

Strategies in the fight for legalising abortion

A qualitative interview study on the strategies used in
Argentina's abortion rights movement

Abstract

This exploratory investigation examines the Argentinian social movement for abortion rights, to provide material of strategies used by a successful social movement. By conducting interviews with participants of the movement, scholars, and representatives of feminist organisations in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the research gains first-hand insight to chart the strategies that were used. Assisting the analysis, a theoretical background of Social Movement Theory (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996) and Thinking about Strategy (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012) is used to add a wider perspective on why strategies were adopted or successful, and how societal structures can benefit a social movement. The results indicate that consistently targeting the state from several ends was central in this movement. Some strategies that were heavily represented in the empirical findings are marching in the streets, creating an identity with a green kerchief, and spreading information and educate. These can all be traced to the existence of an organised Campaign and feminist alliances. The National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortion was crucial in the case of Argentina, providing material and tactics, maintaining, and expanding the movement. Most importantly, the investigation reveals that this combination of strategies along with some societal structures created a powerful synergy that enabled the movement's impact.

Key words: Argentina, social movement strategies, abortion, gender equality

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1. Introduction

Social mobilisation has been on the rise in Latin America in the latest decades, particularly in terms of women's movements. One of the most recent activist movements in Argentina mobilised hundreds of thousands of people for the decriminalisation of abortion in 2018 and 2019 (Sutton-Vacarezza 2020: 732-737; Gago 2020: 44). The abortion rights movement, wearing *pañuelos verdes* (green kerchiefs), formed a force that was to be called *La Marea Verde* (the Green Wave). Demanding legal, safe, and free abortion, the movement played a part in mobilising Argentines towards one purpose, which in 2020 resulted in the legalisation of abortion on demand until 14 weeks of pregnancy. Argentina thus became the third Latin American country to guarantee this right (Fernandez Anderson 2022: 144).

Women's rights movements in Argentina have been mobilising more frequently in the recent decades, following the democratisation in the 1980s (Sutton 2021: 29). Being a region with some of the world's most restrictive abortion laws, this fairly new structure can be interpreted as followed by the changing of these laws. Acknowledging that specific strategies cannot provide clear-cut evidence for a causal relationship, it is yet of importance to develop a framework for the strategies of action in social movements working for this cause. To be able to develop the repertoire of action one first needs to chart the existing strategies, to further discuss what strategies worked better. The question in mind for the research is therefore emphasised by the investigation of this individual social movement, thus asking:

What strategies were used by the abortion rights movement to push for changes in legislation in Argentina?

1.1. Purpose

Examining this question, the aim of the research is to provide material for strategies in the Argentinian context, which can help understand how social movements can promote women's rights and gender equality. The main contribution of this thesis is to, by conducting interviews in Argentina, gain first-hand insight in an individual social movement, contributing to the repertoire of contention of social movements for gender equality.

Like many countries, Argentina is as well one where women's working conditions, unequal salaries, unequal terms regarding household work, and domestic violence to name a few examples, are issues yet to be treated (UN Women 2022). How the study can benefit the host country can be expressed in terms of their further endeavours for women's and human rights. It is mentioned in the UN sustainable development goals (SDGs) that a widespread goal is to strengthen the politics around equality, promoting women's and girls' autonomy (SDG 5.C), to end all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere (SDG 5.1), and providing general access to the right education on sexual and reproductive health, as well as one's sexual rights (SDG 5.6) (UN 2022). As, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), 'the lack of access to safe affordable and respectful abortion care is a critical public health and human rights issue', it is of interest to study how social movements are successful in pushing for change in abortion legislation (WHO 1 2021). In 2021, it was estimated that each year unsafe abortions are responsible for 18 percent of deaths related to pregnancy, and over 50,000 preventable hospitalisations in Argentina (Figo 2021). Therefore, the interpretation that these kinds of research are still very topical in the current climate is not without support, justifying the aim to chart the strategies empowering the abortion rights movement in Argentina.

The choice of Argentina for this case study was based on its development in recent years – both in political and activist participation, as well as legislation. This development is relevant to study, as one might view its development as desirable for similar cases and for further change. A prerequisite for the study is the assumption that the abortion rights movement had a major impact in pushing for legalisation of abortion, if not necessary. Accordingly, there are many organisations today that have the topic at heart for further improvements for women's rights and gender equality, which diversifies the opportunities for interviews. Ruibal and Fernandez Anderson (2018) researched the strategies of the Argentinian abortion rights movement in 2017-2018. As the legislation was changed in 2020, it is about time to pick up where they left to reveal new insights of strategies. Results cannot be inclusive due to the nature of social phenomenon, and that events cannot translate between states or times. However, what we can learn from researching a case of social movements in Latin America, is *how* social movements can move and effect legislation even in slow changing legal systems.

1.2. Delimitations

The research question, ‘*What strategies were used by the abortion rights movement to push for changes in legislation in Argentina?*’, puts focus on the strategies used by the abortion rights movement in Argentina, during the years 2005-2020. The time-frame for this thesis has been chosen as the National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortion was founded in 2005, and the final yield of legalisation was done in December 2020 (Gago 2020: 37). Although the abortion rights movement has been active since many years prior, voluntary determination of abortion has been demanded in Argentina since the 1970s (Aborto Legal 2021), it was given renewed energy. The Campaign empowered the feminist movement and ultimately gave rise to the Green Wave. The Green Wave does not represent the abortion rights movement as whole as it began many years prior to the Green Wave. It is rather a concept, a momentum, and a story of success, within the *long* history of feminist movements in Argentina. It would therefore be unfair to name the movement ‘the Green Wave’ in this thesis, although it is part of the period when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators from different backgrounds and numerous organisations came together and became a green wave. Instead, it will followingly be referred to as the Abortion Rights Movement.

I had the privilege to visit Argentina in October to December 2022, as a part of Sida’s (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) grant Minor Field Studies (MFS). Although the investigation focuses on Argentina, interviews were performed solely in Buenos Aires. This was due to firstly, the enormous mobilisation the city saw, and therefore the availability of participants of the movement to interview. Secondly, the city is home to several organisations and universities with representatives and scholars that offered to contribute to the thesis. As the field study was scheduled for nine weeks, there was limited time to travel in this big country. This made the choice of Buenos Aires the most plausible considering practical aspects such as travelling due to lack of time and money and the scope of the thesis. There would simply be too many parts to consider if it would investigate several cities and regions of Argentina. For the same reason the number of interviews and material has also been delimited. As every interview consists of rich information, the aim was to interview at least ten, but no more than 15 people. Ultimately, 13 interviews were used for the thesis. A list of all interviews that were conducted is found in an appendix.

1.3. Limitations of the study

The fact that the study is being performed in only one city of Argentina can be argued a limitation, as it will not be representative for the country as whole. Conducting interviews in Buenos Aires, I argue, is both a strength and a weakness of the study. As the interviews were performed there, where the demonstrations culminated, the full diversity between cities in Argentina cannot be proved. Different regions gave different degree of support to the movement and the degree of mobilisation was accordingly diverse. Although the choice of Buenos Aires was made due to its immense mobilisation, there is no escaping that other cities indeed also had similar, at times more violent or formative, protests. Investigating one part of the movement can be both positive and negative. One gains expansive knowledge on a small part yet losing insight in another. I assess that, for this thesis, we can profit from knowing much about little rather than knowing little about much.

Further limitations of the study are in several regards related to the method, such as some common limitations of the interview method. A mixed method has been implemented on the study to triangulate the topic and fill the gaps of different research methods. This triangulating method however also brings some limitations. The limitations of the method will be further discussed in chapter 4.

2. Background

This chapter aims to provide an overview for the reader who is only now encountering the process of the abortion rights movement in Argentina. This is done to ease the remaining reading and presentation of the charting of the strategies.

2.1. Social movements for gender equality in Argentina

The struggle for gender equality in Argentina has been on the rise since the democratisation of Argentina (Gago 2020: 37-38). Even before the country regained democracy in 1983, women mobilised in their campaign for truth and justice for those ‘disappeared’ under the military dictatorship of the 1970s and ’80s. These, *las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (the mothers of Plaza de Mayo), created in 1977, still operate to this day and in May 2022 they did their 2,298th strike on Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires (Mar 2022). The *mothers’* use of white kerchiefs on their heads (symbolising the diapers of their children) has since then influenced Argentinian social movements. Although advocating for human rights and not gender equality, they serve a great example in this context of an early movement established by women with great impact nationally and internationally (Waylen 1993: 573).

Since 1986 the Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres, or National Women’s Gathering (since 2022 Multinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans, Transvestites, Intersex, Bisexual, and Non-Binary) is being held annually as an outlet for the women’s rights movement (Gago 2020: 37-38). Almost three decades later, in 2015, the movement for gender equality was fuelled by a strike by the Argentinian feminist network ‘Ni Una Menos’ (Not one [woman] less), shouting ‘We want to be alive and free!’. Gago (2020) states:

‘Building on these struggles, the strike produced a qualitative leap: it transformed mobilization against femicide, focused on the sole demand “Stop killing us” into a radical, massive movement, capable of linking and politicizing the rejection of violence in a new way.’ (Gago 2020: 38)

This mobilisation sparked from frustration of the sexual violence and femicide very much present in Argentina, where it is estimated that every 32 hours one woman is killed (Ni Una Menos 2017; Diaz 2021). It brought previous assemblages for gender equality back into light, giving renewed space for the National Women's Gatherings, the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion, movements of sexual dissidences, the unemployed movement, and more.

2.2. The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina

As mentioned, Latin America is home to some of the most restrictive laws on abortion, and Argentina was not an exception. Before changing the law, it was defined as a crime in the penal code, with exception for cases of rape and danger to life or health of the mother (Sutton 2021: 26;). Many would have clandestine abortions, the poorest and most vulnerable often putting their lives at risk (Sutton-Luz Vacarezza 2021: 194).

Sutton (2020) presents that generational attitude can be a source of conflict and disagreement within feminism. This is also shaped by intersecting social statuses such as race-ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, like other angles of difference and inequality (Sutton 2020: 2). Secularisation could indeed have an impact on public opinion on topics such as abortion. The Catholic church is depicted suffering a decrease in numbers in Latin America, albeit an increase is seen in the conservative branch of Protestantism referred to as Evangelicals (Bell et al. 2014; interview 13). Desposato and Norrander (2008) provide examples of women's political participation in relation to religion, attesting that religiosity has both positive and negative effects of political participation amongst women. Whilst opportunities and activities outside the home are provided for women, another side of religiosity reinforces traditional gender roles (Desposato-Norrander 2008: 150). The abortion rights movement, Ruibal and Fernandez Anderson (2018) hold has been present since before the democratisation of Argentina in 1983 (Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 698-699). The Argentinian Congress began debating a bill proposing the legalization of abortion on demand for the first time in the country's history in April 2018 (Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 709). The bill passed in the Lower Chamber, but ultimately failed to be approved by the Senate.

The National Women's Gathering is where you start to think, to raise, to discuss and in the meeting in 2005 is where the national fight for the right to legal, safe, and free abortion was

armed (interview 8). What it encompasses is the right to abortion and sexual and reproductive rights, but in a very plural movement - a sort of national feminism. The National Campaign for the right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion was then founded, and reached a momentum in 2018 as the Green Wave was emerging. The combination of frustration towards the state and a wave of questioning former norms could, in this sense, be interpreted as prerequisites for the movement. The abortion rights movement showed strength in the legislative debate that was initiated in 2018. Ruibal and Fernandez Anderson (2018) describe that a 'political paralysis' to the issue had been present in the country, which sparked frustration and a willingness to take action against the state. Consequently, people started taking the streets in cities all over Argentina.

2.3. The Green Wave

Most of all *La Marea Verde*, or The Green Wave, is a concept that was created when all protestors united wearing green kerchiefs, creating a massive wave of green protestors on the streets of Argentina. The digital feminist media outlet from the province of La Rioja (Argentina) goes under the name of *Marea Verde*. Since its launch in 2018, it has disseminated journalistic reports, in-depth interviews, and photo reports on the problems of gender, women, and sexual dissidence, in a national and global context (Marea Verde 2022). Murillo (2022) asserts that the choice of green as the colour for the movement was a pragmatic one. As purple is the colour of feminism and the colour of *Ni Una Menos*, this would have been the more logic choice. However, in the making of kerchiefs that would be distributed by the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, they could not get a hold of enough purple friselina (cheap fabric), but they could get it in green – a colour without strong political meaning in Argentina. Providing green kerchiefs, they created a symbol of green protestors in massive numbers and became the expression of the Argentinian feminist movement for abortion rights. Therefrom, the kerchief did not only tell people that you were a feminist, because of this coincidence green became the colour of legal abortion.

The bill that was drafted by the National Campaign was finally approved by the Argentinian National Congress in December 2020, legalizing voluntary abortion through the first 14 weeks of pregnancy (Sutton 2021: 26). Murillo (2022) holds that the street was, despite in the midst of a pandemic, always very much present, and that high school students, university students, the workers, poor women had won in the end. The fight never stopped, not only for the

voluntary interruption of pregnancy to be decriminalised, but for it to be a guaranteed, free, and secure right in public health.

3. Theoretical background and conceptual framework

This thesis is embedded in the intersection of several literatures. In this section, two theoretical stances (Social movement theory & Thinking about strategy) regarding social movements as channels of influence are highlighted. The theories are then applied to the analysis as an interpretation tool for a deeper understanding of *how* and *why* the strategies are used. They will work as a lens in this exploratory thesis to chart and understand existing strategies more easily. The information given in this chapter will be correlated with insights from material and interviews to help answer the research question by giving a way of thought on social movement strategies and advantageous conditions. Thus, providing an interpretation tool for analysis, the theoretical background and concepts will finally conceptualise the insights of this particular case and its repertoire of contention.

Della Porta and Diani (2020) hold that social movements' impacts are difficult to identify. They argue that social movements are not solely accountable for particular outcomes, which is taken into account for this research (della Porta-Diani 2020: 688-689). Several conditions can be observed in the process of social movements, such as the existence of political opportunity structure and the availability of political allies. Yet, to prove a causal relationship between conditions and result is difficult, as there is no telling whether the policy would have been changed without the push from the movement. Acknowledging that there are many perspectives on social movements, the theoretical background chosen for this thesis are Social movement theory by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) and a conceptualisation of Thinking about strategy by Meyer and Staggenborg (2012) connected to Sutton's (2021) deliberations on the body's importance to the narrative and making of strategies in Argentina.

The perspectives of social movements and strategizing (presented in 3.1. and 3.2.) are not necessarily opponents of thought, but rather used to structure two different analytical methods to easier apply to the empirical findings. These perspectives enhance that movements may derive from societal and political opportunities, yet their own actions can shape their success or failure. It should further be highlighted that social movements are investigated in many perspectives and met with numerous conceptualisations. Therefore, one should take into

account for further reading, that more conceptualisations about social movements can be made, however this would be beyond the scope of this thesis. What makes these assumptions suitable for this research is their general applicability, however acknowledging that no social movement is the same as another. Therefore, no categorisation is perfect.

3.1. Social movement theory

Social movement theories derive from the social constructivist school of thought which, in contrast to both realism and liberalism, emphasise the role of ideas, norms, and values in global politics, holding that international relations and the current system are ‘social constructions’ (Fierke 2013: 187–190). These systems are further said to be constructed through shared understandings and norms that are time and context specific. Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) therefore hold that to understand political behaviour and effects it is essential to look at the constitution of society (Finnemore-Sikkink 2001: 394). For example, understanding the social constitution of a society’s bureaucracy or human rights can allow us to comprehend their political effects.

Fierke (2013) explains that organisations, institutions, states, and transnational actors (TNAs) all contribute to produce and reproduce understandings. Thus, changes in mutual constructions will also lead to changes in behaviour and the constructed ‘reality’. Additionally, the concept ‘logic of appropriateness’ is linked to this, which guides behaviour. According to this view, political actors seek legitimacy by behaving according to what is seen as ‘good’ (Fierke 2013: 187–191). Constructivism thus sees the potential of social movements as actors to change these current norms and values. Social movements can hence be perceived as successful in exposing the flaws and promises of society, by disputing the current norm. Using social constructivism in this framework provides insight in for example collective behaviour, the formation of ideas and sustaining social processes (Berger-Luckmann 1991: 144-146). As Berger and Luckmann (1991) further express, societies’ formations of institutions and symbolic values are validated by its’ inhabitants. Thus, institutional processes are strained through social processes of individuals with their concrete realities and concrete social interests.

Not unlike how social constructivism tells of the constitution of society’s explanatory power in political effects, Social movement theory aims to give clarity in what societal conditions can be necessary, likely, or expected, to be followed by a successful social movement. Social

movement theory suggests that some organisational structures can prove the success or failure of a social movements (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996: 13-15). These structures (social movements' *disruptive tactics, presence and effects of a radical flank, and goals*) can followingly be understood as conditions for a social movement, thus help to understand if they allowed for progress in terms of legalisation of abortion. Henceforth, the structures will be examined more closely.

According to the theory by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996), a structure that has gained support through fifty-four examinations by William Gamson (1990), is that movements with moments where force and violence were used in protests were generally more successful in getting demands realised compared to instances when it did not. In contrast to pluralists claims that success is better gained through respect and restraint, this theory proposes otherwise. Furthermore, the authors hold that since social movements rarely have strong political resources, such as money, votes and political influence, the structure of *disruptive tactics* may not only be perceived as a way of forcing implementation, but a necessary means of making themselves heard. Secondly, the existence of a *radical flank* to the movement is raised as a significant structure for pressure of social movements (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996: 14). The author explains that the existence of radical or 'extremist' groups indirectly promotes the support for the movement. As a respond to radicals' demands, it is argued that public and/or state support is given to the movement's more 'moderate' social movement organisations (SMOs). States are, in this view, likely to respond to movements by negotiating with movement leaders or organisations that are perceived as reliable. Hence, the presence of more 'radical' groups, or extremist groups can help legitimise the more 'moderate' SMOs. Thirdly, the authors express the stated *goals* of a movement to have a considerable impact on the reactions from counterparts – the state, counter-movement, media etcetera (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996: 15). A social movement that expresses one concrete goal is more likely to gain support (from the state, public, and media for example) than one that advocates for several goals. Although several goals can be argued to engage more people, there is a risk that several goals can be exhausted by the already thin resources, and cause disagreements withing the movement regarding which goals to prioritise upon implementation.

3.2. Thinking about strategy

Meyer and Staggenborg (2012) conceptualise strategies by fitting them into a theoretical framework. They identify three major themes in social movements strategies: (1) demands, (2) arena, and (3) tactics, which will be used in charting strategies used by the abortion rights movement in Argentina (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012: 2-3). The authors claim that strategies are interrelated between structure and agency, as movements seek to maximise their impact to achieve both political and cultural change.

Through *demands*, calling for injustices, claiming rights, arguing need for political or social change, is how movement actors appeal to society in a variety of sectors such as supporters, allies, opponents, media, and authorities (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012: 7-13). In contrast to Social movement theory, that leans on the investigation by Gramson (1990), Meyer and Staggenborg point to that modest demands may only lead to modest results, and that there is no clear evidence to make this assumption. Instead, they explain that arguing for the interconnectedness between issues could increase the 'mobilisation capacity' yet acknowledging that broadening the main issue in this manner could possibly scare off potential support. Movement actors also need *arenas* to advocate for their claims, different venues providing access to different audiences. The authors claim that the movement's position relative to their targets will decide if they choose institutional or non-institutional arenas. The specific means of implementing their strategies is through *tactics* - the form of collective action.

4. Method

Departing from the conceptual framework, the methodological considerations will follow. This explorative thesis aims to describe and evaluate the strategies used by the Argentinian abortion rights movement. When using qualitative methods, the investigator finds herself in the centre of empirics and, analysing reality, the empirical evidence is *interpreted* rather than *quantified*, Erlandsson (2015) explains (Erlandsson 2015: 471).

This case study combines information from several sources: (1) online sources, (2) scholarly articles, and (3) in-depth interviews with participants of the social movement, scholars, and NGOs. By drawing information from both primary and secondary sources and gaining first-hand insights from the movement from several perspectives, the validity of the research can be increased (Kern 2018: 166-167). Moreover, as the information may reveal convergence and divergence between the chosen materials, the understanding of variables can be strengthened. Denzin (2012) promotes the combination of methodologies in a single case study. Arguing that using a triangular approach secures an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin 2012: 81-82). It does however not secure validation as objective reality never can be captured; it is an unclear and somewhat complicated method, and its benefits are yet not definite. The combination of multiple methodologies, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in studying one phenomenon does nevertheless add breadth, richness, and depth to an inquiry. Hereafter, the methods used for collecting data in this research will be presented.

4.1. Data collection methods

The results will be processed in a qualitative approach, and to much extent be based, on the *perception* of successful strategies for social movements. One of the advantages of conducting interviews is that there is no limitation when it comes to possible answers (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 260). Asking open questions as well as asking the interviewee to elaborate his/her reasoning is a possibility that a questionnaire normally cannot provide. However, it is important when collecting data from interviews to be source critical and to follow up on the events that interviewees tell of (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 261, 266-267).

It is important to establish an ‘informed consent’ – to apprise the participants that they will be a part of a study. In addition, they are informed that participation is fully optional, and be given the choice not to answer and to stop the interview at any time. The interviews will mainly be conducted in Spanish unless English is preferred. The obvious risk here is conducting interviews when there is a language barrier. Spanish will most probably be the respondent’s mother tongue, whilst it is my third language – leading to the assumption that some information could go lost. However, the answer to this problem is, as mentioned above, that the direct contact allows me to ask questions, to repeat or rephrase. If, after an interview, there is a gap in understanding there is also the possibility of a follow-up.

The interviews were held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, from October to December 2022. The interviews are performed in a semi-structured manner, meaning that the interview is based on certain themes, whilst giving the interviewees the possibility to speak freely and form the conversation (Barriball-While 1994: 329). The selection of interviewees was based on the participants group’s involvement in the movement – that they had participated in protests and have first-hand experience from it regardless of how much, and that they are above 18 years old. This may seem as a very basic requirements for participating in interviews, however, to get full and diverse results I did not want to exclude anyone and take the risk of losing perspectives of for example persons who might had participated only in the end of the movement. As many of the demonstrators were young adults, the first step was to establish contact with students at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). They in turn put me in contact with other participants that they believed would be relevant for the investigation. This snowball effect, as well as asking for relevant interview persons, provided a group of interviewees that varied in terms of age, political affiliation, and degree of involvement in the movement (see appendix).

The scholar interviews were selected on the basis of them having worked in the field of social sciences. All scholars have researched or are affiliated with the feminist movement in Argentina and are crossing fields of political science and sociology. The organisation interviews were made with representatives of friendly organisations of the movement. What all interviewees have in common is that they all participated in the movement. To answer the question why no interviews were conducted with representatives from the opposing side of the movement, the simple answer is firstly that it would not be in the scope of the thesis, both considering time and limit of words. Secondly, as I aim to investigate the *strategies* of a *successful* movement, the more reasonable group to conduct interviews with is the one that enjoyed a successful result.

The goal with the interviews was to see if the participants have an understanding of which characteristics of the demonstrations distinguished the successful initiative from previous attempts. The study will culminate in a result of perception of how the interviewees believe that the movement forced legislative change in the question of abortion, and what strategies of the process were used. This will be conducted in a qualitative approach with the intention to obtain useful results for the Argentinian context.

4.1.1. Personal semi-structured interviews

The interviews are performed one-on-one, in a semi-structured manner, where questions are based on certain themes, whilst giving the interviewees the possibility to speak freely. Therefore, questions were sometimes asked in different order and formulations depending on the context. The method is well suited for this research as it provides opportunity of asking for more information and clarification of answers (Barriball-While 1994: 329-330). The open-ended approach gives flexibility to the method, and eases exploration of attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives. Validity and reliability do not depend on repeated uses of the same words in every interview, but in conveying the same meaning. As words may have different meanings to people and contexts, the semi-structured method facilitates to standardise interviews to finally draw conclusions.

The questions in focus for this study will underlay a groundwork of specific strategies for change in legislation. To answer the question ‘*What strategies were used by the abortion rights movement to push for changes in legislation in Argentina?*’, the interviewees will be faced with questions on the following aspects of strategies:

- a. When and why the movement had a rise in impact
- b. What strategies changed during the years (i.e. symbols, organisational structure etc.)
- c. What were the most successful or, to them, important strategies
- d. What the forces against the movement were, and how they affected the debate

4.1.2. Operationalisation

To be able to put value into whether the viewpoints of the previously mentioned theories have viability, operationalisation is done with the aim to display how the collected material will be classified in accordance with the theoretical framework. The purpose of operationalising term

definitions, is to indicate what the terms include and exclude, which facilitates for the reader to understand why the analysis and conclusion of the empirical findings are interpreted the way they are (Teorell 2016: 39). An alternative operationalisation could hence impact the shape of the study.

The definitions of structures within a social movement presented by Social movement theory, as well as strategies have been described in chapter 3. Yet, a definition of social movements that the abortion rights movement in question will adhere to is provided by Diani (1992). Holding that there are some characteristics of social movements, the author presents three categories. Social movements can be seen as a distinct social process, holding that the actors 1) have conflictual opinions towards clearly identified opponents, 2) are connected through a dense, informal network, and 3) share a collective identity (Diani 1992: 7-13). Conflictual collective action (1) presupposes an oppositional relationship. A dense informal network (2) can be summarised in terms of that the common goal is central to the movement rather than that a formal organisation can claim to represent it. Collective identity (3) is the recognition and creation of connectedness, meaning that there is a common purpose and shared commitment to the cause within the group.

4.1.3. Choice of material and source criticism

Using both primary and secondary material is done to give the study additional impact and increase reliability (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 290–291). To ensure objectivity, multiple independent sources are checked to share similar information. When retrieving information about a particular event or time in documents and interviews, I strive to use material as close in time as possible to reduce the risk of the information being used with memory errors or retrospective constructions (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 291–295). Moreover, I assess that sources that come from established organizations are well reviewed and thus reliable. When it comes to news articles and other news material, I am aware that this will always reflect the narrative the reporter and the news media want to emphasize, and therefore strive to get material as representative as possible with articles mostly from Latin American media. As the same issue is related to interview data, the information is cross-referenced with other sources.

5. Empirical findings and analysis

Below the results will be provided after consulting material from online sources, scholarly articles, and in-depth interviews with participants from the social movement (ages ranging from 19-46), scholars, and representatives of friendly NGOs. The outline for the insights will first be the themes that appeared most in the interviews. These are divided in three sectors: strategies used by the National Campaign and the Green Wave, strategies used by feminist lawyers and health professionals, and strategies used by friendly organisations. After presenting the strategies by each sector, the analysis follows, connecting the Argentinian context and empirical findings to the theoretical background, namely Social movement theory (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996) with the strategy framework (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012). The areas that will be discussed in these sections are the state-church relationship, demands, and arenas.

5.1. Strategies by the National Campaign and the Green Wave

Ruibal and Fernandez Anderson (2018) argue that different sectors acted parallelly to increase prospects, thus challenging the state in new ways. The authors add, although this research was made prior to legislation change, that these strategies prove the movement's power, making the legislative debate possible even under a restrictive and change-resistant legal framework, and the leadership of an anti-choice president (Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 708-709). The first track of strategies, as depicted by the authors, falls under the influence of the National Campaign.

The National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, that was first initiated in a Gathering, provided the green kerchiefs that would become the symbol of legal abortion in Argentina. The kerchief would prove its meaning for the organisation and be key in uniting protestors (interview 1 and 6). With it, you were not solely demonstrating your support to the abortion cause in protests, but everywhere you wore it – in school, at work, on the metro, at home. The identity of those wearing green kerchiefs was reinforced by the presence of its antipole, the light blue kerchief, the sign of the anti-choice campaign (interview 6). An alliance formed with different sexual identities, younger generations, social sectors such as rural women, farmer women, Afro-descendants, etc., and the union movement (interview 2 and 12).

This articulation of different identities played an active role in the movement. Although the claims of the movement are not new, what happened now was that the movement became more organised and more massive (interview 4). The movement mobilised an immense number of youths, more and more people wore the green kerchief to show their support for the abortion cause, and at this point you could not escape the subject (interview 1, 3, 5, 6 and 12).

There is little doubt that the green kerchief was an important element to this movement, giving the crowd of people a colour, uniting them in a great green wave. Other important strategies are making March 8 (International Women's Day), thanks to Ni Una Menos, a day of marching for women's rights (interview 8). In Buenos Aires people would gather on Plaza de Mayo, a square very politically significant in the city, being the place for the Mothers, and Tuesdays were made the mobilising day for abortion rights (interview 4 and 5).

‘what I firmly believe is that to get rights we must be on the streets. With good information from the law, good information from the health system, etc. there may be a strategy. All of this can be channelled through a very strong, articulated, collective demand on the street.’ (interview 12, own translation from Spanish)

5.2. Strategies by feminist lawyers and health professionals

The need for lawyers and health professionals to engage in the movement for abortion rights is highlighted by the many deaths of women and girls that had clandestine abortions in Argentina (FIGO 2021). As mentioned, in 2021 it was estimated that unsafe abortions account for 18 percent of deaths related to pregnancy each year, and more than 50,000 preventable hospitalisations. Professor Di Marco (interview 12) depicts that the right to abortion that was won in 2020 is not assured to not be taken away again, as we can see happening in the United States, but there is strength in a massive mobilisation to maintain this right. For Nelly Minersky, 93-year-old lawyer and abortion rights movement profile, making sure that people know about the law and continuing to enforce it is of great importance (Alcoba 2020).

In fact, feminist lawyers and health professionals created a shared set of strategies to implement and empower the legal framework so all instances of legal abortions could be performed without obstacles or delay (Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 699, 703-704; interview 10). This public health and rights network drafted, together with government agencies, guidelines for Health ministries on both national and provincial level on lawful abortions. They also organised

workshops for personnel of the judicial branch on the then current legal protection of women's rights and reproductive rights. These strategies by feminist lawyers and public health workers were used to increase access to abortion within the legal framework and work against its conservative interpretations. They also put together a network of feminist lawyers to work on reproductive rights. Ruibal and Fernandez Anderson (2018) depict that these activists established strong communication with bureaucracies and health ministry officials, health system and judicial branches, which enabled working closely with governance agencies. Feminist lawyers' participated in stirring debates in the deputy chamber, which many people followed (interview 5). As well, the right to access to health education was an essential part of the Campaign and is embedded in the three basic demands expressed on the green kerchief. These activists involvement in the movement was thus of major importance. Today, the Network of Health professionals are being trained to implement the law and ensure its durability (Contra Hegemonia 2022).

5.3. Strategies by organisations

'We won abortion, but it has a lot of years of political history, and, in turn, there are many strategies that different organizations deployed. Strategies that we employ as a campaign, let's say, at the level of all joint associations. [...] Then also in the autonomies of each network.'
(interview 8, own translation from Spanish)

Pousadela (2015) argues that strategies for women's movements were successful in the case of Uruguay's adoption of abortion reforms. The author suggests that the movements' attempt to inform and educate on the matter for decades, is what finally resulted in legal reforms (Pousadela 2015: 130). Sutton (2021) presents a similar approach regarding movements in Argentina (Sutton 2021: 38). Waldhorn (interview 13), part of RUDA (network of chairs in national public universities on comprehensive sexual education and the right to abortion) and professor in social sciences at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), asserts that many organisations helped to spread information about the importance of abortion rights in different venues, such as schools, public gatherings, speeches etc. (interview 9, 10 and 13). Organisations, such as RUDA, Socorristas en red, professors networks etc., also joined the marches and demonstrations. She explains it as that feminism took the streets, much thanks to Ni Una Menos.

Considering the historical context of the abortion rights movement in Argentina and the formation of Ni Una Menos, the impact of these led to a capacity for mobilization on the street as a movement that was more visible than before (interview 8). It is a space that brings together a lot of political steps. Strategies that have been built during this movement are still there to promote the implementation of the law through organisations such as Teachers for the Right to decide and RUDA for example, and Socorristas en Red, who continue to accompany the voluntary and legal interruptions of pregnancies in a feminist way (Contra Hegemonia 2022). Organisations have been important in this process, amongst others *La Revuelta*.

As mentioned, some point to the importance of informing the public about abortion as an important strategy of abortion right campaigns. *La Revuelta* is a part of Socorristas en Red, a network of activists in the Campaign, who accompany those who need an abortion, provide information and feminist support. In 2010 *La Revuelta* in Neuquén sets up its telephone line. They accompany abortions and in situations of violence. Putting together a network at the national level, the telephone line and accompaniments in abortions spreads to the rest of the country (interview 8). When questioned about their work, accompany agents could lean on the right to transmit and receive information, including about abortion. As well, directives of the World Health Organisation protect this work, with its definition of health (that is incorporated in health protocols in Argentina) as well as with the resolutions of human rights treaties bodies that, in Argentina, have constitutional hierarchy (Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 705).

Mamani (interview 11), representative of the abortion accompaniment organisation *La Revuelta* Gran Buenos Aires, presents that their work in accompanying abortions comes with follow-ups and generating files for each person that has had an abortion during the year. This strategy of systematizing data proved important to establish dialogues with health professionals. This data humanised the issue, not being just numbers in a survey, creating a dialogue. There had been a lot of talk about abortion as the last option, a health problem, something negative and painful. What this organisation brought to the discussion was that having an abortion does not necessarily mean choosing to live our lives in another way or choosing not to carry on a pregnancy that was non-viable. From a graphic anti-abortion campaign that brought voices that romanticised motherhood, for an adolescent or in any other person, in 2019 the organisations within Socorristas en Red launched the campaign ‘En un mundo justo las niñas no son madres’ (‘in a just world girls are not mothers’).

5.4. Overview of strategies

Above, an oversight of the strategies that can be traced to three major sectors of the movement been provided, as illustrated in table 1. It should be mentioned that these may not be definite, but with insights from the material they can be understood as conclusive, or at least of major influence, in the abortion rights movement.

Table 1: strategies for the abortion rights movement

	The National Campaign and the Green Wave	Feminist lawyers	Organisations
<i>Demands</i>	Legal reform: Legal safe and free abortion on demand during first 14 weeks of pregnancy	Implementation of law: Ensure access to non-punishable abortions	Educate, inform and provide services for women who want abortions
<i>Arenas</i>	Congress Nation	State bureaucracy and courts	Society, both local and national
<i>Tactics</i>	Making of the bill, legislative lobby Demonstrations Providing material to create community	Collaboration with state bureaucracies to draft health protocols Workshops for judges and lawyers.	Educate and inform Hotlines Abortion accompaniment Abortion provision

6. Theoretical aspects

Departing from this overview, the analysis follows connecting empirical findings to the theoretical background. Followingly, some perspectives from the Argentinian context, Social movement theory (disruptive tactics, radical flank effects, and goals), and strategies (demands made by collective actors; arenas of collective action; and tactics) will be discussed.

6.1. State-church relationship

A risk with success in social movements is that they often trigger backlash in the early stage of a movement (della Porta-Diani 2020: 690). To discern the counter movements (for example by politicians, counter groups, or religious bodies of society) is also of interest. Sutton (2021) illustrates that abortion criminalisation can be seen as state-sponsored expropriation of the bodies of women, transgender people, and gender non-conforming people, which indicates that the state is the problem. Many, however, would point to the influence of the churches.

Some protests were more violent than others, proving that disruptive tactics were at some points present in this movement. Not uncommonly, these demonstrations targeted the church, for example by surrounding the cathedral in La Plata, lighting a bonfire next to it and throwing stones, bottles and Molotov cocktails as well as trying to set the cathedral in Rosario on fire (Martínez-Bordiú 2016; Rolando 2019). This kind of protests happened in many parts in Argentina, but principally Buenos Aires (interview 3). Argentina is to some extent divided in this respect, as it is a highly religious country. Some would say that the church actively organises against women's rights and sexual diversity (Sutton 2021; Planes 2021). Religion is often mentioned when it comes to questions on which the forces against the abortion rights movement were (interview 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). In November 2020, Pope Francis advocated for women in Argentina to act and mobilise against abortion (Brockhaus 2020). In September 2021, the Pope announced that 'abortion is murder' (Vatican News, 2021). It does not speak for all Catholics, but it is important to acknowledge the influence that the churches may have. Catholicism is very strong in the country, especially as the Pope is from Argentina, but also because there is a strong relation between the church and the state. This in itself has opted for another movement that emerged with renewed strength after the legalisation of abortion, that wears orange kerchiefs, demanding the separation between church and state (Navarro 2021;

interview 3). To this movement, the issue of abortion is only one of many that can be traced to the state-church relation.

6.2. Demands

Throughout the movement, and still, some people wanted bolder demands. Some would say that just being a feminist you could be seen as radical, and amongst feminists there are many groups (interview 3 and 5). More radical groups within the movement, however, are in this case those demanding more, such as militant feminists, trans rights groups, and leftist groups, advocating for *more* (interview 5). One example is the number of weeks that should be the legal time limit for abortion (interview 13). Comparing with other countries, and since February 2022 Colombia approved partial decriminalization of abortion, allowing voluntary interruption of pregnancy up to 24 weeks, Argentina's 14 weeks do not, to more radical activists, seem enough. Waldhorn (interview 13), part of RUDA, claims that in this case they thought it more likely to pass if they demanded 14 weeks. The radical flank could, in the eyes of decision-makers, have made the moderate flank appear more agreeable than if the radical flank was not there and, in fact, have helped the moderate flank, their demands appealing more to the resistant to change legal system. The radical flank effect combined with modest demands may have helped the cause as demonstrated in Social movement theory (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald: 1996).

It should be mentioned that who is 'radical' is interpreted differently within different groups of society. One interview person that is part of the right-wing political flank (Macristas), explains that as one of the first within the party to participate in the abortion right movement, at first they were seen as radical within the party (interview 3). Later on, it was not an issue for these individuals, but it can be understood that this group, as pro-abortion within a party with many (amongst others the president) they can be seen as the 'moderate' alternative in the group of pro-abortion activists. Meanwhile, more leftist activists would be seen as 'radical'.

Some sources claim that abortion was the only objective within the movement, whilst other say that much more was embedded in the movement (interview 4). The kerchief alone has three clear demands: Sex Education for Choice, Contraception to Prevent Abortion, Legal Abortion to Prevent Death (interview 5 and 6). Yet, there were other groups within the movement that wanted to tackle more problems, like cultural appropriation, violence against women, prostitution. The abortion issue, however, was the only clearly stated, and also the most organised with explicit proposals (interview 6).

Sutton (2021) argues one of the largest factors of the success was the emphasize and use of the body as a tool. A part of the movements repertoire was accordingly the presence and importance of the body. By emphasising the right to bodily pleasure as well as self-determination, it is argued that activist efforts gained success (Sutton 2021: 26-27). Abortion criminalisation is expressed as a ‘state-sponsored expropriation of the bodies’ of women, transgender people, and gender non-conforming people. By analysing the appearance of the concept of the body in the movement, it is proved that not only is the body incorporated as an argument (‘my body, my choice’), but also as a mean of sending messages – through naked demonstrations etc., or by putting text or tattoos on the body. Sutton (2021) claims that the right to bodily integrity and self-determination can be detected in various movements in history. In the case of the abortion rights contra pro-life movements in Argentina there are narratives of both ‘my body, my choice’ versus ‘abortion is murder’ for example, but also as a mean of sending messages – through naked demonstrations, tattoos etc., or as shown in figures 1 and 2 (Sulis Kim 2018; Sutton 2021). These demonstrate some examples of the incorporation of the body in the movement, and that the abortion issue triggers both rights activist and pro-life activists to advocate through images and means of the body. Bodily autonomy permeated the Green Wave and the abortion rights movement in its fullness (interview 5). It is therefore argued that the concept of the body should be viewed as heavily important in the repertoire of contention of social movements for legalising abortion.



Figure 1 and 2: Bodily politics in movements for legalising abortion (left) and against legalising abortion (right). Source: Calvo et al. Fotos: el debate por la legalización del aborto en la Cámara de Diputados (2020). *Infobae*.

6.3. Arenas

As mentioned in previous chapter, Meyer and Staggenborg (2012) point to movement actors' need to find venues to make their claims heard. The arena will determine which audiences the movement actors will have the opportunity to reach (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012: 10-11). For instance, movement actors may choose to march in the streets or act in national, state, provincial, or municipal legislative arenas to target legislators. Both examples can be recognised in the abortion rights movement, but they reach different audiences and targets. Movement actors need arenas to advocate for their claims, different venues providing access to different audiences. The authors claim that the movement's position relative to their targets will decide if they choose institutional or non-institutional arenas.

Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires was an obvious choice of arena for protesters, with its significance in social movements in Argentina. Being a place that hosted movements since the first protest by the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in 1977, which was mentioned in a previous chapter, to this day, the square serves as a meaningful arena for direct action. Meyer and Staggenborg (2012) highlight a challenge of choosing arenas, as too much focus on one arena can lead to the neglect of others. In this case, as Plaza de Mayo gives meaning and physical space for protestors, it can be interpreted as the most beneficial place for the campaign to reach its audience. Activists also gathered in the streets for marches, meetings, and social media, amongst many other venues, to reach society in its fullness as a target (interview 5; Ruibal-Fernandez Anderson 2018: 706). This speaks in favour of the stance that the abortion issue is not only political, but as mentioned earlier societal, and in an attempt to change if not state policy, society and patriarchy. The Campaign as well used the congress as arena and towards the nation. Feminist lawyers and health professionals were found making their case in state bureaucracy and courts. This was affected by the political debate that under the leadership of former President Mauricio Macri was more combative, thus engaged many (interview 5). The big web of organisations attempted to reach out to as many as possible by being in schools, at meetings, etc.

6.4. Final reflections

The insights collected for this investigation are meant to demonstrate the immense web of strategies that were used and developed during the last 15 years of the abortion rights movement before finally having this right legalised in 2020. These results cannot prove that it would not

have happened without said strategies, nor has this been the purpose of this research. The change of colour in government could have had an impact, as the former government was more conservative, and openly oppose the decriminalisation of abortion (interview 5 and 6). Whether the legislation could have been done under the leadership of the former president is however impossible to prove. Researchers have before tried to connect likelihood of abortion legalisation to left-wing governments but found mixed results. To illustrate, Fernandez Anderson (2022) show that the presence of left-wing governments in Uruguay and Mexico City increased the probability of legalisation, while in El Salvador and Nicaragua, left-wing governments have supported the total criminalisation of the practice (146). Although, the author also finds that left-wing parties with religious identification are more likely to oppose abortion reform.

7. Conclusions

This study has investigated the strategies used in the abortion rights movement in Argentina during the years 2005-2020. The purpose has been to chart these to contribute to the repertoire of action in social movements for abortion rights, which in turn can be used in further studies in gender equality. Conducting a single case study of Argentina with exploratory elements, the thesis has charted the strategies in three different sectors of society, namely the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, feminist lawyers and health professionals, and organisations. The results are analysed with aid from a theoretical lens consisting of research in Social movement theory by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) and Thinking about strategy by Meyer and Staggenborg (2012). By conducting interviews and consulting online sources and scholarly articles, the material on the abortion rights movement's strategies has been triangulated in a qualitative approach. The results point to a convergence in said sectors, creating an alliance which acted in accordance. As these sectors had access to different audiences, their strategies and message could penetrate major parts of the country. Below, an exposition of the strategies that were used will be provided to answer the question: What strategies were used by the abortion rights movement to push for changes in legislation in Argentina?

Three major tracks of strategies were detected after consulting the empirical findings. These encompassing and coinciding themes contain some of the prerequisites that were needed to implement and create strategies, which will underlie the following paragraphs.

- Marching in the streets
- Shared identity
- Educate and inform

As mentioned, all strategies that were used have played a part in the abortion rights movement. However, there are some major structures that proved crucial in this case. After conducting in-depth interviews with participants of the movement, scholars, and representatives of friendly NGOs, it is clear that the most mentioned strategy is expressing your demands by marching the streets. This might sound obvious when talking about social movements, but it required a highly organised and articulated campaign. Firstly, to mobilise hundreds of thousands of people into

taking the streets, secondly, to maintain these numbers to consistently come back in protest, and thirdly, to keep that many people under the same roof of demands. A strong connectedness amongst people of different political affiliations, social statuses, and religions to name a few examples has been of importance. Moreover, this strategy is something that the successful Argentinian Campaign can share with other countries as the Green Wave is spreading across the region. This strategy, to be in the streets, and march for your rights, was the most mentioned in the interviews. Having hundreds of thousands of activists taking the streets, uniting in one cause showed the strength of this movement. Staying consistent and determined demonstrated that the movement would not settle until they won this right. In Buenos Aires, in addition to marching the streets, Plaza de Mayo poses an example of an arena of major importance to reach many people at once.

Connecting to the Campaign, they also managed to create unity amongst protesters by providing green kerchiefs. This has been mentioned in all participants interviews as a meaningful strategy. By making the kerchief green, it did not only concur with the feminist movement, but it became the colour of abortion rights, which could be interpreted important to make the issue specific. As the kerchief was not only worn in demonstrations, but something that was brought along everywhere as a statement, a shared identity was created. Building on this track, this identity in the colour was reinforced by Green Tuesday-marches and gathering on important locations such as Plaza de Mayo. The strategies that were employed to unite can be understood is what made the Green Wave possible.

The Campaign eased mobilisation as well as formed alliances. With contributions from many sides of society, with feminist networks and organisations, the campaign gained a wider scope and access to different audiences. The many feminist lawyers and health professional that worked in the name of the campaign for example, established connections with bureaucracies and health ministry officials, health system and judicial branches, promoting abortion reform. The right to access to health education is embedded in the three major demands by the Campaign, verifying the need for cooperation between the Campaign and Networks of doctors, professors etc. With organisations help to open doors to new arenas, information could be spread more easily. Complying strategies and expanding access to different arenas, enhanced prospects to target the state from several ends and, in the perspective of Meyer and Staggenborg (2012) proved a favourable combination.

One purpose of the interviews was to see if the participants had an understanding of which characteristics of the demonstrations distinguished the successful initiative from previous attempts. However, it has become clear that it was made possible due to consistency of strategies that have been used for decades, only this time (since 2005) the movement had a very organised Campaign to rely on, that provided material, means, and advertised and pushed protesters so that they wanted to come back every week and recruit new supporters. In this context, together with the initiative taken by Ni Una Menos to start mobilising against femicide in 2015, the abortion rights movement and Campaign was armed with renewed power. What the theoretical perspectives Social Movement Theory (McAdam-McCarthy-Zald 1996) and Thinking about Strategy (Meyer-Staggenborg 2012) demonstrate is firstly that disruptive tactics by groups targeting the church, secondly that radical groups wanting bolder demands, and thirdly that well-chosen arenas, could have contributed to putting pressure on the state and the final outcomes.

All strategies that have been mentioned in this thesis have, in one way or another, had an impact in the movement. As the results reveal, a major lesson that can be drawn from this case is that this combination of different strategies, targeting several sectors of society at once, created a powerful synergy that targeted the state from several directions. The movement's strategic targeting different arenas helped to make abortion reform a subject that you could not escape. There is little doubt, that the most formative strategies used in the years 2005-2020 had to do with the Campaign's effort to give the movement a colour, identity, unity. By providing green kerchiefs, deciding to make Tuesdays green and dedicated to protests, for example, the Campaign made mobilisation easy for activists to follow and join.

8. Further studies

Despite the study's theoretical positions, its application does not leave enough room to fully explain *why* the strategies look the way they do, but rather giving a perspective on *what* the strategies are and which societal structures that have been beneficial. Future research on social movements can thus benefit from further explaining *why* these strategies have been used or why they are beneficial and in which cases, which could possibly lead to other conclusions. Furthermore, the theoretical positions of this thesis can be the basis for future investigations that aim to investigate the effectiveness of the strategies.

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Appendix: List of interviews conducted

- Interview 1** Ernestina Ingravallo. Participant of social movement, 19 years old, university student. Buenos Aires, November 10, 2022.
- Interview 2** NN. Participant of social movement, xx years old, university student, former employee in Chamber of Deputies (2020) and Peronist political activist. Buenos Aires, November 18, 2022.
- Interview 3** Florencia Maya. Participant of social movement, 33 years old, public official at the Government of the City of Buenos Aires. Buenos Aires, November 28, 2022.
- Interview 4** NN. Participant of social movement, 46 years old, anthropologist and researcher, Collective of Feminist Anthropologists and the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion. Buenos Aires, November 29, 2022.
- Interview 5** NN. Participant of social movement, 30 years old, social communicator at media outlet with gender perspectives. Buenos Aires, November 29, 2022.
- Interview 6** Miranda Garcia. Participant of social movement, 22 years old, university student. Buenos Aires, December 1, 2022.
- Interview 7** Oriana Seccia. Post-doctoral fellow at CONICET, at the Gino Germani Research Institute, and professor at UBA in Sociology, in the Faculty of Social Sciences and in the UBA XXII program, and in Introduction to scientific thought (CBC). Buenos Aires, December 5, 2022.
- Interview 8** Virginia Rodriguez. La Revuelta Gran Buenos Aires, collective that accompanies people who need and want an abortion, part of Socorristas en Red (SenRed). Buenos Aires, December 9, 2022.
- Interview 9** Eliana Ivanoff. From organisation La Revuelta Gran Buenos Aires, collective that accompanies people who need and want an abortion, part of Socorristas en Red (SenRed). Buenos Aires, December 9, 2022.
- Interview 10** Belen Campomar. La Revuelta Gran Buenos Aires, collective that accompanies people who need and want an abortion, part of Socorristas en Red (SenRed). Buenos Aires, December 9, 2022.

- Interview 11** Nadia Mamani. La Revuelta Gran Buenos Aires, collective that accompanies people who need and want an abortion, part of Socorristas en Red (SenRed). Buenos Aires, December 9, 2022.
- Interview 12** Graciela Di Marco. Professor, PhD in Social Sciences and director at *Centro de Estudios sobre Democratización y Derechos Humano*, CEDEHU and *Escuela de Humanidades*, at National University of San Martín. Buenos Aires, December 13, 2022.
- Interview 13** Yanina Waldhorn. La Red de cátedras en Universidades públicas nacionales sobre educación sexual integral y Derecho al Aborto (RUDA). Buenos Aires, December 16, 2022.

Transcriptions of interviews are provided upon request.
