

Fighting State Terror and Becoming the State: Argentina's Human Rights Movement from Mass Mobilization to Institutionalization

El combatir el terror de estado y la evolución hacía un estado:
El movimiento de los Derechos Humanos de Argentina, desde la movilización a
la institucionalización

KRISTINA E. THALHAMMER,
St. Olaf College, USA
thalhamm@stolaf.edu

CLAIRE T. BRANIGAN,
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA
braniga2@illinois.edu

Abstract

The past decade has seen a seismic shift in Argentine human rights activists' ability to accomplish long-held goals of bringing perpetrators to justice and preserving the memory of victims of the Civil-State dictatorship of the 1970s and 1980s. Theories of courageous resistance to injustice posit that all struggles for justice bring changes to the context, networks and people, which can make future pro-social advocacy more likely. Using a variety of evidence, we assess the impact of nearly 40 years of sustained activism. We argue that there are resulting shifts in the realms of 1) context (newly created and modified legal and state institutions, cultural changes and modification of the physical landscape), 2) relationships between activists, society and the Argentine state, and 3) socialization factors that affect attitudes and behaviors of Argentines (the ways that the era is referenced, taught and memorialized). We contend that each of these enduring legacies of activism make future human rights atrocities in Argentina highly unlikely. Further, we argue that because of these enormous gains, segments of the movement struggle to define themselves relative to the state, trying to avoid being captured by governmental interests and to maintain sufficient independence to effectively pressure the state.

Key Words: Argentina, human rights, Madres de Plaza de Mayo, activism, state terror, courageous resistance

Resumen

La década pasada ha visto un cambio sísmico en la habilidad de activistas argentinos por los derechos humanos de realizar metas largamente sostenidas, como las de llevar ante la justicia a los perpetradores y preservar la memoria de las víctimas de dictadura civil-estatal de los años setenta y ochenta. Las teorías de *courageous resistance* a la injusticia postulan que toda lucha por justicia produce cambios en el contexto, las redes y las personas, los cuales pueden mejorar la probabilidad de incidencia política prosocial para el futuro. En base a una variedad de evidencia,

evaluamos el impacto de casi 40 años de activismo sostenido. Argumentamos que hay cambios resultantes en las esferas de 1) el contexto (instituciones legales y estatales nuevamente creadas y modificadas, cambios culturales y modificaciones al paisaje físico), 2) las relaciones entre activistas, la sociedad y el Estado argentino y 3) factores en la socialización que afectan las actitudes y el comportamiento de argentinos (cambios en las formas de referenciar, enseñar y conmemorar la época). Sostenemos que cada uno de estos importantes y duraderos legados de activismo hace que futuras atrocidades de derechos humanos en la Argentina sean altamente improbables. Además, argumentamos que, a causa de estos logros, sectores del movimiento se definen difícilmente con respecto al Estado, intentando evitar la captura por los intereses gubernamentales y mantener una independencia suficiente para presionar eficazmente al Estado.

Palabras claves: Argentina, Derechos Humanos, Madres de Plaza de Mayo, activismo, terrorismo del estado, *courageous resistance*

1. Introduction

One hundred years ago, there was neither a word nor penalty for genocide; what a state did to its own citizens was an internal affair and former leaders' abuses were typically ignored. Current abuses in Syria, Sudan, Israel/Palestine, the DRC, and the USA demonstrate that human rights continue to be under attack. Yet the trajectory of human rights advocacy in the past hundred years has created language, institutions, and international norms that have made it possible to assert that certain rights are universal and sometimes hold perpetrators of abuse accountable. Similarly, forty years ago there were no words, international laws or norms against forced disappearance. Abuses in Argentina and the persistent nonviolent response of human rights advocates have made enforced disappearance a recognized part of common discourse and a violation of international law. Under its previous two presidents, the Argentine state itself became an advocate for human rights, transforming its formerly adversarial relationship to the movement. Despite—or perhaps because of—its successes, Argentina's human rights movement faced new challenges in recent years and struggles to define its role in the contemporary democratic setting.

In this paper we argue that Argentine activists have changed 1) the context for human rights (including newly created and modified legal and state institutions, cultural changes and modification of the physical landscape), 2) the nature of networks and relationships related to human rights (especially those between Argentine activists, society and the state), and 3) many socialization factors that affect attitudes and behaviors of Argentines (including changes in the ways that the era is referenced, taught and memorialized). We further contend that these changes are an enduring and important legacy of activism, which makes future human rights atrocities in Argentina highly unlikely, particularly compared to prospects for other states that have been less effective in addressing dark periods of their own history. Despite increased confluence of the activists' and the Argentine state's interest in championing human rights, segments of Argentina's movement faced new challenges, particularly in defining themselves in relation to the state. A number of those with whom we spoke warned that they feared being co-opted by the state and felt

they must maintain sufficient autonomy to apply continued pressure on the state and to broaden society's focus on human rights to include contemporary issues, not just those committed in the past. The new Macri Administration may be changing the context in which these groups function; this paper focuses on the country and movement's evolution under previous administrations.

2. Literature

Research on the human rights movement in Argentina is extensive and has been examined through diverse disciplines, including political science, sociology, cultural anthropology and performance studies. Since the inception of the resistance to the regime, scholars have been captured by the unique imagery and tactics of the movement made iconic by the signature headscarves worn by the Madres (Mothers) and Abuelas (Grandmothers) of the Plaza de Mayo to signify their relation to their disappeared children and grandchildren (Navarro, 2001; Arditti 1999, Bonner 2008). Scholarly articles by Sikkink (2008) and Bonner (2007) highlighted the extraordinary ability of Argentina's movement to remain relevant, salient and effective long after the return to democracy and despite major hurdles such as impunity legislation enacted by the Alfonsín and Menem governments. Sikkink is particularly effective in detailing the legal and political changes brought about through movement activism. Jelin (2003, 2007) has demonstrated ways in which the Argentine human rights movement has consistently fought against societal "forgetting" by asserting that "memory" is an invaluable asset in the continuation and preservation of democracy. Faulk offers documentation of and insights into the incorporation of human rights language by broad sectors of the Argentine public (2013).

Our work builds upon this prior research and aims to examine the struggle in a new phase of its existence in which lifetime activists became closely aligned with the state and politicians during the administrations of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2003-2014). More than ten years after the Kirchners' successive presidencies began to bring unprecedented focus to human rights organizations, many human rights functions previously attempted by non governmental organization became institutionalized by the state, such as a National Day of Memory for Truth and Justice. This paper attempts to understand how the changes since Argentina's return to democracy, particularly throughout the Kirchner administrations, are perceived by those closest to the ongoing movement for human rights. It expands on prior work with insights from activists and practitioners within governmental and nongovernmental organizations, but does not address how the movement is addressing new challenges after the election of Mauricio Macri in 2015.

3. Theoretical Framework

Work on courageous resistance to injustice has posited that those deciding whether to take action in the face of human rights violations or other grave wrongdoings must navigate a series of decision-making crossroads. The outcome of these decisions ultimately result in people who are not themselves the targets of the injustice, choosing to act as either perpetrator, passive bystanders or courageous resisters to injustice. Thalhammer et al. (2007) assert that the reasons some people eventually elect courageous resistance is an interaction of three factors: the individual's preconditions (e.g. traits, attitudes and experiences), the networks to which they belong and their relationships with others, and the broader context. In short, it is who we are, who we know, and the nature of our environment that collectively affect our assessments of possible risks, likely impact of our efforts, and prognosis for success.

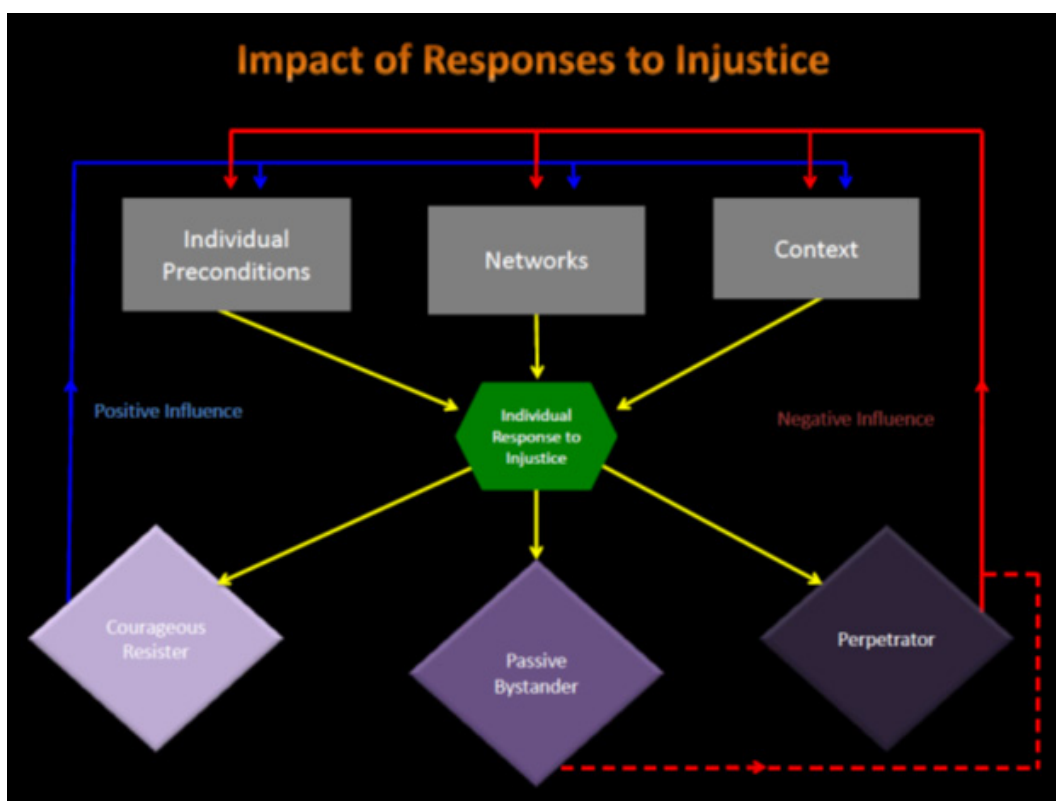


Figure 1, adapted from Thalhammer, Kristina, O'Loughlin, Paula L., Glazer, Myron Peretz, Glazer, Penina Migdal, McFarland, Sam, Shepela, Sharon Toffey, Stoltzfus, Nathan (2007) *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

In this model, individuals' preconditions are formed by socialization through inculcation, observing others' behaviors, and our own experiences. Resulting attitudes towards authority, our tolerance for fear, and ethos of responsibility/care for a wide or even universal circle all can increase the likelihood of choosing to confront injustice. The social and political links and networks within which one is located can also affect not only how much timely information one receives, but the interpretation of events and possible responses, perhaps supported by kindred spirits or other assistance such as resources, exper-

tise or protection. Context matters. It is clearly easier to take action in a truly democratic setting than in an authoritarian one. For example, the nature of political and judicial protections, public support or disapproval of activism and the possibility of disseminating information to broaden one's circle might encourage or discourage taking action.

These factors have previously been used to explain the creation of the Argentine human rights movement (Thalhammer, et al., 2007), but have not been used to analyze the contemporary setting, where old and new generations of human rights advocates, students, teachers and public officials interact. This paper looks at the legacy of changes wrought by movement efforts during and since the dictatorship. It asserts that these have broadly affected the context, networks and socialization of individuals in ways that affect the current Argentine human rights milieu, making real progress towards institutionalizing justice and legal protections, political structures, revelation or truth and memory so that the repression experienced will truly happen *nunca más* (never again).

4. Methods

The authors of this paper visited Argentina in May and June of 2014. Each of us had studied and interacted with the human rights community in Buenos Aires and La Plata previously (one in 1992-1993; the other, in 2010). Thalhammer had collected 76 oral histories of activists and others in 1992-3, which allowed us a snapshot of how the regime was seen and described in that era¹. Branigan had conducted semi-structured interviews with educators from such organizations as Educación y Memoria in Buenos Aires and Casa de la Memoria y la Vida in the municipality of Moron as part of research at Grinnell College in 2010. In 2014 Branigan and Thalhammer spoke with experts, including at least one member of each nongovernmental human rights organizations that had functioned during the dictatorship: the Madres (Mothers) de Plaza de Mayo, Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticas (Relatives of those Disappeared and Detained for Political Reasons), Abuelas (Grandmothers) de Plaza de Mayo, Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (Center for Legal and Social Studies or CELS), Movimiento Ecueménico por los Derechos Humanos (Ecumenical Movement for Human Rights or MEDH), La Liga por los Derechos del Hombre (The League for the Rights of Man), Asamblea Permanente por Los Derechos Humanos (Permanent Assembly for Human Rights), Servicio Paz y Justicia en América Latina (Peace and Justice Service or SERPAJ)

1. Thalhammer contacted the original human rights organizations (nine, because the Madres group split in the 1980s) and invited any members active during the dictatorship to be interviewed about their lives before, during and after the last military regime. Using a semi-structured interview protocol, she asked about their experiences, role models, attitudes and resources during childhood, immediately before the last military junta took power, during the dictatorship and afterward. Interviews ranged from two hours to many hours in multiple visits over the course of several days. Interviews were conducted in locations preferred by the subject (including private homes, offices and cafes). A snowball technique was used to identify additional participants, including those not active in human rights organizations. Interviews were recorded and used to clarify notes taken during the interviews and to confirm exact wording of quotes. Pseudonyms were used as required by the University of Minnesota Human Subjects in Research Committee.

and with representatives of other current human rights organization (some governmental) about their views of human rights activism previously, currently and in the future. We conducted semi-structured interviews with seasoned activists as experts on the human rights movement who could best identify the evolving impact of the movement on factors affecting contemporary Argentines' values and attitudes. We contacted the nine original human rights organizations with the invitation to participate and used the snowball technique to learn of possible experts and invite them to participate. The St. Olaf College Institutional Review Board approved this approach and our questions about interviewees' attitudes, networks and context before, during and after the dictatorship. Recorded interviews lasted between one and four hours. Interviews were conducted in homes, coffee shops or organizations' offices according to subjects' preferences. We recorded all interviews and recordings to supplement our interview notes and confirm quotes. The confidentiality agreement allowed subjects to choose whether to be identified by name or pseudonym for this article.

This paper does not claim to offer an exhaustive representation of all activists' views of the movement's impact or to measure the degree to which these changes are effective at legitimating human rights activities or mobilizing individuals to take actions conducive to human rights advocacy. It should, however, offer greater insight into the movement's impact and recent challenges.

5. Background

In response to Argentina's brutal record of disappearance, torture, and murder during the era of the Argentine Anti Communist Alliance (1974-6) and civil-military dictatorship (1976-1983), a courageous, consistent and ultimately successful human rights movement emerged. As many as 30,000 people were forcibly disappeared, clandestinely imprisoned, tortured and murdered by state-sanctioned agents. Even during the height of repression, human rights groups attempted to break the enforced societal silence, investigate and document violations, and pressure the state to stop the injustices. Some have argued that actions of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and the other groups were successful in that they helped to delegitimize the military regime and hasten its demise (Leis, 1989). Yet, activists' core demand (that the state show that the thousands who had been disappeared were alive) was never realized. Nor did the state answer the broader question of their fate, hiding information about deaths through clandestine disposal of bodies into rivers, the ocean or mass graves, and by abiding by a code of military silence, which made the truth a puzzle to be painstakingly assembled in the decades to follow.

In the immediate aftermath of the regime's collapse, initial successes of the human rights groups were impressive (including trials of Junta leaders and creation of a truth commission), but efforts were soon stymied by the state. In the face of more than a dozen coup attempts, Raúl Alfonsín, the first post-junta president, prohibited prosecutions; his successor, Carlos Menem, pardoned those already convicted. By the late 1980s, no one

was imprisoned, no information about the missing was forthcoming and it appeared an era of impunity had begun.

One might have expected that disheartened rights advocates would abandon the movement. Instead, setbacks seem to have inspired greater creativity and innovation in the Argentine system and tenacious dedication by activists to achieve truth, justice and preserve the memory of those disappeared. Their efforts have brought about impressive contextual, relational and personal changes, which we discuss below, but have also led to new challenges for the movement.

6. Changes in Context

6.1. *Political and Legal Changes*

The 1983 return to democracy brought rapid changes in the repressive context. Both of the major political parties incorporated human rights language into their platforms and the election of President Raúl Alfonsín was influenced by the endorsement of Argentine human rights NGOs. Alfonsín's administration put on trial junta commanders, the first-ever trial of former leaders within their own justice system for crimes against humanity. Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP), the state-appointed truth commission, investigated the human rights crimes committed under the military regime and published its findings as *Nunca Más*, a groundbreaking domestic and international bestseller. Both of these triumphs were heavily assisted by efforts of human rights groups, which had documented disappearances and compiled evidence throughout the dictatorship.

Other prosecutions were also underway, but human rights progress lurched backwards as unrest in the barracks shook democratic leadership. President Alfonsín implemented bans on prosecutions of military (the laws of Due Obedience in 1984 and Full Stop in 1986). Pardons of junta leaders by President Menem in 1990 and his focus on reconciliation and “moving forward,” rather than pursuing justice, degraded prospects for prosecuting rights violations, uncovering the truth or preserving the memory of victims and the circumstances of their deaths. Despite these laws and failed leadership, which prevented prosecution through domestic courts for almost 20 years, Argentina's human rights NGOs tenaciously pursued legal justice. As Sikkink (2008) contends, in the midst of the brutal dictatorship and during the obstacle-filled years that followed, Argentina's human rights groups were innovative in important ways, many of which have been emulated in other areas and national contexts. According to Alicia Piatti, lifelong human rights activist and wife of one of the disappeared, “The Madres are a symbol in many places, including Africa. The word ‘disappeared’ is universal—the work of the Madres, the triumph of their work.” [2]

Argentines were the first to organize as mothers and grandmothers on behalf of human rights. Activists introduced the terminology of disappearance both domestically and then

internationally. Following the return to democracy, the Abuelas used new technologies, established through collaboration with international experts and forensic anthropologists, to establish blood-and DNA-banks to recover identities of children disappeared or born in captivity, who had been illegally adopted by families selected by the military regime. Further, activists pushed the courts to allow investigation and prosecution of kidnapping of children as falling outside the laws that limited prosecution. In 1992, the state created the National Commission for Right to Identity to centralize the search for missing children. A few years later, when Argentina reformed its constitution, it raised international treaties to the status of constitutional law. The reformed constitution also obliges the state to ensure the full protection of human rights.

Frustrated by the Full Stop and Due Obedience Laws, members of the human rights movement, particularly CELS and several founders of the Madres Founders Line, petitioned the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to override the ban on trials; the court ruled that victims and their families had a right to know what happened to the disappeared. It ordered the Argentine state to allow “truth trials” that helped Argentines searching for disappeared relatives to circumnavigate legal roadblocks. By the late 1990s, trials were underway in La Plata and other locales, albeit without threat of criminal penalty. For Pedro Galíndez, once-exiled brother of a disappeared youth and former member of CONADEP and other human rights efforts, the trials in La Plata in 1998-99 signaled a change in relations between human rights activists and the public. “People began to talk. They saw the separation of family as bad; they began to recognize the truth.” [3]. Rulings from the Inter-American Court of Justice that followed proclaimed that amnesties and pardons such as Argentina’s were incompatible with international law and therefore invalid.

President Néstor Kirchner was elected in 2003. Under his leadership “impunity legislation” and other state-imposed barriers to justice were dissolved. The Argentine Congress revoked impunity laws, which the Argentine Supreme Court also ruled unconstitutional. In 2006, the government began prosecuting military and security officers—including a Catholic chaplain—for torture, illegal imprisonment, homicide and crimes against humanity. Prosecutions continued under President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and convictions now number in the hundreds. In 2006 civil and criminal cases expanded beyond military defendants and were initiated against former executives of the Ford Motor Company, and against Mercedes Benz-Argentina and its mother company, DaimlerChrysler-US, for collaboration with Argentine security officials to detain and torture union leaders. More recently Ledesma, a group of Argentinian major media owners, were investigated for cooperating in kidnappings and intimidation of newsprint suppliers [4]. Since 2008, a federal court ruling has interpreted crimes committed by state agents between 1974 and 1983 to be crimes against humanity and therefore not restricted by the statute of limitations. In short, barriers to justice have continued to fall and prosecutions to expand.

6.2. *Changes in Physical Space*

Activists' efforts to preserve the memory of civil-military dictatorship victims have yielded dramatic and subtle changes in Argentina's physical space, including the creation of "memory spaces", transferring control of buildings from the military and creating new spaces for the education and mobilization of the public. As Familiares member Alicia Piatti explained, "It is important to create a space for much discussion... permanent discussion is good. We don't want to forget and let the military back." [5]. Where once the memory of abuse had to be communicated largely with temporary measures, such as street protests, "escraches", graffiti or posters, now eye-catching plaques and glazed tiles (*baldosas*) are permanently installed on the streets of Buenos Aires and La Plata, to mark locations where disappearances occurred and register names of those taken. In the Plaza de Mayo, where family members of the missing and their supporters have circled the obelisk at least weekly since the peak of repression (when they were threatened and dispersed by soldiers on horseback), the iconic white scarves of the Madres are painted on the paving tiles. Large murals of activists and those disappeared can also be found throughout the city, including a multi-story painting abutting the Catholic church where Madres founders and two supportive French nuns were themselves disappeared.

An extensive memorial park (Parque de la Memoria) is a public, municipal institution on the shores of the Río de la Plata in the city of Buenos Aires. Created in 1998, this space includes a Monument to the Victims of State Terror (Monumento a las Víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado), covered with 30,000 plaques, listing names of all known to have been assassinated or disappeared and blank tiles to represent those still undocumented. The park is shaped to represent an open wound, and includes a variety of sculpture, an esplanade that extends over the river and a statue in the river, reminding visitors of the many victims thrown into its waters. A promenade along the river uses 53 specially created road signs to inform visitors about the stages of the violence, using clear concise language that tells of the nature, breadth, sources and impact of repression and societal responses to it. The state's official version of the cause of repression is emblazoned on the park's permanent signage, rejecting that it was solely a military-initiated attempt to reorganize society and instead presenting it as a process of economic reorganization coordinated by domestic and international parties, including corporations and the US Army School of the Americas. This echoes the version of events long advocated by the human rights movement. According to Gabriel De Menech of the Committee for the Defense of Health, Ethics and Human Rights (Comité para la Defensa de la Salud, la Ética y los Derechos Humanos or CODESEDH), "There always was a consensus (in the movement) that not just the military, but others including the economically powerful, should take responsibility." [7]

Similarly, a memorial complex has replaced what was once the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (Naval Higher Mechanical School or ESMA), a large campus of whitewashed

buildings in the heart of the city of Buenos Aires that had been used as a military academy for generations. During the dictatorship it also housed a secret detention, torture and execution center, where an estimated 4,000 people were killed. In 2004, Néstor Kirchner evicted the military. After extensive debate and negotiations between governmental groups and family members of the disappeared and assassinated, the complex was transformed into the Space for Memory and Human Rights (*Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos*). This complex houses human rights and community organizations, a museum, a café, a school for youth music education, art galleries, the national archive for memory (*Archivo Nacional de la Memoria*), and other spaces for public events.

As the ex-ESMA demonstrates, in addition to areas that preserve memory, Argentina now features places where current and new generations of activists can prepare and contribute to a culture that respects human rights. During the height of repression, some human rights groups had trouble finding safe places to meet and offices of more established groups were searched and documents stolen. All these groups now have permanent spaces, which range from modest apartments to the multi-story edifice of the Association of the Mothers of the Plaza, which features a restaurant, classrooms and offices decorated with sculptures, paintings and certificates from around the world. While many of the human rights groups' offices are almost invisible from the street level, the Association of the Mothers' space is hard to miss. A block away the Popular University of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo has its own building, which since 2000 has offered not only physical space for political discussion, but also an educational framework. In the city of La Plata, the epicenter of violence against youth in the early days of the dictatorship, a corner lot houses a stately building, the Provincial Commission for Memory (*Comisión Provincial por la Memoria*), which features meeting rooms, a library and other services that—among other things—are used by educators and teenagers to grapple with projects that make this history relevant to youth.

7. Networks: Relationships between Activists, Society and the State

During the dictatorship those searching for information about the missing gradually formed networks that would become the foundation of organizations of the affected (the Madres, Abuelas and Familiares). These organizations connected with other human rights groups both within Argentina and abroad. Within a few years, there were eight interconnected nongovernmental organizations working for human rights in Argentina, along with one International NGO: Amnesty International. [8]. Collectively they interpreted the seemingly disjointed events they had witnessed as systematic repression, which they set out to investigate, document, publicize and fight. A wide diaspora of Argentines helped connect the domestic organizations with other transnational human rights groups, which provided resources, information and expertise and applied pressure on other states and intergovernmental organizations that in turn could pressure the dictatorship to end the repression (Keck and Sikkink, 1989).

As the bonds between activists within Argentina and across frontiers deepened, most other societal links were shattered by the dictatorship, which banned political parties, unions and public meetings. The nature of the repression atomized the society, with citizens afraid to trust others even with the truth of the tragedies that they were enduring. “Victims’ families hid their family’s status in school and work,” recalled Menech. Self-censorship and silence based in fear combined with social ostracism of those even marginally associated with regime victims. After her husband was disappeared one member of the Juventud Peronista (Young Peronists) fled the city with her daughter, changed their names and lived in a provincial town for years under the pretense that he had abandoned them. [9]. People associated only with people they felt they could trust.

The human rights organizations’ connections to the rest of Argentine society evolved even during the dictatorship, with their social marginalization (encouraged by state and conservative media propaganda) gradually giving way to increased recognition that the claims the movement made were more legitimate than the “official story” expounded by the dictatorship. By 1979 when the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights came to Argentina to gather testimony on abuses, people (coordinated by the human rights movement) lined up for blocks to give testimony, despite legitimate fears of ongoing intimidation by the regime. When Argentina lost the Guerra de las Malvinas, or Falklands War, to Great Britain in 1982, thousands of people joined the Madres in protest marches in Plaza de Mayo, the only public space that had been regularly pried open during the punitive regime.

In the aftermath of the transition to democracy, human rights groups briefly held a position of respect in many parts of society. During trials of junta commanders and publication of *Nunca Más*, human rights advocates were heralded by many as the conscience of Argentine society and huge crowds organized for events to recall the memory of the missing and celebrate the ability of citizens to once again have political voice. But the scars of fear and secrecy did not heal rapidly and political activism remained cautious in the broader society. Soon the solidarity of Argentina’s human rights network began to unravel.

Discord over how closely to work with Alfonsín’s flawed-but-democratic government, whether to use forensic investigations, and the morality of accepting state reparations split the Madres in two. Members of the two organizations took dramatically different positions on virtually all issues and came to have very different profiles in the eyes of the society. While victim restitution payments and death benefits from the state began to be offered soon after being recommended by Argentina’s Truth Commission, CONADEP, these proved controversial as they were seen as requiring family members to have their missing loved ones declared dead and to assemble evidence that was difficult to obtain due to the military’s refusal to cooperate. Disputes over reparations and decisions about whether to allow for exhumation, examination, and return of human remains (bones) to family members also ignited controversy so deep that it split the Madres into two distinct groups, which have since that time taken very different positions towards the state.

Prior to the Kirchners' time in office, the Madres Association led by Hebe de Bonafini seemed opposed to all state human rights policies, seeing them as cynical diversions from the lack of real information and prosecutions sought by families. Reparations appeared to some, such as Juanita Pargament of the Association, as "blood money" as it was offered instead of the return of their loved ones, information about their fates, or punishment of those responsible for their disappearances [10]. In contrast, Madres of the Founders' Line, such as Haydee Gastelu de Garcia Buela believed it best to work with democratically elected officials and to accept what the state was offering—since the state had done the harm, it should aid victims – including family members. This line of Madres was willing to work with forensic anthropologists to do what they had always done: assemble information that could answer family members' questions and be used to prosecute.

A former Madre and Abuela who now heads a human rights foundation and archive in La Plata recalls:

During the dictatorship our foe was clear; we all were looking for the disappeared and for justice. With the change in government and political leadership, each was looking at their political values, which were various colors. Some are now criticizing others and speak as if we are enemies. Each line is separate. Once the only objective was the disappeared—(we were) political but not partisan. [11]

In the early years of the return to democracy, as coup attempts mounted and progress in punishing perpetrators moved backwards with the indemnity laws and pardons, some in society turned against the human rights advocates, claiming their calls for justice had pushed the military too far and were adding to the insecurity. The rhetoric of the Madres led by Bonafini, which advocated embracing radical policies they assumed their missing children would have pursued, left that organization isolated even from other parts of the movement. The Menem administration was not receptive to advocacy and seemed particularly eager to distance itself from the more radical elements of the movement, but activists persisted and "learned to maneuver within the limits of political space." [12]. While still pursuing justice, truth and memory related to the dictatorship, human rights groups also extended their concern for human rights to contemporary issues—ongoing police brutality towards adolescent men, domestic violence and violations of economic rights.

Over time (and despite the state's unwillingness to support efforts for truth, justice or preserving the memory of the regime's record or its victims) human rights networks expanded to include a new generation of activists. HIJOS (Children), originally a subset of the young adult children of the disappeared, but later including others more broadly victimized by the regime's brutality, connected with the population through increasingly innovative events. For example, their *Escraches* brought people into street theater that aimed to "out" torturers and assassins who had escaped trial. HIJOS established and maintained relationships with all the human rights NGOs, even the more marginalized Madres, breathing new life into the movement as its original members aged and made slow progress towards truth and justice.

Human rights successes in the past fifteen years have further changed how society reacts to and interacts with those still struggling to keep human rights issues salient. According to one long-time activist, with the trial in La Plata in 1998-9 a change began in the movement's connection with the public. "People began to recognize possibilities. The big political opening came in 2003, when the children of the disappeared began to talk with the government." [13] The past ten years has seen increasingly positive interactions between members of the society and those associated with the justice process, but a number of issues—including some scandals (e.g. the handling of funds by the Popular University of the Madres), has left even some other human rights advocates complaining that the movement's overall credibility has been affected. [14] The recent reunification of the president of the Abuelas with the disappeared grandson she sought for 36 years was an occasion for celebratory front-page coverage in all the major papers in 2014 (See Appendix A). This suggests that members of society, state officials and human rights advocates increasingly see rights claims as valid, including the right to identity and family reunification. Coverage of and interest in ongoing trials has also reflected and influenced public awareness and perceptions of the importance of truth, memory and justice. One of the original founders of the Abuelas remarked that even after the return to democracy "none of the governments initiated a search for the missing children stolen by the state. [They acted] like blind people. No one helped us until this last one [Fernández de Kirchner]," said Chicha Mariani, who is still seeking the granddaughter who was disappeared with Mariani's son and daughter-in-law during the dictatorship. Those searching have received some financial support, she said, and the state has "opened up some doors... The Kirchners have done some good things but they have not yet opened the military or church archives. It's an ugly thing that 35 years later we are still looking for the kids." [15]

During the Kirchner and Fernández de Kirchner administrations, members of the movement saw the linkages within their movement and in the society as growing ever stronger, particularly since the cause again received validation from the government and the activists found common purpose in the courtroom. According to Gabriel De Menech:

The military once silenced everyone. We pushed...(we) do so even today, that victims be seen as victims, not as some sectors of the society believed, as subversives who needed that level of repression... Fundamentally the society is recovering democratic values and prosecuting crimes... Youth are (now) working in institutions and in the state not just to change laws, but to change attitudes.... We don't have problems with different groups. We work with those from the EU and the US at times. We try to work with all sectors of the state with fluid dialogue. We've woven together a network and now we are totally connected.

While numbers cannot tell the whole story, it is notable that where at the end of the dictatorship there were only nine human rights NGOs (including the two factions of Madres as separate organizations), the Instituto de Derechos Humanos - Universidad Nacional de La Plata lists 24 current domestic NGOs and at least nine state (national or provincial) organizations with human rights as a key component of their mission. (See

Table 1). This count seems low and does not include at least two of the human rights organizations represented by those we interviewed.

Yet the growing rapport between the state and NGOs is not universally accepted. The closeness between Hebe de Bonafini and the Kirchners has led to one line of the Madres offering public support for the new leadership of the military. Abuela founder Chicha Mariani finds this puzzling:

I am disoriented in this respect. I can't support that they are reconciling with the military until the babies are returned. Hebe is valiant [courageous]. I knew her. This change in respect to the military... How can they reconcile after the massacre? None of the military has admitted anything about missing children. I don't want to judge, because I don't understand. In every one (member of the military) I see the person who took my son and his family and I can't forgive or reconcile. [16]

7.1. *State and NGO Overlap*

There have long been overlapping functions of the state and the human rights NGOs, but the past ten years have seen far more action by the government, institutionalizing the efforts that previously had relied on charitable donations and international grants for funding. For example, even before the state began working on behalf of victims, human rights groups had been aiding anyone who was affected either directly or indirectly by regime terror. Menech has worked with CODESEDH since its creation by MEDH and La Liga in 1983, but even earlier he and others had worked through a local church to meet needs of victims—general rather than legal—even before that date. [i][17]. The NGO “sees all the family of the missing as victims,” Menech reported. “Once this was very strange, now it's accepted... Our goal is to help as many people as possible. We're not as rigid as other (i.e. governmental) organizations.” [18] People traumatized by the state during the dictatorship were easily re-traumatized by those representing the state. For example, summons delivered to witnesses at night (even for paternity cases) evoked memories of late night kidnapping squads. When trials of torturers were finally underway, witnesses for the prosecution (often victims) were placed on the stand without psychological preparation, support, or even a glass of water. During the first prosecution under the Kirchner administration, key prosecution witness Julio Jorge López, was himself disappeared. Clearly, witnesses needed protection, support and guidance to be able to play their role in the legal process. The state has incorporated its own mechanisms for offering this support, which is winning some confidence from the public that the state is on the side of the common person, not the military or oligarchy that pushed for and benefited from the repression. “The trials won the confidence of the people in the government. (They made) a special link between the people, which was previously a broken relationship,” said Pedro Galíndez, an early human rights activist. [19]

8. Preconditions: Socialization to change individual attitudes and possible behaviors

8.1. *Changes in language and official narratives*

One monumental success of the human rights movement has been redefining the way in which the time period, the perpetrators, and the victims are collectively remembered, referred to, and ‘named.’ While in power, the regime exerted and justified their acts of violence through the discourse of a “War against Terror and Subversion”. The dictatorship established itself as the protector of the nation and proclaimed its rule as “El proceso para reorganización nacional” (The Process for National Reorganization). Even after the return to democracy, the military and the elected government explained the actions of the past through the theory of two demons—the idea that there had been two sides that both exerted evil. Outside of Argentina, scholars and journalists referred to the violence of the era as a “Dirty War.” Alternatively, it was referred to as a ‘military dictatorship’. To this day, human rights advocates have consistently fought against this nomenclature. Even during the period of repression, many activists rejected naming it a “war”², asserting that such a term instilled a sense that the disappearance, torture and murder of thousands of people were a byproduct of a legitimate military activity. Activists insisted that there was no war: there was no declaration of war and none of the rules of war, in particular those that protect the rights of prisoners, were observed. Throughout the 1990’s, President Carlos Menem proclaimed a national discourse of “progress through reconciliation” [20] and openly criticized human rights activists for hindering progress towards peace and democracy. Such criticism only galvanized activists to assert a different narrative about the past. Activists have since successfully reappropriated the regime’s official discourse of a “War against Terror and Subversion” by naming the collective acts of violence³ as, instead, an act of “State Terror”⁴. Official curricular texts, government websites as well as

2. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) defines war as an armed conflict between societies with casualties of over 1,000 in one year. Armed insurgents present in the mid 1970s were quickly defeated by the new regime, but disappearances of noncombatants continued to increase. Argentine state repression during the last military dictatorship was not a war between societies, but a one-sided, intentional, and strategic use of state force against its own society, targeting thousands of unarmed individuals, including unionists, apolitical teens and even infants.

3. Galtung and Höivik (1971) argue that violence can be categorized four ways. Francisco Jimenez Bautista (2012) builds on this categorization as he strives to explain causes of the four types of violence: direct (verbal, psychological and physical); structural (poverty, repression, pollution, alignment, etc.); cultural (from ideas, norms, values, tradition, etc.), and/or symbolic (demonstrations by acts or rituals that give recognition to direct and structural violence). All of these forms of violence were present in the Argentine case and merit greater scrutiny. Direct violence alone resulted in as many as 30,000 illegal state murders.

4. Pion-Berlin (1989:1) builds on Gurr’s work to define state terror as a “premeditated, patterned, and instrumental form of government violence. It is planned, occurs regularly, and is intended to induce fear through ‘coercive and life threatening action’ (Gurr, 1986: 46)”. This term more aptly fits this case.

nongovernmental organizations now refer to the era as State Terror. The anniversary of the 1976 coup is now recognized as the National Day of Memory for Truth and Justice.

Similarly, the movement has slowly changed the perceptions and descriptions of victims, perpetrators and human rights activists themselves. Victims' identities as the state and some human rights groups downplayed political militants previously, claims María Sandra Raggio of La Plata.

Until now the state didn't take into account the political impact, but the state's official take on political militancy has changed. This is very important because this political option has been recovered very little. During the repression and in the 1980s no one spoke about victims as (including) members of militant groups because they didn't want victims to be seen as having (justified) their imprisonment... The state cleaned up history... In the current political system we don't want it reconstructed the dictatorship's way. [21]

The nature of victimhood has also changed the discourse among many in the society—particularly the young—which claims that looking at those abused by the state or even including their families is not sufficiently ample. In this new view, all the people of Argentina suffered from the dictatorship. The impact on the economy⁵, culture, and lost opportunities⁶ are all legacies of the repression that require recuperation by the whole nation. [22]

8.2. *Changes in Individuals' Political Socialization*

Theories of political socialization suggest that we learn attitudes and behavior over a lifetime through various mechanisms. While debates exist about the degree to which more recent learning trumps the values and attitudes acquired through early learning (e.g. home or school), there is a consensus that socialization persists throughout adulthood and that our peers, work experience, significant political events, and our quality of life can contribute to change (Sigel, 1989).

On a micro level, the efforts of human rights activists to re-socialize the next generation is encapsulated in the efforts of Abuela Elsa Pavón to change the attitudes and values of the granddaughter, Paula. She disappeared with her parents at 23 months of age and was raised by a police family for eight years before being returned to her biological relatives. Pavón on described the tough process of winning Paula's trust and helping her reconstruct her own story/identity.

The absolute truth is that you have to have faith in people. They (the abducting family) had different values. Police had a different way of living... One day at our house she was watching TV with me and saw the Madres marching. "They're crazy and the missing

5. For more on the long-term detrimental impact of the economic policies implemented by the dictatorship see Verbitsky and Bohoslavsky (2015).

6. One can calculate the numbers of years of life lost (as Galtung and Høivik suggested serve as a measure of both structural and direct violence). According to Groen, Márquez-Grant and Janaway (2015), the average age of the disappeared was 25.9 years. According to the World Bank, average life expectancy for Argentines in 1976 was 68.34 years. Thus the country lost more than 1.25 million years of adult citizen contributions to the economy and culture as the direct result of regime violence.

ones are assassins,” she said. I told her, “If I weren’t here with you I’d be marching with them and the missing ones are your parents.” We had to change the discourse to the real story and not the official story. [23]

Modeling behavior and dramatic events can be mechanisms for realigning individual values. This appears to have happened multiple times in Argentina. The Peronist era and the six military dictatorships in the 20 Century contributed to the promotion of certain kinds of political values. The big challenge for champions of human rights in the aftermath of the last-and bloodiest dictatorship was to undo its lessons of passivity, self-censorship and cynical distrust. As Herbon explains:

The conditions of this country changed through the six military dictatorships in the 20 Century. All civil, political and economic and cultural organizations were nonexistent. All were in a state of terror. We (human rights groups) changed this without violence. We never raised a hand against any repressor even in very repressive times, with many people tortured, disappeared until by 1982 the last dictators had no choice but to leave and allow for a democratic system. [24]

Human rights activists have always maintained that their fight for justice was a fight that needed to be public, visible and accessible, yet, it wasn’t until the beginning of this millennium that their history and struggle solidified a place within public education (Fernández 2016). Previously, the topic of state terror was either not taught in schools or it was often explained under the guise of the theory of two demons. Today, cities and provinces, such as Buenos Aires, have passed legislation mandating that all public schools teach about state terror within a human rights framework. For example, in 2008, the City of Buenos Aires created *Programa Educación y Memoria* (Education and Memory), a program completely dedicated to teaching about state terror and human rights in the city’s public schools. Under the guidance of *Educación y Memoria*, students as young as preschool are introduced to the notion of human rights and even participate in human rights actions, such as marching with the Madres in the Plaza de Mayo. Non-governmental organizations, such as the Permanent Assembly, have produced curricular materials for various levels on topics related to human rights, including gender equality, ending racism and xenophobia, as well as state terror and forced disappearance.

9. Seismic Shift

9.1. *Legitimization to institutionalization—activists and the state today*

In the broadest sense, one of the human rights movement’s greatest successes has been winning respect and recognition as legitimate (and powerful) social and political actors. During the dictatorship, the military, church and society tried to discredit the human rights movement by framing the victims as terrorists and their family members as “crazy and disillusioned”. The regime referred to the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo as “Las Locas” (the crazy women) and denied that forced disappearances were taking place. After the

military left power in 1983, there was a brief period in which the human rights groups had credibility and some immediate success in encountering the truth and bringing justice, but their status was reversed as coup attempts mounted and activists' push for justice came to be reinterpreted as potentially contributing to instability and therefore injustice. Demands for "truth, memory and justice" were denounced by President Menem and others as hindering the country's progress by looking backward instead of forward.

It was not until the election of Kirchner in 2003 that the domestic context for human rights advocacy underwent a change and human rights finally solidified itself within the national political agenda. Kirchner made it explicitly clear that impunity politics of the past decade had no legitimacy in his office: in March of 2004 he ordered that the presidential portrait of convicted junta leader General Videla, which hung in the military academy, be removed, stating that doing so signified a "clear ending to a regrettable period." [25] On the same day he announced that the academy complex would become a memorial to victims. Kirchner's support for human rights did not stop with symbolic acts: he immediately instated hundreds of national trials that prosecuted repressors for crimes against humanity. Kirchner made it unequivocally clear that he was the political alliance that the human rights movement had been awaiting. Activist Piatti describes Kirchner's embrace of the human rights movement as profound and gratifying: "What has the impact of our work been? Really, (it was) when Néstor Kirchner reached out to us—because before, it was so much struggle, and we were fundamentally alone." [26]. Kirchner's validation of the human rights movement moved the longtime demands of the movement from the margins to the center of a political platform and agenda. President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has deepened her husband's close alliance with the human rights sector and is oftentimes photographed with Hebe de Bonafini and Estela de Carlotto, leaders of the Association of Madres and the Abuelas human rights groups respectively.

Human Rights groups have undoubtedly benefitted from their recognition from and alliance with the Kirchner government. Major legal accomplishments that seemed impossible during the Menem years have been reached. Yet, different factions of the human rights movement have responded in different ways, some with more caution than others. Hebe Bonafini has made clear that she and the Association of Madres have an unwavering allegiance to President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Bonafini named Kirchner an honorary Madre and bestowed a symbolic *pañuelo* or scarf upon her. In the Casa de las Madres (Bonafini Line), images of the Kirchners are placed next to those of the Mothers and their disappeared loved ones. For Hebe Bonafini, the Kirchners had become an indispensable asset to her organization's vision.

Other groups struggled to maintain their autonomy and independence from the Kirchner presidencies. In June of 2014, Nora Cortinas, member of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo Founding Line, made it very clear that she disapproved of the iconic headscarf becoming a "national symbol" under that Kirchner administration asserting that:

We say that scarf is the result of our resistance, the love for our children that called us to go out into the street and one day identify ourselves to show who we were and that we

were looking for our sons and daughters. To us, it is of our struggle, and so the disrespect hurt us, the lack of even a little call because it didn't occur to anyone to ask us what our opinion was on this decision... We refuse the institutionalizing of our scarf. [27]

In contrast, the Asociación Madres Plaza de Mayo (Bonafini Line), unanimously supported this proposal (later passed by Congress). Maria Adela Antokoletz of the Madres Founders Line stated that in Argentina (and any other nation) when

“the government has decided to address human rights, the risk and danger is that we allow them to decide what human rights are... Among our human rights community, even within Las Madres, we see members who are always with the government and we have others who are always speaking out against it, and this is healthy.” [28]

10. Discussion

In this paper we have asserted that ongoing human-rights advocacy has yielded dramatic changes in the societal context, nature of networks, and the factors of socialization in Argentina, which collectively pave the way for ongoing respect for human rights. Compared to the immediate aftermath of the last dictatorship, people in Argentina are different in terms of their understanding and values, in terms of how they connect (with one another, the state and those advocating human rights) and how they are situated (in a context in which rights are supported by the state through institutionalized truth, justice and memory mechanisms).

This shift resulted largely from pressure applied over decades that eroded obstacles posed by parts of the Argentine state and society. But the movement's impact advanced seismically after the country's swing to the political left in 2003. With the election of President Néstor Kirchner, his successor Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, and of a sympathetic Congress, members of the movement at last found a government eager to publicly support the NGOs. Further, these governments institutionalized legal protections and physical memorials of human rights by mandating the use of new and existing state agencies and resources to right the wrongs of the dictatorship. One can see the synergy of ongoing NGO pressures in this newly conducive context having an impact on the ways people talk about the dictatorship and its victims, the ways that physical space has incorporated memory, educational materials, and the enthusiasm with which post-secondary youth voluntarily contribute to broader discussion about memory and its relevance for their own futures.

The legacy of the movement is evident in such accomplishments as the published official investigation of brutality, trials and incarceration of perpetrators for crimes against humanity, creation of dozens of non-governmental and state organizations to facilitate processes of seeking truth, justice and preserving memory. It is also present in the changed discourse of the society, which uses the term Civil-Military dictatorship and state terror. This phrasing is a long evolution from the “Dirty War,” “Process of National Reorganiza-

tion,” or even military dictatorship.⁷ Similarly, the victims of brutality now are discussed in more complete ways, not as terrorists or subversives nor as apolitical innocents, but as people with depth and breadth, whose ranks included both armed and nonviolent activists. Increasingly, the pain and suffering of the disappeared (sometimes referred to as the “othering” of *desaparecidos*) has been transformed into a story of collective suffering and healing of the nation, in which all Argentines were victimized by the Civil-Military dictatorship.

We believe that collectively these changes make Argentine society highly unlikely to permit a return to military dominance or to a compromised “rule of law” (as existed prior to 2003, when the law itself prohibited investigations and prosecutions related to disappearances and other brutality, sheltering all military from consequences for violations of their own constitutional prohibitions). The state’s dismantling of obstacles to the pursuit of justice and its institutionalization of changes through the state (from curricular to ministerial changes) have resulted in new attitudes in Argentina, particularly among the young, in their understanding of the consequences of the dictatorship. These changes had been gradual yet accelerated exponentially with the changed political climate since 2003. Memory, which was once portrayed as an obstacle to the country moving forward, is now seen as the vehicle for progress. For example, *Jóvenes y Memoria* organizes annual *encuentros* during which more than ten thousand young people gather annually to share projects tying injustices of the past to contemporary challenges. They do so without fear or self-censorship and in spaces conducive to such endeavors.

While these changes are admirable and encouraging, the shift brought about a much closer alignment of nongovernmental organizations with the state than had been seen previously. This shift raises a number of notes of caution for those looking to protect human rights long term.

- First, there is some danger that the resources coming from the state to NGOs will make organizations that have historically been critical of the state dependent on it, which would potentially compromise their ability to act independently. This extends to one branch of the most renowned group, Association Madres de Plaza de Mayo, whose president Hebe de Bonafini, publicly supported a newly named head of the armed forces, despite his dubious record during the dictatorship.
- Second, there is the problem of the state claiming credit for progress in achieving goals of truth and justice that should go almost entirely to human rights groups. The overtly rights-friendly Kirchner administration achieved high-profile convictions of military officials and began proceedings against corporations that conspired with the military, but human rights advocates claim that these have been accomplished with evidence gathered and organized by members of the movement, without additional supporting documents or testimony extracted with the power of the state. The continuation of a

7. Current President Macri has not consistently adhered to the new terminology; his using “Dirty War” to refer to the era has raised concerns about his commitment to human rights.

military code of silence about disappearances, assassinations and abduction of children as well as the failure to force open the archives of the military or the Catholic church are seen by some as signals that even under the Kirchners, the government was more interested in receiving credit for transforming the system than for actually doing the hard work of uncovering more information.

- Third, the identity of human rights organizations has been blurred with that of the state (e.g. the white scarf of the Madres becoming a national symbol), which may be a strategic appropriation that increases the power of the state (perhaps even after a transition to a less rights-friendly government) and potentially removes some power from organizations' hard-won identities as autonomous and principled groups.
- Fourth, significant overlap between nongovernmental groups and governmental agencies' functions and presumed close association may confuse the public and lead to inefficiency, confusion and premature rehabilitation of the state--particularly the military--in the eyes of some segments of the population. With the continued code of silence, critics claim that the society should not let down its guard and welcome the military back into positions that normalize their status in the society.
- Fifth, the affinity and close association of the Kirchners' governments with human rights organizations may have threatened the rule of law. Various scandals associated with one of the human rights groups [29] appeared not to be investigated or prosecuted in a timely manner. In an era when one of the great accomplishments of the past decade included the trial of generals, chaplains, and low-level members of the military for their roles in the brutality, it sends a contradictory signal if some people appear to be above the law.
- Sixth, the ongoing state and societal focus on the civil and political rights abuses from the 1970s and early 1980s, while having great value, may take attention away from expanded conceptualizations of human rights and ongoing injustices, such as child abuse, police brutality of current detainees (including the disappearance of Luciano Arruga in 2009). Once the trials have run their course, forensic teams finished exhumations, and memorials to the victims and those who struggle for justice have been dedicated, will Argentina continue to have the powerful network of human rights advocates to challenge ongoing abuses, or will human rights violations be seen as confined to the past?

11. Conclusions

These critiques, raised by those we interviewed, are worth closer examination and have undoubtedly changed with the election and presidency of Mauricio Macri. Also worth exploring further is the degree to which the factors of socialization, changing relations between the state, organizations and society, and the broader context have actually changed the attitudes and behaviors of Argentines. Everything we have reported here is based on interviews with individuals involved in Argentine governmental and nongovernmental

human rights groups in Buenos Aires and La Plata. There may be very different views held by others in the movement, state or society. Further study could explore which perceptions are most widely held and in what sectors [30].

Despite these concerns, those interviewed agreed that the overall direction of rights advocacy in Argentina is overwhelmingly positive. We concur. We have repeatedly used the metaphor of seismic shift, but earthquakes are the result of pressure building over time. In this case, that force was a tireless group of advocates for truth, justice and memory: strong, resilient, relentless activists—mostly women.

12. References

- Abregú, Martín (2000) Human Rights after the Dictatorship: Lessons from Argentina, *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 4(1), pp. 12-18.
- Bonner, Michelle D. (2005) Defining Rights in Democratization: The Argentine Government and Human Rights Organizations, 1983-2003, *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 47(4), pp. 55-76.
- Faulk, Karen A. (2013) *In the Wake of Neoliberalism: Citizenship and Human Rights in Argentina*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Fernández, Mónica (2016) Educación en derechos humanos en Argentina. Notas sobre el Proceso de incorporación de los derechos humanos en los contextos educativos. *Revista Latinoamericana de Derechos Humanos*, Vol. 27(1), pp. 143-166. <http://www.revistas.una.ac.cr/derechoshumanos> (Accessed 04/10/2017)
- Galtung, Johan and Tord Höivik (1971) Structural and Direct Violence: A Note on Operationalization, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8(1), pp. 73-76.
- Groen, W. J. Mike, Márquez-Grant, Nicholas and Janaway, Rob (2015) *Forensic Archaeology: A Global Perspective*, New York, John Wiley & Sons.
- Gurr, Ted R. (1986) War, Revolution, and the Growth of the Coercive State, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 21(1), pp. 45-65.
- Infobae (2014) Nora Cortinas: 'Nosotras no queremos que se estaticen ni se institucionalicen los pañuelos', July 12, in: <http://www.infobae.com/2014/07/12/1580107-nora-cortinas-nosotras-no-queremos-que-se-estaticen-ni-se-institucionalicen-los-panuelos> [Accessed 9/23/2014].
- Instituto de Derechos Humanos-Universidad Nacional de La Plata. "Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de Argentina/Instituto de Derechos Humanos (UNLP) (2014), in: <http://www.derechoshumanos.unlp.edu.ar/d/enlaces/ong-argentinas/1/1> [Accessed 9/25/2014].
- Jiménez-Bautista, Francisco (2012) To know the violence in order to understand it: Origin, Causes and Reality, *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. 19(58), pp. 13-52.
- Jelin, Elizabeth (2003) *State Repression and Memory*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

- Kaiser, Susana (2005) *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the "Dirty War"*, New York, Palgrave.
- Keck, Margaret and Sikkink, Kathryn (1989) *Activists across Borders*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Leis, Héctor R. (1989) *El Movimiento por los derechos humanos y la política Argentina, Vol. 1 and 2*, Buenos Aires, Centro de Editor de América Latina.
- Navarro, Marissa (2001) The Personal Is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo, in *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Berkeley, University of California Press, Ed. Susan Eckstein, pp. 247-258.
- Pion-Berlin, David and López, George A. (1989) *Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1976-1983*, Kellogg Institute Working Paper #117.
- Sigel, Roberta (Ed.) (1989) *Political Learning in Adulthood. A Sourcebook of Theory and Research*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.
- Sikkink, Kathryn (2008) From Pariah State to Global Protagonist: Argentina and the Struggle for International Human Rights", *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 50(1), pp. 1-29.
- Shiraeve, Eric and Richard Sobel (2012) *People and Their Opinions: Thinking Critically About Public Opinion*, Pearson, Upper Saddle River.
- Thalhammer, Kristina, O'Loughlin, Paula L., Glazer, Myron Peretz, Glazer, Penina Migdal, McFarland, Sam, Shepela, Sharon Toffey, Stoltzfus, Nathan (2007) *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Uppsala Department Peace and Conflict Research. *Definitions*, <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/> [Accessed, 05/31/2017].
- Verbitsky, Horacio and Bohoslavsky, Juan P. (2015) *The Economic Accomplices to the Argentine Dictatorship*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- World Bank, *Life Expectancy at Birth: Argentina*, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=AR> [Accessed 5/31/2017].

13. Table 1. Human Rights Organizations in Argentina in 2012

13.1. Nongovernmental Human Rights Organizations in Argentina

1. AMNISTÍA INTERNACIONAL SECCIÓN ARGENTINA
2. ASAMBLEA PERMANENTE POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
3. ASAMBLEA PERMANENTE POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS LA PLATA
4. ASOCIACIÓN ABUELAS DE PLAZA DE MAYO
5. ASOCIACIÓN DE EX-DETENIDOS DESAPARECIDOS
6. ASOCIACIÓN MADRES DE PLAZA DE MAYO
7. ASOCIACIÓN MADRES DE PLAZA DE MAYO - LÍNEA FUNDADORA
8. ASOCIACIÓN MIGUEL BRU

9. ASOCIACIÓN POR LOS DERECHOS CIVILES
10. CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS LEGALES Y SOCIALES
11. CENTRO DE PROFESIONALES POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
12. COMITÉ PARA LA DEFENSA DE LA SALUD, LA ÉTICA Y LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
13. COLECTIVO DE DERECHOS DE INFANCIA Y ADOLESCENCIA
14. COMISIÓN DE FAMILIARES DE VÍCTIMAS INDEFENSAS DE LA VIOLENCIA SOCIAL POLICIAL JUDICIAL
15. COORDINADORA CONTRA LA REPRESIÓN POLICIAL E INSTITUCIONAL
16. EQUIPO ARGENTINO DE ANTROPOLOGÍA FORENSE
17. FAMILIARES DE DESAPARECIDOS Y DETENIDOS POR RAZONES POLÍTICAS - CÓRDOBA
18. FAMILIARES DE DETENIDOS Y DESAPARECIDOS POR RAZONES POLÍTICAS
19. FUNDACIÓN MUJERES EN IGUALDAD
20. FUNDACIÓN SERVICIO PAZ Y JUSTICIA
20. HIJOS POR LA IDENTIDAD Y LA JUSTICIA CONTRA EL OLVIDO Y EL SILENCIO
21. MEMORIA ABIERTA
22. MOVIMIENTO ECUMÉNICO POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
23. SOS DISCRIMINACIÓN INTERNACIONAL

13.2. Governmental Human Rights Organizations in Argentina

1. COMISIÓN PROVINCIAL POR LA MEMORIA
2. CONSEJO NACIONAL DE LAS MUJERES
3. DEFENSOR DEL PUEBLO DE LA NACIÓN
4. DEFENSOR DEL PUEBLO DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES
5. INSTITUTO NACIONAL CONTRA LA DISCRIMINACIÓN, LA XENOFOBIA Y EL RACISMO
6. MINISTERIO DE JUSTICIA, SEGURIDAD Y DERECHOS HUMANOS DE LA NACIÓN
7. OFICINA ANTICORRUPCIÓN
8. SECRETARIA DE DERECHOS HUMANOS DE LA NACIÓN
9. SECRETARIA DE DERECHOS HUMANOS DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES

Source: Instituto de Derechos Humanos - Universidad Nacional de La Plata
Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de Argentina | Instituto de Derechos Humanos - UNLP

<http://www.derechoshumanos.unlp.edu.ar/d/enlaces/ong-argentinas/> 1/1 (Accessed 09/25/2014).

These lists are not all inclusive. (E.g., they do not include CODESEDH or Fundación Anahí)

- [1] This research was completed before the election of President Mauricio Macri at the end of 2015.
- [2] Alicia Piatti, interview, Buenos Aires, May 30, 2014.
- [3] Pedro Galíndez, interview, Buenos Aires, May 28, 2014.
- [4] Other states have also have also entered into the efforts to prosecute Argentines for war crimes or crimes against Humanity (e.g. Spain and Germany). More recently, Argentina undertook prosecution for crimes against humanity occurring in Spain during its civil war.
- [5] Alicia Piatti, interview, Buenos Aires, May 30, 2014.
- [6] *Monumento a las víctimas del terrorismo de estado Parque de la Memoria*, Secretaria de Inclusión y Derechos Humanos Buenos Aires Ciudad, 2010.
- [7] Gabriel De Menech, interview, Buenos Aires, May 29, 2014.
- [8] Pedro Galíndez interview Buenos Aires, May 28, 2014.
- [9] Alicia Piatti, interview, Buenos Aires, May 30, 2014.
- [10] Juanita Pargament, interview, Buenos Aires, June 2, 2014.
- [11] Chicha Mariani, interview, La Plata, June 3, 2014.
- [12] Gabriel De Menech, Interview, Buenos Aires, May 29, 2014
- [13] Pedro Galíndez, interview, Buenos Aires, May 28, 2014.
- [14] María Adela Antokoletz, interview, Buenos Aires, June 5, 2014.
- [15] Chicha Mariani, interview La Plata, June 3, 2014. Mariani, was a member of the Abuelas, but now heads the Fundación Anahí.
- [16] Chicha Mariani, interview, La Plata, June 3, 2014.
- [17] Gabriel De Menech recalls the need for many levels of health and legal assistance for those whose families had been affected by the violence. Coordinated by Fr. Mario L'Enfante (one of MEDH's founders), CODESEDH helped victims find appropriate professional assistance (e.g., lawyers, psychologists, doctors and teachers).
- [18] Gabriel De Menech, interview, Buenos Aires, May 29, 2014.
- [19] Pedro Galíndez, interview, Buenos Aires, May 28, 2014
- [20] Kaiser, Susana, *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the "Dirty War."* New York: Palgrave, 2005, 165.
- [21] Sandra Raggio, interview. La Plata, May 30, 2014.
- [22] Susana Kaiser, *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the "Dirty War."* New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- [23] Eva Pavón von, interview, Buenos Aires, June 5, 2014.
- [24] Alicia Herbon, interview, Buenos Aires, June 2, 2014.
- [25] Daniel Gallo, "Sacaron los cuadros de Videla y Bignone" *La Nación*, March 25, 2004.
- [26] Alicia Piatti, interview, Buenos Aires, May 30, 2014.

- [27] Nora Cortinas: “Nosotras no queremos que se estaticen ni se institucionalizan los pañuelos”, Infobae, July 12, 2014.
- [28] María Adela Antokoletz, interview, Buenos Aires, June 5, 2014.
- [29] E.g., Scandals associated with Hebe de Bonafini’s “adopted son” and the embezzlement of state funds have received widespread media coverage, but did not result in prosecution.
- [30] The relationship between the Macri Administration and the human rights movement is certainly likely to differ from preceding governments, raising a question of whether changes during the previous 13 years will stand the test of time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

The authors would like to thank the following for their assistance with this project: María Adela Antokoletz for assistance in initiating contact with human rights groups and advocates in ways that satisfied the requirements of our Internal Review Board; Hana Feronato, Karla Huaman Ruiz, Claire Bransky, Jenny Ortiz, Luke Lebens for research assistance; and the Faculty Life Committee at St. Olaf College for a Professional Support Small Grant and anonymous reviewers of this journal for their helpful and insightful comments.

PROCESO EDITORIAL • EDITORIAL PROCESS INFO

Recibido: 14/02/2017 Aceptado: 27/06/2017

CÓMO CITAR ESTE ARTÍCULO • HOW TO CITE THIS PAPER

Thalhammer, Kristina y Branigan, Claire (2017) Fighting State Terror and Becoming the State: Argentina's Human Rights Movement from Mass Mobilization to Institutionalization, *Revista de Paz y Conflictos*, Vol. 10(1), pp. 9-34.

SOBRE LOS AUTORES • ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Kristina Thalhammer is professor of Political Science at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. She received her PhD from the University of Minnesota, where she studied comparative politics, Latin American politics and political behavior. Her research focuses on how individual efforts can protect and promote respect for human rights. She is coauthor of *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and numerous articles on human rights and political tolerance. She can be reached at thalhamm@stolaf.edu.

Claire Branigan is a doctoral student in cultural anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She studies the intersection of language, gender, and violence in the Americas. Currently, Claire is researching efforts to end violence against women in Buenos Aires, Argentina.