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Title	Achieving gender equality through feminist social movements: A case study of Ni Una Menos (Not One Less)
Author(s)	Minah, Kaata
Publication Date	2023
Publication Information	Minah, Kaata. (2023). Achieving gender equality through feminist social movements: A case study of Ni Una Menos (Not One Less). Dearcadh: Graduate Journal of Gender, Globalisation and Rights, 4. https://doi.org/10.13025/6q1b-j241
Publisher	School of Political Science and Sociology, University of Galway
Link to publisher's version	https://doi.org/10.13025/6q1b-j241
Item record	http://hdl.handle.net/10379/17863
DOI	http://dx.doi.org/10.13025/6q1b-j241

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Dearcadh: Graduate Journal of Gender, Globalisation and Rights

Volume 4, 2023

DOI: URL:

## ORIGINAL ARTICLE

# Achieving Gender Equality through Feminist Social Movements: A case study of Ni Una Menos (Not One Less)

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Abstract The Ni Una Menos (Not One Less) Movement emerged as a direct response to the alarming increase of femicide in Argentina. This paper analyses how the Ni Una Menos movement mobilises various resources for gender equality. It investigates the role of the Ni Una Menos Movement and utilises Social Movement Theory to understand the movement's dynamics within Argentina, South America and beyond. Specifically, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) is employed as a framework for analysis. Using New Social Movement Theory (NSMT) as a guide, the research will show how social resources were used to advance the movement's goal. Additionally, the stages of social movements serve as a guide to examining the formation, impact, barriers, and facilitators encountered by the Ni Una Menos movement. By applying these theories, this study aims to shed light on the strategies and tactics employed by the movement, its influence on societal change, and the challenges and opportunities it faces in pursuing gender equality. Through this analysis, the research aims to provide a deeper understanding of how a powerful movement was formed and its implications for gender equality.

Key Words: Feminist, Social Movements, Ni Una Menos, Femicide, Violence

## Introduction

On June 3rd, 2015, a life-changing moment occurred in Argentina as more than 200,000 individuals under the banner of Ni Una Menos (Not One Less) came together in anger and frustration to denounce femicide (Leszinsky 2021). This massive protest which originated on social media, sparked by a tweet by prominent radio journalist Marcela Ojeda, served as a rallying cry for women and people of all genders to raise their voices following the brutal murder of 15-year-old Chiara Perez by her boyfriend (Newbery 2016). The alarming prevalence of femicide in Argentina became apparent, with statistics revealing that femicides occurred approximately every 30 hours in the country (Ni Una Menos 2015). The tweet by Ojeda became the catalyst for a feminist movement that emerged as a powerful force, relentlessly holding both society and the Argentine government accountable for the social injustices faced by women and other marginalised groups (Leszinsky 2021).

This research employs the Ni Una Menos movement as a case study to comprehend the formation of feminist social movements and their ability to effect social change, policies, and laws. Building upon the principles of Resource Mobilisation Theory, which posits that social movements emerge when individuals with shared grievances mobilise resources and take collective action (Boundless Sociology n.d.), Using the Ni Una Menos movement as a case study, this research will show how feminist movements are formed and how the effective mobilisation of resources can sustain a movement.

## Methodology

#### Aims

This research will focus on the case study of the Ni Una Menos movement to deepen understanding of how the movement mobilises resources to impact Argentina and beyond.

# **Objectives**

- Identify, outline and explore a feminist social movement.
- Examine the impact of a feminist social movement in attaining gender equality.
- Consider the facilitators and barriers to the success of the case study movement.

# Research Design

This research uses a qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach enables the description of meanings, concepts and definitions (Lune and Berg 2017). The method is used to understand the quality-of-life events. A form of qualitative research applied in this research is a documentary analysis which looks at major themes from documents to collect and analyse data. Examining the text from websites, books, publications, and social media was used to analyse themes. Additionally, literature was reviewed from these sources to analyse data.

#### Data Collection and Method

Data was collected from several sources. Data collected on Ni Una Menos (Hox and Boeije 2005) was gathered from the Ni Una Menos Movement's official website. The charter (Ni Una Menos n.d.) was used to clearly describe how the movement operates, the reason for the movement's formation and the guiding principles of the movement. The movement's manifesto (Dillon 2021) was also evaluated, along with the goal(s) and actions of the movement. Literature was reviewed from secondary sources and credible news sources like the Guardian, New York Times and AP Times. Data sources were collected mainly from the internet through the NUIG library search engine and google scholar. These sources provided articles and journals used to analyse the research objective.

# Data Analysis

Analysing the data required extensive reading and critical assessment. The data collected was analysed based on the themes of the research. These themes were further analysed using the theories and framework. The cycle of social movements by Blumer (Christiansen, 2008) was used, and the Resource Mobilisation Theory (Crossman 2019) was the central framework used to analyse impact, facilitator and barriers. The first theme of the research is the movement's formation; data was analysed to determine what makes up the movement, what led to its formation, the structure of the movement and how the movement operates. Blumer's framework, as refined by Christiansen (2008), was used mainly to explain the formation of the movement. The second theme examined the mobilisation of resources using the Resource Mobilisation Theory as a framework, providing information on what successes the movement achieved, how the movement has impacted gender equality, and how the movement has contributed to the movements in Latin America and beyond. Analysis determined what barriers hinder movement-building in Argentina and the movement's barriers to achieving gender equality.

## Limitations

Qualitative research speaks from people's experiences and beliefs and the dynamics of social relations (Almeida, Queirós and Faria 2017). Throughout the research, I strived for the highest level of objectivity. However, my findings, discussions and analysis are ultimately subjective. There is a possibility of a contrary interpretation of my findings by other researchers based on the angle of research undertaken. I am also aware that selecting Resource Mobilisation Theory as an analytical framework to deepen the understating of the case study may exclude other possibilities. However, the approach contributes to understanding feminist social movements and their successes but does not exclude other factors that this framework may not have considered.

Furthermore, the case study location in Argentina meant I needed more direct access to engage with movement members. My findings of the movements are based mainly on secondary

sources, with the movement website as the main data source. The language barrier in some sources was also a limitation of this research. Some articles were originally in Spanish, and translating them into English might have slightly changed from their original language. This research does not claim to provide a definite answer to the contribution of the Ni Una Menos movement to attaining gender equality but provides relevant insight into the power of social movements to attain change.

## **Findings and Analysis**

# Four Stages of Social Movements

Social movements as organised yet informal entities working towards a specific goal (Christiansen, 2008) is a descriptive definition for the Ni Una Menos movement. Like other social movements, the Ni Una Menos movement was formed to influence change on a social justice issue affecting women (Ni Una Menos n.d.). Social movement scholar Herbert Blumer identified four stages of social movement cycles (Porta and Diani 2006). He described the four stages as the social ferment stage (characterised by unorganised agitation), popular excitement (objectives and actions clearly defined), formalisation (more coordination of strategy) and institutionalisation (becoming an organic part of society) (Porta and Diani 2006). Like other scholars, Christiansen used different terms to explain these stages while maintaining the underlying themes (Christiansen 2008). Christiansen, in line with the underlying themes of Blumer's work, called the four stages emergence, coalescence, bureaucratisation and decline (Christiansen 2008). These stages show the processes by which social movements emerge and decline. To evaluate the formation and evolution of the Ni Una Menos movement, the four stages further redefined by Christiansen (2008) will serve as the analytical framework.

## Emergence

Christiansen explains the emergence stage as the initial discontent on a social issue which sparks anger and dissatisfaction. This stage has little or no collective action or organising (Christiansen 2008; Houghton 2019). This cycle is the preliminary stage of the movement, fuelled by discontent with a social issue (Christiansen 2008). Femicide had become a persistent issue with growing numbers of victims. Before the official launch of Ni Una Menos, other groups had organised online and offline to protest against femicide and violence against women (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020). Journalists had launched campaigns like "Fed up with reporting femicides. As journalists, we say #StopViolence," and organised public readings (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020), showing the discontent with the issue of femicide. The movement introduced a more organised approach to combating femicide.

The catalyst that gave birth to the Ni Una Menos movement was the killing of 15-year-old Chiara Paez by her 16-year-old boyfriend (Palmer 2017). This killing, combined with the earlier discontent about the issue of femicide, led to the emergence of the Ni Una Menos movement on May 11th, 2015, when Marcela Ojeda made a call on Twitter, calling women to stand up against persistent femicide in Argentina (Ronan 2015). One woman in Argentina is

killed approximately every 30 hours (Spotlight Initiative 2020). There was an alarming increase in femicide from 2008 to 2014 (Funes 2017). As a journalist, Ojeda reported on many cases of femicide (Palmer 2017), but the killing of Chiara Paez sparked her call for action.

Her tweet read "Actrices, políticas, artistas, empresarias, referentes sociales ... mujeres, todas, bah... no vamos a levantar la voz? Nos Estan Matando (Actresses, politicians, artists, businesswomen, social referents, women, everyone, bah...are we not going to lift up our voice? THEY ARE KILLING US)" (Ojeda 2015).

On May 11th, 2015, Ojeda's tweet received 316 retweets, 132 quote tweets, and 1,286 likes (Ojeda 2015). This tweet put out the call for mobilisation, which brought together other female journalists, artists, and lawyers in Argentina, including Florencia Etcheves, Florencia Abbate, Valeria Sampedro, Ingrid Beck, Hinde Pomeraniec and Claudia Piñeiro (Rolón 2015). These women used their existing individual Twitter networks to organise a march to publicise the frequent acts of femicide in Argentina (Terzian 2017). Twitter became the resource used to organise a historic demonstration that saw more than 200,000 people march to the capital in Buenos Aries (Pallapothu 2021).

# Coalescence Stage

Christiansen explains that depending on the issue, most social discontent does not reach the second stage of social movements as these discontents could either be solved or lack the momentum to push further (Christiansen 2008). He described the coalescent stage as the organising stage resulting in widespread mobilisation and as the popular stage, where the unease now has led to the identification of a 'what' and a 'who' to focus on (Christiansen 2008).

The tweet by Ojeda revealed an existing social problem. As Blumer stated, a social problem has to be defined and identified for it to exist as a social problem (Blumer 1971). The identification and definition of the issues of femicide in Argentina were legitimised by the tweet, which was widely retweeted and liked. Legitimising, according to Blumer, means that a social problem exists. The next stage coordinates the initial discontent and identifies who and what is responsible (Christiansen 2008).

In most discontent and social unrest cases, there is a lack of organising or widespread mobilisation (Christiansen 2008) and thus they do not reach the second stage of a social movement. However, Ojeda and other female journalists, activists, and lawyers organised and invited other people who felt similar discontent to join them. The movement then coordinated its first protest through social media using the hashtag #NiUnaMenos. In addition to the 200,000 people who marched in the capital, protests were staged in other cities across the country (Ronan 2015). The hashtag #NiUnaMenos became the campaign message for the protest. The wide use of the internet and social media in Argentina contributed to the success of the June 3rd protest.

## Bureaucratisation

According to Christiansen, the bureaucratisation stage has a higher level of organising and strategic thinking (Christiansen 2008). This stage goes beyond mass rallies and one-off coordination; it requires trained staff to carry out the functions of organisations (Christiansen 2008).

The historic protest organised by Ni Una Menos on June 3rd, 2015, transformed a one-off protest call into a global movement (Henao and Rey 2017). The number of people that showed up for the June 3rd march surpassed the organisers' expectations, while demonstrations flooded 70 cities in Argentina, calling for an end to the killings (Henao and Rey 2017). Ni Una Menos then became a movement that established itself as a collective (Langlois 2020). The organisation of the movement is popularly known as a collective that operates on the basis ofsolidarity and the recognition of difference (Langlois 2020). Ni Una Menos is an established national, regional and international movement that aims to penetrate the bases of inequality and transform it (Ni Una Menos n.d.). Some of its values acknowledge the plurality of being, as cis and transwomen of all ages, nationalities, sexualities and class share a common goal of achieving justice and equality (Ni Una Menos n.d.). It is a grassroots movement grounded in feminist principles that recognise differences and collective voices based on solidarity without erasing differences (Langlois 2020). According to Blumer, this stage is the formalisation stage in which social movements become institutionalised (Christiansen 2008).

#### Decline

The final stage of social movements is the decline stage, in which social movements' life cycles decline (Christiansen 2008). However, in social movements, a decline does not necessarily mean the movement has failed. Instead, it can mean repression, co-optation, success or failure or establishment with the mainstream (Christiansen 2008).

Ni Una Menos has not met this stage of the cycle yet: it is still active. As recent as 2020, the movement was instrumental in campaigning and advocating to legalise abortion in Argentina (Ni Una Menos n.d.). One of the most significant successes of the grassroots movement is passing the bill which legalises terminations in the first 14 weeks of pregnancy in Argentina's law (Booth and Goñi 2020). The legalisation of abortion in Argentina opened up a debate for reproductive rights in other Latin American countries and thus spread the green tide across Latin America (Popplewell 2021).

Having used Blumer's framework (in Christianson 2008) to examine the evolution of the Ni Una Menos movement, it is clear that it emerged from identified and defined discontent. However, the decline or institutionalisation stage is not reflected in the Ni Una Menos movement. The movement continues to be a strong force advocating for social justice issues for the feminised body and a powerful political force advocating for reforms to achieve gender equality in Argentina (Ni Una Menos n.d.). In light of the continuing nature of the movement, the Resource Mobilisation Theory will be used to analyse what has kept the movement going and what challenges the movement continues to face.

## Resource Mobilisation Theory and the Ni Una Menos Movement

According to Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT), obtaining resources and effectively utilising them is key to the success of social movements (Crossman 2019). The theory explains that resources are central to the mobilisation of social movements, but include more than just material resources (Chesters and Welsh 2010). RMT categorises resources into five groups: material resources, human resources, social organisation resources, cultural resources and moral resources (Crossman 2019). Material resources include tangible resources like money, buildings, and stationery supplies (Crossman 2019). Human resources and social organisation resources refer to labour, skills, the internet, social networks, among others (Crossman 2019); moral resources and cultural resources refer to solidarity and support for the movement, knowledge of the cause and the movement's goals (Romary 2017). Ni Una Menos is a prime example of a movement successfully utilising and mobilising resources. Sen (2016) explains how new social movements<sup>1</sup> try to mobilise primarily human resources by appealing to grassroots organisers. The utilisation of human resources and a critical socio-organisational resource, social media, gave birth to the movement and has also sustained the movement thus far.

# Socio-Organisational Resource

While studying the emergence of new social movements, social movement theorists have shown that utilising the internet as a resource is common in new social movements (Sen, 2016). Evidence has shown that from Ojeda's first tweet of action on May 11th, 2015, to the first march on June 3rd, 2015, the hashtag #NiUnaMenos got over 958,000 tweets and mentions (Terzian 2017). The movement currently has three hundred and sixty-four thousand followers on its Facebook page (Ni Una Menos n.d.) and eighty-one thousand three hundred Twitter followers (Ni Una Menos n.d.). The effective use of social media as a socio-organisational tool to mobilise human resources and support can partly be attributed to Argentina's relatively widespread use of social media. As of 2015, 60% of Argentina's population uses social media (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020). Additionally, Argentina has the second-highest GDP per capita in Latin America, and 90% of its population lives in urban areas (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020). The extensive use of social media and an adult literacy rate of 99% (Countryeconomy 2016) provide the base for a social justice movement to thrive through social media. It is important to note that the movement's organisers, primarily journalists, artists, and lawyers, had existing individual followers on their respective social media platforms (Terzian 2017). However, bounded by a common goal of raising awareness of femicide, they built a mass of followers into one supportive group (Terzian 2017). The movement's organisers effectively mobilised the socio-organisational resource to mobilise human resources and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>New social movements are seen as new in contrast to old movements whose major challenge was capitalism. NSM has a broader organising around gender, race, ethnicity, youth, sexuality, spirituality, countercultures, environmentalism, animal rights, pacifism, human rights, and the like (Buechler, 2022).

structure a protest call that eventually became an established feminist movement (Ni Una Menos n.d.).

## **Human Resource Mobilisation**

Resource mobilisation theorists speak about new social movements mobilising human resources by appealing to grassroots organisers (Sen 2016). The Ni Una Menos movement, in this light, fits into grassroots organising. The movement is a grassroots organisation committed to embracing differences while working together to achieve a common goal (Ni Una Menos n.d.). The movement's ability to mobilise collective solidarity across different genders, classes, religions, races, and ethnicities (Pallapothu 2021) shows how it uses its human resource to its advantage. It is broadly seen as an intersectional grassroots movement (Pallapothu 2021) that operates through a collective of unusual alliances (Langlois 2020). These unusual alliances and acceptance of differences have launched a protest call sparked by the murder of Paez into a national, regional, and international movement, that aims to penetrate the bases of inequality (Ni Una Menos n.d.). On March 24th, 2021 Ni Una Menos joined with the mothers and grandmothers of the Plaza De Mayo and women in Peru and Mexico, to stand up against femicide and the abuse of women's bodies (Ni Una Menos n.d.). Similarly, in the June 3rd protest in 2015 protest, the movement drew on celebrity support (Friedman and Tabbush 2016). The movement's demands were read by actress Erika Rivas, actor Juan Minujin, and cartoonist Maitena (Friedman and Tabbush 2016).

Additional support for the June 3rd protest came from members of the government. The then-president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Supreme Court Justice Elena Highton de Nolasco publicly supported the movement(Civicus n.d.) The movement's ability to mobilise human resources is seen further in the International Women's Day strike of 2018. The strike was organised with 50 other organisations, including The Argentinian movement of unemployed workers and the Piquetero Movement (Branigan and Palmeiro 2018). The ability to coordinate human resources and build on existing knowledge of movement building shows how Ni Una Menos collaborates with other like-minded organisations and individuals.

#### Cultural and Moral Resources

Furthermore, the movement effectively uses the skills and knowledge of members of the collective through a transitory assembly that host the feminist collective, political parties, union sectors and independent activist to discuss mobilisations and strikes on aggrieved issues (Ni Una Menos n.d.). The movement uses moral resources in fighting against injustices. The immorality of violence against women is a cultural resource the movement uses to push the public to be morally responsible. In their charters, the movement clarifies that patriarchy is the underlying system that encourages violence. The movement brings politics to private life to unearth such systems (Ni Una Menos n.d.).

# **Impact of Mobilising Resources**

The socio-organisational resource of social media was the primary resource used to mobilise the Ni Una Menos movement. Technological advancements of the 21st century saw the

emergence of social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and TikTok, to name a few (Bartleby Research n.d.). Facebook is regarded as the largest social media platform globally, with 2.4 billion users (Ortiz-Ospina 2019). It is estimated that at least 3.5 billion of the world's 7.7 billion people use the Internet (Ortiz-Ospina 2019). The use of social media has become an essential tool in the mobilisation of social justice movements. Social media is a vital tool contemporary grassroots movements use to organise collective action and express identity claims (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020). Twitter, a social media network, was the primary socio-organisational resource used by the movement. This resource was used to create a base for support for the movement as required by Resource Mobilisation Theory in the mobilisation process (Golhasani and Hosseinirad 2017). Between the three weeks of mobilisation and the day after the protest, the hashtag #NiUnaMenos got 958,000 mentions and retweets (Terzian 2017). The movement then built on this momentum to increase its visibility on social media through campaigns and messages. The new media played a significant role in mobilising other protest and campaign messages, and the movement continues using its social media pages to promote its feminist agendas.

The movement also drew on moral outrage as a resource. This content is visible in the number of people participating in the 2014 protest. The organisers mobilised more than 200,00 people through Twitter to march in Buenos Aires, the capital (Pallapothu 2021), with other cities and towns nationwide joining in the protest (Ronan 2015). The immediate impact of this protest was the realisation of a potential base of support to mobilise a movement. It is important to note, however, that before the emergence of the Ni Una Menos movement, issues of violence against women were reported, which sparked both online and offline protests (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020), but these protests were an immediate reaction of discontent to emerging issues (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020) that did not necessarily give birth to a movement. The tweet of Ojeda made the hashtag #NiUnaMenos a trending topic which the movement leaders tapped into and used the exciting socio-organisational resource to their advantage, laying the foundation for a call of support to their cause (Belotti, Comunello and Corradi 2020). As the movement's charter reiterates, the name of the movement Ni Una Menos 'is simply saying enough in a way that moves everyone' (Ni Una Menos n.d.). The capitalisation of a large base of aggrieved people gave rise to the movement. The large numbers and protests legitimised the force of the movement. Evidence of this is seen just immediately after their first protest. The Supreme Court announced a task force to collect data on violence against women. The Argentinian government passed legislation to protect women who are verbally or physically abused on the streets (Henao and Re 2017).

Additionally, the movement brought to light and made public issues of male violence and disrupted assumptions about it (Langlois 2020). This created a platform for women like Mariana Madiana to speak out about the horrors of intimate partner violence. She was burnt by her husband in 2011 and had to undergo fifty-nine surgeries (Henao and Re 2017). Women like Mariana, who could not find the courage to speak about their abuse, were now speaking up. In her own words, she states: 'With Ni Una Menos, women are no longer hiding,'... 'Before, we would not talk,'. She says 'I do not know if it was fear or shame, or feeling that justice was not on your side...I like it that it is now out in the open' (Henao and Re 2017). Ni Una Menos

became an integral platform for holding the state and individuals accountable for acts of violence against women. It was a medium for survivors to speak out about abuse and for victims' families to express their loss (Henao and Re 2017). This was achieved by mobilising both human and moral resources. Unlike traditional social movement theories, which argue that movements are primarily born from discontent (Jenkins 1983), the Ni Una Menos movement challenged this notion by establishing the movement as more than reactionary discontent, but also a feminist movement with the aim of tackling other injustices. The mobilisation of both human resources and moral resources was vital to achieving this impact.

A significant impact of the movement's mobilisation of resources was the historic win in passing the bill which legalised pregnancy terminations in Argentinian law for up to the first 14 weeks (Booth and Goñi 2020). This impact is significant because of the rise of what is now called the "Green Tide" that has swept Latin America. The Green Tide is feminist activism advocating for reproductive rights, especially abortion rights (Cicco 2018). The national campaign in Argentina for the right to legal, safe and accessible abortion was launched in 2015, and its symbol is the green headscarf (Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy 2020).

Ni Una Menos has successfully coordinated and managed human resources, including the skills and knowledge of members of the movement. This is seen in the ability of the movement to expand from advocating against femicide to other social justice issues (Daby and Moseley 2021). The Ni Una Menos collective built credibility nationally, regionally and internationally, becoming a central mobilisation platform for abortion rights discussion (Daby and Moseley 2021). The diversity of the collective, its ability to collaborate with other like-minded organisations to achieve a common goal, and its successful history of launching social media campaigns branded the movement as a powerful force (Daby and Moseley 2021). The impact the Green Tide had in Argentina sparked a debate over reproductive rights in other Latin American countries (Popplewell 2021). The Ni Una Menos collective has maintained its roots in feminist practice (Ni Una Menos n.d.) while acknowledging the plurality of being as women (Ni Una Menos n.d.). The Ni Una Menos movement's ability to mobilise under a transversal form of activism, paying attention to varying and interesting forms of oppression and inequality (Langlois 2020), has proved to be a revolutionary force that disrupts unequal power relations among different groups, gender and race (Langlois 2020). This unique feature of the movement draws from fourth-wave feminism and concepts of intersectionality. Intersectionality and its consideration of class, race, age and gender and its intersecting position of discrimination and privilege (Zimmerman, 2017) are core considerations of the movement. Different writers have considered Ni Una Menos as a feminist intersectional grassroots movement that mobilises collective solidarity across different genders, classes, religions, races and ethnicities (Pallapothu 2021). The transversal approach to feminist activism, paying attention to solidarity without erasing differences (Langlois 2020), removes barriers to participation, thus increasing human resources, skills, and knowledge.

## Challenges to sustaining the movement

The lack of financial commitment to adequately sustain the implementation of these laws remains a barrier to the movement (Funes 2017). Recent data shows that the rates of femicide

continue to increase in Argentina; in 2015 the number of femicide victims was 137 (Statista 2020). This number grew to 322 in 2016 and increased to 327 in 2019 (Statista 2020). This shows that despite the mass mobilisation of the movement and the ongoing campaigns to end violence against women, the lack of concrete commitment by the government remains a barrier to the movement's successes.

Another barrier faced by the movement is backlash from conservatives. The backlash comes from conservative circles of evangelists and Catholics (Chambers 2021). Notably, in legalising abortion in Argentina, activists who regard themselves as pro-life have vehemently spoken against the law and how it affects preserving life (Chambers 2021). This is a major concern for conservative and religious sectors who view abortion as an evil act, which is tied to the perceived sexual transgression of women and girls (Boesten 2018). A significant barrier, then, is changing such narratives. Abortion has been legalised, but it has also been reported that some healthcare professionals, due to their beliefs, do not perform an abortion, and that has affected the lives of women and girls (Chambers 2021).

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates how a movement grows, develops, sustains itself and makes an impact. The Ni Una Menos movement has largely succeeded in making public violence against women and advocating for equality and the end of social injustices. It also shows how feminist ideals of intersectionality play a significant role in the movement's success. Recognising differences between people and generations gives the movement the unique advantage of appealing to different generations. The movement advocates ending violence against women and marginalised groups (Langlois 2020). It has successfully lobbied for the creation of a Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity, ensured government compile and publish official statistics on violence against women, advocate and ensure the protection and justice of women, the provision shelters for victims, and the inclusion of sex education in school curriculums (Palmer 2017). Arguably, the greatest impact of the movement is the mobilisation and campaign that saw abortion rights granted in Latin America's biggest country (Cicco 2018), subsequently opening up a debate for reproductive rights in other Latin American countries and spreading the Green Tide across Latin America (Popplewell 2021).

However, regardless of the strides made by the movement, it is clear that in order to achieve actual change for gender equality, it has to be backed by all forces. Commitment towards achieving equality should include financial commitments by governments. In the case of Argentina, movements like the case study have pressured the government to change legislation and policies. However, the evidence shows that these policies' existence is not backed by financial commitments to implement these policies adequately.

Finally, Ni Una Menos is still an active movement and a force to be reckoned with in Argentina and Latin America. The recognition of difference and the mobilisation under the umbrella of feminist solidarity remain the essential resources that have maintained and sustained the Ni Una Menos movement.

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