

# The success of an abortion initiative

An analysis of the path to the newly voted abortion legislation  
in Argentina

Mia Raabjerg Pedersen



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

# Abstract

For decades women's rights have been a matter of discussion. Here lays, that free abortion is not a given right worldwide. The newly voted abortion law in Argentina now allow for women to access abortion freely. While the country is known as predominately Catholic, it is interesting to dive deep into how and why this abortion initiative finally have been approved. This research explores which factors that are crucial for successful abortion initiatives. This is done on a basis of a framework. The framework is constructed on the grounds of previous cases of successful abortion initiatives. The collected data are articles from medias and NGOs. The data will be subject to a qualitative content analysis. The research shows that there is a coherency between social movements activities, public opinion, and successful abortion initiatives. The data suggests that the work of social movements may have resulted in a higher public support for free abortion in Argentina. Additionally, it is indicated through the analysis that the great volume of the public opinion can have influenced the political climate to legalise abortion.

*Key words:* Abortion, social movements, public opinion, successful abortion initiatives, Argentina, activism

Words: 9530

# Table of contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1 Research aim & research question.....	5
1.2 Background .....	6
<b>2. Literature review .....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Framework of factors for a liberal abortion legislation.....	8
2.1.1 Successful abortion initiative in Uruguay .....	9
2.1.2 Successful abortion initiative in Nepal.....	10
2.1.3 Successful abortion initiative in Guyana.....	11
2.2 Theoretical framework .....	12
<b>3. Methodology.....</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1 Research Design .....	15
3.2 Research Method .....	16
3.3 Data collection .....	17
3.4 Data analysis .....	19
3.5 Limitations .....	23
<b>4. Analysis.....</b>	<b>25</b>
4.1 Activism through time .....	25
4.2 Public opinion.....	28
4.3 Political stand towards free abortion.....	31
<b>5. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>6. References.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>7. Appendices .....</b>	<b>41</b>
7.1 Appendix 1 .....	41
7.2 Appendix 2 .....	43
7.3 Appendix 3 .....	48
7.4 Appendix 4 .....	49
7.5 Appendix 5 .....	52
7.6 Appendix 6 .....	55
7.7 Appendix 7 .....	57
7.8 Appendix 8 .....	59
7.9 Appendix 9 .....	61
7.10 Appendix 10 .....	63
7.11 Appendix 11 .....	64

# 1. Introduction

In Argentina, the right to abortion has been a discussion point dividing the country for years. Until recently, abortion in Argentina was criminalized. As of December 30<sup>th</sup> 2020, the Argentinean Congress passed a historic law of legalizing abortion within the first 14 weeks of a pregnancy. The new legislation is a historic turning point. As Phillips (2020) writes, “The landmark decision means Argentina becomes only the third South American country to permit elective abortions...” (Phillips, *The Guardian* 2020). The region is known for having some of the world’s most restricted laws on abortion. Many Latin American countries, with very few exceptions, do not allow abortion unless in the case of specific circumstances. Only Uruguay, Cuba, and Guyana allow abortion within the first trimester (Politi & Londoño 2018). Further, in Mexico City, elective abortion is permitted as well. In other countries, such as Chile and Peru, having an abortion will only be allowed in the case of rape, incest or if there is a risk of the mother’s health. Elsewhere, as in El Salvador and the Dominican Republic, abortion is prohibited (Vivanco 2017 and Kelly 2018).

Abortion has long been criminalized in Argentina, despite a vocal campaign to make it accessible. Previously, abortion was only allowed if the mother’s health was at risk or due to rape. This legislation was overturned by the present president, Alberto Fernandez, who campaigned for women’s rights and a more liberal abortion legislation. In the election of 2019, Fernandez won over the previous president Mauricio Macri, who was more of a conservative position than Fernandez. Abortion rights were in this election the main element that divided voters (Houeix, *France24* 2019).

The interest of this research is to examine how and when abortion initiatives succeed. Here, a framework from previous real time cases will be constructed. This is done in order to determine if these factors can be agreeable in the case of Argentina, or anywhere else. This framework will be the focus, while conducting a qualitative content analysis of the collected articles on the topic of abortion legislation in Argentina. Therefore, the analysis will reflect

how social movements and public opinion can and may have had an influence on the success of the abortion initiative in Argentina.

## **1.1 Research aim & research question**

This research will focus on how the change within abortion legislation has been a possibility in Argentina. This is within the scope of determining why this change of legislation has happened now and not years earlier. The bill for changing the laws on abortion has many times been requested in Argentina. The question is, however, what has led to the change today? By conducting research on what can contribute to political change, the research aims to answer a specific question of when do abortion initiatives succeed? Here, the scope of this research is to determine a framework which will locate whether specific factors need to be in place for abortion initiatives to be successful. Having said this, the research aims to conduct a thorough examination of social movement activities, public opinion, and the result of whether abortion rights can be passed or not in the case of Argentina. The aim is to locate articles published throughout the last 11 years to examine whether or not the support and coverage of abortion rights have changed. Furthermore, the intention is to locate if social movements have influenced public opinion in relation to abortion rights. This will become clear via the analysis of media's coverage of the topic over time. Lastly, the aim is to examine if there has been a change in public opinion and if this has had an effect on the outcome of the initiative being successful or not. Therefore, the overarching purpose is to understand under which conditions abortion initiatives are successful and enlighten under which conditions such initiatives fail. Therefore, the research question will be the following:

*Which factors can explain successful initiatives in favour of abortion rights?*

In order to answer the research question, the case of Argentina abortion legislations has been chosen. Here the recent passing of the abortion right in the first trimester can enlighten the core of this research. Hence, how can abortion initiatives succeed? Argentina becomes an interesting case, as the bill for individual's rights for abortion has been presented to pass although been rejected upon until now. This research will aim at examining the cases of

previous attempts to pass the bill for abortion through three different president ruling. This will be done in line with the framework and the analysis tool coding.

## 1.2 Background

The work for legalizing abortion has been a process. As Sutton and Borland (2013) states, “from the streets to the Argentine Congress, the struggle to legalize abortion in Argentina has featured tireless activist interventions in multiple arenas” (Sutton & Borland 2013:149). This means that the battle for a liberal abortion law has been a fight of campaigning and creating awareness which has happened throughout many years in the country. The first organisation working for abortion rights was formed in 1988, named *La Comisión por el Derecho al Aborto* (The Commission for the Right to Abortion) (Sutton & Borland 2013:199). Later, in the early 1990s, more organisations were formed, and especially the founding of *Mujeres Autoconvocadas Para Decidir en Libertad* (Women Coming Together for Freedom of Choice, MADEL) is of importance. MADEL and several other organisations blocked a proposition in 1994 on complete prohibition for abortion. Lobbying for the right to life, and messages against abortion have through time been in support of the Catholic Church. The Campaign for Safe, Free and Legal Abortion was launched in 2005 in Argentina. Here 300 organisations reunited (Sutton & Borland 2013: 200).

Although today the campaign includes more than 500 organisations. This campaign has been raising awareness of injustice of abortion being criminalised. The campaign has a significant visible icon, the green scarf. Here the slogan is printed stating “Sexual education to decide, contraception so as not to have an abortion, legal abortion so as not to die” (Anderson 2021). The demonstrations and participation of the campaigns has grown rapidly since the start. This is partly due to the growth of feminist movements, such as *Ni una menos* (Not one less), a movement campaigning to end violence against women. These movements have spread throughout the country and millions has participated and demonstrated (Anderson 2021). Hence, the importance of looking at the movements impact on abortion legalization is therefore crucial.

In relation to politics, this research aims at locating changes within three different presidencies. Firstly, during the time of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Kirchner was the first female president from 2007 to 2015. Kirchner belongs to the centre-left party, the Peronist Justicialist party. During this time, many changes happened in relation to LGBT culture and the legislation for same sex-marriage. Although, in the years of her ruling, the bill of abortion rights was presented five times for congress. Only in 2014 a committee of the congress debated the actual bill, although later, it was rejected. As Goñi (2015) writes about Kirchner, “she has done a lot for women in Argentina, including an important assisted reproduction law, but she is still a *machista* at heart. Even Pope Francis is more liberal than she is when it comes to abortion,” (Donda cited by Goñi in The Guardian 2015). While this emphasises the public view on Kirchner, it also indicates how the debate concerning free abortion was out of question during Kirchner’s presidency.

Secondly, the ruling of Mauricio Macri as president. Macri was president from 2015 to 2019, leading the centre-right Republican party Commitment to Change. Looking back, in 2018 when the bill was rejected by the Senate, Macri was in power during this time. Many had hoped that it finally was the time for a more liberal abortion legislation. The voting resulted in that the lower house voted 129-123 in favour of legalizing abortion. After this small victory, Macri went public saying that he would sign the abortion bill if the senate approved it (Goñi in The Guardian 2018 (1)). This was not the case, as the senate narrowly rejected the bill with 38 lawmakers over 31 who voted against the abortion bill. Further, it was seen that after the lower house passed on the bill, the opposition lobbied heavily against. Leaders from the Catholic Church went out and spoke publicly, which lead to a massive pressure on the conservative senators (Politi & Londoño 2018).

Lastly, the ruling of the current president, Alberto Fernández, who approved legalizing abortion. In 2019 Macri lost the election to Alberto Fernández, who also belongs to the Justicialist party as Kirchner. Although, Fernández belongs to the moderate wing opposing Kirchner, who belonged to the center-left (Nugent 2019). Fernández went to election on the promise to eradicate the abortion legislations. Previously, it has been widely discussed how politicians from both left and right has viewed abortion legislation as very politically costly, and something which would turn voters away (Anderson 2021). In relation to both left and right wings being in power, and both rejecting the bills for abortion rights, it becomes relevant to discuss how Fernández succeeded in passing the bill.

## **2. Literature review**

In the following section the literature chosen for this thesis will be presented. Four different researches on when abortion initiatives succeed will be examined as well as these will become the baseline for this research. The arguments presented by these scholars will be combined to construct the theoretical framework of this study. Firstly, a theoretical framework of Norrander & Wilcox (1999) will be explored. Secondly, supporting research on the success of abortion initiatives with concrete examples will be introduced. These will present additional factors from real cases of legalizing abortion in three different countries, as Uruguay, Nepal and Guyana.

### **2.1 Framework of factors for a liberal abortion legislation**

Essential for this research is the theoretical framework of Norrander & Wilcox (1999). The research evolves around the issue of what role citizens play in forming abortion policies. Within this research, the focus is on American states and how these states can individually regulate abortion laws. This is due to the authority of which the Supreme Court in 1989 passed. By investigating the impact of public opinion on public policy, the researchers have focused on three core questions. Firstly, Norrander & Wilcox (1999) looked at the relationship between general abortion attitudes and each abortion policy. Further, they examined the relationship between government funding for poor women and opinions on minors getting abortion. Lastly, they investigated the relationship between general abortion viewpoints and a combined abortion policy scale. Then a standardized scale was created by combining seven abortion laws. The framework drawn from this research will only include the general attitude for abortion and how the impact has been on policymaking.

This research becomes evident, as policy change in general differ from abortion policy change. In accordance too Norrander & Wilcox (1999), morality policy is of influence by personal opinions, but also by the mass influence. Several scholars argue that political actors have a personal opinion in morality policy which will have an impact on their decision making. Drawing on previous studies, Norrander & Wilcox (1999) argue that morality policy is greatly impacted by the opinion of the public, and these policies are often debated in the sphere of redistributive policies (Norrander & Wilcox 1999: 708). Moreover, the research argues, that public policy tends to match the public opinion. The findings of their research concluded that many factors can have an impact on shaping abortion law in the case of the US. Further, their findings suggest that the impact of the public opinion and interest groups is that "...they are highly correlated, and both are strongly associated with state policy after controls for a variety of other variables" (Norrander & Wilcox 1999: 718). Thereby, their research confirms that the opinion of the public can affect the abortion policy. Norrander & Wilcox (1999) also concluded that interest groups and the elite opinion are also of matter (Norrander & Wilcox 1999: 716). Additionally, if the state were of democratic rule, the legislation would be of a more liberal character. In the opinion of Norrander & Wilcox (1999) states with a high Catholic population would more likely produce a conservative abortion law. Although, the scholars state that "...Catholicism is not as highly correlated with state opinion and therefore is distinguishable statistically from mass sentiment" (Norrander & Wilcox 1999: 719). The more women are present I legislature roles, the more liberal the abortion policy will be. Lastly, representation and partisan control is in correlation with public opinion and grass-root organisations accountable for abortion law according to this research (Norrander & Wilcox 1999: 719). Although, this research had a few states who did not fit into this framework, they argue for these factors being applicant in other cases, and they call for further research on this matter.

### **2.1.1 Successful abortion initiative in Uruguay**

Supporting this theoretical framework, the work of Pousadela (2015) becomes relevant. This research argues for several factors in the context of Uruguay's passing of abortion rights in 2012. With the research Social Mobilization and Political Representation: The Women's Movement's struggle for Legal Abortion in Uruguay, Pousadela (2015) aims to map out the

main reasons for this change of policy. From this, Pousadela (2015) works with a research question along the lines of What/which factors has led to the abortion legislation in Uruguay? Firstly, Posadela (2015) concludes, that the overall focus on reproductive rights during the early 90s have had an important role. Additionally, the context of a democratic post-transition within Uruguay is also of importance. Further, Pousadela (2015) is mapping out strategies of the women's movement's activities throughout the years. These strategies are seen as success, as the movement has built a consensus concerning sexual and reproductive rights being within the sphere of human rights. The research therefore claims that it is due to the mentioned context. However, the main argument is that it is due to the work of the social movements in which the change has occurred. Pousadela (2015) states "...the reasons for the pro-legalization movement's success should not be searched for in the numbers brought out to the public square, but rather in the depth of the transformations introduced in the prevailing common sense of Uruguayan citizens and, as a result, in the stances expressed by the so-called "public opinion." (Pousadela 2015: 143). As argued, the success of the policy change is due to, among other factors, that the movement through decades organized informational campaigns, promoted public debate and many other innovative ways. In this way, the public opinion changed over time in relation to abortion right. The movement made sure to be involved in the political arena, and as last argumentation for the success, Pousadela (2015) expresses that "that activism and mobilization are the staple of democratic politics because the broadening of rights is a moving target..." (Pousadela 2015: 145)

### **2.1.2 Successful abortion initiative in Nepal**

Another relevant research, is one that examines successful abortion initiatives in Nepal. Thapa (2004) studies factors in which is argued for being crucial for the passing of a liberal abortion law in Nepal. In 2002, after nearly three decades of efforts to reform the abortion legislation in the country, the passing of free abortion law up until the 12th week became a reality. As the research solely evolves around the road to passing free abortion law, the research question of this paper could be in accordance with: What role has the movement for abortion had in passing the abortion law, and which factors has in combination had a crucial role for the success?

Thapa (2004) argues for several reasons for this success. Important has the work of women's rights movement been, the formation of Safe Motherhood Network in 1997 and international support and focus on reproductive rights in the 1990s. Moreover, the move to a democratic rule in the early 1990s also had a great importance. The role of international media and free press, which was established around the same time, allowed for international medias to educate on abortion rights but also for journalists to be critical towards the diffusion on abortion. Further, another reason according to Thapa (2004), can be seen in the relation of the neighbouring country India, which has for many years had legal abortion laws. The influence and acceptance of this law in India has had an impact within Nepal. Also, a significant absence of opposition to the abortion reform has had a role in the policy change. Lastly, key factors according to Thapa (2004) are the sustained advocacy, dissemination of knowledge and a solid involvement of local NGOs, civil society and professional organizations all lobbying for the abortion law as of today.

### **2.1.3 Successful abortion initiative in Guyana**

In the research *Making Abortion Law Reform Happen in Guyana: A Success Story*, the researchers Nunes & Delph (1995) seeks to identify happenings of the campaign of a liberal abortion law. This support led to the passing of a liberal abortion law in 1994. The purpose of this research is to understand how a campaign for liberal reforms succeeded while a highly active religious opposition were in place. This is done in accordance with mapping out happenings being crucial for the passing of the abortion law in 1994. A change of government happened in 1992, as the People's Progressive Party (PPP), a left-wing party, won the election. A remarkable matter hereof is, that already in 1993, the PPP Minister of Health announced a revision on the abortion law. From then on, an interest group were campaigning with the slogan "Pro-Life, Pro-Choice, Pro-Reform" for this reform until its passing. The Pro-Reform Group published their public education through medias which was based on research done among health professionals, the public and students, and presenting facts about abortion and women's experiences hereof (Nunes & Delph 1995: 12-14). While campaigning in television and newspapers, illustrations were posted which messages of men having a sexual responsibility. As Nunes & Delph argue, these educational strategies are seen as that the "...strength lay in information, not confrontation, and in public education, not public action"

(Nunes & Delph 1995: 14). The educational strategies identified that the campaign was not pro-abortion which then they declared a sort of agreement with the opposition's opinions. In this sense, the campaign argued that a liberal abortion law would have a decrease in performed abortions. Another core point was that the Pro-Reform Groups adopted the language of the opposition. Additionally, international support and information about unsafe abortion causing many medical issues, were presented in the educational strategies. Further, information on the Catholic Church's perspectives on abortion and contraception were gathered and published as "...Catholics for a Free Choice was invaluable in educating the group" (Nunes & Delph 1995: 14). Another core point of the Pro-Reform Group was, that surveys on public opinion were made. These showed that there was an overwhelming support for reforming the abortion law. Further, surveys of legal professionals showed a changed of support over time. After just a year of debate, in 1994, two-thirds had changed their opinion for a more liberal view on abortion legislation. This shows that the public debate had influenced an important alley in the law reform (Nunes & Delph 1995: 18). Lastly, the strategy was to place this issue above party politics. As the newly elected government had been in opposition for decades, the intent was to create "...positive human and social values, create a climate of sympathy and understanding about the Bill and thereby make it easier for them to vote in support of it" (Nunes & Delph 1995: 20).

## **2.2 Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework will be presented in this section. This will be helpful in combining and understanding the presented arguments in the literature review section. In this section, the previous researchers work will be synthesized into a theoretical framework, which will be exploring the context of when abortion initiatives are successful. This is in accordance with later analysis of the Argentinean case, where the framework will be used to identify whether abortion initiatives succeed in relation to the presented arguments in the previous section. Whether the theoretical framework will be confirmed or refuted is explored in the analysis chapter.

As the presented literature have overlapping arguments for when abortion initiatives succeed, it is necessary to wrap up these arguments in a theory usable for analysing the Argentinean case. Core arguments for Norrander & Wilcox (1999) includes public opinion is often aligned with public policies. Further, they argue that interest groups impact public opinion which also combine together arguable shapes state policies. Additionally, later research supports these arguments as, Pousadela (2015) argues for women's movements strategies to be successful in the case of Uruguay's passing of abortion reforms. This success is, according to Pousadela (2015), rooted in the movement's attempt to inform and educate the public through decades, which resulted in a change in public opinion. This ultimately meant, that a change of reform was desired. Further, Thapa (2004) examines many factors, which in accordance with the two previous researches can be cored down to the important lobbying work done by local NGOs, professional organizations, international pressure and in general the civil society. Another core element is the women's right movement that had influence within the country. In line with Nunes & Delph (1995, Thapa (2004) argues, that a democratic rule is of importance. Further, Nunes & Delph (1995) looks at how educational programme created awareness, and thereby a demand for a more liberal abortion legislation. These campaigns where created as such, as the public where to be educated on personal experiences and facts about abortion. After a survey were conducted, this showed that the people of Guyana supported and sought a reform within abortion legislation.

Therefore, the many factors mentioned and outlined in the literature section shows many overlaps and coherency. These similarities will be essential in creating the framework of this thesis. On the base of these scholars' arguments, it is seen that strategies within social movements have had a crucial impact on public opinion within abortion rights. These strategies and many campaigns have in the mentioned cases lead to a public support of a more liberal abortion law. Furthermore, as the public opinion and support of abortion initiatives is present, this leads to a change of abortion legislation. This meant, that the public opinion is of great importance. As in all these cases, this meant that the presented abortion initiatives were successful. Therefore, the framework presented of this thesis will be as following:

**Strategic social movements → Public opinion support → Successful abortion initiative**

This meaning, that the framework looks into the strategies of social movements. These strategies can be many, although, the work of the interest groups leading to social movements

is of interest in this framework. Further, another interest is the impact of social movements in which can lead to public opinion support or make the public opinion stronger on abortion legislation. Lastly, the framework argues, that the support of public opinion or lack thereof can have an impact on whether abortion initiatives succeed.

Mainly, the focus of the thesis will be centred around the three chosen times of which the abortion bill has been presented in Argentina. This is during three different presidencies. Here the framework will allow for examining the awareness and importance of social movements and campaigns within the three given time aspects. Further, following the timeline of these initiatives being presented, the framework will locate the public opinion on the matter. This will show whether there is a support for the abortion initiative on the given time, if there is a change over time and additionally, if this has any coherency with the outcome of the failing and passing of the abortion initiative. Lastly, if the public opinion and support for abortion initiatives is positive, then a push for the reform to be passed is inevitable according to the theory. Further, looking at the Argentinean case over time will identify the differences and similarities over time. Ideally, the framework will work as an indicator of when abortion initiatives will succeed.

## **3. Methodology**

This section outlines the research design, the comparative case study and how this is relevant in the case of abortion initiative being successful in Argentina. Next section describes the research method, which in this case is a qualitative content analysis. Further, a description of how the data was collected will follow. Additionally, the following section will explore the benefits and appropriateness of coding as an analytic tool. Lastly, limitations of the study will be examined.

### **3.1 Research Design**

As stated, the design of this research will be a comparative case study. This is due to the nature of the method, which will allow exploration of factors that are crucial in order for abortion initiatives to succeed. As Vaus (2001) states “Case study designs are particularly suited to situations involving a small number of cases with a large number of variables” (Vaus 2001: 231). For a comparison to happen, the analysis of the collected data will expose characteristics which were present or absent during each of the cases. Through the comparative case structure, the research will examine which of these characteristics that distinguished the successful initiative from the previous attempts. As the aim is to collect data on the three chosen presidential period where the abortion initiatives have been presented, it is not only a case study of Argentina, but a multiple case study of the different settings. Yet, as Vaus (2001) argues “Multiple cases, strategically selected, can provide a much tougher test of a theory and can help specify the different conditions under which a theory may or may not hold... However, when using a multiple case design, we should endeavour to treat each case as a single case so that we are able to establish a full account of that case before engaging in cross-case comparisons. The unity of the single case should be respected” (Stake, 1994; Yin, 1989: 56-7 cited by Vaus 2001: 227). Multiple cases are chosen, as these can be beneficial when mapping different characteristics that have an impact on whether an initiative is successful or not. Each attempt of presenting and passing the bill for abortion will be handled

as a single case. Moreover, when the characteristics has been mapped out, the comparison of each case will happen. Knight (2001) explores the circumstances hereof, “Strategies in comparative case studies include research on the basis of community, place, perspective, structure, system, scale, transects, gradients, time, events, analogs, or theory as organizing principles. Comparison between cases can help to delineate such relationships and potentially to clarify ambiguity in a singular case” (Knight 2001: 7040). The reason for a comparative approach is, as Knight states, that it can be helpful to clarify the relationship in the presented initiatives. Therefore, differences can be mapped out when conducting the case analysis and comparison.

Further, adding to the research design is that the structure is set in accordance with an inductive approach. This is done, as the literature review is the baseline for creating the framework. Thereby said, the observations came before the theory. A theory building approach has been appropriate in this relation, as the thesis seeks to identify whether these outlined factors can be a general framework for when abortion initiatives succeed or not. Further, the inductive approach has allowed for the literature review to become the baseline of explanations to why abortion initiatives can succeed. Although, the framework is built upon previous research, the testing of the framework is essential. This will be done when the collected data are subject to clarify if the framework is valid or not. As Vaus (2001) states “They require systematic testing where data are collected to specifically evaluate how well the explanation holds when subjected to a range of crucial tests” (Vaus 2001: 9).

## **3.2 Research Method**

The chosen method for this thesis is a qualitative content analysis. This method has been chosen as it is adequately case orientated. Additionally, the data collected allows for a content analysis. This is due to the importance of understanding what the articles reflects. As Miles & Huberman (1994) argues, the qualitative method allows to identify which events has led to which consequences. Further, they argue that the method allows the researcher to generate a conceptual framework (Miles & Huberman 1994, cited by Bazeley 2003: 4). Therefore, the qualitative content analysis fits the research design which is case based approach. The content analysis will allow for a deeper understanding of the chosen data and will help to identify

links between the time periods and the framework.

### **3.3 Data collection**

The data collection will mainly come from medias. Here the data will be drawn from different sources to map out different characteristics of the given time of each initiative presented.

The data collection has happened in stages. Firstly, the chosen articles have been located through Google. Search words such as *reproductive rights Argentina*, *Abortion initiatives Argentina* and *abortion policy change* etc. The aim was to collect data from different medias.

Then NGOs working in Argentina was included. Therefore, articles from local and international NGOs are included. These are Amnesty Argentina/International, International Campaign for Women's Right to Safe Abortion, Human Rights Watch and International Women's Health Coalition. Amnesty Argentina's webpage had their own search engine, which allowed for a directed search on reproductive rights. This resulted in articles all the way back to 2010.

Further, as the NGOs had local departments in the country, the search for international media houses coverage on the topic began. This was done based on the perception of trust and truth to the articles produced. Articles included in the data selection is The Guardian, The New York Times, Americas Quarterly and Global Press Journal. Further, the search for data was within a timeframe, which began when Kirchner was chosen president in 2007 up until now.

Lastly, the analysis will reflect on three surveys conducted by independent organizations, such as Ipsos (2020), The Latin American Strategic Center for Geopolitics (2020) and Giacobbe & Associates (Fontaine, Latina Republic 2021, Impulso Baires 2020 & Parlamentario 2020). These were collected through google scholar. These will be further presented in the analysis section. Figure 1 shows an overview of the collected articles that will be subject to the qualitative content analysis.

### 3.3.1 Figure 1

<p><b>Article 1</b></p>	<p><b>Human Rights Watch, HRW 2010:</b> <i>Argentina: Guarantee Women’s Access to Health Care</i></p>
<p><b>Article 2</b></p>	<p>Fuente, <b>Global Press Journal 2012:</b> <i>Campaign Advocates for Legalization of Abortion in Argentina</i></p>
<p><b>Article 3</b></p>	<p><b>International Women’s Health Coalition, IWHC 2014:</b> <i>Thousands March for Changes to Abortion Law in Argentina</i></p>
<p><b>Article 4</b></p>	<p>Renwick, <b>Americas Quarterly 2015,</b> <i>In Latin America, Abortion Rights Stall as LGBT Rights Advance. Why</i></p>
<p><b>Article 5</b></p>	<p><b>International Women’s Health Coalition, IWHC 2018,</b> <i>Argentina’s Feminist Movement Edges Closer to Expanded Abortion Rights</i></p>
<p><b>Article 6</b></p>	<p><b>Amnesty International 2018,</b> <i>Argentina: Senators have a chance to say goodbye to unsafe abortion</i></p>
<p><b>Article 7</b></p>	<p><b>The Guardian 2018:</b> <i>The Guardian view on Argentina and abortion: A setback, but not the end</i></p>

<b>Article 8</b>	Goñi (2), <b>The Guardian</b> 2018, <i>Argentiniens formellt lämnar Katolska kyrkan över sin ställningstagning om abort</i>
<b>Article 9</b>	Piñeiro, <b>The Guardian</b> 2019, <i>Lucía, 11, blev våldtäktad. Sedan Argentinas kyrka konspirerade för att neka henne en abort</i>
<b>Article 10</b>	<b>Amnesty International</b> 2020, <i>Argentina: Efter presidentens stöd för att legalisera abort, måste kongressen nu godkänna lagtexten</i>
<b>Article 11</b>	Politi & Londoño, <b>The New York Times</b> 2021, <i>How Support for Legal Abortion Went Mainstream in Argentina</i>

(Source: Figure 1 created on the base on collected data 2021)

These articles will enhance the base of the collected data and due to different perspectives, ideally give a broader perspective the given situation. Further, the surveys will provide additional diversion in the collected data. Due to these different sources, the thesis can illustrate a broader perspective on the issue.

### 3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis will be based on a coding approach. This is in accordance with the data method, the qualitative content analysis. While coding the collected data, the content will be subjected to analysis. Here, coding will help create an understanding of the articles and furthermore, to highlight connections and interpret the texts (Bazeley 2003). The coding has happened in stages. The coding started by labelling the overall categories. These were in accordance with the framework. Therefore, the three main categories are: Social Movement Strategy (SOC), Public Opinion on Abortion Rights (PUB) and Abortion Initiative (ABO). The following stage involved reading the articles, while creating the sub-categories. This approach allows for a directed coding while having headlines of the categories. Further, the next step of an open-coding approach while creating the sub-categories will allow for the data

to direct the categories. The coding schema can be seen in Figure 2 below. As Bazeley (2003) argues, labelling will impact the analysis. Arguable, too broad labelling can lead to lack of attention to important patterns. Reversible, labelling can also be too narrow which can further limit the analysis (Bazeley 2003: 158). The overall broad categories will allow for direction without limiting the examination of correlations. Additionally, while having open sub-categories, these allow for attention on what the data can provide of information. While reading the coding schema (Figure 2), it is notable to have in mind that even as an article is marked for a code, it might not appear in the quantity. This is due to, that the given code was only found once in the article. Another important factor is, when reading the quantity column “Art.” Stands for article. Further, the number following “Art.” is the number of the article, and the one after = is the quantity of how many times the given code is mentioned in the article.

### 3.4.1 Figure 2 Coding schema

Categories	Sub-categories	Code	Source	Description	Quantity
SOC: Social movement strategy	<p>Activism for abortion rights</p> <p>Activism against abortion</p>	<p>SOC- ACT/FOR</p> <p>SOC- ACT/AGA</p>	<p>Article 2+3+5+6+7+8+9+ 10+11</p> <p>Article 9</p>		<p>(Art.2=6), (Art.5=7), (Art.6=5), (Art.10=3) (Art.7=3), (Art. 8=6) (Art. 9=4),(Art.11=16)</p> <p>(Art. 9=4)</p>
PUB: Public opinion on abortion rights	Supportive	PUB-SUP	Article 2+4+5+7+8+10+11	(Art. 4= Public support of LGBT rights, not of abortion)	(Art. 2=4), (Art.11=3)

	Not supportive	<b>PUB-NO/SUP</b>	Article 2+5		(Art. 2=2)
	Personal experience=against	<b>PUB-PER/AGA</b>	Article 2	Don't have money for kid=Abortion	(Art. 2=2)
	Personal experience=for	<b>PUB-PER/FOR</b>	Article 2+9		(Art. 2=2)
	Public debate	<b>PUB-DEB</b>	Article 2+5+8		
<b>ABO:</b> <b>Abortion initiative</b>	Restricted abortion law	<b>ABO-RES/LAW</b>	Article 1+2+3+4+5+6+7+9	Consequences of unsafe abortion, limited access, having no money etc.	(Art. 2=2)
	Negative facts as result of restricted abortion law	<b>ABO-NEG/FAC</b>	Article 1+2+3+4+6+7+9+11		(Art. 7=6), (Art.11=2)
	Political opinion	<b>ABO-POL/OP</b>	Article 1+2+4+5+7+ 8+9+10+11		(Art. 2=2), (Art. 5=4), (Art.9=3), (Art.11=7)

Media/writers opinion	<b>ABO-MED/OP</b>	Article 1+5+6+7+9+10	Amnesty adds pressure (art.6+10)	(Art. 6=2), (Art. 9=4), (Art. 10=2)
Abortion law redefined	<b>ABO-LAW/RED</b>	Article 1+2+3+5+6+11		(Art. 6=5)
Laws not abided	<b>ABO-LAW/AB</b>	Article 1+2+5		
Progressive LGBT rights	<b>ABO-PRO/LGBT</b>	Article 2+4+11	Progressive LGBT rights do not mean progressive abortion rights (Art. 2)	(Art. 2=3)
Religion	<b>ABO-REG</b>	Article 2+5+7+8+9+11		(Art. 5=4), (Art. 8=5)
Negative experience from illegal abortion	<b>ABO-NEG/EXP</b>	Article 2		(Art. 2=3)

Other countries on abortion	<b>ABO-OTH/COU</b>	Article 5+6+7	(Art. 7=5)
Denied care/abortion	<b>ABO-DEN/AB</b>	Article 1+9	(Art. 9=3)
Fulfilling the requirements	<b>ABO-FUL/REQ</b>	Article 1+9	
Campaigning abortion rights	<b>ABO-CAM/RIG</b>	Article 11	(Art. 11=4)

(Source: Coding schema created on the base on collected data 2021)

### 3.5 Limitations

While conducting research far away from Argentina, several limitations have been challenging. First, not being in Argentina have resulted in limited access to the local feeling towards abortion rights. As all data is collected from the internet, the reflection of people's perception within the timeline is limited to the collected articles. Further, the intent was to interview local organizations on the topic. This has not been possible due to no response and being in another country. Lastly, the challenge of language barrier has resulted in a greater limitation than first anticipated. While searching for local organizations and local news agencies, the work of translating everything was not possible within my limited language skills and limited timeframe. Not only was it difficult to narrow the search, the challenge of selecting relevant data was of considerable matter.

Another matter was, before starting the search, it was not clear how many articles regarding the topic would be available. It quickly became clear, that articles on the topic from 2007 until 2014 were limited. Whereas the selection from 2017 and forward was of great amount. However, the limited size of this research only allowed for a small number of articles to be analysed. While aiming at creating a general explanation to when abortion initiatives succeed, the scale of the research might be limiting this.

## 4. Analysis

This section will highlight the correlations or lack thereof between the data. This section will include an analysis of the collected data as well as a discussion hereof. The section explores how the data shows connections through different categories and sub-categories. An examination of the coding schema (Figure 2) will be done while discussing the framework.

### 4.1 Activism through time

One of the main factors for the framework is the social movements strategies. Hereby activism, awareness, and publicity around abortion rights. Through the open coding approach revealed that, it is seen that activism for abortion rights are found in many of the articles. Actually, it is found in eight articles. Although only one article writes about activism against abortion rights. Worth noting is that this can be seen in the light of the coding which were in other cases, defined as supportive/not supportive in a public opinion, under media/writer's opinion or under the sub-category of religion (Figure 2).

As of Appendix 1, no activism for abortion rights is located. Although, it is clear that Human Rights Watch (2010) wants to reform the abortion legislation and make sure, that the health care options are accessible for women in Argentina. The article only reflects under the coding category Abortion Initiative (**ABO**), which indicates that either the given abortion law is not sufficient, many opinions are expressed, or that many negative consequences are seen from this law.

Appendix 1 is printed in 2010, while Appendix 2 is from 2012 and this article presents activism six times for abortion. This is seen in the coding schema, as it has registered restricted abortion law (**ABO-RES/LAW**), Negative facts as result of restricted abortion law and media/writer's opinion (Figure 2). This is seen in the statement:

*“But in Argentina, it's more like a lottery: you might be lucky enough to get decent care but you are more likely to be stuck with deficient - or even abusive - services”* (Appendix 1: 2010, code **ABO-NEG/FAC**).

The article also notes that even fulfilling the requirements for having an abortion in 2010, you could still be denied this (Appendix 1: 2010). Furthermore, to investigate the focus on activism and social movements strategies, Appendix 11 (2021) is notable. Here, Politi & Londoño (2021), The New York Times, have the most focus on activism by mentioning it more than double as much as any of the other articles (Appendix 11: 2021):

*“Argentine feminists took up the cause of abortion rights as far back as the 1980s”,* (Appendix 11: 2021, code **SOC-ACT/FOR**).

As seen from the coding schema, eight out of eleven articles reflect on social movements and activism in Argentina. The tendency is, that these reflect on time of campaigning starting from 2005 and onwards (Figure 2). Moreover, two of these articles also reflects on LGBT rights which has been progressive since 2010, where Kirchner legalized same-sex marriage and later, a progressive gender identity law (Appendix 11: 2021).

While the five articles with the highest mentioning of social movement strategies, or activism for abortion rights is in the schema (Figure 2). Only one out of these five draws on personal experiences. Similarly, while these five articles include a reflective focus on activism, only two out of five is additionally showing the public support of a liberal abortion law. Important to note is, that while coding differentiation between the two categories were difficult. How activism has culminated in public support becomes evident in the following statements:

*When abortion-rights campaigners in Buenos Aires held a demonstration to support legalization in late 2017, they were stunned by the turnout* (Appendix 11: 2021, code **SOC-ACT/FOR**). *“What happened with the movement is that it started increasing in number and gaining different voices,”* said Claudia Piñeiro, a writer and abortion-rights activist (Appendix 11: 2021, code **PUB-SUP**).

Here the codes of activism for abortion rights and public support are as if the two interlink with each other. While the data shows tendency of mentioning social movement activities from earlier on, the articles that include this category is within the whole timeframe of 2010-2021. Although, the articles closer to 2021 dates back the start of campaigning around 2005. This meaning the campaigning for better, safer abortion options started before Kirchner was president (Appendix 11: 2021).

It is evidently seen that social movements have had a great impact and influence on the attention towards abortion legislation. While seeing the evolvement of the medias framing over time, this might also have impacted the increased focus on the matter. As appendix 1 (2010) expresses Human Rights Watch's opinion on the legislation not being sufficient and that a call for the law to be redefined should be in place. Seen in sub-categories (Figure 2) the article uses negative facts such as how women are denied care and while fulfilling the requirements, they still are not receiving care. Although, seeing this compared to article 6 (2018), there is a great difference. Amnesty International (2018) have released their article, where they position themselves as

*“...takes out provocative abortion advert in today's New York Times International edition, telling Argentina's Senators that “the world is watching”*  
(Appendix 6: 2018, code **ABO-MED-OP**)

Different from Appendix 1 (2010) is that Amnesty (2018) challenges the opinion of politicians. Appendix 6 (2018) argues with a mix of activism for abortion, negative facts from the limited abortion laws at that time and the organization's own opinion (Figure 2). While in Appendix 1 (2010) the argumentation was based on solely the limitations, the HRW's opinion and negative facts. Additionally, seeing Appendix 7 (2018), the Guardian (2018) also printed an article with their opinion. Here, the news agency is arguing by highlighting that even though the legislation proposition in 2018 was turned down, it would not shut down the activism for the right to abortion (Appendix 7 2018) Further, Appendix 7 (2018) uses negative facts, highlights the restricted law, and compares to other countries. While it is more like Appendix 1 (2010) in arguing under more of the same sub-categories, Appendix 7 (2018) differ in having a throughout focus on activism in Argentina (Appendix 7 2018).

It is evident that the rejected abortion bill in 2018 drew substantial attention. This is evident through similar approaches in Appendix 6 (2018) and Appendix 7 (2018). In Appendix 8 (2019), the focus is on how the Argentinean population are leaving the Catholic church in opposition to the turn down of the abortion reform. Appendix 8 (2019) highlights the activism done for the abortion bill five times. Also, it brings in the Pope's standing point and how that has negatively affected people's opinion on the church. This is all a reaction on the senate turning down the abortion bill the year earlier (Appendix 8: 2019). While, during Kirchner's presidency the bill was rejected in 2014. This has not the same reaction in the early articles. As Appendix 4 (2015) concludes, that several remarkable happenings have occurred. Argentina passed one of the world's most progressive LGBT laws under Kirchner, and a gender equality law. Although, it is without doubt that a more liberal abortion law is out of question. Appendix 4 (2015) argues, that even with female leaders, free abortion is not necessarily a discussion point (Appendix 4: 2015). Further, the article argues:

*“First, same-sex marriage enjoys broader public support than abortion does”*  
(Appendix 4: 2015, code **PUB-SUP**)

This is aligned with Appendix 2 (2012), while this is from before the rejected bill in 2014:

*“I believe that every law that is in favor of the free choice of people in respect to their body, intimacy or identity is going to result in an opening in the social critique,” he says, “thus establishing a more conducive environment for the moment in talking about the law for a legal, safe and free abortion”* (Appendix 2: 2012: **PUB-DEB**)

Thereby said, that in 2012 the call for an open debate on free abortion is highly due. Especially the law for free abortion (Appendix 2: 2012). Although, seen through Appendix 4 (2015) the discussion and public debate seems to be more supportive of same-sex marriage than reproductive rights laws (Appendix 4: 2015)

## **4.2 Public opinion**

While public opinion, as a category, was found in nine articles, it was not all in the supportive sub-category. Appendix 2 (2012) singled out a girl, who argued for not being the only person having a responsibility on getting pregnant. Although, due to her experience, she is for free abortion. Further, Appendix 2 (2012) is found in all sub-categories. While the article reflects on arguments for and against abortion with a personal perspective, the article also reflects on public debate being necessary for the next step to happen. Appendix 5 (2018) highlights, what Appendix 2 (2012) is asking: The time for debate is now, and despite differences, many groups of women have because of social movement activities come together to discuss “expanded abortion rights” (Appendix 5, 2018). Appendix 5 (2018) shifts through social movement activities, to identify the public support for free abortion being high, and that Macri opened for debating this topic (Appendix 5, 2018). Ultimately, the article reflects on activist’s work on women’s right for even having this conversation at this given time (Appendix 5, 2018). Appendix 8 (2018) argues that the debate that should take place is the enormous role that the Catholic church has in the Argentinean society. Further, Appendix 9 (2019), as appendix 2 (2012) personalize what the current legislation does to people. The article reflects on public support for abortion due to personal experience. This is seen in the statement:

*“I want you to remove what the old man put inside me,” said the girl, who does not fully comprehend what happened to her” (Appendix 9: 2019, code **PUB-PER/FOR**).*

This can be seen in the light of the rejected bill in 2018. Appendix 8 (2018) and 9 (2019) is a clear reaction from the public, that the disappointment of the proposed bill being declined.

Worth noting is that despite the 2014 rejection of the abortion law during Kirchner presidency, the support for free abortion rights have been on a rise. This is seen through several independent organizations who has conducted polls on public opinion on abortion being free of choice. Ipsos (2016) is a French independent research organization, which have done several surveys on the matter. A public opinion survey done by Ipsos (2016) identify a rise in public support for abortion, whenever a woman chooses to. Ipsos (2016) found, that their survey reflects the general population as the survey was made on a basis of 500+ samples in Argentina. Their findings were, that in 2014 the public support was about 23%,

when in 2015 it rose to 27%. As a final finding, it is seen that 26% is in favor of free abortion (Ipsos 2016).

Another survey discovered an even greater rise in public support towards free abortion. Centro Estratégico Latinoamericano de Geopolítica (Latin American Strategic Center for Geopolitics, CELAG) is a Latin American research institute. CELAG (2020) has with their newly published survey shown a rise of public support for legalizing abortion. Their research shows an increase in over one and half years. This is, that in 2019 May 43.2% supported, in 2020 May 50.5% supported and recently, in 2020 November 54.7% supported the law of abortion in any case (CELAG 2020). The research in November is reflected on just over 2000 telephone interviews (CELAG 2020).

Worth noting is, several medias and an NGO argue for another survey, which has identified opposite numbers (Fontaine, Latina Republic 2021, Impulso Baires 2020 & Parlamentario 2020). This said, a study done by Giacobbe & Associates discovered that 60% of the population in Argentina did not wish to pass the liberal abortion law (Impulso Baires 2020). While this is mentioned several times, the search for the survey has not been successful. Therefore, the survey might be questionable. It is mainly mentioned here, as to reflect that there is opposition to the newly voted abortion law and that there is attention towards this. Moreover, it is important to consider whether there is a truth to a great public support for both sides on the abortion law. Although, supporting the CELAG (2020) survey, Ipsos (2020) released additional findings from 2020. Here, Ipsos (2020) finds that 35% of the public seeks absolute free abortion, and yet another 37% supports abortion under certain circumstances. Ipsos (2020) also exposes that 10% would only allow abortion in the case of the mother's life at risk, and another 7% would not permit abortion under any circumstances (Ipsos 2020). This shows, that while adding the two numbers of not supporters together, 17%, it is not nearly the 60% in which Giacobbe & Associates allegedly found (Parlamentario 2020).

While the articles reflect on public opinion being increasingly more in focus, public opinion is also a subject of matter in the surveys as well. Notable is the increase in public support from around 2014, to after second time the abortion bill was presented in 2018. That is an increase from 23% in 2014 to 43.2% in 2019 (Ipsos 2020). While the media might play a role in creating more awareness, it is also evident how the reaction from the public were after 2018.

The support is not only seen in the surveys, but also on the streets. This is reflected in Appendix 8 (2018) and Appendix 9 (2019). (?)

### 4.3 Political stand towards free abortion

Following the articles tendency to highlight social movement activities and the public reaction to the abortion bills, it is also evident to focus on the political climate around the initiatives. The discussion came to parliament, but whether the topic was of great importance in 2010 seems rather questionable through this statement:

*“In May, the National Health Ministry created a free call-in number to answer questions about where to find reproductive health care services and register complaints. In July, the ministry announced its intention to make sure that abortions are carried out for women and girls whose lives or health are threatened by their pregnancies, or who have been raped. The day after the announcement, however, the government retracted its statements, noting that it did not intend to guarantee access after all”* (Appendix 1: 2010, code **ABO-POL/OP**)

Seen in the early sampled articles, the discussion on abortion and the president is very limited. Appendix 4 (2015) mention that Kirchner is against abortion. While the topic was up for debate in 2014, it was shortly. The question is, why. As Appendix 3 (2014) states:

*“Under pressure from activists, the Congressional Criminal Justice Commission announced Tuesday that it will debate the abortion bill the first week of November, the first step to getting the bill introduced to the floor”* (Appendix 3: 2014, code **ABO-LAW/RED**)

These statements reflect the great power of public opinion. Linking this to the framework, the timing of this proposed bill is too early in the line of the movement’s activities. Or rather, the movement was not of the same size, capability nor had nearly as much awareness through this

time. Further, seen through the polls, the support from the public was not as supportive as of today. Even though that the Commission reacted on pressure from activists, the general support for free abortion came later than 2014.

Another important steppingstone was in 2018, when Macri open the debate on abortion. The intention was, that Macri himself would not engage in the debate, however, he encouraged Congress to instead (Appendix 5: 2018). As Appendix 5 (2018) states, even as Macri was in opposition to free abortion, the demand for abortion was of the size where one could not ignore it any longer (Appendix 5: 2018). This could indicate that the time for change was around the corner due to public demand. Thereby said, the public opinion seems yet again to be of great importance when discussing initiatives. Although, it did not pass. There could be many reasoning for this. Although, the Catholic church is one. As Appendix 8 (2018) reflects:

*“Francis personally called on anti-abortion legislators to lobby their colleagues to reject the legislation; many senators invoked their Catholic faith during the 15-hour debate”* (Appendix 8: 2018, code **ABO-REG**)

The rejection of the bill was of great disappointment. As the lower house had passed the legislation, the hope for change was, as Macri had predicted, great (Appendix 5: 2018). According to Appendix 5, Amnesty International had predicted that the public support at the given time were up to 60% for (Appendix 5: 2018). During the following election, Fernandez announced that he was for legalizing abortion. While Fernandez announced before being elected being for abortion, the public support increased. Fernandez was elected in October 2019, and later when he took office, he stated:

*“It is a public health issue that we must solve,”* (Appendix 10: 2020, code **ABO-POL/OP**)

Therefore, the climate around abortion had changed. In the light of the framework, the support for public opinion changed rapidly after 2014. Especially in 2020, the rise of public support was not to be overseen (Ipsos 2020). The framework identifies that the change of public support came from social movement strategies who fought long and well. The coding schema reveals a great focus on what activists have done to create awareness on the topic during the three presidencies. Although, it is arguable whether if it is activists alone that have

been the source of change in public opinion. While comparing the written statements about the three presidents and their take on abortion law, it is obvious that there has been a great shift. This could be seen in the light of the framework, as arguable the public support for free abortion has after Kirchner been on the rise. This rise did pressure Macri into opening the discussion and state, that if it came to it, he would sign the law. The framework does not identify the opposition, although in the Argentinean case one of many could be the Catholic Church. While the free choice of abortion finally was legislated in 2020, the activism and public support had grown to a size where it was, without doubt, of great influence. Whether this is the cause of the success of the abortion initiative has yet to be determined.

## 5. Conclusion

The aim with this research was to explore when abortion initiatives have success. The research examined factors as social movements activities and public opinion in relation to a successful initiative for free abortion in Argentina. Through a qualitative content analysis eleven articles was reviewed and subject to a coding analysis tool. Further, additional data such as the surveys were discussed. The findings indicate a close relation between social movements and public opinion. As several of the articles dates back the beginning of social movements to the early 2000s, it is clear from the data that it is not until after 2016 that the turning point in public opinion is of great influence (Ipsos 2020). Additionally, the analysis shows that when the public unite and the public opinion is of a certain size, the political centre will invite in the debate. The debate on legalising abortion has in Argentina been a public matter for years. As the data shows, NGOs and medias have been writing about the topic for many years (Appendix 1: 2010, Appendix 2: 2012 & Appendix 3: 2014). Although, it is seen through the analysis, that the great public is not involved. This is supported by the surveys, which indicates that the reaction of the rejected abortion bill in 2018 were of significance. This leads back to the research question: *Which factors can explain successful initiatives in favour of abortion rights?*

As the framework identifies three steps, strategic social movements in which leads to public support, to achieve successful abortion initiative. These factors exclude many other reasonings for the success or failure of initiatives. However, seen in the case of Argentina, these factors seem to be of substantial importance. The data suggests a connection between the arising social movements and the rise in public support. Further, the data reflects that the rise in public support do not allow for the president today to leave legalisation of abortion untouched. The analysis indicates, that while Kirchner and Macri could publicly opposition themselves, the current public support for free abortion demands otherwise. This proposes an explanation to why Fernandez successfully had the opportunity to rewrite the Argentinean abortion law. However, the research resembles a small-scale analysis, which might have uncertainties. A call for further research on the factors leading to successful abortion initiatives would be relevant to enlighten this issue.

## 6. References

Amnesty International 2012: *Argentina: Abortion delays for rape survivor amount to torture*, Available online. Last visited 08/08 2021: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/10/argentina-abortion-delays-rape-survivor-amount-torture/>

Amnesty International 2018, *Argentina: Senators have a chance to say goodbye to unsafe abortion*, Available online. Last visited 12/08 2021: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/08/argentina-new-york-times-advert-calls-on-senate-to-decriminalize-abortion/>

Amnesty International 2020, *Argentina: After president stands by his word to legalize abortion, now Congress must pass the bill*, Available online. Last visited 10/08 2021: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/03/argentina-after-president-stands-by-his-word-to-legalise-abortion/>

Anderson, C. 2021: *Argentina Legalized Abortion Until 14 Weeks – and We Have Feminist Organizers to Thank*. Available online, last visited 7/4/2021: <https://msmagazine.com/2021/01/11/argentina-legalized-abortion-until-14-weeks-the-national-campaign-for-safe-free-and-legal-abortion-is-the-hero-behind-it/>

Bazeley, P. 2013: *Qualitative Data Analysis, Practical Strategies*. Sage Publications, London. First edition.

BBC News 2012: *Argentina Country Profile*. Available online, Last visited 04/08 2021: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/country\\_profiles/1192478.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/country_profiles/1192478.stm)

Caruso, L. 2015: *Theories of the Political Process, Political Opportunities Structure and Local Mobilizations. The Case of Italy*, Rivisteweb. Available online, Last visited 05/05 2021: [file:///Users/miaraabjerg/Downloads/1971-8853-01025-1%20\(2\).pdf](file:///Users/miaraabjerg/Downloads/1971-8853-01025-1%20(2).pdf)

CELAG (The Latin American Strategic Center for Geopolitics) 2020, *Argentina Survey, November 2020*, Available online. Last visited 11/08 2021: <https://www.celag.org/encuesta-argentina-noviembre-2020/> (Translated through Google: Spanish-English)

Center for Reproductive Rights 2021: *In Historic Victory, Argentina Legalizes Abortion*. Available online, last visited 6/4/2021: <https://reproductiverights.org/historic-vote-argentina-legalize-abortion/>

Crossman, A. 2019: *Political Process Theory*. Available online, last visited 6/4/2021: <https://www.thoughtco.com/political-process-theory-3026451>

Eggert, N. 2011: *The Impact of Political Opportunity Structures on Networks of Immigrant Associations: A Comparison of Two European Cities*, University of Genève. Available online: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/35316934.pdf>

Fontaine, H. 2021: *Argentina Revisited 2018 Abortion Law in 2020: What changed, what didn't and what are the implications?*, Latina Republic, Available online. Last visited: 02/08 2021: <https://latinarepublic.com/2021/02/03/argentina-revisited-2018-abortion-law-in-2020-what-changed-what-didnt-and-what-are-the-implications/>

Forero, J. 2020: *Argentina Makes Abortion Legal in Landmark Vote*, The Wall Street Journal. Available online, last visited 05/08 2021: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/abortion-once-unthinkable-in-argentina-becomes-legal-11609314445>

Fuente, V.R. 2012: *Campaign Advocates for Legalization of Abortion in Argentina*, Global Press Journal, Available online, last visited 10/08 2021: <https://globalpressjournal.com/americas/argentina/campaign-advocates-for-legalization-of-abortion-in-argentina/>

Goñi, U. 2015: *As Argentina's Queen Cristina says farewell, her enemies wait in the wings*, The Guardian, Available online, Last visited 10/08 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/22/argentina-heads-right-after-cristina-reign>

Goñi, U. 2018 (1): *Argentina congress takes historic step towards legalising abortion*, The Guardian, Available online. Last visited 11/08 2021:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/14/argentina-congress-vote-legalise-abortion>

Goñi, U. 2018 (2): *Argentiniens formally leave Catholic church over stance on abortion*, The Guardian. Available online, last visited 02/08/2021:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/09/argentina-catholic-church-legalize-abortion-apostacy>

Goñi, U. 2019: *Argentina's New President vows to legalise abortion*, The Guardian. Available online, last visited 06/08/2021:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/17/argentina-new-president-vows-legalise-abortion>

Guttmacher Institute 2012: *Making Abortion Services Accessible in The Wake of Legal Reforms: A framework and Six Case Studies*, Guttmacher Institute. Available online:

[https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/abortion-services-laws\\_0.pdf](https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/abortion-services-laws_0.pdf)

Houeix, R. 2019: *Abortion divides voters as Argentina heads to polls*, France24. Available online, last visited 8/8 2021: <https://www.france24.com/en/20191026-abortion-divides-voters-as-argentina-heads-to-polls>

Human Rights Watch, HRW 2010: *Argentina: Guarantee Women's Access to Health Care*, Available online, Last visited 04/08 2021: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/08/10/argentina-guarantee-womens-access-health-care>

Human Rights Watch, HRW 2014: *World Report 2014: Argentina, Events of 2013*. Available online, Last visited 06/08 2021: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/argentina#>

Human Rights Watch, HRW 2019: *World Report 2019: Argentina, Events of 2018*. Available online, Last visited 06/08 2021: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/argentina>

Impulso Baires 2020: *National Survey Shows 60% Rejection of Legal Abortion*, Available online. Last visited 02/08 2021: <https://www.impulsobaires.com.ar/nota/287725/encuesta-nacional-muestra-un-60-de-rechazo-al-aborto-legal/> (Translated through Google: Spanish-English)

International Women's Health Coalition, IWHC 2014: *Thousands March for Changes to Abortion Law in Argentina*, Available online, Last visited 10/08 2021: <https://iwhc.org/2014/10/thousands-march-changes-abortion-law-argentina/>

International Women's Health Coalition, IWHC 2018: *Argentina's Feminist Movement Edges Closer to Expanded Abortion Rights*, Available online, Last visited 08/08 2021: <https://iwhc.org/2018/03/argentina-feminist-movement-expand-abortion-rights/>

International Women's Health Coalition, IWHC 2019: *Argentine President Snubs Women's Rights on His Way Out the Door*. Available online. Last visited 10/08 2021: <https://iwhc.org/2019/12/argentine-president-snubs-womens-rights-on-his-way-out-the-door/>

Ipsos 2016: *Ipsos Global – Abortion*, Available online. Last visited 11/08 2021: [https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/news\\_and\\_polls/2016-02/7150-report.pdf](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/news_and_polls/2016-02/7150-report.pdf)

Ipsos 2020: *7 in 10 Favour Allowing Abortion: Ipsos Global Advisor Survey*, Available online. Last visited 11/08 2021: [https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2020-08/ipsos\\_-\\_global\\_view\\_on\\_abortion\\_-\\_press\\_release\\_17082020\\_0.pdf](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2020-08/ipsos_-_global_view_on_abortion_-_press_release_17082020_0.pdf)

Kelly, A. 2018: *Latin America's fight to legalise abortion: the key battlegrounds*, The Guardian, Available online. Last visited 10/07 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/09/latin-america-fight-to-legalise-abortion-argentina-brazil-chile-venezuela-uruguay-colombia-el-salvador-peru>

Klugman, B. & Budlender, D. 2000: *Advocating for Abortion Access: Eleven Country Studies*, The Women's Health Project, South Africa. Available online:  
<file:///Users/miaraabjerg/Downloads/AdvocatingforabortionAccess.pdf>

Knight, C.G. 2001: *Human-Environment Relationship: Comparative Case Studies*, International Encyclopedia of Social & Behavioral Science, Available online:  
<https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/B0080430767041954?token=B69DC3AE4198C6590322D652F92827B02EB98758A0E517763BB6FFCE4B28E43766B833AC94D4DDA564E0BEA387161C6E&originRegion=eu-west-1&originCreation=20210425164850>

Kuckartz, U. 2013: *Basic Concepts and the Process of Qualitative Text Analysis*, Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods 37-64, Practice & Using Software. Sage Publications, London.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. 1994: *Qualitative Data Analysis, An Expanded Sourcebook*. Sage Publications, London. Second edition.

Norrander, B. & Wilcox, C. 1999: *Public Opinion and Policymaking in the States: The Case of Post-Roe Abortion Policy*. Public Studies Journal, Vol. 27, NO. 4.

Nowell, C. 2021: *Argentina's Decades-Long Fight to Legalize Abortion Ends in Victory*, The Nation. Available online, last visited 2/4/2021:  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/world/argentina-abortion-feminism/>

Nugent, C. 2019: *As Argentina Goes to the Polls, Voters Are Falling Back in Love With a Divisive Political Movement*, Time. Available online, last visited 2/4/2021:  
<https://time.com/5709583/argentina-elections-2019/>

Nunes, F. E. & Delph, Y. M. 1995: *Making Abortion Law Reform Happen in Guyana: A Success Story*. Reproductive Health Matters, Taylor & Francis, JSTOR. Vol. 3, No. 6.

Parlamentario 2020: *Poll Says Majority Don't Want Abortion Law Passed*, Available online. Last visited 03/08/2021: <https://www.parlamentario.com/2020/12/07/una-encuesta-afirma-que-la-mayoria-no-quiere-que-se-apruebe-la-ley-del-aborto/> (Translated through Google: Spanish-English)

Phillips, T. 2020: *Argentina legalises abortion in landmark moment for women's rights*, The Guardian, Available online. Last visited 1/08 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/dec/30/argentina-legalises-abortion-in-landmark-moment-for-womens-rights>

Piñeiro, C. 2019: *Lucía, 11, was raped. Then Argentina's church conspired to deny her an abortion*, The Guardian. Available online, last visited 11/08 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/04/raped-argentina-church-deny-abortion>

Politi, D. & Londoño, E. 2018: *Argentina's Senate Narrowly Rejects Legalizing Abortion*, The New York Times. Available online, last visited 15/5 2021: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/09/world/americas/argentina-abortion-vote.html>

Politi, D. & Londoño, E. 2021: *How Support for Legal Abortion Went Mainstream in Argentina*, The New York Times. Available online, last visited 6/4 2021: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/01/world/americas/argentina-abortion.html>

Pomeraniec, H. 2015: *How Argentina rose up against the murder of women*, The Guardian. Available online, last visited 2/8 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/jun/08/argentina-murder-women-gender-violence-protest>

Pousadela, I. M. 2015: *Social Mobilization and Political Representation: The Women's Movement's Struggle for Legal Abortion in Uruguay*, International Society For Third-Sector Research, Washington.

Renwick, D. 2015, *In Latin America, Abortion Rights Stall as LGBT Rights Advance. Why?*, Americas Quarterly Available online, last visited 11/08 2021:

<https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/in-latin-america-abortion-rights-stall-as-lgbt-rights-advance-why/>

Sutton, B. & Borland, E. 2013: *Framing Abortion Rights in Argentina's Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres*, Feminist Studies, Inc. Jstor. Available online, last visited 20/6:

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23719313>

Thapa, S. 2004: *Abortion Law in Nepal: The Road to Reform*. Reproductive Health Matters, Taylor & Francis.

The Catholic Universe 2020: *Argentina legalises abortion during first 14 weeks of pregnancy*.

Available online, last visited 6/8 2021: <https://thecatholicuniverse.com/argentina-legalises-abortion-during-first-14-weeks-of-pregnancy/>

The Guardian 2018: *The Guardian view on Argentina and abortion: A setback, but not the end*, Available online, last visited 12/08 2021:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/09/the-guardian-view-on-argentina-and-abortion-a-setback-but-not-the-end>

Vaus, D. 2001: *Research Design in Social Research*. SAGE Publications, London.

Vivanco, J. M. 2017: *How Chile Ended Its Draconian Ban on Abortion*, Human Rights Watch,

Available online. Last visited 20/05 2021: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/01/how-chile-ended-its-draconian-ban-abortion>

# 7. Appendices

## 7.1 Appendix 1

Article 1: Human Rights Watch, HRW 2010: *Argentina: Guarantee Women's Access to Health Care*, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/08/10/argentina-guarantee-womens-access-health-care>

### **Argentina: Guarantee Women's Access to Health Care**

#### **Slack Implementation and Lack of Oversight Causes Suffering and Death**

August 10, 2010

Published in (Buenos Aires) - **Thousands of women and girls in Argentina suffer needlessly every year because of negligent or abusive reproductive health care, Human Rights Watch said in a report released today. ABO-MED/OP**

**The 53-page report, "Illusions of Care: Lack of Accountability for Reproductive Rights in Argentina," documents the many obstacles women and girls face in getting the reproductive health care services to which they are entitled, such as contraception, voluntary sterilization procedures, and abortion after rape. ABO-FUL/REQ The most common barriers to care include long delays in providing services, unnecessary referrals to other clinics, demands for spousal permission contrary to law, financial barriers, and in some cases outright denial of care. ABO-DEN/AB**

**"Women need dependable care throughout their reproductive lives," said Jose Miguel Vivanco, Americas director at Human Rights Watch. "But in Argentina, it's more like a lottery: you might be lucky enough to get decent care but you are more likely to be stuck with deficient - or even abusive - services." ABO-NEG/FAC**

As a direct result of these barriers, women and girls in Argentina often cannot make independent decisions about their health, and many face unwanted or unhealthy pregnancies as a result. Forty percent of pregnancies in Argentina end in abortions, which are often unsafe. Unsafe abortion has been the leading cause of maternal mortality in the country for decades. **ABO-NEG/FAC**

The report identifies a lack of oversight and accountability for carrying out existing laws and policies as the main problems in the persistent denial of proper care. **ABO-LAW/AB**. Doctors and other medical personnel who deny women services to which they are entitled, or who apply arbitrary conditions for receiving the services, rarely - if ever - are investigated or penalized.

"Argentina's reproductive health policies are certainly not perfect, but if they were implemented they would prevent quite a lot of the suffering I saw in researching for this report," Vivanco said. "The government needs to put a lot more effort into monitoring how these policies are carried out and punishing abuse." **ABO-RES/LAW**

Human Rights Watch's report also criticizes Argentina's reproductive health policies for ignoring key constituencies such as women and girls with disabilities. With its recent ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Argentina has taken on specific international obligations in this area that are not being met, Human Rights Watch said.

"Women and girls with disabilities face all the same barriers as women without disabilities, and then some," Vivanco said. "Apart from straight-up access issues - are there ramps at clinics, or is information translated into Braille or sign language, for example - there is a larger question of prejudice. Some doctors just don't think women with visual or hearing disabilities, have sexual relationships or can remember to take their contraception." **ABO-LAW/RED**

The Argentine government has recently taken steps to remedy some of the issues highlighted in "Illusions of Care," though some of the policy changes were later retracted. In May, the National Health Ministry created a free call-in number to answer questions about where to find reproductive health care services and register complaints. In July, the ministry announced its intention to make sure that abortions are carried out for women and girls whose lives or health are threatened by their pregnancies, or who have been raped. The day after the announcement, however, the government retracted its statements, noting that it did not intend to guarantee access after all. **ABO-POL/OP**

"The Argentine government seems to be slowly waking up to the notion that laws on reproductive health mean nothing unless they are enforced," Vivanco said. "But unless changes are constant and clear, women and girls will continue to suffer and, in some cases, die." ABO-MED/OP

## 7.2 Appendix 2

Article 2: Fuente, *Global Press Journal 2012: Campaign Advocates for Legalization of Abortion in Argentina*, <https://globalpressjournal.com/americas/argentina/campaign-advocates-for-legalization-of-abortion-in-argentina/>

### Campaign Advocates for Legalization of Abortion in Argentina

By [Vanessa Rivera de la Fuente Reporter](#), Publication Date: September 10, 2012

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA – Analía, 32, obtained a clandestine abortion five years ago in Buenos Aires, Argentina's capital. She declined to publish her last name because abortion is illegal in Argentina, under most circumstances.

A short woman with short brown hair, Analía talks without smiling.

"Look, I began a relationship with a man, you know," she says. "We went out for eight months. We ended when I got pregnant, rather, when we got pregnant. I didn't make the baby alone, but he left me alone with the matter. After, he informed me that he was married.

Nothing to do. He didn't want to take responsibility." PUB-PER/AGA

She says all he offered to do was to pay for the abortion.

"He told me: 'Don't come to me with your problems,'" she says. "'Tell me how much money you need and take care of it yourself.' PUB-PER/AGA. It hurt me. I was in love, and I

thought that we had a solid relationship." Analía says that she decided to have an abortion because she couldn't afford to raise the child alone. PUB-PER/FOR. "I don't have a high-

level job," says Analía, who works as an administrative employee at a local hospital. "I am an employee. I have never worked for much more than minimum wage. I don't have higher

studies. If I did have the baby, I was going to need economic, family and my partner's support. I wasn't capable of facing my family or anybody. I felt very alone." **PUB-PER/FOR**

Between speaking, Analía becomes serious, staring at one point on the floor with her eyes clear and open. Her voice then drops to a whisper as she begins to talk about the clandestine procedure. "I was six weeks [pregnant] more or less," she says. She found the doctor who performed the abortion through a contact at the hospital where she works. **ABO-NEG/EXP** "There is always someone who knows where you can go," she says, her voice as thin as she is. "I thought that I was going to die." She says the "clinic" was a normal house. One of the rooms contained basic medical supplies. "There, they did a suction on me," she says. "It was a Sunday afternoon. It was a day with sun, but I saw everything gloomy." **ABO-NEG/EXP** She says that the father of the baby dropped her off but didn't accompany her inside for the procedure. "He dropped me off there, and he left," she says. "We never talked again."

With this experience still a vivid memory, Analía is one of many supporters here of a bill asking for legal, safe and free abortion in Argentina through the Proyecto de Ley de Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo. **PUB-SUP.** Analía recently attended a festival in support of the bill, the Festival Itinerante por el Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito, held during the month of May at the city's Centro de la Cooperación. On the day of the event, she arrived early and sat on the stairs outside, waiting for the doors to open. **PUB-SUP.** Local initiatives, like the festival, are generating awareness about a bill that would legalize abortion for all women in Argentina. Advocates say the law would reduce maternal mortality, while opponents are speaking out on behalf of the fetus' rights. Advocates say they are encouraged by two laws passed by the Argentine National Congress this year that give people more control over their bodies. **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

Some 500,000 illegal abortions take place in Argentina annually, **ABO-LAW/AB** according to the Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito, the campaign that has united various organizations in support of the pending bill. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

In Argentina, 40 percent of pregnancies don't come to term, many ending voluntarily in clandestine clinics. **ABO-LAW/AB**

Abortion is the principal cause of maternal mortality in Argentina, accounting for 30 percent of maternal deaths, according to the campaign. **ABO-NEG/FAC.** In many cases, neither health complications nor deaths are reported to the authorities after a clandestine abortion. For every woman that seeks help from a doctor after obtaining one, seven others with complications stay quiet and don't seek health services. **ABO-LAW/AB**

Abortion is illegal in Argentina. But the Supreme Court here ruled in March 2012 that any woman who becomes pregnant as a result of rape may obtain an abortion. Before this, courts approved abortions on a case-by-case basis, mostly for victims who were mentally disabled.

Abortions are also allowed if the pregnancy would endanger the mother's life. **ABO-RES/LAW**

Otherwise, abortion carries a prison sentence between one and 15 years for the doctor, delivery assistant, pharmacist or others involved in administering it and one to four years for the woman who obtained it. **ABO-RES/LAW**

But nearly 57 percent of Argentines disagree with penalizing a woman who procures an abortion, according to a 2010 survey of 1,400 adults over the age of 18 conducted by Ibarómetro, a private market research firm. **PUB-SUP**

The bill that aims to redefine the abortion landscape was presented to the Argentine National Congress in 2008 but lost its status because it was not addressed, according to the Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito. In March 2010, the campaign presented the document again with the signatures of more than 30 deputies. Debate began in Congress at the end of 2011, but the bill has still not advanced. **ABO-LAW/RED**

In May 2012, the national Senate approved two laws related to the right to decide about one's own life and body: the death with dignity law and the gender identity law **ABO- PRO/LGBT**.

The first permits terminally ill patients to refuse extreme medical treatments. The second enables each person to legally choose their sex, regardless of the sex assigned at birth. **ABO-PRO/LGBT**

El Proyecto de Ley de Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo declares that every woman has the right to decide whether to have an abortion during the first 12 weeks of her pregnancy. It also establishes a woman's right to access an abortion that is legal, safe and free. At the same time it proposes psychological counseling for women before, during and after the abortion.

**SOC-ACT/FOR**

Analia says initiatives like the festival are necessary to raise awareness about the bill and about a reality that many women face but, until now, has remained in the dark. **PUB-SUP**

"The activities of the festival make the people able to know and to have an informed position in respect to [abortion]," Analia says. "It doesn't try to favor abortion, but to legalize its practice, to end the isolation of women." **SOC-ACT/FOR**

With half a million women obtaining abortions annually regardless of the law, legalization would make sure they are safe. **ABO-LAW/AB**. "Clandestine abortion is a risk to the health of women," Analia says. But not everyone agrees. **Hernán de Antoni, a 21-year-old arts**

student, equates abortion with murder. **PUB-NO/SUP** “The only owner of life is God, and only he can decide how and when he sends a child to the world,” De Antoni says. “There is no legal reason to murder an innocent child who doesn’t have to pay for the mistakes or interests of his or her parents.” De Antoni and his girlfriend, also 21, together instill these values in children in a youth group they teach in the parish of San José Obrero in Buenos Aires province. **ABO-REG**

Noor Jiménez Abraham, a member of Colectivo Elsa Torres, one of the main organizations that coordinated the festival, says that the event encouraged people to decide about the issue of abortion for themselves. “It aims to introduce the topic in society so that people can develop their ideas through reasonable information, without the vices of messages impregnated by moral or religious rules, which are worthy of consideration, but should be decided by each individual,” says Jiménez Abraham, who is also a journalist and professor at Universidad del Salvador in the city. **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

Federico Mazaffra, a psychologist and member of Colectivo de Varones Antipatriarcales, another organization that coordinated the festival, says that every activity that promotes the topic of abortion as a matter of society and not just of women is fundamental to understanding the issue. Mazaffra adds that the abortion discussion must also involve men. Colectivo de Varones Antipatriarcales has conducted talks and workshops on abortion and men's reproductive rights in the cities of Buenos Aires, La Plata and Mendoza. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** “Men should involve ourselves in the demand for the right to legal, safe and free abortion,” he says. “It is not only a fight of the women for the right to decide about their bodies, but it’s also a fight of the complete society so that we end the practices that reproduce social inequality.” **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

But those advocating for this bill don’t offer a unified sense of whether the current political environment will allow it to pass this year. Some say that the pair of laws passed in May show a trend toward the woman’s right to choose, while others say that those in opposition will win on this one in the interest of maintaining the balance of power. **ABO-POL/OP**

Jiménez Abraham says that the law’s passing this year seems daunting. At the same time, he says that the other two laws open the debate of ownership of one’s body to increased citizen participation “I believe that every law that is in favor of the free choice of people in respect to their body, intimacy or identity is going to result in an opening in the social critique,” he says, “thus establishing a more conducive environment for the moment in talking about the law for a legal, safe and free abortion.” **PUB-DEB**

María Eugenia Bengolea, representative of Apostasía Colectiva, another movement that was a driving force behind the festival, says that the major impediment to the bill is the Catholic Church. “The Church has the power of pressure because, officially, Argentina is a Catholic country and there are millions of people listed as such in their registries,” she says. “The representation of the Church is only on paper. Therefore, it should abstain from participating in the debate.” **ABO-REG**

Apostasía Colectiva calls on citizens to publicly and officially renounce their Catholic faith. For Bengolea, this is part of the fight for reproductive rights, which include legal, safe and free abortion. **PUB-DEB**

“For the Catholic Church, everyone baptized is Catholic, agrees with its doctrines and therefore uses the very high number of the baptized, because baptism became a custom, in order to impose its points of view on the legislation and to obtain privileges.” **ABO-REG**

In this sense, Bengolea says that it will be difficult to pass the law this year.

“I don’t believe that the law will pass this year,” she says. “I understand it as a negotiation between the church and the state: (ABO-POL/OP+ABO-REG) the laws of dignified death and gender identity in exchange for the abortion law.” **ABO- PRO/LGBT**

The ecclesiastical hierarchy opposes the bill as did the Supreme Court decision earlier this year, declaring both an attack on life and a crime against the baby to be born. Archbishop of La Plata Héctor Aguer was quoted earlier this year calling the ruling a “painful decision.”

**ABO-REG**

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, president of the country, has also repeated that she is against abortion. But the deputies who signed for the reactivation of the bill are for the most part from the party to which she belongs, Frente para la Victoria. But without the president’s support, Analía doesn’t think that the bill will pass this year. “I don’t believe that the law will pass this year,” she says. **ABO-POL/OP**

“That is not to say that we don’t have to keep fighting, although we have the most powerful woman in the country against it.” **SOC-ACT/FOR**. Jiménez Abraham underlines the power of the organization of groups and advocates in the Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito. “We know that we have a very difficult path,” he says. “We have the conviction to be fighting in favor of social justice and for the end of inequalities in access to the health and enjoyment of reproductive rights. Aborting is not equal according to educational level, money, the resilience of women.” **SOC-ACT/FOR**. He says that the topic

of abortion is complex and demands a comprehensive approach on the part of society. “That’s why the slogan of our mobilization proposes a holistic approach regarding sexuality and maternity: sexual education in order to decide, contraceptives in order to not abort, legal abortion in order to not die,” he says.

Anaía also charges society with forcing women to seek abortions in clandestine clinics. “To the woman who becomes pregnant, they say that she is the only one responsible for her maternity,” Anaía says. “But they criminalize her if she decides for herself. It is perverse and sad. They leave the woman alone, without options. The men wash their hands, and the society permits it. After, the only one guilty is me for aborting.” But she says this is neither accurate nor just. **ABO-NEG/EXP**

“I am not a criminal,” she says. “No woman who aborts is one. The woman who is going to go into a clandestine clinic is one who, like me, is poor. She doesn’t have the money to pay for a safe and confidential abortion.” **ABO-NEG/EXP**

## 7.3 Appendix 3

Article 3: International Women’s Health Coalition, IWHC 2014: *Thousands March for Changes to Abortion Law in Argentina*: <https://iwhc.org/2014/10/thousands-march-changes-abortion-law-argentina/>

### **Thousands March for Changes to Abortion Law in Argentina**

October 3, 2014: IWHC

Every year, September 28 is observed as a day for activists to take public action in their countries to advocate for access for safe and legal abortion. On Monday in Buenos Aires, Argentina, approximately 3,000 women, men, and children marched in front of the Argentine Congress to urge lawmakers to pass a bill that would give women the right to an abortion, without exception, in the first trimester. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

Currently, abortion is permitted in Argentina only when the life or the health of the woman is in danger, and in the case of rape. **ABO-RES/LAW** Because of these restrictions, an

estimated 500,000 clandestine abortions take place every year, many unsafe, landing thousands of women in the hospital suffering from complications. ABO-NEG/FAC

We're in Argentina now visiting our partners Católicas Por El Derecho A Decidir-Argentina (Catholics for the Right to Decide – Argentina), Centro de Estudios del Estado y Sociedad (Center for Government and Social Studies), and Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (Center for Legal and Social Studies) all of which are part of Argentina's National Campaign for Abortion Rights, a network of organizations that support the right to safe, legal, and free abortion services.

The march in front of Congress was the culmination of a series of events organized by the Campaign that took place Monday. (The Campaign chose September 29 as their day of action since Congress wasn't in session on September 28, a Sunday.) The day started with expert panels that discussed sexuality education, access to sexual and reproductive health services, and the need for safe, legal, and free abortion services in Argentina. At midday, a dynamic press conference with legislators who support legal abortion animated the crowds and challenged their fellow legislators to support the bill. In the afternoon, there were open forums on the urgency to pass legislation in Argentina to prevent unsafe abortion. SOC-ACT/FOR

Following the full day of activism Monday, we got great news: Under pressure from activists, the Congressional Criminal Justice Commission announced Tuesday that it will debate the abortion bill the first week of November, the first step to getting the bill introduced to the floor. ABO-LAW/RED

We'll keep you updated as the bill proceeds through Congress.

## 7.4 Appendix 4

Article 4: Renwick, Americas Quarterly 2015, *In Latin America, Abortion Rights Stall as LGBT Rights Advance. Why?* <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/in-latin-america-abortion-rights-stall-as-lgbt-rights-advance-why/>

**In Latin America, Abortion Rights Stall as LGBT Rights Advance. Why?**  
BY [DANIELLE RENWICK](#) | DECEMBER 7, 2015

Several factors help explain why the two don't necessarily go hand-in-hand. Last month, thousands of people in cities across Brazil took to the streets to protest a bill that, among other things, would make it more difficult for rape victims to obtain abortions. In Rio de Janeiro, those protestors gathered just blocks away from the state's justice tribunal where, less than two years before, more than one hundred couples had taken part in the world's largest same-sex marriage ceremony. What explains this disconnect?

Public attitudes and laws on LGBT rights are becoming increasingly liberal in Latin America.

Same-sex couples can marry in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay. ABO- PRO/LGBT

This year, lawmakers in Chile and Ecuador passed laws allowing same-sex civil unions, and Colombia's highest court ruled that same-sex couples may adopt. And Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay boast some of the world's most progressive gender-identity laws: anyone wishing to change gender on legal documents may do so simply by informing a notary public (the U.S. requires anyone wanting to change gender on a passport to submit a physician's statement).

Women have also made impressive strides. There are three female heads of state – Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina, Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, and Michelle Bachelet in Chile – and one in four Latin American lawmakers is a woman, the world's highest proportion. Sixteen countries have gender quotas in their legislatures. It's tempting to assume that women's reproductive rights would be making similar advances. ABO-RES/LAW After all, the influence of the Catholic Church is waning – in 2014, 69 percent of Latin Americans identified as Catholic, down from 92 percent in 1970 – and while Protestantism is growing, so are the ranks of those who do not adhere to organized religion. Yet despite advances in LGBT rights and increasing numbers of women in power, abortion remains illegal in most circumstances in most of Latin America (the exceptions are Cuba, Mexico City and Uruguay). ABO-RES/LAW

The results can be deadly: the World Health Organization (WHO) reports that 95 percent of the estimated 4.4 million abortions performed in Latin America each year are unsafe, higher than any other region in the world. ABO-NEG/FAC

In 2008, the last year for which there are region-wide figures, the WHO reported 1,100 deaths and one million hospitalizations resulting from unsafe abortions. So why have abortion

rights stalled?

ABO-NEG/FAC

First, same-sex marriage enjoys broader public support than abortion does. PUB-SUP

In Brazil, for example, 45 percent of the population supports legal same-sex marriage, while only 20 percent thinks abortion should be legal in all or most cases, according to a 2014 Pew Research Center poll. (Americans' support for legal abortion and same-sex marriage is even, with 55 percent in favor of both, Pew reports.)

Second, women leaders are not necessarily pro-choice: Argentina's Kirchner, who lambasted the Catholic Church's opposition of a same-sex marriage bill she supported in 2010, has said she opposes abortion. ABO-POL/OP

Brazil's Rousseff, under pressure from evangelical groups during her 2010 presidential campaign, pledged not to seek to reform the country's abortion laws. In both countries, abortion is allowed in cases of rape and when the mother's health is at risk. ABO-RES/LAW

Chile's Bachelet, a physician and former head of UN Women, said during her 2013 presidential campaign that she would "promote policies to reinforce women's autonomy," and this January introduced a bill to end the country's total ban on abortion. However, even that legislation – which would permit abortion in cases of rape and to save the life of the mother – faces fierce opposition in Congress.

One big reason why abortion has failed to garner broader public and political support may have to do with the inherent privacy of terminating a pregnancy. "A major impediment to the extension of LGBT rights was the extent to which being in the closet was a comfortable position," says Javier Corrales, a political science professor at Amherst College who studies LGBT rights in Latin America. **Corrales says LGBT** rights improved as more people became open about their sexual orientation, but "the abortion closet is more comfortable than the LGBT closet – you go and have your abortion in secret and nobody needs to know." That, he says, produces a situation in which women – particularly women who have the means to access safe abortions in private clinics – are less likely to demand broader reproductive rights. Despite the laws, abortion is remarkably common in much of the region, and access to a safe abortion is largely based on the ability to pay. A 2010 Human Rights Watch report found that nearly half a million, or 40 percent, of pregnancies annually in Argentina end in abortion, many of which are illegal. "There are clinics in every single country where you can get a safe abortion – if you have enough money," says Marianne Mollmann, the report's author, who is

now a researcher at Physicians for Human Rights. “The stricter the laws, the more expensive” the procedure, she says. As protesters in Rio last month spray-painted on the walls of government buildings: *As ricas abortam. As pobres morrem.* “The rich abort. The poor die.” Jocelyn Viterna, a Harvard sociologist who studies reproductive health in Latin America, says in some places the law becomes increasingly difficult to enforce, as many women can now access mifepristone, misoprostol and other abortion-inducing pills through prescriptions (misoprostol can also be used to treat ulcers), mail from abroad or the black market. This means more women can access increasingly safe, if still illegal, medication-induced abortions, which she says may, ironically, reduce demand for a change in laws.

Even under medical care, women still face danger: the threat of criminal punishment makes doctors wary of providing potentially life-saving emergency care when complications from medication-induced and natural miscarriages arise. “There are cases where a woman comes in (with complications), she’s in sepsis, and the doctors wait because they’re afraid of going to jail,” she says. “And women do die, because doctors hesitate.” **ABO-NEG/FAC**

*Danielle Renwick is a writer and editor for [cfr.org](http://cfr.org). Views expressed in this post are her own.*

## 7.5 Appendix 5

Article 5: International Women’s Health Coalition, IWHC 2018, *Argentina’s Feminist Movement Edges Closer to Expanded Abortion Rights*, <https://iwhc.org/2018/03/argentina-feminist-movement-expand-abortion-rights/>

### **Argentina’s Feminist Movement Edges Closer to Expanded Abortion Rights**

March 21, 2018 [IWHC](http://iwhc.org)

The tide is turning for abortion rights in Argentina. On March 6, more than 70 members of Congress supported a bill to decriminalize abortion. **ABO-POL/OP**

The proposed bill would give women the right to access a legal abortion in the first 14 weeks of pregnancy for any and all reasons, without facing criminal charges. **ABO-LAW/RED**

In the past 13 years, 6 such bills have been presented to Congress, with little success. **ABO-POL/OP.** Current Argentinian law only permits abortion when the woman's life or health is in danger, or in the case of rape. **ABO-RES/LAW.** The most recent bill, which would reduce clandestine abortions, has renewed the hopes of feminist activists in the country, not least because the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion played a vital role in shaping the bill. In a country where religion plays an important role, Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir-Argentina (CDD-Argentina), a longtime grantee partner of the International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC), is one of the leaders of the National Campaign. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** The proposed bill to expand abortion access is the culmination of a grassroots movement to advance the right to choose. In February, thousands of women took to the streets of Argentina to demand that the government expand access to safe, legal abortion. A sea of protesters in green scarves—the distinctive emblem of the National Campaign—gathered in front of the National Congress, while the hashtag #AbortoLegalYa (#LegalAbortionNow) trended across social media. **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

The message was clear: the government must recognize and respond to the realities of abortion restrictions, which force women and girls to seek out back-alley providers in order to end an unwanted or unsafe pregnancy. **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

On March 2, President Mauricio Macri called on Congress to open the debate on abortion—even as he distanced himself from the issue. He reiterated his anti-abortion stance, and laid out parameters for a “responsible” debate in which a range of opinions and perspectives are heard. Macri's comments seem to stem from a belated realization that despite his own opposition, the country is clamoring for change and the demand for the right to abortion has become too loud to ignore. **ABO-POL/OP**

The bill is a product of tireless advocacy and work from Argentina's strategic, powerful women's movement. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

Our grantee partner CDD-Argentina has spent years sensitizing the media on abortion issues, and teaching journalists to cover abortion accurately and in a way that reflects the reality of women who experience unwanted pregnancies. CDD-Argentina has also built public support for and called attention to the disastrous impact of abortion criminalization on the lives of women in Argentina. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

A prime example is the case of Belén, a woman sentenced to 8 years in prison for “aggravated double homicide” after she experienced a miscarriage and sought medical care.

The commitment to safe, legal, and free abortion lies at the heart of the women’s movement. I witnessed this firsthand at the 2017 Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres (“National Women’s Gathering”), where an astounding 70,000 women convened to learn from one another, strategize, and energize one another. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** Sex workers, rural women, indigenous women, working class women, women with disabilities, and trans women came together to discuss a wide spectrum of issues that affect women and gender non-conforming people, including violence against women, expanded abortion rights, economic justice, and climate change. **PUB-DEB.** That same commitment to abortion was on display earlier this month, when feminists and allies in Argentina marked International Women’s Day with a women’s strike in which reproductive rights figured prominently among the demands. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** Unable to deny the growing demand for expanded abortion rights, Congress has agreed, for the first time ever, to move forward with debate on the new bill. **ABO-POL/OP**

(Previous decriminalization bills did not garner enough signatures to reach quorum and open debate.) **PUB-NO/SUP.** While the bill has a long road ahead—it must pass through 4 commissions before Congress moves to debate—there’s reason to believe this time will be different.

Unlike in Brazil and Peru, where hard-line evangelicals have consolidated control in local and national legislative bodies, Argentina’s Congress lacks a fundamentalist bloc that is organized and unified in its opposition to women’s rights, LGBTQ rights, and reproductive rights.

#### **ABO-REG**

At the same time, public support for decriminalizing abortion is on the rise. A recent survey conducted by Amnesty International and IWHC’s grantee partner Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES) in partnership with Quiddity shows that more than half of the population fully or partially supports decriminalization. **PUB-SUP**

There is also the fact that abortion remains incredibly common in Argentina, despite current restrictions. According to data from the Ministry of Health, between 370,000 to 522,000 clandestine abortions are performed each year, many of them unsafe. **ABO-LAW/AB**

Given these statistics, advocates have focused their energies on ensuring that as many women can access legal abortion as possible until the law changes. CEDES, for example, works with health care providers to build their capacity to offer non-judgmental, quality abortion services, and to understand that the health exception includes mental health and social well-being. In

doing so, CEDES has not only helped expand access under the current exceptions, but also has bolstered a cohort of health providers who are well-trained, vocal abortion rights champions. SOC-ACT/FOR

The new bill is a victory for the women's movement, but the momentum behind it is the result of years of tireless work on the part of activists; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); the National Campaign; and committed, pro-choice journalists, health providers, lawyers, and others. SOC-ACT/FOR

The promise of a congressional debate on decriminalization holds enormous regional resonance. Some of the most restrictive abortion laws in the world are found in Latin America and the Caribbean—but there are signs that entrenched views on abortion are liberalizing.

ABO-POL/OP

In 2012, Uruguay decriminalized the procedure, thanks in large part to the persistent efforts of the feminist movement. This past summer, Chile took an historic step to expand access to abortion. If the trend holds, Argentina may be the next country in Latin America to move the needle on abortion rights. ABO-OTH/COU

We know that whatever happens, Argentina is edging closer to expanded rights to abortion and it is thanks to years of dedication and determination from women's rights activists across the country. ABO-MED/OP

## 7.6 Appendix 6

Article 6: Amnesty International 2018, Argentina: *Senators have a chance to say goodbye to unsafe abortion*, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/08/argentina-new-york-times-advert-calls-on-senate-to-decriminalize-abortion/>

### **Argentina: Senators have a chance to say goodbye to unsafe abortion**

7 August 2018, 15:35 UTC. Amnesty International takes out provocative abortion advert in today's New York Times International edition, telling Argentina's Senators that "the world is watching". ABO-MED/OP

Amnesty International has taken out a provocative advert that will appear in 134 countries on the eve of the vote to decriminalize abortion in Argentina. An image of a coat-hanger, a stark symbol long-associated with unsafe and clandestine abortions, will highlight the deadly consequences of the current law, and remind Senators that they have the power to save many lives by voting to decriminalize abortion. **ABO-MED/OP**

We want to send a message to Argentina's Senators that the world is watching to see whether they will do right by women and end the grave suffering caused by criminalizing abortion **ABO-MED/OP**

Erika Guevara-Rosas: "We want to send a message to Argentina's Senators that the world is watching to see whether they will do right by women and end the grave suffering caused by criminalizing abortion," said Erika Guevara-Rosas, Americas Director of Amnesty International. **ABO-MED/OP**. "The millions of Argentinian women and girls who have campaigned so passionately for their rights should know that people all over the world are standing in solidarity with them today. It is now time for the Senators to show that they stand by women too", said Mariela Belski, Executive Director of Amnesty International Argentina. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

The full-page, all-green advert, in solidarity with the colourful green women's rights protests that have become ubiquitous across Argentina, will appear on the back-page of the New York Times International edition. It features the word "Adiós" above the image of a coat-hanger. **SOC-ACT/FOR**. "Complications arising from unsafe abortions are one of the leading causes of maternal deaths in Argentina. Criminalizing abortion does not stop abortions from happening – it just makes them unsafe and dangerous," said Erika Guevara-Rosas. **SOC-ACT/FOR**. Tomorrow, Senators in Argentina have the chance to stop a legislation that has punished women for their reproductive decisions and condemned them to suffering. **ABO-LAW/RED**. Erika Guevara-Rosas: "Tomorrow, Senators in Argentina have the chance to stop a legislation that has punished women for their reproductive decisions and condemned them to suffering. This could be the beginning of a more humane and compassionate society that recognizes the human rights of pregnant people." **SOC-ACT/FOR**

Access to abortion is only legal in Argentina when the life or health of the pregnant person is in danger, or where the pregnancy is the result of rape. **ABO-RES/LAW**

But in practice many pregnant people are denied the health procedure and forced to seek out dangerous alternatives. It has been the leading cause of maternal deaths in the country for the

past 30 years. ABO-NEG/FAC. Over the last 60 years, more than 30 countries have changed their laws to allow for greater access to abortion. Argentina could join this list if Senators vote to pass the bill on August 8. SOC-ACT/FOR. The national debate in Argentina also stands as a beacon of hope for the rest of Latin America, where currently only Cuba, Uruguay and Mexico City have decriminalized abortion in all circumstances. ABO-OTH/COU. “This would represent an historical milestone for Argentina to show that they are serious about gender equality, and to set an example for the rest of the Americas of what a progressive and humane society looks like,” said Erika Guevara-Rosas. ABO-MED/OP

## 7.7 Appendix 7

Article 7: The Guardian 2018: *The Guardian view on Argentina and abortion: A setback, but not the end*

**The Guardian view on Argentina and abortion: a setback, but not the end**

ABO-MED/OP, Thu 9 Aug 2018 18.35 BST, Editorial

The narrow defeat of an attempt to legalise abortion has disappointed campaigners. But women worldwide will continue to press for their rights and their safety A demonstration on 8 August 2018 in front of the Argentine embassy in Rome in support of the struggle for legal abortion in Argentina. SOC-ACT/FOR

The Argentinian senate’s rejection of a bill legalising abortion in the first 14 weeks of pregnancy is a cruel disappointment for millions of its citizens. The legislation had already been passed by the lower house, ABO-POL/OP, and Amnesty International said 60% of the public backed it. PUB-SUP. Feminists blamed pressure from the Catholic church; Pope Francis made clear his opposition to any liberalisation in his homeland or elsewhere. ABO-REG.

Some had taken victory in Ireland this May as a harbinger of broader change, though it has yet to have a direct impact in the most obvious place: Northern Ireland, where abortion rights remain tightly restricted and must be reformed. One of the potent arguments which helped to swing the Irish referendum towards resounding support for relaxing its near-total ban was not

of morality or ideology, but of fact. **ABO-OTH/COU** Abortion restrictions do not stop abortions: they merely make them harder and very often more dangerous for women. Indeed, one study suggests that abortion rates are slightly higher for countries with restrictive laws.

**ABO-NEG/FAC**

The main result of Ireland's law was that more than 150,000 women travelled to have abortions, mostly to England. It denied terminations to only a minority of women, often the most vulnerable – unable to travel due to poverty, a controlling partner or their health. **ABO-OTH/COU**.

In Argentina's case, the issue is even starker. Complications related to clandestine abortions are the main cause of death among pregnant women there, according to Human Rights Watch. Amnesty International says that more than 3,000 women have died over the past 25 years in Argentina due to unsafe abortion. **ABO-NEG/FAC**

Terminations are theoretically legal when the woman's health is at risk – as well as when her life is in danger, or she has been raped **ABO-RES/LAW** – but often impossible to access.

**ABO-NEG/FAC**

The global picture is just as alarming. According to the World Health Organization, 25m unsafe abortions are carried out each year **ABO-NEG/FAC**. In countries with strict abortion laws, only one in four abortions were safe, compared with almost nine in 10 in countries with more relaxed rules. Worse, there is growing pressure on abortion's legality or availability in several places. **ABO-NEG/FAC**. The impact of the religious right in the US is magnified because its effect is exported via the “global gag rule” imposed by Donald Trump, blocking US funds to any group involved in abortion advice and care overseas. **ABO-OTH/COU**

Yet there is room for optimism. Science is not on the side of anti-abortion campaigners. The advent of the abortion pill makes illicit terminations safer and easier to access, though women may face punishment if they need to seek healthcare afterwards **ABO-NEG/FAC**

. In any case, the overall trend is towards more liberal laws, say campaigners. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

Last year, Chile approved a bill allowing abortion in some circumstances. **ABO-OTH/COU** Argentinian activists have made it clear they will not give up, taking heart from the public support they attracted and their success in reaching the legislature at all. The battle goes on, there and elsewhere. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

## 7.8 Appendix 8

Article 8: Goñi, The Guardian, *Argentini­ans formally leave Catholic church over stance on abortion* <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/09/argentina-catholic-church-legalize-abortion-apostacy>

**Argentini­ans formally leave Catholic church over stance on abortion** ABO-

REG. This article is more than 2 years old

**Uki Goñi** in Buenos Aires, Sun 9 Sep 2018 10.00 BST

More than 3,700 people submit apostasy requests in protest against anti-abortion campaign PUB-SUP. People sign forms to renounce their religious affiliation to the Catholic church outside the Argentine Episcopal Conference in Buenos Aires on 24 August. Thousands of Argentini­ans – most of them women – have started formal proceedings to abandon the Catholic church, in protest of the church’s campaign against efforts to legalise abortion in the country. SOC-ACT/FOR

In the month since the country's senate voted to maintain a ban on almost all abortions, more than 3,700 people have submitted apostasy applications to the Argentinian synod, according to César Rosenstein, a lawyer and founding member of the Argentinian Coalition for a Lay State.

The figure is a tiny percentage of Argentina’s population of 44 million, but apostasy activists say that the movement’s growing profile indicates a cultural shift in what has always been an overwhelmingly Catholic nation. SOC-ACT/FOR. “Apostasy is an important symbolic and political act,” said Rosenstein, who said that visits to the group’s website had shot up since the vote from 100 daily unique users to around 40,000 a day.

The church strongly opposed the attempted reform. According to the Clarín newspaper, Pope Francis personally called on anti-abortion legislators to lobby their colleagues to reject the legislation; many senators invoked their Catholic faith during the 15-hour debate. ABO-REG

“I was born in 1974 and was baptised in a military chapel,” said journalist Soledad Vallejos, a member of the #NiUnaMenos feminist collective that campaigned strongly in favour of legal abortion. “[But] I’m not a believer and I don’t like the feeling that the church can claim to represent me because of a baptism in which I had no choice.” SOC-ACT/FOR

In Argentina, 92% of the population describe themselves as Catholic – even though barely 20% practice their religion on a regular basis – and many express pride in a pope who once served as archbishop of Buenos Aires.

A constitutional reform in 1994 removed the requirement for Argentina's presidents to be Catholic, but close ties remain between church and state. The Catholic church is financed to a large extent by the government. Bishops' wages are paid by the state and Catholic schools receive state support, in accordance with a concordat signed in 1966 between the Vatican and Argentina's 1966-70 military dictatorship and a decree passed by the country's later 1976-83 dictatorship. **ABO-REG**

But a growing number of apostasy supporters express frustration with the church over its opposition to divorce and same-sex marriage (both of which nonetheless became legal in 1987 and 2010, respectively) as well as legal abortion. **ABO-REG**

The church's ambivalent role during the 1976-83 military dictatorship is also a source of rancour.

"I'm offended by the church," said Nora Cortiñas, a member of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, the campaigning group founded by women whose children vanished after being seized by the military, often being thrown alive into the south Atlantic from military planes.

"The priests blessed the death flights," Cortiñas told the press recently, when she announced her plans to apostatise. "The church's pressure against legal abortion was the drop that overflowed my cup." **ABO-REG.** Last month's vote leaves in place a law drawn up nearly a century ago that penalises women with up to four years in prison for undergoing an abortion – even though clandestine abortions are rife and a leading cause of maternal death in the country. **ABO-POL/OP**

But the vote has also galvanised women's rights campaigners, and provoked a new discussion around the Catholic church's role in the country. **PUB-DEB.** Hundreds of people had signed apostasy forms at Cael's street corner stalls around the country, Rosenstein said. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

"Keep your rosaries out of my ovaries," read an improvised sign at a Cael desk set up in downtown Buenos Aires. Although the Catholic church usually responds to apostasy requests by annotating "Apostate" on the baptismal records of applicants, campaigners are demanding

instead that their names be erased altogether from church registers – and that their baptismal certificates be physically destroyed. SOC-ACT/FOR

“Although Argentina’s data protection law allows the church to keep personal data of its members, we are arguing that the personal data of people who no longer consider themselves members must be deleted from the church’s files altogether,” says Rosenstein. SOC-ACT/FOR

This article was amended on 9 September 2018. An earlier version said that bishops’ wages are paid by the state in accordance with a concordat signed by Argentina and the Vatican during Argentina’s 1976-83 dictatorship. The concordat was signed with a previous dictatorship in 1966 and bishops’ wages are paid in accordance with a decree of the 1976-83 dictatorship.

## 7.9 Appendix 9

Article 9, Piñeiro 2019, The Guardian, *Lucía, 11, was raped. Then Argentina’s church conspired to deny her an abortion,*

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/04/raped-argentina-church-deny-abortion>

### **Lucía, 11, was raped. Then Argentina’s church conspired to deny her an abortion**

Mon 4 Mar 2019 14.44 GMT, OPINION, *Claudia Piñeiro*, This article is more than 2 years old

In my country, even rights enshrined in the constitution are being crushed in the name of God ‘Day after day, we see how our rights are curtailed and even annulled by religious ideas imposed on the entire population.’ Women at a pro-choice rally in Buenos Aires.

Lucía is not called Lucía. Her name is the only fiction in this spine-chilling true story. But we must call her Lucía to protect her identity. Lucía is 11 years old. Four years ago, a court in

Argentina placed Lucía in her grandmother's care after her mother's boyfriend reportedly abused her two older sisters. However, Lucía was not safe at her grandmother's home either: she was raped by her grandmother's boyfriend and became pregnant.

"I want you to remove what the old man put inside me," said the girl, who does not fully comprehend what happened to her. **PUB-PER/FOR**

While the government of Tucumán province, where Lucía lives, deliberately delayed the abortion to which she was entitled by law, Lucía embraced her mother and her dolls.

Why did the government delay the abortion? Because in Argentina there are those who believe they can impose their religious ideas on the rest of the population. **ABO-MED/OP**

And if to impose them they must break the law, they will do so. And if they have to torture a girl as well, they will also do that.

For them, the law of their God is above the country's highest law. Argentina's constitution says that our state is secular. However, day after day, we see how our rights are curtailed and even annulled by religious ideas imposed on the entire population by an authoritarian and dogmatic group that believes itself to be the owner of the truth. **ABO-REG**

That's how dangerous things have become in Argentina.

The hashtag #niñasnombres (#girlsnotmothers) is being used on social media to make situations like Lucía's visible. **SOC-ACT/FOR**

There are many Lucías in my country. In 2017 (according to the latest available data from the Health Statistics and Information Office), 2,493 babies were born to girls under the age of 15. **ABO-RES/LAW**

Sometimes pregnant girls decide to go ahead with their pregnancies and, if their health is not at risk, they can do so. Other girls approach health centres to request a termination and are received by professionals who comply with the law. **But more and more often, anti-rights**

**groups meddle in private matters and manage to prevent the requested legal abortion. SOC-ACT/AGA** In most cases, they do so by forcing pregnant girls or their families to go to court to obtain a permission that should have already been granted by law. **SOC-ACT/AGA**

According to the current abortion law, passed in 1921, abortions are legal in Argentina only in the case of rape or risk to the woman's life. **ABO-POL/OP**. A woman who seeks to end her pregnancy without these reasons will have to seek help outside the health system, through a clandestine abortion – with all the consequent risk to her life and health. The sentence for undergoing such a procedure is one to four years in prison. **ABO-NEG/FAC**

But Lucía did have the right to a legal abortion for the two reasons stipulated in law: rape and risk to her life. Weighing under 50kg, she was not likely to survive carrying her pregnancy to term. The girl had entered the health system only 16 weeks into her pregnancy. ABO-FUL/REQ. The matter should have been resolved as soon as possible, but the provincial government delayed the procedure. ABO-POL/OP

Last Tuesday, after 23 weeks, she had a caesarean section ABO-DEN/AB .If there was any doubt about its intentions, the government of Tucumán made clear its illegal manoeuvre by issuing a statement instructing doctors to “save both lives” – those of Lucía and of her unborn foetus. ABO-POL/OP

At the same time, the archbishop of Tucumán, Carlos Sánchez, recorded an audio address that went viral, revealing Lucía’s real name – something strictly prohibited – and calling on his followers to not only pray but also to be “custodians” of the foetus resulting from her rape. SOC-ACT/AGA

The faithful took the archbishop’s request seriously, and anti-rights groups held “vigils” in front of the hospital. Tucumán’s health secretary, Gustavo Vigliocco, lied publicly about the girl’s weight to make everyone believe that her life was not at risk. SOC-ACT/AGA

Between all of them, they made Lucía give birth. ABO-DEN/AB They forced an 11-year-old girl, against her will, to have a baby. They are convinced that women are procreation machines; they endorse slavery in the 21st century. ABO-DEN/AB

Perverse officials, perverse priests, perverse worshippers. If there is a God – a God of whatever religion – surely that God will not forgive them for what they did. If there is a God, that God will also use the hashtag #niñasnombres (#girlsnotmothers). ABO-MED/OP  
Claudia Piñeiro is an Argentinian novelist and screenwriter. ABO-MED/OP

## 7.10 Appendix 10

Article 10: Amnesty International 2018, *Argentina: Senators have a chance to say goodbye to unsafe abortion*, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/08/argentina-new-york-times-advert-calls-on-senate-to-decriminalize-abortion/>

## Argentina: After president stands by his word to legalize abortion, now Congress must pass the bill

1 March 2020, 16:04 UTC

Reacting to news that the newly inaugurated Argentinian President, Alberto Fernandez, will introduced within ten days a bill to legalize abortion, Mariela Belski, Executive Director, Amnesty International Argentina, said: “Congress must now listen to the demands of tens of thousands of women who have fought to have control over what they do with their bodies. It’s time for Argentina to join the list of countries that legalize abortion and say ADIÓS to clandestine abortion. ABO-MED/OP. “Access to safe abortion is a human right. Yet in Argentina abortion continues to be illegal, and is only available to women whose life or health is in danger, or where the pregnancy is the result of rape. Legalizing abortion would be a truly historic step for our country, and women would be able to look forward to a future where their rights are respected and they are treated with compassion.” ABO-MED/OP

### Background

In August 2018, an historic vote to legalise abortion in Argentina fell in the senate. Women’s rights advocates, including Amnesty International, vowed to fight on against what they called a ‘temporary setback’. SOC-ACT/FOR

Tens of thousands of women took to the streets to protest in favour of legal abortion, determined to keep up the pressure on the government. SOC-ACT/FOR. Earlier this year, elected president of Argentina, Alberto Fernández, announced that he would push the legalization of abortion as soon as he took office on 10th December 2019. “It is a public health issue that we must solve,” he said. ABO-POL/OP. The debate over decriminalization and legalization of abortion in Argentina has placed abortion firmly on the nation’s public agenda, PUB-SUP

and younger generations have become vocal in their fight for change on the issue. SOC-ACT/FOR

## 7.11 Appendix 11

Article 11: Politi & Londoño 2021, The New York Times, *How Support for Legal Abortion Went Mainstream in Argentina*,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/01/world/americas/argentina-abortion.html>

## How Support for Legal Abortion Went Mainstream in Argentina

The fight for legalization began decades ago, but it gained traction only as more women became lawmakers and a massive grass-roots effort shifted the conversation.

By Daniel Politi and Ernesto Londoño Jan. 1, 2021

BUENOS AIRES — It was just two years ago that the organizers of a stirring women’s movement in Argentina were handed what felt like a bitter loss, their efforts to legalize abortion rejected in the Senate after intense lobbying by the Catholic Church.

This week, after their efforts culminated in a landmark vote to make Argentina the largest Latin American country to legalize abortion, it became clear that the loss was a vital step in further changing the conversation around feminism in their country **SOC-ACT/FOR**.

“We managed to break the prejudice, and the discussion became a lot less dramatic,” said Lucila Crexell, who was among the senators who voted to legalize abortion on Wednesday. She was one of two lawmakers to abstain in the 2018 vote. **ABO-POL/OP**. “Society at large started to understand the debate in more moderate, less fanatic terms.”

The shift was visible on the street: What started as a series of marches by young women had, over the past few years, started looking like a truly national movement. **SOC-ACT/FOR**.

Older women joined the demonstrations, and men, too. Blue-collar workers joined with professionals in marching, and rural campaigners linked hands with the movement’s urban base. **PUB-SUP**

They came to support a movement that formally began in 2015 in outrage over the killing of women — its name is Ni Una Menos, or not one woman less — and began focusing its message on the toll that underground abortions were taking. **SOC-ACT/FOR**. But the seeds of its success were planted more than a generation ago, in the campaigns by mothers and grandmothers of the disappeared that helped usher out years of military juntas in Argentina in the 1980s. When abortion rights activists of the past few years waved their signature green handkerchiefs, they were following in the footsteps of those Argentine women, who protested the generals’ abuses by wearing white handkerchiefs. **SOC-ACT/FOR**.

“Argentina has a well-established tradition when it comes to popular organizing and mobilizations,” said Elizabeth Gómez Alcorta, Argentina’s minister of women, gender and diversity. “The street, as we call it, has a powerful effect in the conquest of rights.” **SOC-ACT/FOR.**

In 2010, Congress approved same-sex marriage, making Argentina the first country in Latin America to confer a right that many in the region now have. Two years later, Argentina approved one of the world’s most progressive gender identity laws. **ABO- PRO/LGBT.** Both of those issues gained traction through street activism. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** Women have also gained a critical mass in Congress, able to shape the debate over abortion rights, since a quota law first reserved a third of legislative seats for them in the 1990s, and was later expanded to require parity. **ABO-POL/OP.** In this latest vote, and victory, legislators framed abortion rights as a matter of social justice and of public health **ABO-POL/OP**

— dozens of women die a year seeking abortions, according to Argentina’s Access to Safe Abortion Network. **ABO-NEG/FAC.** Lawmakers who changed their votes this time around to support legalization acknowledged that such framing had a big effect. **ABO-POL/OP.** “We’re going through a shift in paradigm, and this change is led by the feminist and environmental fights,” **SOC-ACT/FOR**

said Silvina García Larraburu, a senator from the southern Rio Negro province who voted against legalization in 2018 but for it this time. “Beyond my personal position, of my beliefs, we are faced with a problem that requires a public health approach.” **ABO-LAW/RED.** That framing also made the effort politically palatable for President Alberto Fernández, a leftist law professor elected in 2019, to make legalizing abortion a campaign promise and an early legislative priority. **ABO-CAM/RIG**

“In Argentina, safe abortion exists for those who can pay for it,” said Vilma Ibarra, the president’s legal and technical secretary, who drafted the bill. “Those who can’t must go through very difficult conditions.” **ABO-NEG/FAC**

Argentine feminists took up the cause of abortion rights as far back as the 1980s, **SOC-ACT/FOR.** but the issue found little political traction at a time when democracy itself seemed fragile in the aftermath of the military dictatorship, and when religious conservatism had a heavy hold on public debate. **ABO-POL/OP.** The formal campaign began in 2005, with the foundation of the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, a leaderless umbrella organization that had legalization as its singular goal. **SOC-ACT/FOR.** They presented a first bill in 2008 — only to have it shunned by the vast majority of

lawmakers, who were afraid that being associated with the subject could hurt them politically without delivering results, since it was seen as having no chance of passage against the Catholic Church's lobbying. ABO-POL/OP. "Many said they agreed, but refused to put their signature on the bill," ABO-POL/OP. said Julia Martino, an activist who helped lead that effort.

Feminist groups continued to present abortion bills every two years, hoping to keep the issue alive. SOC-ACT/FOR. But it was a string of particular brutal murders of women, including that of a 14-year-old pregnant teenager in 2015, that turbocharged their long-shot quest and spurred the creation of Ni Una Menos.

Their effort galvanized many women in Argentina, setting off massive street demonstrations and leading to a broad reckoning on sexism, gender parity and women's rights that began to reach other Latin American nations. SOC-ACT/FOR. When abortion-rights campaigners in Buenos Aires held a demonstration to support legalization in late 2017, they were stunned by the turnout. "What happened with the movement is that it started increasing in number and gaining different voices," said Claudia Piñeiro, a writer and abortion-rights activist. PUB-SUP

Dora Barrancos, 80, a government sociologist who was among the women who championed the issue during the 1980s, said this new generation built "an insurrection that is infectious." SOC-ACT/FOR.

The rallying cries during massive street demonstrations were often brash and defiant. "Down with the patriarchy, which is going to fall! It's going to fall!" one popular chant went. "Long live feminism, which will triumph! It will triumph!" SOC-ACT/FOR.

Timing also worked in the abortion legalization effort's favor. The Ni Una Menos movement had already pushed women's rights into the national political conversation in 2017, when Argentina passed a law expanding the quota system in Congress, making way for women to attain full parity in national politics. SOC-ACT/FOR.

Waving green handkerchiefs at a rally last year. That milestone was the work of a coalition of female lawmakers that found, as they strategized on WhatsApp groups and other settings, that they worked well together even across political differences. SOC-ACT/FOR. The kinship they built fighting for greater female presence in the legislature allowed women to break ranks with male political elders and forge a new form of politics that was cooperative,

pragmatic and largely devoid of grandstanding. “We realized how powerful we are as women when we act in a coordinated fashion,” SOC-ACT/FOR said Silvia Lospennato, a member of Congress allied with former President Mauricio Macri, a center right leader who opposed abortion.

“We all contributed, in a way of doing politics that is very anomalous and is completely different from the way men do politics,” Ms. Lospennato said.

Having prevailed on parity, many female lawmakers saw a path to legalizing abortion in 2018. **PUB-SUP**

The effort swelled into a national movement, but fell short in the Senate after heavy campaigning by the Catholic Church — and in particular by Pope Francis, himself Argentine.

**ABO-REG**

The following year, Mr. Fernández, who has long supported the right to legal abortion, campaigned for president as a feminist. His campaign poster included a gender neutral version of the word “todos,” which means everyone, in which the letter “o” was replaced by the symbol of the sun. **ABO-CAM/RIG**

Once in office, Mr. Fernández established a ministry devoted to advancing women’s rights.

**ABO-POL/OP.** And he promised that he would put the weight of the executive branch behind the effort to legalize abortion. **ABO-CAM/RIG**

“He saw there was a grass-roots movement he wanted to seize on,” said Maria Victoria Murillo, a political-science professor at Columbia University, who is from Argentina.

“Argentine politicians are very attuned to street movements.” **ABO-CAM/RIG**

Mr. Fernández celebrated the victory in the Senate, where the measure passed by a broader margin than many, in the chamber and beyond, had anticipated.

“Safe, legal and free abortion is the law,” he said on Twitter. “Today we are a better society.”

**ABO-POL/OP**

Daniel Politi reported from Argentina and Ernesto Londoño reported from Rio de Janeiro.



