

## **Communication and activist literacy for social change in feminist movements: The case of 2019 8M women's strikes in Spain and Portugal**

Alessandra Farné, Universitat Jaume I, Spain.

Carla Cerqueira, Lusófona University - CICANT, Portugal.

Eloísa Nos-Aldás, Universitat Jaume I, Spain.

### **Abstract**

This chapter addresses the role of communication and information practices in recent feminist activism. Specifically, it analyses the case of the 8M women's strikes in Spain and Portugal in 2019 to gather potential lessons for the non-profit sector and activism in the field of feminisms and diversity. It adopts an activist communication perspective, based on the concept of "cultural efficacy" (Nos-Aldás, 2020), which refers to the shared premise that the core cross-cutting responsibility and main long-term aim is transformative communication above the private or management needs of movements and organizations. On the methodological level, content and discourse analysis is applied to the websites that coordinated the Iberian 8M strikes, using cultural efficacy criteria to discuss how they contribute to the movements' communication and activist practices. The results indicate that there are points in common between feminist activism in Spain and Portugal. Both communicative experiences share discourse traits focused on activist literacy, to trigger collective action for global social justice. They advocate enduring transformation with a nonviolent, transgressive and intersectional approach, enhancing recognition of previous struggles and inspiring alliances.

Simultaneously, particularities of each country's movement are seen in their messages. Police violence in neighborhoods, for instance, stands out as a cause for protest in Portugal, whereas efforts to bond with broad alliances and international networks are salient in Spain.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In 2017, feminism worldwide was reinvigorated by the #MeToo, or the Latin-American #NiUnaMenos [Not One Less], movements, with first stoppages called as part of the International Women's Day demonstrations on March 8 (8M); in Spain, the national movement organized partial shutdowns for a few hours that enjoyed some support but which inspired a bigger event the following year (Campillo, 2018). In 2018, for the first time in Spain, a major feminist strike was held that brought out tens of thousands of women in mobilizations across the country. It drew international headlines and inspired women in other countries, such as in Portugal, to call for similar stoppage, although turnout was patchy. This success led to the calling of the 8M feminist strike in 2019, which gained greater adherence in both countries and, therefore, provides ample material for understanding differences, similarities and the evolution of this phenomenon in the Iberian context.

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the 2019 8M feminist strikes in Spain and Portugal, to trace elements of cultural efficacy in their discourse and discuss how they contributed to the movements' communication and activist practices.

This study adopts an activist communication perspective (Nos-Aldás & Pinazo-Calatayud, 2013; Pinazo-Calatayud & Nos-Aldás, 2016) that identifies in protest scenarios a series of practices that represent an advance for researchers and practitioners in relation to the traditional Communication for Development/Communication for Social Change (CDSC) studies. Thus, theoretically, it is grounded in the interdisciplinary approach of transgressive communication (Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2020) as a feminist, cultural, postcolonial and critical step forward (hooks, 1994; Lagarde-y-de-los-Ríos, 2005), focused on the transformation of the symbolic and structural root causes of suffering, inequality and diversity, and based on

---

<sup>1</sup> This research is funded by the R+D projects "Social digital education" (PGC2018-095123-B-I00), of the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, and "Communication for Social Change and Media Education to stand up to hate speech on gender and immigration, through the analysis of public discourses in Spain between 2016-2019" (UJI-B2019-13), of the Universitat Jaume I.

reframing representations through universal, inclusive and emancipatory values (Mesa et al., 2013).

## **2. Theoretical framework**

Communication for social change has evolved as a field in recent decades, shifting from traditions of communication for development linked to institutional cooperation and charities (Melkote, 1991; Servaes, 2002) to more participatory perspectives (Marí-Sáez, 2020; Nos-Aldás et al., 2020; Tufte, 2017). Recent trends in “communicating for change” (Tacchi & Tufte, 2020) are based on critical perspectives from post-development, cultural and feminist studies (Bachmann & Proust, 2020; De-Sousa-Santos, 2012) and the effects of the reactivation of social movements in the last decade since the emergence of the Arab Spring, Occupy and, particularly in Spain, the 15M movements (Bernal-Triviño & Sanz-Martos, 2020).

This CDSC paradigm is nurtured from the evolution of media and communication research and its cultural and social turn (Baú, 2016; Hemer & Tufte, 2016) as well as cross-reflections with the field of Education for Development (Riek, 2015; Skinner et al., 2016) to converge as a communication field understood as agency (Jacobson, 2016). Following this conceptual shift from an instrumental approach to the dialogic transformative potential of activist communication, this chapter relates to previous debates on how to define and assess the efficacy of a participatory, emancipatory communication for the non-profit sector (Oliveira et al., 2016).

This study connects with the political implications of CDCS, understanding politics in terms of collective negotiations and decisions, resistance and change, culture and power (Durham & Kellner, 2012; Wilkins, 2014), together with trends focused on civil society, both structured (NGOs and formal associations) and fluid social movements (collectives and alliances). Non-profit communication is not understood here as an instrumental campaigning

tool, but as the synthesis of organic cultural and transformative responsibilities, and the functioning of communication as social advocacy (Dogra, 2007).

Both contributions converge on the concept of cultural efficacy (Nos-Aldás, 2019; Nos-Aldás, 2020). This analytical criteria holds non-profit organizations accountable for their narratives. It points out at the salience of symbolic consequences as being the basis and legitimation for structural and direct effects. This theoretical model understands the communication of the non-profit sector from its performativity (Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2020): the representations, relations and commitments that any communicative action establishes. Cultural efficacy, thus, situates cultural consequences in the center of the communicative process and connects every decision with the challenge of promoting discourses that are consistent with the core responsibility and main long-term aim of CDCS (aligned with the foundational principles of non-profit organizations), which is its transformative ambition. That is, a broad understanding of communication (quality international information, awareness campaigns, intersectional narratives, fundraising, informal education...) in continuous dialogue with educational, legal and formal political contexts oriented to the transformation of symbolic and structural violence.

This debate on CDSC runs parallel to another on global critical citizenship education, which also comes from the field of Education for Development (Torres, 2017). In current societies, media and information literacy play an important role in forming critical citizens and promoting democratic societies based on human rights (Carlsson, 2019; Kellner & Share, 2007; Singh et al., 2016). In fact, beyond the right to information and expression, all literacies – textual, media, audio-visual, digital, and so on – converge to make citizens aware of social injustice issues (Murakami, 2019; Kibbey, 2011). To be effective citizens, people must acquire communication literacy (the ability to communicate effectively), which entails critical understanding of information and meaning (its sociocultural context and implications), and

possess social skills to communicate and participate in ways that are socially responsible in a diverse global society (Nutbeam, 2000; Texas Tech University, 2020). Such communication literacy is related to social change and democratic process in a way that enables an activist literacy that includes “agency, coalition building and collaboration, an awareness of power structures, and the deliberate use and interpretation of language” (Crisco, 2005, np).

Following these approaches, communication and activist literacies are understood as the ability to make effective communication for social change that contributes to transgressing oppressive hegemonic frames and promoting alternative discourses that engage citizens for equality and social justice.

### **3. Method**

As an example of activist communication, this study addresses the 8M feminist strikes in Spain and Portugal in 2019, as the most recent large feminist demonstrations staged due to restrictions on the following marches imposed as a result of the pandemic.

The analysis focuses on the website of each platform that coordinated events around the 8M strikes:

- Portugal: <https://grevefeminista.wordpress.com/>
- Spain: <https://hacialahuelgafeminista.org/><sup>2</sup>

The focus is on the websites/digital platforms because the present repertoire of feminist actions occurs in a scenario characterized by the widespread use of digital communication, and the continuum of online activism to street activity (Núñez-Puente, 2018; Cruz & Cerqueira, 2017). Their social media networks were not included in the analysis because it exceeded the scope of this chapter and, especially, because the website was the main source for the

---

<sup>2</sup> During the research, this website’s server had access problems, however, the information is available on the Internet archive: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201126233449/https://hacialahuelgafeminista.org/>

information and materials disseminated through their social media accounts (Acosta & Lassi, 2020), in line with current trends in content curation as a gateway for social media (Stanoevska-Slabeva et al., 2012). Furthermore, the websites function as a repository of all the materials disseminated by the movement, and allows activists to document unfolding protest events and share their emotions (Papacharissi & de-Fatima-Oliveira 2012).

On the methodological level, content and discourse analysis was applied to the websites, firstly, in the form of a mixed content analysis of the web architecture to define the general structure, design and browsing elements (Sosa-Valcarcel et al., 2019), then a discursive approach to explore the resignification of the subjects, transforming their role as victims to subjects with agency capable of transforming victimization into activism. The analysis addressed the discursive elements through criteria of the cultural efficacy of communication for social change (Nos-Aldás & Farné, 2020), identified and compared by the authors on previous international social movements:

**Table 1. Criteria of cultural efficacy of transgressive communication.**

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Description</b>
1. Non-violence	Avoid all types of violence, even symbolic. Care needs to be taken when dealing with stereotypes; avoid ridiculing, blaming, generalizing and adopting condescending attitudes, etc.
2. Recognition	Recognition and acknowledgement of the other person from a perspective of equality despite differences, with empathy based on universal, inclusive and emancipatory values.
3. Transgression	Transform hegemonic representation frames that perpetuate oppression; promote new imaginaries through creativity and innovation.
4. Intersectionality	Be aware of the crossovers and overlaps in questions of gender, ethnicity and origin, class, sexuality, age, functional diversity.
5. “Inspiration”	Foment communication with proposals that provide reference models inspired by equality, and an invitation to action and emancipation.

Source: Nos-Aldás & Farné (2020, p. 24).

These are the results for each case, starting with general website content, then the discursive elements for the five criteria.

## **4. Results**

### ***4.1 8M strike in Portugal***

#### Website content

*Greve Feminista* [Feminist strike] was created by the Rede 8 de Março<sup>3</sup> [8th March Network) for the Portuguese 8M (hereafter P8M) in 2018 to prepare for the 2019 strike. The national platform brings together collectives, associations, political organizations and trade unions. The website emphasizes the international feminist strike, and provides information on the strike projected for 2020, the last for which information exists, and which shows that, despite the pandemic, many initiatives and materials were created, several of which were available only online. The site menu presents seven sections, including how to contact the promoters/organizers and supporters of the strike, what the international strike is about, the specifics of the Portuguese context (protests in relation to consumption, care, students and labor), a manifesto, materials, press releases and agenda (indicating the geographical reach of the events).

The side menu presents news about the strike, the link to their Facebook account, e-mail and petition (signing the manifesto). The website's layout can be confusing, does not facilitate much information and mixes archive material of previous years' activities with other information, all of which is in Portuguese.

---

<sup>3</sup> See <https://rede8marco.wordpress.com/about/>. The network originates from the organization of the March to End Violence against Women, which took place on 25 November 2011. It brings together feminist, anti-racist, LGBT, immigrant rights and anti-precarity associations. The network has a presence in several Portuguese cities, and it called for the 8M International Feminist Strike in Portugal.

## Nonviolence

The P8M discourse is a nonviolent approach that is consistent throughout the website. The press releases condemn femicides (one entitled: “No more silence on femicides!”<sup>4</sup>), racism and police violence in neighborhoods. The issue of non-violence is also addressed in the manifesto, with reference to data on the Portuguese context:

We are from the country where 6576 women and girls have been victim of genital mutilation. We are the survivors of gender violence in Portugal that kills two of us on average every month, 80% victims of domestic violence, 90.7% victims of sexual crimes.

Other material speaks bluntly on the issue: “Because we suffer multiple violence, so this strike we call will be multiple.”

## Recognition

The website acknowledges past achievements and the struggles that need to be pursued. Its online material signals an awareness of the need to act against violence: “To be a feminist is to be aware of all this [violence] and take action in defense of what we have already achieved, and fight for what we still do not have”. This aspect is also very visible throughout the manifesto:

We are heirs of the feminist struggles and of the workers, anti-colonial and anti-racist resistance. We claim the heritage of the struggles for the right to vote, to work for a fair

---

<sup>4</sup> This and the following quotes in English have been translated from Portuguese and Spanish by the authors.



wage, to a free and responsible sexuality, to maternity as a choice, to housing, to public education and health.

## Transgression

P8M falls within this innovative type of protest. This was not a classic labor strike, but a fourfold demonstration, as expressed in the manifesto: “On 8 March, we will strike for wage labor, domestic and care workers, responsible consumption of goods and services, and for students”. The strike called by the 8 March Collective did not only involve traditional actors in strikes but also other collectives and individuals.

In fact, their discourse aimed at mobilizing everyone:

### “HOW TO MAKE YOUR OWN STRIKE?”

- Talk to your union representative, and explain the importance of going on strike in your sector on 8 March;
- Inform your colleagues about the strike;
- The 8 March Network meetings are open for all to participate!

## Intersectionality

The discourse has a clear intersectional approach, addressing multiple discriminations, and P8M defines itself as a force for “anti-colonial and anti-racist resistance”. This is clearly expressed and emphasized several times over, for instance:

For us, to be feminist is to be aware that we women are the poorest of the poor, the ones who work the hardest among the exploited, the ones who are excluded and exposed to violence; and in this equation, the color of our skin, the place where we come from or where we live, and our sexual orientation, are by no means irrelevant. To be a feminist is to be aware of all this and to act in defense of what we have already achieved and to

fight for what we still do not have. All struggles unite and rise up together! ALIVE,  
FREE AND UNITED! 8 MARCH IS OUR DAY OF STRUGGLE!

### “Inspiration”

In the discursive elements that inspire action and emancipation, there is frequent mention of fomenting both local and international networking with other feminist movements, as manifested by the website’s name, “International Feminist Strike”. The call for individual and collective action is ever present in the material, and all women are invited to engage: “We know that stopping consumption for just one day will not make a big difference, so we invite you to think about more conscious and sustainable consumption of goods and services throughout the year.”

The manifesto also uses a discourse that calls to action and draws inspiration from the historical memory of daily struggles:

Every March 8<sup>th</sup>, we celebrate the union of women and mobilize in defense of our rights. We are heirs of the feminist struggles and of workers' anti-colonial and anti-racist resistance. We reclaim the heritage of the struggles for the right to vote, to work for a fair wage, to free and responsible sexuality, to motherhood as a choice, to housing, to public education and health.

When explaining what the feminist strike is about, this same discourse is present:

The Feminist Strike is a proposal of the international feminist movement, which calls for a women's strike as a form of protest and revolt against the precariousness and violence that invade our lives. It is the biggest women's social strike movement in the world in recent decades, taking place on 8 March, International Women's Day.

## 4.2 8M strike in Spain

### Website content

*Hacia la huelga feminista* [Towards the feminist strike] was created by the 8M Commission in Spain (hereafter S8M) in 2017 to prepare for the 2018 8M, first feminist strike in Spain. The website carries information dating from its foundation to early 2021<sup>5</sup>. It has a clear, user-friendly layout, with a site menu organized in seven sections. First, the home page contains post miniatures, with the right sidebar providing links to information such as position statement, 8M radio, Google Map of local assemblies, Twitter account (@HuelgaFeminista), and a YouTube playlist (#HaciaLaHuelgaFeminista). The footer provides links to social media (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram) and contact details. The second tab, 8M Commission, includes information on the national commission – code of ethics, guide on feminist practices, who they are and how they function, locations and e-mail addresses of 83 sections, a Google Form to add new sub-commissions, and a subsection with information on meetings. Thirdly, Materials offers “road maps to the 2019 strike” and Calls for demonstrations. Fourth, Territories provides 14 subsections on the local committees based in the main regions. Fifth, Migration and Anti-racism gathers information on the committee for this area, position statement, demands and activities. Sixth, International provides information in English on 2019 8M, its origin and meaning, demonstrations worldwide and the consumer strike. Finally, 2018 is the archive of the first strike, with an international subsection with information in English.

### Nonviolence

The movement’s discourse is a nonviolent approach, starting with the manifesto. The denunciation of several forms of violence against women are contextualized to explain the root

---

<sup>5</sup> The last 8M was organized in 2020, although already affected by the pandemic, as the following week Spain declared the national lockdown. In 2021, 8M demonstrations were prohibited due to the pandemic, and only minor events were permitted in some towns and virtual actions, which is reflected in the scarcity of information on this website in 2021.

causes, rather than blaming individuals. They show awareness of the interconnections of violence and the importance of working to achieve direct, structural and cultural peace: “We denounce that being a woman is the main cause of poverty and that we are penalized for our diversity”. Caring for people is essential, and the manifesto explicitly demands “that the defense of life is placed at the center of the economy and politics”. The manifesto makes a clear connection between peace and nonviolence:

We cry out: No to wars, no to weapons production! Wars are a product and extension of patriarchy and capitalism to control territories and people. The direct consequence of war is millions of displaced women around the world, women who are being forsaken, victimized and violated.

## Recognition

Recognition is a clear, cross-cutting discursive feature with two elements that particularly stand out in the manifesto. First, explicit acknowledgment and gratitude towards the predecessors who fought to achieve rights for women: “There is a long genealogy of activists, suffragettes and trade unionist women who fought before us.” Secondly, there is strong recognition for the women, mostly disregarded and underprivileged, who bear the burden of care:

Domestic and care work done by women is essential to sustain life. The fact that it is mainly unpaid or undervalued is a trap perpetuated by capitalism. Today, with a strike by carers in the family and society, we shine a light on work that nobody wants to recognize, either unpaid at home, poorly paid or in the informal economy. We claim that care work be recognized as a first-order social good, and we demand the redistribution of these types of tasks.

## Transgression

S8M explains that “one of the most important aspects for us has been the theoretical development of a new concept and its praxis: the feminist strike”. This goes beyond the traditional forms of strikes because most women work in irregular or precarious conditions, and are involved in reproductive work at home, therefore, the classical approach of a strike does not fit with their needs. “For this reason, the feminist strike is proposed so that women stop work in all spheres, labor, student, consumer, care, and go on strike.” The care and consumer aspects are particularly transgressive in relation to hegemonic approaches. The consumer strike includes boycotts of products promoted by misogynistic advertising and, especially, a wider reflection on the economy and structure of production and how it affects women and their working conditions. The carers’ strike highlights the role of women in sustaining life, and relates to nonviolent and recognition criteria.

Other elements aimed at transgressing hegemonic and patriarchal frames refer to love. For example, the development of activities leading up to St. Valentine’s Day, reframed as “Saint Violentin”, a play on words with “violent-valentine”, to denounce the idea that romantic love often entails a toxic relationship that hinders the emotional and material independence of women and, therefore, sustains violence.

## Intersectionality

The discourse has an intersectional approach, addressing several layers of discrimination suffered by women, and S8M defines itself as anti-colonial, anti-racist and anti-capitalist. The most visible issue is Migration and Anti-racism, with a dedicated section to highlight the additional discrimination that women face because of their ethnicity and origin. There are specific hashtags – *#Migrantas8M* [Migrants], *#racializadas8M* [racialized], *#refugiadas8M* [refugees] – and posters such as one with drawings of ethnically and religiously

diverse women under the slogan “Migrant woman: doubly resistant”. Secondly, S8M showed its support for sexual diversity in the wake of the strike on Lesbian Visibility Day in April and Pride Day in July 2019, and claimed a space for women within the LGTBIQ+ movement, denouncing that it is still embedded in patriarchal culture that relegates women. Thirdly, S8M addresses class, focusing on underprivileged women, such as those involved in care and housework, with a Domestic Territory Conversation, and actions against labor precarity. Finally, there is a cross-generational approach taking into account different types of violence contextualized by age range, for instance, harassment of young women, labor conditions or care work for adults, and equitable pensions for the elderly.

#### “Inspiração”

In the discursive elements that inspire action and emancipation, there are many references to promoting both local and international networking with other feminist movements. This is particularly visible in the bilingual manifesto (Spanish-English) “Beyond 8M: Towards the ‘Feminist International’”:

[...] the feminist movement is giving us hope and a vision for a better future in a crumbling world. [...] The new feminist wave is the first line of defense to the rise of the far-right. Today, women are leading the resistance to reactionary governments in a number of countries. [...] The feminist movement is also rediscovering the meaning of international solidarity and transnational initiative. [...] After the upcoming 8 March, the time has come for taking our movement a step further and calling for transnational meetings and assemblies of the movements: for becoming the emergency brake capable of stopping the capitalist train running at full speed, and hurtling all humanity and the planet we live in, toward barbarism.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> This original text is in English.

The website also provides global tracking of 8M abroad, with references to Honduras, Argentina, Andorra, Italy, Bolivia, Turkey, Kenya, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Germany and Portugal (the “*A Caminho Da Greve Feminista!*” campaign).

Following 8M, there are references to the activism around International Workers’ Day (May 1), with the slogan “We take care, we work, we go back to the streets” – and the Swiss women’s strike (June 14): “We want to be free, alive, feminist, combative and rebels! Feminist strike never ends, every day is 8M and 14J.”

## **5. Discussion and conclusions**

The analysis of the Portuguese and Spanish feminist strikes’ websites shows that each initiative has its own particular characteristics, but they also share common discursive elements from protest communication models.

The preoccupation with providing information and communication is evident in both. This favors a discourse that connects with society and engages broader support. They combine info-activist literacy, in terms of expertise in transforming information into action, and a cultural-discursive awareness to enable effective communication to engage citizens in social change.

Regarding cultural efficacy criteria, both movements share discourse traits oriented to nonviolent activism and structural transformations:

1. Nonviolence: they denounce violence from a structural, interconnected and systematic perspective (femicides, poverty, sexual abuse), although nonviolence in itself is more salient in the Spanish manifesto.
2. Recognition: it is striking how both movements explicitly acknowledge their predecessors’ achievements gained through feminist struggle and the additional burden of the reproductive work for women.

3. Transgression: the main contribution they have in common is the transformative frame of the global strike, not only for its international scope but also with innovative transgressions of traditional labor conceptions by introducing the elements of care and consumer strike.
4. Intersectionality: various actions are proposed to develop the diversity of contexts and identities, and intersectional approaches are observed in both initiatives (in terms of the actors involved and discourse projected). The range of organizations and collectives involved in organizing and supporting the strike demonstrate the integration of an intersectional approach, and both state their anti-colonial, anti-racist and anti-capitalist nature and focus. The photographs, press releases and the causes defended, such as the struggles against poverty and racism, clearly show that this activism is formed of intersecting struggles that characterize feminism today.
5. Inspiration: both platforms call for participation and action, and include an international approach. Moreover, there is a clear reference to the Spanish context in the Portuguese actions, with news items declaring that the strike in Spain has inspired the Portuguese movement.

This comparative study provides a perspective of the points in common between feminist activism in Spain and Portugal, while referencing the particularities of each country's movement as seen in their messages. Police violence in neighborhoods, for instance, stands out as a cause for protest in Portugal, whereas efforts to bond with broad alliances and international networks are salient in Spain. These differences demonstrate the need to adopt situated knowledge (Haraway, 1989/1991) and take into account contexts of action (Gómez-Fuentes, 2015), so important for feminist movements. Overall, the information and communication strategies adopted with activist expertise are visible on the two websites, and they demonstrate



the application of cultural efficacy criteria with a view to forcing onto the public agenda the major struggles that women need to fight in order to achieve equality and diversity.

## References

- Acosta, M., & Lassi, A. (2020). #8M 2019. La conversación digital durante la Huelga Internacional de Mujeres [#8M 2019. The digital conversation around the International Women's Strike]. *Revista Arbitrada Interdisciplinaria Koinonía*, 5(5), 86-109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.35381/r.k.v5i9.516>
- Bachmann, I., & Proust, V. (2020). Old concerns, renewed focus and novel problems: feminist communication theory and the Global South. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 44(1), 67-80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2019.1647445>
- Baú, V. (2016). Waving the flag for development communication: Why there is still hope for communication research. *The International Communication Gazette*, 78(7), 711-715. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516655733>
- Bernal-Triviño, A., & Sanz-Martos, S. (2020). *Las Periodistas Paramos* in Spain: Professional, feminist Internet activism. *European Journal of Communication*, 35(4), 325–338. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323120903687>
- Campillo, I. (2018). 'If we stop, the world stops': the 2018 feminist strike in Spain. *Social Movement Studies*, 18(2), 252-258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1556092>
- Carlsson, U. (Ed.) (2019). *Understanding Media and Information Literacy (MIL) in the Digital Age: A Question of Democracy*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg. [https://jmg.gu.se/digitalAssets/1742/1742676\\_understanding-media-pdf-original.pdf](https://jmg.gu.se/digitalAssets/1742/1742676_understanding-media-pdf-original.pdf)

- Crisco, V. (2005). *Activist literacy: Engaging democracy in the classroom and the community* [Dissertation, University of Nebraska – Lincoln]. <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/dissertations/AAI3176773>
- Cruz, R.V., & Cerqueira, C. (2017). SlutWalk goes glocal: estratégias de difusão online no caso português. In R. Ribeiro, V. de Sousa, & S. Khan (Eds.), *A Europa no mundo e o mundo na Europa: crise e identidade* [Europe in the world and the world in Europe: Crisis and identity] (pp. 213-236). Braga: Lasics. [http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/ojs/index.php/cecs\\_ebooks/article/view/2793](http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/ojs/index.php/cecs_ebooks/article/view/2793)
- De-Sousa-Santos, B. (2012). Public Sphere and Epistemologies of the South. *Africa Development*, XXXVII(1), 43-67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24484031>
- Dogra, N. (2007). Reading NGOs Visually. Implications of visual images for NGO management. *Journal of International Development*, 19(2), 161-171. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1307>
- Durham, M.G., & Kellner, D. (2012). *Media and cultural studies: Keywords*. Malden (Mass.): Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gómez-Fuentes, M.J. (2015) Feminisms and the 15M Movement in Spain: Between Frames of Recognition and Contexts of Action. *Social Movement Studies*, 14(3), 359-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2014.994492>
- Haraway, D. (1988/1991). Situated knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. In D. Haraway (org.), *Symians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (pp. 183-202). Routledge.
- Hemer, O., & Tufte, T. (2016). *Voice + matter: Communication, development and the cultural return*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

- Jacobson, T.L. (2016). Amartya Sen's Capabilities Approach and Communication for Development and Social Change. *Journal of Communication*, 66(5), 789–810. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12252>
- Kellner, D. & Share, J. (2007). Critical media literacy is not an option. *Learn Inq*, 1(1), 59-69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11519-007-0004-2>
- Kibbey, J. (2011). Media Literacy and Social Justice in a Visual World. *Counterpoints*, 403, 50-61. [www.jstor.org/stable/42981595](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981595)
- Lagarde-y-de-los-Ríos, M. (2005). *Para mis socias de la vida. Claves feministas para el poderío y la autonomía de las mujeres* [To my life partners. Feminist keys to women's power and autonomy]. Madrid: Horas y Horas.
- Marí-Sáez, V. M. (2020). Lessons on communication, development, and evaluation from a Freirean perspective. *Development in Practice*, 30(7), 862-873. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2020.1755232>
- Melkote, S.R. (1991). *Communication for development in the third world: theory and practice*. Sage.
- Mesa, M., Alonso-Cano, L., & Couceiro, E. (2013). *Visibles y transgresoras. Narrativas y propuestas visuales para la paz y la igualdad* [Visible and transgressive. Narrative and visual proposals for peace and equality]. Madrid: CEIPAZ.
- Murakami, K. (2019). Media Literacy and Social Activism. In R. Hobbs & P. Mihailidis (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Media Literacy*. Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118978238.ieml0139>
- Nos-Aldás, E. (2020). Learning with 'generation like' about digital global citizenship: A case study from Spain. In D. Bourn (Ed.), *The Bloomsbury handbook of global education and learning* (pp. 246-261). Bloomsbury.

- Nos-Aldás, E., & Farné, A. (2020). Transgressive communication for social change: Performative epistemologies and cultural efficacy. *Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 27, 1-26. <https://convergencia.uaemex.mx/article/view/12720/11471>
- Nos-Aldás, E. (2019). From grassroots action to public discourses of cultural peace. In Iranzo, A. & Farné, A. (eds), *Comunicación para el cambio social: propuestas para la acción*, (pp.25-45). Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanc.
- Nos-Aldás, E., & Pinazo-Calatayud, D. (2013). Communication and Engagement for Social Justice, *Peace Review*, 25(3), 343-348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2013.816552>
- Núñez-Puente, S. (2018). Femen in the current Spanish political context: feminist activism and counterhegemonic modes of representation. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 19(1), 111-126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2018.1414368>
- Nutbeam, D. (2000). Health literacy as a public health goal: a challenge for contemporary health education and communication strategies into the 21st century. *Health Promotion International*, 15(3), 259–267. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/15.3.259>
- Oliveira, E., Melo, A.D., & Gonçalves, G. (Eds.). (2016). *Strategic communication for non-profit organisations: challenges and alternative approaches*. Vernon Press.
- Papacharissi, Z., & de-Fatima-Oliveira, M. (2012). Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on# Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 266-282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01630.x>
- Pinazo-Calatayud, D., & Nos-Aldas, E. (2016). Developing Moral Sensitivity Through Protest Scenarios in International NGOs' Communication. *Communication Research*, 43(1), 25–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650213490721>
- Riek, B. (2015). *From the aims to the achievements of development education: stumbling blocks on the way to political transformation*. DEEEP.
- Servaes, J. (2002). *Approaches to Development Communication*. Paris: UNESCO.

- Singh, J., Kerr, P., & Hamburger, E. (Eds.) (2016). *Media and Information Literacy: Reinforcing Human Rights, Countering Radicalization and Extremism*. UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000246371>
- Skinner, A., Smith, M.B., Brown, E., & Troll, T. (2016). *Education, learning, and the transformation of development*. London: Routledge.
- Sosa-Valcarcel, A., Galarza Fernández, E., & Castro-Martinez, A. (2019). The collective cyber-activist action of “Las periodistas paramos” for the feminist strike of 8M in Spain. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2019i0.7287>
- Stanoevska-Slabeva, K., Sacco, V., & Giardina, M. (2012, April 20-21). *Content Curation: A new Form of Gatewatching for Social Media?* [Conference presentation abstract]. 13th International Symposium on Online Journalism (ISOJ), Austin, Texas. [https://libra.unine.ch/Publications/Marco\\_Giardina/16123/L-en](https://libra.unine.ch/Publications/Marco_Giardina/16123/L-en)
- Tacchi, J., & Tufte, T. (Eds.) (2020). *Communicating for Change: Concepts to Think With*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Texas Tech University (2020, January 13). *Communication Literacy Requirements*. <https://www.depts.ttu.edu/provost/curriculum/communication-literacy/index.php>
- Torres, C. A. (2017). *Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives of Critical Global Citizenship Education*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315452579>
- Tufte, T. (2017). *Communication and social change: A citizen perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Wilkins, K. G. (2014). Advocacy Communication. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte, & R. Obregon (eds), *The Handbook of Development Communication and Social Change* (pp. 57-71). Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.