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Revisiting Everyday Activism for Gender Justice and Expanding on its Communicative Dimensions

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What is everyday activism? What does it have to do with women? What does communication have to do with it? And why does it matter? In this article, I revisit the concept of everyday activism formulated in the United States by Jane Mansbridge and Katherine Flaster in 2005 and expand on its communicative dimensions based on findings from an online qualitative survey conducted with women in Argentina in 2021. I consider if, to what extent, and why, survey participants consider themselves activists for women's rights. I moreover examine how they communicate in daily life about the problems that affect them, what difference they think/hope their communicative practices will make, and what they would want to change about communicative practices. The article clarifies how agency and its communicative dimensions are understood and practiced by women seeking gender justice under ordinary circumstances, analyzes their potential and limits considering structural obstacles, and puts forward a definition of everyday communicative activism.

Keywords: everyday activism, gender justice, online qualitative survey, communicative practices, Argentina

What is everyday activism? What does it have to do with women? What does communication have to do with it? And why does it matter? Defined by Jane Mansbridge and Katharine Flaster (2005, 2007) almost 20 years ago based on interviews with low-income women in the United States, the concept remains overlooked within media and communication studies despite its potential for illuminating links between micro, meso, and macro scales of engagement for social change.

Women's efforts to challenge gender injustice are both global and local. In Argentina, the well-documented, long history of their struggles (Delap, 2020; Lavrin, 1998) took a novel turn in recent years after the #NiUnaMenos (#NotOneLess) movement emerged in 2015 in reaction to a daunting increase in gender violence across the country. Although plenty of academic attention has been given to #NiUnaMenos as a social

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movement with distinct communicative strategies, and more specifically as a hashtag (e.g., Bedrosian, 2022; Chenou & Cepeda-Másmela, 2019; Daby & Moseley, 2022; Toscani, Rosa, & Vidosa, 2023), the everyday communicative practices for gender justice of women who are not organized activists have barely been explored.

In this article, I document and analyze those everyday communicative practices based on qualitative evidence from an online survey conducted in Argentina in 2021 and expand on the communicative dimensions of the concept of everyday activism. First, I consider if, to what extent, and why, survey participants consider themselves activists for women's rights. Then, I examine how they communicate in daily life about the problems that affect them, what difference they think or hope their communicative practices will make, and what they would want to change about their ways of communicating. To do so, I resort to three key conceptual lenses, introduced next: everyday activism, gender justice, and communicative practices.

Conceptual Framework

Everyday Activism

In the 2000s, political scientists Jane Mansbridge and Katherine Flaster identified *everyday activism* as the specific ways in which women talked to others "to describe and sometimes try to change the disrespect that they encountered from certain men" (Mansbridge & Flaster, 2005, p. 262). Having traced uses of the phrase "male chauvinist" to refer to sexism, Mansbridge and Flaster (2005) conceptualized a way of talking that operated as a relational mechanism of diffusion for social change. This mechanism mattered because, although women who engage in everyday activism do not act in concert (i.e., their discrete acts are not explicitly coordinated), they do in a sense function collectively: "They interact with one another and with others through subtle processes of mutual influence that are synergistic, interdependent, and far more than just the sum of individual actions" (Mansbridge & Flaster, 2007, p. 631). Ways in which women talked to others included making conversation with girlfriends about men they knew and raising direct critique "in micronegotiations with their bosses, husbands, and friends" (Mansbridge & Flaster, 2007, pp. 648, 654).

Building on the phrase "the personal is political," coined in 1970 to foreground the significance of women's everyday actions in intimate spheres, Mansbridge and Flaster (2007, p. 629) drew on careful analysis of empirical data to argue that practices observable at home, in the workplace, and in the street constitute a route to change that deserves study as an element of social movements: "Everyday activists may not interact with the world of formal politics, but they take actions in their own lives to redress injustices that a contemporary social movement has made salient" (p. 627).

Their conceptualization of everyday activism as a microscale practice observable among women affected by gender injustice is in line with a long-standing tradition of feminist scholarship that equates activism with being in favor of women's rights. Geographers Deborah Martin, Susan Hanson, and Danielle Fontaine contributed to that tradition when more than 15 years ago they opened "the category *activism* to consider actions and activities that [. . .] normally are considered too insignificant to count as activism and yet do create progressive change in the lives of women, their families, and their communities" (Martin, Hanson, & Fontaine, 2007, p. 79; emphasis in original). By seeking to understand "how small acts transform

social relations in ways that have the potential to foster social change" and calling attention to the links between "everyday lives in small-scale spaces, such as homes and workplaces, and larger scale processes of social change, such as reducing violence against women" (Martin et al., 2007, pp. 79, 81),[2] they added to the theorization of everyday activism for gender justice.

Of course, everyday activism does not apply exclusively to women's struggles (think, e.g., of environmental, LGBTQI, and antiracist activism) or to struggles for women's rights. Within the tradition of feminist scholarship that understands activism as in favor of women's rights, but from a contrarian standpoint, feminist researchers Mélissa Blais and Francis Dupuis-Deri (2022) argue provocatively that everyday antifeminism in interpersonal relationships should also be considered a form of activism. Underscoring that keywords play a role in social disputes and are thus actively contested (Williams, 1985), they warn us that conservative activism by women must also be investigated—a task undertaken by, for example, Michelle Mattelart (1986) in her study of women's role in the 1973 Chilean coup d'état. I agree. The everyday activism that I document in this article, however, is oriented toward gender justice and not against it.

Gender Justice

Although the concept of *gender justice* has increasingly been adopted by activists, academics, and organizations (e.g., The Global Fund for Women, OXFAM, UNDP) to convey problems affecting women, its definition is a matter of debate. At stake in that debate are questions with very material policy consequences, such as whether states should play a minimal role as guarantors of women's basic rights or intervene "to compensate for past injustices and provide concrete welfare benefits to those suffering from gender-based deprivation" (Goetz, 2007, p. 17). The challenge of settling on a definition is moreover compounded by the fact that gender cuts across social categories, and thus implies differential needs and priorities for women who are differentially positioned within a given social structure (Dubet, 2011).

Political scientist Anne Marie Goetz (2007) defines gender justice as "the ending of—and if necessary, the provision of redress for—inequalities between women and men that result in women's subordination to men" (p. 30). Inequalities encompass

> the distribution of resources and opportunities that enable individuals to build human, social, economic, and political capital or [. . .] the conceptions of human dignity, personal autonomy and rights that deny women physical integrity and the capacity to make choices about how to live their lives. (Goetz, 2007, p. 31)

This definition allows for the study of women's right to communication as an unequally distributed resource (Gallagher, 2014) at a time when women's relationship to public speech is affected by a double bind, such that "they are pulled in opposite directions by the contradictions of a culture that impels them to speak out, but which also punishes them for doing so" (Kay, 2020, p. 8). For Jilly Boyce Kay (2020), a scholar of feminist media and cultural studies, this double bind is at the heart of communicative (in)justice.

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[2] A workplace does not necessarily constitute a small-scale space.

Communicative Practices for Gender Justice

That women's everyday activism implies communicative dimensions is clear where Mansbridge, building on earlier work with Flaster (Mansbridge & Flaster, 2005, 2007), defines it as "talk and action in everyday life that is [. . .] consciously intended to change others' ideas or behavior in directions advocated by the movement" (Mansbridge, 2013, para. 1). Attention to communicative dimensions is also an attribute of communication scholar Jenna Stephenson-Abetz's (2012) analysis of mother-daughter everyday interactions as a process of dialogue that allows the daughters of feminist mothers to "know the importance of voice, the consequences of silence, the pain of invisibility, and the political nature of personal experience" (p. 96). The talk and the dialogue captured by Mansbridge (2013) and Stephenson-Abetz (2012) are examples of everyday communicative practices for gender justice.

Practices have been rightfully defined by Mark Hobart (2010) as "complex forms of social activity and articulation through which agents set out to maintain or change themselves, others and the world around them under varying conditions" (p. 63). Put in less abstract terms, practices are "arrays of human activity" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 11) that can be observed regardless of agreements or disagreements about what motivates them (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). Meaningful ways of communicating among human beings constitute practices not only set in motion in specific ways, but also thought about and talked about "in particular ways" (Craig, 2006, p. 38). As argued by Don Slater (2013), paying attention to practices facilitates the investigation "of how communicative flows (. . .) become effective or important in the other social processes that they are part of" and contributes to clarification of their role "in lived experience, ways of acting and relating, and so on" (p. 44).

Everyday Communicative Activism: An Initial Operationalization

Taking the above theoretical considerations into account, I preliminarily operationalize *everyday communicative activism* as the ways in which women communicate for and/or about gender justice in the context of their daily lives, in the various spaces in which those lives unfold (some of them digital and unequally digitalized), during the times when organized collective mobilizations to claim their rights are not taking place. With this work-in-progress concept, I approach communication nonmedia centrically as one among other dimensions of women's lives (Krajina, Moores, & Morley, 2014) to address two research questions. How do ordinary women, i.e., those who may join collective protests but do not organize or lead them, understand everyday activism? And how do they engage communication in their everyday activism?

I focus on the lived experiences of women in Argentina in the late stage of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2021 to make two contributions. First, by considering if and how the concept of *everyday activism* can travel (Bal, 2002) in time across decades and spatially from North to South, I establish its dynamism as a productive notion today (and in the process contribute to de-westernizing media and communication studies). Second, by illuminating the characteristics of women's everyday communicative action against gender injustice—its strategic intent, its possibilities, and its challenges—I elaborate on the communicative dimensions of *everyday activism*.

Context: Women's Situation in Argentina in the Aftermath of COVID-19

Argentina's population is currently estimated at more than 46 million people. At the time of writing, more than 57% of those people live below the poverty line, of which more than 14% live in extreme poverty (i.e., cannot afford food subsistence; *Buenos Aires Herald*, 2024). Because gender injustice in the country is as rampant as inequality at large, the situation is worse for women, who earn on average 28% less than men (Ecofeminita, 2023). They constitute almost 52% of the population but are disproportionally affected by poverty, discrimination, and violence: a minoritized social group, actively devalued, and oppressed (Wingrove-Haugland & McLeod, 2021).

Against this state of affairs, the #NiUnaMenos movement emerged in 2015 to demand an end to gender violence. The movement foregrounded women's rights and, by encouraging women to visibly attempt to change their situation, it ignited collective efforts (López, 2020). Attentive to those dynamics, in this article I take women's agency into account rather than understanding them solely or primarily as victims of the state, the market, other social institutions, and more generally men. They are vulnerable, but not powerless.

That said, it remains an uphill battle for women in Argentina[3] to challenge their minoritization. The COVID-19 pandemic aggravated their situation on every problematic front. The preventive lockdown mandated by the government in March 2020 resulted for women in the loss of jobs, incomes, and livelihoods. Social isolation led to an increase and aggravation of domestic gender violence and forced them to perform most of all unpaid care work (Amnesty International, 2021; Lustig & Tommassi, 2020; Tonello, Simonetti, & Papez, 2021). Restrictions on movement were a serious obstacle for women's community work and grassroots solidarity (Lozano, Santino, & Wood, 2021) and made it nearly impossible to organize the collective mobilizations in public spaces that had been a strength of #NiUnaMenos. In this context, what could women do?

Method

To study women's everyday activism in Argentina, I conducted an *online qualitative survey* (Braun, Clarke, Boulton, Davey, & McEvoy, 2021). The survey's overall purpose was to explore what women think and feel about the problems that affect them, and how they communicate about those problems in everyday life. A total of 158 women voluntarily answered the survey in full. Participants were aged between 20 and 80 years old and resided in 16 of Argentina's 23 provinces plus in Buenos Aires city (i.e., the country's capital; Provinces of Argentina, 2024; see Appendix for details). They had the option to provide limited demographic data only if so desired (date of birth, place of residence, gender identity), plus an e-mail address if interested in receiving information about the study's results. Although the survey enabled me to reach a geographically dispersed population in an affordable way, a limitation is that it excluded respondents without access to Internet connectivity and most likely sidelined those with limited access.

[3] Including migrant women living in the country in a disadvantageous situation (UNNM, 2023).

Data Collection

Participation was open to anybody who fulfilled three combined criteria: (1) was an Argentinian citizen or resident, (2) was 18 years of age or older (i.e., legal adult age), and (3) identified as a woman.[4] I used nonprobability sampling[5] and distributed invitations to complete the survey via announcements in my Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter accounts; an e-mail to the long-standing and far-reaching distribution list RIMA (Women's Information Network of Argentina, see Friedman, 2017, Chapter 4 for a history); and e-mail and WhatsApp messages to a range of trusted contacts who forwarded them to potential participants in their networks. The resulting sample was self-selected (Fricker, 2017).

Responding in writing to a structured series of questions allowed participants to express their ideas on their own terms (Seixas, Smith, & Mitton, 2018).

I collected data using the GDPR[6] compliant online survey tool SogoSurvey and ensured anonymization by design. Online informed consent for participation and data collection was requested in two steps: at the beginning, immediately after the information sheet provided in the survey's welcome page (as a "click consent" step), and at the end, right before participants submitted the completed survey.[7] Access was prevented if the initial consent box was not clicked.[8]

The survey was conducted in Spanish (i.e. Argentina's official language)[9] in two waves, in June and August 2021 (the late stage of the COVID-19 pandemic, while restrictive preventive measures were still in place). Having pretested the questionnaire with a convenience sample to identify design weaknesses and ensure clarity, the final version included 33 open-ended and 11 multiple choice questions. Of those, five open-ended questions and one multiple choice question are analyzed in this article.

Approach to Data Analysis

The data set obtained contains qualitative textual data and a limited amount of optional demographic data. As I will show in the findings section, it provides "richness and depth, when viewed in their entirety, even if individual responses might themselves be brief" (Braun et al., 2021, p. 642).

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[4] None of the data collected is suspected to have originated from individuals who did not fulfill the criteria (though identifying such individuals can be difficult given fully anonymous responses).
[5] Statistical representativeness was not the survey's purpose (see Smith, 2018 on the problem of expecting statistical generalizability of qualitative research).
[6] The General Data Protection Regulation (i.e., Europe's data privacy and security law.
[7] Informed consent was obtained from 51 of the 57 participants who started the survey in Wave 1, and 121 of the 127 participants who started it in Wave 2.
[8] The methodology, type of data to be collected, criteria/procedures to identify and recruit participants, and selection of tools for data collection and storage, obtained ethical approval from the Swedish Ethical Review Authority and the European Commission's Research Executive Agency.
[9] Excerpts from participants' answers cited in the article are translations.

In line with the study's orientation, I treated and analyzed the data qualitatively (Terry & Braun, 2017, p. 17). By systematically reading and rereading answers, I developed five analytical categorizations through an inductive-deductive back and forth (Braun et al., 2021). In the next section, I document and analyze participants' answers to the survey's questions following those categorizations: (1) whether, to what extent, and why they consider themselves activists for women's rights; (2) how they communicate in daily life about the problems that affect them; (3) what they communicate; (4) what difference they think or hope their communicative practices will make; and (5) what they would want to change about their communicative practices. I include direct excerpts from participants to substantiate the analysis, illustrate diversity of views within commonalities, and make space for participants' voices (Cloutier & Ravasi, 2020; Hesse-Biber, 2014; Small & Calarco, 2022).

Because data about participants' class, race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation was not collected, the potential significance of those positions in their respective answers cannot be disentangled in the analysis (Htun & Weldon, 2018, pp. 10–11).

Findings: Presentation and Analysis

Being an Activist

I asked survey participants if they consider themselves activists for women's rights, gave them three choices—yes, yes to some extent, and no—and invited them to explain their choices. While their replies cover a range that goes from recognizing everyday agency as significant to assessing it more or less strictly against normative understandings of what activism is or should be, a positive answer predominated. More than half of the participants consider themselves activists in full, and almost one-fourth consider themselves activists to some extent. None of them referred to being organized activists (i.e., those who "work, in varying degrees, to coordinate activities that further the movement"; Mansbridge & Flaster, 2007, p. 630) when asked about their occupations.

Those who *fully* consider themselves activists do so for reasons beyond the strictures of academics' theorizations or activists' ideals (e.g., the "perfect standard" identified by Bobel, 2007, p. 147, in interviews with women activists in the United States, such that "an activist must 'live the issue,' demonstrate relentless dedication, and contribute a sustained effort to duly merit the label"). Most reasons fall into four broad types. Respondents consider themselves activists because they: (1) take action in specific ways; (2) position themselves in distinct ways about women's situations and have related expectations about what needs to change; (3) consider themselves part of a same group, variously characterized as feminism, womanhood, lineage/generation of women; and/or (4) experience particular emotions about women's problems and the fact that their rights remain unmet. Figure 1 shows examples.

Action

The lack of rights affects me, and I fight for change every day (W1, R42).[10]

Part of what I do every day is promote and defend women's rights, although there's a long way to go (W2, R25).

Positioning

The current gender inequality (of women and sexual dissidents) is unacceptable (W1, R14).

I can't ignore injustice (W1, R7).

Belonging

I consider myself a feminist, and I work and teach from that perspective (W2, R35).

I grew up in a small town with a lineage of powerful women: midwives, healers, nurses (W2, R2).

Feeling

I feel that we have not yet achieved equality and nondiscrimination (W2, R2).

Injustice hurts. It affects me. And I think everything needs to change for the better (W1, R34).

Figure 1. "I consider myself an activist because . . ."

Respondents' reasons for considering themselves activists *to some extent* fall into one side or the other of the same coin: they think their contribution is either enough or not enough. A salient reason among the latter is not being active members of an organization, collective, or group specifically devoted to women's rights: "I try to raise awareness, to talk about the topic, but I'm not involved with any organization" (W2, R19). In their view, such membership is a must: without it, one does not qualify. Another shortcoming mentioned is that they do not devote as much time, attention, activity, or preparation to the cause of women's rights as others do: "I try to be, but I still have things to learn" (W2, R115). In their view, something is improper or insufficient about their engagement.

Interestingly, the positive reasons argued for considering oneself an activist *to some extent* are similar to those mentioned for doing so *fully*. The difference is a matter of degree: While according to certain self-assessments more could or should be done, other survey participants value that they do what they can and consider it significant enough. They contribute some: "I bring up these issues whenever I can in my daily life" (W2, R20).

A few respondents *do not* consider themselves activists for women's rights. Although some explained they simply do not contribute to the cause in any significant way, others argued that they do not

[10] In this figure and all tables, W1 and W2 refer to the survey's waves 1 and 2 (June and August 2021 respectively). R refers to "respondent."

think women's situation is an issue requiring special attention[11]: "I think that as a woman I have always experienced the same conditions as men" (W2, R58); "I don't think of myself as part of womankind, but rather as part of the human race" (W1, R19).

Overall, replies to the question "Do you consider yourself an activist for women's rights?" reveal two significant findings. First, that there is a shared perception that an activist must meet certain conditions, but the significance assigned by different women to those same conditions varies. Communicating for gender justice matters, although doing it without belonging to an organization is considered a shortcoming: "I consider myself an activist to some extent because I share my thoughts on social media but I don't belong to any organization" (W1, R24). Exerting influence among one's close circles counts, but not enough: "I do not consider myself an activist because my influence is limited, only friends and family" (W2, R123).

The second finding is that committing time is considered a significant attribute of being an activist. Several respondents refer explicitly to how much time they devote to attending to women's struggles as a marker of how they assess their engagement: "I consider myself an activist to some extent because I spend part of my time participating in collective actions aimed at winning or guaranteeing women's rights" (W1, R7); "I do not consider myself an activist because I don't put time into it. Only minimal responses on social media or among friends and family" (W2, R15). This finding points at an incongruity that women face: Struggling for their rights in everyday life is a practice that takes time, but time is a very scarce resource for them, since they do double the care work than men on a regular basis (INDEC, 2022). To return to Goetz's (2007) considerations about gender justice outlined earlier, women's lack of control over their time—a scarce resource—limits their agency.

Communicating About Women's Issues: How

Answers to the question "How do you communicate about women's issues that matter to you?" confirm known facts about everyday media uses and add new details. As we already know, women communicate partly through digital mediation, picking their avenues from a mixed bag of proprietary options in which WhatsApp use predominates, both for individual and for group interactions (see e.g., Aparicio, Bilbao, Sáenz Valenzuela, & Barán Attias, 2020; Matassi, Boczkowski, & Mitchelstein, 2019; Tarullo, 2021): "On WhatsApp with a group of women friends who are very militant about gender issues" (W2, R55). Emailing, social networking, videoconferencing, and calling are also used. Notably, survey participants stress the significance of being able to communicate in-person rather than digitally: "Trade union, work friends, women friends. Texting, or in person when possible" (W2, R9); "Sometimes on social media, but always in person" (W1, R45). Partly because of the restrictions experienced during the pandemic, but potentially also for other reasons that future research could explore, a premium is placed on communication in-person.

Overall, participants explain how they communicate about women's issues in three outstanding ways: through interaction with others (i.e., in relational terms), by paying attention (i.e., informing themselves in varied but specific ways), and via expression (i.e., having a say in and through digital realms).

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[11] These answers show that the survey attracted some respondents who defied the expected self-selection bias (i.e., that only women concerned with gender justice would choose to reply).

Table 1 shows variations within each category. Interestingly, participants inform themselves about women's issues through channels other than mainstream news, and expressing themselves also has to do with sharing information. More succinctly: information matters for women's agency in more than one way.

Table 1. Communication About Women's Issues as . . .

Interaction	**Talking/chatting with friends/family**
	With my women friends mostly, some are very militant and I always ask them when I have questions (W2, R22).
	Every day with my loved ones, children, siblings, cousins (W2, R119).
	Debating ideas
	Sometimes I discuss ideas with mothers at my son's kindergarten and with other women at the institute where I study (W2, R10).
Attention to information	**Following selected individuals/outlets on social media**
	I follow specialist female journalists on social media (W1, R14).
	I follow "Women who didn't make the news" ['Mujeres que no fueron tapa'] on Instagram (W2, R47).
	Participating in events
	I attend public talks with leading feminist figures (W1, R28).
	Reading
	Through feminist news media (Latfem, for example) (W1, R30).
Expression	**Posting to WhatsApp groups/social media**
	I send verified news reports to my contacts so that they will join the fight (W1, R13).
	I share information on social media (W1, R28).

Participants' accounts of how they communicate about women's issues that matter to them moreover reveal three significant findings. First, the importance of talking with friends about those issues—mostly with female friends, though not only: "With close women friends, on WhatsApp and in person" (W2, R23); "With my younger women friends, especially one who has problems with her male colleagues at work" (W2, R45). Second, women consider the various groups in which they interact with others regularly to be significant spaces where to talk about these issues. Third, workplaces are a specific type of space in which women definitely address these issues: "It's part of my everyday work life . . . It's an ongoing topic with my colleagues" (W1, R11); "We tackle women's problems and issues in different ways at my two workplaces" (W1, R17); "At work we meet periodically (a gender working group) to carry out an action plan" (W2, R83).

These findings show that everyday communicative activism goes beyond digital expression. A politics of visibility (Banet-Weiser, 2015; Clark-Parsons, 2021) is part of women's practices but not all. Also significant is interaction taking place at the meso level, partly in friendly groups where concerns can be

discussed, and partly in spaces where struggle is necessary. Workplaces come into view as a hot spot in which gender inequality requires attention and is addressed.

Communicating About Women's Issues: What

Three findings arise from answers to the question "What do you communicate about the problems affecting women that move you?" First, that communication is intentional, guided by what survey participants want their messages to convey or to bring about in response or reaction. There is always a strategic intention even if goals and strategies vary. In some cases, the point is to give courage:

> My personal messages are always encouraging. Part of my tweets call for reflection. If a news item is not verified, I point out something to call attention to it, or I raise questions. If it is very unfair, I will most likely post a response that includes statistics. If I share a message that expresses indignation but seems valid to me, I try to comment on it and add a reflection. (W2, R14)

In other cases, the point is to give visibility to certain issues: "I share posts authored by others, I publish my own stuff, I try to make issues visible so that society will take responsibility" (W2, R42).

The second finding is that survey participants communicate about women's issues thoughtfully in distinct ways akin to "implicit activism" (i.e. activism that is "modest, quotidian, and proceed[s] with little fanfare"; Horton & Kraftl, 2009, p. 21). Women think carefully about which approaches may be more productive in terms of getting the reaction sought: "In general I try not to think about or share only negative things, but rather to raise awareness, to discuss ideas that are taboo or controversial" (W1, R12). They also communicate with care:

> I communicate empathy, that it is not our fault, that this situation is not of our making, that we do what we can with the tools that we have, that the system is bad and must be changed, that only we women are going to change it. (W2, R12)

Their own experiences come into the equation: "They are personal messages. Sometimes they include my personal experience and what I would have wanted to do if I had been better informed" (W2, R67).

The third finding is that women frequently attempt to communicate in a balanced way, taking more than one aspect into consideration. Hope, mentioned by various participants, is part of their balancing acts: "In general I share critical viewpoints. This does not exclude hope. Rather, I try to put achievements as well as unresolved issues into perspective" (W2, R105); "I select messages, images or videos from people with expertise in this area. Generally they are hopeful messages addressed to women, but I also like to share content aimed at other social groups in order to raise awareness" (W1, R42). Against the divides typical of ongoing political polarization in Argentina, women express a concern with tempering their critique so that it will be considered rather than outright rejected: "I try to balance my comments without seeming to criticize ideas I disagree with, but signaling differences of opinion with humor or understanding" (W1, R19).

Making a Difference

Asked what difference they think that their communicating for or about women's issues makes, survey participants displayed various ideas about the kind of impact they expect or hope to have. They think that communicating can *render visible* the problems that women face, contributes to *informing* others about those problems, and *generates awareness* among the women affected on the one hand, and within society at large on the other. Table 2 shows how different respondents formulate these ideas.

Table 2. Communicating About Women's Issues . . .

Renders visible	It contributes to making visible the problems that we face—fear, oppression, injustice (W2, R42). It can make the problems visible (some people still either don't notice or else laugh at sexist jokes and microaggressions; W2, R90). Communicating and raising visibility in conservative communities such as the one where I live is already making a difference (W2, R82).
Informs	I might reach someone who otherwise would not hear that point of view (W2, R49). That people become aware of the things that happen to women (W1, R36).
Generates awareness	I believe it makes us aware of the situation that we live as women, and realize that we face a lot of injustice (W2, R13). Bit by bit I believe that more people are becoming aware and thinking [about it], precisely because the issue is always present (W2, R115).

Respondents moreover think that communicating plays other roles. Practically speaking, it can lead to finding concrete solutions to specific problems: "In some cases it can directly solve a friend's problem by finding a resource or providing help that she might not get otherwise" (W1, R37).

It is also connective in at least two ways. On the one hand, it brings people together: "We make connections that create more networks to be able to debate and act" (W2, R43). On the other hand, it links individual circumstances to collective struggles, thus counteracting the loneliness that those who experience gender injustice feel: "It takes away the pressure of feeling that the problem is mine alone and it helps me see that it's something that all of us women experience. And above all it gives me a sense of community" (W1, R6). Here, the micro makes sense against the background of the macro.

More broadly, communicating adds to the efforts of others, once again pointing at the connection between the micro and the macro: "I add my voice to thousands of women and lgbtq+ people that are opening the way to more just societies" (W2, R73). According to this view, a multitude of individual acts of communication can cumulatively contribute to change over time: "I think that the more we communicate, the more possibilities there are to reach other people who are interested, concerned, and/or affected by the same issues" (W1, R4). Here, participants are in line with ideas about the power of networked feminism popularized around #NiUnaMenos and #MeToo (Clark-Parsons, 2021; Sued et al., 2022). But to which extent is communication power?

To Communicate Differently, To Communicate in a Different Context

Asked if there is anything that they would like to change about how they communicate about the issues that matter to them, women referred both to their agency and to the structural conditions in which that agency unfolds.

Considerations about agency have to do with doing better and doing more. Excerpts in Table 3 show how women display self-reflexivity about challenges to their everyday communicative activism. Their concern with reach and impact conveys both the magnitude of the task at hand, and a sense that accomplishing it is not easy.

Table 3. "I Would Like to . . ."

Express myself differently	It's hard for me to communicate personal experiences publicly . . . It involves my own life experiences, the problems that I've had as a woman. I'm still not sure I want to communicate them beyond my circle of women friends or in therapy. Or I'm not sure how I would do it (W1, R17). Find and defend richer and more diverse arguments so I can use them in discussions (W1, R40). Be more assertive and less belligerent (W2, R54). Communicate assertively with those who disagree with me (W2, R57).
Be more active	Participate more actively in a group, but I'm shy about approaching (W1, R28). Maybe post more, more often (W2, R36). Perhaps to be more strategic and active (W2, R83). Become better informed (W2, R92).
Have more/better reach/impact	Connect more with women who I follow and admire but I don't interact with because I don't know them. To do more from where I stand, finding communication spaces that reach a larger audience (W1, R6). It would be good to be able to reach more places and not have to walk on eggshells to avoid closing off the possibility of dialogue . . . but that's how it is, right? (W1, R11). To have a greater impact, in the sense of the idea propagating (W2, R35). Who gets the message. I can't reach more vulnerable groups because they are not part of the circle (W2, R69).

Notably, structural conditions come to the fore when survey participants express their wishes for a context less constrained by several factors. Women call attention to the country's problematic information infrastructure, characterized by misinformation, information overload, and deficient attention to gender issues in mainstream news media, and to democratic shortcomings including political polarization, the absence of listening when they raise their claims, and the persistent lack of progress toward equality, which

forces them to persevere with their struggles. The excerpts in Table 4 reveal that women are aware of structural obstacles they face. As the reader will notice, dialogue and being heard/listened to appear are keywords.

Table 4. "I Would Want the Context to be Different."

Information infrastructure	That there wouldn't be false information, that there wouldn't be information overload and that channels for dialogue would not be full of hate from both sides (W1, R12). That women's problems would be made more visible, but NOT from a partisan political perspective. That all voices would be heard and nobody would be excluded. That in the mainstream media we would have specific, central slots dedicated to addressing gender issues (W2, R105).
Democracy	That there be more equality, so that we don't always have to be conveying demands but can instead communicate more achievements. That way, communication wouldn't always be so negative (W1, R41). That there be more receptivity to certain topics, although I think this is beyond me. Often it gets too intense, and sometimes it ends up being a dialogue among the usual people (W2, R9). That dialogue would open up (W1, R15). That we no longer need to have to always say the same things (W1, R24). That I was listened to more (W2, R14).

One respondent who grasped the distance between agentic efforts and actual change put it candidly: "I wish it were easier?" (W2, R67).

Discussion

As I showed in the previous section, women's everyday activism for advancing gender justice exists today as much as it did when Mansbridge and Flaster (2005) first conceptualized it. What does the study reveal about how women in Argentina understand it? Survey participants characterize it as a *way of being* (belonging to, feeling about) and a *way of doing* (taking a position, taking action). They share the view that being an activist implies a commitment and requires time, although their perceptions about what kind of commitment and how much time vary, leading to differential self-assessments of the significance of their everyday contributions.

This variation in the flexibility or strictness of self-assessments matters because it speaks of women's perceptions of the potential of, and limits to, their agency in everyday life. The variation also indicates an entanglement with ideas about what an organized activist does and about what proper activism is or should be. To an extent, survey participants consider their everyday activism a must, marked by high self-expectations in terms of doing more and doing it better. Those expectations arguably relate to the fact

that structural obstacles to gender justice persist, and suggest that at least some women may feel individually responsible for advancing with their microefforts struggles that they know are common to many.

What does the study tell us about how women in Argentina engage communication in their everyday activism? Respondents understand it primarily, though not solely, in terms of taking action, i.e., of engaging in a range of communication practices that they consider meaningful. Giving visibility to injustices and to claims for rights is one among other strategic intentions that guide their communicative practices as everyday activists. Other strategic intentions include, but are not limited to, tackling gender injustice in workplaces, showing empathy and solidarity to other women, connecting the dots between personal experiences of unfairness or violence, and attempting agonistic discussion (in the sense theorized by Chantal Mouffe, 2013) of burning issues.

The survey respondents consider in-person communication especially valuable. This finding is important to balance the intense consideration given by scholars and organized activists to feminist digital activism. Also valued is group interaction, which takes place in person as much as via the often-mentioned WhatsApp groups, evidencing the enmeshment of the nondigital and the digital dimensions of everyday efforts to make rights claims (Isin & Ruppert, 2020).

Remarkably, women consider information about the problems that affect them an element of their everyday communicative activism and take responsibility for trying to get it right and for sharing it as widely as possible.

Communicative activism is considered as potentially powerful, but women acknowledge that their agency is limited by two outstanding structural factors. On the one hand, they must struggle with a malignant information infrastructure marked by information disorder on social media (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017), misinformation, disinformation, and the insufficient or stereotypical representation of women's issues in mainstream news. On the other hand, they must struggle with a democratic system and a social fabric that fall short of attending to their claims (Goetz, 2008).

The latter is crucial for theorizing the tensions between everyday communicative activism and communicative gender injustice. I build on Goetz's (2007) claim that the outcome of gender justice should be "access to and control over resources, combined with agency" (p. 31) and on Kay's (2020) conceptualization of communicative injustice introduced earlier to define *communicative gender justice*[12] as a distinctive state of affairs characterized not only by women's opportunities to raise their voices meaningfully, but also by the democratic guarantee that states and markets—including digital platforms and news media markets—will be accountable if they do not listen to their claims for social, political, and economic rights. While my analysis in this article focuses primarily on the agentic, communicative aspects of women's everyday activism for gender justice, my findings about structural obstacles allow me to argue that their activism's success depends not only on their efforts to raise claims, but crucially, on those claims being listened to, and addressed accordingly, by the institutions accountable for guaranteeing their rights.

[12] Kay (2020, pp. 19, 105, & 173) makes three references to "gendered communicative justice" without defining it explicitly.

Having analyzed how women in Argentina *understand everyday activism* and *engage communication in it* based on qualitative evidence, I operationalize *everyday communicative activism* as the diverse ways in which women communicate for and/or about their rights in the context of their daily lives, resorting to digital mediations and to in-person engagement with friends and foes to seek change. This activism, which is an element of everyday activism more broadly defined, can and does effect changes at the micro and meso levels of everyday life but is insufficient to address gender injustice at a macrostructural scale. It is at the macrostructural level that entrenched communicative injustice must be addressed.

To Conclude

As I have demonstrated, everyday communicative activism clearly matters to the women who put it into practice. But to whom else? First, understanding how women perceive everyday activism and how they seek to communicate about gender justice in their daily lives matters for organized feminist activists. It informs how organized activists can reach out in substantial ways to those whose rights they seek to advance: not only to engage their temporary attention or solicit their presence in occasional collective mobilizations, but also to invite, encourage, acknowledge, support, and harness their daily participation in the coproduction of social change.

Second, knowing how women experience everyday communicative injustice matters for policymakers. It gives them a citizen perspective about the types of communication that women need today, at a time when, to quote Sarah Banet-Weiser (2015), “the cultural conditions that made it important to demand visibility in the first place—not enough representation, representation that is highly stereotypical, institutionalized sexism—have shifted in an age of postfeminism and advanced capitalism” (p. 69).

By foregrounding the everyday as the agentic-though-structured terrain in which women effortfully seek gender justice, even if they do not necessarily achieve it, and linking it to the notion of communicative injustice, this article contributes to broadening the theoretical and practical scope of what feminist activism is, what it can do, and under which conditions of possibility.

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Appendix

Table A1. Survey Respondents by Age Groups.

Decade Born	*Amount of Respondents*
1940	7
1950	17
1960	39
1970	43
1980	34
1990	12
2000	1
	153

Note. Five participants entered the date of survey completion instead of their birthdate.

Table A2. Survey Respondents by Province of Residence.

Province of Residence	*Amount of Respondents*
City of Buenos Aires	59
Province of Buenos Aires	55
Catamarca	1
Chaco	1
Chubut	2
Córdoba	8
Jujuy	1
La Pampa	1
Mendoza	6
Misiones	2
Neuquén	1
Río Negro	1
Salta	1
San Luis	1
Santa Fe	7
Tierra del Fuego	4
Tucumán	1
	152

Note. Two participants entered Argentina as their place of residence.