A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: COALITIONS OF THE LGBTQ+ AND ABORTION RIGHTS MOVEMENT’S IN ARGENTINA

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By

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ABSTRACT

My thesis looks at the factors which cause a social movement to achieve policy outcomes faster than others. My research shows how the internal dynamics of social movement coalitions influence the achievement of a movement’s policy outcomes. I look at how the growth phase of a social movement allows us to examine the internal dynamics which contribute to a movement’s fast achievement of a policy goal. To center my argument I focus on the internal dynamics of ideologically convergent coalitions (ICC) and ideologically fragmented coalitions (IFC). I claim that the internal dynamics of a social movement are most visible during a coalition’s growth phase — the first five-years after a network of social movement organizations is established — which shows us if a movement has ICC or IFC. If a movement has ICC it is more likely to achieve a policy goal; whereas, a movement with IFC is less-likely to achieve a policy goal because it is in a frozen state in need of reunification. To explain my argument I use a case comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina from 2005 to 2020. My research shows that the LGBTQ+ movement is an ICC and the Abortion Rights movement is an IFC. My research finds that the internal dynamics of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions defined each movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. The LGBTQ+ movement is used an example of an ICC with focus on the movement’s direct legalization of same-sex-marriage and ability to achieve a policy goal. In comparison to the Abortion Rights movement, that is an example of an IFC, with focus on the movement’s continued attempts to legalize/decriminalize abortion pushing it into a frozen state in need of reunification. I find that the Abortion Rights movement’s continued attempts to legalize/decriminalize abortion — over the last 15 years — is an example of an IFC that was able to progress out of a frozen state and achieve reunification.
Acknowledgments

Thank you to everyone who helped me sift through my thoughts to make them whole. I would especially like to thank my advisor, Chantal Berman PhD., for all of the guidance and support. Without it, I’m pretty sure none of this would have made sense. Thank you to my readers Fr. Matthew Carnes and Prof. Ricardo Ortiz.

Thank you to the activists speaking out in the streets.
¡Que sea ley!
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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Social Movement Theory Background and Context

What factors cause movements to achieve policy outcomes faster than others? Literature exploring social movement theory is primarily focused on identifying the external factors which drive a movement’s success. Theorists rely on addressing the external influences (e.g., public perception of violent and nonviolent tactics) which alter a movement’s outcome and boost its ultimate success. My thesis shifts social movement theory to address the internal factors which create opportunities for a movement’s directed success. What if the focus was placed on the internal dynamics of a movement organization rather than the external influence of its environment?

I look at how the growth phase of a social movement allows us to examine the internal dynamics which contribute to a movement’s directed achievement of a policy goal. To center my argument I focus on the internal dynamics of ideologically convergent coalitions (ICC) and ideologically fragmented coalitions (IFC). I argue that during the initial growth phase of a movement — the first five-years following the establishment of a coalition — ICC drives a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal and IFC pushes a movement into a frozen state. To center my argument, I focus on how certain internal dynamics of ICCs fostering a movement’s success and IFCs hindering a movement’s progress. Unable to make progress, I claim a movement then falls into a frozen state where it needs reunification to regain traction and make substantial advancements.
With a case comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina, I use qualitative data to analyze the internal dynamics of movement coalitions and their effects on each movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. I follow the first five-year period of the LGBTQ+ (2006) and Abortion Rights (2005) movement’s after the establishment of their coalition’s. To which the LGBTQ+ movement was able to legalize same-sex-marriage and the Abortion Rights movement was unable to make substantial policy advances. After the initial comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s, I focus on a more in-depth analysis of the Abortion Rights movement from 2011 to 2020. This analysis addresses the Abortion Rights movement’s prolonged attempt to legalize/decriminalize abortion from 2005 to present day 2020. I use the LGBTQ+ movement to represent an ICC — based on its’ legalization of same-sex-marriage — and the Abortion Rights movement as an IFC — based on its’ continued attempts to legalize/decriminalize abortion.

1.2 Literature Review

Social movement theorists have created a wide variety of formulas believed to be indicative of a movement’s success. The question of what allows a movement to achieve social change is hotly contested in modern debates. In this section I will discuss some of the leading arguments within social movement theory to provide relevant context in support of my argument. The literature review will allow for a more in-depth understanding of how my argument builds off of preexisting theory.

Many theorists emphasize the importance of external factors that contribute to a movement’s growth and ultimate success. Erica S. Simmons’ (2018) argument holds that, a
movement is more inclined to achieve success when it targets public/government perceptions of a movement’s claims to gain external support. Simmons argues the visibility of a movement’s symbolic value quickly motivates political change, whereas, lack of visibility contributes to a movement’s growth. In other respects, success is deemed by Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson (2016) as the power of an idiocentric movement’s — the United States Tea Party — ability to strong-arm external support for legislative change. Skocpol and Williamson argue, “Grassroots activism, media hype, and the interventions of national advocacy groups channeling funds and endorsements” can be leveraged by smaller movements to gain success. The crux of success, for Simmons and Skocpol and Williamson, is heavily dependent on leveraging external support in pursuit of a movement’s desired political gains.

Other theorists have been focused on tactics. Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan (2011) quantify a movement’s success by both size and use of nonviolent tactics to achieve regime change. In the absence of contextual evidence, the Chenoweth and Stephan global dataset found a nonviolent movement is more successful than a movement using violent tactics. The dependence of a nonviolent movement to succeed assumes a movement’s progress is based on public perception (e.g. no one will want to participate if a movement uses violent tactics). Moreover, Wendy Pearlman (2011) applies an ethnographic approach to tactics — collecting data from Palestinian activists — to find that violent tactics are more commonly adopted by fragmented movement’s. Pearlman defines fragmentation as an inhibiting factor to a movement’s


success, provided it sustains the disorganization of a movement’s internal structures. Both arguments base success on the use of violent or nonviolent tactics that are driven by a movement’s external factors.

Finally, some scholars have studied a movement’s internal organization. Laurel Weldon examines the dynamics of intersectional subgroup mobilization — of the Women’s Rights movement in the United States — as a seminal contributor to a movement’s success. Weldon claims the collaborative efforts of identity-based sub-groups can strengthen a movement’s internal structure. Weldon’s theory suggests a positive correlation between fragmentation and movement success. While the focus is on the internal structures of a movement, Weldon sustains the idea that fragmentation has a positive effect. Conversely, Bell Hooks — a leading voice on the theory of fragmentation — believed fragmentation of the Women’s movement would hinder its’ success unless able to address external structures that influence internal behaviors. Hooks looks at the root causes of internal behaviors that stem from external factors, specifically focused on dynamics between women. Building off of Hooks’ theory, it is possible to visualize how the study of internal behaviors could provide more understanding of how a movement’s internal structures influence success.

In summation, these theories target the external contributors to a movement's success and do not account for all the ways internal movement dynamics can influence successful outcomes. In order to provide a more contextual analysis, for what drives a movement’s successful

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outcome, I shift the discussion to internal movement dynamics. In the following section, I introduce my theory focused on ideological convergence or divergence between organizations in a movement’s coalition.

1.3 Theory and Argument

Figure 1. Ideologically Convergent Coalition vs Ideologically Fragmented Coalition

In this section I will introduce the theories that make up my argument, using a visual and written explanation. My argument aims to answer the question of, *what factors cause some movements to achieve policy outcomes faster than others?* To do this I look at how the internal dynamics of social movement coalitions affect a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal during its growth phase. The sequence of my argument is represented in a flow chart which can be found in figure (1). Prior to explaining the sequence, I will define the relevance of social movement organizations and coalitions to the study of movement outcomes.

Social movement organizations and coalitions are two key internal structures of a movement that allow it to sustain collective mobilization. Social movement organizations allow
people working towards a common issue to come together and shape strategies that mobilize support in favor of their cause. Pulling from the works of McCarthy and Zald, I use their definition of social movement organizations (SMO), which is, “a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals.” Social movements often work together in coalitions. I define “coalition” as a formally established network of social movement organizations working on an overarching agenda in support of a social movement (e.g. a network of feminist organizations working as a coalition under the Women’s Rights Movement). I argue that the internal dynamics between the SMOs of a coalition are most prominently displayed during a movement’s growth phase, which I understand roughly as the first five years of a movements progress after a coalition is formed. During the growth phase, new SMOs are founded to support the movement, and these SMOs begin the process of working together under the auspices of the coalition to advance movement goals.

I argue that there are two different types of coalitions that can shape a movement’s ability to achieve its’ policy goals. Specifically, I differentiate between an ideologically convergent coalition and an ideologically fragmented coalition. An ideologically convergent coalition (ICC) is a coalition working in alliance based on a common set of values, beliefs, and ideological orientations. Alternatively, an ideologically fragmented coalition (IFC) is a coalition working in alliance towards a movement goal, but with overtly conflicting values, beliefs, and ideological orientations. For instance, an IFC could have religious and secular SMOs working towards a

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collective goal in a given social movement. By examining the internal dynamics of an ICC and an IFC, we can better determine the contributing factors that increase a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal.

To begin I claim that an ideologically convergent coalition increases a movement’s ability to more rapidly achieve a policy goal. I understand policy change as an important change in national legislation that advances a movement’s agenda. The commonality of values, beliefs, and ideological orientations of an ICC allows a movement to more effectively coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome small setbacks. The increased coordination of an ICC helps SMOs to collectively execute mobilization strategies, such as, lobbying, grassroots demonstrations, or protests. The increased coordination then helps an ICC to overcome small setbacks (e.g. 3 strategic differences within the coalition, or protests scheduled at conflicting times) without limiting its progress to achieve a policy goal.

An ideologically fragmented coalition decreases a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal by pushing the movement into a frozen state. I define frozen as a static period of time that is neither advancing or impeding the progress of a movement’s policy goal. This is because the overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations of an IFC decrease a movement’s ability to effectively coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome small setbacks. For example, if organizations within an IFC have conflicting preferences over where to hold a demonstration, it can exacerbate strategic and political differences between SMOs and increase internal conflicts. The internal conflicts then make it more difficult for an IFC to reach an agreement on how to improve future demonstrations, causing the setback of strategic preference to impede future coordination.
It is important to note that an IFC does not make it impossible for a movement to achieve a policy goal. Instead, an IFC makes it more difficult for a movement to come out of a frozen state. In order for a movement to move pass being frozen it needs to achieve reunification. I define reunification as a significant shift in a fragmented coalition’s ability to coordinate strategy around a common goal. For example, the experience of a new collective issue (e.g. global pandemic) can help to mitigate the negative effects of overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations of an IFC. The process of shifting from a frozen state to reunification is difficult, but may help a coalition to achieve policy change in the long run. This indicates that while having an IFC can limit the rate of progress for a movement in the short term, it does not mean it is doomed to fail in the long term.

1.4 Materials and Methods

In this section I will discuss the methods used for the comparative analysis of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s. First I will provide a broad overview of the historical background for both cases to explain how the movement’s founded their coalitions. Then I will describe the methodological process of the case comparison by framing the movement’s in the context of my argument. Next I supply the reasoning behind the case selection; to which, I outline the qualitative data used to conduct the case comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina. The purpose of this section is to provide a comprehensive explanation of the materials and methods selected to support this thesis.
**Case Selection**

Conducting a case comparison of movement’s experiencing ICC and IFC will provide for a more contextual illustration of how my argument applies to real world coalitions. To conduct this comparison I have selected the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina. I will use the LGBTQ+ as an example of an ICC and the Abortion Rights as an example of IFC. The analysis of the LGBTQ+ movement will show how ICC increases a movements ability to achieve a policy goal exemplified in the movement’s legalization of same-sex-marriage.

The analysis of the Abortion Rights movement will be used as an example of an IFC because the movement has been in a frozen state — exemplified by its’ continued attempts to legalize/decriminalize abortion. The Abortion Rights movement will outline how reunification of an IFC can increase a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. I claim that the four year period it took the LGBTQ+ movement to legalize same-sex-marriage, demonstrates the movement’s ability to effectively coordinate mobilization strategies and avoid small set-backs, to achieve a policy goal. The movement was able to achieve its’ policy goal before its’ growth phase has ended. Alternatively, the Abortion Rights movement has attempted to legalize/decriminalize abortion over the past 15 years indicating it is in a frozen state.\(^7\) I argue that the frozen state of the Abortion Rights movement has prevented it from achieving its policy goal — until it achieved reunification in with the #NiUnaMenos movement.\(^8\) Tracing the internal dynamics of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement coalitions will help to indicate how ICC and IFC are affecting the movements abilities to achieve policy goals.

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My selection of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s, was based off the movement’s joint opposition groups (e.g., patriarchy and conservative religious counter-movements). The movement’s historically build off of one another, as the “collective identity” of participants often crosses between movement lines. For example, Lesbian and Feminist participants are often aligned with both the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s. The ally-ship of the movement’s have demonstrated a strong connectivity between the movement’s core participants. Based on the movement’s shared situational context the comparison helps to mitigate situational external influences on the internal dynamics of a movement’s coalition (e.g., cultural norms and a country’s historical context). The movements both have policy goals which build off of preexisting laws. The LGBTQ+ movement was able to achieve the legalization of civil-unions prior to the formation of its’ coalition in 2002 with the (civil-marriage-law). The similarities of the movements has allowed for a more in-depth analysis of theory by containing dissimilar external contributors to the movement’s internal functions.

**Historical Background of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights Movement’s Argentina**

The LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights Movement’s, are rooted in a solidarity that stems from a common oppressor of heteronormative patriarchal standards. The movement’s themselves are

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known to play off of one another because of their interconnected fight against patriarchal heteronormativity.\textsuperscript{12} Much like the fight to legalize same-sex-marriage, the abortion rights movement is a subsection of the larger fight for Women's rights, both attempting to dismantle patriarchal oppression.\textsuperscript{13} An important factor to consider when exploring the mobilization of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights Movement is the interconnectedness of the movement's. Initiating out of a unified oppression these movements have been inherently connected from the start.\textsuperscript{14} Thus, exemplifying the unique similarities within the movement functions we can better understand why certain strategies of mobilization were more successful than others.

In Argentina movements fighting for gender, sexuality and reproductive rights have a long history with religious and patriarchal opposition groups. The historical roots of toxic masculinity in Argentina are often explained to have stemmed from the long standing military presence and Catholic Church that has sustained a “quasi-political institution”.\textsuperscript{15} After the countries transition into a modern democracy, following the fall of the 1983 Dictatorship mobilization became a key tool for human rights advocacy in Argentina.\textsuperscript{16} Mobilizing societal support in the form of legalization and reforms has been an integral strategy of social movement in Argentina.\textsuperscript{17} Advocating for equal rights through legal strategies allows social movements to


\textsuperscript{13} Ibid. 147.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. 241.


\textsuperscript{16} Foster, David William. II.

unify societal support under the framework of a single unified goal. The application of legal strategies outlines a tangible objective that can be used to garner support across various sectors of society. Brenda Pereyra outlines the application of these strategies as being both direct and indirect forms of mobilization in Argentina. The former, is expressed as forms of “lobbying” and legal action that directly address the limitations of discriminatory legislation. To legitimize and enhance the progress of a movement’s agenda, the integration of activists in governing bodies has marked monumental shifts in progress for movements advocating for gender, sexual and reproductive rights. With the incorporation of the leaders of social movement’s into governing parties the adoption of legal strategies has been an important strategic tool in Argentina. Pereyra outlines the latter as strategic choices of indirect action in the form of “protests, demonstrations, complaints and investigations”. Pereyra describes the use of indirect action as a mobilizing tool to amplify public support of an issue by enhancing visibility of the cause. As a result, the visibility will put pressure on the government

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18 Pereyra, Brenda, Pablo Vommaro, and Martín Armelino.
19 Ibid.
20 Pereyra, Brenda, Pablo Vommaro, and Martín Armelino.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Pereyra, Brenda, Pablo Vommaro, and Martín Armelino.
25 Pereyra, Brenda, Pablo Vommaro, and Martín Armelino.
26 Ibid.
to address the voiced needs of social movement’s. These iterations of direct and indirect action have prominently supplemented the strategic choices of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights Movement in Argentina.

The LGBTQ+ movement achieved their goal of legalizing same-sex-marriage while the Abortion Rights movement has yet to realize their goal of legalizing abortion. Both movement’s have experienced defining moments during their respective growth phases. These movements remain uniquely similar in some regards, both experiencing resistance from the government and religious groups within the country. An established network of SMOs within the LGBTQ+ movement began forming a coalition for the movement known as the FALGBT in 2006. Thus, marking a turning point that indicated the movement’s collective strength to sustain solidarity within every faction of the LGBTQ+ movement. On the other hand there are the overtly conflicting internal dynamics of the within the Abortion Rights movement of socio-economic and political beliefs. The conflicting internal dynamics have created potential barriers for SMO to coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome small set backs to achieve a policy goal. The Abortion Rights Movement’s overtly conflicting ideological beliefs of “how abortion should be legalized,” highlights internal tensions between SMO of the National Campaign. By reconstructing the timelines of these movement’s I will be able to outline the influence of internal dynamics on the movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal.

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Timeline A: LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights From 2005 to 2010

The LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movements from 2005 to 2010 will be recreated using Timeline A. The timeline will compare a select the leading organizations of each coalition and the movement’s first attempts to achieve a policy goal. The LGBTQ+ movement coalition (Federación Argentina LGBT) was founded in 2006; and, the Abortion Rights movement coalition (National Campaign for Legal, Safe, and Free Abortions) was founded in 2005. Following the creation of the movement’s coalitions, this timeline will trace the evolution of the LGBTQ+ movement in the four years leading up to the legalization of same-sex-marriage. While the FALGBT was not founded until 2006, the year prior is an important aspect of its development and planning. During this period, we will see how the Abortion Rights movement was unable to make substantial progress in the same way as the LGBTQ+ movement. This timeline will serve as the basis for why these movement’s follow demonstrate movements with an ICC and IFC, exemplified by the internal dynamics of the movements coalitions. Noting the time it has take the Abortion Rights movement to legalize/decriminalize abortion in Argentina, I will use Timeline B to compare the movements progress from 2011 to 2020.

Timeline B: Abortion Rights Movement From 2011 to 2020

Since the Abortion Rights movement founded its coalition (National Campaign for Legal, Safe, and Free Abortions) in 2005, it has continuously attempted to legalize/decriminalize abortion in Argentina. Over a period of 15 years the National Campaign has submitted nine bills to the
Chamber of Deputies in hopes it will arrive to the Congressional floor. The National Campaign has submitted a bill every two years since it was established. The attempts to submit the bill show how the National Campaign has struggled to sustain coordinated efforts, to effectively organize in pursuit of its goal to legalize/criminalize abortion. The movement has shown indications of having an IFC because of conflicting internal dynamics preventing the Campaigns bills from evolving pass the Chamber of Deputies. In 2015 the movement experienced reunification with the #NiUnaMenos movement, creating a shift in the Campaigns ability to effectively coordinate mobilization strategies. This timeline will be used to address this shift in coordination which indicates the movement’s increased potential, to legalize abortion and transition out of a frozen cycle of ideological fragmentation.

Building Qualitative Evidence for a Case Comparison

Starting within a similar timeframe the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina began to grow in seemingly opposite directions. I use qualitative evidence from timeline reconstructions — interview clippings, social media platforms, news coverage and academic sources — to construct a comparative case study. With the qualitative data from the reconstructed timelines, I will outline key organizations which were present during the establishment of the movement coalitions. The focus on founding organizations for the


30 Anderson, Cora Fernández.

movement’s will provide for a better analysis of the long-term patterns of each movement. With
the mission statements from key organizations of each coalition, I will construct a general
analysis of the effects of internal dynamics on a movement’s policy outcomes. In conjunction to
the progress gained by each coalition, I will reference written reviews, tweets, and news articles
to outline the internal dynamics of each movement. These references will be used to understand
strategic similarities and differences between organizations and how this might have affected the
movement’s abilities to achieve a policy goal. Building qualitative data based on primary sources
helps to identify strategic and ideological differences explicitly expressed by the organizations
within the movement coalitions. I center the attention of my analysis on the internal dynamics of
each coalition, to examine how and why the movement’s experienced ICC or IFC.

Reviews from each organization accents the internal dynamics between SMO in the
LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions. I use reviews and social media from different
organizations recounting events from the same movement. The comparison of reviews from one
event isolates patterns of ICC and IFC by using first hand accounts across a single event. To
address potential bias within the event timelines of the reviews, I will look at national and local
news sources to create a general picture of the movement events. Provided the constraints of a
single person research team I was only able to follow a limited number of organizations for each
coalition in order to effectively understand their group dynamics. The limited number of
examples certainly increases the likelihood of selection bias.

To avoid partial data I attempted to select organizations that represent prominent groups
of each coalition. This selection process helped to mitigate overt bias to the best of my abilities
but is by no means a definitive analysis of the movement’s. It is my suggestion that in order to
conduct a definitive analysis on this topic it would be necessary to investigate each organization within both the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions. However, previous studies focusing on the Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina, conducted by Barbara Sutton and Mabel Bellucci, selected less than 10 organizations to perform their investigations. Being two of the most prominent voices of abortion rights literature in Argentina, this suggests that the expansive coalition of over 300+ organizations is commonly investigated by a small sample size.\textsuperscript{32}

To assure that the organization I was choose were relevant not to this study but to the movement, I cross referenced the organizations selected to those of the Sutton and Bellucci studies. Additionally, I took note of prominent organizations that have developed over the years in Argentina since the Abortion Rights movement began picking up speed in 2015. To create a more cohesive comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions, I attempted to focus on the founding organizations of both movement’s.

Prior to this investigation, I was able to spend time in Argentina in 2014 for a period of five months, researching social movements and human rights, and conducting interviews with Abortion Rights organizations for one month. From my own experience at the protests, demonstrations, and national workshops, I was able to get a first hand account of prominent organizations in the Abortion Rights movement. Provided this experience, I applied and compared my experience on the ground, to the works of prominent researchers in the field. It is my belief, that participating in the “Strategies to Legalize Abortion” workshop of the 2014 Womens Encounter in Argentina; and, having conducted interviews with local organizations I was able to mitigate selection bias of organizations that fit my analysis based off of preexisting

\textsuperscript{32} Sutton, Barbara.
literature. In addition, I had the support of local advisors and specialists to help identify organizations that were active in the National Campaign in 2014.

Choosing active organizations was a decision I felt helped to focus the argument on influential differences of the SMO of the National Campaign. Furthermore, in addition to previous attempts to avoid selection bias connected to previous work on the topic, I only use one organization from my previous studies — because of its prominence as a founding member of the National Campaign coalition. Throughout the course of this study I will do my best to address any additional possibilities of selection bias of data collection limitations due to the restrictions of lockdown during covid-19. While the effects of covid-19 are not at the core of my argument, the timeframe of my analysis corresponds to the onset of the 2020 global pandemic.

Summary Overview

In chapter 2, I will begin by comparing the evolution of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movements from 2002 to 2010, marking the LGBGTQ+ movements legalization of same-sex-marriage. In chapter 3, I continue the investigation of the Abortion Rights movements and follow the movements prolonged struggle to legalize/decriminalize abortion from 2011 to 2020. In chapter 4, I will conclude my thesis and analyze the movements as they relate to my argument of ICC and IFC, while addressing alternative explanations to my argument.
Chapter Two: LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights

2.1 Reconstructing the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights Movement’s

In the previous chapter I went over my argument based on social movement theory and how the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s represent ICC and IFC. In this chapter, I look at the growth phase of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s, following the establishment of the coalitions from 2002 to 2010. I provide a reconstructed timeline of the movement’s events to help represent the progress of each movement during the growth phase [see figure 1]. Sub-section 2.2 and 2.3, describe the founding of each movement’s coalition; followed by summaries of the leading SMO that are most active in the coalitions; and ending with an analysis of the strategies used to help the movement’s coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome small setbacks.

In sub-section 2.2 I follow the LGBTQ+ movement’s creation of the Federación Argentina de Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales y Trans (FALGBT) coalition and provide brief descriptions of the founding SMO. Next, I describe how internal dynamics of the coalition influenced the strategic coordination and movement’s ability to overcome small set-backs in pursuit of legalizing same-sex-marriage. In sub-section 2.3 I follow the creation of the Abortion Rights movement’s coalition the National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortions (National Campaign). The National Campaign was established by a group of individual activists and over 300 organizations. For this reason, I will examine a select group of leading organizations which were active during the establishment of the coalition and maintain
leadership today. After providing descriptions for the organizations I address the internal conflicts which caused the movement to fall into a frozen state in need of reunification.

This section will highlight the internal dynamics of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal, based on the differing levels of commonality in the coalitions values, beliefs and ideological orientations. Please note the timeline in the table is extended to show dates referenced in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>LGBTQ+</th>
<th>ABORTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>• December 13, 2002 Buenos Aires Legalizes same-sex civil unions</td>
<td>• Encuentro Nacional de Mujere, Rosario, hold first workshop on “Strategies of Abortion Rights”. Initiating the evolution of the National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortion in Argentina.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conference held at University of Buenos Aires to discuss the development of the National Campaign</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>• June Legalizes same-sex-marriage</td>
<td>• HRW recommendations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• September A meeting of five prominent LGBT organizations is held. This leads to the eventual formation of the FALGBT</td>
<td>May</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• December Bill is submitted to senate by CHA and Senator Diana Conti [Pierceson 2012]</td>
<td>• National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion is formed on the National Day for Women’s Health May 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• The ”Atriculation” 70 organizations come together to form the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion. Including MST, Catholics for the Right to Choose.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Green handkerchief becomes symbol of the national movement</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>• June</td>
<td>• Comprehensive Sexual Education Law</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• LGBT 10th Annual Encuentro [Pierceson 2012]</td>
<td>National Campaign drafts the IVE Bill for the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Federación Argentina LGBT is created [organizing Asociación de Travestis, Transexuales y Transgéneros de Argentina, La Fulana, Nexos Asociación Civil, Fundación Buenos Aires SIDA and VOX Asociación Civil]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• National movement is formed -- go on to create a coalition of 40+ LGBT organizations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• September Constitution of the Argentine Federation of LGBT</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• December FALGBT first attempt to reform Argentina Civil Code - advocating for same-sex-marriage (“parliamentary initiative” w/ National Deputy)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• FALGBT starts working with politicians and media to promote marriage equality for all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>• August</td>
<td>• National Health Ministry releases health guidelines for legal abortions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Argentina decriminalizes Homosexuality in the military. (Approves law No. 26.394)</td>
<td>• Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy bill by National Campaign submitted to congress for first time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Human Trafficking Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>• April: Freye and Di Bello first attempt to apply for a marriage license.</td>
<td>• December 3: mother (A.F) reports daughters (A.G) rape by husband to authorities in Chubut, Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Law No. 26.394 goes into effect</td>
<td>• National Campaign submits bill for second time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• September 1, 2009 LGBT Chamber of Commerce established in Argentina (1st in LA).</td>
<td>• Gender Violence Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• November Court rules against law prohibiting same-sex-marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• November 18, Alex Freyre and José María Di Bello become the first same-sex-marriage couple to legally be married in Ushuaia.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Point of contention in country protests, national TV debates, etc...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>• April</td>
<td>January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• April 9, first lesbian marriage in Latin America Norma Castillo and Ramona Arécalo in BA.</td>
<td>• January 14: “A.F. requests authorization of an abortion for her daughter (A.G) who is pregnant at 11 weeks as a result of being raped by her father, using Article 86 of the Criminal Code. Request denied.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>March</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• March 8: “Superior Court of the Province of Chubut approves abortion for A.G. claiming it is within the rights of the Criminal Code and overturns previous decision.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• March 11: AG authorized for legal and safe abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• HRW recommendations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Timeline Overview

Following the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s there is a clear pattern of ICC and IFC after the creation of a movement’s coalition. There is a clear distinction between the growth phases of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s. The distinction is visible in the development of the movement’s policy goals over a period of 5 years — where the LGBTQ+ movement achieved its’ policy goal in 4 and the Abortion Rights movement fell into a frozen state.33

In this section we will follow the creation of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions, outlining their collective unity by comparing the ideological frameworks of the founding movement’s. Then we will look at how the movement’s used the coalitions to mobilize SMOs to assist in the achievement of a single unified goal. For the LGBTQ+ movement’s policy goal will be the legalization of same-sex-marriage; and for the Abortion Rights Movement this goal will be that of legalization/decriminalizing abortion. To conclude each sub-section of this chapter I will explain the LGBTQ+ as an ICC and Abortion Rights Movement as an IFC. I will specifically note how the LGBTQ+ movement’s ICC leading to the legalization of same-sex-marriage and the achievement of their policy goal; and the Abortion Rights Movement’s IFC pushed it into a frozen state in need of reunification.

The focus of this chapter will look at the strategic comparisons as it relates to the movement’s organizational structure. Examining primary source accounts of the creation of

33 The timeline sources were pulled from LGBT Rights in the Americas Timeline, ARGENTINA’S PATH TO LEGALIZING ABORTION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IRELAND, THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA, The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina, The Human Cost of Barriers to Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Argentina, Argentinian Socialists Fight for Abortion Rights in Congress and in the Streets, Gay couple hopes wedding sets precedent in Argentina, Barbara Sutton and Elizabeth Borland, and Pierceson, Jason., et al.
coalitions within each movement and secondary historical accounts of the events. With applied theories of social movement theory the movements will be traced to apply an analysis of the effectiveness of their strategies from 2005 to 2010. To provide context for the initial frameworks of the coalitions a few events prior to the growth period will be discussed.

2.2 LGBTQ+ Movement in Argentina 2002 to 2010

In this section I will provide a brief history of the LGBTQ+ rights movement in Argentina. Next, I will outline the mission states from some of the founding organizations within the LGBTQ+ coalition. After, I will explain how the organizations were able to join together and coordinate strategies and overcome small setbacks. To conclude this section I will review the LGBTQ+ rights movements legalization of same-sex-marriage. To start, I will now provide a brief overview of the LGBTQ+ rights movement.

_Federación Argentina de Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales y Trans_

In this section we will follow the growth of the LGBTQ+ movement in Argentina during the early stages of the movements modern development, led by the coalition the Federación Argentina LGBT (FALGBT). The FALGBT was founded in June 2006 and was a coalition created to promote the legalization of same-sex-marriage and LGBTQ+ rights organizations.34 Prior to the creation of FALGBT a group of five prominent LGBTQ+ organizations came together in September 2005.35 The meeting was noted by FALGBT as one of the first times

34 Pierceson, Jason., et al.

organizations of the LGBTQ+ movement decided to work together in pursuit of securing
LGBTQ+ rights. This meeting consisted of: Asociación de Travestis, Transexuales y
Transgéneros de Argentina (ATTTA), La Fulana, Nexo Asociación Civil, Fundación Buenos
Aires SIDA and VOX Asociación Civil. The description of the meeting is stated on the
FALGBT website,

Es así como la Asociación de Travestis, Transexuales y Transgéneros de Argentina, La Fulana,
Nexo Asociación Civil, Fundación Buenos Aires SIDA y VOX Asociación Civil constituyeron un
espacio que permitiera articular nacionalmente al movimiento LGBT y fuera a la vez plataforma
de apoyo desde la sociedad civil a las reformas legislativas y sociales necesarias para terminar
con la discriminación hacia las personas de orientación sexual e identidad de género diferente a la
heterosexual en nuestro país.

[automated English translation — This is how the Association of Transvestites, Transsexuals and
Transgenders of Argentina, La Fulana, Nexo Asociación Civil, Fundación Buenos Aires SIDA and
VOX Asociación Civil constituted a space that allowed the national articulation of the LGBT
movement and was at the same time a platform of support from society to the legislative and
social reforms necessary to end discrimination against people of sexual orientation and gender
identity other than heterosexual in our country.] The next year the FALGBT established in June 2006, creating a coalition of over 40 LGBTQ+
organizations. The formation of the FALGBT created a coalition that would transform the
movement in its entirety. Starting with around a meeting of five organizations the movement
quickly transformed into a coalition of over 40 LGBTQ organizations across Argentina.
FALGBT would then move on to create a constitution outlining its agenda. United under a set of
common goals FALGBT instituted its own constitution to outline the movement’s mission, legal

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36 “Matrimonio Para Todas y Todos: El Largo Camino a La Igualdad.”

37 Ibid

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.
requests and social demands. The Constitution of the FALGBT outlines a five point agenda which I summarize below:

1. Promote marriage equality through the legalization of same-sex-marriage that modifies the exiting civil code and includes adoption rights.
2. Enact the Gender Equality Law advocating for the inclusion of trans rights.
3. Amend preexisting laws that discriminate against gender and sexual identity with an Anti-Discrimination Law.
4. Establish the Sexual Education Law incorporating anti-discrimination and identity inclusive into curriculums.
5. Repeal discriminatory penal codes throughout the country.

This five point system has been used to guide the movement to mobilize strategies in pursuit of the coalitions policy goals. Shortly after it was created, the FALGBT issued its first attempt to reform the Argentinian Civil Code to advocate for the legalization of same-sex-marriage.

This step marked the beginning of a four year journey to legalize same-sex-marriage. The FALGBT was able to unite groups across the country under five goals outlined in its agenda addressing issues of marriage equality, gender identity laws, anti-discrimination laws, sex education laws and the repeal of discriminatory penal codes throughout the country. One of the unique structures of this movement was that it did not attempt to address each goal at once. The FALGBT targeted one goal at a time, building power behind the movement and unifying the coalition under one goal. This is a notably remarkable development because it illustrated the

41 “Matrimonio Para Todas y Todos: El Largo Camino a La Igualdad.”
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
unified alignment of the movement from its inception. The organization coordinated its strategies to maximize their efficiency with a national agenda to advocate for legal and social equality of the LGBT community of Argentina.\textsuperscript{50} While the intent to target one goal at a time is not explicitly clear, it is visibly represented in the progression of their actions. Questions we must consider are twofold 1) what lead to the creation of the FALGBT and why was it needed? 2) how has the coalition influenced the movements success?

Inspiration for the coalition was largely pulled from the legalization of same-sex-marriage in Spain in 2005.\textsuperscript{51} The success of the Spanish movement inspired the inception of the FALGBT and helped shape its coordination abilities by meeting with members of the coalition.\textsuperscript{52} This is noted not only by the FALGBT itself but also by scholars around the world to be a driving influence over the movement as a whole. After the coalition formed for a period of four years the movement progressed to achieve the first goal on its agenda, the legalization of same-sex-marriage. This marked the LGBTQ+ movement’s achievement of a policy goal before the five-year growth phase was over. In 2010 Argentina became the first country to legalize same-sex-marriage in Latin America, setting the stage for LGBTQ+ movements to come.\textsuperscript{53}

The creation of the LGBTQ+ coalition helped to coordinate the movements mobilization strategies and overcome small-set backs. The general commonalities of values, beliefs and ideological orientations allowed for the differences of the FALGBT to have a minimal affect on the movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. Instead of faltering over small set-backs the

\textsuperscript{50} “¿Quiénes Somos?” FALGBT.

\textsuperscript{51} Pierceson, Jason., et al.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
internal dynamics of the ICC (FALGBT) sustained the conditions necessary for the LGBTQ+ movement to legalize same-sex-marriage. To better clarify this claim I will next outline the mission statements of the founding SMOs of the FALGBT coalition.

Asociación de Travestis, Transexuales y Transgéneros de Argentina

The Asociación de Travestis, Transexuales y Transgéneros de Argentina were established in 1993 in Buenos Aires Argentina while mobilizing against police violence. Expanding from its original name of the ATA the organization functions as a network in support of trans rights. Working with the FALGBT the ATTTA helps to provide legal support services to the trans community throughout Argentina. The organization states its overarching mission to, “Work for the fulfillment and unrestricted respect of Human Rights for the trans population in the Argentine Republic”. While the specific agenda items are,

- Advocate politically for justice to comply with the clarification process of trans femicides and the disruption of networks of human trafficking and sexual exploitation.
- Work to eradicate stigma, discrimination and all types of violence (family, institutional, gender, social, patriarchal and religious) towards the trans population, through strategies of visibility, reporting and systematization of information.
- Promote the approval and compliance of public policies and other types of regulations for the benefit of the trans population in the Argentine Republic.
- Continue with the process of institutional strengthening for the sustainability of the Association of Transvestites, Transsexuals and Transgenders of Argentina.

55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
The organization still organizes and maintains the overarching agenda of its original mission today. It is important to note that the agenda points of the organization do not emphasize any singular political affiliation. The overall statement of the organization is based on creating awareness through visibility and promoting legislative gains through the means of policy goals.

La Fulana

La Fulana is a “non-profit organization of and for lesbian and bisexual women” based out of Argentina and founded in . La Fulana has been holding weekly meetings to support community building within the lesbian and bisexual community of Argentina for 15 years. The organization agenda states their agenda as,

- Generate community ties that can sustain us in situations of: injustice, to make friends, to meet peers.
- Find the references that this culture tries to permanently erase from us, our history.
- Produce, find and provide information that has to do with us.
- Exchange experiences.

La Fulana works towards dismantling discrimination in society and foster community in Argentina. With a specific focus on the promotion of diversity and respect, synonymous to other organization within FALGBT. The organization also advocates for publishing news and media within and for the community, which is aligned with the overall coalitions hope to gain

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63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.
visibility for the movement. The continued efforts to sustain community support are seen as their goal to advocate for mutual aid that assists women in need. The additional effort to support their community with information and resources, is a common agenda point amongst organizations in the FALGBT. Moreover, the organization works towards public health protections by raising awareness of HIV/AIDS and fighting to prevent violence against women.

The mission of La Fulana directly addresses the acceptance of different identities. Driven to encourage programs that benefit the LGBTQ+ community. LA Fulana holds a common set of values and beliefs amongst other organizations within the FALGBT coalition. These commonalities point the FALGBT as being an ideologically convergent coalition.

_Nexo Asociación Civil_

NEXO is a non-profit Civil organization that created a magazine to promote support within the gay community to, “improve the quality of life of people belonging to Sexual Minorities”. Their primary objective is based in legal support in the form of, “Promotion and defense of civil rights and protection of the physical and mental health of homosexual people”. The organization provides resources, art and culture articles, health and online psychotherapy support. The specific objectives of NEXO are as follows,

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70 “Objetivos.” La Fulana · Espacio de Lesbianas y mujeres bisexuales, December 3, 2014.

71 Ibid.


73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.
Primary and secondary prevention of HIV infection and other sexually transmitted infections (syphilis, gonorrhea, herpes, HPV, etc.).

Health care in relation to the particular characteristics of the homosexual culture (gay health).

Healthy homosexual identity (prevention of pathologies associated with discrimination and difficulties in accessing the health system) and fight against Homophobia.

Equal civil rights with the rest of the citizens.

Fight against discrimination and/or intolerance due to sexual orientation or health status.

Organized under a means to generate support and protect. The organization focuses on community support through health and legal protections. A common theme addressed in this statement is the call to “fight against discrimination”, seen in the previous organizations, this statement functions as a protective clause to participants of the LGBTQ+ movement.

NEXO emphasizes the common theme of coalitions within the FALGBT as being driven to fight discrimination, create access to public health resources, and protect the equal rights of queer citizens. It is important to note that while the focus of some of the organizations within the FALGBT differ, they are not overtly conflicting. The similarities of the organizations remain more consistent, rather than showing signs of overtly conflicting values, beliefs or ideological orientations.

**Vox Asociación Civil**

A non-profit organization VOX Asociación Civil was founded in 1998 in the Santa Fe province of Argentina. The first legal LGBTQ+ organization in the region they actively advocate for the

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75 “Objetivos Institucionales.” Nexo AC.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 “Objetivos Institucionales.” Nexo AC.

legal rights of the LGBTQ+ community. Alongside their legal focus they are dedicated to fighting against HIV/AIDS. Created with an idea that it would be a resource for the LGBTQ+ community they established the organization with the intention to support and protect. Offering extensive support to assist people living with HIV/AIDS, the organization provides comprehensive education and health services for free. The primary agenda of VOX today is to assure it, “develops its activities in the city of Rosario, its central activity being related to HIV-AIDS, education for prevention in MSM”. The joint agenda to sustain educational resources is aligned with the other organizations goals to do the same. It is important to note that the listed agenda of VOX is not as closely aligned as the rest of the organizations. This shows that there is still differing agendas within the FALGBT founding members but suggests that the conflicts did not impede progress.

**Strategies of Mobilization and Civil Unions**

Here I will discuss the coordinated efforts of the FALGBT, to illustrate how the coalition was able to mobilize strategies and overcome small setbacks, in pursuit of legalizing same-sex-marriage. While FALGBT does not explicitly say it follows the goals one at a time, each goal has been legalized one after the other. Noted in Figure 1, following the legalization of same-sex-marriage (the first agenda point) was the legalization of the Gender Equality Law (the second

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82 Ibid.  
83 Ibid.  
84 Ibid.  
85 Ibid.
The same-sex-marriage law was first submitted to the senate in 2007 and the Gender Equality Law was submitted in 2009. The progression of these policy goals illustrates how the FALGBT works one goal at a time. The submission of the Bills does not come before the other has made significant progress and when they are submitted it helps boost the visibility of the other. The use specificity of targeting agenda item at a time allows the movement to mobilize the coalition and achieve a policy goal.

In the early years of the movement, before the FALGBT was formed, gaining visibility for LGBTQ+ Rights was significantly linked to international movements. With a notable influence from the 1969 Stonewall Riots in the United States, prominent activists in Argentina started forming relationships with leaders of international LGBTQ+ movement’s. This allowed for local activists in Argentina to build strategic awareness of previous “success stories” that seemingly sped up the growth of the movement from an early stage. Mobilizing around the goal to gain visibility through symbolic action that allows for political support, was an important aspect of the movement’s inception. Common tactics used within the movement to gain visibility were known as “escraches”, defined as,

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86 Pousadela, Inés M.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
…a pressure strategy borrowed from the human rights movement, to force approval of Buenos Aires’ same-sex civil unions ordinance (that 2002 ordinance foreshadowed the coming of same-sex marriage in 2010).  

Overcoming barriers to cultural heteronormativity often encouraged movements to adopt tactics such as *escraches* to amplify their visibility. Gaining visibility allows for social movements to promote awareness of their cause. This would help dismantle discriminatory perceptions of the movement by transforming normative social standards to adopt more inclusive frameworks. The movements use of visibility strategies to mobilize support eventually developed into the application of legal strategies to enhance the movements strategic repertoire. Applying a mix of legal strategies and repertoires the LGBTQ+ Movement in Argentina would go on to establish a unified strategic formula to promote the legalization of same-sex-marriage.  

The trend of *escraches* was continued on in the later staged of the movement by the FALGBT. The main tactic used by FALGBT was the sponsorship of “*amparos*” which are the process of couples applying for civil-unions as a means to protest the need for legalizing same-sex-marriage. These symbolic demonstrations were used to gain visibility for the FALGBTs goal to legalize same-sex-marriage. The strategy was created to put pressure on legislature by coordinating mobilization strategies that gain visibility for the movements policy goal of legalizing same-sex-marriage. The tactic was used by celebrity sponsors, local couples and prominent activists with the FALGBT coalition. What happened because of this coordination

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96 Julian, Alyssa. 299  

97 Ibid.
was an increased ability of the LGBTQ+ movement to address small set-backs (e.g., negative media representation or a judge declining a marriage license). The unified decision to consistently apply amparos helped the movement to quickly overcome small setbacks because of the policy agenda used to apply for civil unions.

The first amparo was performed by the leader of the FALGBT, Maía Rachid and her partner Claudia Castro. In 2007 Rachid strategized the first use of an amparo for the movement because Rachid was denied a marriage license. To combat the rejection of the request, to which,

…The FALGBT interposed a recurso de Amparo demanding compliance with the constitutional provision of equality. From then on, the judicial route was used to complement the congressional strategy. In February 2008, the Rashid and Castro presentation reached the Supreme Court, garnering much media attention; soon after, a Congressional Front for the Rights of Sexual Diversity was formed by a group of legislators from all parties. The use of an amparo demonstrates the FALGBTs ability to overturn small setbacks and reorganize in favor of their policy goal. Amparos were created by on a rejection of a same-sex-marriage request, which allowed for the FALGBT to create a precedent throughout the coalition. The coalition addressed small setback head on by transforming the rejection into an effective mobilization strategy.

In November 2009, Alex Freye and José Maria Di Bello became the first Gay Couple to apply for a marriage license in Argentina. A remarkable feat in the fight to legalize same-sex-

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98 Julian, Alyssa. 299.
99 Ibid.
100 Pierceson, Jason., et al.
101 Ibid.
102 Pousadela, Inés M.
marriage, the couple describes their union as being bigger than a marriage between two people. After years of strategically applying for marriage licenses as a symbolic strategy to legitimize the intent of the movement with legal action, the LGQBT+ Movement was propelled into their final stretch to legalize same-sex-marriage. The couple has since acknowledged their marriage as a turning point of the movement. The use of tactical repertoires has been commonly applied to stage same-sex-marriages in front of city hall throughout the San Francisco, CA in 2004. Demonstrating organized mobilization to in pursuit of its goal to legalize same-sex-marriage.

The FALGBT encouraged couples to apply for marriage licenses and then dispute the claims once the official request was denied. Knowing that the marriage requests would be denied the movement believed the strategic impact of legal disputes would apply pressure on the government to legalize same-sex-marriage. With nearly a dozen amparos submitted prior to the legalization of the official same-sex-marriage ballot, the FALGBT consistently mobilized organizations in this way. The amparos are a key example of the coalitions ability to

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106 Barrionuevo, Alexei.


110 Corrales, Javier.

111 Corrales, Javier.
coordinate effective mobilization strategies in pursuit of a policy goal. Unlike mass
demonstrations the amparos were able to be more consistent and targeted to gain visibility of the
movement that was most effective towards its policy goal. A significant theme throughout the
organizations of the FALGBT coalition are that the founding members do not have overtly
conflicting agendas or beliefs. The common set of values, beliefs and ideological orientations
points to the LGBTQ+ movement as having an ICC. Common themes to take note of are anti-
discrimination, destigmatization, informational recourses, support systems and community
building.

**Before Legalizing Same-Sex-Marriage in Argentina**

Here I will go over the legalization of same-sex-marriage. Prior to the formation of the FALGBT
the leading organization of the LGBTQ+ movement was Comunidad Homosexual Argentina
(CHA).\textsuperscript{112} CHA was first formed in 1984 and was the first organization of the LGBTQ+
movement to be formally recognized by the Argentine government.\textsuperscript{113} What is important to note
when understanding the significance of the FALGBTs formation is the differing agenda’s of
FALGBT and CHA.\textsuperscript{114} As the most prominent organization of the LGBTQ+ movement CHA
created a path for LGBTQ+ rights in Argentina. A lead sponsor of the civil unions, CHA
predominantly supported the idea of advocating for same-sex civil unions (commonly known as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[112] Pierceson, Jason., et al.
\item[113] Ibid.
\item[114] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
a domestic partnership law).\textsuperscript{115} In 2002, CHA was able to push forward the legalization of same-sex civil unions in the Argentina’s State capital, Buenos Aires.\textsuperscript{116}

CHA played a significant role in the formation of the FALGBT; because prior to the coalitions establishment, the movement had not been unified over the legalization of same-sex-marriage.\textsuperscript{117} Divided by these two agendas, CHA believed that the movement’s attempt to pursue the legalization of same-sex-marriage only affirmed patriarchal heteronormative standards.\textsuperscript{118} It was not until after the formation of the FALGBT did CHA begin to support the coalitions agenda to legalize same-sex-marriage.\textsuperscript{119} Eventually, FALGBT was able to gain support of CHA in pursuit of the legalization of same-sex-marriage.

An important takeaway is that the LGBTQ+ movement was able to form a coalition with an awareness of differing values, beliefs, and ideological orientations. The LGBTQ+ movement created the FALGBT because it saw the shortcomings of the SMOs conflicting agendas. This allowed the LGBTQ+ movement to approach the formation of its’ coalition with an awareness of preexisting tensions. The LGBTQ+ movement was then able to form a coalition that brought together SMO with common values, beliefs and ideological orientations.

The difference of opinion between the organization and the formed coalition, meant that CHA was not an organization within the FALGBT coalition. By contrast, CHA represented a sort of “countermovement” to the legalization of same-sex-marriage. Awareness of the differences —

\textsuperscript{115} Pierceson, Jason., et al.
\textsuperscript{116} Pierceson, Jason., et al.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Pierceson, Jason., et al.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
on policy goals — provided opportunity for the FALGBT to form a coalition that avoided overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The FALGBT was able to create a coalition that was working in alliance based on a common set of values, beliefs and ideological orientations. Constructed out of commonality the FALGBT formed an ICC that was able to achieve a policy goal; in pursuit, of an important change in national legislation to advance the movement’s agenda.

Legalizing Same-Sex-Marriage in Argentina

The FALGBT submitted the first bill to legalize same-sex-marriage that made it to congress in 2007, following an long period of debates the bill eventually passed in 2010. Leading up to the legalization of same-sex-marriage the FALGBT worked to enhance the movement’s visibility through continuous applications of repertoire throughout Argentina. In December 2002 Buenos Aires adopted the legalization of same-sex-civil unions. In the years to follow the FALGBT would form in 2006 and begin leading the movements towards its first goal of legalizing same-sex-marriage. However, along with the movement’s success came contention over the divisive nature of confirming to heteronormative structures such as marriage — between CHA and the FALGBT. Leading up to the final days of the debates over same-sex-marriage in congress, CHA actively supported the FALGBT agenda, “Though members of CHA favored civil unions

120 Julian, Alyssa. 299


122 Ibid.
over marriage, they also argued that by only allowing opposite-sex couples to marry, the legislation was discriminatory and on such basis CHA supported a same-sex-marriage law.[42] These relationships are important to note because while the FALGBT had support from CHA and INADI (an anti-discrimination organization), the coalition remained an independent unit from the other organizations. Had CHA and INADI been actively aligned within the coalition of the FALGBT it is possible the movement would not have seen the same level of success. The awareness of these differences prior to forming the coalition, based on the specificity of its policy goals, shows how FALGBT was an ideologically convergent coalition.

The FALGBT was an ICC because of the coalitions ability to dissociate from organizations that did not maintain a common set of values, beliefs and ideological orientations. Instead of joining with conflicting SMOs the FALGBT partnered with them when the Bill was on the congressional floor. It seems likely that the key to forming an ICC is restricting members of the coalition to hold common values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The FALGBTs ability to maintain this organization helped the movement make substantial gains towards its policy goal.

2.3 Abortion Rights Movement in Argentina 2002 to 2010

Switching to the discussion on the Abortion Rights movement I will now outline the inception of the movement’s coalition. Followed by an overview of each organization and a final summary of the movement’s internal dynamics. In this section I examine the establishment of the Abortion Rights movement’s coalition and outline how it is an example of an IFC. To provide evidence for

123 Pierceeson, Jason., et al.
this claim I reference a series of scholarly works, historical movements, sourced interviews, news reports, organization blog posts, and social media.

*Abortion Rights and La Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Lega, Seguro y Gratuito*

Back in 1973 during the military dictatorship of Jorge Rafael Videla young journalists, academics, students and advocates speaking out against the injustice of the dictatorship started to become forcibly disappeared by the state.\(^{124}\) Known as *Los Desaperecidos* the stories of these advocates would be amplified by their mothers revolutionary fight to bring them home.\(^{125}\) Forming the movement known as *Las Madres de La Plaza del Mayo* the mothers of *Los Desaperecidos* began marching every Thursday to vocalize their pain and hold the state accountable for its countless violations of human rights.\(^{126}\) The impact of this movement was felt all throughout Latin America and was notably the catalyst for the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) international legislation for the rights of the disappeared.\(^{127}\) The significance of this movement reached far beyond the goals of the movement itself because it highlighted the agency of women in Argentina and their ability to fight back against the state. *Las Madres de La Plaza del Mayo* is an example of the mobilizing power of women in the country and is a symbol of unity and strength within the country. Marked by the countries return to democracy in 1983 the Abortion Rights Movement started to gain traction with the rise in

\(^{124}\) Pereyra, Brenda., et al.

\(^{125}\) Ibid.

\(^{126}\) Pereyra, Brenda., et al.

feminist groups in the country. The feminist movement in Argentina has been described in Mabel Belucci book with a quote from Nélida Archenti stating,

> En general, las organizaciones feministas son grupos pequeños con bajos grados de organización formal, que funcionan como grupos de pares, sin estratificación interna. En algunos se destacan figuras con mayor liderazgo pero siempre se trata de liderazgos informales.

[Automated English google translation — In general, feminist organizations are small groups with low degrees of formal organization that function as peer groups, without internal stratification. In some, figures with greater leadership stand out, but they are always informal leaderships]

The forms of organization would start to build the organizations that would found the coalition of the Abortion Rights Movement in the years to come. The movement’s presence in news articles and feminist news media dates back to the late 1970s highlighting the fight of feminist activists to legalize abortion.

The Abortion Rights Movement began following along a similar trajectory as the FALGBT after the 2003 Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres (ENM/National Womens Conference) which inspired the creation of the National Campaign for legal, safe and free abortion in 2005.

A subset of the women rights movement the *Campagna Nacional por Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito* (CNALSG), brought together a coalition of over 300 organizations. It is likely the surge in participation for the coalition was a result of the already visible fight for Women’s Rights that would meet yearly at the ENM since 1986. Social mobilization of groups advocating for Women’s Rights and human rights was no new concept for the country. Inspired

128 Belucci, Mabel. 262-263.
129 Belucci, Mabel. 261.
130 Belucci, Mabel. [Figures 1-14]. 264 - 265.
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid. 195.
by Las Madres de La Plaza del Mayo the National Campaign adopted the symbol of the green handkerchief, modeled after the white handkerchief that symbolized the Las Madres movement. The use of the green handkerchief was used to mark the start of a new wave of the abortion rights movement known as the Green Tide. A notable step in the movement that propelled it into a national phenomenon and unified the nation in alignment with the #NiUnaMenos movement to combat feminicide — state sponsored killing of “women” because they are “women” — in the country.

The Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito (The National Campaign for Safe, Legal and Free Abortions) was established in 2005. The National campaign began forming after the XVIII Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres (National Womens Conference/ENM) in 2003 and 2004. At the XVIII ENM popular feminist organizations who participated in the workshop on “Strategies for the Legalization of Abortion” and came up with the idea to start a National Campaign. The goal of the ENM is to create discussion over common social, political and cultural topics pertaining to Womens rights. A three day event filled with workshops discussing topics from equal pay to sexual health and reproduction, each workshop ends with a plenary discussion of policy suggestions. It was during the first

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134 Sutton, Barbara, and Elizabeth Borland.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
137 Sutton, Barbara, and Elizabeth Borland.
139 Bellucci, Mabel. 463.
140 Sutton, Barbara, and Elizabeth Borland.
141 Ibid.
workshop on Abortion Rights that the final plenary discussion resulted in the suggestion to create the National Campaign.\footnote{Belluci, Mabel. 463} The National Campaign would go on to form a national coalition of over 305 feminist groups within the country.\footnote{Ibid.} Yet, the movement would not see the progress that the FALGBT did in 2010 with the legalization of same-sex-marriage. Rather, it would continue to battle 8 different bids to decriminalize abortion at the federal level in Argentina over the course of 15 years.\footnote{Cavallo, Shena. “Argentina’s Feminist Movement Edges Closer to Expanded Abortion Rights.” International Women’s Health Coalition, March 29, 2019. https://iwhc.org/2018/03/argentina-feminist-movement-expand-abortion-rights/.} The movement itself did not start picking up a more unified sense of support until the #NiUnaMenos campaign in 2017.\footnote{Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo. “The Struggle for Abortion Rights in Argentina.” The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina | International Socialist Review, May 1, 2012. https://isreview.org/issue/112/struggle-abortion-rights-argentina.} The #NiUnaMenos campaign created the necessary conditions for the National Campaign to achieve reunification and renew its ability to advance its’ policy goal.


\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
under three settings that were established in the 1921 criminal code section 86. Human Rights Watch outlines the law below,

Abortion is allowed only when a pregnancy endangers the life or health of a woman, girl, or pregnant person or when it results from rape. In all other circumstances, abortion is banned and punished. The criminal code imposes prison sentences of up to 4 years on women who self-induce or consent to an abortion and up to 15 years on anyone who provides them. The criminalization of abortion in the country has been a driving force of the movements campaign to legalize and decriminalize abortion. Without the legalization of abortion the dangers of clandestine abortions remains a threat, as nearly 500,000 people die a year from complications of clandestine abortions in unsafe conditions. A large number of these abortions are performed at home and/or without medical supervision, which has driven the campaigns fight for legal, safe and free abortion.

The current abortion laws uphold the archaic restrictions of art. 86 from 1921 criminal code and is the primary cause for the National Campaigns mobilization. The Campaign and the Abortion Rights movement want to assure the protection rights and safety for anyone in need of an abortion, without fear of punishment. The Voluntary Termination (IVE) of Pregnancy Bills by the National Campaign have been structured around the legalization of abortion without restrictions during the first 14 weeks of pregnancy; decriminalization of abortion that prevents penalization of people who obtain or perform an abortion; and allow for abortions to take place

149 Ibid.
151 Ibid.
after 14 weeks if the pregnancy proposes severe health risks or resulted from rape. To address the dangers of clandestine abortions, the National Campaign was formed to promote the legalization and decriminalization of Abortion, and banded together numerous SMOs to form the Abortion Rights movement’s coalition.

*Overview of Abortion Rights Organizations in Argentina*

With over 300 organizations across the country documented as affiliates and 70 founding members of the coalition for the National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortions. This study will focus on a select group of organizations in Buenos Aires. The choice to cover organizations based out of Buenos Aires is based on their proximity to the movements covered in this study. An analysis of the vast array of organizations across the country would provide great value to this research, however, the scale of that research is out of the scope of this study. Additionally, the study covers the National Campaigns attempts to legalize abortion by bringing the IVE bill to Congress every two years since its first attempt in 2007.

Choosing organizations based in Buenos Aires mitigates potential variables that would affect an organizations ability to gain access to the events based off of geographic location. Given the proximity to the congressional debates and active participation in the National Campaigns as founder members the selected groups are Pan y Rosas, Autonomous CTA, MTS, Socorristas en Red and Las Rojas. These groups were selected for their varying ideological beliefs and affiliations with the national campaign to best represent the variation of ideologies of

153 Ibid.


155 Ibid.
all 300 affiliated groups. The left faction makes up a majority of the movement there are three varying organizations that represent different levels of the leftist group. The comparison helps clarify the that strategic differences and overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. Each organization will be compared to the larger coalition of the National Campaign as it represents the most vocal agenda of the Abortion Rights Movement in Argentina.

The evidence used to investigate the relationships and ideologies of each organization will be primarily based off of primary sources for their organizations blogs. Secondary news sources and historical writings on the movement will be used to supplement facts, dates and details of events not present in the blog posts. Given the variation in online access from 2002 to 2010 some organizations did not have online blogs or social media. For this reason, all organizations will have some form of secondary source material to outline the timeline of their progress.

_Socorristas en Red_  
Known as the lifeguard network, Socorristas en Red supply assistance and comprehensive educational tools for those in need of abortions.\(^{156}\) Aiding in the use of Misoprostol and mifepristone (two abortion inducing drugs) the organization was created to increase safety conditions for those performing clandestine abortions.\(^{157}\) Filled with numbers and resources of how to get help all over the country Socorristas en Red are an integral part to the National Campaign. The organization wrote its mission statement in a recent article stating,

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As we have argued well, lifeguards not only accompany those who need to have an abortion; we produce and share knowledge about our work: concrete knowledge about real abortions that allows us to continue producing renewed arguments for the demand for the right to abortion, centered around the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion to demand the legality of abortion in Argentina and throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2018 alone, the Network Lifeguards accompanied 7,280 women. Of that total, 301 accompaniments were within the health system, that is, promoting access to the Legal Interruption of Pregnancy.\textsuperscript{158}

Working in support of the National Campaign the Socorristas continue to provide safe and comprehensive assistance to those in need of abortions. The organization has continued to develop various factions, increasing access for women and people in need of abortions to have access to proper care.\textsuperscript{159} The Socorristas are a prime example of how SMO in the National Campaign have been able to develop since the movements foundation. Shift the conversation to abortion rights as a public health issue has help sustain the organizations mission to provide safe at home care. It is important to note that a common debate within the National Campaign and ENMs are between those urging the movement to address at home care over government driven policy change.\textsuperscript{160}

\textit{Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir (cdd-Argentina)}

An independent movement in support of the right to legalize abortion the organization works to de-stigmatize abortion in the church. Specifically, “CDD-Argentina works towards achieving gender equality, and challenges religious fundamentalism from a theological and feminist


\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{160} “Declaración De La 8va. Plenaria Nacional De Socorristas En Red -Feministas Que Abortamos- En Argentina.”
perspective”.\textsuperscript{161} One of the founding members of the National Campaign the organization has been a prominent voice when mobilizing support for the movement.\textsuperscript{162} Working with lawyers, education for courses on sexual and reproductive rights and provides advise to the Ministry of health.\textsuperscript{163} The alignment with the catholic church has been a high point of contention between the coalition because of other SMOs establish opposition to the church. The organizations affiliation with the church — while the movement is overtly attempting to combat the pro-life religious counter movement and church-state alliance — indicates overtly opposing values, beliefs and ideological orientations. Nonetheless, it is important to know that the organization is still an active part of the Abortion Rights movement and works closely with the National Campaign. Above all else, the overt difference is what I argue has made the National Campaign an IFC. A movement with an IFC does not mean every organization is in opposition with one other. Instead it claims that the overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations exacerbates tensions between SMOs.

\textit{Autonomous CTA: Central de Trabajadores Argentina}

The Autonomous Central Workers of Argentina is an independent faction of the Central Workers of Argentina that was founded in 1992.\textsuperscript{164} An organization outside of the feminist movement, the Autonomous CTA has been a long standing ally for the National Campaign and Womens Rights

\textsuperscript{161} “Partner: Católicas Por El Derecho a Decidir-Argentina.” International Women's Health Coalition, April 21, 2016. https://iwhc.org/partners/cddargentina/.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{163} “Partner: Católicas Por El Derecho a Decidir-Argentina.” International Women's Health Coalition, April 21, 2016.

Movement in Argentina.\textsuperscript{165} With a goal to protect workers rights they aim to aid in the development of a better work, health, education and justice system in Argentina.\textsuperscript{166} The strategic choices of the CTA has been a point of contention between organizations and is mentioned in chapter 3.

\textit{Pan y Rosas and Frente de la Izquierda}

Affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party (PTS) en el Frente de Izquierda and La Izquierda Diario, Pan y Rosas is the largest socialist feminist organization in Latin America.\textsuperscript{167} Founded by Andrea D’Atri and allies of the PTS congressional representatives, Pan y Rosas is a dedicated Womens groups created from the PTS.\textsuperscript{168} One of the leading members in the fight to legalize abortion Pan y Rosas is a prominent figure in political and social mobilization around abortion rights.\textsuperscript{169} Their mission statement reads as follows,

\begin{quote}
“The Pan y Rosas women's group was formed from the 2003 National Meeting of Women, in the city of Rosario, with colleagues from the Socialist Workers Party (PTS) and students and independent workers, who participated unitarily at that time, raising the fight for the right to abortion and the rights of working women. Pan y Rosas considers that the fight against the oppression of women is also an anti-capitalist struggle, and that for that reason, only the social revolution led by millions of workers in alliance with the poor people and all sectors oppressed by them system, which ends the chains of capital, can lay the foundations for the emancipation of women”\textsuperscript{170}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{165} Belluci, Mabel. 358.
\textsuperscript{166} “¿Qué Es La CTA?” CTAA Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina Autnoma.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
After starting along the momentum of the National Campaign, Pan y Rosas have become a leading voice amongst leftist activists and is easily recognized for the violet banners and handkerchiefs scatters throughout the city. Maintaining strong marxist affiliations the organization strongly opposes the confines of capitalist democracies by dismantling the current systems of social order.171 The political ideologies of the PTS have pushed them to side with other leftist organizations, however, in chapter 3 I show how the leftist groups also have overtly conflicting values and beliefs amongst themselves.

*MST and the Workers Socialist Movement*

Another member of the leftist socialist faction of the Campaign, the MST was founded in 1992 under traditional Marxists, Leninist, and Trotskyist beliefs.172 Focused on updating the current system the organization adopted a more anti-capitalist agenda in 2018 by increasing its affiliation with the Anti-Capitalist Network.173 The movement is a dedicated ally to the Women's right movement and claims the agenda of their mission to be,

This tradition and theoretical-political capital throughout our entire trajectory and our own experience that as MST we have been doing for more than twenty-five years is at the service of two fundamental flags: a) the mobilization of the working class and popular sectors, of the youth and the feminist movement, supporting their struggles and independent organization towards the goal of a workers' government and a socialist model of the country; b) in function of this, the search for all the ways of construction and confluence towards a great revolutionary party with influence in the real processes of the mass movement. Contributing from our country to a similar search at the international level.174

Holding a critical view of the left the MST desires to reestablish the leftist movement noting that while the new movement was able to break away from outdated structures. The organization

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171 Rosas, Pan y. “Pan y Rosas: Argentine Women in the Struggle.”


173 Ibid.

174 Ibid.
claims to have been created under a “self-critical” structure that questions political structures of society.\footnote{Ibid.} The organization is dedicated to raising awareness of their concerns to teach “the people” by avoiding patterns of sectarianism or opportunism — that they note other leftist groups have fallen into.\footnote{“Quienes Somos.” MST. Accessed December 18, 2020.} A highly politically driven organization the MST are one of the most active leftist groups in the Abortion Rights movement.

**Las Rojas**

A socialist feminist organization rooted in marxists theory makes up the vibrant organization of Las Rojas in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Known for their radical organization and memorable demonstrations colored with red banners and adornments, Las Rojas use chants along with the support of an accompaniments of dumbs to rally support for abortion rights. These captivating strategic tools to mobilize support for the National Campaign are unique to the waves of Las Rojas. Defined by their drive to take action in the streets the mission statement of Las Rojas rings with authority,

that in this system, where a few live at the cost of the suffering and work of millions, women and diversities are doubly oppressed and that to end such inequality and violence, it is necessary to set up a feminist movement that fights in the streets twinned with the rest of the exploited and oppressed. Together with the workers, together with the LGBTTNB movement and with the youth who organize to defend their future.

Apart of the Trotskyist left the organization is starkly against the involved of the church in the fight to legalize abortion. The leading goals of Las Rojas are for; 1) legal abortion in the hospital, 2) sexual education disjointed from religious or ideological beliefs and rooted in science, 3) stop human trafficking and sexual exploitation, 4) protect against gender based violence and femicide by holding the state accountable, 5) join the Womens Movement with the struggle of the LGBTTNB, and 6) organize awareness through training, workshops and educational events.

The movements belief on abortion is slightly dissimilar to the of the National Campaign because it emphasize a need to “bring the fight to the streets”. Meaning that they do not believe in the governments ability to address issues of abortion rights through the use of traditional legal settings. To emphasize this point Las Rojas has consistently posted about the campaign to elect its founder into congress because of the organizations lack of trust in the

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179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.


184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

political system.\textsuperscript{187} It was not until 2020 that the movement started to see substantial increases in coordinated efforts based on the experiences of 2018.

\textit{Divergence and the National Campaign}

The coalition of organizations within the National Campaign is understandable divergent provided they are not all inherently feminist organizations.\textsuperscript{188} Creating a movement that encourages participation based on one's belief in the right to legal, safe and free abortions.\textsuperscript{189} In conversation with Mabel Bellucci (a prominent writer on the Abortion Rights Movement in Argentina) Martha Rosenberg comments on the complex nature of the Campaign by identifying the tension points of the movement.\textsuperscript{190} The interview directly outlines the overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations that the National Campaign was founded on. Rosenberg is a prominent figure in the Abortion Rights Movement, was one of the founding members of the National Campaign and was the Committee Coordinator for the \textit{Consorcio Nacional de Derechos Reproductivos y Sexuales}\textsuperscript{191} (CoNDeRS) at the time of the interview published in 2014.\textsuperscript{192} The organizations making up the National Campaign highlight the variety


\textsuperscript{188} Bellucci, Mabel. 466.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid

\textsuperscript{190} Bellucci, Mabel. 459.


\textsuperscript{192} Bellucci, Mabel. 459.
of political and ideological perspectives brought together over a common goal of legalizing abortion.\textsuperscript{193} Under a united desire to legalize abortion at the federal level the Campaign was created to sustain national discussion over the right to choose and obtain a legal, safe and free abortion.

The divergent nature of the coalition has seemingly been the cause of intergroup conflicts within the movement.\textsuperscript{194} With diverse religious, ideological, political, social and sexual preferences, the National Campaign is sustained by a coalition of organizations all adopting different beliefs and agendas.\textsuperscript{195} While Rosenberg is sure to discount the negative effects of the Campaigns heterogeneity, it is important to note the comments on the tensions between the Trotskyist left, the Kirchnerismos and other organizations in the movement.\textsuperscript{196} The diverging political and ideological beliefs of organizations that make up the National Campaign have sparked difficulties when organizing rallies, marches, and other demonstrations in support of the movement.\textsuperscript{197}

Algunos partidos de izquierda acuden a los actos y levantan nuestras consignas, junto con las consignas políticas propias referidas a temas que no son abarcados por los acuerdos de la Campaña sin participar en nuestra organización. Esto crea tensiones porque critican al gobierno no solo en función de su posición adversa a la legalización del aborto, sino en función de proyectos políticos más generales, poniendo de manifiesto los conflictos causados por el disciplinamiento partidario en la obtención de nuestros objetivos comunes.

\textit{[Automated english google translation — Some left-wing parties attend the events and raise our slogans, together with their own political slogans referring to issues that are not covered by the Campaign agreements without participating in our organization. This creates tensions because they criticize the government not only based on its position against the legalization of abortion,}

\textsuperscript{193} Bellucci, Mabel. 459.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid. 467
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid. 467.
\textsuperscript{197} Bellucci, Mabel.
but also based on more general political projects, highlighting the conflicts caused by party
discipline in the achievement of our common goals]198

The political affiliations are noted as key points of contention within the movement. Notably
critiquing the government and its legitimacy, this could exacerbate contention if the movement
elects to maintain legislative strategies. Further critique of the movements divisive political
beliefs states,

Además, los partidos políticos de izquierda tradicionales, que apoyan el derecho al aborto desde
hace mucho, siempre tuvieron mucha desconfianza, crítica y presión sobre la Campaña, por su
pluralidad política y los límites que supone respecto de las críticas al gobierno.

[Automated English translation — In addition, the traditional left-wing political parties, which
have long supported the right to abortion, have always had a lot of distrust, criticism and
pressure on the Campaign, due to its political plurality and the limits it implies regarding
criticism of the government.]199

The overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations shows that the movement’s
strategic differences have kept it in a frozen state. Unable to make definitive choices to overcome
small setbacks the movement had a more difficult time progressing its’ policy goal.

Barbara Sutton follows the progression of the ENM in correlation to the increased inclusion of
reproductive rights in the conferences workshops.200 While the ENM expands from 1986 to 2006
there is a 7% increase in themes of reproductive rights.201 This increase is more starkly
contrasted when looking at the development of reproductive rights workshops as a stand alone
variable. Indicating a sharp rise of 17% in a graph indicating “Reproductive Rights as a
Percentage of All Workshops/Comisiones, by year”.202 Not only does Sutton’s data suggest a rise
of support for the abortion rights but it also suggests the movement is vulnerable to being in a

198 Belluci, Mabel. 469.
199 Ibid. 468
200 Belluci, Mabel. 469.
201 Bellucci, Mabel. 459.
202 Bellucci, Mabel.
frozen state. Since the movement was not unified during this period of growth it is, it pushed the movement into a frozen state. Sutton comments on the data's lack of inference for political affiliation amongst the groups and workshops of ENM. This is a key part to understanding why the movement itself has been in a frozen state because of overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations.

Opinions over what strategies best support the National Campaigns policy — to achieve legal, safe and free abortion — is often a point of contention between SMOs in the coalition. A notable dilemma of the movement has been choosing between decriminalizing abortion performed by the state; and increasing safety measures for self performed abortion with the drug misoprostol. Misoprostol only legal abortion drug in Argentina authorized for use by law art 86 of Criminal Code. Alternatives to the expensive drug are often at home remedies such as parsley, celery stalks, probes, knitting, needles and coat hangers to interrupt the pregnancy with induced bleeding. These clandestine alternatives create serious health complications and infections, resulting in high risk for death or other life threatening complications. Yet, the stigmatization over abortion as a whole creates a rift in strategic opinions because some believe it will be faster to address the safety of clandestine abortions. However, this is an extreme

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203 Bellucci, Mabel. 226

204 Sutton, Barbara and Elizabeth Borland. 2013.


206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

example of strategic differences because one of the most commonly adopted beliefs of the movement is that clandestine abortions pose grave safety risks and has been the cause for over 500,000 maternal deaths in Argentina.\textsuperscript{209} The difference in mobilization strategies have caused high levels of contention within the National Campaign.

\textit{Mobilization and the Creation of the IVE Bill}

After the creation of the National Campaign in 2005 the founding members brought together 100,000 signatures to Congress, presenting their initiative to legalize abortion.\textsuperscript{210} The motion was backed by a protest of over 15,000 participants mobilizing in support of the National Campaigns agenda.\textsuperscript{211} Shortly after they drafted the first Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy Bill (IVE Bill) to the Chamber of Deputies in 2007.\textsuperscript{212} Rejected by the Chamber of Deputies the National Campaign would continue to present a revised IVE Bill to the Chamber of Deputies every two years.\textsuperscript{213} Submitting the second IVE Bill in 2009 with another rejection from the Chamber of Deputies the Campaign would see the progress of the Gender Violence Law.\textsuperscript{214} While the law was not a direct result of the Campaigns mobilization, organizations within the coalition often attribute domestic and international gains in the Womens movement as a proximal


\textsuperscript{211} Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.

\textsuperscript{212} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.

\textsuperscript{213} Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.

\textsuperscript{214} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
achievement of the National Campaign. The use of the IVE Bill to mobilize the Abortion Rights movement would be a seminal strategy for the years to come.

*Looking at the LGBTQ+ Movement and the Abortion Rights Movements*

In this chapter we saw how the biggest difference between the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights coalitions’ was the reason for the coalitions’ formation. The evidence describing the formation of the coalitions explained the ways the movements addressed preexisting conflicts. The Abortion Rights movement had not addressed the preexisting setbacks prompted by the coalitions overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations — noted in the Mabel Bellucci interview with Martha Rosenberg. On the other hand, the LGBTQ+ movement formed the FALGBT coalition to address preexisting setbacks from conflicting policy goals. This suggests that for a movement to have an ICC — *that is able to coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome setbacks to achieve a policy goal* — it must first address any preexisting conflicts prior to the establishment of its coalition.

The FALGBTs ability to distance itself from an organization with overtly conflicting policy values, beliefs and ideological orientations (e.g., CHA) helped move the movement forward in achieving its policy goal. Conversely, the Abortion Rights movement established its coalition in spite of preexisting tensions built up from overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The tensions of the overt conflicts within the Abortion Rights movement then pushed the coalition to become an IFC. The comparison between the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement showed that the internal dynamics of a movement are most visible

\[215\] Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.
during the growth phase. The influence of internal dynamics on a coalitions growth suggests that it is the way the movements were founded that altered made them an ICC or IFC. To continue this examination it would be necessary to conduct a full scale analysis of each organization within the coalitions. An increased sample size, would help to better establish the way these movements overcame preexisting set backs, based on conflicting policy goals. The scope of this study was focused on the establishment of the coalitions and how that altered their trajectory. Evidence shows that a movement’s internal dynamics influence its’ ability to coordinate and overcome small setbacks; but it is also likely, to be influenced by how a movement addresses overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations when building their coalitions.

The internal dynamics LGBTQ+ and Abortion Right movement’s coalitions have demonstrated variation in a movement’s coordinated abilities — to mobilize strategies and overcome small setbacks — and how it influences their ability to achieve a policy goal. The LGBTQ+ movement was able to legalize same-sex-marriage through the use of amparos and coordinated mobilization strategies. The consistent application of strategies allowed the movement to overcome small setbacks without much interference. This is mainly due to the joint agreement on what strategies would be able to be effectively coordinated with the biggest impact. Alternatively, the created of the National Campaign in the Abortion Rights movement was established on preexisting overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The emphasis of political ideology within the mission statements of each organization shows an overt conflict of interest. The overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations has exacerbated tension within the movement. Tension then lead the SMOs to argue over strategies and leaving the movement vulnerable to being in a frozen state. It is important to note a
movement with an IFC is not unable to achieve a policy goal. For the Abortion Rights movement having an IFC has meant it had a substantially more difficult time attempting to achieve its’ policy goal — note the 15 year period of attempts. The frozen state of a movement causes it to neither advance or impede progress. This is shown in the movement’s ability to maintain the progress it has gained, without being able to continue advancing. Next we will look at how the Abortion Rights movement has been able to make significant advancements towards the legalization/decriminalization of abortion in Argentina.

**Chapter Three: Abortion Rights**

3.1 Comparing the Abortion Rights Movement from 2011 to 2020

In the previous chapter, I explained the comparison between the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement during the initial growth phase from 2011 to 2010. In this chapter, I look at the time period of the Abortion Rights movement from 2011 to 2020 where it was stuck in a frozen state in need of reunification. I will summarize the reviews of the 2018 and 2020 movements of the Abortion Rights Campaign. This will provide a comparison for how the abortion rights movement was able to achieve reunification and progress out of a frozen state, in pursuit of its policy goal.

The timeline in figure 2 is provided to included contextual dates and events for the Abortion Rights movement during 2011 to 2020. I will address how the IFC of the Abortion Right movement caused the movement to fall into a frozen state, leaving it in need for reunification in order to advance the movements policy goal. To support this claim, I describe
how the movement was able to progress out of its’ frozen state because of the reunification
provided by the #NiUnaMenos movement.\textsuperscript{216} The movement’s progress has been notably defined
by the IVE Bill demonstrations in 2018 and 2020. For this reason I will outline the reviews of the
SMOs in the Abortion Rights coalition, with qualitative evidence from interviews, twitter, video
footage of the movements, local news outlets and independent reviews by each SMO.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MAIN EVENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>• National campaign submits bill for 3rd time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2012 | • March 13, “F.A.L.” case: Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation (CSJN) reaffirms women’s right to obtain legal abortion within the rules of the law. Assuring the “elimination of illegal hurdles” and “regulatory barriers”  
• Article 86 of the criminal code is amended to include all women who are raped (previously reserved for women who were mentally unstable)  
• Gender Identity Law: legally allowed to change gender  
• In Vitro Fertilization Law  
| 2013 | • National campaign submits bill for 4th time. Gained support but does not make discussion.  
• “WHO releases study saying 1 in 4 abortions in Argentina are safe from 2010 - 2014”  
• Belén Case: miscarriage wrongfully accused of illegal abortion and sentenced to 8 years in prison  
| 2014 | • National Health Ministry issues Comprehensive Care of People Entitled to Legal Termination of Pregnancy  
• Chiara Páez, pregnant, beaten by boyfriend and found buried in his grandparents backyard at age 14.  
• #NiUnaMenos movement gains traction  
| 2015 | • National Plan for the Prevention of Unintentional Pregnancy in Adolescence (Plan ENIA)  
• Belén is released along with mass protests for her freedom  
• Electoral Gender Parity law  
| 2016 | • National campaign submits bill for 6th time w/ 70 congressional signatures.  
• President rejects bill stating he will never legalize while president  
• “39,025 women admitted to hospitals barring complications from abortions or miscarriages”  
• UNHCR addresses Belén Case and urges Argentina to decriminalize abortion and end her sentence  
• Mass Protests for Lucia Perez and #NiUnaMenos  

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### Table 2. (Cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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| 2018 | February | • Feb. 21 “Pañuelazos” scarf protests // “green tide” mobilizations  
• *Green Tuesdays:* weekly events held by the National Campaign outside of Congress leading up to the final congressional debate.  
• Widespread youth participation in protests of girls ages 12 -14yrs  
• General Confederation of Works (CGT) pañuelazo, gender equality and union rights. |
|       | March   | • *March 8 International Women’s March* -- abortion becomes national topic  
• March 8 Autonomous CTA (Argentine Works Central Union) holds elections on same day as the women’s march [The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina]  
• President Macri allows for the Congressional abortion debate on March 1  
• First time the bill is discussed in congress  
• Massive demonstrations  
• National Campaign proposes 7th Bill to decriminalize abortion |
|       | June    | • June 3 March “Without Legal Abortion There is No Ni Una Menos; No to the Macri-IMF Pact” [The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina]  
• June 13 to 14 Vigil of one million people at the Congressional Plaza demanding congress pass the IVE bill the next day. [The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina]  
• June 14: Chamber of Deputies passes IVE Bill to Senate // 17-hour hearing // Vote 129 to 125  
• Protests go all day starting at noon |
| June  | August  | • Senate rejects bill to legalize abortion at 14 weeks of term [Sin Ley; zona de riesgo]  
• ANMAT authorizes Dominguez Laboratory to produce Misoprostol [Sin Ley; zona de riesgo] |
|       | October | • “ANMAT announces misoprostol will be available for purchase w/ prescription in pharmacies. The drug comes in sets of 12 which is the legal dose to terminate an abortion.” |
| 2019  | March   | *March 8 International Women’s March* |
|       | November| • National Health Secretary issues updated National Protocol  
• President Macri terminate National Protocol |
|       | December| • Resolution 1/2019 issues to reinstate National Protocol under new president Alberto Fernandez. Updated version claims health care officials must address a patient's eligibility for exemptions to art. 86 of the Criminal Code (ie. if they meet requirements for ban on abortion to be lifted) |
| 2020  | March   | • Argentina recorded its first positive case of Covid-19 on March 3, 2020 [Section 3]  
• “Argentina commits to protection of sexual and reproductive health rights of women during covid-19”  
• HRW recommendations |
|       | May     | • November 17, 2020 Alberto Fernández presented his bill to legalize abortion under the guise of a public health initiative, framing the legalization of abortion as a public health issue the country must address,[Section 3] |
|       | November| • National Campaign passes Bill to legalize abortion through lower house  
• Date set for a congressional vote on December 29, 2020. |
Timeline Overview

The above timeline in figure (2) is used to show the progress of the Abortion Rights movement since it achieved reunification after the #NiUnaMenos movement. The National Campaign has been able to make significant shifts to aid the movement in its achievement of legalization/decriminalization abortion in Argentina. The events from 2011 to 2020 are expansive and due to the limited capacity of a single person research team not all events of the Abortion Rights movement were able to be addressed. To obtain a more comprehensive timeline of all events the links to the timelines sources can be found in the footnote [212].

This chapter will follow the National Campaign’s SMOs newsletters/online blogs which frequently post reports, updates and event information; which to help increase visibility, by providing resources to activists and supporters of the Abortion Rights movement. In this chapter, I will examine a select number of reviews from the 2018 and 2020 IVE demonstrations, along with posts on social media (e.g., twitter and YouTube) and reports from news outlets. The advertisement of the events will be looked at via social media, local news outlets and organization blog posts. The examination of the events thorough these sources will help provide an understanding of how the National Campaigns IFC has affected the advancement of the movement’s policy goal.

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218 The timeline sources were pulled from, The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina, Argentine Socialists Fight for Abortion Rights in Congress and in the Streets, ARGENTINA'S PATH TO LEGALIZING ABORTION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IRELAND, THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA, Sin Ley: zona de riesgo, and The Human Cost of Barriers to Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Argentina [see section 3.2 for #NiUnaMenos references].
3.2 The Abortion Rights Movement from 2011 to Now

In this section, I look at how the National Campaign mobilized the Abortion Rights movement to progress out of a frozen state and achieve reunification. First I will explain how the #NiUnaMenos movement allowed for the Abortion Rights movement to reorganize its’ coordinated efforts, increase its’ ability to achieve small setbacks and achieve reunification. Then I analyze a review from Pan y Rosas that outlines the movements reunification and strategic goals. After this review, I look at the reviews of MST and Las Rojas to show how the leftist groups were most critical of the CTA and National Campaign. Followed by the response of the CTA and National Campaign who issued statements that are likely a direct response to the MST and Las Rojas critiques. Then I address the movement’s reunification by comparing the National Campaigns IVE demonstrations — to legalize/decriminalize abortion — in 2018 and 2020.

In recent years followed by the #NiUnaMenos movement in 2018 — a global movement to address femicide and gender based violence — the Abortion Rights movement began building support and strengthening the action of the National Campaign, increasing the movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. The #NiUnaMenos movement in Argentina was the countries reaction to the violent killing of women throughout the country. NACLA — a Latin American magazine and online news source — reported,

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221 Politi, Daniel, and Ernesto Londoño.

222 “Explainer: Why Argentina's Vote to Decriminalize Abortion Will Be Historic.”
On October 19, hundreds of thousands of women across Argentina braved a torrential downpour to participate in two extraordinary protests: an unprecedented women’s strike and a massive demonstration against femicide (femicidio)—that is, the killing of cis-gender and transwomen because of their gender. Reacting in rage and sorrow to the October 9, 2016, murder of Lucía Pérez, a 16-year-old high school student from the city of Mar de Plata who had been abducted, drugged, and gang-raped so viciously that she died of her injuries, Argentine feminist organizers relied on social media to organize the strike and orchestrate the protest in less than a week.223

The article outlined the reasons for the countries mass mobilization around the #NiUnaMenos movement. The events that followed the initial outburst of support for #NiUnaMenos224, would be reported as the moment the Abortion Rights movement regained momentum and reunification.

Activists have noted the #NiUnaMenos was a tipping point for the movement that catapulted it into a reunified state of motion.225 In a New York Times article a local activist was quoted — after the defeat of the 2018 IVE Bill rejection by congress — saying, “‘What Argentina did was mobilize young women and create the memory that we almost won,’ said Debora Diniz.”226 The comment was made in reference to the impact the #NiUnaMenos movement had on the Abortion Rights movement. Amnesty International posted an article discussing how the National Campaigns 2018 demonstrations were able to be increase effective because of the #NiUnaMenos movement, stating,

Many of the women involved in the #NiUnaMenos rallies quickly became aware of how the longstanding ban on abortion was contributing to the deaths of so many women and girls. Now, more people than ever before are talking about abortion and sharing their stories and experiences.

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224 Ibid.

225 4, Marina Mariaschjunio, Marina Mariasch, and Fotos: Sol Avena.

The “green wave”, so-called because of the green scarves and clothing that activists have chosen to wear, has undoubtedly created momentum for reproductive rights advocates to build on. The power of women’s collective organizing became obvious when President Macri made the unprecedented announcement in March that he would not try to veto the decision on the abortion bill, even though he opposes it.\textsuperscript{227}

The reunification of the Abortion Rights movement has shown through the National Campaigns progress, by passing the IVE Bill through the Chamber of Deputies in 2018 and 2020.\textsuperscript{228} The lessons learned from the 2018 IVE demonstrations — and the rejection of the Bill by Congress — helped the movement regain traction by reorganizing mobilization strategies to be more effective. The increased coordination of the National Campaign guided President Alberto Fernández, to push for the legalization of abortion during his presidential campaign in 2019.\textsuperscript{229}

Prior to the mobilization of the National Campaign during the 2018 IVE Bill attempt, the reviews of these events were scattered and brief. For this reason, I will conduct a brief overview of the demonstrations and ENM workshops of Strategies, covering the growth of participation and internal dynamics of movement demonstrations. For a more in depth analysis of the movement I analyze the reviews of the 2018 IVE Bill attempt that outline demonstrations leading up to the 13J and 8A rulings. Given the variation in internet access and social media platforms from 2011 to 2020 I focus on the 2018 and 2020 reviews. This focus will help mitigate potential misleading results by comparing times with similar access to online resources and demonstrations within two of the most prominent years in the Abortion Rights movement’s progress.


\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.

Activist Perceptions of the Congressional Debates and National Campaign for Legal, Safe and Free Abortion 2018

With the use of video footage I will describe the events and atmosphere of the 2018 demonstrations. On June 13, 2018, footage scans a crowd showing thousands of people celebrating the groundbreaking vote for the Chamber of Deputies to pass the National Campaign’s IVE bill to congress.\textsuperscript{230} Pure elation electrifies the crowd demonstrating the shift in the Abortion Rights Movements reunification since \#NiUnaMenos.\textsuperscript{231} The feelings of shock and excitement ring through the air, as screams of joy cover the crowded streets of Buenos Aires, with the announcement that the Chamber of Deputies has approved the IVE Bill to be passed to Congress.\textsuperscript{232} The demonstrations on the day of the first passing of the IVE Bill through the Chamber of Deputies, symbolized a shift in the movements ability to coordinate strategy in pursuit of a common policy goal.

Followed by the massive win of the National Campaign on June 13 (J13), activists and supporters for the Abortion Rights movement gather for the Congressional vote on August 8, 2018. Decorating the city balconies with green handkerchiefs people start to gather at the Congressional Plaza in Buenos Aires, Argentina on Tuesday, August 7-8, 2018.\textsuperscript{233} Generations of women and persons have been organizing in the weeks leading up to the final congressional

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{230}{“Que Sea Ley La Revolución De Las Pibas.” YouTube, October 2, 2018. https://youtu.be/Iq4wu_86bow.}

\footnotetext{231}{Ibid.}

\footnotetext{232}{“Que Sea Ley La Revolución De Las Pibas.” YouTube, October 2, 2018.}

\end{footnotes}
debate to approve the legalization of the IVE bill. Activists line the streets with the banners marked with the logos of their SMOs, the banners tower over crowds chanting slogans in support for the legalization/decriminalization of abortion. The slogan “Que Sea Ley” / “Let It Be Law” has taken over the crowd as people painted with green makeup and glitter coordinate efforts to support the Green Tide. Reunification of the movement is starkly visible, at the events shown in the videos, following a variety of demonstrations before the final congressional debate. Activists recounting their long standing solidarity with the National Campaign are overwhelmed with emotion as they watch the passion of the younger generations mobilize numbers they have never seen. Amongst the echoing chants between the coordinated SMOs, the towering banners start to overlap as people are anxiously awaiting the results of the congressional hearing. Without thought or hesitation people in the crowd start to look to one another for support as the shattering news breaks, the IVE Bill has not been approved by Congress. Without pause the speakers of the National Campaign revive the visibly shattered crowd, crying out “Va Sea Ley” / “It will be law”, reminding everyone that the fight far from being over.

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236 “Que Sea Ley La Revolución De Las Pibas.” YouTube, October 2, 2018.

237 Ibid.


239 “Que Sea Ley La Revolución De Las Pibas.” YouTube, October 2, 2018.

240 Ibid.
The videos following the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations visibly illustrate the reunification of the National Campaign.241 The following section will look at the reviews of the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations. The reviews show how the movements reunification has increased its’ coordinated abilities but has not completely eliminated the conflicting strategic differences. The reviews of the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations illustrate the movement’s increased ability to overcome difficulties, even though there are visible strategic differences. What these reviews show are that the National Campaign still experiences conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations but they do not provide the same difficulties as before. The obtained reunification has allowed the movement to increase coordination, demonstrated in the win of the 2018 IVE Bill at the Chamber of Deputies. The review of the events leading up to the rejection of the Bill illustrate how the movement was still having difficulty coordinating mobilization strategies and ability to overcome small setbacks.

Socorristas en Red Review of 2018 IVE Demonstrations

Noting the emotional response of the 8M demonstrations in 2018 in support of the IVE, Socorristas emphasize the unification of the movement on this day.242 Posted within days of the demonstrations the article opens with a rhetorical plea for participants to remember the collective unification of the events,

Automated English translation —This declaration arises as a necessity a few hours from the most immense political event that we have experienced so far in Argentina in relation to the fight for the right to abortion; a few hours from that diverse collective party, green, purple,

241 Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.

The article serves as a reminder for the movement to keep going and to not lose momentum in the fight to legalize abortion. Continuously remarking about the collective community within the movement marked by the historical passing of the IVE Bill through the Chamber of Deputies.\textsuperscript{244}

\textit{CTA Review of 2018 IVE Demonstrations}

The CTA wrote a quick review of the 2018 8M to dispute false accusation by the media that they were not presently advocating for the legalization of abortion at the demonstrations.\textsuperscript{245} Issuing a statement that the stigmatization of legalized abortion has encouraged the media to reframe the facts and create conflicts between SMOs.\textsuperscript{246} Other SMOs have claimed that the political stance of the CTA in Congress and other governing bodies has not been aligned with the Campaigns policy goal.\textsuperscript{247} An attempt to mend false information and misrepresentation of the organizations values and beliefs, the CTA the article emphasizes irregularities in their portrayal.\textsuperscript{248}

Tras la histórica jornada protagonizada en nuestro país en el marco del Paro Internacional Feminista, lamentamos y rechazamos las descalificaciones mediáticas que intentaron instalar que esta Central NO CONVOCÓ AL PARO el día de ayer. El documento leído en Plaza de Mayo afirma: “Denunciamos a las direcciones de las centrales sindicales – CGT y CTAs – por darle la espalda nuestro movimiento al no llamar al paro por el 8M y exigimos una vez más un paro

\textsuperscript{243} “El 8A Senado Votó Más Abandono, Crueldad y Desprecio Para Con Quienes Abortan.”
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{246} Ctanac. “Ctanac.”
The article visibly emphasizes the false information promoted by the media by putting “did not call for the unemployment” in all capital letters. The statement follows the review by MST and Las Rojas that critiques the CTA’s presence at the 2018 demonstrations and decision to hold votes for the labor unions. Other reviews of the movement notably stated that the CTA was holding union elections on the same day of the 2018 8M demonstrations, yet, the CTA remains adamant that they did not call them off to join the movement.\textsuperscript{250} In this statement the CTA makes an important note to discredit the flawed distortion of their participation in the 2018 8M. Attempting to strengthen the visibility of their solidarity with the National Campaign and feminist movement in the right to choose.\textsuperscript{251} Addressing potential setback from previous years demonstrates the movements increased coordinated abilities in 2020.

\textit{Pan y Rosas Review of 2018 IVE Demonstrations}

For the Pan y Rosas review of the 2018 IVE demonstrations, I look at an interview with the leader of Pan y Rosas (Andrea D’Arti), an elected congressional member of the socialist left

\begin{footnotesize}
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\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid.]\footnote{249}
\item Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.\footnote{250}
\item Cтанак. “Cтанак.” CTAA Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina Autnoma, October 3, 2019.\footnote{251}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
(Nathalia Seligra) and a local legislator (Myriam Bregman).\textsuperscript{252} Posted by the Left Voice (a leftist news outlet in Argentina and in affiliation with PTS and Pan y Rosas) the interview walks through a review of the nights events leading up to the 2018 8M demonstration.\textsuperscript{253} Outlining the historical progression of the movement, Andrea D’Atri takes note of the increased solidarity of the movements intergenerational participants.\textsuperscript{254} Andrea D’Atri, describes the growth of young participants as they transition into leadership roles and become active participants in the National Campaign.\textsuperscript{255} The participation of the young activists started during the #NiUnaMenos movement in 2015.\textsuperscript{256} D’Atri mentions how a 10 year old activist from #NiUnaMenos would now be three years older and experiencing political mobilization for the first time.\textsuperscript{257} The participation of young activists that join the campaign during #NiUnaMenos, points to the increased reunification and mobilization of the movement. It is possible that the reunification of the National Campaign was a result from intergenerational inspiration, where older generations felt a renewed sense of hope for younger activists. Visibly seeing young people fighting for their right to abortion was likely reminiscent for seasoned activists and helped to reorganize coordinated mobilization strategies.

Pulling away from the movements reunification, Nathalia Seligra makes an important statement in regards to the internal debates of Congress over the 2018 IVE Bill,

\textsuperscript{252} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{255} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
\textsuperscript{256} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
\textsuperscript{257} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
At the same time, we kept calling for people to take to the streets. That was the only way to guarantee that the bill would get through the lower house. Because in all the majority blocs, there were representatives who kept changing positions based on internal pressures from their parties.  

Reiterating the call from leftist groups to get people out into the streets, the statement by Seligra provides a nuanced perspective over the call action. The comment emphasizes the power of mobilization to put pressure on congress during these legislative debates. Seligra stresses the impact of social mobilization as a leading tool of the National Campaign to influence the congressional debates. The statement provided by Seligra aligns with the critiques of other leftist organizations that believes the National Campaign put too much importance on legislative efforts. The focus on legislative efforts left SMOs feeling there was not enough action in the streets to effectively mobilize the movement towards its’ goal. In the reviews to follow I will outline how Las Rojas and MST felt the CTA and National Campaign did not mobilize enough support in the streets; and, how the CTA and National Campaign published reviews that defend these claims.

Las Rojas 8M Review of 2018 IVE Demonstrations

Las Rojas, a prominent socialist feminist movement in Argentina writes about the 2020 pañuelazos (green scarf demonstrations) organized by the National Campaign. The article recounts the pañuelazos leading up to the IVE demonstrations, as lacking in their abilities to

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258 Ibid.

259 D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.

mobilize the masses because of the formality of the events. Known for their drums and infectious chants, Las Rojas describes their participation in the pañuelazos as being unmatched by any other SMO. The review states,

Pese a ello, Las Rojas fuimos con todo: con los bombos, los redo, graffitis y nuestros pañuelos verdes. Pero nos encontramos con un escenario donde no sólo que el resto de la izquierda nucleado en el FIT fue con formalidad, sino que la misma organización del pañuelazo, decantó en una acción muy lejos del nivel del que es capaz este movimiento histórico.

[Automated English translation — Despite this, Las Rojas went with everything: with the drums, the redo, graffiti and our green scarves. But we find ourselves with a scenario where not only that the rest of the left nucleated in the FIT went with formality, but that the organization of the handkerchief itself, opted for an action far from the level of which this historical movement is capable.]

The article notes a lack of organization leading up to the days of the pañuelazo, preventing the coordinated mobility of the National Campaigns SMOs. It is with a glum portrayal of the days events, that the article finished by a claim for the movement to remain united if it wanted to continue to make substantial progress.

An article written shortly after the August 8th March published on September 27, 2018 looks at the government when considering the shortcomings of the 8M 2018. The article focuses on the governments campaign against the legalization of abortion and its longstanding alliance with the Catholic and Evangelic church. Opening with a hopeful thought, Las Rojas activist Mariana Hidalgo Robles writes,

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261 Lasrojas. “¡Vamos Por Acciones Masivas Con La Fuerza De La Marea Verde!”
262 Ibid.
263 Ibid.
264 Ibid.
265 Lasrojas. “¡Vamos Por Acciones Masivas Con La Fuerza De La Marea Verde!”
267 Lasrojas. “¡El 28S Todas a Las Calles Por El Aborto Legal!”
Las enormes jornadas del 13J y el 8A han pasado a la historia de la pelea por el aborto en Argentina como la culminación de años de organización y lucha en las calles por nuestro derecho a decidir.

[Automated English translation — The enormous days of 13J and 8A have gone down in the history of the fight for abortion in Argentina as the culmination of years of organizing and fighting in the streets for our right to decide]

A rhetorical change from the more recent reflection on the events of 13J and 8A, indicates gained perspective as activists start to rally for the new bill proposal in 2020. The conversation over strategic mobilization is an example of the movement’s increased coordinated abilities. The increased awareness of the movement’s need to coordinate strategy in order to achieve policy goal has helped increase the movement’s effectiveness. The small increases in coordinated efforts started to be visible during the demonstrations is most visible in the

*MST 8M Review of 2018 IVE Demonstrations*

MST reviews the events leading up to the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations, in the 2019 article, *The struggle for abortion rights in Argentina*, posted on the International Socialist Review. The article notes a lack of coordination in the campaign’s mobilization strategies prior and during the 2018 Senate vote on the IVE Bill. Approaching the review with a critique of the movement’s coordination, MST describes the conflicting alliances between the National Campaign, founding members, and notable religious groups. The article outlines a lack of coordination between SMOs in the National Campaign, framing the overtly conflicting strategic differences between the movement’s founding members. MST reviews the National Campaign’s seventh consecutive

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268 Ibid.
269 D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
270 D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.
attempt to pass the IVE Bill through congress and breaks down the events leading up to the congressional debate into two phases.\textsuperscript{271}

The first phase is identified as the events between the first \textit{pañuelazo} on February 21 to the June 14 demonstrations at the time of the Chamber of Deputies debate over the 2018 IVE Bill.\textsuperscript{272} Prior to the debate, a series of weekly demonstrations — known as Green Tuesdays — were held in front of Congress to mobilize support for the National Campaign’s demand for legal, safe and free abortion.\textsuperscript{273} Building off of the countries growing support for the right to choose, the events were guided by,

The Green Tide flooded the streets of Buenos Aires and the rest of the country, while more than 700 speakers on both sides of the issue appeared before the congressional committees. Each week, while the committees met, demonstrations called Green Tuesdays took place in front of Congress. Call by the National Campaign, they involved open-mic rallies, chants, performances, and the turnout of radicalized hundreds, and even thousands of people. Day after day, groups of female artists, professionals, students, workers, and women from other fields expressed their support publicly.\textsuperscript{274} The Green Tide at the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations was a demonstration of the Campaign’s reunification following #NiUnaMenos. The days events put a spotlight on the movement’s regained traction to legalize/decriminalize abortion. MST describes an immense shift in support for the movement, as the movements iconic green handkerchiefs started ‘flooding’ the streets, schools and households of Argentina.\textsuperscript{275} Adorned by activists and ally’s, the handkerchiefs symbolized the movement’s reunification and subsequent coordination of mobilization strategies. Synonymous to the use of amparos and pride flags, the National Campaign built off of the

\textsuperscript{271} D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{273} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{274} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{275} Ibid.
traction from #NiUnaMenos by coordinating pañuelazos and green handkerchiefs to de-
stigmatize abortion in a widely religious country. The garnered support for the movement culminated in an overnight vigil before the debate at the Chamber of Deputies held on June 14. At the Congressional Plaza, the dedicated front of the National Campaign joined together an estimated one million people to mobilize support for the movement in the hours before the final debate. On June 14, 2018, the Chamber of Deputies voted 129 to 125 in favor of passing the National Campaigns bill onto congress for the first time. MST describes this monumental moment for the Abortion Rights Movements as the resulted of strategic lobbying and mobilization.

The MST article makes an important note that the diverging strategies of lobbying and mass mobilization began to hinder the unification of the National Campaign leading into the second phase. Similar to the review provided by Las Rojas, MST remarks,

However, in the heat of the feminist rise, two strategies calling for divergent courses of action began to appear within the Campaign. One focused on the so-called cabildeo, or institutional lobbying to gain votes, and the other, which we vehemently supported, emphasized broadening the popular mobilization in the streets as the sole guarantee of victory.

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279 D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.

280 Ibid.

281 Ibid.
After the initial win of the bill passing to the congressional floor, MST describes disorganized mobilization strategies in the second phase of the 2018 National Campaign debates.\footnote{Ibid.} The disorganization points the difficulties the National Campaign experienced as an IFC. The two diverging strategies of lobbying and mass mobilization exacerbated strategic differences within the movement by pulling the National Campaign's organization apart. MST critiques the National Campaign's focus on lobby strategies during the first phase while explicitly claiming, “During the second phase, it directly catered to the growing counteroffensive of the Catholic Church and its allies in the Senate”.\footnote{D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.} The opposing views on organizations religious affiliations with the movements is a common point of contention within the National Campaign. Specifically in the mission statements of both MST, Pan y Rosas and Las Rojas, who all actively desire to renounce religious affiliation with the movement. The article depicts the events leading up to the Congressional debate as disjointed and disorganized, noting that,

During the plenary sessions of the Campaign, held at the national and regional levels, the leadership rejected all proposals for mobilization: blocking bridges instead of “decorating” them with green; staging pañuelazos at Quinta de Olivos (the official residence of the president), at cathedrals in Buenos Aires and the rest of the country, at the UCR headquarters, even at the Senate, and also at the Autonomous CTA (Argentine Workers Central Union). This union federation — which organizes a number of key public sector workplaces in the Greater Buenos Aires area— refused to postpone its election on August 8, thus weakening the green mobilization on such a key day, when the Senate debated the abortion bill. In fact, they unfortunately placed political confidence in Congress and in the commitments made with the different blocs.

Along those same lines, on August 8, they decided to set up the central stage of the Campaign ten blocks from the Senate, instead of placing it right in front of it, as we had suggested, where the pressure of all those in favor of the right to choose would be most effective. That was the sorry grand finale of the soft stance of “good behavior” brought to the Campaign by member organizations that maintain strong ties to the PJ, the Church and the Pope.\footnote{D’Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.} The article goes on to critique the decisions made by the National Campaign in this second phase of the fight to legalize abortion in 2018, even noting overtly conflicting reviews of other leftist
SMOs values and beliefs. The overall review of the demonstrations and lobbying attempts of the National Campaign, at the Chamber of Deputies and Congressional debate, outline the movements coordinated mobilization in phase one and disorganized mobilization in phase two.

The conflicting internal dynamics of the 2018 IVE demonstration, points to the movement's conflicting strategic beliefs. These types of dynamics show the movement has an IFC with overtly conflicting values, beliefs, and ideological orientations. While the overall goal was unified, the tactics used to organize under a single unified goal during the 2018 Congressional Debate on Abortion varied based off of strategic differences. It was not until the 2020 IVE demonstrations did the National Campaign begin to reorganize mobilization strategies to overcome the strategic differences — this is outlined in the next section.

The Strategic Differences of the National Campaign and Leftist SMOs in 2018

MST continues to recount the diverging opinions of strategic differences amongst the organizations on the ground in the months leading to the 2018 congressional debate. The leftist organization strongly believes in protest and mobilization to vocalize the demands of the National Campaigns plea for the legalization of Abortion. The National Campaigns review was posted in 2019. The review works to address the setbacks from 2018 while also advocating the newly submitted 2019 IVE Bill. Opening with a reflection on the 2018 8M IVE

285 Ibid.

286 D'Atri, Andrea, Myriam Bregman, and Nathalia Seligra.

demonstrations, the Campaign is quick to address the outline the effectiveness of the 2018 mobilization strategies. Following an ominous ‘…’ the article put the next statement in bold,

... y seguiremos, en el 2019, donde hay que estar: en las calles, con el apoyo de las y los legisladores comprometidos con la demanda de mayor consenso del movimiento de mujeres, lesbianas, bisexuales, travestis y trans.289

[Automated English translation — ... and we will continue, in 2019, where we need to be: on the streets, with the support of legislators committed to the demand for greater consensus from the movement of women, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites and trans.]

The Campaign’s choice to emphasize their support for action to be put in the streets alludes to the SMOs review as a direct response to the subsequent critiques posted by MST and Las Rojas.

Compared to reviews by other organizations, the critique the National Campaign’s choice to place the 2018 IVE demonstrations 10 blocks from the congressional debate and focus on lobbying, are emphasized by the Campaign’s own review.290

Reflecting back on the events of the 2018 demonstrations preceding the congressional debate, Las Rojas reiterates MTS’s sentiment towards mobilization in a 2020 call to action article posted on their blog.291 With repeated urgency Las Rojas open the article by stating,

El 2018 nos dejó una enseñanza importantísima: para ganar nuestros derechos, hay que arrancarlos en las calles, porque nadie nos va a regalar nada.

[Automated English translation — 2018 left us a very important lesson: to win our rights, we have to tear them off the streets, because nobody is going to give us anything]292

The desire to bring the movement to the streets highlights potential polarizing factors that could pull the movement to side with lobbying strategies versus mobilizing strategies. Indicated in previous reviews the movements progression in the legal processes of decriminalizing abortion

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290 Vasco, Cele Fierro and Pablo.


292 Ibid.
appear to have created a ripple in strategic differences. Insisting on the Campaigns need to
mobilize in the streets, the reflective nature of the article draws parallels to the review of the
2019 MST Spring Issue, stating,

Por eso la Campaña tiene que llamar a salir, tiene que dejar de correr detrás de las promesas de
reuniones y organizar una gran movilización, para que la Marea Verde se exprese en las calles.

[automated english translation — That is why the Campaign has to call out, it has to stop
running after the promises of meetings and organize a great mobilization, so that the Green Tide
can express itself in the streets][293]

The varying reviews of the National Campaigns efforts in 2018 indicate a pattern of critique that
is notably visible in the aftermath of the demonstration. Raising concern over the Campaigns
growing compliance to be a “good” activist in the eyes of the government, has seemingly
sparked concerns about the Campaigns alliances amongst the leftist SMOs. Beholden to their
anti-capitalist missions, the leftist groups of the Abortion Rights Movement are the Campaigns
biggest critics. The leftist SMOs have issued reviews that demonstrate overtly conflicting values,
beliefs and ideological orientations.294

Las Rojas writes about another issue of strategic differences at the ENM following the
13J and 8A of 2018. With the workshop on Strategies to Legalize Abortion filled with
participants who had just suffered the loss of their National Campaigns defeat of the IVE Bill,
conflicts over strategic differences start to arise.295

En “Estrategias” hubo dos momentos. El sábado, con menos gente, se empezó hablando de si
debemos centrarnos en la lucha por el aborto legal o en difundir el “aborto autogestivo” con
misoprostol, y si hay que hacer el ENM en Buenos Aires o si tiene que seguir siendo “federal”./
Este momento duró poco, y no solo porque las K y las coordinadoras de la Comisión
Organizadora abandonaron el taller a los gritos, negándose a debatir con las que les llevábamos la
contraria.


294 Bellucci, Mabel.

295 Lasrojas. “33ºENM/ Taller De Estrategias Por El Aborto Legal.” Las Rojas. Accessed December 18,
The sparks of contention seemed to rise during the ENM strategies workshop, seemingly a consequence of the 2018 IVE Bill rejection. Creating a rift in the unification felt just a few weeks prior, the workshop indicates a revived divergence in the movement. Bringing up discussions that many believe are detracting from the Campaigns goal signifies a lack of agreement of strategic practices. Thus, reflecting on the movements difficulty coordinating mobilization strategies prior to the final 2018 IVE Bill vote.

Apart from certain patterns of internal conflict between the movements, there are also signs of reunification. The Rojas article on the ENM takes a positive shift by describing alliances amongst organizations of the Abortion Rights movement stating that,

Casi todas las participantes estuvieron de acuerdo: independientes, delegaciones de otros partidos de izquierda, de la CTA Autónoma, el Movimiento Evita, y compañeras de movimientos sociales. Las que no hablaron de movilizar sino de “votar bien” en 2019 fue otro grupo K que había llegado el domingo. Pero también huyeron gritando improperios en cuanto las presentes les recordaron que votar a los K no era una estrategia muy brillante que digamos para legalizar el aborto, ya que cuando estuvieron en el gobierno lo prohibieron durante doce años.

Even in agreement there are ripples of contention, however, some of the most unlikely allies are described to have reached a settlement on the movement next strategic steps. This article shows that the IFC of the Abortion Rights movement makes small setbacks difficult to overcome but

296 Lasrojas. “33ºENM/ Taller De Estrategias Por El Aborto Legal.”

297 Lasrojas. “33ºENM/ Taller De Estrategias Por El Aborto Legal.”
not impossible. Provided the reunification of the movement, the setbacks from the 2018 ENM did not prevent the movement from continuing advancements towards its’ policy goal. The review continues, by stating,

Ausencias que llamaron la atención: el PO vino muy escaso, y su propuesta (como la del MST) fue que “está bien” movilizarse pero la gran estrategia es lanzar una consulta popular por el aborto legal. El PTS ni apareció, y la Campaña Nacional tampoco participó en estos talleres. Queda por verse cuáles de las organizaciones que en el ENM se manifestaron a favor de movilizar contra el presupuesto, efectivamente se mueven ese día.

[Automated English translation — Absences that drew attention: the PO was very scarce, and its proposal (like that of the MST) was that “it is okay” to mobilize but the great strategy is to launch a popular consultation for legal abortion. The PTS did not appear, and the National Campaign did not participate in these workshops either. It remains to be seen which of the organizations that in the ENM demonstrated in favor of mobilizing against the budget, actually move that day.]

The review also depicts the movement’s varied levels of participation after the 2018 IVE Bill rejection. The disorganization of the movement’s coalition proves to create difficulties when attempting to coordinate the movement’s next steps. However, the difficulties have not been substantial enough to impede the movement from making substantial policy advancements (e.g., the 2018 IVE Bill passing through the lower house). The dialogue, although conflicting and seemingly argumentative, actually demonstrates the movement’s ability to reorganize mobilization strategies and overcome small setbacks. In the following section I will explain how the 2020 IVE Bill demonstrations show the National Campaigns increased coordination.

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298 Lasrojas. “33ºENM/ Taller De Estrategias Por El Aborto Legal.”.
299 Lasrojas. “33ºENM/ Taller De Estrategias Por El Aborto Legal.”.
3.3 The National Campaigns Fight to Legalize Abortion in 2020

In the previous section I followed the 2018 reviews by the National Campaigns SMOs. In this section, I will discuss the National Campaigns fight to legalize abortion in 2020, as it illustrated the movement’s progression since the 2018 IVE Bill demonstrations. I focus on the visible shifts, in the National Campaigns coordinated efforts to get the Bill approved by the lower house, in December 2020. To explain this shift, I outline how the movement has advanced towards its’ policy goal with increased coordination of mobilization strategies and renewed capacity to overcome small setbacks. I then discuss how the shift in the movement’s coordinated abilities has exemplified the ways the movement has made significant advances in legalizing/decriminalizing abortion. In summation, this section establishes how recent advances of the Abortion Rights movement show that ideologically fragmented coalitions do not prevent a movement from achieving its’ policy goal.

The 2020 Developments of the National Campaign

One of the most substantial shifts pending the movement’s reunification, has been the sponsorship of Alberto Fernández, who ran on a platform in advocating for the legalization of abortion as a public health issue. Alberto Fernández ran on abortion as a public health issue, advocating for legalization based on the dangers of clandestine abortion amongst economically poor peoples. With a growing support for his campaign, Fernández promised to legalize

\[\text{\textsuperscript{300}}\text{\textsuperscript{301}}\]


\textsuperscript{301} Ibid.
abortion in the months following his inauguration. A local news outlet — *teleSUR* — commented on the president-elect's stance from a tweet posted by Fernández, on November 2, 2019. The tweet said,

*En Una Sociedad Que Nos Educó Para La Vergüenza, Ser Libres Es La Mejor Respuesta. Vamos a Construir Una Argentina Con Más Derechos, En La Que Reinen El Amor y La Igualdad. Vamos a Construir Una Argentina Para Todos, Todas y Todes. #Orgullo.*

[Automated English translation — *In a society that raised us to shame, being free is the best answer. We are going to build an Argentina with more rights, in which love and equality reign. We are going to build an Argentina for everyone, everyone. #Orgullo.]*

Prior to the sponsorship of Fernández the National Campaign had yet to receive presidential sponsorship of the right to choose — let alone a call for the widely religious country to de-stigmatize abortion. The motion to advocate for the legalization of abortion became a prominent discourse throughout the country, advancing the Fernández campaign and Abortion Rights movement's policy goal. Adamant about his promise to legalize abortion upon his election, the National Campaign centered their mobilization strategies to actively hold Fernández to his promise. In the initial months of 2020, aware of his promise Fernández began to start the process of legalizing abortion, marking a monumental shift in the National Campaigns coordinated efforts. With a quick turn of the events, Argentina recorded its first positive case

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302 Anderson, Cora Fernández.

303 *jf, teleSUR/.* “Argentina's Alberto Fernandez Backs Legal Abortion.”


305 *jf, teleSUR/.* “Argentina's Alberto Fernandez Backs Legal Abortion.”

306 Anderson, Cora Fernández.

307 Anderson, Cora Fernández.

308 Ibid.
of Covid-19 on March 3, 2020, and the movement's progress would be overshadowed by the global pandemic. Shortly after the first outbreak of covid-19, Alberto Fernández shifted his attention to focus on the countries Covid-19 response efforts, a lengthy delay to deliver on his promise to legalize abortion would take hold. The National Campaign and local SMOs started to coordinated mobilization strategies, that put pressure on the President to uphold his promise and bring the debate to legalize abortion to the Congressional floor.

On November 17, 2020 Alberto Fernández presented his bill to legalize abortion as a public health crisis and introduce a second initiative known as the ‘1000 days plan’. With the announcement of the bill to legalize abortion, came the presentation of a second bill to be sent to the Chamber of Deputies, called the ‘1000 days plan’. The ‘1000 days plan’ looks to address economic difficulties that might influence peoples decisions to receive an abortion, by creating an initiative which support people during pregnancy and in the first 1,000 days postpartum.

After the Bills were presented, the National Campaigns IVE Bill, the presidents National

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313 Ibid.

Grainger, James. “Congress Begins Debate on Bill to Legalise Abortion.”
Executive Power (PEN)\textsuperscript{315} Bill and ‘1,000 Day Plan’ would be presented before the Chamber of Deputies on December 4, 2020.\textsuperscript{316} While the Presidents support marked an important shift in the movement’s renewed ability to achieve its’ policy goal; it is also important to note, the variation in the Presidents IVE Bill to the original IVE Bill proposed by the National Campaign.\textsuperscript{317}

The National Campaign submitted its’ eight IVE Bill to gain parliamentary status on May 28, 2019, which was built off of the 2018 IVE Bill approved by the lower house.\textsuperscript{318} In a post by the National Campaign the coalition outlines the similarities and differences between the PENs IVE Bill and their own.\textsuperscript{319} Firstly, both bills promote the right to legal abortion within the first 14 weeks of pregnancy; free access, sexual education, public health and safety guaranties; penalize those who infringe on ones right to an abortion; and allow for abortions after 14 weeks in the instance of severe health risks or rape.\textsuperscript{320} The National Campaign’s IVE Bill strongly demands the decriminalization of abortion; prevent any penalization for pregnant people that wish to receive an abortion or perform an abortion; take out the right to conscious objection — a doctors ability to deny a persons right to abortion based on personal beliefs.\textsuperscript{321} The PENs IVE Bill maintains the restrictions of criminalization for persons who obtain an abortion after 14 weeks —


\textsuperscript{316} Grainger, James.

\textsuperscript{317} Campaña. “Consideraciones Sobre El Proyecto Del PEN. Es Ahora #AbortoLegal2020.”

\textsuperscript{318} Campaña. “Consideraciones Sobre El Proyecto Del PEN. Es Ahora #AbortoLegal2020.”

\textsuperscript{319} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{320} Campaña. “Consideraciones Sobre El Proyecto Del PEN. Es Ahora #AbortoLegal2020.”

\textsuperscript{321} Ibid.
outside of legal requirements — and anyone who performs an abortion.\(^{322}\) The National Campaign coordinated infographics to inform people on the different bills and maintained a platform that promoted unified information across SMOs.\(^{323}\)

Without letting the pandemic affect the reunified movement, the National Campaign mobilized activists to put pressure on the President to follow through on his promise.\(^{324}\) The National Campaign quickly saw the need to reorganize mobilization strategies with the new found restrictions of the covid-19 lockdown. Activists address the setbacks presented by the pandemic and reorganized mobilization strategies to be held on zoom; hosting virtual pañuelazos, debates and discussions; and increase access to resources for people in need of abortions during lockdown.\(^{325}\) The presentation of the three Bills was followed by a series of debates, from December 4 to 11, to get the passed through the lower house and onto Congress.\(^{326}\)

To outline the events leading up to the Chamber of Deputies passing the Bill to congress

**Increased Strategic Organization of the 2020 National Campaign**

Looking at the events in support of the 2020 vote to legalize abortion, I will address the comparative differences between the 2018 IVE demonstrations and the 2020 IVE demonstrations. In reference to the previously described progress of the movement’s winning of

\(^{322}\) Campaña. “Consideraciones Sobre El Proyecto Del PEN. Es Ahora #AbortoLegal2020.”

\(^{323}\) Ibid.

\(^{324}\) Ibid.


\(^{326}\) Grainger, James.
the lower house, I will briefly explain the National Campaigns promotion and organization of the 2020 events. Then I will compare the 2018 and 2020 movements.

With the goal to mobilize the Campaign and ensure the President kept his promise, the National campaign effectively coordinated demonstrations building off of the critiques of 2018. The first weeks of December 2020 have a demonstrated a historic shift in Argentina’s Abortion Rights Movement strategic abilities. With debates starting the week of December 4, the National Campaign mobilized the Abortion Rights Movement with a strategic efficiency the movement had never seen before. By creating a series of in person and virtual activities, pañuelazos, debates, and discussions, the National Campaign has been dedicated to addressing the movements strategic shortcomings of 2018. The National Campaign altered its’ slogans to incorporate the need for mobilization in the streets and congress, as the focus has previously been centered on active participation via protests and demonstrations.

The most notable demonstration of the movement’s reunification was by the join efforts of virtual and in person demonstrations, held by the National Campaign and prominent leftist groups. A local news article from September 28, 2020 stated,

> Unas 1.000 mujeres vía Zoom levantaron sus pañuelos verdes desde sus casas. Por YouTube, más de 6.000 acompañaron el acto virtual para exigir la sanción urgente de la Ley de Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo. Otras 2.000 lo siguieron por Facebook. Lo hicieron en el día de la lucha por la despenalización y legalización del aborto en América Latina y el Caribe. Además del pañuelazo virtual, que comenzó a las 18.30 horas y fue organizado por la Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito, en el Congreso se reunieron agrupaciones de izquierda con la misma consigna y el hashtag #AbortoLegal2020.

327 *insert movement data/tracking of strategic process prior to this section.

328 ?, #AbortoLegal2020. “Estamos En Las Calles y En El Congreso. Las Compañeras Nelly Minyersky, @Martaaalanis, @MeniniMonica, Dolores Fenoy Junto a @Carlavizzotti, Presentes En El Debate Histórico En @DiputadosAR Por #AbortoLegal2020 Ptc.twitter.com/M3K487nBEF.” Twitter. Twitter, December 10, 2020. https://twitter.com/CampAbortoLegal/status/1337152346309136394.

[Automated English translation — About 1,000 women via Zoom raised their green scarves from their homes. On YouTube, more than 6,000 accompanied the virtual act to demand the urgent sanction of the Law of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy. Another 2,000 followed him on Facebook. They did so on the day of the fight for the decriminalization and legalization of abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to the virtual handkerchief, which began at 6.30 p.m. and was organized by the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, leftist groups met in Congress with the same slogan and the hashtag #AbortoLegal2020.]

The use of zoom, Facebook, YouTube and in person events emphasizes the National Campaigns reunification, through the coordinated efforts of notoriously conflicting organizations within the coalition. The reviews of the 2018 IVE demonstrations illustrated the overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations of the Abortion Rights movement. Exhibited by the harsh reviews between organizations on the location of the demonstrations and lack of active participation across the coalition. In 2018 the National Campaign and leftist groups could not agree on joint mobilization strategies and in 2020 their coordinated efforts show the movement has reorganized mobilization to fit the needs of the participant. The coalition provided a way for participants to join in more formal debates and discussions via online platforms, while also addressing the leftist groups’ call to action for mobilization to take place in the streets.330

The joint effort of the National Campaign and leftist groups in 2020 has clearly shown how the movement has progressed since 2018. The local article by Clarin also references a tweet of the virtual events posted by the National Campaign,

[#{AbortoLegal2020} // @CampAbortoLegal]

“¡Que Suba La Marea! Mil Activistas De Todo El País En El Zoom, 2 Mil En Facebook y Más De 6 Mil Siguiendo La Transmisión En Nuestro Canal YouTube. Así Fue El Pañuelazo Virtual De La

The tweet was accompanied by images showing participants holding up green handkerchiefs in the virtual events. The thread of tweets continues on to show a growing number of participants, as each retweet adds an image of the virtual events. The movement was able to effectively transform the setback of the global pandemic to increase coordinated efforts of the National Campaign.

In addition to the virtual events, the National Campaign and supporting organizations have consistently posted; educational infographics (explaining the three bills presented), posted the schedule of the debates and movement activities, and promotional videos following the campaigns progress over the years. With follow up reviews of each days events

331 @CampAbortoLegal En Ocasión Del #28deSeptiembre. ES URGENTE #AbortoLegal2020 Pic.twitter.com/BmVaDptzYb.” Twitter. The tweet was accompanied by images showing participants holding up green handkerchiefs in the virtual events. The thread of tweets continues on to show a growing number of participants, as each retweet adds an image of the virtual events. The movement was able to effectively transform the setback of the global pandemic to increase coordinated efforts of the National Campaign.

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337 With follow up reviews of each days events
organizations have consistently shared information that is uniform, accessible and indicative of the movements agenda. One organization within the Campaign — *Socarristas en Red* — addressed the dangers of reduced access during the global pandemic head on, by increasing access to abortion resources and psycho-support phone help-lines. In the early days following the 2020 passing of the IVE through the Chamber of Deputies, the organization tweeted,

> Arranca el twitazo de 10 a 13! Sumate con el HT #EsAhoraSenado para exigir #AbortoLegal2020 Generamos, impulsamos e instalamos el Proyecto IVE, vamos por la sanción definitiva en @SenadoArgentina Una cuestión de salud pública, DDHH y justicia social. Es ahora, es urgente.

[Automated English translation]

Start the twitazo from 10 to 13! Join the HT #EsAhoraSenado to demand #AbortoLegal2020 We generate, promote and install the IVE Project, we go for the final sanction in @SenadoArgentina A matter of public health, human rights and social justice. It is now, it is urgent.

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The organization called for activists and supporters of the National Campaign to coordinate action with a “twitter takeover”; emphasizing the need to legalize abortion as a matter of public health safety.\(^{344}\) By linking mobilization of the National Campaign to fit the narrative of the Presidents claim access to abortion was a public health issue. The Abortion Rights movement in 2020 was able to effectively overcome the setback of the covid-19 and coordinate in spite of any unforeseen difficulties. The coordinated of tactics to transform setbacks into effective mobilization strategies helped the movement advance towards achieving its’ policy goal.

The reunified Abortion Rights movement certainly demonstrated a new shift in coordinated mobilization. The continued show of support amongst movements was palatable over twitter and zoom videos.\(^{345,346}\) Organizations within the National Campaign sharing videos of streets flooded with green scarves and people coming together in celebration of the 2020 Bill passing through the Chamber of Deputies.\(^{347}\) There was even a moment in the lower house — following the passing of the IVE Bill in the lower house where representatives in the Chamber of Deputies — pulled out green handkerchiefs and chanted the slogans of the National


\(^{346}\) ?, #AbortoLegal2020. “Afuera Del Congreso Esperando La Media Sanción y Como En 2018,La Plaza Es Nuestra.Porque Se Trata De Nuestra Libertad.Hasta Que Sea Ley! #AbortoLegal2020 #SeraLey @Ateprensa Pic.twitter.com/Gh0T5P0DHN.” Twitter. Twitter, December 11, 2020. https://twitter.com/PorAbortoLegal/status/1337189983220883456.

The visual reunification of the movement was seen both on the house floor and in the streets. Organization were tweeting about the 2020 demonstrations in reference to the 2018 demonstrations,

[Bravas Socorristas LP // @socorristasLP]
Afuera del Congreso esperando la media sanción y como en 2018, la plaza es nuestra.
Porque se trata de nuestra libertad.
Hasta que sea ley! #AbortoLegal2020 #SeraLey #AhoraQueSeaLey @CampAbortoLegal @socorristasarg @ateprensa

[Automated English translation]
Outside the Congress waiting for the half sanction and as in 2018, the square is ours.
Because it's about our freedom. Until it's law! Green heart # AbortoLegal2020 #SeraLey #AhoraQueSeaLey @CampAbortoLegal @socorristasarg @thepress

The tweet is evidence that the movement had coordinated the 2020 demonstrations based on lessons learned from 2018. The decision to move the demonstrations in front of congress shows that the National Campaign was aware of the strategic differences between the SMOs. Apart from the difficulties experienced by the Abortion Rights movement after the defeat of 2018, the movement was clearly able to address setbacks (regardless of size) and advance towards the achievement of its’ policy goal. The National Campaigns ability to make substantial progress towards its’ policy goal nearing the coalitions 16 year anniversary in 2021, shows just how resilient the movement has been. The National Campaign is an example of an ideologically fragmented coalition that was able to transition out of a frozen state. The reunification of the movement has been a remarkable shift in progress for the movement’s next steps.

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350 Ibid.
Twitter was overflowing with information during the initial weeks of the 2020 IVE Abortion Rights debates. Activists were unified and flooding twitter feeds with green images, #QueSeaLey, #AbortoLegal2020, and videos of participants demonstrating in front of congress. With the covid-19 global pandemic in full swing, the demonstrations were taking place both online and in person. The switch to video conferencing created an increased level of visibility for what was happening on the congressional floor. The most obvious shift in the 2020 IVE demonstrations was the National Campaigns swift unification of hashtags, videos and calls to get people in the street. Instead of holding the demonstrations 10 blocks from congress — as the Campaign did in 2018 — the demonstrations were directly in front of congress. The shift in location marked a reunification felt by the movement since the increased coordination of #NiUnaMenos. The new placement of the demonstration highlights the National Campaigns awareness of strategic shortcomings and desire to establish a reunified front. The patterns of the 2020 demonstrations, as the National Campaign won the lower house for the second time, show how the movement has evolved out of a frozen state.

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Winning the Lower House and the Abortion Rights Movement’s Lasting Resilience

The events that lead to the congressional debates in December 2020 demonstrate the movement’s increased coordinated ability to advance its’ policy goal. On December 11, 2020, the Abortion Rights movement made significant advancements, as the President’s Bill passed through the Chamber of Deputies with 131 votes in favor and 117 votes against.\footnote{Argentina Moves Toward Legal Abortion Amid Push for Women's Rights.} The comparison of the 2018 and 2020 demonstrations showed the increased coordination of the National Campaign in pursuit of its’ policy goal. With the two successful gains of passing the IVE Bill through the lower house. The two year period — from 2018 to 2020 — exemplified the shift in the National Campaigns strategic coordination and achieved reunification. The National Campaign was able to reorganize mobilization strategies to be more effective, which allowed the movement to overcome small set-backs (e.g., virtual protests and limited in person gatherings) to continue progressing towards its’ policy goal.

The two demonstrations in 2018 and 2020 were the most historic moments for the National Campaign was able to achieve progress towards its’ policy goal by passing the bill to Congress after gaining approval from the Chamber of Deputies. I claim the 2018 IVE demonstration reviews by SMOs in the National Campaign, show how the movement has overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The overt conflicts of interest are most visible in the Campaigns disagreement over which mobilization strategies to use. I show how these overt conflicts of interest have made it more difficult for the movement to overcome small setbacks — with specific regard to the period after Congress rejected the 2018 IVE Bill. Then I

\footnote{“Argentina Moves Toward Legal Abortion Amid Push for Women's Rights.”}

* The Abortion Rights movement surpassed the number of votes granted to the LGBTQ+ movement in 2010, which was able to secure, “126 votes for and 110 votes against” in the lower house.
look at how the IVE demonstrations of 2020, show how the movement was able to increase coordinated efforts and reorganize mobilization strategies to achieve its’ policy goal — in comparison to the 2018 IVE demonstration and reviews. I argue that this comparison is an example of how a movement can overcome the difficulties of an IFC and achieve reunification to advance its’ policy goal.

The National Campaign shows a movement with an IFC might have difficulties when attempting to achieve of a policy goal but it by no means suggests it is doomed to fail. The events from 2018 to 2020 are illustrative of the resilience of Argentina’s Abortion Rights movement. Without giving up the movement has continued to push through a frozen state into reunification to achieve its’ policy goal. To understand this process helps us to gather the first few variables in figuring out what drives a movement’s success based on internal dynamics.

In the face of a global pandemic — what would have likely been a difficult setback to overcome — the reunified National Campaign was able to enhance its’ coordination and maintain a steady progression towards the legalization/decriminalization of abortion. It is important to note that the joint effort of the SMOs, within the National Campaign, illustrate the movement’s ability to overcome even the most daunting barriers to achieve its’ goal. The National Campaign and Abortion Rights movement has been able to achieve its’ greatest gains yet, even during lockdown and a global pandemic. The remarkable demonstration of commitment and coordinated ability from the reunification of the movement has shown the National Campaign and Abortion Rights movement’s resilience to create change.

The increased coordination between 2018 to 2020 shows how the Abortion Rights movement was able to increased coordinated efforts of mobilization strategies and overcome
small setbacks. This is most visible in the movement’s mastered ability to maintain progress overtime, out of the frozen state, and make substantial advances towards its’ policy goal. The movement’s capacity to pass the IVE Bill through the Chamber of Deputies in 2018 and 2020 shows how the Abortion Rights movement’s resilience helped the movement progress out of a frozen state.

The Abortion Rights movement of Argentina is an example of an IFC that was able to overcome the difficulties of overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The movement’s achieved reunification helps to explain ways for how future movement’s can progress out of a frozen state. With the increased coordination of mobilization strategies the National Campaign was able to overcome small setbacks (e.g. the global pandemic) and advance towards its’ policy goal. The advancement of the National Campaign in 2020 is far beyond what would be expected from a movement restricted by covid-19. Yet, the National Campaign and the Abortion Rights movement in Argentina was able to address the restrictions of a global pandemic head on and increase its coordinated efforts to legalize/decriminalize abortion. The demonstrated progress of the Abortion Rights movement is an example to all future movements in need of assistance out of a frozen state. Through great determination the National Campaign was able to achieve a reunification that shift the conversation about abortion rights forever. The National Campaign and efforts of the activists in the Abortion Rights movement has demonstrated to movements across Latin America, that the restrictions of patriarchal heteronormative oppression can be broken down.
Chapter Four: Final Analysis and Conclusion

4.1 Final Analysis and Overview

In this chapter, I first summarize my argument. Then I address its’ application to my case comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina. After that I discuss on how my findings differ from current literature on social movement theory. To which I conclude my thesis, with a brief overview for how my argument can be applied to facilitate other social movements and further future investigations. Now I will proceed to present a consolidated review of my argument.

My argument addressed the key factors that cause certain social movements to achieve policy outcomes faster than others. In order to properly answer this question, I looked at how the internal dynamics of social movement coalitions drive a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. To frame my argument I claimed there are two different types of coalitions, *ideologically convergent coalitions (ICC)* and *ideologically divergent coalitions (IFC)*. An ICC was what I defined as the leading cause of a movement’s ability to more directly achieve a policy goal and that an IFC caused movement’s to fall into a frozen state. It was this frozen state that I found prevented movement’s from making substantial progress in pursuit of their policy goal, unless the movement was able to achieve reunification.

Concluding Discussion

In chapter 2, I applied my argument of ICCs and IFCs to a case comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s in Argentina, using qualitative evidence and a reconstructed
timeline of the movement’s \cite{figure 2}. The preliminary research of my thesis found that the LGBTQ+ movement was best representative of an ICC and the Abortion Rights an IFC. The common set of values, beliefs and ideological orientations of the FALGBT increased the LGBTQ+ movement’s coordinated ability to legalize same-sex-marriage within the first four years of the coalition's growth phase — this means the movement was able to achieve its’ policy goal prior to the five year period was over. I found the coordinated application of mobilization strategies created consistency within the coalition, which helped advance the movement to achieve its’ policy goal of legalizing same-sex-marriage. Alternatively, I showed that the time it took the Abortion Rights movement to advance its’ policy goal — of legalizing/decriminalizing abortion — was due to the overtly conflicting values, beliefs, and ideological orientations of the National Campaign. The disorganization of the National Campaign’s mobilizing strategies exacerbated overtly conflicting differences within the movement and cause small set-back to turn into major roadblocks. This propelled the Abortion Rights movement into a frozen state, preventing the coalition from gaining substantial progress towards its’ policy goal, until it was able to achieve reunification.

In chapter 3, I supplied qualitative evidence and a reconstructed timeline \cite{figure 3} to support my argument, that the Abortion Rights movement had an IFC and was in a frozen state from 2010 to 2017. I found that the formation of the “NiUnaMenos” campaign in 2015 created an opportunity for the National Campaign to achieve reunification — growing the movement’s coordination from 2015 to 2017. The reunification allowed for the Abortion Rights movement to advance out of the frozen state and begin progressing its’ achievement of a policy goal (legalization/decriminalization of abortion). To best describe this trend I examined the IVE Bill
demonstration’s of 2018 and 2020. The 2018 demonstration was a monumental moment for the Abortion Rights campaign as it established the movement’s ability to make substantial gains in achieving its’ policy goal. It was the 2018 demonstration that marked the Abortion Rights movement as progressing out of a frozen state and the 2020 demonstration that emphasized the movement’s reunification. One of the most important takeaways from this chapter was the increased strategic coordination of the National Campaign from 2018 to 2020. I concluded these findings with the open ended accomplishment of the Abortion Rights movement as it awaits the Congressional vote over the 2020 IVE Bill on December 29.

Overall we saw that LGBTQ+ movement was evidence of an ICC, that established a coalition based on a desire to avoid difficulties from overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations (exemplified in the conflicting policy goals already infringing on the movements progress). The Abortion Rights movement was an example of an IFC, that established a coalition in spite of overtly conflicting values, beliefs and ideological orientations. The way in which the Abortion Rights coalition was established made the movement’s ability to coordinate mobilization strategies and overcome setbacks more difficult. These difficulties were visible during the growth phase of the National Campaign, which caused the movement to fall into a frozen state in need of reunification. It was not until the National Campaign experienced reunification, that the Abortion Rights movement was able to make substantial progress to achieve its’ policy goal. The findings of chapter 3 provided evidence for how an IFC is not fully unable to achieve a policy goal but rather experiences more difficulties along the way. The Abortion Rights movement’s recent success in 2020, illustrates that an IFC does not mean a movement has failed but instead requires resilience to sustain a movement in a frozen state.
An interest visible patterns of conflicting internal dynamics between SMOs, fighting to achieve the same policy goal, is what brought me to discover the research I present in this argument. After noticing this pattern I found that social movement theory is commonly focused on the external factors which contribute to a movement’s success, altogether, ignoring the agency activists have over their movements success. The measurement of a movement success often means that patterns that define a movement’s policy outcome are not addressed until it was either a success or failure. Based off of my work I saw how addressing the internal dynamics of coalitions — while they were actively attempting to achieve a policy outcome — can bridge the gap between activists and social movement theorists. The internal framework I used could provide coalitions with access to information that could help them avoid the limitations of an IFC. This underlines the applicability of my argument as a template for coalitions to address ineffective mobilization strategies and the set-backs of overtly conflicting values, beliefs, and ideological orientations. In essence, the crux of my argument is meant to be applied outside of academia and into the larger realm of social movement activism. The discussion over the success and failure of a movement is not an either or but an understanding that neither is absolute.

4.2 Alternative Arguments

Here I present three prominent alternative arguments to my findings. First, I consider previous literature that defines a movement’s success as being dependent on regime type and opportunities provided by democracy. Then I address arguments which claim that a movement's choice of violent or nonviolent tactics can predict its’ success. To which I consider arguments stating the
primary hinderance to the Abortion Rights movement’s progress is the firm religious culture of Argentina.

**Political Frameworks and Regime Types**

Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow (2015) argue under the claim that different types of regimes create certain favorable and unfavorable conditions for a movement’s success. With direct reference to Argentina, their argument derives movement success from democratic and hybrid regimes. The factors that contribute to the success of a movement in these political environments are a combination of opportunities provided by, “A regime’s relations, institutions, opportunities, threats, and repertoires…”. With a strict focus on the conditions within a regime, the argument is limited by its’ external scope of a movement’s environment. As I have previously described — in sub-section 1.3 ‘case selection’ — the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s function within the same country, with similar (if not the same) opposition groups and oppressive factors. My argument shows that the similarities of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s expose limitations to the claim that external regime factors drive a movement’s success.

**Nonviolent Action and “Success”**

Going back to the argument proposed by Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) they define a movement’s success as a direct result of nonviolent movements. The argument maintains that the

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356 Contentious politics. Chapter 3: Democracy, Undemocracy, and Change in Repertoires. 72.

357 Tilly, Charles, and Sidney George. Tarrow. 72.
size of a movement is dependent on the use of nonviolent tactics, which by and large, increase a 
movement’s ability to achieve success. Chenoweth and Stephan claim that the use of 
nonviolent tactics is more likely to flip moderate’s in support of participating in movement 
found that success is not driven by nonviolent movements but instead the small outbursts of 
vioence during a movement’s initial stages. This argument find there to be a radical flank effect, 
in which, violent outbursts provide nonviolent movement’s with leveraging opportunities to push 
their movement’s agenda and gain success. What both of these arguments are missing is the 
addition factor of a movement’s internal dynamics. As I shift the focus from external support that 
is persuaded by choice of tactics, my argument questions why two nonviolent movement’s have 
varied levels of success. To apply my framework — viewing internal dynamics of coalitions as 
the drivers of a movement’s success — we can question why two movement’s with nonviolent 
tactics have varied levels of success?

Religion and Abortion Rights

The Abortion Rights movement is related to the church in three regards, it has organizations 
within the coalition supporting catholics for the right to decide, it is directly affiliated with the 
anti-church&state movement and is in direct opposition to its’ religious countermovement. The 
organizations that are catholics for the right to decide suggest there is space for religious groups 
to be in favor of abortion. This makes it difficult to unanimously say, “religion has prohibited the

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358 Chenoweth, Erica (, and Maria J. Stephan. Why Civil Resistance Works: the Strategic Logic of 

359 Ketchley, Neil. Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring. Cambridge, 
legalization of abortion” because religious groups are actively involved in the Abortion Rights movement. The crossover between the movement participants and countermovement opponents suggest religion is unlikely to be the sole reason abortion has not been legalized/decriminalized in Argentina. What this does suggest is that the complex relationship between religion and the Abortion Rights movement is certainly an area of focus for further research.

Continuing the Discussion on LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights

The comparison of the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement is not a new phenomenon. The comparison has sparked debated between theorists attempting to decipher which countries are more conducive to the progressive ideals of LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights. Yet, an in depth comparison of transnational movement’s could help further the understanding of how internal dynamics of coalition’s alter a movement’s ability to achieve a policy goal. Without the limitations of time and resources, I would hope to continue the comparative analysis of ICCs and IFCs within the LGBTQ+ and Abortion Rights movement’s to include other countries in Latin America. After setting up the ground work for understanding the basic concepts of ICC and IFC, a transnational comparison could help us figure out if these dynamics travel beyond Argentina.
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