence of the need for policy and institutional change.

7. Exploit the power of Networks

Social media platforms are inherently networked spaces. This means that CSOs on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tumblr are likely to have many like-minded individuals connected in these online spaces. This is a valuable resource, since 'friends' and 'friends of friends' present an opportunity to drive more activity and participation on the CSO's social media platform. As stated previously, a critical mass of constituents not only increases the potential resource base for the organisation but can also create a groundswell of support for key actions, initiatives or campaigns. In addition to designing 'shareable' posts that have the potential to reach other close ties (friends of friends, other women's CSOs) within the network, CSOs should take advantage of opportunities to link with constituencies that can act as bridging ties. These individuals or organisations are those with whom the majority of your constituents do not have direct links but who may be able to bring special resources and influence to the organisation and its cause.

How virtual constituencies are impacting policy-making spaces

Ensuring civil society participation in policy-making processes is widely accepted as good governance practice. Seventy countries have now signed on to the Open-Government Partnership, an international platform whereby civil society and governments work together to reform policy-making processes, harnessing the power of new technologies to ensure that governments are more open, transparent and accountable to citizens.

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Despite this commitment by governments to ensure that citizen voices are represented in policy-making spaces, struggles for power between the state and civil society mean that CSOs have to continuously jostle for their interests to be represented at the policy-making table and to prove that these issues should take priority.

CSOs are shifting the balance of power in their favour by building constituencies that are energized and committed to the cause of gender justice and equality. We have seen that Caribbean CSOs are using digital technologies to do just that and they are indeed enlarging the 'space' for more diverse constituencies to amplify their voices and participate in moving the agenda forward. "'Spaces' are seen as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships which affect their lives and interests." (Gaventa 2005)

CSOs are using digital technologies to monitor the socio-political environment and hold public officials and others accountable on a real-time basis, while the immediacy and connectivity of social media platforms makes it easier to mobilize constituents building on the power of networks to extend CSOs' reach beyond their own forums and win influential supporters.

When social movements gain considerable power, build alliances or are championed by important national or international players, they can negotiate their way into policy-making spaces. Alternatively, CSOs may challenge policy-making spaces by forcing them to engage as is seen in the case of UNIBAMs constitutional challenge of the laws criminalizing homosexuality in Belize. At other times, a CSO's demonstrated expertise in a key policy area may result in them being invited into these policy-making spaces that are usually reserved for technocrats and powerful interest groups. In such scenarios, civil society's voice may still be stifled as the rules of engagement in these spaces maintain hierarchies of power in decision-making and weaken the 'oppositional consciousness' of civil society as they are made 'partners' in the process of

negotiation. This is why it is so important to maintain links with constituencies and ensure that the most important issues are not diluted or co-opted by individuals more invested in maintaining their position at the table than representing the interests of their constituencies.

Even when mobilization does not result in significant changes in participation in the closed spaces of policy-making, it has the potential to greatly impact agenda-setting, as a critical mass of voices in the online space spills over into national conversations and political actions (protests, petitions) demanding that these issues be given priority. When done strategically, movements make possible the creation of 'claimed spaces' where such activity in the civil space compels governments and their agents to meet with civil society on their own terms.

Apart from agenda-setting, engagement with virtual constituencies can impact changes at the institutional level. Consciousness-raising in the virtual space serves to educate persons about their rights and engage in more meaningful and personal ways with the issues. What knowledgeable and motivated virtual constituencies do is bring about a strong voice for change – where individuals develop the capacity to advocate on an individual and collective basis to create change within their own sphere of influence be it the workplace, the home or in their personal relationships. The 'personal is political' narrative so effectively delivered through social media is a powerful tool in transforming those intractable social norms that perpetuate gender discrimination.

Some may argue that while movements can bring attention to an issue, this does not result in sustainable policy changes that really impact people's lives. Despite the increased participation of virtual constituents in voicing support for a cause, the real work of creating social change involves getting a wide range of people, in different locales and at different levels, to participate in ongoing and transformative actions on a continuous basis over a longer period of time. The challenge for online communities, movements and CSOs is to be able to harness

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the potential in their virtual constituencies to effect structural and institutional changes. This means that leaders need to be able to clearly articulate the issues, their goals and strategies and provide a blueprint of sorts for enabling individuals and groups to move the agenda forward themselves.

But people must themselves be motivated to act. A large number of Facebook followers doesn't necessarily mean an army for the cause. People need to see the value in contributing to the cause and have a sense of personal reward or collective recognition for these actions; that is, they must see results.

Further, the nature of online organising is constantly changing and being reconfigured as new technologies are developed and new modes of engagement take precedence while older ones become dormant. At the same time movements are dynamic, growing as key milestones or crises propel people into action, then dissipating as such galvanizing moments pass away. But continuous engagement with constituencies means keeping in step with these dynamics and being able to capitalize on the collective power of citizen voice to move the political agenda forward whenever such opportunities arise.

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Special thanks to the following organisations that participated in the survey

Name and type of Organisation	Country	Constituencies as identified by the organisation * Identified by researcher	Online Platforms used by the organisation	Strategies used to engage constituencies through online platforms
51% Coalition: Women in Partnership for Development and Empowerment and Social Movement	Jamaica	Women in urban and rural constituencies, especially in under-served communities. Domestic household workers, women business owners and women seeking political leadership and board membership. We are a diverse coalition of women's organisations, including the long-standing NGOs Women's Resource and Outreach Centre (community-based in Kingston), Women's Media Watch and the quite new WE-Change (supporting the Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender (LBT) community).	Facebook Twitter Instagram	Surveys Twitter chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Share information on organisation's plans, projects
A Woman's Worth Registered NGO	Trinidad & Tobago	* Women survivors of domestic violence and their children, families in crisis situations eg. homes destroyed by fire	Facebook Twitter	Membership drives Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Association of Female Executives of Trinidad & Tobago Registered NGO	Trinidad & Tobago	Financial and non-financial members Female executives in other organisations some members of the general public - men and women	Facebook Twitter Instagram Website	Registrations Surveys Membership drives Competitions Twitter chats Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Barbados Professional Women Crisis Centre and Shelter Registered NGO	Barbados	Female victims of domestic violence, human trafficking and other forms of gender-based violence; children of victims; women's empowerment groups - local, regional and international; general public		Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Domestic Violence Survivors Reaching Out Registered NGO	Trinidad and Tobago	The protective services, other organisations, Members of Parliament, the business sector and finally the people themselves.	Facebook Website	Registrations Membership drives Competitions Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects

Name and type of Organisation	Country	Constituencies as identified by the organisation * Identified by researcher	Online Platforms used by the organisation	Strategies used to engage constituencies through online platforms
Equality Bahamas Community Based Organisation Social Movement	The Bahamas	Bahamians - Women and girls - LGBT+ people - Young people	Facebook Twitter Website	Twitter chats Virtual events (webinars, Google Hangouts) Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters)
Groundation Grenada Registered NGO	Grenada	women & girls, LGBTQ folks, artists and community organisers	Facebook Twitter Blog Website	Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Hollaback! Bahamas Community Based Organisation Network Social Movement	The Bahamas	Women - LGBT+ people - People of colour - Young people - Differently-abled people	Facebook Twitter Blog Website	Surveys Twitter chats Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work
I AM A GIRL BARBADOS Registered NGO Community Based Organisation	Barbados	Beneficiaries - Girls aged five to 18; Parents / Guardians; Guidance Counselors / Social Workers; Like minded, youth led or youth focused organisations and NGOs; and, Civil Society generally.	Facebook Twitter Instagram Blog Website Other	Registrations Membership drives Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
I Am One T&T Registered NGO Community Based Organisation Online Community	Trinidad and Tobago	LGBT people in Trinidad and Tobago (broadly gender and sexual minorities)	Facebook Twitter Instagram	Registrations Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
I'm Glad I'm a Girl Registered NGO	Jamaica	Child Development Agency, CISOCA, Women's Centre, Eve for Life Jamaica, UN Women, FRIDA, Family Planning Board, are some of the entities that we partner with. However we Advocate for women and girls in Jamaica and the camp caters to girls age 13 to 17.	Facebook Twitter Website	Twitter chats Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Share information on organisation's plans, projects

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Intersect Online Community	Antigua and Barbuda	Marginalized persons in Antigua and Barbuda, Women	Facebook Twitter Instagram	Twitter chats Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Leave Out Violence in SVG Association Registered NGO	St. Vincent & the Grenadines	Our mandate is a focus on domestic violence/ child abuse, however we also address the youth on matters relating to violence and crime.	Facebook Instagram Website	Membership drives Competitions Facebook Chats Virtual events (webinars, Google Hangouts) Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Network of NGOs of Trinidad and Tobago for the Advancement of Women Network	Trinidad and Tobago	organisations and individuals who support the advancement of women and girls	Facebook Twitter Website	Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Network of Rural Women Producers Trinidad and Tobago Registered NGO Network	Trinidad and Tobago	women and girls, rural communities, national, regional and international forums	Facebook Twitter Instagram Blog Website	Surveys Competitions Facebook Chats Virtual events (webinars, Google Hangouts) Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Share information on organisation's plans, projects

Name and type of Organisation	Country	Constituencies as identified by the organisation * Identified by researcher	Online Platforms used by the organisation	Strategies used to engage constituencies through online platforms
<p>Powerful Ladies of Trinidad and Tobago Registered NGO Online Community Network Social Movement Social Enterprise</p>	<p>Trinidad and Tobago</p>	<p>The members of our Network</p> <p>PLOTTERS: Established female executives / leaders, who for at least five years have either:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - owned and operated their own business - led or sat as a member of an Executive Leadership Team. <p>Individuals who have a keen interest in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assisting fellow members in dealing with the unique challenges many female leaders face in the business world - Making a valuable contribution to (primarily female related) social development causes and projects. <p>Includes leaders of commercial and non-profit organisations, entrepreneurs, self-employed persons and free lance professionals who have been operating on their own for at least five years.</p> <p>PARTNERS: Corporate Sponsors and partner organisations who provide assistance in the achievement of our objectives; through sponsorship and partnership on event and projects. Businesses keen on making a positive difference while leveraging their brand. Youth PLOTTERS Young professionals ages 18-35 seeking mentorship, networking opportunities and projects they can volunteer on.</p> <p>Online Community: Members and Friends of PLOTT who keep abreast of our activities, provide valuable feedback and assist with the organisation's visibility.</p>	<p>Facebook Website Other</p>	<p>Registrations Surveys Membership drives Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects</p>
<p>Raise Your Voice Saint Lucia Inc Registered NGO</p>	<p>St. Lucia</p>	<p>Women and Children specifically those who are victims of rape, domestic violence, child physical and sexual abuse and those who victims are denied swift justice.</p>	<p>Facebook Twitter Website</p>	<p>Membership drives Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects</p>

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Name and type of Organisation	Country	Constituencies as identified by the organisation * Identified by researcher	Online Platforms used by the organisation	Strategies used to engage constituencies through online platforms
S.T.R.A.W. Inc. Center for Young Women Registered NGO Community-Based Organisation	The Bahamas	At-risk adolescent, teen girls and school-attending young women throughout New Providence and the outer islands of The Bahamas.	Facebook Twitter Website	Registrations Surveys Membership drives Competitions Facebook Chats Virtual events (webinars, Google Hangouts) Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
SASH Bahamas Registered NGO Community Based Organisation	The Bahamas	LGBTIQ At Risk youth (17-24) PLHIV	Facebook Website	Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Volunteer drives
The Lily Foundation for Human Development • • Registered NGO	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago Trinidad The Caribbean	Facebook Twitter Instagram Website Other	Registrations Membership drives Twitter chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives Share information on organisation's plans, projects
United Belize Advocacy Movement (UNIBAM) Registered NGO	Belize	LGBT Sex workers PLHIV	Facebook Twitter Blog Website	Facebook Chats Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters)
Walking into Walls Online Community	Barbados /Caribbean	Caribbean women	Facebook	Membership drives Allow followers to share stories, creative work
We-Change Community Based Organisation	Jamaica	Jamaican women 18-50 LBT Women	Facebook Twitter	Registrations Twitter chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Volunteer drives

Name and type of Organisation	Country	Constituencies as identified by the organisation * Identified by researcher	Online Platforms used by the organisation	Strategies used to engage constituencies through online platforms
WOMANTRA Registered NGO Online Community	Trinidad and Tobago	The Facebook group includes members from all over the Caribbean region as well as other countries in the world. The core on the ground activism however, which is still in the developmental phase in a lot of ways, is based in Trinidad and Tobago. Our members are largely women who are invested in women's equality and gender justice, either as activists or just as concerned citizens.	Facebook Twitter Website	Registrations Facebook Chats Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Women's Caucus of Trinidad & Tobago Registered NGO	Trinidad and Tobago	Lesbian, bi- and other women who love women	Facebook Other	Membership drives Competitions Invitations to in-person events (meetings, socials) Mobilisations (petitions, protests, letters) Allow followers to share stories, creative work Share information on organisation's plans, projects
Women Inc Registered NGO	Jamaica	Jamaican women in general; focus on survivors of violence (e.g., sexual assault, intimate partner violence).	Facebook Twitter Website	Allow followers to share stories, creative work Share information on organisation's plans, projects

¹ See image at <https://goo.gl/fmHv64>

² See <https://bahamas.ihollaback.org/official-call-to-action/>

³ The sixtieth session of the Commission on the Status of Women took place at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 14 to 24 March 2016.

⁴ See Blog post <http://womenspeak.tumblr.com/post/11980486228/outraged-rape-of-a-child-is-not-entertainment>

⁵ See <https://goo.gl/J22uS5>

⁶ See <https://storify.com/Petchary/twitter-chat-on-heforsheja>