

ARTICLE

GAINED GROUND AND LOST BATTLES:

the challenges of legitimizing the
role of gender editors and human
rights-oriented journalism in
Argentina in the face of the far-right
surge



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ABSTRACT – A decade ago, feminist movements in Argentina experienced a surge, characterized by massive demonstrations in defense of the rights of women and gender-diverse individuals, as well as key victories achieved after decades of struggle. In this context, some media outlets introduced gender editors—a new journalistic role that helped frame the demands of these movements as matters of public concern, redefining narratives and elevating their visibility in the media. Using a qualitative methodological approach and drawing on the sociology of public problems, this article aims to analyze the strategies followed to legitimize the role of gender editors and the gender agenda in the media between 2019 and 2024.

Key words: Gender editor. Journalism. Media. Public problems. Antifeminist backlash.

**TERRENO CONQUISTADO E BATALHAS PERDIDAS:
os desafios da legitimação do papel das editoras de gênero e do
jornalismo com foco em direitos humanos na Argentina diante do avanço
da ultradireita**

RESUMO – Há uma década, o feminismo na Argentina vivenciou um boom, evidenciado por mobilizações massivas em defesa dos direitos das mulheres e da diversidade, bem como por conquistas fundamentais alcançadas após décadas de luta. Nesse contexto, alguns veículos de comunicação incorporaram a função de editoras de gênero, um novo papel jornalístico que contribuiu para a conformação das demandas dos movimentos como questões de interesse público, redefinindo seus enquadramentos e hierarquizando sua presença na mídia. Utilizando uma abordagem metodológica qualitativa e a perspectiva da sociologia dos problemas públicos, este artigo analisa as estratégias de legitimação da função de editoras de gênero e da agenda de gênero na mídia entre 2019 e 2024.

Palavras-chave: Editora de gênero. Jornalismo. Meios de comunicação. Problemas públicos. Backlash antifeminista.

**TERRENO GANADO Y BATALLAS PERDIDAS:
los desafíos de la legitimación del rol de las editoras de género y del
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RESUMEN – Hace una década, los feminismos en Argentina experimentaron un auge que se evidenció en masivas movilizaciones en defensa de los derechos de las mujeres y diversidades, así como en conquistas fundamentales logradas tras décadas de lucha. En este contexto, algunos medios de comunicación incorporaron editoras de género, un nuevo rol periodístico que contribuyó a la configuración de las demandas de los movimientos como asuntos de interés público, redefiniendo los encuadres y jerarquizando su presencia en los medios. Desde un abordaje metodológico cualitativo y el enfoque de la sociología de los problemas públicos, este artículo se propone analizar las estrategias de legitimación del rol de las editoras de género y de la agenda de género en los medios entre los años 2019 y 2024.

Palabras clave: Editora de género. Periodismo. Medios de comunicación. Problemas públicos. Backlash antifeminista.

1 Introduction

A decade ago, feminist movements in Argentina experienced a surge, characterized by massive mobilizations in defense of the rights of women and gender-diverse individuals, as well as fundamental achievements after decades of struggle. Some of the most remarkable events in the public sphere between 2015 and 2020 were the demonstrations against gender-based violence – particularly following the emergence of the Ni Una Menos collective in 2015 and, from 2018 onward, the debates leading to the 2020 enactment of the

Law on the Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy (IVE Law) (Alcaraz, 2019; Cabral & Acacio, 2016; Ingrassia, 2020; Peker, 2019; Sciortino, 2018). The legal complaint filed by actress Thelma Fardin against actor Juan Darthés for sexual abuse – supported by several colleagues from the Actrices Argentinas collective and labeled by some media outlets as “the Argentine Me Too” given its similarities to the U.S. movement – also played a crucial role in bringing these issues to the media agenda as some of the most pressing matters of the time (Justo von Lurzer, 2020).

The extensive reach of the demonstrations was also attributed to the expansion of feminist activism digitally (Acosta, 2018; Laudano, 2019). In that digital sphere, a singular phenomenon emerged: mass media outlets became the target of criticism for how they communicated gender-based violence. Particular attention was drawn to narratives that reinforced gender stereotypes, revictimized survivors, or even endorsed discriminatory practices. The viral spread of these critiques caught media executives off guard since they are always concerned about the effects and reception of the content produced in their newsrooms. While gender-related issues had previously been seen as “niche interests”¹ – that is to say, related to feminist activist agendas – the momentum gained by women’s and gender-diverse movements following the Ni Una Menos milestone influenced the priorities of top media management. The crime sections (“Policiales”) in the media were the most frequently criticized, but the idea that journalists and technical staff across all departments needed to adopt a gender and human rights perspective in their daily work began to grow stronger.

The response – in terms of the unexpected scale and geographic reach – was the emergence of a new professional role in thirteen national media outlets (some were publicly owned, some privately owned, and others cooperatively owned) between 2019 and 2022: gender editors. This article seeks to analyze the advancements, challenges, and difficulties that gender editors have experienced since the inception of the role in Argentine media. From a sociological perspective on public problems, it specifically delves into the strategies used by gender editors to legitimize their role and frame gender and human rights matters as public concerns, thus raising their profile in media coverage.

The role encompassed several functions and was carried out under varying conditions (under salaried employment, contract, or on

an *ad honorem* basis). The role of the gender editor was introduced in eight privately owned media outlets – Clarín (newspaper), TN/ Canal 13 (TV stations), El Tribuno de Jujuy (newspaper), República de Corrientes (newspaper), Río Negro (newspaper), Jornada (newspaper), Letra P (news website) and Infobae (news website); in four publicly owned media outlets – Télam (news agency), ChacoTV (TV station), Radio and Television Services of Universidad Nacional de Córdoba and Unidiversidad (the media system of Universidad Nacional de Cuyo); and the cooperative newspaper Tiempo Argentino. The role of the editors consisted of, with slight distinctions in each case, verifying that publishable content did not clash with a gender and human rights perspective (that these, in particular, did not promote discrimination or endorse violent practices of any kind); creating training opportunities for staff and management on gender and human rights; forming work teams to reflect on professional practices; and developing content with a focus on rights (Spinetta, 2020; Rosenberg, 2023).

2 Methodology and analytical framework

Using a qualitative methodological approach, semi-structured interviews were conducted² with twelve (out of thirteen) women journalists who worked as gender editors between 2019 and 2024. To that end, an interview guide was developed, organized into four sections: the first explored their educational and work trajectories, as well as their activism in feminist spaces; the second focused on the process that led to their appointment as gender editors; the third examined the functions and tasks involved in the role; and the fourth addressed the achievements they identified, along with the difficulties and obstacles they encountered while carrying out this new role.

The goal was to identify references to landmarks of the feminist movement since 2015 in the narratives and understand how these events impacted the media agenda and the reflection on journalistic practices and coverage of gender-related issues. Additionally, the study sought to reconstruct the editors' perspective on the process that led to the creation of the gender editor role in Argentine media, as well as the challenges they encountered in their effort to 'mainstream the gender perspective' in journalistic work. The interviews were conducted during 2023 and lasted between 40

minutes and two and a half hours. Geographic distance was the main reason ten interviews were conducted virtually. The two in-person interviews took place in the city of Buenos Aires.

The interviewees are Argentine journalists who work or have worked as gender editors in media outlets that have introduced this journalistic position. At the time of the interview, they were aged between 32 and 58 (with an average age of 45 years). With only one exception, they had between 10 and 30 years of professional experience in the media. As developed in a prior study of my own that precedes this article (Rosenberg, 2023), “all of their experiences reveal a permanent dialogue, or even an organic relationship, with feminist movements and human rights organizations” (p. 10).

The analysis of the interviews distinguished, on the one hand, an economic-labor dimension, associated with working conditions and the widespread precariousness of employment in Argentine media, which imposed limitations on the editors’ ability to carry out their proposed initiatives. On the other hand, a symbolic dimension, which we conceptualize in terms of strategies for legitimizing the role of gender editor and the gender and human rights agenda within the news media. This article focuses on the latter dimension and draws on the sociology of public problems to understand the strategies employed by gender editors to intervene not only in the shaping of media narratives around gender issues but also to promote an alternative journalistic approach centered on respect for and the defense of human rights.

3 A position born out of the heat of events

In the previous study to which we refer, we identified three stages in the process of creating the position of gender editor in Argentina, and analyzed the specific characteristics of the role and its activities, which were defined in accordance with the goal of ‘mainstreaming’ the gender and human rights perspective throughout the entire news production process (Rosenberg, 2023). This research highlighted the motivations behind the creation of the role, against a backdrop where audiences and organized journalists challenged the dominant actors in the media field over the agendas and terms used in communication about gender and human rights issues. In this sense, we align with the previous works of Spinetta (2020, 2023) and Pérez-

Soler and Roca Sales (2019), who analyzed the role of gender editors in Argentina and other parts of the world, situating their emergence within the broader context of global feminist activism.

Indeed, the first stage in the process of creating the position of gender editor relates to this contextual factor, marked by widespread social support for the causes championed by feminist movements. Secondly, the organizational factor stands out, as media companies sought to respond to audience objections regarding the dissemination of gender-biased content. In some cases, it was even expected that the role of gender editors would help address internal conflicts related to workplace and gender-based violence – something journalists attributed to a misunderstanding of their actual work. When the gender editors' projects did not receive genuine support within the companies, their appointment was euphemistically described as a strategy of “pinkwashing” or “genderwashing”. Thirdly, academic and professional backgrounds, along with feminist activism, also played a key role in shaping the profile of the journalists who were appointed as gender editors. In most cases, various activities organized throughout their life paths involved subjects and debates characteristic of the feminist field³.

As previously noted, since 2015, Argentine society has lived through a series of events that voiced growing social support for long-standing demands of feminist movements. Massive demonstrations took to the streets and the digital arena with slogans and mottos that encapsulated the meaning behind the demands: #niunamenos, #yotecreo, #miracomonosponemos, #seraley (#NiUnaMenos, #IBelieveInYou #LookHowYouMadeMeFeel, #ItWillBecomeLaw). On social media, first-person accounts were shared, reaffirming the reasons behind a struggle that was rapidly gaining an unprecedented level of support (Acosta, 2018; Laudano, 2019).

The Ni Una Menos Collective presented its first manifesto during the mobilization held on June 3, 2015. The massive turnout far exceeded the organizers' expectations and took various actors in the political and media fields by surprise. From an approach attentive to how groups compete to frame certain issues as public problems, this case was highly representative of the central role played by “the emotional mobilization of audiences” (Schillagi, 2011, p. 247) in shaping dominant definitions of the problem, assigning responsibility for its origins, and proposing possible solutions. In this sense, the “Ni Una Menos” and the “IVE” (the legalization of abortion)

are considered two landmark moments for both national and regional feminist movements not only for their impact but also for the way they succeeded in placing gender issues on political and public agendas, calling on the three branches of the State to advance the historic demands of feminist groups (Alcaraz, 2019; Cabral & Acacio, 2016; Fernández Hasan, 2019; Hasan & Gil, 2020; Ingrassia, 2020; Peker, 2019; Sciortino, 2018)⁴. The achievements were reflected in public policies and legislative reforms that had, among other important precedents, the passing of the Equal Marriage Law (also known as Same-Sex Marriage Law) in 2010.

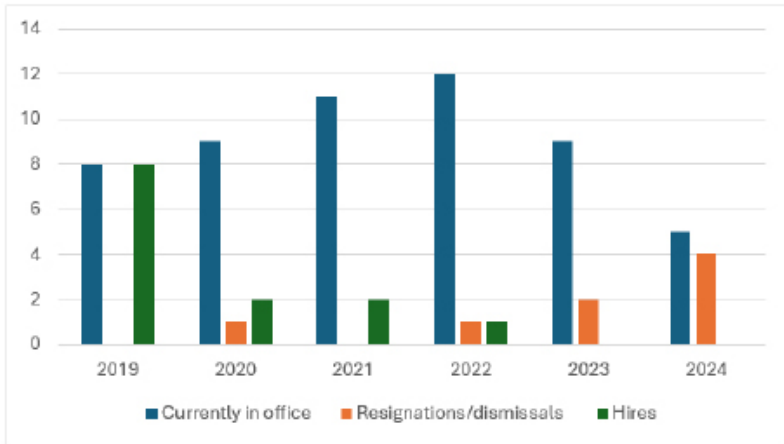
In this context, the media turned their attention to the innovation introduced by The New York Times – a reference point for the main local media groups – when, at the height of the Me Too movement in 2017, it appointed journalist Jessica Bennett as gender editor. Inspired by that experience, the newspaper Clarín became a pioneer in Argentina by officially appointing journalist Mariana Iglesias to the same position. Iglesias has extensive experience covering gender and human rights issues in the newspaper's "Society" section.

Following their appointments, the gender editors developed a "cross-cutting" approach that involved coordinated work with reporters, technicians, editors, and anchors, and often meant intervening in tasks that had previously been handled within each thematic section or technical area. This innovation in the usual distribution of roles and functions within newsrooms generated, in some cases, reservations and criticism from media staff who perceived the gender editor as a "new management layer". The radical nature of the experience and the resistance it provoked are evident in the editors' repeated use of warlike metaphors in their accounts: "conquests" and "lost battles", in line with the narratives and actions of feminist movements seeking to eradicate gender-based violence and build a more just society.

By the end of 2024, only five editors (out of 13) remained in their positions. Despite this reduction – caused by both resignations and dismissals – it still represents a significant figure compared to other countries⁵. Another peculiarity of the Argentine case has been the creation of the Gender Editors Network (Red de Editoras de Género), promoted by the United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA), which still includes both current and former gender editors.

Figure 1

Gender editors currently in office, hires and resignations or dismissals in Argentine media (2019-2024)



As shown in the graph, 2022 was the year in which the highest number of journalists were working as gender editors in the country⁶. From that moment on, there was a steep decline leading up to 2024. This shift was interpreted by gender editors as a reflection of changing agenda priorities, in line with the rise of reactionary far-right movements both locally and globally. It was a swift process –and, in that sense, with characteristics analogous to the emergence of the ‘green wave’ – that began to show its first signs around 2020, in the context of the covid-19 pandemic (Gil, 2024).

The quarantines imposed by governments around the world led to a retreat of social movements, while other demonstrations and protests – by ‘anti-vaccine’ and ‘anti-lockdown’ groups – began to gain greater visibility in public spaces. These groups rejected state health policies and ideologically converged with far-right parties and figures. The ‘conservative backlash’ against the progress made by progressive movements in expanding the rights of women and sexual minorities in recent decades sought to represent a silent majority: ‘ordinary people’ (Balsa, 2024, p. 134). Discursively, they positioned themselves as the voice of large sectors of the population left to their luck after decades of governments of various political leanings

– during which social rights were gained, such as those achieved by feminist and LGBTQ+ movements – while failing to reduce poverty rates and economic and social marginalization.

It can be observed that the decline in gender editor positions occurs during a phase in which the conservative backlash – one of whose expressions is the so – called antifeminist backlash – was channeled through the rise of far-right political-party expressions (Losiggio, 2023; Suárez Tomé & Incaminato, 2024). Indeed, the political breakthrough of Javier Milei – through his rapid ascent, first as a national deputy elected in 2021 and then as president in 2023 – shook up the political landscape and reshaped the agenda of news media. The interests and concerns of those supposed silent majorities now appeared utterly indecipherable, and in that sea of uncertainty, both the political and journalistic spheres found themselves adrift.

In light of these events, feminist spaces and collectives interpreted the rise in violence against women as backlash against women gaining public voices. The conservative reaction – and its expression in the form of the ‘antifeminist backlash’ – became another unexpected turning point for human rights movements (Bonet-Martí, 2022; Engler, 2017; Sánchez Ceci, 2021). Recent studies have addressed the difficulties and challenges faced particularly by women journalists - including some of the gender editors interviewed in this study – evident in harsh criticism and insults that initially emerged in the realm of digital communication, but have had a direct impact on the health and professional trajectories of the victims (Amnesty International, 2024; Beck et al., 2022; Periodistas Argentinas, 2024; Spinetta, 2023).

The findings of these studies make it possible to question the stages that preceded this escalation of violence. In this sense, we will examine the challenges, criticisms, and resistance that feminist journalism faced on a daily basis in its efforts to expand coverage of gender-related issues from a human rights perspective. Another question prompted by the conservative backlash concerns the likelihood of the gender editor role continuing after the phase of feminist movement effervescence that gave rise to it has come to an end.

4 Announcements of a developing profile

In those media companies where gender editors were appointed, the creation of the position was announced through internal communications (addressed to staff members) and publications aimed at readers and audiences. Several of these announcements were signed by the editorial director and included a photograph of the appointed journalist along with a description of her professional and academic background. These communications, which seemed to signal a favorable climate for legitimizing the newly created role, nevertheless contrasted with internal warnings that foreshadowed both the limitations and disagreements that would characterize the editors' day-to-day work: "You can't be anyone's censor".

The figures of the "censor" and the "police" were recurring metaphors used to illustrate the fears expressed by media staff regarding the implementation of the work carried out by gender editors, as recalled by Inés (personal communication, 2023), who held this position for two years:

It was very difficult to overcome resistance because this meant one more layer of control. All newsroom content is already subject to oversight by the various editors and section heads, and this has added yet another level of supervision. Journalists don't like that. When they hear "editor," it's not something that sits well with them.

It is worth noting that, historically, decision-making positions in the media - particularly leadership roles - have been mostly held by men (Baldoni, 2024; Retegui & Ingrassia, 2022), whereas all gender editor positions designated during this period were filled by women. This represented progress in addressing unequal access to senior roles. Nevertheless, the announcements regarding the creation of the new role did not always entail a promotion for the journalists or a salary adjustment in line with their new responsibilities. Moreover, the duties of the position were defined along the way, as neither the scope of the editors' responsibilities nor their rank in relation to other staff members had been clearly established in advance.

The degree of improvisation by the media can be illustrated by a case whose practices were also associated with the strategy of "genderwashing". After announcing the creation of the position as part of commitments made to international organizations to promote gender equality in journalistic workplaces, the media outlet in

question urged the appointed journalist – who was already working as a staff writer – to take on the responsibilities of the new role as part of her daily tasks, but without any additional compensation. The workload overload, combined with the lack of promotion, salary increase, or the formation of support teams like those available to other editors, made the new challenge “humanly impossible”.

It's important to keep in mind that the working conditions for gender editors are also terrible. We put in our six hours at the paper, we write our assigned story for the newspaper agenda, and on top of that, we have to fulfill the role of a gender editor. So, humanly, it's impossible. Plus, with a digital platform that's constantly uploading [content], you wake up in the morning and the first thing you do is check everything, because so many poorly done things slip through. And then people [referring to the audience] say: "Oh, my... But what does a gender editor do?!" The gender editor is just decorative!" So, there's also a matter of personal pride, of valuing your name and your profession, which comes into play and pushes you to double or even triple your workload. (Inés, personal communication, 2023)

This testimony intertwines various challenges faced by gender editors in the course of their work: multiple tasks were performed during endless workdays that did not replace, but rather were added to, their usual duties as reporters. Inés's colleagues agreed on highlighting the consequences of having become “the visible face” of the organizations and, therefore, the target of criticism whenever content was published that should not have slipped past the gender editing filter.

One of the ways to organize and define the scope of the multiple tasks related to the work of gender editors was through the presentation of work plans. These plans not only argued for the necessity of the role but also outlined the tasks to be executed and established timelines. The precarious working conditions – widespread across much of the journalistic field during this period – added a further layer of difficulty to the challenge of training staff to achieve the goal of mainstreaming a gender perspective in newsrooms:

In the media in general – and especially in local or provincial outlets – working conditions are appalling. Salaries... they don't even cover the basic cost of living. Most people have two or three jobs, and this is also true for many journalists working in national media today. So, there's a great deal of exhaustion among those of us doing journalism. It's a very difficult context in which to practice journalism, and you have to take that into account when you sit down to talk to journalists about what rights-based and gender-sensitive journalism means. It's not about lowering the bar, but rather about understanding the limits of what can be demanded, right? (Andrea, personal communication, 2023)

In this regard, the widespread precarious working conditions in the media over recent decades posed serious challenges to the gender editors' project. In addition to the lack of a dedicated budget for the development of their proposal, the task of editing content across all sections of the outlet was considered unfeasible without a dedicated team committed to the task. The companies' refusal to incorporate professionals into these teams to help distribute the workload led the editors to define what was "possible" in terms of the content editing process – practically on their own:

Content is constantly being uploaded from all over the place: from tons of sites, tons of sections, tons of people. It's impossible for me to see it before it gets published! There's just no way! (Paula, personal communication, 2023).

Obviously, mistakes are going to get published, and only then will people notice them! It's impossible for one person to review everything! Even though I'm grateful that I was reclassified, that I have a rank and all that, I don't have a team! So, yes, there's a decision, but in the end, there's no budget. I don't want to complain because I know other media outlets don't even have a gender section at all. I'm not complaining—I do think we can still get things done with the tools we have, but it's far from ideal. We're still a long way from the ideal. (Elena, personal communication, 2023).

We now turn to the analysis of how the gender editing project was launched despite the aforementioned working conditions and the resistance encountered from colleagues and supervisors, who responded in various ways to "the unknown". At this stage, the implementation of strategies to legitimize both the role of the gender editor and the gender agenda within the media proved to be key.

5 "Overcoming resistance": the legitimization of the role of gender editors and of the gender and human rights agenda

The creation of new roles in the newsroom has been rare, and the goals of the few positions that have emerged in recent decades have generally been tied to productivity targets and profit maximization through the incorporation of new technologies in production processes, content dissemination, and audience preference measurement (Bakker 2014; Pérez-Soler & Roca Sales, 2019; Retegui, 2020).

Monetizing the interest that gender issues sparked among audiences was a significant factor in management's decision to create the role of gender editors in various countries (Pérez-Soler & Roca Sales, 2019). However, it is also essential to understand that the creation of this journalistic role marked a departure from the norm, as it was part of a more comprehensive process of social and cultural change involving the active participation of a range of social and political actors - not only those linked to the journalistic and media fields, as previously discussed. With this, we want to emphasize that the emergence of the new role cannot be attributed solely to the economic motivations of media management (concerned about the loss of critical audiences dissatisfied with gender-biased content). It also responded to demands that arose from the grassroots level, within the context of debates held in assemblies organized by media workers and journalists' unions that supported feminist struggles, denounced internal gender inequalities, and questioned the content produced within their own workplaces. These actors called for more space and resources to develop journalism grounded in a rights-based perspective.

However, those processes that unfolded alongside improvements in rights protections in the country did not exempt the media or gender editors from facing conflicts due to the impact they had on the logics of journalistic production. These ranged from colleagues who rejected or ignored the gender approach and its related issues, to the questioning of the newsworthiness of such matters:

You present any other news story - about inflation, whatever - and they say, "Yes, go ahead". But when you present a piece like this [on gender-based violence], there are lots of whys, lots of questions, lots of doubts. There always are, and I think we all face that difficulty when speaking: "Why do you have to highlight it?" "But if you're aiming for equality, why do you have to single out women?" And it's like that all the time - they keep questioning you. And they always ask the same thing: "Why talk about gender-based violence against women and not against men?" (Juana, personal communication, 2023)

There were two femicides in the same week... So, we were following the cases. And the news director said to us, "Come on, this is too much negativity! Mix it up a bit..." And we said, "But... they were killed this week! Two women were murdered. When do you think we should report it?" It was insane! He's not a bad guy... But he basically has no perspective. (Elena, personal communication, 2023)

The testimonies reveal one of the main challenges faced by gender editors, that is, how the gender agenda can be advanced if

even the newsworthiness of a fatal event like a femicide is questioned? This issue points to conflicts that go beyond the media sphere and relate to the demands of feminist and LGBTQ+ groups to position gender-related issues as matters of public interest. “The same resistance you see in society toward the progress of feminism, of women and gender-diverse people – which is fierce resistance – is also present inside a newsroom” (Paula). The accounts also exposed the difficulties in achieving sustained coverage over time of events that show systematic patterns and practices of gender-based violence, and the need to highlight their specific characteristics compared to other types of violent deaths.

Based on the analysis of the experiences of the gender editors interviewed, we can affirm that the incorporation of gender into the media agenda – and, fundamentally, the intervention in how these news stories are constructed – relied on three strategies: pedagogical, legal-juridical, and social. These strategies, in turn, served as practices to legitimize both their roles as gender editors and their work approach.

Table 1

Strategies for legitimizing the role of gender editors and the gender perspective in news reporting

Type of strategy	Activities
Pedagogical	<i>Planning and development of training sessions and meetings with experts on gender and human rights issues.</i>
	<i>Gender editing and dialogue with reporters, editors, news directors, anchors, technical teams, and designers regarding the framing of news content, including the language used and audiovisual elements.</i>
	<i>Scientific and statistical sources are used to support the gender perspective.</i>
Legal	<i>“There’s already a law”: Appeal to cases and regulations that frame gender issues within the scope of human rights. Articulation with the concept of intersectionality from feminist theory.</i>
Sociability	<i>Informal conversations, “jokes,” and the formation of “gender teams” to promote a new journalistic work culture—collaborative and grounded in a rights-based approach.</i>

The pedagogical framework refers to the organization of spaces for dialogue and training on gender issues for staff, which took place in most of the media outlets where gender editors were appointed. These training sessions accompanied the first months of their roles, during which some editors reported drawing on their prior teaching experience. Initially, they served to clarify the scope and objectives of their role, while also providing a space for reflection and discussion on how women and gender-diverse individuals are represented in the media, their inclusion as expert sources, and the reproduction of stereotypes in news content. These analyses also extended to narratives about other disadvantaged groups and social sectors, and were complemented by the daily work of news editing:

There was one... it was mind-blowing! You wouldn't believe it! [She quotes the headline of a published news story]: "He rushed to the clinic, and there were only women. They went ahead with the transplant anyway, and he's fine". [She gestures with a smile, disapprovingly.] You know when you're like... "Only women at a hospital..." So, what!? I went to the person who wrote that piece and said, "Listen, you would never point that out if they were all men! Always think about it the other way around... What are you highlighting? That they were all women and he didn't die!? I mean, what are you trying to say? That it's a miracle!?" (Paula, personal communication, 2023).

I pushed my ability not to confront to the limit. I learned this from the groups that fought for marriage equality – they were didactic to the point of absurdity. I learned a lot from that activism. So, I made a huge effort to never get angry, to never show that anger. (Georgina, personal communication, 2023).

The legitimizing strategies inherent to the pedagogical framework – which assume a lack of knowledge, and to a lesser extent a lack of interest, regarding the gender and human rights perspective in journalism – were employed not only in the relationship between gender editors and reporters, correspondents, and field journalists, but also in interactions with well-known journalistic figures who worked as anchors, as well as with their own supervisors. Within this framework, argumentation proved to be a fundamental tool to uphold both the gender agenda, the coverage of news about violent acts against women and gender-diverse people, and to incorporate "off-agenda" topics with "more stories about women, and more women in the stories"⁷.

The editors noted that including gender-related topics in the editorial agenda could require extensive discussions with their superiors and a higher level of argumentation, in contrast to the

tacit consensus that typically underlies the inclusion of other issues of public interest. This often led to the recurrent use of scientific and expert sources in order to define the interpretive framework of the events, and even to influence the definition of which topics were considered priorities. As Gusfield (2014) observed in his characterization of science as a form of rhetoric: “To confront a hostile audience whose behavior one hopes to control, the argument must present a state of affairs that is beyond dispute” (p. 165). In exchanges concerning the gender agenda, the use of “certainty” as a rhetorical device also became apparent: “numbers dramatize the concern” (p. 164). Following this logic, Romina stated: “the idea of including 52% of the population is an argument in itself.” Another editor expressed a similar view in her response to being assigned a story about “violent women”:

My first reaction was: “You’re asking *me* to do it?”. “Yes, of course, why not?”, she replied. Three incidents had occurred in three or four months. They were three women who acted violently! No one’s denying that! There are bad women, there are violent women. Now, it’s one thing when it’s systematic... (...) So I asked myself: How do I break this down? I said: “Well, look—” [she gestures with her hands, as if drawing two columns; she begins narrating the contents of the first one]: “On this side we have these three cases...” [She draws the second column, to emphasize the contrast]: And on this other side, we have 120 femicides...”. I had looked up the statistics on reported rapes, which barely ever get reported... And even so, there were thousands! “So, if you want, I’ll tell you this part [points again to the first column], but I’ll also tell you this [draws the second column]. You want this [points to the first column], and I’ll give you that—and I’ll also give you this [points to the second column].” And she says: “Okay, just leave it...”. (Paula, personal communication, 2023)

The second strategy used to legitimize the role of gender editors and the gender agenda drew on discourses and arguments rooted in the legal and parliamentary fields, which provide resources to frame gender issues as human rights topics. In this sense, the main strategy was to associate gender with human rights, in such a way that a denialist stance on the problems faced by women and gender-diverse people would also represent a setback in the struggles to defend human rights – struggles led by various social movements and civil society organizations with widespread social agreement:

This is no longer a trend. As I tell them, Gender and Human Rights are not a fad. There is already a law; these are issues that must be respected, that have been legalized, and that must be known by those of us working in this field. We may agree or disagree on some points, but we cannot ignore them. We need

to be informed about them, we need to know what laws exist, and we need to know how to approach these topics. (Sandra, personal communication, 2023).

The appeal to the law as an authority to define and establish responsibilities regarding public matters has consequences on a symbolic and performative level: the narrative emphasizes that these are not passing issues (a trend), but matters that have already been identified, documented, and regulated by the highest powers of the State. According to Gusfield (2014), the study of the cultural dimension of the law intersects the normative, the moral order, and the factual; from there, the problematic and public nature of an issue is shaped. The author elaborated on this cultural dimension of the law by characterizing it as a form of communication through which the “illusory sensation persists that there is a certain, consistent, and powerful public order in a ‘society’ for which – and by which - the Law speaks” (p. 245).

In this way, framing gender issues within the regulations that govern human rights becomes highly relevant to the project undertaken by gender editors. It positions their work among the historical demands of social and human rights movements that enjoy the support of large segments of the population, thereby transferring the symbolic value and legitimacy of their struggles – such as those related to memory, truth, and justice – to those advanced by feminist and gender-diverse collectives in recent years. Following this reasoning, the editors observed that the demands addressing gender-based violence and femicides were “more salient” than those focusing on other dimensions of gender inequality, such as the “glass ceiling” in workplace contexts or the unequal distribution of domestic labor between men and women. In this sense, there is no clear linkage in the recognition of the different issues and demands raised by these groups, which results in uneven presence and coverage of various gender-related matters in the media agenda: not everything is newsworthy.

Secondly, it is worth noting that the tools offered by the legal and juridical framework for situating gender issues within the realm of human rights are based on developments from feminist theory. More specifically, this concerns the application of intersectionality to explain the origins and implications of gender inequality. This notion, coined by lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 (La Barbera,

2017), encapsulates the recognition and exposure of the multicausal nature of gender inequality, and the way in which the intersection of multiple attributes – related to gender, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. – reinforces the disadvantaged position of women belonging to certain collectives or groups within the social structure. From that perspective, various manifestations of social inequality are addressed, as they are produced and reproduced through “interwoven systems of oppression” (La Barbera, 2017, p. 192). Attentive to that complex web of difficulties faced by the oppressed – among them, though not exclusively, women and gender-diverse individuals – the editors’ commitment to “mainstreaming the gender perspective” also entails developing journalism with “an intersectional lens. That is, one that prompts questions not only about gender-related issues, but also about those affecting children and adolescents, people living in poverty, older adults, Indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, and so on. Recognizing their realities and the rights that have been violated – but also the intersections among those multiple dimensions of inequality, as well as the achievements and gains of these other disadvantaged groups – means, in the editors’ terms, practicing “journalism with a human rights approach”.

I have always argued that we needed to talk about a gender perspective because that was the urgent issue, but that the gender perspective could not be separated from the human rights approach. From an intersectional view of what is happening, discriminating against women, the poor, children, Black people, trans people... it all has to do with failing to respect human rights and moving further away from an egalitarian society. And, therefore, against a human rights approach. In my opinion, the most important thing is to work with communication and journalism free of stereotypes. (Noemi, personal communication, 2023).

Consequently, it reinforces the rationale for applying the same framework to address gender issues and other matters related to struggles to expand access to fundamental rights for the population (Rosenberg, 2023). In practice, they have engaged in debates about media coverage involving those groups and have promoted changes. However, the limited resources available to the gender editors to advance their proposals bring the discussion back to the point raised in earlier pages: the context of severe job insecurity, which made their work – carried out almost entirely alone – a “humanly impossible” task.

Finally, we identify a third legitimization strategy: the sociability within the editors' workplaces, which aimed to strengthen the previously described strategies, their argumentative discourse, and collective work practices. Through informal conversations, sharing *mate* tea, and making jokes that helped distance them from being labeled as "police" or "censors," the editors sought to ease the tensions that had arisen since the creation of a position with goals and implications that were unclear to most members of the newsrooms:

I've got a few strategies, you know... we sit down for some *mate*, bring something to eat... Keep it all relaxed, not too direct – because they won't accept you like that! "A thirty-something-year-old girl coming to tell *me* how things are... Me, who covers crime, who was editor-in-chief, who's done this, done that... some random girl coming to explain how things work..." So, you have to take that into account too. (Daniela, personal communication, 2023).

You know how there's this stereotype of the angry feminist? I tried to push back against that idea as much as I could. For example, something that started to really bother me was when people began making comments like they suddenly couldn't make jokes around me. And I was like, "What?!" So, every now and then I'd say something out of line. Not discriminatory or anything like that, but maybe something a bit crude. Sometimes making jokes at my own expense, you know? Like, using myself as the punchline to help everyone else feel more at ease. (Georgina, personal communication, 2023).

The editors identified fostering relationships with staff members as another key factor in keeping the project from falling apart. This largely depended on strategies designed to break the isolation caused by the lack of a formally designated team, and on building *ad hoc* teams through collective and cooperative dynamics. These "gender teams" or newsroom "networks" of journalists encouraged reflection and the creation of content with a gender perspective:

I made a work plan to promote collaborative journalism because I believed that working together with people from different areas would make it easier – and richer – to build a pro bono gender team. The primary purpose of that team was to exchange information and questions about anything that might come up, and to create a training plan (...). We started working collaboratively with this gender team. At first, there were seven of us, and we came to be thirty, from various areas. Quite spontaneously, some colleagues in that group would share articles from other media, saying, "Look at the outrage they caused here!". In other words, they were already reflecting on that. That team was very, very productive. (Noemí, personal communication, 2023).

These teams or networks proved essential not only for carrying out their work but also for achieving the goal of “mainstreaming the gender perspective” within the media outlet. Successfully “planting the seed of doubt”, or getting other journalists to notice content that “raises red flags” due to its gender bias, was considered one of the greatest achievements of their efforts.

6 Advances and setbacks: achievements and resistance before the anti-feminist backlash

After the first three years of working in Argentine media, some of the gender editors identified achievements, challenges, and limitations in the implementation of their journalistic approach. First, they highlighted the successful “mainstreaming of the gender agenda” as one of the key accomplishments of that initial stage, which was closely tied to the status that gender issues had acquired as matters of public concern in that particular context. In this regard, the intervention of provincial and national executive branches from across the political spectrum was key to stabilizing these issues. They enabled parliamentary debates - such as the one on the Law on the Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy (IVE) - and created Ministries of Women’s Affairs within their organizational structures in various jurisdictions. The legitimization of gender issues by various sectors across the political spectrum opened the door for these topics to be addressed in the media, positioning the gender editors as key actors in that process:

I believe we have improved a lot. One of the bosses, who holds an important position and is a journalist, told me: “Look, what you have done here in these three and a half years has planted a seed that no one can ignore anymore, ‘I don’t know.’ There’s no turning back now”. (Andrea, personal communication, 2023).

According to the editors, the increased inclusion of women and diverse groups as sources of information and as actors in the news not only helped deepen communication and raise awareness about situations of gender inequality and violence but also contributed to the inclusion of “positive stories”: “Every weekend, a different story comes out highlighting women and people who do things they may have been doing all their lives, but which have neither attracted media attention nor appeared on the news agenda”. (Sandra). In the

same vein, and in line with the development of a journalistic practice grounded in an intersectional perspective, another positive outcome the editors highlighted was the creation of spaces where, for example, members of native peoples could share their experiences firsthand. This required rethinking time constraints and narrative style in media outlets such as television:

One of our goals as a public media outlet is for our content to reflect society in all its diversity, as diverse as it truly is. From sexual and gender diversity to cultural diversity. A significant portion of the province's population belongs to native peoples (...). This year, a Qom woman was hired, and she now has regular segments on an afternoon program. Beyond that, we cover everything related to native peoples – their culture, news connected to the topic, and more. That always happened. But we didn't have a colleague from any of the native groups (...) Native peoples have a slower, more drawn-out way of speaking, and they tend to be more talkative (...) She brings you a half-hour segment... I managed to get the production to understand that we have to give her that space. That we have to adjust the timing – “time waits for no one” and all that – and the fast pace of television media in her segment. Because we have to be respectful too! This is part of her culture! (Elena, personal communication, 2023).

Each of these new developments and advances in expanding access to the right to communication – celebrated both by the media outlets that incorporated the role of gender editors and by members of gender and human rights movements who had demanded greater participation in content production – was not, however, well-established. The perception that it was unlikely there would be a “step back” in revising sexist discourses and the “sensationalist” and revictimizing approaches to news about acts of violence – as well as in the inclusion of the gender agenda in the media – coexisted with the need to continually “revisit” the agreements reached:

You're constantly revisiting these agreements. For example, you once said, “If there's a femicide, it has to be on the cover. It can't be anywhere else.” The issue of sources and diversity – not just portraying men – was something we understood after many long conversations. The audience has also played their part. (Juana, personal communication, 2023).

In reference to the construction of narratives on violence, Juana acknowledged difficulties in establishing alternative frameworks from a human rights perspective, especially when these clashed with commercial logics:

It's a challenge I face all the time: there are certain narratives around violence that, in my view, can either help a lot or be really discouraging. We still haven't found a way to talk about sexual violence that isn't told in terms of horror, right? There's no middle ground: we either tell all the details or leave everything out. So, for me, it's a challenge to tell those kinds of stories – violence that, unfortunately, is so common. Journalism in general hasn't found a way to report on sexual violence that isn't overly lurid. I've covered almost every femicide that has happened here, and the levels of cruelty involved in that kind of extreme violence have only increased. And that's really hard! How do you report on that without the only reaction being horror, and without any room for transformation? So, for me, it's kind of an obsession to find alternative narratives for it. I feel like we still haven't developed a framework for that—we're still prioritizing the graphic detail (...) And then the headline you choose is subject to whether the algorithm will show it. When I see people saying, "Who wrote this headline?! Where's the gender editor?!"—I wish I could explain to them that the gender editor isn't in charge there. That's Google! (Juana, personal communication, 2023).

Another nuance regarding the “milestones” identified by the gender editors emerged in the form of “resistance” from those who questioned the proposal to “mainstream a gender perspective” across all areas and sections of the newsroom – and even rejected its framing as a matter of public interest. Some of these obstacles were overcome through the legitimacy-building strategies previously mentioned, especially when they arose during the initial phase, in which the responsibilities associated with the role of gender editor were still unfamiliar to most. In other cases, even in the later stages following their appointment as gender editors, the resistance proved insurmountable, making clear what Cefaï (2014) identifies as the inherently conflictual nature of problematization processes:

I've faced several setbacks where I've lost – where we've lost. One time, I was in Buenos Aires at a meeting of the Gender Editors Network, and a femicide happened in the province. The outlet published a video of the victim's parents standing outside the morgue, giving details about what had happened to her, about the condition of her body. So, I called and requested that the video be taken down, but my bosses dismissed my request and said no, that the video would stay up. And there were many situations like that. (Inés, personal communication, 2023).

These conflicts – in which the gender editor was labeled a “censor”, “gender police”, or “newsroom enforcer” – revealed ongoing challenges to the legitimacy of her role, her responsibilities, and her position within the outlet. As a result, the strategies aimed at legitimization were undermined, reducing her ability to influence how news stories were framed. Georgina also recalled the negative impact

that one of her interventions had on her work – an intervention that could be seen as part of a pedagogical legitimization strategy – during a televised debate with a well-known host and journalist who had made a sexist remark that was widely criticized by the audience. The exchange – which aired live and was later picked up by other media outlets and on social media – sparked considerable discussion among journalists from various newsrooms and among digital audiences:

I believe that, at the time, it was fine because it opened up a certain debate. Although for me it was really tough because I was trolled and other shows canceled me, and it's very difficult to be exposed like that. But in the long run, what it created was the idea that I had this role of publicly calling people out on air. And that never happened again. But there was a kind of fear among some middle managers: if their host got involved in any situation, they didn't want me to talk to him! (Georgina, personal communication, 2023).

This kind of situation also exposed the editors to manifestations of digital violence, adding a new dimension to the obstacles they faced in fulfilling their responsibilities: they had become one of the visible faces of the feminist movement and, therefore, prominent targets for supporters and figures of the rising far right.

7 Change in agendas, resignations, and dismissals

According to gender editors, December 30, 2020, was a turning point for the feminist movement. That day, when the National Congress passed the Law on the Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy (IVE), it represented a milestone for the “green tide”, which had grown in unprecedented ways in the preceding years. From that point on, in the midst of the covid-19 pandemic, feminist and human rights movements began to lose ground. The far right gained greater visibility in the media and on the streets, where it converged with anti-lockdown and anti-vaccine movements in opposing public health policies (Sánchez Ceci, 2021):

I have colleagues who were attacked for nothing, for no reason at all. Yes, it's part of a systematic strategy to silence us and keep us in line — to make sure we never speak out again!

When would you say that reaction began?

After the legalization of abortion. It started growing during the pandemic with the anti-vaccine groups, and it intersected

with anti-feminist and anti-abortion movements — it grew and gained traction in 2020. When we let our guard down after the law was passed, they gained strength. (Romina, personal communication, 2023).

Hate speech against those who had led the struggles for the expansion of social rights and those who condemned gender violence and inequality was striking and manifested itself on both political and media platforms, helping to shape increasingly larger audiences. These discourses also served to stigmatize political opposition to the far right, with particular emphasis on figures from the left and Kirchnerist Peronism, who had taken up the left's agenda and promoted laws and public policies in that direction:

I see many anti-rights movements, and it's not just about communication but also about society. The attacks that gender editors are enduring reveal this, which is also closely tied to politics, to party interests, and to the election year we're in. There are setbacks – this is clearly evident in society as well. Before, the media were more open to anything related to gender-based violence. Today, if you say “gender violence” or “feminist”, there's a lot of aggression. (Daniela, personal communication, 2023).

Agendas were redefined, signaling a shift away from the public interest that had surrounded gender issues just a few years earlier, halting progress and placing limits on the strategies implemented by gender editors during their initial phase of work in the media. As Juana put it: “We feel that the foundation of legitimacy for our public voice is steadily deteriorating. And we also see that in the decline in attention the articles once attracted, but no longer do.” In that context, criticism of their work grew increasingly intense – even, and unexpectedly, from within feminist circles:

If an opinion column were written by Agustín Laje⁸, they'd ask: how would I let that happen? Because I was the pinkwashing [of the media owner], I was just a decorative piece they had put there, and on top of that, I was the idiot who had bought into that role – how could I allow that? (Lucila, personal communication, 2023).

In addition to exposing you internally, it also exposed you externally, because once a media outlet announces it has a gender editor, there are sectors – especially social and feminist groups – that expect having a gender editor to be the solution to decades and decades of poor writing, of revictimizing narratives, of writing without a gender perspective. And that's just not true, because newsroom production involves many people working simultaneously, so we never manage to meet those expectations. So, it's a very uncomfortable role, one that exposes you a lot, and to which you attach your name, your career, and your track record. (Inés, personal communication, 2023).

The editors felt they had become a ‘scapegoat’ both within and outside the feminist sphere. The more radical criticism escalated into threats and other forms of digital violence, worsening the situation for the development of gender-perspective communication projects in the media. ‘I disappeared from Twitter. I have young children... They called my house, said all sorts of things to me – I ended up filing a report’, said one of the interviewees. Another of her colleagues stated:

I resigned because I started getting rape and death threats. The threats weren't new - I had received them before. But after taking on the role of gender editor, I became a target for many anti-feminist groups. That's when a very intense process of wear and tear started (...) The reality is that what happened in terms of threats was very serious, even out on the street (...) I actually became afraid – I had to start taking taxis everywhere again. These are things that really started to affect my quality of life. (...) I was no longer useful as a gender editor. My greatest use was to those who wanted to make me a scapegoat. (Georgina, personal communication, 2023).

According to Beck et al. (2022), Periodistas Argentinas (2024), and Amnesty International (2024), women journalists have been the main target of digital violence against journalists in recent years⁹. As these works show, some of these incidents were reported and brought to court, but they also led to resignations. The companies did not seek replacements, and the mechanisms and strategies developed by the editors to promote a gender and human rights approach in journalistic work were discontinued.

Another key factor behind resignations from the gender editor position was job insecurity. As we saw earlier, one of them carried out her work without pay; in other cases, salaries were insufficient and lower than those received by other colleagues also working as editors. The work overload – which they could only manage “as a team” when they had colleagues who volunteered to help – also undermined the working conditions of gender editors. These conditions led to at least two resignations and added to the pressures and challenges inherent to a role that had yet to fully establish its place within some of the media outlets that had adopted it:

I didn't step away just because I was never paid for this role – a role that required twice the work, twice the commitment, and that was also gradually undermining my career within the company. It's a role that makes you confront everyone: mid-level managers, senior leadership, higher-ups (...). Coexisting with colleagues takes up many hours of our day and a great deal of

our psychological and emotional energy as professionals. And in my case, the relationship had deteriorated over the past two years, because, well, I became the “newsroom police officer”. (Inés, personal communication, 2023).

Finally, the political issue was identified as another factor influencing the decision of gender editors to resign. This was more clearly evident in public media. The political shift experienced by local and national governments in 2023 had a direct impact on the fate of gender editors and their projects within these media outlets¹⁰. As a result, by the end of 2024, there was only one editor left in a public media outlet, one in the cooperative, and three in private media: fewer than half the appointments there had been just two years earlier.

8 Conclusion

This article proposed an approach to the trajectories of gender editors in Argentine media during a period marked by the alternation between center-left and far-right governments, as well as a society that also shifted in its identification with ideologically opposing projects. Within this context of transition and contradictions, the article examined the strategies deployed by gender editors to bring gender issues into the media agenda and to create spaces for communicating the demands of women’s and queer movements – aiming to move beyond the stage defined by the major milestones of the women’s movement between 2015 and 2020 (such as Ni Una Menos and the IVE Law).

The role of gender editors emerged as a novel position. Its implementation involved a disruption of traditional journalistic production logics: the transversal and intersectional approach challenged the thematic division of labor by sections, while also addressing the gender gap in decision-making positions within media organizations, which are typically held by men. Although they worked in very different types of outlets – public, private, and cooperative, with varying structures and audience reach – their activities proved to be quite similar, allowing for a comparative analysis focused on those commonalities. These similarities were also shaped by the relationships they had established prior to the formal creation of the Gender Editors Network, where they continued to exchange perspectives, proposals, challenges, and difficulties in their work, as well as to develop joint projects.

Based on that convergence, this article explored two

dimensions of analysis. The first addressed the difficulties stemming from working conditions, and the second focused on the symbolic aspect – the need to legitimize both the role itself and an emerging, transformative journalistic project that challenged traditional media production logics. Three types of legitimization strategies were identified – pedagogical, legal-juridical, and those based on sociability – which aimed to incorporate gender issues across all sections and to shape news framing through a human rights perspective. The resistance encountered in implementing these strategies affected the scope and influence of the gender editor role within media organizations and, in some cases, led to resignations and dismissals.

The complex path followed by those who took on this journalistic role was reflected in the ups and downs of the political and social context. Amid retreats and internal blame games among the various factions of the opposition to the far-right government, progressive ideals came under increased scrutiny, and a hunt began for those deemed responsible for the electoral defeat. In that context, the prominence gained by the gender agenda was singled out as a key factor in the alleged disconnect between center-left governments and the concerns of the so-called silent majority¹¹.

These interpretations were reinforced by the criticism directed at “the feminists”, whose visible face in the media was feminist journalists and gender editors – especially as social media users increasingly shared accusations about alleged omissions or failures in reporting on various horrific events (whether or not they were framed as cases of gender-based violence). The repeated use of rhetorical questions – “Where are the feminists?”; “Where are the gender editors?” – can be interpreted as an attempt to shift their role from those who spoke out against violence – and symbolic “owners” of the issue (Gusfield, 2014) – to that of responsible parties or even perpetrators, to delegitimize their struggles and the very existence of the problems being exposed.

NOTES

- 1 Although there is no full consensus on this point, many feminist journalists criticize the assignment of gender-related topics to sections labeled ‘Gender’ or ‘Women’, arguing that this limits the scope of how gender issues are addressed and hinders their reach to broader audiences. Instead, they propose that these topics be covered ‘transversally,’ across all thematic sections of the media.

- 2 Pseudonyms were used in the quotes from the testimonies to protect the identity of the interviewees.
- 3 That is why, in the published research preceding this article (Rosenberg, 2023), we framed the practice of gender editors within the framework for the committed journalism model (Baldoni, 2024), in contrast with the domineering models where objectivity and impartiality stand as the dominant legitimizing values.
- 4 According to Sciortino (2018, p. 27): “The first ‘*Ni Una Menos*’ mobilization (2015) will be considered a turning point and the beginning of a new ‘window of opportunity’ for the movement, in which existing struggles, demands, and organizations were reconfigured in response to a specific political and social context.” For their part, Alcaraz (2019) and Peker (2019) focus on the massive mobilizations for the passing of the IVE Law in 2018. Peker frames, within the ‘revolution of the daughters’, transformations that went beyond the abortion debate and that ‘[landed] like a dart marking a 180-degree shift in the family, educational, journalistic, political, romantic, cultural, and social life of Argentina’ (p. 11).
- 5 According to a survey conducted by María Belén del Manzo – coordinator of the Argentine Gender Editors Network – the country still has more editors than other countries in the region and globally. By 2022 it even doubled Spain, which in 2024 still had six editors, and far exceeded the cases of Mexico (3), Colombia (2) Peru, Brazil and France (1).
- 6 12 gender editors are listed in 2022, although there was a hire and a resignation or dismissal. While the hire took place in April, the resignation or dismissal occurred in December, meaning that for most of the year there were 12 gender editors in office.
- 7 Pilar Álvarez’ affirmation — “It’s not just about writing more stories about women, but about including more women in the stories” (Pérez-Soler & Roca Sales, 2019, p. 73) — was cited in several of the interviews conducted with Argentine gender editors.
- 8 A far-right figure and president of the phylolibertarian foundation ‘Faro,’ created to spread Javier Milei’s ideas.
- 9 Beck et al. (2022, p. 3) point out, in this regard, that “online violence transcends virtuality; it has concrete and visible consequences for the people who suffer it; and frequently, it literally continues beyond digital platforms”. The recently published report by Periodistas

Argentinas (2024) agrees, stating that “these attacks misinform, intimidate, and restrict journalists’ participation in public debate and, as a consequence, undermine democracy” (p. 1).

- 10 The case of Chaco TV was a clear example of the winds of change that set the course of the country overall, and the province of Chaco in particular, along with their effects on how gender and human rights issues were addressed in the province’s public multimedia outlet. A few months after the radical Leandro Zdero took office in 2024, the gender editor of the provincial public media was dismissed without a replacement. Paradoxically, a year earlier, during his campaign for governor, Zdero had echoed calls for justice and joined protests related to one of the most high-profile gender violence cases in the province in recent years: the disappearance of Cecilia Strzyzowski. The primary suspects — her ex-husband and parents-in-law — were well-known political figures linked to the government of the Peronist Jorge Capitanich. A few months after defeating Capitanich, Zdero’s administration ignored the very demands made during the electoral campaign, renamed the provincial public channel “Chaco TV” to “Somos Uno,” and terminated the gender editor’s work project.

- 11 Please see Gutiérrez (January 8, 2025).

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