

TERRITORIAL APPROACHES

MOVEMENT OF WOMEN WORKERS

FOR A FEMINIST AND SOLIDARITY ECONOMY



Publication based on the report prepared by the FMS team and external collaborators in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay with the support of the Global Fund for Women.

ARGENTINA, URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY | 2021



FONDO DE
MUJERES
DEL SUR

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic revealed a structure of pre-existing inequities that are concomitant to the already deep economic inequalities: care tasks intensified in the face of the health crisis and their precarious distribution came into jeopardy due to the interruption of the different related services.

The diverse women, identities and sexualities of these territories had to renew their efforts, forge alliances and revive their economies with old and new knowledge together with collective and community-based practices.

Two years after the start of the pandemic, the context presents an opportunity. There is a paradigm shift in relation to production and the organisation of the economy based on solidarity and cooperativism, focused on the sustainability of life and on the recognition and redistribution of the care system.

To this regard, women have had significant experience because since the 1980s and with increasing force, women have been the ones who have devised strategies to resist neoliberal, exclusionist and extractivist economic models. They are the ones who, motivated by culturally assigned roles, opted for collective alternatives, networks with their own renewed processes and logic, they also fight for recognition and representation. Their work must be strengthened in order to be able to face the current situation in the region with increased sustainability and inclusion.

Latin America is one of the world's most unequal regions and, due to the high levels of inequality and poverty prior to the pandemic, together with the high degree of informality and public administrations with insufficient resources, it was one of the regions most affected by the crisis.

(Oxfam, 2021).



A structure that is always in crisis

Structurally, diverse women, identities and sexualities are poorer than men: they have less paid employment, less income, and work more in the informal sector. This disparity has been sustained throughout history by the unfair social distribution of work (paid and unpaid care tasks). According to data from Oxfam International Confederation (2020), women and girls carry out three quarters of domestic and care tasks (domestic, community, cleaning, cooking, collection tasks, as well as caring for children and adolescents, the elderly and people with disabilities) and they make up two thirds of the paid care-related workforce globally. In other words, of the total time spent in the world caring for boys, girls, the elderly and/or people with disabilities, more than 75% is cared for by women.

The situation is more unequal in the most unprotected areas or regions. In low-income countries, rural women spend up to 14 hours a day on unpaid care work, almost double a full working day (Oxfam, 2020). This inequality is also evident when observing who participates in these tasks. In Argentina, for example, 91.6% of women do unpaid work; among men, the percentage is 73.9%. For this reason, women participate less in work and production of goods for self-consumption 36.9%, compared to 55.5% of men (INDEC, 2022).

In other words, the unfair distribution of domestic tasks deprives women of time and opportunities to get an education or training, work paid jobs, go out to look for work or carry out other essential activities for life, such as resting, taking care of their health, participating in organisations and political activities, among others.

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Women were the ones who were on the front line in response to COVID-19: in hospitals, homes, community soup kitchens. They became the mainstay throughout the pandemic and, nevertheless, they suffered an unprecedented drop in their labour indices: the decline in the participation of women in the labour market reverted to levels from two decades prior to the pandemic (ECLAC, 2021).

At the end of 2021, almost 4.2 million of the 23.6 million jobs for diverse women, identities and sexualities that were lost in the region during the worst moment of the crisis still had not been recovered. In contrast, men managed to recover their positions almost completely (ILO, 2022).

During 2020, Latin American women had to face extreme working conditions, in a context in which wage discrimination persisted and there were high rates of informality, especially in sectors where they work the most: health, commerce, education, and paid domestic work in private homes.



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Towards economic justice

In recent years, the feminist movement in Latin America – which became massive after the first cry of #NiUnaMenos in 2015 – managed to get its demands included on the social and political agenda of the region and take enormous steps forward in its fight towards equality. "We want us alive, free and debt-free", claim the activists to denounce the system that violates them.

A feminist economy proposes dignifying alternatives to these forms of violence, using both theory and practice in an effort to move towards distributive justice and the re-valuation of the social and community economy; towards labour, economic and social rights for diverse women, identities and sexualities in highly feminised and precarious sectors, their insertion in masculinised sectors (such as construction, transport, technology); equal access to quality care services and equal distribution of unpaid work.

In recent years, women workers in the region have started a movement for a feminist and solidarity economy that brings together these demands. Although the experiences have undergone heterogeneous processes, similar characteristics stand out: the principles of equity, solidarity, circular economy, socio-environmental care and, fundamentally, the leading role of women. Self-governance networks, cooperative organisations and feminist economy associations are increasingly becoming stronger, with particular adaptations depending on the needs of the location, resource availability and context.

The United Nations High-Level Political Forum includes gender equality and the reduction of inequalities in the Sustainable Development Goals. Along these lines, the International Labor Organization (ILO) points out that the 2022 scenario poses an important challenge: taking advantage of these transformations and new logic in labour markets towards a 2030 Agenda. The need to propose a different economic model, with an environmental, social and gender approach, inclusive of women and diversities, is increasingly evident. In this process, the actions of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy play a fundamental role.

Aware of this reality, Fondo de Mujeres del Sur (FMS) set out to investigate, in alliance with the Global Fund for Women (GFW), the experiences of social and community organisation in pursuit of a feminist and solidarity economy in the south of the American continent, particularly in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

This study aims to investigate the reality of diverse women, identities and sexualities, exploring new answers and asking questions. Undoubtedly, identifying the organisations that make up the emerging movement in the south of the region will make it possible to better focus support resources and define strengthening strategies.

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Where we started

The chosen methodological tool, MCAT (Movement Capacity Assessment Tool), was designed to analyse the capacities of social movements. It was developed by the Global Fund for Women thanks to contributions from the feminist scholar and activist Srilatha Batliwala, who considered certain variables that make a “strong or solid social movement”. This tool has been used with adaptations in other regions of the world and with other social movements.

On this occasion, the version used, which was adapted to the reality of our territories, had opened-ended and closed-ended multiple-choice questions. Additionally, questions were included about the organisations’ historical and contextual factors, about the role and connection that each organisation had with the movement, among others.

The main objective of this approach was to learn more about the movement in the three countries. We also considered it important to generate a map that provides greater clarity and creativity to provide support to organisations.

To this regard, using the methodological tool was a strategy to enter into dialogue with organisations that had been working for many years in their territories and had no prior connection to FMS. On the other hand, this territorial work is of vital importance because it helps us better understand the organisations’ dynamics, empathise with the changes in territorial economies and the multiple dimensions that affect the economic, social and political life of diverse women, identities and sexualities.

In September 2021, Fondo de Mujeres del Sur (FMS) promoted, in alliance with the Global Fund for Women (GFW), the implementation of a survey to understand the current situation of what could be called an emerging movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy (hereinafter “the movement”) in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

This study included the initial mapping of organisations that make up the movement (unions, associations, neighbourhood organisations, entrepreneur groups, among others); communication with organisation leaders, use of the tool (assistance and support in its use, analysis of the degree of acceptance to answer the questions, monitoring the submission of the completed form, among others) and, finally, data processing and analysis of the movement in each country.

We are convinced that all methodological tools can be strengthened by practical application. And, in this sense, the survey implementation was a case of testing and learning. It was an initial step towards our aim to deepen knowledge about the movement and its practices. The results not only help to identify new work approaches that enrich the movement, but they also help to analyse how the questionnaire was perceived by organisations and to identify areas of improvement.



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How we worked

Our approach was to work as a team. We established a working group including the FMS team and key stakeholders from Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, who coordinated the study¹. The first step was to map organisations, groups and leaders of the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy.

Additionally, a group of women workers — from different organisations that perceive themselves to be part of the movement — contributed from their point of view as advisers. They were in constant communication with the aforementioned coordinators, while the survey was being conducted. They were also the ones who provided updates regarding the conditions of the movement in each country. The contributions of the coordinators and the advisers were crucial to adapt and conduct the survey in a reflective, empathetic and flexible way, according to the characteristics of the territories and organisations.



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1. The group of coordinators was made up of members of El Telar from Argentina specifically Gabriela Artazo, Laura Sarmiento, Gabriela Bard Wigdor, Paola Bonavitta along with Lucia Pérez from Uruguay and Marta Diarte from Paraguay. The members of the Advisory Group included Norma Sanchís, Claudia Korol and Ailin Mendez from Argentina; Alma Espino and Tamara Garcia from Uruguay; Alicia Amarilla and Gabriela Schwartzman from Paraguay.



Preparation and construction of meaning stage



1. Meetings between coordinators, advisers and the FMS team.
2. Adaptation of the MCAT survey according to the contextual characteristics and suggestions received.
3. Reflection, analysis and new conceptualisations about the methodology to be used.
4. Meetings between coordinators, the FMS team and the Global Fund for Women team to coordinate the survey implementation.



Movement analysis and mapping stage



1. Collection and analysis of information from organisations, groups and organisation leaders to assess their relevance to participate in the survey.
2. Identification and mapping of organisations and leaders.
Communication strategy and connections.
3. Together with leaders from the mapped organisations, approach methodologies to be used in the territories were analysed.



Survey implementation stage: data collection



1. Follow-up and support for the organisation leaders to guarantee their response to the questionnaire and clarify any doubts.
2. Permanent communication with participating organisations and leaders.
3. Tool application criteria established according to the specificities of each country and group. In rural areas where connectivity conditions were not good, the survey was conducted on site with the help of the country coordinators who facilitated the formulation of questions.
4. Support to answer the survey: in most cases the survey was sent by email or WhatsApp message to a leader from the organisation or group. Each leader and organisation defined the mechanisms they considered pertinent to answering the questionnaire: meetings to collectively respond to the questions. Alternatively, the leader answered as an individual or as part of the organisation.
5. Systematisation of responses.

Results, evidence and trends

217

women and
LBTIQ+
people
surveyed

109

from Argentina

55

from Uruguay

40

from Paraguay

13

did not
indicate their
country

Who participated

The survey was conducted throughout October and the first days of November 2021. Two hundred and seventeen women and LBTIQ+ people participated (109 from Argentina, 55 from Uruguay and 40 from Paraguay). Thirteen participants did not indicate their country.

The survey was completed by individuals, however, in some cases, the organisation leaders decided to prepare the responses with the members of their organisation. It is also important to clarify that some leaders responded as part of the organisation and as a member of the movement, according to their criteria.

Identifying with the movement

Most of the responses demonstrate that there is a self-perceived idea of being part of a movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy. 93% consider that they are part of the movement; only 4% of those surveyed do not consider themselves to be part of this group even though they work in the field of economic justice. On the other hand, 3% of the responses implied that a movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy does not exist in their country.

According to the objectives of this process, we will focus on the sub-regional results (the sum of responses from the three countries) and, on certain occasions, we will highlight particularities of each country. This group of responses is based on the people who do consider themselves to be part of the movement.

Overall, 68% consider themselves to be part of an organisation or connected to the movement in a broad sense. 25% responded individually, but making clear reference to the movement.

Sense of belonging to the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy

93%

I consider myself to be part of the movement

4%

I do not consider myself to be part of the movement

3%

There is no movement



The average age of the survey participants was

41

with a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 74 years of age

Age, gender and experience

The average age of the survey participants was 41 years, with a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 74 years of age. This data shows the generational breadth of the movement, with noteworthy strength and future projection.

Regarding gender, the majority of those surveyed defined themselves as women (84%), 2% preferred to identify themselves as lesbian, 2% consider themselves trans and 1% defined themselves as non-binary. The remainder of the participants did not answer this question.

In this regard, it is important to clarify that, in the data analysis stage, low representation of the LBTIQ+ population was registered. This demographic variable, without a doubt, is a weakness of the study given it does not represent a diverse view of the movement in the territories.

Regarding the respondents' participation in the movement, the average was 8 years of experience, registering a maximum of 40 years.

Self-perceived gender of the respondents

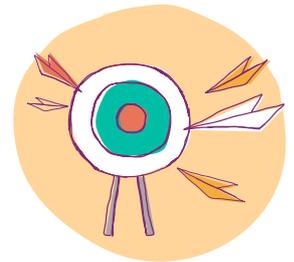
Woman	84%	Non-binary	1%
Lesbian	2%	Did not reply	11%
Trans	2%		

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Work and advocacy

In Uruguay and Argentina, 71% of the people who participated in the survey work in the urban sector. In Paraguay, 53% work in the urban sector and the remaining 47% indicated that their work takes place in the rural sector. All the same, at first glance, this does not imply a limitation in terms of impact. On average, across the three countries, 71% consider that their activities have an impact at the local or, at least, provincial or departmental level.

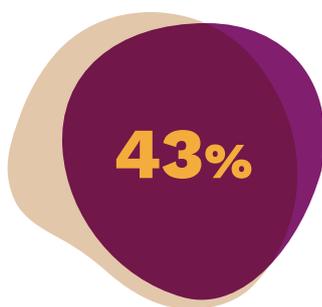
The leaders are clear in identifying the main role of the organisation to which they belong: 43% consider that it is related to advocacy for the recognition, expansion, effective monitoring and access to women's rights, while 42% responded that their main role is the construction of alternative feminist experiences that respond to excluded populations and those at a greater disadvantage due to the current economic model.



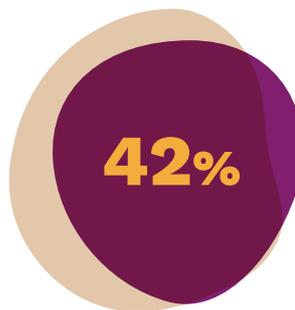
71 %

consider that their activities have an impact at the local or, at least, provincial or departmental level

Main role of the organisation to which the respondents belong



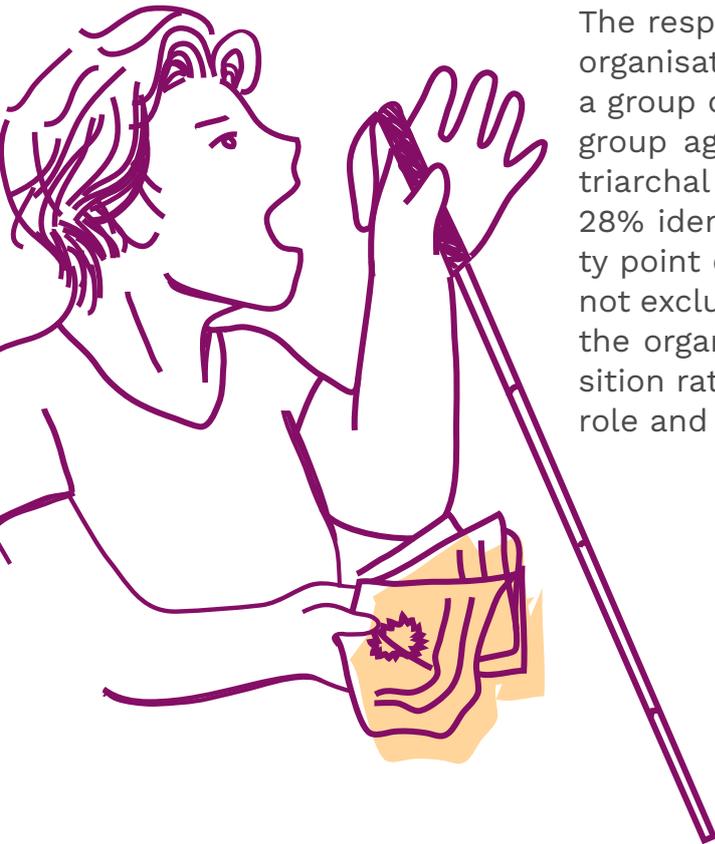
Advocacy for the recognition, expansion and effective monitoring and access to rights



Construction of alternative feminist experiences that respond to excluded populations and those at a greater disadvantage due to the current economic model, with a view to good living.



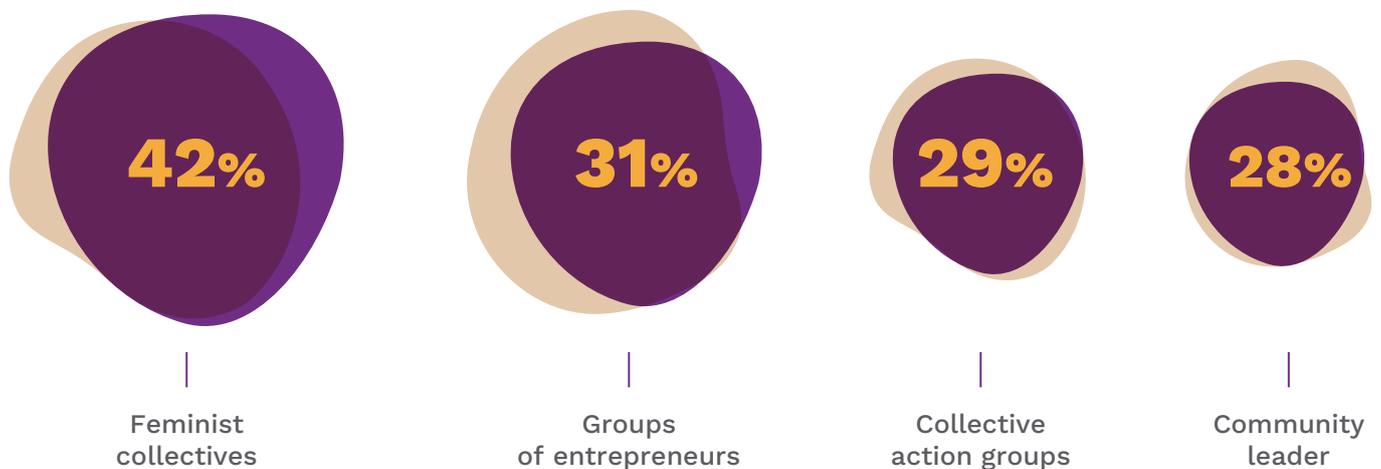
Did not reply



Feminist and community-based collectives

The respondents who completed the survey as part of an organisation identified it as a feminist collective (42%), as a group of entrepreneurs (31%), and as a collective action group against the capitalist, extractivist, racist, and patriarchal economic model (29%). The results showed that 28% identified the organisation as a territorial community point of reference. Likewise, these classifications were not exclusive. In most cases, there were multiple answers: the organisation identified itself with a more flexible position rather than a rigid definition in terms of its identity, role and function.

Type of organisation or group the respondents belong to



Perception of the movement: growth, strengths and weaknesses

Participants also responded in relation to the growth of the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy in their countries. Specifically, they were asked in terms of stages or phases, referring to four predetermined stages characterised by the survey. The stages or phases reflect different components without being mutually exclusive, but rather cumulative.

Results from Argentina and Uruguay

Emergence stage **18%** indicated that the movement is at this stage of growth.

Although there is widespread discontent about the status quo, some organisations and their members are raising awareness about the issues, and many of those who undertake the work are not aware of each other nor are they connected to each other. There isn't a shared identity of the movement.

Coalescence stage **53%** believe it is at this stage.

There is discontent or unrest which becomes visible, either because of a specific event related to an issue that comes up or by various events that occur in the community or in society. Individual participants become aware of each other and begin to establish connections. The movement is building a shared collective identity and is gaining more media attention, broader public participation and becoming a more prominent political force.

Formalisation stage **16%** consider that the movement is at this stage.

The movements become more professional with formal organisation, paid staff and strategies based on alliances. They have greater access and recognition by political elites and participate in action strategies that are less massive.

Movement in decline **3%** feel that the movement is currently in decline. That is, it is losing momentum due to repression, co-optation, or because objectives have not been achieved.

At any point in their life cycle, movements can lose momentum due to repression or co-optation, or because they have already achieved their objectives.

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It should be clarified that these results could be interpreted in another way if we take into account that 10% of the people surveyed in these countries did not answer this question. They left it blank. The reasons were not investigated, but this allows us to understand that a significant number of participants did not identify a specific phase associated with the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy.

In this section, different results were found for Paraguay. Opinions were divided and they are more optimistic:

Emergence stage **24%**
considered it to be emerging

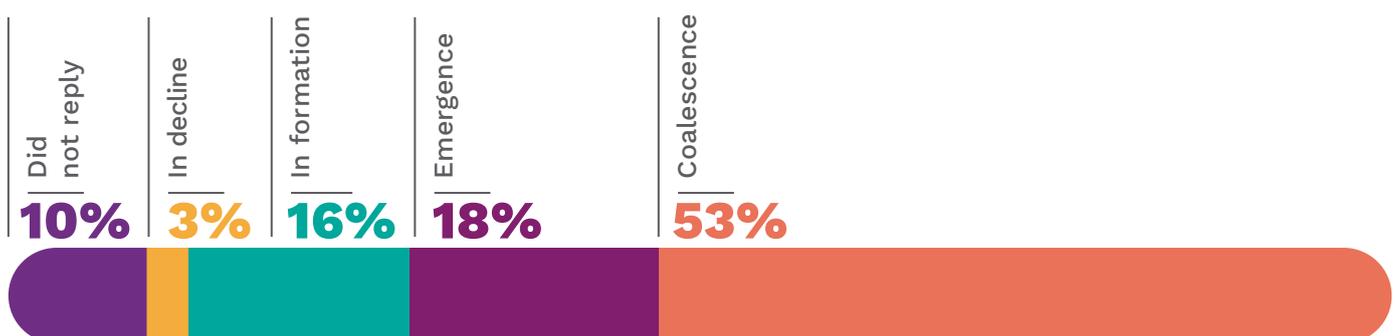
Coalescence stage **37%**
affirmed that the movement is currently in a coalescence phase

Formalisation stage **37%**
indicated that the movement is becoming more formalised.

Movement in decline No one considered the movement to be at a stage of decline.

In Paraguay, only 2% did not answer the question.

Movement development phase according to respondents in the three countries



Organisation leaders were also asked about different aspects of the movement using a scale from 1 to 5. These included:

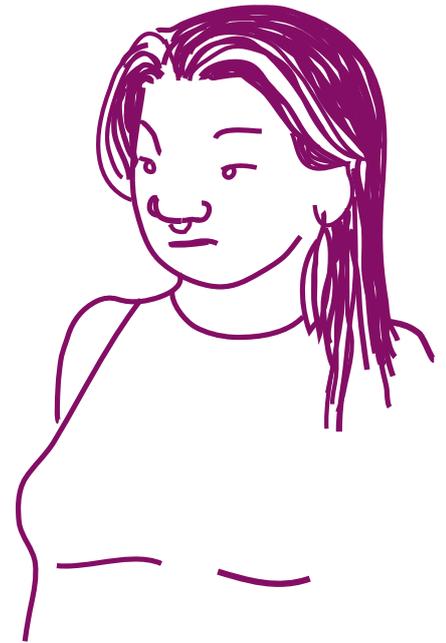
- Vision and identity (identified as the main strength at the subregional level).
- Protection and security (identified as the main weakness, of greatest importance at the subregional level).
- Collaboration, coordination and articulation (identified as an important aspect at the subregional level).
- Intersection with other movements.

The options provided were intended to help identify strengths, weaknesses, challenges, and priorities.

In general terms, the characteristic with the highest score was **vision and identity**, while **protection and security** had the lowest score. Therefore, it could be understood that the first characteristic is the strongest and the second, the weakest.

Collaboration, coordination and articulation is the aspect considered most important along with **protection and security**. To this regard, the respondents agree that members of the movement can disagree on specific issues and, even so, work together towards a shared vision. However, they are aware that there is a weakness in articulating actions to generate economic resources.

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Regarding **protection and security** it is important to highlight that the members consider that, although there are support networks and collective strategies to respond immediately to instances of violence, they are not enough. The opportunities to generate mental, emotional and physical health care strategies are insufficient.

Strengths, weaknesses and priorities

	→ Strengths	→ Weaknesses	→ Priorities
Subregional (three countries)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vision and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection and security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration, coordination and articulation • Protection and security
Argentina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vision and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection and security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration, coordination and articulation • Protection and security
Paraguay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vision and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection and security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership • Collaboration, coordination and articulation
Uruguay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration, coordination and articulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection and security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration, coordination and articulation • Vision and identity

Leadership and intersections

There is a clear identification of collective leadership in the movement, although it is noted that, many times, it is exercised by people who are not directly affected by the issue of economic injustice.

In terms of connections or intersections between movements or the organisation or its leader with other groups at the subregional level, the following can be observed:

87%
network with the movement to eradicate violence against women and girls

82%
network with human rights movements

76%
network with the movement to defend and fight for diversity

65%
network with the environmental movement

65%
network for political participation

The trend is similar across the three countries, but there are differences that are worth mentioning. In Paraguay, alliances with the environmental movement goes up to 73% while, in Argentina, alliances with the movement for the eradication of violence goes up to 91%. In Uruguay the percentages decrease: 78% indicate that there are alliances to eradicate violence and they network with the movement to defend and fight for diversity; 77% indicate alliances with movements for human rights, 58% with environmental movements and 57% with political participation.

Scope of the movement

Finally, the survey asked about the geographical scope of the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy. At the subregional level, it can be deduced that:

53%

consider it to
be local or
provincial

43%

perceive it
to be national

26%

consider it
to be
international

In Paraguay, the trend is similar: 56% consider it to be local or departmental, 39% national and 17% international. In Argentina, it is understood to be local or provincial in 64% of cases; national, 40%, and international, 20%. This trend changes considerably in Uruguay: 31% of those surveyed believe that the movement has a local or provincial scope, 52% national and 43% international.

For this question, respondents could select more than one option.

Lessons learned and conclusions

The main contribution of this study was, undoubtedly, to deepen our knowledge of the women's organisations that make up the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. For us - as a feminist fund - it was of great value to be able to complete a map of the organisations by region, thanks to the adaptation and use of the MCAT tool.

The knowledge generated is an invaluable source when it comes to outlining the characteristics of the support that we offer as a women's fund, and the ways to reach the potential recipient organisations of this support.

The spirit of the tool was fulfilled, but we had to develop different strategies to adapt the instrument according to the conditions of each country and the possibilities of the organisations and leaders. With that in mind, we consider it important to share our lessons learned and encourage reflection to contribute to the development of approaches or territorial analyses in the future.

With this objective, we share some conclusions, variations or trends that we observed in each of the countries included. We believe that there are differences that, in global terms, need to be registered, assessed and taken into consideration.

The experience in Paraguay

The questionnaires were sent by email and WhatsApp to the leaders as identified in the initial mapping. Completing the survey presented difficulties related to:

- » **Distance to the communities:** Poor internet signal for the leaders that are part of peasant organisations and community committees.
- » **Technology and language:** The questionnaire was designed in Spanish. The inclusion of other languages spoken in Paraguay was not foreseen. The technology was not user-friendly for many of the leaders.
- » **Timeframe:** Limited time available to complete the survey. The leaders were in their production stage and they were only available on weekends.

These barriers were overcome thanks to the Paraguayan coordinator, who set up appointments with many leaders and completed the survey verbally. On many occasions the communication was in Guaraní.

There were also aspects that required facilitation related to the completion (and acceptance) of the survey. Among them, without a doubt, familiarity with Fondo de Mujeres del Sur, which provides support to women's organisations, stands out; the solidarity and commitment of women leaders to the issue, and an interest in making visible their work and leadership processes.

On the other hand, the leaders in Paraguay deemed the MCAT tool as very useful to deepen understanding and enable reflection as working women. For example, the women who felt most identified with the movement were the small producers and community leaders in a situation of poverty.

In the words of the coordinator and in light of the results obtained, “it would be interesting to incorporate, raise awareness and commit the sustainable business sector

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and formal cooperatives to be part of the movement, in order to generate resources and support; as well as designing special benefits for small producer organisations. This would provide support and sustainability to these organisations”.

National and departmental organisations expressed the need to promote new leaders in the smaller localities. They believe that this would grant greater independence from central leadership. In this regard, the idea arose of promoting a strategy to foster and strengthen local leaderships that strengthen national organisations and vice versa; providing for a participation quota for young women and adolescents.

Regarding vision and identity, the majority stated that it is of constant, dynamic and participatory construction, regardless of whether or not it is formalised (written).

Regarding collaboration, coordination and articulation with other organisations, they consider establishing networks across women's organisations that contribute to the economy to be of vital importance. They refer to practical alliances, with little bureaucracy and with simple communication and work mechanisms that do not imply a large investment of resources, both at the departmental, national and international level. As already mentioned in the report, protection and security was the most valued aspect.

Violence against diverse women, identities and sexualities continues to be a very serious problem in communities and in groups across the movement. This situation worsens when women and diversities begin to actively participate in actions to demand their rights. Digital security is not yet a subject that has been addressed with great depth, perhaps because there still isn't real access to technological goods and connectivity services.

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Regarding specific interactions with other movements, diversity and interculturality are issues that could be addressed in future studies.

The potential of the leaders interviewed in Paraguay and their work capacity exceed the adversities they have to face. Alliances at the national and international level to promote solidarity and a fair economy for diverse women, identities and sexualities, as well as providing information on their human and citizen rights, are an important strategy to promote their empowerment and economic justice in communities and groups.

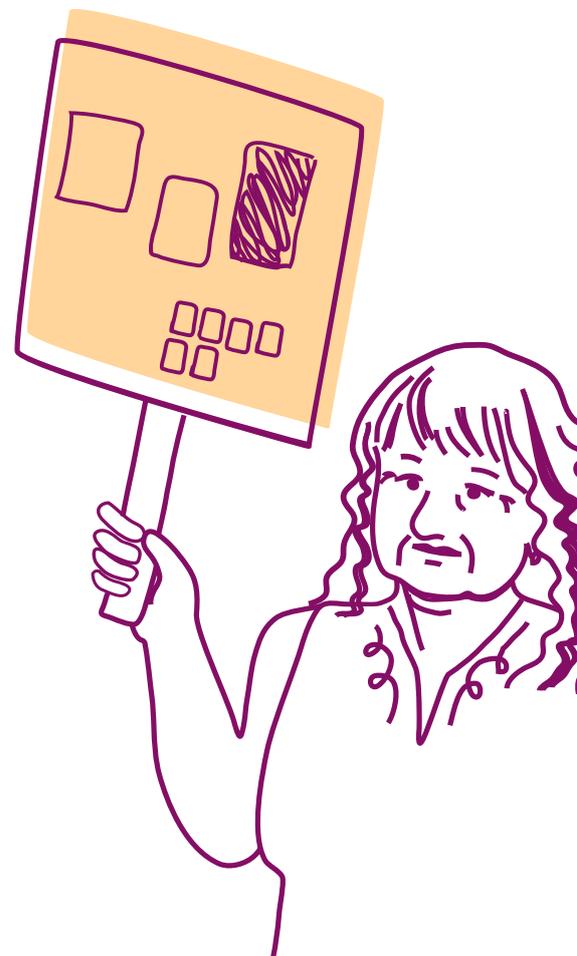
The experience in Uruguay

In the initial stage, a map of organisations, groups and leaders with far-reaching impact was established. Most of the participants found the survey very useful in addressing issues of importance to the movement.

Additionally, in Uruguay, relevant aspects were recorded to improve the MCAT tool:

- » Consider the ethnic-racial ancestry of the respondents.
- » A space to express opinions was not included: this was stated above all by those who did not consider that there was a movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy in Uruguay.
- » Some questions refer to a structured movement and it is not always conceived that way.

The potential of the leaders interviewed in Paraguay and their work capacity exceed the adversities they have to face.



The experience in Argentina

Firstly, we noticed that the database we started using was out of date. Many organisations had dissolved or had undergone changes. In some cases, the leader had even died in the last year. This speaks of the intense changes that organisations are going through, increased by the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The survey was completed relatively easily from a technical point of view and the chosen communication channel. Most organisations preferred to respond by email. All the same, WhatsApp was the favoured and most accessible means to contact and motivate leaders to complete the questionnaire. WhatsApp also allowed for deferred responses as it allowed people to respond when they could.

The coordinators noted that there were objections related to the questions: in some cases, they were difficult or unclear. Among the refusals to respond, there were doubts about trust especially from those who were not familiar with FMS (how did completing the survey benefit them).

The survey, in general, was sent to urban organisations such as those that work in community soup kitchens, provide afternoon tea to children or manage community used clothing resources. In the future, to include more rural and indigenous organisations, it will be important to rethink the questions for these groups. Above all, given these organisations have other internal dynamics, maintain collective work and they do not have explicitly designated leadership roles. Inquiring about this last aspect gives increased visibility to the sustained long-term collective action that, without a doubt, represents a solid and important alternative to the dominant forms of organisation in Argentina.

The coordinators noted that there were objections related to the questions: in some cases, they were difficult or unclear. Among the reasons for not responding, there were doubts regarding trust especially from those who were not familiar with FMS (how did completing the survey benefit them).

These reasons led us to reflect on access to these tools. There are organisations that, although they have a reduced outreach and they are not located in large urban epicentres, they are of vital importance to the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy. We believe that efforts should be multiplied to work closer with them and foster networks. Their work needs to be made visible to promote national and international articulations, and foster new ways of self-organisation.

On another note, in terms of methodologies, the coordinators warned that in many of the organisations in Argentina there was a feeling that the survey was only extracting information. The most recurring questions raised by the participants were related to providing information without clarity about the purpose and objectives and, especially, not distinguishing the benefit for the organisation of completing the survey. In this regard, the coordinators suggested communicating with each organisation to continue dialogue and establish alliances.

After the survey, the coordinators received calls requesting collaboration on different tasks and activities. They even participated in different processes, providing information and facilitating networks for subsidies and training. In provinces such as Buenos Aires, Córdoba or Santa Fe, the organisations had previous experience in similar processes, whether participating in surveys, studies or networking with entities such as FMS. In other provinces such as La Pampa, La Rioja, Tucumán or Rio Negro, the need to connect with funding organisations is much more urgent and the isolation in which they find themselves is noticeable. These organisations — those furthest from urban centres — were the ones that were most grateful and receptive to the survey and they wanted to be included in FMS or GFW databases.

This level of openness revealed the reality of assistance policies and promotion policies. Resources are not distributed nationally or equitably. There is great disparity across the allocation of resources.

Due to the widespread crisis, many leaders and organisations considered the survey as a way to access some type of funding in the future that would allow them to continue their community work.

Final reflections

Regarding the implementation of the survey:

- » Most participants considered the form to be thorough and extensive, with a comprehensive approach to all relevant aspects, interesting and useful for “reflection”.
- » Responses to the questionnaire required systematic monitoring by the FMS technical team, coordinators in each country and members of the advisory group.
- » In general, the form was useful, however some questions came up while completing it and it required guidance. Some questions were not clear or were perceived as long, complex and “strange”.
- » The focus was on characteristics of a movement; taking for granted its existence. Variables that demonstrate when a movement exists or not or what is needed for its emergence were not considered.

Regarding the idea of movement:

Although there isn't a road map defining how a social movement is established, there are certain milestones that are necessary along the way:

- » Self-managed determination and territorial/ neighbourhood collective alliances in accordance with shared objectives.
- » Networking with similar groups.
- » Dialogue with social and state agents.
- » Negotiation of government resources and non-governmental resources.
- » Construction of a collective identity.
- » Generation of a shared discourse.

In any case, and without establishing rigid structures, the idea of “movement” as a process can be far removed from the practices of many collective and independent actions and, therefore, that category or notion may seem out of place.

To this regard, it is important to note certain reflections from the study leaders. The most significant, perhaps, is that the existence of the movement of women workers for a feminist and solidarity economy should not be taken for granted, but rather it is in the process of being established. For this reason, steps should be taken for its recognition and articulation.

That is why, in the survey, comments were added that refer to the fact that some organisations recognise themselves as being part of a group of collectives, although, up until the survey, they did not necessarily consider this to be so.

Lessons learned for an approach more customised to the territories:

1. Propose and promote actions that can accelerate processes to constitute movements and strengthen leaderships, facilitate gatherings, training, declarations, financial support, dialogue with state agents and the media, etc.

2. Associate the creation of movements with communicational and pedagogical tools more than with publicity of their events. The latter may or may not happen. In the case of the women's movement, the mass events such as the National Women's Meetings (now known as the Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Bisexuals, Intersex and Non-Binaries), for many years were not made visible in hegemonic media. This did not mean that they did not exist. Advertising is more related to business communication methods. Communication actions and community awareness are ways of providing training and are used to establish dialogue of subjectivities of those who participate in these processes and projects.

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- The progressive development of movements may go through alternate processes. For example, it is debatable to associate the maturity of the movement with its formalisation. There are feminist movements that are not pursuing institutionalisation. There are experiences of feminist economies that are not undertaken in the typical way either. Those views must be put in perspective.
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- 3.** Review the conceptual approach that runs through all the survey concepts, starting with a definition of social movement relevant to the Latin American reality.
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- 4.** Put more emphasis in the survey on the ways in which the activists from these organisations are trained. If they have undertaken political training, feminist training; if they have specific training according to their productive tasks or about ways to establish a cooperative association that does not reproduce the capitalist, colonial, patriarchal methods of exploitation; if they foster knowledge sharing; if they seek to be part of a critical analysis of hegemonic thought, regarding what is understood as economics.
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- 5.** Rethink the questions and answer options, with a less complex scale, with greater clarity and, using simple language.
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- 6.** Assess the possibility of testing the survey with more members of the movement to get more details regarding their opinions.
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- 7.** Explain the incentives for leaders to participate in this type of survey and communicate them within the framework of conducting the survey.
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- 8.**

Regarding this last point, many of the organisations that participated in the initial mapping continue to communicate with FMS sending messages, emails, and calling. All the organisations that participated in the study were especially invited to apply and were considered a priority in the open call for the Economic Justice Programme in 2022.

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