


CASE STUDY

Abortion in Argentina

Movement Expansion, the Green Wave and Legalization

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A large crowd of people at night, many wearing face masks, with some holding up phones and a small firework exploding in the air. The image has a green tint.

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CASE STUDY • SEPTEMBER 2022

In 2018, the abortion rights movement in Argentina became a mass phenomenon, earning its place in popular culture and mass media. Between April and August of 2018, Argentina's National Congress discussed for the first time a bill to legalize abortion, and the public hearings held during the legislative debate showcased the political strength of the movement, the diversity of its arguments, and the extent of its alliances. At the same time, thousands of women of all ages flooded the streets across the country. Since then, an uncontrollable wave of green handkerchiefs has brought new energy to feminist movements throughout Latin America.

The bill was narrowly defeated in the Senate that year, after having been approved by the Chamber of Deputies. However, it was clear in that moment that the social decriminalization of abortion in Argentina had been achieved, and that law change was only a matter

of time. [Public opinion](#) studies in 2018 showed an increase in positions in favor of ending clandestine abortion and the criminalization of women. Finally, on December 30, 2020, the [Law on Access to the Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy](#) was approved, decriminalizing abortion for all pregnant people during the first fourteen weeks, and establishing the health system's obligation to provide comprehensive and free coverage for this service. The new law also guarantees the right to have access to abortion after the fifteenth week in cases of rape or risk to the life or health of the pregnant person, as was already provided for in the legislation in force in the country since 1921.

The legalization of abortion in Argentina is part of a regional trend toward liberalization of abortion laws in Latin American that has been underway since the 2000s, driven by feminist organizations and movements

in each country. In this context, the [green wave](#) that originated in Argentina has had a broad reach throughout the region. The birthplace of the current Pope, Argentina was the first country in Latin America to legalize abortion without going through a process of deep secularization (as was the case in Mexico and Uruguay – both of which had moved to legalize abortion prior to Argentina). The impact of the green wave makes us wonder how the movement for abortion rights in Argentina developed to become one of the most influential contemporary social movements in the region.

The green wave and legalization of abortion were the result of more than three decades of building a movement for abortion rights in Argentina. As the movement grew, it became an inter-sectoral, inter-class, and inter-generational movement with a strong presence in territories throughout the country. Its backbone is the *Campaña*

Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto (National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion), which was created in 2005 and built on almost two decades of activism. In addition to the organizations that make up the campaign, there are others whose years of work around diverse strategies have contributed to the strength that this movement has today. Perhaps the main lesson learned from the Argentinian movement is the value of perseverance and continuity in the organization and struggle, despite multiple defeats, as well as the ability to maintain fundamental agreements over time, despite strong internal differences. For this reason, we deem it necessary to analyze how the movement developed and not just its resounding success in the last few years. To understand how the movement's strength was created from its cross-sectional nature and its many articulations, this report focuses on three main characteristics:

1

Relationship with broader struggles and confluence with new collectives and social movements

2

Construction of a symbol with broad resonance, a fundamental political agreement, and an intersectional framework

3

Diversity of strategies and forms of activism: The articulation of an ecosystem



Campana Nacional por el Derecho al
Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito

CÓRDOBA



1. Relationship with broader struggles and confluence with new collectives and social movements

One of the objectives of the abortion rights movement in Argentina was to take the demand beyond the boundaries of a feminism that were mainly rooted in the urban middle classes, something that was also the case at different stages of the movement in other countries in the region. In Argentina, the articulation of the abortion rights movement with other demands and social groups was the key to its organizational structure and expansion.

Firstly, the decision from the beginning to install the abortion rights movement within the broader women's movement was crucial for its configuration as a national movement with a presence and mobilization capabilities throughout the country. Secondly, the movement had two significant moments of expansion, stemming from the confluence with new collectives and political structures. In both cases, this involved the incorporation of large social

sectors, as regards class and age. These two decisive milestones in the development of the green wave were related to external and unforeseen events, in the face of which the movement showed flexibility and openness to leverage the opportunities.

At the same time, the evolution of the movement took place in a context of significant changes in national legislation on [sexual health and responsible procreation](#) (2002), [comprehensive sexual education](#) (2006), [violence against women](#) (2009), [equal marriage](#) (2010), and [gender identity](#) (2012), as well as the jurisprudence from the Supreme Court of Argentina on the implementation of legal abortion under exceptions, through the *F.A.L.*

ruling (2012). These changes resulted from struggles for gender equality and sexual and reproductive rights, which the movement supported, and they gradually created a more favorable legal environment for processing the demand for the legalization of abortion. Likewise, the late but effective incorporation of the LGBTIQ+ community's demands regarding abortion brought the movement in line with the transformations achieved by one of the main contemporary social movements in the country. As we will discuss later, the integration of the movement for the legalization of abortion with other groups and with broader social struggles allowed it to expand, become mainstream, and strengthen its demands.






Connection with the broader women's movement: A federal structure

As was the case in other countries in the region that went through military dictatorships, the movement for the right to abortion in Argentina began to develop only after the democratization process that began in the 1980s. The organization that initiated the work that would later develop into a movement was the *Comisión por el Derecho al Aborto* (Abortion Rights Commission), created in 1988 by people who are recognized as [historical](#) activists (iconically represented by [Dora Coledesky](#)), many of whom are still at the forefront of the movement to this day. Catholics for the Right to Decide Argentina, based in

Córdoba, had been founded a year earlier, in 1987, and it remains a key organization in the movement. Since the beginning, the Abortion Rights Commission had the vision of connecting its demand with the broader women's movement that was beginning to take shape in the country. The women's movement was organized primarily through the *Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres* (National Women's Meetings), autonomous, self-convened, national meetings that since 1986 have taken place in a different city each year, bringing together thousands of women from all over the country (more than 50.000 women participated in the last meeting). Beginning in 1988, the Commission organized workshops at the meetings on the right to abortion, which became



increasingly popular and inspired the creation of the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion. This provided the essential organizational foundations for the growth, over time, of a movement with a national, horizontal, and multisectoral structure.


The 1990s were key in the development of the movement, with the foundation of important organizations and coalitions, notably the *Foro por los Derechos Reproductivos* (Forum for Reproductive Rights - 1991), *Mujeres Autoconvocadas para Decidir en Libertad* (Self-Convended Women for the Right to Decide Freely - 1994), and *La Coordinadora por el Derecho al Aborto* (the Coordinating Body for the Right to Abortion - 1999), all of which were members of the

Commission at different times. In those years, the movement also began to make connections with women legislators from different political parties who had an increasingly relevant presence in the country thanks to the [women's quota law](#) passed in 1991. These connections have remained crucial to this day. However, as was the case in the early stages of the abortion rights movement in other Latin American countries, the demand for the right to abortion was carried forward primarily by feminists from urban middle classes and did not connect with other demands and social sectors. Such a breakthrough was only achieved in the 2000s, mainly through external events and the emergence of new forms of mobilization and leadership with a strategic and inclusive vision.

Political and social crisis: Connection with struggles for social justice and integration of popular feminisms

In 2001 and 2002 Argentina endured one of the worst political and economic crises the country has ever experienced. The social response to the crisis was remarkable, involving massive protests and the creation of new forms of popular

organization, such as neighborhood councils, the movement of self-managed recovered businesses, and the articulation of different social collectives. This was a period of radicalization of the cycle of protests against the impact of neoliberalism on Argentina, which had begun in the mid-1990s. These protests were deeply influenced by the emergence of movements of unemployed workers and *piqueterxs* (*protesters who block streets*), in



which women played a fundamental role. As sociologist [Graciela Di Marco](#) explains, the first great expansion of the abortion rights movement took place in the context of that crisis, which allowed the articulation of feminist militants with women from popular organizations and with a budding popular feminism, especially in the neighborhood councils where, prompted by the Abortion Rights Commission and other organizations, reproductive rights and the right to abortion in particular were a crucial demand. This had a strong impact on the subsequent National Women's Meetings, which from 2003 onwards had a notable presence of women from popular movements and considered abortion as a core issue.

This expansion and strengthening of the movement led to the creation of the [National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free](#)


[Abortion](#), which was proposed and approved in the assembly at the 2004 National Women's Meeting and was launched on May 28, 2005. Since the early years of the Campaign, it has comprised more than 300 organizations, including feminist groups, trade unions, human rights organizations, rural workers' networks, and political and cultural groups. Although in practice there have been leaders, the Campaign has an officially horizontal structure: decisions are made in assembly during a National Plenary meeting, and a group with a one-year mandate oversees the implementation of those decisions. The fact that the Campaign originated in the National Women's Meetings contributed to its cross-cutting and diverse composition. Likewise, this origin has allowed it to be a national movement from the beginning, with a wide territorial coverage throughout the country.

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Ni Una Menos: Confluence with the movement against gender-based violence and integration of new generations

The emergence of the *Ni Una Menos* (Not One Less) movement, in 2015, radically transformed the

conditions for feminist mobilization and for the public debate on women's rights in Argentina. *Ni Una Menos* emerged as an urgent demand against gender-based violence, and in particular, against femicides as its most extreme expression. The call to action spread through social media and quickly became a massive movement



that occupied the streets and the media. The original *Ni Una Menos* march, on [June 3, 2015](#), was the first mass demonstration of women in the country, aside from those that occur every year at the end of the National Women's Meetings. This transformation of feminism into a mass phenomenon was accompanied, from that moment on, by the increasing participation of young people and adolescents in the feminist movement, which in turn brought new aesthetic and performative forms to the movement. Before long, the struggle of *Ni Una Menos* joined the struggle for the legalization of abortion with the understanding that the criminalization of abortion constitutes a form of violence against women – an understanding that resounded in the chants “[Not one more death by clandestine abortions,](#)” and “without legal abortion there is no *Ni Una Menos*.”

Ni Una Menos originated in Buenos Aires, but quickly spread nationwide both through social networks and, even more importantly, through the existing organizational infrastructure and activism surrounding the National Women's Meetings and the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion. In turn, the mobilization around *Ni Una Menos* brought unprecedented energy to feminism at large and particularly to the abortion rights

movement. According to data from AmericasBarometer 2012–2019, it has been suggested that since the emergence of *Ni Una Menos* in 2015, women in Argentina became much more involved in protest movements, and public opinion on abortion began to change.

The fact that the younger generations had experienced a progressive legal framework for comprehensive sexual education since 2006 contributed to the massive participation of young people, mostly high school students, in the mobilizations. The inter-generational link was promoted by the organizational structure and the forms of participation of the National Campaign and feminism in general, as at the National Women's Meetings. As sociologist and feminist activist [María Alicia Gutiérrez](#) explained, the National Campaign meetings include “80-year-olds and 18-year-olds, and they have the same voice. The feminist movement overall has this assembly approach, it is not specific to the Campaign. It seems to me that this gave young people a huge freedom to act as they were able to participate.”




LGBTIQ+ Activism: **A demand for** **integration with an** **impact on legislation**

The flexibility to bring in new collectives and social groups has been a defining characteristic of the abortion rights movement in Argentina, contributing to its strength and expansion. However, the relationship of the movement with LGBTIQ+ activism has not been without difficulties, despite sharing an essential demand for the right to bodily integrity and autonomy, as has been consistently claimed by these collectives. In recent years, this relationship proved to be decisive for the bill promoted by the movement since 2016, as well as

the legalization of abortion in 2020, to be aligned with the advances that had occurred in Argentina with regard to gender identity and the reproductive rights of trans people.

From the very beginning, the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion included among its member organizations the *Asociación de Lucha por la Identidad Travesti y Transexual* (Association for the Struggle for Transvestite and Transsexual Identity), led by prominent activist Lohana Berkins. In turn, the Campaign backed the demands for marriage equality and gender identity laws. Furthermore, the organization *Lesbianas y Feministas por la Descriminalización del Aborto* (Lesbians and Feminists



for the Decriminalization of Abortion) played an essential role in the struggle for access to abortion in Argentina. Since 2009, this group has run the hotline *Más Información Menos Riesgos* ([More Information, Less Risks](#)), which provides free information on self-managed medical abortion, and in 2010 it published the free downloadable handbook *Todo lo que querés saber sobre cómo hacerse un aborto con pastillas* (Everything you wanted to know about managing an abortion with pills), which contributed to spreading information on the use of misoprostol, in accordance with World Health Organization guidelines.

However, the activism of lesbians and trans women and men has consistently questioned the heteronormative logic of feminism in general, and in the movement for the right to abortion in particular. As [Francisco Fernández Romero](#) explains, these collectives have questioned not only who are the subject of rights in the demand for the legalization of abortion, but also who are recognized as the protagonists of this struggle. Up to her final days, [Berkins](#) criticized the fact that the demands and knowledge of transvestite, transsexual, and transgender people were made invisible in the Campaign, and *Lesbianas y Feministas* repeatedly demanded

the recognition of these groups in the struggle for the right to abortion in the country. Especially in 2014, in the context of discussion on the reformulation of the bill drafted by the Campaign, [it was publicly claimed](#) that the demand for the legalization of abortion should include [other people](#) beyond heterosexual women. This demand was in line with the Gender Identity Law of 2012, which eliminated the requirement – still present in other countries – for a person to be sterilized in order to have their gender identity recognized.


As a result of this militancy, there was a gradual change in the inclusion of other identities as subjects of legal abortion rights. The text of the bill presented in 2016 by the Campaign included for the first time, in one of its last sections, a recognition of “all persons who can become pregnant” as beneficiaries of the rights included in the bill. Likewise, LGBTIQ+ collectives had a notable participation in [demonstrations](#) and [public hearings](#) during the discussion on the legalization of abortion in Congress in 2018. In 2019, the Campaign’s [bill](#) referred throughout the text to any woman or pregnant person. Finally, the law that legalized abortion in 2020 consistently mentions women and other people who can become pregnant, or simply “the pregnant person.”



2. Construction of a symbol with broad resonance, a fundamental political agreement and an intersectional framework

When the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion was created in May 2005, it adopted the slogan “Educación sexual para decidir, anticonceptivos para no abortar, aborto legal para no morir” (sex education to be able to decide, contraceptives to avoid abortion, legal abortion to avoid death), which expresses the movement’s main demands. This slogan has served as a fundamental political agreement that contributed to sustaining a common struggle and

to maintaining the movement’s continuity over time, despite its many internal conflicts and clashes on other issues. The Campaign’s slogan was based on the chant “Contraceptivos to avoid abortion, legal abortion to avoid death,” inspired by Italian feminism and adopted from the beginning by the Commission for the Right to Abortion. To this slogan was then added the demand for sex education, which at the time of the creation of the Campaign was



being discussed in the country (the law on comprehensive sexuality education was passed in 2006, and its effective implementation continues to be demanded in various parts of the country).

When the Campaign was created, they decided to use green handkerchiefs as a distinctive symbol of the movement. As [Marta Alanis](#), founder in Argentina of Catholics for the Right to Decide, explains, the use of the handkerchief is loaded with meaning in the country, since white handkerchiefs have been the symbol of the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, the greatest Argentinian icons in the struggle for human rights. The adoption of the handkerchief by the Campaign implied a recognition of the lineage and tradition of women's struggle for justice and rights in Argentina. The first time that handkerchiefs were used was in the marches that took place in the XVIII National Women Meeting, held in 2003 in Rosario, where the Campaign originated. The green color was chosen because it was not associated with other political movements. The spread and incorporation of the handkerchief occurred gradually, and its widespread use began in the marches that took place from the confluence of the movement

for the right to abortion with *Ni Una Menos*.

Since February 2018, the “*pañuelazos*” (handkerchief protests) became the main form of demonstration in Argentina, and other countries, in support of legislation to decriminalize abortion. During that same year, the green handkerchief became a widespread accessory that was worn by women of all ages, particularly young women and in some cases young men, wrapped around their bodies or tied to backpacks and bags. This use, defying any stigma or taboo, turned the green handkerchief into an element of identity for those who shared the demand for the legalization of abortion as well as for all the aspirations of freedom and justice expressed in it. The flexibility and convenience of the handkerchief as a symbol contributed to its performative value and its rapid spread, from that year on, to other countries in the region, where local movements adopted and adapted it with their own slogans.

At the same time, the use of the handkerchief was disseminated and diversified as a symbol of different demands in Argentina in 2018. Specifically, the [orange handkerchief](#) was adopted to represent the demand for a secular




state that does not finance the Catholic Church, a demand that grew in the heat of the struggle for the right to abortion in the country. The *Ni Una Menos* movement had already adopted the violet handkerchief as a symbol of the fight against gender violence. Even conservative groups, who were mobilized and grew during 2018 as a reaction to the advance of the movement for abortion rights, adopted the [light blue handkerchief](#) as a symbol of their position.

Throughout its development, the movement in Argentina built and appealed to a series of arguments and discursive frameworks to support its demands. As was the case in other countries in the region, the abortion movement in Argentina sought not just to expand its base but also to appeal to other social actors and the public in general in order to achieve a cultural change that would make it possible to break the taboo around abortion. By the end of the 1990s, in Argentina and other countries in Latin America, the main framework for defending the right to abortion was the paradigm of reproductive health and reproductive rights, reflecting the impact of the United Nations Conferences on Population in Cairo 1994 and on Women in Beijing 1995. As in other Latin American countries,

the movement's discourse in Argentina has not been based on an individual right to privacy or reproductive autonomy, even though the constitutions of several countries in the region (such as Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico) include a clause on reproductive freedom. Rather, in Argentina and other countries, the demand has been framed as a public health issue, stressing the impact of clandestine abortion on the number of maternal deaths and the number of hospitalizations due to complications from unsafe abortions. Within this frame, arguments based on social justice have been strongly developed, highlighting how the prohibition of abortion has a particular impact on the health and lives of poor women, who are also subject to criminalization, as well as on teens who become pregnant, particularly very young girls.

In line with these arguments, in Argentina and across Latin America, the demands for the liberalization or legalization of abortion (as well as the legal changes that have taken place since the 2000s) have included a requirement for the state to provide legal abortion services. This demand arose because in Latin America, which is the most unequal region in the world, decriminalizing abortion without guaranteeing



effective access would make little difference for women with fewer economic resources. In Argentina, it was expressed in the movement's central demand for “legal, safe, and free abortion,” which was included in the name of the National Campaign.

As in other Latin American countries with a political process marked by a pattern of recent dictatorships and democratization, the movement in Argentina has also framed the abortion issue as a matter of citizenship and a “[debt of democracy](#).” Due to the deep imprint of the human rights movement in the political culture, the struggles of broad social sectors in the country, and the incorporation since 1994 of human rights treaties with constitutional status, the discourse of women's human rights in Argentina has also accompanied the demands of the movement for the right to abortion.

These arguments have defined the primary frame for the core sectors of the movement in the production and dissemination of their discourse and in positioning their demands for legal change. As with any social movement, there have also been strong internal differences between these more central or dominant positions and the more radicalized ones. In Argentina, organizations

such as *Lesbianas y Feministas por la Descriminalización del Aborto* have strengthened the discourse, for example, by linking the notion of [pride](#) to abortion since the late 1990s, rather than presenting women who require abortion as victims of a stigmatized situation. With the arrival of new generations in the movement in Argentina in recent years, demands for legal abortion linked to maternity as a free choice and autonomy in the enjoyment of sexuality have been expressed much more freely, at least in marches and mass demonstrations.

At the same time, an intersectional discourse close to the [reproductive justice](#) approach has deepened in the Argentinian movement in recent years, highlighting how the lack of access to safe abortion has a differential impact on people who are affected by multiple types of discrimination, including based on age, class, ethnicity, geographic location, and sexual orientation.




3. Diverse strategies and forms of activism: the articulation of an ecosystem

The primary goal of the movement in Argentina has been the legalization of abortion by the National Congress, and for this purpose it worked systematically in the drafting and presentation of bills and in parliamentary lobbying actions. In 1992, the Commission for the Right to Abortion presented the first Bill on Contraception and Abortion before the Chamber of Deputies, through renowned political leader and feminist Representative [Florentina Gómez Miranda](#). The National Campaign for the Right to Abortion worked on drafting a Bill on the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy beginning in 2006, which was presented before the Chamber of Deputies

eight times between 2007 and 2019, during which time it was only brought to a vote once, in 2018.

Throughout, the Campaign faced a hostile political environment to its demand and even to the implementation of legal abortion. In this context, the diverse organizations that make up the movement both inside and outside the Campaign developed a series of [strategies](#), forms of intervention, and political mobilization tactics that were mutually reinforcing and strengthened the movement. In addition to political mobilization and legislative lobbying, the primary forms of activism include:

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- a. Actions based on public health research and legal activism aimed at ensuring the implementation of abortion under the existing legal framework, for example by drafting regulatory frameworks and protocols for the provision of legal abortion in the public health system and through strategic litigation, particularly at the international level.
 - b. Direct action to facilitate access to abortion, mainly through the dissemination of information on medical abortion, counseling, and accompaniment support, and assistance by health professionals for the right to decide.
 - c. Educational and training actions and programs for different types of institutions as well as public and social agents.
 - d. Generation of information for dissemination and communication strategies.

Over the years, some of the organizations and activists that use these strategies have formed networks, such as [*Socorristas en Red*](#) (Network of First Responders), [*Red de Profesionales de la Salud por el Derecho a Decidir*](#) (Network of Health Professionals for the Right

to Decide), [*Red de Docentes por el Derecho al Aborto*](#) (Network of Teachers for the Right to Abortion), and [*Red de Cátedras Universitarias por el Derecho al Aborto*](#) (Network of University Courses for the Right to Abortion), all of which have a national structure with representation in different parts of the country.

This diversity of organizations, strategies, and modes of activism, and their presence throughout the country, contributed to the strength of the movement in Argentina. This was evident during the [*public hearings*](#) held in the National Congress in 2018, which were a kind of public staging of more than thirty years of struggle. Over the course of hours of presentations, the hearings showcased the existence of countless institutions and organizations that had developed in a hostile legal framework and a political process that had been closed to this claim for decades, in order to respond to the needs of thousands of women across the country, build and disseminate arguments, and fight in different ways and in different arenas for the right to abortion. These presentations brought to public light how the practice of abortion was already present in women's lives and a reality in the country, despite the prohibitions that forced abortion to go underground, thanks

to the work of different institutional and civil society organizations. In addition to the speeches of activists, researchers, journalists, artists, and representatives of different fields in favor of legalization, the hearings included:

- First-person accounts of injustices suffered due to lack of access to abortion.
- Presentations by pro-choice healthcare professionals who work in public health services where they provide counseling and abortion under a broad interpretation of the legal framework, and particularly on the grounds of health.
- Presentations by civil society organizations – such as La Revuelta, which is part of Socorristas en Red – that

explained how they were providing support and accompaniment for people to access abortion care, also using a broad interpretation of the existing legal framework.

Creating and strengthening the potential connections within a complex and diverse movement is an ongoing task. The Argentinian movement incorporated a wide diversity of activists in terms of resources, geographical location, and level of institutionalization, including organizations with a high degree of professionalization alongside groups that were more recently established or that have other forms of organization. In recent years, several organizations contributed to the coordination of these diverse groups using an innovative approach that



goes beyond the creation of specialized networks. Rather, their approach was to create pathways for horizontal exchange between organizations of different specializations, size, levels of institutionalization, and location that complement and mutually support each other in their actions; in other words, they created an ecosystem.

The idea of an [ecosystem](#) is focused on the connection and joint work between different types of organizations around shared activities. For example, these may be aimed at promoting the sustained presence of evidence-based arguments for the right to decide in the public sphere and among key decision-makers, or at ensuring social monitoring of the implementation of the abortion law throughout the country. In an ecosystem, each organization can contribute its expertise (e.g.

legal mobilization and litigation, communication, service provision, social mobilization); not all of them have to do everything, nor do they have to do everything together. For example, larger and more professionalized organizations, which are generally present in large cities, are expected to connect with organizations and players located in different parts of the country, including activists with a lesser degree of institutionalization and territorial presence. At the same time, an umbrella like Fòs Feminista provides international reach to the ecosystem. A sustainable ecosystem, with internal networks and sub-networks, fosters new forms of relationships, more horizontal links, and an intersectional approach. This changes the idea of leadership and also has implications for the evaluation of the impact of the different actions.






Contributions of the Argentinian movement to the Green Wave in Latin America

What lessons and inspiration does the evolution of the abortion rights movement in Argentina offer to other processes of mobilization and change in the region?

We are convinced that there are no universal formulas for achieving cultural and legal change. The emergence of a movement and its impact on social and institutional change processes depend on each country's context and each political moment. Movements implement their strategies according to

political or legal opportunities. As such, while it may be more effective to bet on legislative change in one country, it may be more successful or feasible to use the courts and strategic litigation in another. Each type of discourse or argument will resonate in a particular context, and the symbols that have now been widely adopted by the public could have taken a long time to build identification and galvanize demands. Thus, there is no single path or activism model that can be transplanted or replicated to obtain similar results in different contexts. However, we can identify some broad features of success from the analysis of the case of Argentina that may serve to strengthen the



strategies and energies of similar movements in other countries.

The recent achievements of the movement in Argentina point to the importance of persistence in mobilization and the value of continually incorporating new sectors and demands into the movement. This required an organizational model that was strong and flexible enough to respond to the historical opportunities that arose and to maintain unity despite multiple obstacles and disagreements. The ability to set out and defend a common objective, expressed in a very clear way, proved to be relevant in this regard.

The Argentinian case also shows that, at the same time the movement was being built, other social actors were promoting the development of a legal framework that produced groundbreaking transformations in the field of sexual rights and gender equality. This created a new legal and cultural environment that favored and strengthened the movement's demands. Therefore, it is an example of how different activists can mutually strengthen each other in their struggles and achievements, and why it can be relevant to support other types of activism and the social agents working to expand rights.

The significance that the 2018 Congressional debates on the abortion bill had for public opinion indicates how relevant it can be to a movement to have the opportunity to discuss its demands in an institutional forum, whether in the legislative or judicial sphere (in other countries, courts have proven to be effective institutional channels in this sense). Such an impact goes well beyond the specific results that can be achieved at that moment in terms of legal change.

One of the defining values of the Argentinian movement has been the diversity of strategies and forms of activism, and the distinctive intergenerational interaction. This allowed the movement to reach different audiences and deal with the many aspects involved in fighting for legal change, while at the same time working to implement the existing regulations and provide accompaniment and care to people in immediate need. In the current stage of implementation of the Law on the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy, these different capabilities and forms of mobilization, as well as their broad territorial presence, are proving to be necessary and effective in responding to conservative reactions and guaranteeing the effective enforcement of the new right throughout the country.



International Alliance
for Sexual and Reproductive
Health, Rights, and Justice