

Feminist political practices and Information and Communication Technologies. The case of the 35th Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual and Non-Binary in Argentina

Las prácticas políticas feministas y las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación. El caso del 35° Encuentro Plurinacional de Mujeres, Lesbianas, Trans, Travestis, Intersexuales, Bisexuales y No Binaries en Argentina

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ARTICLE



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Abstract

This article proposes to analyze the relationship between social movements and feminist political action with the new information and communication technologies (ICT), reviewing the current theories on cyberactivism and, in particular, cyberfeminism, in order to anchor and understand the phenomenon in a specific case: the 35th Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersexuals, Bisexuals and Non-Binaries in the province of San Luis (Argentina) in the year 2022. Using qualitative methodology, I describe and analyze, with the parameters relieved by theoreticians, my entry into the field as an observer participa-

ting in the organizing committee of this event, in which various positions and interactions are put into play, both face-to-face and virtual. In this way, this case serves to shed light on the phenomenon of the influence and interrelation of social movements, specifically feminisms, with ICT.

Keywords: Social movements, feminism, ICT.

Resumen

El presente artículo propone analizar la relación entre los movimientos sociales, la acción política feminista y las nuevas tecnologías de información y comunicación (TIC). Para ello, pasa revista a las actuales teorías sobre cibe-

ractivismo y, en particular, el ciberfeminismo, con la finalidad de anclar y comprender el fenómeno en un caso concreto: el 35° Encuentro Plurinacional de Mujeres, Lesbianas, Trans, Travestis, Intersexuales, Bisexuales y No Binaries en la provincia de San Luis (Argentina) en el año 2022. Mediante una metodología cualitativa, se describe y analiza, con los parámetros teóricos relevados, el ingreso de la investigadora al campo como observadora participante en la Comisión Organizadora de este evento en

el que se ponen en juego diversos posicionamientos e interacciones tanto en el ámbito cara a cara como virtual. De esta manera, este caso sirve para echar luz sobre el fenómeno de la influencia e interrelación de los movimientos sociales, específicamente los feminismos, con las TIC.

Palabras claves: Movimientos sociales, feminismo, TIC.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we propose to analyze feminist political practices and their relationship with new communication and information technologies (ICTs), in the framework of a political event of feminist activists that has been held annually in Argentina (each time in a different province), from 1986 to the present day. In 2022, it was organized in the province of San Luis (Argentina) in person; previously, in 2020, its organization was interrupted by the Covid 19 pandemic for three years (2020, 2021 and 2022).

This time, the meeting was called the 35th Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual, Bisexual and Non-Binary.

Therefore, this paper aims to describe and analyze the activities and social practices of feminist activists, both in the realm of face-to-face and virtual interaction. To this end, an ethnographic study was carried out through the methodology of participant observation in the Organising Committee of the meeting, throughout the year 2022. The researcher's entry into the field is then analyzed. It also describes some of the mechanics of interaction in these spaces: face-to-face, through ICTs and the relationship between the two.

Currently, there are discussions about the modalities, possibilities and characteristics of political action within the framework of new technologies. In this context, one of the main topics of fourth wave feminism (Varela, 2019; Fernandez Romero and Sanchez Duarte, 2019; Figueroa, 2018) is cyberfeminism, which analyzes the relationship between ICTs and this political, social and cultural movement. *El Encuentro* is, then, a social and cultural political event that brings together women and feminist dissidents annually in Argentina and becomes a case of relevance for the study of political practices and their relationship with technologies that impact on the concrete strategies carried out in the networks and that, in addition, function as spaces for diverse interactions. This will be seen in the development of the paper.

It is proposed, then, to explore the characteristics of feminist political activity in the face-to-face sphere and in social networks, in this case study. The aim is to investigate how differences and positions are configured in the field of organization, how ICTs intervene in these configurations, what are the dynamics of the relationship between virtual and face-to-face spaces, and what political strategies are deployed in each space?

This work begins with a brief survey of studies on change in political practices; change that is brought about by new technologies. Reference is made to cyberactivism and cyberfeminism. Next, methodological guidelines are proposed that introduce the analysis of the case in which the positions and strategies of the participants and the relationship of ICTs with the feminist political practices of this organization are explored. It concludes with reflections that emerge from the research.

2. FEMINISMS AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

This section briefly reviews the theoretical discussions and conceptual frameworks in reference to political action in general and feminist political action in relation to ICTs. It ends with a proposal for a micro-social exploration of ICTs in the context of feminist political practices.

On the one hand, within a broad social critique of ICTs, authors such as Han (2014) and Bauman and Leoncini (2019) investigate the problems that arise in relation to effective political action through the use of new technologies, in a society that they imagine to be increasingly marked by individualism. Thus, they expose the difficulties of lasting collective action in these media. On the other hand, there are theories on cyberactivism that study social movements in the context of networks¹

that analyze the possibilities of political action through ICTs. This is done in reference to the funding benefits that ICTs provide, as well as the facilitation and independence from state institutions and structures that they offer for the realization of political practices. Furthermore, they warn about the potential cyber-attacks that can occur (Sanpedro Blanco and Resina de la Fuente, 2004; Sorell, 2015; Pickerill, 2004; Earl, 2012, as cited in Accossatto and Sendra, 2018).

Social movements are intimately intertwined with current technological phenomena. This relationship has been studied by recent research, such as Varela (2019), Fernandez Romero and Sanchez Duarte (2019), Figueroa (2018), and Accossatto and Sendra (2018). The possibilities offered by ICTs for disseminating information, for generating and creating virtual infrastructures and for building networks are highlighted.

ICTs bring about change in collective action: they enable organization, mobilization and, through the effect of the viralization of information produced by social networks, they can also break the silence to which groups and fractions that do not have a social hierarchy are subjected (Ortiz Galindo, 2016; Ramírez, 2022). It is also possible to study cyberactivism on the network and through the network, whether it involves direct actions in virtuality, the formation of alternative online communities, or the use of ICTs to achieve interconnected networks, more dynamic and effective flows of capital and information than those that would be achieved through traditional means (Ortiz Galindo, 2016). ICTs influence numerous aspects of collective actions and social movements, as, through their use, changes are brought about with reference to: "(1) hierarchical structure; (2) communicative autonomy; (3) reticular organization; (4) transnationality; (5) timelessness;

¹ A social cyber movement can be conceptualized as: "a collective actor, structured in the form of a distributed network, which intentionally and with a certain continuity, uses the communicative opportunities of the Internet era and the social Web to affect social change, through the promotion of its collective actions, which can take place inside and/or outside cyberspace, with the aim of raising public awareness about a social conflict and public objectives that are claimed from an established collective identity" (Ortiz Galindo, 2016, p. 172).

(6) mobilization; (7) action repertoires; and (8) the creation of collective identities and political opportunities” (Ortiz Galindo, 2016, p.176).

Concomitant with studies on cyberactivism, feminist authors are emerging who address the influence of virtuality on this specific social movement. This was born as a response to the orthodoxy of socialist feminism that made “ominous predictions” about the social consequences of new technologies (Wajcman, 2006, p.126), Donna Haraway wrote the Manifesto for Cyborgs in 1983, which initiated a current that later became known as cyberfeminism. This perspective posits the possibilities of emancipation, empowerment and dissolution of gender barriers that ICTs provided (Plant, 1997; Wilding F., 2004; Wajcman, 2006). Cyberfeminism is not only an academic movement, but also a political, artistic² and cultural one (Varela, 2019; De Miguel and Boix, 2002). As a variant of it, social cyberfeminism advocates the transformation of the world through ICTs and aims to incorporate the history and practical experience of feminist struggles into possible political actions, in the context of new technologies (Varela, 2019; De Miguel and Boix, 2002; Ramirez, 2022). For Wilding (2004), it is necessary to “seek coalitions and alliances with diverse groups of women involved in the integrated circuit of global technologies” (p. 141).

Because of the great diversity of positions within the feminist movement, it is often referred to in the plural: feminisms. Feminisms have been understood as “a historical - and contemporary - transnational movement for women’s justice and freedom, which depends on women’s activist participation in linked groups:

local, national and international” (Wilding, 2004, p. 146). Feminisms today are characterized by their massiveness, they produce a political activity that is deployed in new technologies and use social networks as their own sphere³. This relationship has given rise to slogans, proposals, movements and political activities that are spreading globally, such as *Ni una menos* (Argentina) or *Me too* (United States). Likewise, the 8M call in Madrid (Spain) can also be mentioned (Varela, 2019; Accossatto and Sendra 2018; Ramírez, 2022; Castaño, 2015, Figueroa 2018 Fernández Romero and Sánchez Duarte, 2019).

The relationship between feminist activism and new technologies can acquire various nuances, according to different criteria (Accossatto and Sendra, 2018). On the one hand, they can be differentiated according to the medium in which they are deployed, whether it is a political activity that is mainly circumscribed to the network or movements and collective actions that are born outside the networks, but are facilitated by ICTs. On the other hand, there are the criteria related to the facilities it provides for linking, information or communication, such as reaching a larger audience at a lower cost. This produces a multiplier effect called “viralization” (Earl, 2012; as cited in Accossatto and Sendra, 2018). Also, one can observe the criterion of the influence of ICTs on internal organization, by promoting communication and coordination, or by facilitating the creation of innovative forms of power structures and decision-making. This “makes it possible to establish more fluid and short-term links based on looser and

2 In the early 1990s the term “cyberfeminism” was used by several artists in reference to works of experimentation between the female subject, art and virtuality (De Miguel and Boix, 2002).

3 Sadie Plant defines cyberfeminism as: an absolutely posthuman insurrection; the revolt of an emerging system that includes women and computers, against the worldview and material reality of a patriarchy that still seeks to subjugate them. It is an alliance of commodities against their masters, an alliance of women and machines (Bassnett, 1997: 46-49 quoted by Wilding F., 2004 p. 141).

unstructured organizational relationships” (Accossatto and Sendra, 2018, p. 129). Likewise, one of the main advantages of using ICTs is that they “strengthen network cohesion and swarming, based on the ability to connect with other activist groups, aid mobilisations and the generation of collective campaigns” (Pickerill, 2004, cited in Accossatto and Sendra, 2018, p. 130). This happens both locally and globally.

Currently, research is being produced on political actions that take place within the framework of social networks, whether for their call for face-to-face activities, marches or political actions, both nationally and internationally. Fernández Romero and Sánchez Duarte (2019) analyze the call for a strike on 8 March 2018 in Spain, through a quantitative study on the main frames of reference (frames) used in Facebook messages; their contribution to knowledge about the call for a strike was studied. Within the analysis of ICTs and political movements, the analysis of the political use of hashtags is a recurring theme. Castaño (2015) uses it to investigate the potential and usefulness of social media as “commercial platforms and technologies of subjectivity for the contemporary feminist movement” (p. 126).

At the Argentinean level, there are precedents on claims or movements that involve ICTs, such as the case of the Argentinean claim called *Ni una menos* (Not one less), analyzed by Accossatto and Sendra (2018). In this case, they study communicational strategies in the organization of collective action, and focus their attention on the implication of ICTs in the generation of public opinion that is built “from the bottom up”. This gives rise to numerous voices expressing themselves in the new technologies and the way in which they accelerate social processes through the extent and immediacy of their reach. It also studies the involvement of ICTs in the study of actions that promote

the visualization of abuses in a patriarchal context, such as “Mira cómo nos ponemos” (“Look how we put ourselves”). In studying this case, Ramírez (2022) reflects on the role of digital media in relation to social mobilisations and, in particular, the use of hashtags on Twitter about the demonstrations of support for the actress Thelma Fardín. She denounced actor Juan Darthés for sexual abuse and the feminist community supported her through the use of the slogan #*MiráCómoNosPonemos*. In addition, the slogan #*SeráLey*, which is representative of the campaign for safe, legal and free abortion, was placed in the public conversation.

Up to this point, there has been an outstanding background on the relationship between the study of political activity, especially feminist activity, and ICTs. Moving out of this field and towards the subject of this paper, research has been produced at the national level on the Encuentro de Mujeres from a historical and social point of view (Alma and Lorenzo, 2009). More specifically, to analyze the issues related to the present work, Mason (2007) stands out, which seeks to understand and describe feminist political practices in their specificity, through an ethnography of spaces and narratives in the framework of the Encuentro de Mujeres, in which a similar objective and methodology to that used in this work is proposed. The two articles differ in that, in the first paper, the author does not carry out an analysis of ICTs in the context of the struggle.

This work seeks to investigate and explore the relationship between ICTs and everyday political activity through the methodology of participant observation within the Organising Committee of the 35th Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual and Non-Binary People in the province of San Luis, in the year 2022. Based on the background information gathered, there is

a research gap regarding the new implications of the use of ICTs in this specific political activity. The solution to this gap is explored in this paper, since it is considered (as will be seen in the next section) that ICTs influence the positions and classifications of activists, the spheres and specificities of interaction in each network, the dynamics between the different political strategies that are deployed both through ICTs and face-to-face. A micro-social study is proposed in which the functioning of new technologies is explored through a qualitative methodology, describing the researcher's entry into the field of a feminist event. This was done with the intention of constructing new classifications and categories of analysis for the study of the topic of feminist political action and new technologies.

3. ENTERING THE FIELD

In order to study feminist interactions and practices in the context of the 35th Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual and Non-Binary in the province of San Luis in the year 2022, a qualitative methodology has been applied, which "refers in its broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data: people's own spoken or written words and observable behavior" (Tylor and Bogan, 1987, p.19-20). In this case, this will be done through participant observation⁴ that is triangulated, internally, with the search and collection of documents and audio-visual material.

Initially, the aim was to study the different positions in the field of organization, strategies and practices, as well as the meanings that the participants of the organization had about

them. The research design was flexible; this refers to the possibility of relatively mutating the topic, questions, purposes and methodology, according to the nuances that the research acquires in its development (Mendizábal, 2006).

The research approach is framed as an ethnography. This term can be defined as:

The description of what people do from the perspective of the people themselves. This means that an ethnographic study is interested in both the practices (what people do) and the meanings that these practices acquire for those who perform them (people's perspective on these practices). (Restrepo, 2018, p.25).

Thus, this paper seeks to understand, enter into and collect data on feminist political practices through a case study, which investigates how practices are configured in the face-to-face and ICT sphere in a given context. The main unit of analysis is activists.

Through this methodology, we study the practices, spaces, events and narratives of women and dissidents who identify as feminists in the organization of an annual political, social and cultural event. The proper names used in this work are fictitious, with the ethical intention of protecting the identities of the participants.

The present analysis is based on the researcher's participation, through participant observation, in a national gathering of all types of feminisms. In 2020, this meeting was scheduled in the province of San Luis. Participant observation means: "research that involves social interaction between the researcher and informants in the latter's *milieu*⁵ and during which

4 Based on notes found in a field diary that was kept for this purpose.

5 The definition incorporates this French term meaning environment, ambience.

data are collected in a systematic and non-intrusive way" (Tylor and Bogan, 1987, p.31).

Two significant events marked this event: on the one hand, the Covid 19 pandemic postponed the meeting, so its organization was interrupted for three years (2020, 2021 and 2022); and, on the other hand, the event changed its name to Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual and Non-Binary. Its slogan was: What is not named, becomes invisible. The change of name generated a fragmentation of a minority group of the Encuentro, which continued to opt for a previous name.

In the analysis of entry into the field, one of the elements to consider is accessibility to the field, which is given by the keys, which is the name given to the people who act as intermediaries and introduce the researcher to the field of study (Tylor and Bogan, 1987). In this case, access was facilitated by two main factors: first, the researcher was part of feminist activist groups in the city of Villa Mercedes since the beginning of the pandemic; and second, the organization of public access assemblies for women and dissidents helped to incorporate them into the field. Concomitantly, the relevance and place of the various social networks and ICTs in terms of contexts of differentiated interaction, with specific purposes and strategies, will be detailed, as well as the relationship of these with the facilities and obstacles that were experienced in the first moments of participant observation. The first classifications and differentiations between activists that emerged at the beginning of the research will also be mentioned.

In the early 2020s, the researcher attended some meetings of a feminist group in the city. These took place during the summer and were held in a square; in addition, there

was a WhatsApp group in which the participants took part. This virtual group was an important source of contact between the activists in the group, as they asked for help, passed information, organized activities and planned meetings. A few months later, the Covid 19 pandemic began and activities were curtailed. In 2020, feminists in San Luis had to organize the Women's meeting. It should be remembered that the change of name meant a break in the organization, which also meant not having the economic funds left over from the previous meeting, which were used to finance the next one. This resulted in the organization splitting into two factions.

Virtual activities and assemblies were held during 2020 and 2021, and an assembly and a meeting of the culture committee were held. Both were held virtually via the meet platform. Discussions were slow; for example, during the first half of the initial meeting, the date of the next meeting was discussed for two hours. This can lead to boredom in some cases.

In April 2022, it was announced via the WhatsApp group, to which the researcher still belonged although without active participation, that the first assembly was being held for the meeting, which that year would be held in person. The assemblies were held on a weekend day in a city in the province; the first one took place in San Luis, the capital. The group of activists announced that there would be free buses⁶ to take people to the capital. The bus would leave at noon and return at night on a Saturday. In the organization of transport, there were strong disputes between the different groups of activists. A first differentiation was observed between the different ideologies that

⁶ In Argentina, buses are called *colectivos*, and on this occasion, the activists arranged the transfer with the Secretary of Women's Affairs of the municipality.

were more akin to the regional government or to a national movement. The researcher sat at the back of a bus during the journey to the capital. There, she met people from the municipality, the provincial government, the workers' unions, etc. Testimonies are collected about what it is like to be a feminist in a macho environment.

A first category that begins to emerge immediately, and which has already been mentioned above, has to do with political affiliation and/or affiliation to different types of groups to which activists belong. For example, one group is the government in its different spheres (provincial or municipal), *las socorristas* (an organization dedicated to accompanying abortions), the *autoconvocados* (self-convoked), those from the different groups or currents of justicialism, those from trade union organizations, student organizations, etc. In fact, when they took note of who attended the assembly, they asked about their political background.

The assembly was held in the center of the city of San Luis, in the university canteen of the UNSL⁷. A main table was set up at the head of the circle to serve as moderators. At this point, they began to talk about how each person should elect a sub-commission. All the members were part of the Organising Commission and, at the same time, there were sub-commissions dedicated to specific topics such as press, finances, logistics, culture, contents, self-care, children and adolescents, the plurinational commission, etc.

In these spaces, feminist merchandising is sold (which are a constant feature of the assemblies): scarves, wristbands, books, accessories for the cannabis smoker. These sa-

les take place while the rest of the participants arrive.

The day's activities are divided into three parts: the general assembly begins; then everyone chooses a sub-commission to belong to and these sub-commissions meet separately in the hall; finally, it's back to the general assembly. At the beginning, the main topic is the differentiation of the two existing meetings. The researcher asks for the floor and proposes communication strategies for the networks with the greatest impact. The issue of differentiating the role between activist and researcher was a constant problem throughout the research. An attempt was made to have an attitude of continuous reflexivity about the position and views of the researcher.

Perhaps contrary to what Tylor and Bogan (1987) suggest, the researcher was too visible in the first Assembly, through the intervention noted in the previous paragraph. One can see here the different tensions between the components of the research such as that between distance and proximity, the need for non-intervention and the need for *rapport*⁸ (Tylor and Bogan, 1987).

After the opening protocol, participants were invited to join the different sub-commissions: press, finance, contents, logistics, children and adolescents, plurinational commission, self-care, etc. It was proposed as a rule that each person would be part of up to two sub-commissions; in any case, you had to decide to go to at least one commission. Before the Assembly dispersed for the sub-commissions to meet, it was noted that as soon as the sub-commissions were formed, new par-

7 Universidad Nacional de San Luis. San Luis National University

8 Rapport is a word of French origin (rapporteur), meaning "to bring back" or "to create a relationship", definition taken from <https://www.rdstation.com/blog/es/rapport/>.

ticipants should be added to the WhatsApp groups of each sub-commission⁹.

Fourteen women and dissidents participate in the press sub-commission; many of them work in radio or in government. Within this group, there are women who work in radio, trans girls who talk about social media, and even a girl who asks that each member of the commission introduce herself with the pronouns with which she identifies.

The scope of the sub-commission is discussed and it is analyzed whether content can be created or only what the sub-commission dedicated to that specificity decides should be disseminated. There was also talk about the issue of the networks; the younger ones focused on Twitter and proposed trying to be a *trending topic*¹⁰ with the theme of the date of the meeting. There was even talk of manipulating the algorithms. Later, they talk about networks that have more impact, such as Instagram and Facebook. At this point, young people decreased their participation. It seems that Twitter, at the organizational level, was a network more promoted by young people and the other networks had more attention from middle-aged people. The day of the weekly subcommittee meeting was also decided. In the sub commission's WhatsApp group, the link is posted so that participants can join the meeting, which is held via the Google Meet platform.

In the first virtual meeting of the sub-commission, leadership is evident within the group. It is a leadership in charge of directing, instructing on the forms and attitudes expected. There is talk about the commitment

that people must have with the movement and the hours of work that will be needed to move the *Encuentro* forward.

This highlights yet another aspect of the marked differentiation between feminists. It also serves as a mechanism of exclusion and segregation within the sub-commissions. The feminist movement is differentiated into active feminists, who are the most committed, who not only go to the assemblies, but also participate in the sub-commissions even if it is a holiday and carry out the necessary activities of the sub-commission; and inactive feminists, who are the people who go to some assembly or participate marginally in some activity. In accordance with this classification, two WhatsApp groups are usually set up: the general group and the active group. The second group has a select number of members.

During the time that the researcher participated in the active WhatsApp group, there was a discussion about the pronouns to use in a communiqué: there was a debate about whether to use only *"todes"*, *"todas y todes"* or *"todas, todes y todos"* (the latter explicitly includes trans men who participate in the organization). In this discussion, it is pointed out that, in the postgraduate career, *"todxs"* is used, which is inclusive of all gender categories. At this point, a government press officer comments: "I understand. But the academy cannot come and impose on a person how they have to name themselves, whether their self-perception is masculine or feminine, from the binary or outside the system".

In this way, another differentiation and categorisation in the movement becomes evident: there are the academic women (to which the researcher belongs because of her work), and the non-academic women. At the start of the subcommittee meeting, the main topic of

9 In the previous two years, numerous activities and virtual assemblies had taken place and sub-commissions had been formed, but all virtually because of the pandemic.

10 A very popular topic on Twitter.

discussion was the existence of two meetings, the possible unification of dates and the need to clearly communicate the differences between one meeting and the other. It is said that it is not clear to the activists who will come from all over Argentina why there are two meetings on two dates.

It was decided to write a song as part of the sub committee's activities. This song will be worked on remotely, using ICTs. Thus, through WhatsApp, an exchange of ideas takes place; in addition, in a video call on the same application, the couplet is finished, details are polished and the content of the couplet is edited. On the day the couplet is presented, the researcher cannot be present at the meeting.

In that second virtual meeting, a change in the days on which the meetings will be held is established. In addition, all those who took part in that meeting leave the WhatsApp group of activists; this strategy is used to immediately re-establish a new group of activists, from which those who did not participate in the last meeting are excluded. In this way, a clearly marked strategy of differentiation and exclusion is evident. Over the course of the months, belonging to these differentiated groups became very important as a strategy within the organization. The participants gave multiple explanations for the existence of two groups: "so that the active group would be a more operational group", "so that information would not leak out" (especially in view of the danger of possible "spies" from the other meeting who could be infiltrated).

However, beyond these reasons, the existence of two groups served to exclude those who, for whatever reason, were undesirable to those in control of the movement and who

were very committed and active. Thus, power over the commissions was monopolized; as the months went by, these exclusion techniques grew, leading to numerous conflicts.

This section has outlined the researcher's entry into the field, as well as the categories, hierarchies and internal differentiations that were encountered along the way. The role of new technologies and networks in this specific field has also been highlighted. One can see the constant interaction between face-to-face and virtual activities; the preference for certain platforms, according to personal characteristics such as age group, or for different contexts of interaction, such as meetings or more specific collaborative activities among activists. The networks served as an information mechanism through which news of upcoming events is made available. It also serves to establish frameworks for discussion on gender issues and is a way to reduce travel costs.

ICTs allow for multiple virtual meetings and activities. This is important for movements such as the feminist movement, as activities can be held with participants anywhere in the province. It is also a mechanism for assembling factions and subgroups, which serves as a mechanism for exclusion and a strategy for concentrating power. As detailed, it is not a split world, where activism is primarily carried out on the networks, but rather a reality that moves in these two instances (virtual and face-to-face), in a complementary way and with categories that are constructed in the interaction in both spheres.

4. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The paper outlined a number of theoretical and conceptual frameworks based on

current discussions around political actions, social movements and new technologies. Special emphasis is placed on the analysis of a specific political and cultural social movement within the framework of feminisms.

In the case of this *Encuentro*, the relationship of feminist political activity with ICTs is highlighted in many ways. ICTs lower costs, provide facilities for the dissemination of information and communication. Moreover, these technologies are used to consolidate different strategies and mechanisms of feminist political practice.

The researcher's account, in an exemplary manner, aims to analyze the current reality of social movements and, in particular, feminist movements. These movements are marked by constant interactions in different contexts, both face-to-face and virtual: face-to-face assemblies, virtual meetings through different platforms and networks such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Google Meet, Facebook and Instagram. These interactions produce a complex whole to

be analyzed in a non-divided and non-fragmented way in future research.

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