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How Social Movements Influence Policies:

Advocacy, Framing, Emotions and Outcomes among Reproductive Rights Coalitions in Peru

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Nothing to tell now, let the words be yours, I'm done with mine.

John Barlow & Robert Hall Weir

Table of Contents

Abstract **1**

Acknowledgements **3**

List of Original Papers **5**

Introduction **7**

Research Topic and Aim 7

Peru: A Brief Overview 13

My Position as a Researcher 15

The Research Process **17**

Ideas 19

Analytic Frames 30

Evidence 39

Images 45

Representations of Reproductive Rights Advocacy in Peru **50**

Contextual Aspects: Factors not directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions 50

Coalition and Advocacy Aspects: Factors directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions 63

Core Categories: Coalition-Government Interactions and Policy Outcomes 70

Conclusions **74**

References **77**

Abstract

With its origins in the early 1990s, feminist advocacy directed at influencing public policies is a relatively new phenomenon in Latin America that is commonly studied at the national level. The aim of this thesis was to study feminist advocacy on reproductive rights at the sub-national level in Peru. Specifically, it explored two research questions: how do feminist movements carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies and what effects does their advocacy have on policies. This aim ties in with the body of literature that seeks to explain how and what outcomes are produced by social movements. Grounded Theory was used to collect and analyze empirical materials on two reproductive rights coalitions and their members in Arequipa and Cusco, Peru. Empirical materials consisted of focus group discussions, individual interviews and participant observation.

Data analysis resulted in two core categories: Coalition-Government Interactions and Policy Outcomes. Linked to the core categories are thirteen categories, which constitute factors that the reproductive rights coalitions "deal with" or "strategize about" in order to interact with government officials and attain policy outcomes. The coalitions maneuver those factors they have immediate control over - tactics, organization, framing and emotions - as a means to deal with those factors they do not have immediate control over - relationships with other policy actors as well as political, cultural and social contexts.

The findings help refine existing theories on how and what outcomes are attained by social movements. The coalitions and their members influence policies through various channels by developing an array of interactions with government officials. This allows the coalitions to handle potential constraints on their ability to be a critical voice. Political, cultural and social contexts are not the only external factors affecting the coalitions' influence on policies. Another key external factor is their relationships with other policy actors comprised of a range of organized political and social groups. Concerning internal factors, the coalitions and their members rely on framing activities and emotion work in addition to organization and tactics. Indeed, the coalitions and their members engage in framing

activities and emotion work by means of their relationships with other policy actors to influence policies. Finally, the coalitions perceive effects of their advocacy including, but not limited to, the modification of laws and policies. Instead, outcomes were identified along different stages of the policy process, including the impact of coalition frames on policy positions.

Keywords: Advocacy, emotions, framing, outcomes, Peru, policies, reproductive rights, social movements

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List of Original Papers

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II. Coe, Anna-Britt. "Stretching Interpretations: How Advocates in Peru Adjust the Framing of Reproductive Rights by Means of Relationships." Submitted to *Mobilization*.

III. Coe, Anna-Britt and Schnabel, Annette. "Emotions Matter after All. Orchestrating Emotions in Peruvian Reproductive Rights Advocacy." Submitted to *Cultural Studies*.

IV. Coe, Anna-Britt. "Policy Change as One Piece of the Picture: Outcomes among Reproductive Rights Advocates in Peru." Submitted to *Journal of Gender Studies*.

INTRODUCTION

Research Topic and Aim

On the second day of fieldwork in Arequipa, Peru, I accompanied several members of a reproductive rights coalition to a meeting with regional government officials. The purpose of the meeting was to get officials to take measures to implement the national law on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, passed only a month earlier. Specifically, they wanted the government to formulate a Regional Equal Opportunities Plan and establish a Regional Women's Council. During a previous meeting, regional officials had agreed to two immediate activities proposed by coalition members: a broad public forum to inform the political and civil society of the new law and a smaller workshop among key leaders to initiate the development of a Regional Plan and Women's Regional Council. In the present meeting, coalition members and regional officials negotiated who would do what to ensure that these events were a success. For the public forum, coalition members offered to take on the task of convening civil society leaders while regional officials offered to take on the task of convening government representatives. Coalition members explained that they had two-thirds of the funds needed for the event and proposed that the regional government provide the remaining one-third and the venue. Moreover, they insisted that the regional government designate public funds to municipalities outside the city of Arequipa to facilitate their attendance. Finally, coalition members requested that the regional officials encourage the attendance of high-level political leaders. Regional officials agreed to these conditions and insisted that the coalition members ensure a wide representation of civil society leaders. Coalition members responded that they were coordinating the event together with rural and urban women's groups from diverse backgrounds.

A month later, while conducting fieldwork in Cusco, Peru, I accompanied several members of another reproductive rights coalition to a workshop with regional government officials. Like their counterparts in Arequipa, the purpose of the workshop was to get the regional government to implement the national Equal Opportunities law by both formulating a Regional Equal Opportunities Plan as well as establishing a Regional Women's Council. The workshop included approximately forty representatives of government agencies and

women's organizations. It began with presentations from government officials and women's leaders, including coalition members, who discussed the new national law, the importance of having a regional plan, and the process agreed upon between officials and women's leaders to formulate the regional plan. Next, participants broke up into five groups, each to deal with one of the regional plan's central themes: violence against women, employment, education, political participation, and sexual and reproductive rights. Coalition members worked in the group on sexual and reproductive rights to identify key problems, such as adolescent pregnancy and unwanted fertility, and to propose interventions that the regional government should take to address these. In the coming months, similar workshops were to be held around the Cusco region to formulate the plan.

The two incidents described here represent a relatively new phenomenon in Latin America: feminist advocacy directed at influencing public policies. When second-wave feminism emerged in the continent in the 1970s, women's movements carried out actions outside the formal political sphere. In most countries, this was due to the persistence of military rule that repressed mass politics and closed down formal political parties and activities (Jaquette 1989; Sternback et al. 1992; Vargas 1992). Women, who had long been excluded from the formal political sphere, were not considered as political competitors. From diverse positions, women's mobilization took four main forms: feminist organizations, human rights organizations, organizations seeking socio-economic improvements (labor unions, rural federations, neighborhood associations), and conservative women's groups (Jelin 1990; Kupper 1994; Radcliffe 1993a; Safa 1990; Stephan 1997; Vargas 1992). A self-identified feminist movement developed among urban educated women active in leftist student and political movements. Due to their small size, feminist activists maintained their linkages with these broader movements in order to survive and, in their early years focused on the struggle against authoritarian regimes (Jaquette 1989; Sternback et al. 1992; Vargas 1989, 1992).

The early 1990s marked a shift as feminist movements began to intervene directly in the formal political sphere. In most cases, this occurred in conjunction with the transition to democratic rule. All forms of women´s movements were involved in struggles against authoritarian regimes (Jaquette 1989). When political parties returned to their normal operation, leaders realized they could no longer exclude women but rather needed to appeal to them to obtain

their support. International discourses further encouraged women's political involvement as a sign of democratic advancement and overall development (Jaquette and Staudt 2006). During the last two decades, feminist intervention in the formal political sphere has taken three main forms: as members of political parties, triggering individual feminists to hold government posts; as policy advisors and implementers, prompting individuals and organizations to be subcontracted to government agencies; and as independent advocates, eliciting individuals and organizations to pressure for change in government policies. This thesis is concerned with the third form of intervention, commonly referred to as advocacy in English or as *incidencia política* in Spanish. Nonetheless, feminist activists and organizations in Latin America, including the participants in this study, intervene in the formal political sphere using multiple strategies on different levels, thereby moving between the three forms.

Reproductive rights is a key issue addressed by feminist advocacy. Reproductive rights include the freedom to decide whether, when and how many children to have; the right to have the information and means to regulate ones fertility; and the right to control one's own body (Dixon-Mueller 1993:13). Initially, during the 1980s, Latin American feminists concentrated on conducting workshops with low-income women and health care providers on fertility control, sexuality and the body. While this strategy contributed to increased popular support for reproductive rights, reflected today in the widespread favorable opinion of contraceptive use, movement participants increasingly became aware of gaps unaddressed through trainings.

These gaps are illustrated by the experience of K.L., a 17-year-old Peruvian woman who was forced to give birth to her encephalic baby in December 2003. The baby died three days later. In Peru, abortion is prohibited except when the pregnancy constitutes a threat to the woman's life or a serious health risk, referred to as therapeutic abortion. K.L. should have been granted a legal abortion on these grounds. I remember hearing her story for the first time just days after the incident. I was sitting in my friend's apartment together with colleagues representing feminists, health advocates and medical professionals. We were meeting to plan joint strategies against the ultra-conservatives policies being developed at the time by the Ministry of Health. We were concerned with how these policies were denying women's access to regular contraceptives and emergency contraception: therapeutic abortion was not on our agenda, yet.

All of us were familiar with many tragic cases resulting from limited reproductive rights. Mortality and morbidity from pregnancy are common in Peru because sixty-five percent of all pregnancies are unintended or unwanted, and 410,000 abortions occur each year, most of them illegal and in unsafe conditions (Reyes and Ochoa 2001; Ferrando 2002). Certain groups of women are most likely to face these circumstances: low-income women, women living in rural and peri-urban areas, and women living in the Andean highlands and Amazon basin (Reyes and Ochoa 2001; Ferrando 2002). Cases such as that of K.L. go beyond the commonplace. She had requested an abortion early in the pregnancy as soon as she learned the health status of her fetus. She was repeatedly denied an abortion at every level of the health system, up to the director of a major hospital in the nation's capital, Lima. The very cruelty of her case pointed to a major policy gap: women's access to therapeutic abortion was non-existent even when the circumstances called for it. Two feminist organizations brought K.L.'s case before the United Nation's Human Rights Commission, which in turn resolved in 2005 that the Peruvian government had violated several human rights and mandated that it make therapeutic abortion available in health services to prevent repeat occurrences. Since then, reproductive rights advocates in Peru, including the two coalitions in this study, have prioritized the demand for access to therapeutic abortion.

Feminist movements in Latin America have learned from experience that reproductive rights will not be fulfilled merely by raising the consciousness of women and health care providers. Instead, this requires achieving major policy changes such as overturning restrictive abortion laws and ensuring the implementation of existing laws on the provision of contraceptives, emergency contraception and abortion. Hence, many organizations, activists and networks have shifted strategies from popular education and training to advocacy. Advocacy is defined here as an intentional and systematic process that involves a series of political actions conducted by organized citizens with the goal of drawing attention to a problem and influencing government decisions and policies affecting it.

The aim of this study was to examine in-depth feminist advocacy on reproductive rights at the sub-national level in Peru. Specifically, it sought to explore two research questions: how do feminist movements carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies and what effects does their advocacy have on policies. Grounded Theory was

used to collect and analyze empirical materials on two reproductive rights coalitions and their members based in the regions of Arequipa and Cusco in Peru. From the outset, drawing upon my previous experience with the topic and context, I understood the study subjects to be participants in a social movement - a feminist/women´s movement in general and a reproductive rights movement in particular. Participants in social movements channel their support in many forms: as individual activists with no organizational ties, as volunteers or employees within organizations, and/or as representatives in coalitions that bring organizations and activists together into something larger. Moreover, these different forms of movement participation as well as the organizations and coalitions that make up a movement change over time. Having empirically defined the reproductive rights coalitions and their members as participants in a social movement, I sought a conceptual definition of the term. There are numerous definitions of social movements, each with advantages and disadvantages: I chose a definition that indicated not only what a social movement is but also what it is not.

For this study, I found Schnabel's definition (2003:38) useful because it distinguishes social movements from other forms of collective action, such as riots and fads, as well as from organizations, which include government, private and non-profit types. She makes this differentiation across six dimensions. First, action in social movements is both coordinated and cooperative whereas it is only coordinated in collective action and it is merely cooperative in organizations. Second, membership in social movements is based on shared ideology; in contrast, membership in collective action is based on personal interests, and in organizations on formal rules. Third, the duration of social movements is not short-term as with collective action and it may be long lasting, as with organizations, yet social movements are not designed to endure as organizations are. Fourth, collective identity in social movements is created through the identification with shared goals; on the contrary, collective identity is absent in collective action and pragmatic in the case of organizations. Fifth, motivation for participation in social movements is based on identification with shared goals rather than for personal gain as in collective action, or for material or idealistic gain or compulsion (for example, prisons) as in organizations. Finally, shared goals are continuously being constructed in social movements whereas in organizations they are pre-determined. This definition of social movements most closely fits the participants in this study.

The study findings captured important aspects of how the reproductive rights coalitions carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies and what effects their advocacy has on policies. Concerning the first question, the study found that the coalitions and their members influence policies by developing an array of interactions with government officials, including but not limited to lending technical expertise. Their multiplicity of interactions with government officials allows the coalitions to influence policies through various channels, and thereby handle potential constraints on their ability to be a critical voice. Paper I examines these interactions between the coalitions and government. Also concerning the first question, the study found that political, cultural and social contexts are not the only external factors affecting the coalitions' influence on policies. Another key contextual factor is their relationships with other policy actors comprised of a range of organized political and social groups. Moreover, to intervene in policy processes, the coalitions and their members rely on framing activities and emotion work in addition to organization and tactics. Indeed, the coalitions and their members engage in framing activities and emotion work by means of their relationships with other political and social actors to influence policies. Papers II and III examine the coalitions' framing activities and emotion work respectively. Concerning the second question, the study found that the coalitions perceive effects of their advocacy including, but not limited to, the modification of laws and policies. Instead, outcomes were identified along different stages of the policy process, including the impact of coalition frames on policy positions. Paper IV examines these different policy outcomes.

The study findings improve empirical and theoretical understandings of feminist advocacy in Latin America, thereby contributing to four bodies of literature. The study enlarges social movement theory by fusing political and cultural approaches to examine the attainment of movement outcomes. The study enhances the empirical literature on feminist movements in Latin America by examining their advocacy strategies and outcomes in the present day and at the sub-national level. Much of the existing literature focuses on women's movements at the national level in the period of democratic transition in the 1970s and 1980s, or of neo-liberal reforms in the 1990s. The study advances Latin American scholarship by drawing theoretical conclusions based on the unique conditions provided by the context concerning the construction of democratic frameworks. Last, the study improves public health research by

providing the perspective of women's own activism in favor of their reproductive health and rights.

The thesis is organized as follows. In the remainder of this first chapter, I provide a brief overview of Peru and I describe my position as a researcher. In the second chapter, I use Ragin's (1994:55-59) model of social research to structure the four main components of the study: *ideas* or social theories, *analytic frames* or detailed sketches of ideas, *evidence* or data collection, and *images* or data analysis. In the third chapter, I present the *representations* of the reproductive rights advocacy in Peru produced by the interplay of analytic frames and images. In the fourth chapter, I conclude with a discussion of how the images constructed from the evidence help refine the two analytic frames I have been working with.

Peru: A brief overview

In this section, I provide a very concise geographic and historical overview of Peru up until the 1970s. Later, in the presentation of the study findings, I discuss the contemporary political and social context in Peru since the 1970s and its implications for feminist mobilization. Peru is the third largest country in South America. It has three main geographical areas: the Pacific coast, the Andean highlands, and the Amazon basin. In addition, it has eight different ecosystems with over 100 different microclimates, allowing tremendous biodiversity and year-round agricultural production (El Comercio 2000). Peru has 28 million inhabitants, seventy-five percent of who lives in urban areas and twenty-five percent lives in rural areas (INEI 2007a). One third of the population lives in Lima, the nation's capital, located on the Pacific coast.

The first inhabitants came to Peru approximately 12,000 years ago (El Comercio 2000). Regional diversity has been a crucial to Peru's development (de Diaz-Limaco 2000). For more than four thousand years prior to the arrival of the Spanish conquerors in 1526, various civilizations formed in its different regions, including Chavin, Moche, Tiahuanaco, Chimu and Pachacamac. During two periods, diverse regions and cultures were brought together under one large-scale empire: the Wari (700-1000 AD) and the Tahuantinsuyo (ca 1200–1533) (de Diaz-Limaco 2000). The city of Cusco was the capital of the Tahuantinsuyo Empire when the Spanish arrived.

The period of Spanish rule between 1533 and 1824 produced a dramatic decline in the population. At the beginning of the conquest, researchers estimate that the indigenous population was eight million: by 1570, only one-third remained (El Comercio 2000). The population soon dropped to 1.3 million and remained there until the end of Spanish rule. During this time, most inhabitants merely sought to survive widespread violence, forced labor and slavery, and foreign illnesses (El Comercio 2000). At the same time, Peru imported key social institutions from Spain, including universities, biomedicine and the Catholic Church as the dominant religion. The first medical school was established in 1634.

Peru gained its independence from Spain in 1824. The struggle for independence was led by Peruvian-born elites of European heritage inspired by liberal political ideas of equality, liberty and sovereignty. Yet, when the new leaders established the republic of Peru, they recognized only an elite minority as citizens while excluding the majority. Distinctions between the two were made according to intertwined definitions of "race", class and culture put in place during colonial rule. "White" Creole elites pertained to a European culture tied to the capital of Lima and the excluded masses pertained to indigenous cultures of the Andean highlands and Amazon basin as well as to African and Chinese cultures brought through slave and indentured labor (Poole and Rénique 1992:102). Initially, political exclusion was maintained in part by the persistence of colonial forms of labor and economic exploitation as well as an ideology that defined "creoles" as superior and the rest as inferior (Manrique 2004).

Cleavages intensified at the turn of the twentieth century through Peru's incorporation into the global capitalist expansion (Poole and Rénique1992:102). Two political mechanisms further served to exclude the majority: the repression of political parties representing the masses, which had formed in the 1930s, and a literacy requirement for the exercise of suffrage kept in place until 1979. Thus, even though women finally gained suffrage in 1950, many were unable to exercise this right due to the literary requirement. As Manrique (2004:4) explains: "Throughout the greater part of its existence, Peru has been a Republic without citizens, in which a minority portion of the country has felt the incarnation of the nation, with the right to exclude the majority."

My Position as a Researcher

The study followed qualitative, feminist and critical epistemologies that assume that as researchers we work from subjective positions and bring our particular worldview into every stage of the investigative process. As researchers, we acknowledge and put forth our own social location and associations in order to comprehend how these influence our engagement with the research topic (Dahlgren et. al. 2004:12; Kincheloe and McLaren 2003:448; Schwandt 2003: 301). Furthermore, the study drew upon qualitative, feminist and critical methods that consider the personal experiences of the researcher as a vital benefit to the research process (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003:453; Reinharz 1992:258; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Indeed, the specific method employed, constructivist Grounded Theory, presumes that the study participants and I co-created the empirical materials. Rather than gathering data "out there", I was actively involved in constructing the data with the study participants (Charmaz 2006:130).

Given my social position as a white, middle-class woman from two advanced industrial nations, one might ask what purpose I have in conducting research on reproductive rights advocates based in Peru. My position in relation to the participants is one of privilege that is impossible to ignore. At the same time, I brought to this study a long trajectory of experiences that include being a feminist activist, residing in Peru during a long period, and working for reproductive rights.

As a direct beneficiary of the fruits of second-wave feminism, I knew from an early age that I would have a professional career and that motherhood was optional. Although I did not participate in feminist conscious-raising activities, I was in the first generation able to read the feminist manual embracing reproductive rights, *Our Bodies Our Selves,* during adolescence prior to becoming sexually active. Yet, from both personal experiences and social observation, I became aware that not all women had benefited from second-wave feminism and that other social justice struggles were incomplete. Thus, I became actively involved in these struggles. In my hometown in Massachusetts, I participated in a group working against the nuclear arms race and U.S. military interventionism. When I moved to Washington D.C. for my undergraduate studies in 1985, I worked at a volunteer-run shelter for homeless women and helped organize national marches on abortion rights and homeless issues. I also worked at a collectively-run women´s business and was active in the protest movement against the U.S. involvement in Central America.

These experiences simultaneously exposed me to the diverse conditions faced by women and to feminist ideologies analyzing not only sexist gender relations but also racism and capitalism.

I went to Peru for the first time in 1987 as an exchange student during my undergraduate studies. I studied two semesters in the social science department at a university in Lima. In early 1992, I returned to Peru with the hope of working as a volunteer for a feminist organization. At the time, however, the Shining Path insurgency was targeting grassroots women's organizations as well as the feminist organizations who worked closely with them. In this instance, I made use of my privilege as a non-Peruvian and opted not to get involve but instead teach English at a language institute for a year.

When I returned to the U.S. in 1993, I began to work for reproductive rights not knowing that this would become my passion. I took a job at Planned Parenthood's largest clinic in Washington D.C. providing sexual and reproductive health services. Until then, I had been a supporter of reproductive rights but not an active member of the movement. At the clinic, I worked with physicians who had attended complications from unsafe abortions in hospitals prior to the legalization of abortion and with feminist counselors who had worked after legalization to ensure that abortion services were centered around women's needs with minimal medical intervention. This experience taught me that reproductive rights as a feminist issue was not merely about what services were offered to women (and men), but how these were delivered and whether they empowered users, thereby helping to change broader power relations.

In 1995, I left the clinic for a position at a D.C.-based reproductive rights advocacy organization in which I worked with partner organizations in various Latin American countries. During this time, I learned about a grassroots reproductive health project that was being implemented by one of Peru's oldest feminist organizations, Movimiento Manuela Ramos, with funding from the U.S. government. I decided to examine the project for my Master's thesis and, in 1997, returned to Peru to conduct field research for four months. From Peru, I was hired by another D.C.-based reproductive rights advocacy organization to implement a research and advocacy program monitoring U.S. aid to reproductive health. I worked with a wide range of organizations, activists, policymakers and researchers based in Lima but also travelled to different regions.

In sum, prior to embarking on this study, I already had extensive familiarity with feminist advocacy, Peru and reproductive rights. This

familiarity benefited the study in many ways. In the first place, it inspired my curiosity to study the actual effects of reproductive rights advocacy, thereby guiding me to formulate the research questions. It led me to choose to conduct fieldwork in Peru and facilitated my rapport with study participants: study participants conveyed appreciation for my prior knowledge of their context. It provided me with a frame of reference during data collection and analysis. Even so, the study was a new adventure for me. While working in reproductive rights advocacy in Peru, most of the research I conducted was of government and non-government interventions directed at the general population. I had not systematically studied the efforts of those involved in reproductive rights advocacy. Moreover, the participants in this study are organizations and activists with whom I had no prior relationship and they are working in sites where I had not worked before.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

For this study, I sought guidance from Ragin's (1994) model of social research because it delineates specific steps linking theory to data and data to theory. Charles Ragin is a Professor of Sociology and Political Science at the University of Arizona who has dedicated much of his career to the study of research methods. His model of social research consists of five components: the two obvious components are *ideas* or social theories and *evidence* or data collection. The model further specifies *analytic frames*, which are derived from theories and guide the researcher from ideas to evidence, and *images*, which are built from evidence and guide the researcher from evidence to ideas. Throughout the research process, there is an interplay between *analytic frames* and *images,* or between inductive and deductive reasoning, referred to as retroduction (Ragin 1994:47) or abduction (Dahlgren et al. 2004:14). Grounded Theory similarly emphasizes the dialectic between evidence and ideas (Glaser 1978). The "dialogue of ideas and evidence" concludes in *representations of social life*, the fifth and final component of Ragin´s model.

In this chapter, I present the first four components in the following order: ideas, analytic frames, evidence and images. This ordering may suggest that I had already selected the ideas and developed the analytic frames prior to collecting evidence and constructing images. To the contrary, I have been working simultaneously from ideas to

analytic frames and from evidence to images. At the start of the study, I began the exploration of ideas simultaneously as I began the preparations for evidence gathering. Two years later, in mid-2007, I arrived at the initial version of the analytic frames just as I completed the first images of my data analysis. Since then, I have continued to work with the analytic frames and elaborate the images as I wrote the four papers.

Further, the processes of working with analytic frames and elaborating images were not separate from one another. Instead, consistent with the use of qualitative methods to study commonalities, I have moved back and forth between analytic frames and images to refine the "fit" between concepts and empirical categories (Ragin 1994:88). This strategy entails employing the constant comparative method, which is a central feature of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In collecting and analyzing the evidence, I made on-going comparisons between the reproductive rights coalitions and between their members in order to study what they have in common and construct a complete picture of reproductive rights advocacy. Studying commonalities implied categorizing similarities and differences, thus requiring me to be attentive to evidence that contested the images I was building and urging me to refine the concepts I was working with (Ragin 1994: 93). The goal is "not a perfect fit, per se, but a conceptual refinement that provides a deeper understanding of the research subject" (Ragin 1994: 98).

Given that the goal was to refine concepts and elaborate empirical categories, I began with flexible analytic frames or sensitizing concepts. Sensitizing concepts are incomplete and provisional analytic frames that help get the study underway without constraining it (Ragin 1994:87-8). In Grounded Theory, this is referred to as theoretical sensitivity or the role of the researcher's prior understandings of the subject matter in shaping but not determining data collection and analysis (Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Charmaz (2006:17) explains: "guiding interests, sensitizing concepts and disciplinary perspectives often provide us with such points of departure for developing, rather than limiting, our ideas." Given that it took time to become familiar with the literature relevant to my research questions, I drew upon my previous experiences in reproductive rights advocacy in Peru for help during the first years of the study. I adopted an emergent design that allowed me to make adjustments along the way to deal with relevant topics that arose

during the familiarization with existing theories as well as the data collection and analysis (Dahlgren et al. 2004).

Ideas

Ideas are social theories or the accumulated, abstract knowledge about social life in social sciences. As researchers, this stock of ideas helps us make sense of social life (Ragin 1994:60). For any research topic, there are many ideas from which to choose and making this choice shapes the entire study process. For this study, I sought the most appropriate ideas to examine the research questions of how feminist organizations and activists carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies and what effects their advocacy has on policies. Early on, I discarded ideas that put organizations at the center because I did not conceive the study subjects as members of organizations but rather participants in a social movement. I then began to examine ideas about community participation as well as civil society but neither appeared to fit the research questions. The former focuses on the mobilization of community actors at the local level while the later encompasses a wide range of actors and actions in and outside the formal political sphere at the societal or global level. The research questions for this study focus on the meso-level of formal policy processes: they go beyond the community-level but are not macro-level.

I had come across social movement literature, but I understood it to define social movements rather narrowly as consisting of mass mobilizations engaging in public forms of protests. This definition did not fit my understanding of feminist movements in Latin America which tend to consist of loose networks of small organizations with hybrid structures carrying out multiple strategies (Alvarez 1999). One of my supervisors, Lars Dahlgren, lent me two books on social movements – Goodwin et al.'s (2001a) edited volume on emotions and social movements and Stryker et al.'s (2000a) edited volume on identity and social movements. As I read portions of both volumes, I realized that they dealt with processes related to my research topic, that is, about how social movements form organizations, carry out tactics, engage in framing and emotion work, build allies and deal with opponents to achieve their goals. This is what my research project aimed to study among the two reproductive rights coalitions and their

members in Peru. Thus, it made sense to use ideas from social movement literature.

In the remainder of this section, I present an overview of three major areas of social movement literature: mainstream European and U.S. scholarship, Latin America scholarship, and feminist studies of women's movements.

Social Movement Studies in Europe and the U.S.

The study of social movements has been a field of sociology for almost a century (Archila Neira 2005; Lyman 1995; Neidhardt and Rucht 1991). This scholarship has primarily examined why and how social movements emerge, continue and decline. Until the 1990s, scholarship in Europe and North America took rather different directions; however, both can be divided into two stages marked by before and after the social movements of the 1960s.

Prior to the 1970s, U.S. scholars viewed social movements as temporary responses of discontent groups to strain placed on the social structure (Jenkins 1983). They presumed that social movements were primarily motivated by emotions, and were thereby "arational if not outright irrational" (Jenkins 1983: 528). The study of social movements began in the 1920s with the work on collective behavior by Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess of the Chicago School. This work drew upon the field of European mass psychology to study collective behaviors such as panics, gossip, trends, sects and so forth (Neidhardt and Rucht 1991). The psychological focus remained influential into the 1960s even among sociologist as diverse as Herbert Blumer, Ralph Turner and Neil Smelsner, including those adhering to the functionalist paradigm (Tarrow 1988). Smelser's (1962) theory identified two factors necessary for the emergence of social movements: intensification of shared grievances or deprivation produced by structural conditions, and generalized beliefs about the cause of these grievances and their possible solutions. Gurr (1969) specified further that social movements arise when conditions actually improve yet people's expectations are not met, producing relative deprivation that leads to aggression.

In contrast to U.S. scholarship, the European tradition prior to the 1970s had long viewed social movements as organized collectives pursuing strategic action, due to the writings of Marx and von Stein (Neidhardt and Rucht 1991: 425). European scholars relied predominantly on class analysis to interpret the rise and trajectory of social movements and particularly to study labor movements and

conflicts between workers and employers (Eder 1993). This approach was called into question as social movements came to the fore in the 1960s and 70s that were not explicitly tied to class cleavages, such as the New Left, student, women´s, pacifists, gay and lesbian, and environmental movements. Researchers developed a new paradigm that explains these social movements as the product of macro-structural and cultural changes occurring in Europe during the second half of the twentieth century (Tarrow 1988). Accordingly, "new" social movements not explicitly tied to class result from the emergence of new types of insecurities, such as environment depredation and nuclear threat, alongside the development of advanced capitalism in the form of a postindustrial economy (Ingelhart 1990; Neidhardt and Rucht 1991: 437-8; Touraine 1981). The former produces a worsening in the quality of life (needs defense) whereas the latter produces rising expectations resulting from post-materialist values, both of which lead to relative deprivation generating new types of social movements (Ingelhart1990; Neidhardt and Rucht 1991: 437-8). "New" social movements pursue demands related to quality of life resulting from the post-material economy; they are distinct from the working class movements that pursued material or instrumental demands resulting from the industrial economy (Olofsson 1988). In addition, this approach contends that new social movements have formed in opposition to the life world of advanced capitalism, characterized by bureaucracies and rationalizing economic policies (Touraine 1981; Melucci 1988; Hetherington 1998). Finally, the new social movement approach points to the significance of social movements for the construction and negotiation of collective identities in the post-industrial society (Melucci 1988; Hetherington 1998).

Like their counterparts in Europe, U.S scholars sought new theoretical approaches to account for the social movements that emerged in the 1960s. In contrast to the macro-structural and cultural approach in Europe, U.S. studies turned attention to the significance of long-term improvements in organizations, resources and political opportunities (Jenkins 1983:531-2; McCarthy and Zald 1977:1214-5; Tarrow 1988:424). Specifically, resource mobilization theory and political processes theory explain social movements in terms of organizational and political factors, such as recruitment, cycles of protest, selection of tactics, and relationships to institutional channels (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Tarrow 1988). These theories emphasize the rational and instrumental dimensions of social movement participation and action, thereby replacing the

psychological and emotional emphasis of previous approaches (Jenkins 1983:528; Stryker et. al. 2000b:3; Tarrow 1988: 425). Even micro-level research uses rational choice theory to account for the norms and motives behind individual participation in social movements (Heckathorn 1990; Oliver 1980).

Since the 1990s, social movement scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have pointed to the limitations of these theoretical approaches (see Jenkins 1983; Hetherington 1998; and Pichardo 1997 for a critique of new social movements; Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Goodwin et al. 2001b; and Strycker et al. 2000b for a critique of resource mobilization and political process theories). Whereas resource mobilization and political process theories overlook the role of culture and identity, new social movement theory lack attention to the role of organizations and politics (Stryker et. al. 2000b:4; Hetherington 1998: 3-4). Moreover, scholars raise the inadequacy of having two separate approaches because this produced a dichotomous view of social movements, characterized *either* as identity-based, cultural movements where emotions and expressivity are central *or* as interest-based, political movements where rationality and organizations are central (Taylor and Whittier 1999). In practice, instrumental and expressive goals and actions overlap, thereby indicating the need to develop alternatives theoretical approaches that synthesize cultural and political approaches and move beyond these dichotomies (Foweraker 1995; Ryan 2004; Taylor and Whittier 1998, 1999). Finally, scholars have criticized both approaches for drawing empirical cases from countries of advanced capitalism and stable democratic institutions, given that this meant that concepts miss particular conditions faced by social movements in the Global South (Ray and Korteweg 1999).

Social Movement Studies in Latin America

In Latin America, between the 1920 and 1960s, the dominant approach to social movements was orthodox Marxism. Scholars considered economic processes as the only significant factor determining the rise of the labor movement and viewed the working class as the only relevant movement actor under capitalism (Archila Neira 2005; Dagnino 1998). Among the few exceptions was Jose Maria Mariategui (1996), a Peruvian Marxist who in the 1930s contended that rural peasants were indeed relevant social movement actors given their large number within Latin American capitalism. Another characteristic of orthodox Marxism, scholars defined the state

as uniform and as the exclusive site for political struggle (Archila Neira 2005; Dagnino 1998).

By the late 1960s, Latin American scholars sought new theoretical tools in response to changing social and political environment (Dagnino 1998; Jaquette 1989). Despite significant social, economic and demographic changes after World War II, small elite groups continued to rule directly or through the military. Authoritarian regimes restricted the functioning of formal political parties and spurred the action of non-conventional actors, such as women's, human rights, urban and peasant movements (Dagnino 1998; Jaquette 1989). Drawing upon the work of Antonio Gramsci and Michael Foucault, Latin American scholars turned attention to how these movements challenged authoritarianism, both as resistance movements and popular culture (Dagnino 1998; Jaquette 1989). Key Gramscian ideas marked the break with orthodox Marxism, including that social actors are not pre-determined by material conditions; that multiple social movement actors can form in any given historical context; and that political struggle takes place not only in relation to the state but also within civil society (Archila Neira 2005; Dagnino 1998; Eckstein 1989). These ideas guided scholars in analyzing the forms of struggle against authoritarian rule, which in many counties entailed a united front between clandestine political parties and trade unions on the one hand and above-ground movements, such as women's, human rights, and urban poor organizations (Dagnino 1998; Jaquette 1989).

The period following the transition to democratic rule presented new challenges for social movements that caught the attention of researchers. During the 1980s and 1990s, most Latin American countries underwent neo-liberal reforms and adapted their economies to globalization. This entailed changes to the relationship between the state and civil society in that certain social functions formerly provided by the state were transferred to the private and non-profit sectors (Schild 1998, 2002). Moreover, activist-oriented social movement organizations were excluded from formal politics or pressured into adopting more professionalized structures as non-government organizations or NGOs (Foweraker 2001). At this time, the cultural approach of the new social movement paradigm became prominent among Latin American scholars as they turned attention to how social movements construct new meanings and identities and engage in politics not explicitly directed at the state (Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Slater 1994). In addition, a rich body of empirical

literature has been accumulated on specific movements. This include studies of women's and feminist movements although primarily at the national and continental level rather than at the sub-national level (Alvarez 1998, 1999; Alvarez et al. 2002; Barrig 2001, 2002; Blondet 1990, 2002; Dore 1997; Ewig 1999; Franco 1998; Jaquette 1989; Jelin 1990; Kupper 1994; Lind 2004; Matear 1997; Murdock 2003; Radcliffe 1993a; Rousseau 2006, 2007; Safa 1990; Schild 1998, 2002; Stephan 1997; Sternback et al. 1992; Vargas 1992).

In his review of the contemporary scholarship, Strawn (2009) concludes that no new theories have yet to be developed based on the study of Latin American social movements. In general, Latin American researchers have made use of existing theories from Europe, specifically the new social movement approach, whereas researchers who have used U.S. theories are based in the U.S. academy (Strawn 2009). Nonetheless, Strawn point to three works that have drawn from both theoretical paradigms, including Foweraker (1995), Munck (1995) and Davis (1999). Notably absent from his review is Alvarez et al.'s (1998a) edited volume, which bridges cultural and political approaches while giving these new meanings grounded in the Latin American context. Archila Neira (2005:58) describes the volume as "an attempt to create theoretical models in accordance with Latin American reality" (my translation).

The study of social movements in Latin America requires taking into account at least four conditions that distinguish the political and social environment from that Europe and the U.S. (Archila Neira 2005). One condition is the thin boundary between political institutions (or the formal political sphere) and social institutions, such as religion and medicine. The state in Latin America has historically had a significant role in shaping society, and particularly at managing social exclusion (Alvarez et. al. 1998b). At the same time, exclusion of the large majority of inhabitants has produced weak and unstable states, a situation that has continued even since democratic transitions and institutional reforms (Burt and Mauceri 2004). The contradiction between the strong role of the weak state means that social movements tend to include democracy among their demands even if their primary demands are not political, and that most demands are politicized towards the state (Archila Neira 2005). It also means that social movements strive for autonomy from the state, which is a second distinctive condition in Latin America (Archila Neira 2005; Jaquette and Staudt 2006).

A third condition is the co-existence of so-called "old" and "new" social actors. Despite the recent advent of democracy in Latin America, social movements making material claims, such as improved living conditions for poor urban dwellers or land for landless peasants, coexist with movements making cultural claims, such as the fulfillment of human rights of women, indigenous populations, and Gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans persons (Archila Neira 2005). The fourth condition is that the cultural and the political are intricately interconnected in the Latin American context. Social exclusion in Latin America has entailed not only material but also cultural deprivation (Dagnino 2003, 2007). Even those social movements making material demands, seek "to demonstrate that they are people with rights, so as to recover their dignity and status as citizens and even as human beings" (Dagnino 2003:48). Therefore, contemporary social movements demand citizenship and rights that go beyond political-legal notions to include cultural connotations, and they demand democracy not only within the state but also within society (Alvarez et. al. 1998b). In this sense, social movements are engaged simultaneously in conflicts around cultural meanings and practices and struggles for material redistribution: these conflicts entail cultural politics (Alvarez et al. 1998b).

Feminist Studies of Women's Movements

Feminist studies of women's movements have challenged the dichotomous approaches pursued by mainstream movement researchers in Europe and the North America. Empirically, this scholarship shows that the women's movement is not "new" to the late twentieth century but rather began at least as far back as the mid-1800s at the national level and took on an international dimension by the end of the nineteenth century (Rupp and Taylor 1999). First-wave feminism refers to the period of women's mobilization in favor of suffrage between 1850 and 1930 (Franceschet 2004; Ramirez et al. 1997; Rupp and Taylor 1999). Second-wave feminism refers to the period of women's mobilizing beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Nonetheless, women continued to mobilize even during the decades between these two waves, as in the case of U.S. women's jury movements (McCammon et al. 2007, 2008). Moreover, the struggle for women's franchise was not complete in the 1930s but rather took on new dimensions.

Ramirez et al. (1997) find that the first period of acquisition of women's suffrage occurred primarily in "Western" countries because

of the mobilization of national-level women's organizations. On average, these countries had become independent nation states a century earlier but had granted the vote only to men, i.e. political citizenship was conceive of as pertaining to (white) men. A second period of acquisition of women's franchise took place between 1931 and 1990 in mainly "non-Western" counties influenced by global norms diffused by international suffrage organizations. Most of these countries had recently become independent nation states when they granted women and men the franchise at the same time, indicating a new understanding of political citizenship as not exclusively male. Countries in Latin America are essentially part of the former categories because most gained independence from Spain in the 1820s and experienced a national first-wave women's movement in the late 1800s and early 1900s: however, they did not grant women the vote until the 1950s, indicating a strong resistance to expanding the definition of political citizenship beyond men.

In sum, women's movements globally confirm that social movements are a central feature rather than an aberration of the modern nation-state and constitute a common form of pushing for demands (Tilly 1984). Furthermore, women's movements go beyond the nation states, taking international and transnational forms, as Rupp and Taylor (1999) show even in the case of first-wave feminism. Similarly, since 1981, feminists in Latin America have gathered at the continental level every two years to debate movement issues while they participate in cross-national networks on an on-going basis (Alvarez et al. 2002; Sternbach et al. 1992; Vargas 1992). Since the 1990s, feminist organizations and activists in Latin America have participated in the efforts of the global women's movement to influence international agreements (Alvarez 1998). National women's movements in turn use international agreements to make demands upon their nation states (Ray and Korteweg 1999).

Theoretically, feminist study of women's movements has helped to advance key components of social movement theory by taking into account the varying conditions faced by women's movements and by considering how gender shapes different dimensions of social movements (Beckwith 2000; Ray and Korteweg 1999; Taylor 1999; Taylor and Whittier 1999). Participation in women's movements is based on the construction of collective identities that are partial and multiple, emerging in the process of mobilization rather than from a pre-determined structural position (Ray and Korteweg 1999:50). Scholarship on women's movements in the Third World demonstrates

how women´s subjective identities motivate them to act collectively on behalf of socially constructed interests (Ray and Korteweg 1999:50). Rupp and Taylor (1999) found that participants in the first-wave international women's movement, mainly from Europe and North America, constructed a feminist political identity on three levels: one linked to their specific organizational affiliation, another as members of international women's movement loyalty, and a third based on solidarity with other women compared to men.

The construction of collective identities requires social networks (Feree and Hess 2001). For second-wave feminist movements to emerge in the U.S., Freeman (1973) demonstrates that pre-existing communication networks were needed to bring together like-minded persons who were predisposed to the ideas of the movement. Such pre-existing networks are not necessarily engaged in the formal political spheres. Feminists frequently maintain their networks through cultural and community actions during periods of low-political mobilization, thereby allowing them to sustain networks that can be activated when future opportunities arise for political mobilization (Staggenborg 2001). Indeed, from its initiation, the feminist movement has proposed that "politics" are done from personal and everyday spaces, not merely in the formal political sphere. In this sense, feminism has demonstrated and called into question how the divide between political and cultural spheres is socially constructed (Charles 2004).

Women's movements make use of a variety of strategies on different levels that are often diffuse rather than taking the form of explicit public protests (Neidhardt and Rucht 1991; Taylor 1999). Some focus on social institutions such as medicine and religion rather than political institutions (Taylor 1999). By being organized at different levels and working in different venues, women's movement are able to shape opportunity structures – if not, they miss key opportunities (Beckwith 2000). Similarly, feminist movements do not pursue exclusively political or cultural goals but in fact work to challenge conventional constructions of what is viewed as political and cultural. Key feminist goals, such as the demand for reproductive rights and against gender-based violence, have shown how private issues are in fact political (Charles 2004).

The construction of identities, goals and targets requires cultural resources, including ideologies, framing and emotions. Schnabel (2003, 2007) shows how the second-wave women's movement in Germany mobilized participants by offering them an alternative

ideology to patriarchy through framing activities and by providing them with a channel to legitimatize their emotions. Women's movements adhere to a range of ideologies, including equal opportunity (liberal and socialist feminist), women´s difference (cultural feminism), post-modernism and even conservative. Moreover, their ideologies have evolved over time: Alvarez et al.'s (2002) analysis of second-wave feminism in Latin America reveals how the meaning of feminism has changed as the movement(s) has expanded during the last few decades and diversified to include women from different social locations. Further, women's movements actively decide whether to make use of frames that are resonant or radical within their given cultural context, knowing that former will facilitate their ability to participate in formal political spheres (Ball and Charles 2006; Feree 2003).

Finally, women's movements operate in a wide range of political and cultural contexts: therefore, important theoretical advances have occurred from the studies of empirical cases beyond the U.S. and Europe. The first is an expansion of the concept of *political opportunity structures*. Ray and Korteweg (1999:53) point out that this concept was based originally on social movements from advanced industrialized countries and assumes a relatively stable state. They propose expanding it to include more fundamental changes to the state, including democratization, anti-colonial and nationalist struggles, religious/fundamentalist movements, and socialism. Moreover, they propose paying attention to diversity in the nature of the state and in particular to regime changes from authoritarian to post-authoritarian, colonial to post-colonial, and secular to post-secular. Beckwith (2000) adds the concept of gendered political opportunities to show that political opportunities are gendered depending on whether they benefit or constrain the participation of male versus female actors, and give preference to movements using specifically gendered discourses.

Democratization is the most relevant of changes to the state affecting women's movements in Latin America (Ray and Korteweg 1999). In the 1980s and 1990s, most countries in the region experienced transitions from military regimes to democratic rule. The literature on women's movements in Latin America demonstrates how military regimes and repression of the left provided an opening for women's mobilization around human rights, deteriorating socio-economic conditions, and gender inequality and sexism (Jaquette 1989). Feminism emerged in particular among women who

questioned the sexism rampant in leftist political parties and movements. Once the democratic transition was underway, the ability of women to mobilize collectively varied among the different national contexts. In countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Chile, political parties turned to gain the support of feminist movements and women's organizations by incorporating their demands. In other countries, such as Peru, feminist movements and women's organization found themselves again on the sidelines.

Viterna and Fallon (2008:670-673) propose a framework of four factors shaping the effectiveness of women's mobilization in attaining outcomes under new democracies: the context of transition, the legacy of women's pre-transition mobilization, political parties and international influences. Based on their comparative study of four countries, the authors found that women's movements were more likely to be effective in influencing democratizing states when the transitions are comprehensive, when women's movements build solid coalitions, when the ideology guiding the transition sides with feminist frames, and when women's previous mobilization lends credibility to post-transition feminist demands (Viterna and Fallon 2008:682-685). In particular, there is an interaction effect between the context of transition and women's pre-transition mobilization: the former designates available political openings and frames for post-transition women's movements while the latter shapes the ability of post-transition women's movements to make use of these new openings and frames. The presence of strong political parties is more important than their particular ideology, and the role of international influences is positive primarily when it allows ideological exchanges that build upon women's mobilization at the local level, whereas they turn negative when it takes the form of heavy financial support.

Another relevant aspect of the political context is the relationship of women's movements to political parties and the state. Beckwith (2000) found that women's movements often build alliances with political parties, in particular leftwing parties, yet whether this translates into advances of feminist goals is inconsistent. Nonetheless, few women's movements have sought to establish a women's or feminist political party. Because of this, double-militancy among feminist activists is common where they participate in both feminist organizations and in political parties simultaneously. This produces both tensions and opportunities: for example, it can allow feminist activists to become strategically positioned within state agencies but also it can also cause them to become dependent on organizations,

such as political parties, that do not share their goals. Both Beckwith (2000) and Ray and Korteweg (1999) found that the state is a key arena for women's movements; nonetheless, there is an on-going tension between women's movement autonomy on the one hand and their involvement in the formal political sphere on the other because both have their advantages and disadvantages. Their involvement may lead to being co-opted by the state, where the movement primarily serves the state's agenda, as Schild (1998, 2002) demonstrates in the case of Chile. Yet, not becoming involved in the formal political sphere may close the possibility for women's movements to influence policies.

In sum, this study draws upon the ideas within contemporary scholarship on social movements. Among mainstream scholarship in Europe and the U.S., two distinct theoretical schools emerged in the second half of the twentieth century: one following a cultural, expressive approach in Europe and one following a political, rational approach in the U.S. In Latin America, social movement scholars have tended to follow the former approach. Nevertheless, researchers in all three continents have increasingly called for synthesizing these two approaches. The contributions in Alvarez et al.'s (1998a) volume on cultural politics is one of the few attempts to do just this based in the context of Latin America. In addition, their volume and Archila Neira (2005) remind us that any theoretical endeavor regarding Latin America social movements should be grounded in the continent's unique conditions. Last, but not least, feminist studies of women's movements have sought to highlight how what constitutes the "political" and the "cultural" is itself socially constructed. Moreover, they offer theoretical alternatives based on a wide range of empirical cases in diverse settings.

Analytic Frames

An analytic frame is "a detailed sketch or outline of an idea about a phenomenon" (Ragin 1994:58). A given idea or theory leads to certain way of framing and using evidence, which constitutes a "way of seeing" (Ragin 1994: 61). Upon deciding to use social movement theory to study the research questions, I began to work with two analytic frames: one pertaining to the factors that shape social movements in achieving outcomes and the other pertaining to the types of effects produced by social movements.

The bulk of social movement literature focuses on how and why movements emerge, continue and decline. Less attention has been paid to how social movements realize their outcomes and what effects they have. This may seem surprising given that most social movements intentionally seek some types of outcome, whether conservative or progressive in nature, and whether sought internally among members or externally from the broader society or from political and social institutions. Yet, the study of social movement outcomes is not simple. The main difficulty, according to some scholars, is demonstrating a causal relationship between social movement actions and observed changes in society (Giugni 1998: 373). This is complicated by effects produced by other actions outside a social movement. Tilly (1998) depicts this complex picture in the form of three circles consisting of the effects of movement claims, effects of movement actions and effects of outside actions. When these three circles intersect, they produce four types of effects:

- Effects of movement actions that bear directly on movement claims.
- Joint effects of movement action and outside influences that bear directly on movement claims.
- Effects of outside influence (but not movement actions) that bear directly on movement claims.
- Joint effects of movement actions and outside influences that do not bear on movement claims.

Given this complexity, Giugni (1998: 374) concluded a decade ago that only a few of the many studies on social movement outcomes were systematic.

Since the, the number of systematic studies on social movement outcomes has increased, especially concerning their influence on formal policies. While feminist political activism occurs in and outside formal politics, this study focuses on feminist advocacy directed towards the formal political arena. Therefore, the two analytic frames I work with are formed with the helped of these existing studies. The first analytic frame is concerned with the factors shaping social movements in their attainment of outcomes, which ties into the research question of how feminist organizations and activists carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies. The second analytic frame is concerned with the types of effects social movements have, which ties into to the research question of what effects feminist advocacy has on policies.

As I brought together existing studies, I found that many use quantitative methods to demonstrate a causal association or relationship between factors shaping social movements and their effects or attainment of outcomes. This study did not seek the same goal but rather to complement it. Consistent with qualitative research goals, this study sought to capture the underlying processes that link factors with outcomes by exploring how advocacy and policy influence actually occur through practices. Regardless of the methods used, I found that existing studies have increasingly sought to synthesize political and cultural paradigms. It became evident that the political paradigm of (mainstream) social movement research alone, and its corresponding concepts, such as political opportunity structures and organizational resources, was insufficient to explore the research questions. For example, in the first analytic frame, one of the cultural resources that social movements make use of is *framing* and *frames*. This concept of framing and frames may be confused with analytic frames. Analytic frames and social movement frames are the same concept applied to two different processes. In the overall research process, I apply analytic frames to narrow down a broad set of ideas or theories. In social movement processes, actors use frames to narrow down a broad set of ideas contained in their ideologies.

Factors Shaping Social Movements' Attainment of Outcomes

Following the political paradigm, scholars initially contended that social movements attain outcomes by combining organization with appropriate tactics, such as disruptive protests, persuasive protests or institutional means (Gamson [1975]1990; Piven and Cloward 1977; Rochon and Mazmanian 1993). Other scholars explained that social movement outcomes are determined by "political opportunity structures" consisting of formal political processes and interests (Kitschelt 1986). However, to achieve outcomes, social movements have more resources at hand than merely organization and the selection of tactics, and they must deal with a wider range of contextual factors, including but not limited political opportunity structures. According to the "Political Mediation Model", political contexts mediate but do not determine the attainment of outcomes among social movements (Amenta et al. 1992, 1994). Based on their studies of the Townsend movement (1992) and Long's "Share Our Wealth" movement (1994), Amenta et al. explain that social movements are more effective when they adapt their tactics to their political contexts. Persuasive, non-disruptive tactics are most effective

when social movements face favorable political contexts in the form of democratic political and party systems, constructive bureaucratic structures and sympathetic regime partisanship (Amenta et al. 2005). Stronger protest strategies are necessary to achieve outcomes in less favorable environments.

Cress and Snow's (2000) study of fifteen U.S. homeless organizations reached the same conclusion: disruptive tactics were effective in less favorable political contexts but not in favorable political contexts. Similarly, McCammon et al.'s (2008) study of women's jury movements found that those organizations which tailored their strategies to the political environment were more likely to achieve legal change at a faster pace allowing women to sit on juries. Successful women's organizations were highly perceptive of the actions and framing of other actors, including opponents and allies, and did not take lightly the response of government representatives. The authors refer to this as strategic adaptation. Finally, Olzak and Ryo (2007) found in their study of the U.S. Civil Rights movement that tactical diversity increased the probability of the movement attaining political outcomes. Thus, there is a dynamic relationship between social movement tactics and political opportunity structures.

In order to adapt tactics to political contexts, social movements need to have an organizational capacity that allows them to carry out a variety of strategies, including both protest and institutional means (Andrews 2001). Based on his study of the civil rights movement in two Mississippi counties, Andrews (2001) found that this required not only sustained movement activity over long periods but also diverse organizations structures. His "Movement Infrastructure Model" contends that effective movement infrastructures consist of differentiated leadership, embedded in indigenous structures and with diverse skills; a mixture of formal and informal organizations to serve different purposes; and a reliance mainly on resources from movement membership (Andrews 2001; also see Olzak and Ryo 2007).

In addition to tactics and organizations, social movements make use of framing to achieve outcomes (Cress and Snow (2000). The concept of framing draws upon Goffman's definition as the organization of experiences with the purpose of achieving a socially shared definition of a situation (Goffman 1974; Snow et al. 1986: 464). Social movement literature has extended framing to portray the active process through which individuals and collective actors arrange and make sense of events and occurrences in order to mobilize for political

action (Snow et al. 1986: 464). Frames are not the same as ideologies. Ideologies are "systems of ideas which couple how the world works with ethnical, moral and normative principles that guide personal and collective action" (Oliver and Johnston 2000: 7). Ideologies offer the set of rules guiding the selection and incorporation of frames, whereas frames in turn indicate which goals are reasonable, which resources are available, and which course of action is appropriate (Schnabel 2006:14-16).

Social movements use frames to garner new members, mobilize supporters, sway undecided actors, counter opponents and persuade government officials (Snow and Benford 1988:198; Benford and Snow 2000: 614). Studies have extended the "Political Mediation Model" by demonstrating how movements are more likely to attain outcomes when they adapt their framing to the broader political - and cultural - contexts (Franceschet 2004; McCammon et al. 2001, 2007: Trevizo 2006). This does not mean that movement actors automatically make use of frames that are culturally resonant or that tap into hegemonic discourses. Feree (2003:305) explains that movement actors actively select frames ranging from more radical to more resonant within the opportunities offered by institutionalized forms of discourses. She defines discursive opportunity structures as "institutionally anchored ways of thinking that provide a gradient of relative political acceptability to specific packages of ideas" (Feree 2003: 309). McCammon et al. (2007) take this further by demonstrating that hegemonic discourses are not the only discursive opportunity structure available to movement actors to influence policies: they also found discursive opportunity structures involving new and opposition ideation elements. In sum, social movements adapt their organizations, tactics and framing to the wider political and even cultural contexts in order to increase their chances of achieving policy outcomes. Thus, the relationship between social movements and political opportunity structures is dynamic in both directions rather than deterministic in a single direction.

A fourth resource that social movements make use of to achieve outcomes is emotions. Drawing upon the sociology of emotions, movement scholars demonstrate the emotion work carried out by social movements and the connections to cognitive processes (Barbalet 2002; Goodwin and Jasper 1999, 2004; Goodwin et al. 2001; Jasper 1998). Specifically, Jasper (1998) identifies three types of emotion work in social movements: social movements generate shared emotions among its participants and supporters; participants obtain

emotional support from social movements; and social movement produce or cause emotions in other actors. Despite the growth of studies on emotions in social movements, none appears to examine how social movements engage in emotion work to achieve outcomes.

Political contexts are not the only contextual factors that social movements must deal with in order to achieve outcomes. Additional contextual factors - or opportunity structures, exist "beyond those stemming from formal political dynamics and the formal political interest they can generate" (McCammon et al. 2001). A second contextual factor is discursive opportunity structures discussed above in the paragraphs on framing. A third contextual factor is gender relationships in society and politics, or gendered opportunity structures. In their study of the U.S. women's suffrage movement, McCammon et al. (2001) demonstrate not only that political opportunity structures themselves are gendered but also that gender relations in society and politics shape the ability of women's movements to attain policy change (also see McCammon and Campbell 2001). They identify "gendered opportunity structures" as shifts in gender relations, such as increased women's employment and education, which alter public opinion and policymakers' understandings of women's appropriate role in society. This creates favorable opportunities for women's movements and similar opportunity structures might exist for social movements addressing other inequalities, such as those based on "race"/ethnicity (McCammon et al. 2001).

A final contextual factor that social movements must deal with to achieve outcomes is the existence, tactics and strength of countermovements (Andrews 1997; Gamson [1975]1990). Countermovements are a social movement consisting of "networks of individuals and organizations that share many of the same objects of concern as the social movement they oppose" (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996: 1632). Like social movements, countermovements seek to influence policies and garners support from the wider public and the media: in this sense, social movements and countermovements influence one another directly as well as the context within which they both function (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996: 1632-3). The emergence of opposing movements suggests that "states are open to challenges but that they cannot resolve conflicts definitively" (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996: 1630).

Countermovements affect the ability of a movement to attain outcomes. Repression or violence on the part of a countermovement

tends to initially draw greater support for movement members and increase its protest activity; however, over the medium- and long-term, countermovement violence inhibits movement outcomes. Gamson ([1975]1990) found that those social movement organizations experiencing violent repression were less likely to gain outcomes. In his study of the impact of the Civil Rights movement in Mississippi, Andrews (1997, 2001) explains that countermovements resist movement efforts using legal means, such as legislation or the creation of alternative institutions, or illegal means, such as threats and violence. In his former study, Andrews (1997) found that over the long term, both violent and legal resistance undermined the movements' ability to advance Black electoral politics. In his latter study, Andrews (2001) concluded that violent resistance blocked the mobilization of other groups, namely white moderates, supportive of Civil Rights, from helping the movement achieve the implementation of poverty programs. Similarly, Olzak and Ryo (2007) found that countermovement activity blocked the organizational diversity of the Civil Rights movement, thereby decreasing the likelihood of movement outcomes.

In sum, the first analytic frame consists of eight factors that shape how social movements achieve political outcomes. On the one hand, there are four contextual factors that social movements deal with in order to attain outcomes: political contexts, discursive opportunity structures, gendered opportunity structures, and countermovements. On the other hand, there are four resources that social movements make use of to attain outcomes: tactics, organizational capacity, framing and emotions. Because these factors interact with one another, movements influence policies through different pathways rather than a single one (Cress and Snow 2000). Specifically, movements that adapt their resources at hand to wider contextual factors are more likely to achieve outcomes. Neither organizations and tactics nor political opportunity structures alone - as proposed by the political paradigm of social movements - are sufficient to explain how movements achieve political change. Instead, movements make use of cultural resources, such as framing and emotions, and they deal with cultural contexts, including gender and discursive opportunity structures to achieve outcomes. This analytic frame corresponds to the first research question of how feminist organizations and activists carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies. I work with this analytic frame in papers one through three.

The Types of Effects Produced by Social Movements

In order to examine how social movements attain outcomes, it is necessary to define outcomes. The effects of social movements are generally divided into two types: intended and unintended consequences (Giugni 1998). Following the political paradigm, intended consequences are based on movement goals founded upon movement ideologies, and consist of political outcomes (Cress and Snow 2000). Unintended consequences are not related to movement goals and ideologies, and consist of, changing public perceptions, altering activists' biographies and so forth (Cress and Snow 2000). Research on social movement outcomes has concentrated on their intended consequences and most definitions of political outcomes tie into Gamson's ([1975]1990) typology: acceptance by elites of the social movement organization(s) as legitimately representing a group's interests and new advantages for the group represented by the social movement organization(s). Studies have prioritized new advantages, measuring these as the modification of laws and policies (Giugni 1998, 1999).

However, social movement effects are not limited to changing laws. Legislative processes entail a range of steps, not merely voting in favor or against a law (King et al. 2005; Soule and King 2006). The influence of social movements varies along different legislative steps. Social movements appear to have a positive effect in the early steps of the legislative process whereas public opinion has greater weight in the later steps. Policy processes are comprised of a range of stages, not merely legislative decision-making. The influence of social movements varies along different policy stages, such as accessing policy arenas, agenda-setting, policy implementation, electoral processes and so forth (Amenta et al. 2005; Andrews 1997, 2001; Cress and Snow 2000; King et al. 2007; McAdam and Su 2002). Schumacher (1975) distinguishes outcomes according to five responses by government actors to movement demands: access to the policy arena as well as influence over policy agendas, policy formation, policy output and policy impact. Andrews and Edwards (2004) refine his framework to the following dimensions: access to decision-making arenas, agenda-setting, achieving favorable policies, monitoring and shaping implementation, and shifting long-term priorities and resources of political institutions.

In addition, social movement effects go beyond political outcomes to include cultural and organizational outcomes. Social movements

seldom make explicit claims for cultural change because these are not attainable in the short and medium-term in contrast to concrete political claims; and movements need to present attainable goals in order to mobilize constituents and garner the support of bystanders. A broad definition of outcomes accounts for not only the attainment of movement goals but also their other effects (Giugni 1998). From her study of feminist organizations in the U.S. mid-west, Staggenborg (1995:341) identifies three types of outcomes. *Political and policy outcomes* are "various steps in the process of bringing about substantive changes through the political system". *Mobilization outcomes* are "organizational successes and the ability to carry out collective action". C*ultural outcomes* are "changes in social norms, behaviors, and ways of thinking among a public that extends beyond the movement's constituents or beneficiaries, as well as the creation of a collective consciousness among groups such as women". Bernstein (2003) adds to cultural outcomes the discursive impact that social movements have on the ways in which their issues are understood by other actors and the broader population.

Bernstein (2003:357) reminds us that these categories of political, mobilization and cultural outcomes are themselves socially constructed, in the same spirit that feminist movements question the socially-constructed divide between the personal and the political. In sum, these categories are a "useful heuristic device to understand the trade-offs that activists make between a variety of goals" (Bernstein 2003:357). Scholars studying social movements in Latin America point out that a focus solely on the policy outcomes of social movements may miss important outcomes (Alvarez et al. 1998b). This is because of the particular conditions of politics and culture in the continent: movements must deal with the persistence of weak democratic institutions, entrenched social hierarchies and neo-liberal restructuring of state and civil society relationships (Alvarez et al. 1998b; Archila Neira 2005; Schild 1998, 2002; Dagnino 1998, 2003, 2007). Given these conditions, the line between politics and culture is blurred making it necessary to consider social movement effects on cultural and political outcomes as well as the relation between them (Alvarez et al. 1998b; Archila Neira 2005; Dagnino 1998, 2003, 2007). Concretely, Alvarez et al. (1998b) identify three types of outcomes that straddle the cultural and political divide: the transformation of the political arena, redefinition of key political ideas, and expansion of democracy in society.

In sum, the second analytic frame consists of a definition of movement outcomes that consists of both their intended and unintended consequences, political and cultural outcomes. Following the analytic frame here, political outcomes are not limited to the modification of laws and policies but also include other stages of the policy process such as agenda-setting, access to decision-makers and policy implementation. Even when social movements concentrate on political outcomes, they may produce culture outcomes. This is particularly relevant in Latin America given the interconnectedness of politics and culture. This analytic frames study corresponds to the second research question that of what effects feminist advocacy has on policies. I make use of this analytic frame in the fourth paper.

Evidence

Evidence can be obtained from a great variety of sources and every topic holds the possibility of an infinite quantity of evidence (Ragin 1994:66-67). Qualitative researchers frequently rely on sensitizing concepts - developed from ideas, analytic frames, previous research and their own interests - to appraise the types of evidence most relevant to the research topic (Ragin 1994: 67). Initially, to get the research started, I drew upon my pre-understanding from my experiences of being a feminist activist, living in Peru and working in reproductive rights advocacy to determine which data to collect, from whom and where. It made sense to conduct the study in Peru given that the aim was to examine feminist advocacy in Latin America and Peru offered various cases from which to select. I then identified a minimum set of topics that would be feasible to collect evidence on and pertinent for exploring the research questions. These topics included:

- Density, membership, structure & longevity of organizations and activists
- Advocacy objectives and strategies
- Opportunities and constraints for conducting advocacy
- Allies and opponents for conducting advocacy
- Advocate's perceptions of progress and setbacks in advancing reproductive rights policies
- Competing actors and factors influencing policy processes

Selection of Study Participants

I used purposive sampling to select organizations and individual activists in Peru. I had three basic criteria for selection. First, I wanted to study organizations and individuals focusing on reproductive rights, given that feminist movements work on a wide range of issues. Second, I wanted to examine organizations and individuals carrying out what they refer to as advocacy as an intentional strategy. Finally, I wanted to examine organizations and individuals working to influence policies at the regional level, in addition to national and municipal levels, because regional decentralization had begun in early 2001.

In early 2006, colleagues in Lima provided me with information on the characteristics of organizations and individuals who fit these criteria with whom they were very familiar in four regions: Arequipa, Cusco, La Libertad and San Martin. In all cases, organizations and individuals were working collectively in some form of coalition based in the regional capital but with their own specific conditions and dynamics. It would have been possible to collect evidence solely in one site since the research goal was to examine commonalities rather than diversity. Yet, different cases may reveal distinct feature of the same phenomenon, and therefore in-depth knowledge is frequently attained by examining more than one instance of the same thing (Ragin 1994: 86). I thought that having two cases would make the findings richer.

In May 2006, I received a mass e-mail with a press release from the coalition based in Arequipa, *Foro de Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos de Arequipa*. In the press release, they demanded that the regional government implement therapeutic abortion in public hospitals. I had been to Arequipa but never worked there and decided to contact the secretariat of the coalition in Arequipa - Asociación Humanidad Libre. Over the course of the next few months, I had several e-mail exchanges with Mercedes Cruz, the director of Humanidad Libre, discussing the research project, the participation of their coalition and its members in it, and what this entailed.

By autumn 2006, I went about selecting another region. Based on the descriptions of organizations and activists I had received from colleagues, those in Cusco were most explicitly taking up abortion rights compared to the other two regions. This pointed to a similarity with the *Foro* in Arequipa, which was also working on abortion rights. Again, I had been to Cusco but had never worked there, and decided to contact *CADEP José María Arguedas*, which was the secretariat of the coalition *Colectivo por los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos*. Over the next few months, I exchanged e-mails with Clotilde Laime, who

runs CADEP's reproductive rights program, discussing the research project, the participation of their coalition and its members in it, and what this entailed. Both *Humanidad Libre* and *CADEP* discussed my request with the other coalition members and responded positively to my request. Prior to conducting fieldwork, I received approval for the research project from the Bioethics Committee of Asociación Vía Libre based in Lima.

The Study Sites

Arequipa and Cusco are both located in the southern portion of the country. Whereas Arequipa stretches from the coast to the Andean Highlands, Cusco stretches from the Andean Highlands to the edge of the Amazon Basin. Both Cusco and Arequipa have slightly over 1.1 million inhabitants or 4 percent each of the country's entire population (INEI 2007a). They rank seven and eight respectively among Peru's most populated regions (INEI 2007a). The two regions have a similar population density: Arequipa has a total area of approximately 63, 000 square kilometers and constitutes 5 percent of the national territory whereas Cusco has a total area of 72,000 square kilometers and constitutes 5.6 percent of the national territory (El Comercio 2000).

Their economies rely mainly on tourism, agro-industry and extraction of natural resources such as mining and gas. In 2006, Arequipa and Cusco contributed 4.7 and 2.8 percent respectively of Peru's gross domestic product, ranking third and seventh among all regions (INEI 2007b). Both regions have high rates of school attendance: in 2007, among children age six to eleven, 96 percent in Arequipa and 94 percent in Cusco attended school, and among children age twelve to sixteen, this figure was 94 percent in Arequipa and 91 percent in Cusco (INEI 2007a).

Their main differences are in the level of urbanization, ethnic diversity and poverty rates. Arequipa is predominantly urban, with only 10 percent of its population living in rural areas compared to 45 percent in Cusco (INEI 2007a). In Cusco, 53 percent of the population speaks an indigenous language compared to 17 percent in Arequipa. Finally, the percentage of the population living in poverty in Arequipa is 34 percent whereas in Cusco, it is 53 percent (INEI 2007b).

Data Collection Methods

Qualitative methods were most appropriate for collecting and analyzing the evidence in order to examine the research questions in-

depth. Specifically, I chose Grounded Theory with a constructionist approach because it emphasizes how participants view their circumstances or "construct meanings and actions in specific situations" (Charmaz 2006:130). Rather than attempt to account for multiple, subjective realities, this study is concerned with the perspective and experiences of the two reproductive rights coalitions and their members; that is, how they perceive their intervention in government agencies and their effects on policies. The perception of reproductive rights advocates is significant because it motivates them to continue to carry out advocacy. On the one hand, if they perceive that they have achieved all of their goals, they may no longer have a reason to engage in advocacy. On the other hand, if they perceive that they are not achieving any of their goals, they may become dissatisfied with advocacy and choose another strategy or disband entirely. Thus, advocates' perceptions are critical to understanding their continued engagement in advocacy and its impact on policies.

The use of constructivist Grounded Theory presumes that the study participants and I co-created the empirical materials through our interactions. The pursuit of theory in this study was not to find conclusive causal explanations but rather to demonstrate patterns and relationships that are contingent, and in so doing, build upon existing concepts and understandings encompassed in the analytic frames above (Charmaz 2006:130; Dahlgren et al. 2004:22). Following the interpretative tradition, theoretical conclusions are achieved through my own reading of the empirical materials. I have striven to interpret the actions of the coalitions and their members holistically within their specific contexts (Dahlgren et al. 2004:22; Haraway 1988).

Grounded Theory is ideal for this type of study of on-going human action and of underlying social processes (Clarke 2003:558-559). Due to its roots in symbolic interactionism, Grounded Theory is commonly used to examine actions and processes at the social psychological or micro-level rather than at the collective or meso-level. This may be one reason that studies of social movements do not typically use Grounded Theory. Nonetheless, recent uses of Grounded Theory locate social psychological processes within larger contexts by linking actors and arenas (Clarke 2003). Another possible reason that studies of social movements do not use Grounded Theory may be because in the latter, the action is often on-going or underway at the time research, thereby limiting the actual available cases for study. Many empirical studies of social movements examine past cases and rely on archival sources of social movement organizations, media reports, and

legislative and policy decisions. They tend to use quantitative or comparative methods to test specific theories. This study makes an important methodological contribution by applying Grounded Theory to collective action at the meso-level, and specifically to a social movement that is currently in progress.

In terms of data collection techniques, I originally planned solely to conduct field research combining participation observation and focus group discussions. The former because it would provide data on the coalitions and their members in their natural everyday setting; and the latter because it would provide data on the coalition members' shared ideas and understandings regarding reproductive rights advocacy and outcomes. In each of the two study sites, I conducted participant observation for three weeks (total of six weeks) and I held one focus group discussion with members (total of two focus group discussions) in April and May 2007. The focus group discussions lasted between three and four hours, and combined small- and full-group activities.

Two unexpected opportunities occurred during the fieldwork. One was the repeated number of times I was able to observe the coalitions and their members intervening with government agencies. The main difficulty with studying a social movement that is in progress is that it may require an extended period of fieldwork in order to make sufficient observations. Due to limited resources and time, I did not have the possibility for extended fieldwork. I suspected that, in the timeframe planned for participant observation, few opportunities would arise to observe the coalitions and their members intervening with government agencies. I was surprised when I encountered the opposite. As I came to understand, this was not an unusual period but rather business as usual for the study participants.

The other unexpected opportunity was that I was able to add a third technique - individual interviews - during the fieldwork. When I arrived in Arequipa, Mercedes Cruz and Marcela Rojas from Humanidad Libre asked me if I wanted to meet with each of the coalition members on my own to conduct an interview with them. I welcomed this opportunity because through the interview, I would establish contact with the coalition member and be able to arrange to make subsequent observations of their activities. I designed a semi-structured interview guide to pose open-ended questions to participants on four topics: their initiation into reproductive rights activism and motivation for continuing this work; their current actions in favor of reproductive rights; their perceptions of outcomes resulting from reproductive rights advocacy; and their perceptions of

opportunities and constraints for reproductive rights advocacy. When I arrived in Cusco, I asked Clotilde Laime of CADEP if it was possible to do the same and she responded affirmatively. In total, I conducted twenty-two interviews with coalition members. Thus, through individual interviews, I was able to collect additional data that I had not initially planned.

With each technique, I attempted to make the research process an exchange with study participants rather that merely about obtaining the desired data. During participatory observation, I shared my own information, expertise and experience in reproductive rights advocacy with coalition members. I lent an ear to hear their personal and professional difficulties, concerns and challenges while showing solidarity and praising them for their accomplishments in very trying conditions. The focus group discussions were designed as a participatory workshop to allow the coalition members to reflect upon different aspects of their reproductive rights advocacy. I provided all the coalition members with the transcripts of the flipchart paper and audiotapes from the focus groups. The individual interviews sought to allow each coalition member to share their own personal experience and tell their own story of reproductive rights advocacy with as few questions as possible. All the interviewees were filled with passion as they recounted their experiences, a passion imbued with joy, satisfaction, and pride as well as anger, pain and stigma.

As described above, I made my role as researcher known to all of the coalition members from the outset. Permission to conduct participant observation was obtained from all of the coalition members via the main contact organization: Humanidad Libre in Arequipa and CADEP in Cusco. An electronic version of a letter explaining the purpose of the research project and a consent form, both in Spanish, were distributed to all the coalition members via e-mail before the focus group discussion. Hard copies of both documents were distributed to all the participants at the beginning of the focus group discussion. Permission was requested from coalition members to record activities, meetings and interviews through notes and audiotape. All of the coalition members know one another and are aware of one another's participation in the study. Coalition members agreed to use their own identity in the presentation of the findings because as actors working in the public sphere - including the policy arena - they wanted to set an example of transparency.

In September and October 2008, I returned to both study sites and met with each coalition for several hours. During the meeting, I

presented the study findings and analysis, and received their perceptions and comments on this. Largely, they agreed with the analysis but emphasized that the difficult conditions in which they work. During my visit, I was also able to meet with some of them individually, accompany them on additional engagements with government agencies and verify several policy outcomes that they had been striving for during my fieldwork in 2007.

Images

Images are "constructed by the investigator when he or she brings together or synthesizes the evidence" (Ragin 1994:68). In Grounded Theory, this consists of first analyzing the evidence and then synthesizing it (Dahlgren et. al. 2004; Glaser 1978). I carried out these steps separately with two data sets. The first data set consists of the observation notes and focus group transcripts, which I created shortly after the fieldwork. The second data set consists of the interview transcripts, which I created six months after returning from fieldwork due to the transcription process. Both data sets were analyzed using MAXQDA©.

I began by conducting open coding, which entails studying each line of text comparatively and labeling the line(s) with a word or set of words called codes (Glaser 1978). At this stage, I was not guided by existing concepts or theories, but rather examined the data thoroughly and identified ideas within the empirical materials (Charmaz 2003: 258-9). I identified both in vitro and in vivo codes (Dahlgren et al. 2004). For example, "articulating agendas/strategies" is an in vivo code because it is taken from the term used by coalition members to refer to developing coordinated agendas and strategies with one another and their allies. Meanwhile, "coalition-government negotiations" is an in vitro code because I came up with it to refer to interactions between the coalitions and government agencies in which the two parties are negotiating coalition demands. The difference between the two is that in the latter the researcher is taking a step towards abstraction. Open coding resulted in hundreds of codes, yet certain codes already appeared to be important.

Next, I sorted open codes by grouping together those that were related to one another (Dahlgren et. al. 2004). I examined the codes in each group to determine the category name. Then, I sorted the codes within each category into sub-categories. Table 1 below provides an

illustration. The first paper provides a description of category and sub-category formation (Coe 2009).

Table 1. The Category *Coalitions: Organizational Characteristics*

Codes	Sub-categories
Institutional representation	Organizational capacity
Internal communication	
Knowledge of policy processes	
Leadership	
Legitimacy	
Organizational structure	
Participatory approaches	
Project administration	
Initial formation, feminist orgs	Organizational networking
Conflicts between orgs	
Friendships	
Women´s organizations	
Consultancies	Organizational resources
Funding sources	
Office space	

It is during this point in the analysis where my own experience with, and understandings of, reproductive rights advocacy began to play a role. For example, these allowed me to distinguish between codes portraying advocacy issues and goals from those portraying advocacy strategies, between codes depicting relationships with other actors from those depicting facilitating and hindering contextual factors. Once the categories were formed, I went back to the data to get to know it more deeply. I returned to codes that appeared to be significant, examined their coded segments and their relationship to other codes, and wrote memos of these observations. I did this specifically for codes referring to the coalitions' relationships with government officials and agencies; the interactions between coalitions and government agencies; and the outcomes experienced by the coalitions.

At this point, I went about identifying the core category, which is central to understanding the research matter under study (Dahlgren et al. 2004). It became evident that two categories shed light on the research questions of how the reproductive rights coalitions carry out advocacy to intervening in government agencies and what effects their

advocacy has on policies. The first is Coalition-Government Interactions, which portrays different interactions between the coalition and government officials. The second is Policy Outcomes, which portrays different policy outcomes experienced by the coalitions through their advocacy. See table 2.

Table 2. The Core Categories and their Sub-Categories

Coalition-Government Interactions	P*olicy outcomes*
Coalition-government relations	Issue visibility and recognition
Coalition-government collaboration	Policy mandates
Coalition-government negotiation	Policy implementation
	Policy position

After the construction of these core categories, I turned to selective coding. This entailed re-examining all open codes one by one, comparing them with one another, relating them to the core categories and discarding irrelevant codes. Selective coding resulted in ten categories in the first data set and eleven categories in the second data set. Most of these categories were the same for both data sets: when combined, they comprised thirteen categories as presented in table 3.

Table 3. Categories Formed through Selective Coding

Advocacy Goals	Coalitions: Organizational
Advocacy Issues	Characteristics
Advocacy Definitions	Coalitions: Motivations
Advocacy Strategies	Relationships with other Policy Actors
Advocacy Framing	Political & Social Aspects Facilitating
Advocacy Emotions	Advocacy
Coalitions: Members	Political & Social Aspects Hindering
Coalitions: Individual Characteristics	Advocacy

However, some differences existed between the two data sets. In particular, three unique categories appeared in the second data set, that is, from the analysis of the individual interviews. These include the categories of advocacy framing, advocacy emotions and coalition motivations. This was not surprising given that during the individual interviews, coalition members shared more in-depth how they had developed collective frames about reproductive rights, how they

handled emotions within their reproductive rights advocacy, and how they had been motivated to continue advocacy.

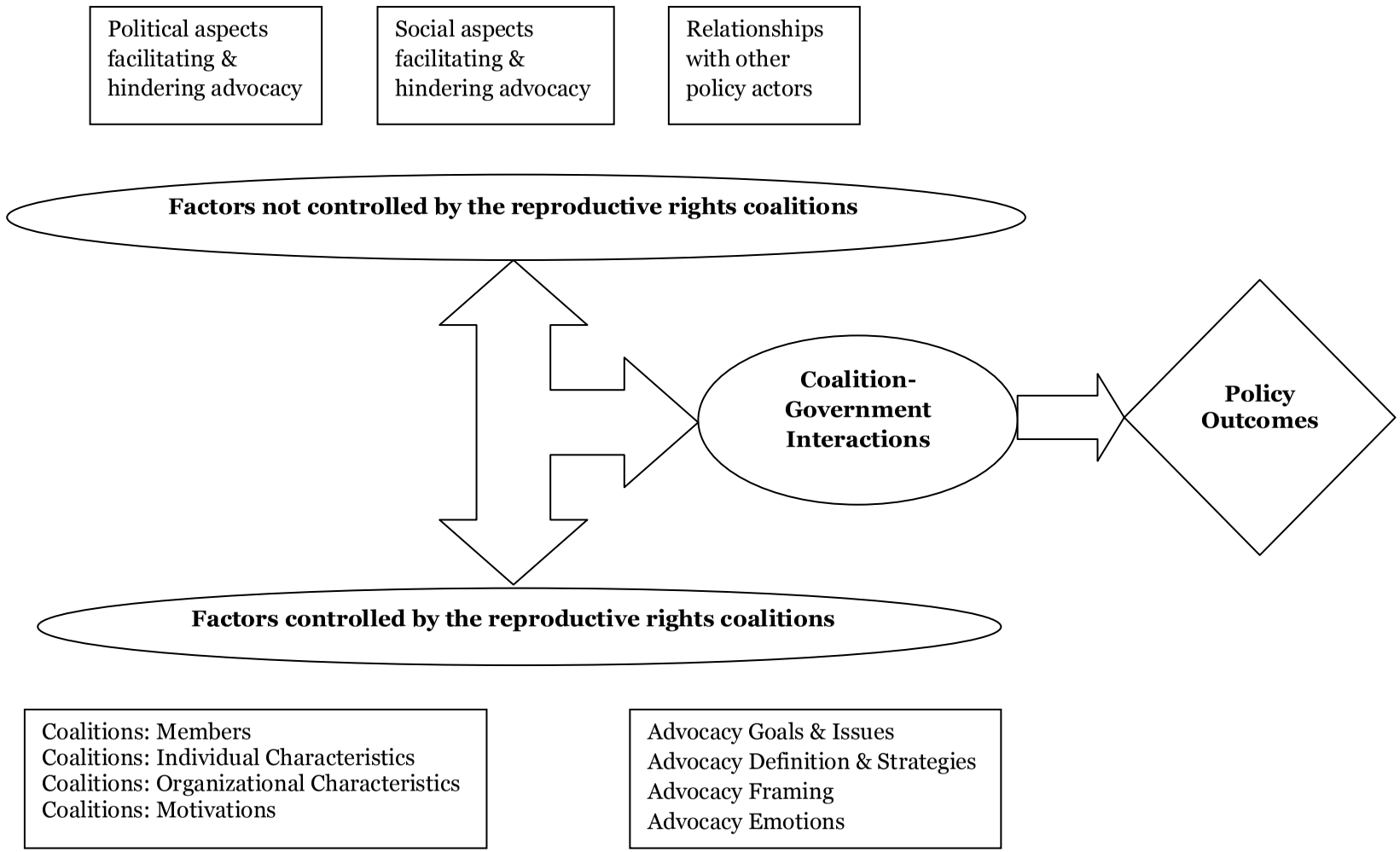
Theoretical coding consists of examining the connections between categories and synthesizing these "fractured parts" into a whole. I made use of one of Glaser's (1978) code families to identify these connections: the 'strategy family'. The core category of Policy Outcomes can be considered the result of the coalitions' advocacy. The core category of Coalition-Government Interactions links Policy Outcomes to the thirteen categories in Table 3. The thirteen categories constitute various factors that the reproductive rights coalitions "deal with" or "strategize about" in order to interact with government officials and attain policy outcomes. The thirteen categories can be clustered around three broad aspects:

- *Advocacy aspects*: goals, issues, definitions, strategies, framing and emotions.
- *Coalition aspects*: members, individual and organizational characteristics, and motivations.
- *Contextual aspects*: relationships with other policy actors as well as social and political factors facilitating and hindering their advocacy.

The coalitions have proximate or direct control over the first two clusters of advocacy and coalition aspects. The coalitions do not have direct control over the third cluster of contextual aspects. The coalitions maneuver those factors they have immediate control over as a means to deal with those factors they do not have immediate control over in order to interact with government agencies and achieve policy outcomes. See Model 1.

Grounded Theory has developed four criteria to assess the trustworthiness of the research findings: relevance, fitness, workability, and modifiability (Dahlgren et al. 2004: 55-56). Concerning the first criterion, I formulated the research questions because I considered these relevant to those involved in reproductive rights advocacy in Peru based on my previous experience there. This sense of relevance guided me during the interpretation of the core problems of the study participants. The relevance of the study to the participants was confirmed when I presented my analysis of the findings and received their assessment in 2008. I later found that existing literature on social movements also considered the research problem to be relevant. With regard to the second criterion, I did not attempt to force the evidence to fit the two analytic frames. I created open codes by examining the data itself and identifying ideas within it. When it came to forming categories and

Model 1. Factors Based on Empirically-Grounded Categories and their Links to the Core Categories.



choosing the core categories, I primarily worked with open codes and guidance from my prior experience with reproductive right advocacy. About the third criterion, the findings present a theory that works for both what is going on in the data and even what is occurring at the conceptual level. This is discussed at length below. Finally, with regard to the fourth criterion, the theory presented here is not intended to be complete or fixed but rather it is open for modification through the contribution of additional empirical findings and theoretical concepts.

REPRESENTATIONS OF REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ADVOCACY IN PERU

As discussed in the previous chapter, the on-going interplay between of *analytic frames* and *images* concludes in *representations of social life* or a refined portrait of the phenomenon under study (Ragin 1994:72). In this chapter, I present the representations of how the two reproductive rights coalitions and their members carry out advocacy to intervene with government agencies and what effects their advocacy has on policies. It is divided into three parts that are clear in Model 1:

1. *Contextual Aspects*: factors not directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions,
2. *Coalition and Advocacy Aspects*: factors directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions,
3. *Core Categories*: coalition-government interactions and policy outcomes.

Contextual Aspects: Factors not directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions

As Model 1 illustrates, the study findings captured three factors that the reproductive rights coalitions and their members do not have proximate or immediate control over. These include political aspects facilitating or hindering advocacy, social aspects facilitating or hindering advocacy, and relationships with other policy actors. These findings reflect key contextual factors that the coalitions and their members must deal with in order to carry out advocacy in favor of reproductive rights, and subsequently intervene in government agencies and influence policies.

Political Aspects Facilitating and Hindering Advocacy

In the first paper, I presented many of the findings on the political aspects facilitating and hindering advocacy (Coe 2009). However, due to limited space, I did not have the possibility to tie my findings into the existing literature on the political context in Peru. Therefore, in this sub-section, I draw upon existing literature and my previous research to describe the political context in which the coalitions and their members are working and the institutional framework for reproductive rights.

Political Context for Feminist Mobilization in Peru

There are four main factors shaping the political context in Peru: the relatively recent experience with mass politics and democratic rule, the weakness of long-lived political parties, the blurring of left-right ideologies, and the very recent process of regional decentralization. I will illustrate each one of these in conjunction with the last four decades and its consequences for the development of the feminist movement.

The 1970s was the decade when mass politics emerged in Peru and led to the establishment of democratic rule. Until then, a minority elite or oligarchy excluded the masses from participating in the polity and repressed political parties attempting to represent them, namely the populist APRA and the Communist Party, both of which formed in the 1930s (Manrique 2004; Poole and Rénique 1992). The military and Catholic Church had long held privileged positions in the state apparatus and therefore constituted political actors. In contrast to other Latin American countries, Peru's military turned against elite and conservative political parties in favor of the masses and leftist parties (Barrig 1989). In 1968, a group of military officers took control of the government and implemented a series of reforms including land reform, nationalization of foreign companies, and redistribution of resources through education, health and social policies (Manrique 2004; Poole and Rénique 1992). Reform policies dismantled the elite's material base and placed the socio-economic demands of the masses at the top of the political agenda. Moreover, reform policies encouraged the participation of the masses and condemned many forms of discrimination. Despite the suspension of the formal political system, men, women and young people were mobilized into diverse types of social organizations, including peasant and labor unions, worker cooperatives, student federations and neighborhood

associations (Barrig 1989; Lynch 1997: Radcliffe 1993b). Many educated urban women fill the ranks of new left political parties.

In 1975, the reformist military government was replaced by a more conservative one that undid reforms, pursued neo-liberal policies, realigned with foreign capital, and intensified repression of political opposition (Poole and Rénique 1992). However, the government was unable to quell the mobilization of mass organizations unleashed by reform policies. In 1977 and 1979, mass demonstrations and national strikes were held to protest neo-liberal policies and demand democratization (Lynch 1997). Leftist political parties continued to view themselves as the enlightened vanguard chosen to lead mass organizations. Women militants in leftist parties became increasingly frustrated with the sexism they experienced and the indifference to gender issues (Barrig 1989; Vargas 1989; Villavicencio 1994). Some feminists decided to stay in the parties to change them from within while others left to establish Peru's first feminist organizations. Faced with staunch criticism from the male comrades, feminists feared breaking entirely with political parties and instead lent their support to the broader effort for economic and political change (Barrig 1989; Vargas 1989).

The 1980s was the decade when long-lived political parties revealed their fragility and lost their legitimacy among the population. The elections of 1980 were the first in the nation's history based on universal suffrage and open competition among political parties (Lynch 1997). All political parties were allowed to compete for the first time, including APRA and leftist parties, except for the Shining Path Communist Party of Peru, which chose to pursue a guerrilla insurgency (Ron 2001). New modernizing elites entered in the wake of the oligarchy, but former elite actors remained in place, such as right-wing political parties. For example, Acción Popular, an elite right-wing party, ruled between 1980 and 1985. In addition, the new constitution upheld the privileged role of the Catholic Church in the state apparatus. The role of the military remained prominent as it was called forth to deal with the Shining Path insurgency, begun in 1979. In 1985, a party of the masses, APRA, finally won the national elections while another one, the United Left, won the municipal election in Lima. Nonetheless, the policies pursued by APRA brought the country into the worst economic crisis since the 1930s and the state apparatus to a near collapse (Burt 2004). Neither AP nor APRA adopted a tenable strategy to quell the Shining Path insurgency, which

by the end of the decade had expanded from rural to urban areas, while counterinsurgency abuses became increasingly common.

Contrary to other Latin American countries where women's movements were integrated into the democratic transition, both feminist and popular women's organizations in Peru remained marginalized from mainstream politics after the country's transition. This is not surprising given that the case of Peru contains only one of the four factors included in Viterna and Fallon's (2008) framework on the effectiveness of women's mobilization in attaining outcomes under new democracies. Although the democratic transition in Peru was comprehensive, women's movements did not build solid coalitions during the pre-transition period and the ideology guiding the transition was predominantly focused on socio-economic demands rather than broader ideas of democracy, thereby sidelining feminist frames. Consequently, feminist demands during the post-transitional period lacked credibility.

Let down by their comrades in leftist political parties, feminist organizations began the 1980s by asserting their autonomy in order to advance reflection and analysis of the specific problems of women and gender (Barrig 1989, 2002). Even though some feminists continued to pursue double-militancy of participating in both feminist organizations and political parties, the feminist movement remained on the margins of the formal political arena. Low-income urban women participated in large numbers in their own organizations dedicated to improving living conditions, but they too faced sexism within the broader neighborhood movement and were excluded from the movement's linkages to labor unions and left political parties. In contrast to feminist organizations, popular women's organizations were more public in their protest of poor living conditions and learned how to engage in local politics during the 1980s (Blondet 1990, 2002). As feminist organizations received funding from foreign foundations, they began to work more closely with low-income women's organizations in Lima as well as like-minded women in other cities - such as Arequipa and Cusco - where new feminist organizations were being formed. By the end of the decade, feminists had begun to develop training programs and innovative services at the community level on women's health, violence against women and other key feminist topics.

The 1990s is the decade when left and right ideologies become blurred. In 1990, an independent political outsider with no previous political experience - Alberto Fujimori - was elected president. His

new, loosely formed political party had no clear ideology on the left or right, and in fact, included political leaders from both sides of the political spectrum. In a few years time, the Fujimori government stabilized the economic situation through structural adjustment policies emphasizing liberalization of labor laws and capital flow, reductions in social spending and privatization of state-run companies. Moreover his government effectively defeated the Shining Path in 1992 primarily by capturing its leadership. Finally, Fujimori took measures to increase executive control over elections, political parties, the legislature and the judicial branch. His government became increasingly undemocratic, maintaining power until the end of the decade through fraud, bribes, espionage and human right abuses. Although Fujimori relied on the support of the Church leadership during its first few years in order to implement economic stabilization and counter-insurgency, after 1994, his government openly disregarded the Church's political authority by prioritizing a national family planning program and developing a sexual education programs for public schools.

It is during Fujimori's decade in power that women's movements became integrated into the formal political arena (Barrig 2002, Blondet 2002). By the early 1990s, the feminist movement in Peru had gained significant experience in putting its ideas into practice through local projects and activities carried out with popular women's organizations and even working at the level of municipal governments. For them, it was an opportune time to scale up their proposals and influence national policies. In contrast, popular women's organizations were severely debilitated by the devastating economic crash and the Shining Path insurgency in the late 1980s. Given that none of the long-lived political parties had adequately attempted to court women's movements, with their subsequent demise, feminist and popular women's organizations alike were politically unaligned. The Fujimori government opened spaces for feminist organizations to make policy demands and propose a range of laws and policies regarding gender, including on reproductive rights. Feminist organizations and activists became involved in shaping favorable policies on reproductive health in the Ministry of Health, sexual education polices in the Ministry of Education, and gender equity policies in the Ministry of Women and Human Development. Moreover, they mobilized with others in Latin America to influence the international agreements developed at United Nations conferences taking place during the decade. Meanwhile, the Fujimori government

provided popular women's organizations with much needed material benefits in exchange for their political support at the community level, thereby demobilizing them even further.

Finally, 2000 is the decade when comprehensive regional decentralization has been undertaken. When Fujimori fled the country in 2000, Peru experienced a second "democratic transition" as evidence of his authoritarian measures became public in the regime's aftermath. A cornerstone of this transition has been decentralization processes entailing the election of regional governments, including legislative and executive branches, every five years. The legislative branch is a Regional Council comprised of elected representatives responsible for passing decrees and the executive branch is led by the regional president and agencies responsible for implementing laws and decrees. Decentralization also consists of the gradual transfer of responsibilities from central level agencies to regional ones, which is often defined as a negative consequence of neo-liberal policies. In the case of Peru, these measures reflect a long-lived demand from inhabitants and elites of regions outside Lima, due to the concentration of public resources and decision-making in the capital (Slater 1994).

During this decade, in the context of decentralization, feminist and women's organizations at the regional level have stepped up their efforts to intervene in new government agencies and influence policies. Decentralization includes not only new sites for policy influence but also mandates civil society participation in various policy processes. Thus, the coalitions in this study are working in a context where Peru's first democratic transition is already three decade on and the country has embarked on a second democratic transition characterized by regional decentralization processes. Nonetheless, regional decentralization has further prompted the development of new and fragile political parties. In addition, new and long-lived political parties have continued to include an eclectic mix of leaders from across the political spectrum. Finally, state institutions – the congress, judicial system, and executive branch - have not been able to withstand the political turmoil of recent decades and are fraught with weaknesses and corruption remains a serious problem. In this context, the Catholic Church leadership, led by a staunch ultra-conservative archbishop, has regained it prominent role in controlling state policies particularly with regard to reproductive rights.

Institutional Framework for Reproductive Rights

Even though Peru´s government consists of a legislative, executive and judicial branch, the institutional framework on reproductive rights has primarily been shaped by first two, with the judicial branch only recently beginning to play a role.

During the last thirty years, Peru has experienced many legislative advances with regard to reproductive rights. The constitution of 1979 recognized for the first time the "right of families and persons to freely decide the number of children they desire" and proclaimed the state's support for responsible parenthood (Article IV). In the current constitution of 1993, Article IV upholds this right and proclaims the state's role in ensuring the provision of education, information and safe methods. Both constitutions prohibit surgical contraception (tubal ligation and vasectomy) and abortion as forms of contraception. In 1995, sterilization was legalized. That same year, a law was passed mandating that contraceptives be available free of charge, even for adolescents, within government health services. Other laws have been passed favoring women's rights and gender equity, thereby designed to improve the enabling conditions for women to exercise their reproductive rights. These include the law on the prevention and treatment of domestic violence (1993/97), the law mandating quotas for female candidates and elected officials (1998) and the law on equal opportunities between men and women in five areas: education, employment, politics, health and freedom from violence (2007). In 1996, the legislative branch created a Commission on Women to develop laws on gender equity and women's rights.

However, at least four laws exist that constitute obstacles to reproductive rights. According to the Penal Code of 1924, abortion is prohibited in all circumstances except when a pregnancy puts the women's life or health at risk. Furthermore, the constitution (1993) defines "life" as beginning with conception, thereby permitting challenges from anti-reproductive rights groups who falsely claim that some forms of contraceptives work after conception and constitute a form of abortion. In addition, in 2007, the congress passed a law that characterizes all sexual relations between adolescents under 18 years of age as rape, in which men are the perpetrators and women the victims. Finally, the General Health Law requires that health care providers report all suspected crimes to law enforcement agencies, including for example, abortions and sexual relations between adolescents. Apart from actual laws, in recent years, anti-reproductive

rights groups have begun to lobby congress members directly in order to block advances in reproductive rights legislation.

Peru has experienced several policy advances in the executive branch with regard to reproductive rights. Since the late-1980s, the Ministry of Health (MoH) has developed norms (guidelines) and policies on contraceptives and their provision within government health services. In 1996, the MoH expanded its family planning policy to go beyond contraceptive provision and include other key reproductive health concerns. This is currently reflected in its Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy, which addresses contraceptives, sexually transmitted infections, violence against women, adolescent sexual health and abortion-related complications. Since 1998, the National Family Planning Norms provide explicit guidelines for health care professionals regarding the provision of information and counseling to contraceptive users in order to ensure voluntary and informed decisions, including adolescents. These guidelines apply to all health care services delivered with public funding, including the MoH, the Armed Forces, and the Social Security Institute. In 2001, the MoH modified these norms to mandate the inclusion of emergency contraception among the range of contraceptives delivered in publicly funded services. As the largest health care provider, the MoH has expanded its own contraceptive services during the last two decades to rural and peri-urban areas throughout the country. MoH policies on reproductive health are complemented by the policies within another executive agency, the Ministry for Women and Social Development, on equal opportunities between men and women and gender-based violence. Finally, a Public Ombudsman was created in the mid-1990s to defend citizens' rights to government goods and services. It includes an Ombudsman on Women's Rights that that monitors the application of government policies on reproductive health and rights.

The executive branch is also the site of obstacles to reproductive rights, in part due to limited technical and financial capacity to put laws and policies into practice. Moreover, applying laws implies a long, slow process of transforming large bureaucratic structures and programs. An example is the stock of contraceptives: despite significant efforts to build the systems to ensure a continuous stock, the availability of contraceptive methods remain unsteady and uncertain in health care services even based in the capital. This is likely due in part to organizational barriers. However, as I have shown in my previous research, the greatest obstacle is policy positions that oppose reproductive rights, particularly when these positions are held

by political representatives responsible for implementing laws and policies (Coe 2004).

In Peru, two opposing policy positions have emerged since feminist movements began to intervene in government policies and advocate for reproductive rights: an anti-natal and ultra-conservative position. The first position dominated policy implementation during the latter part of the Fujimori government between 1995 and 1998. The president directed the government family planning program to fill quotas of the number of tubal ligations and sterilizations performed every month, and to use coercive measures to get poor women and men to undergo sterilization. This led to violations in the right to voluntary, informed consent and to the delivery of poor quality of services. The second position was applied to policies during part of the Toledo government between 2001 and 2004. The president put ultra-conservatives in charge of the Ministry of Health who blocked the provision of contraceptive services and refused to make emergency contraception available. Again, this led to violations in the rights to voluntary, informed consent and to the delivery of poor quality of services. Both positions exist within the policy sphere, but ever since the anti-natal position was severely weakened after widespread criticism in the late 1990s, the ultra-conservative position has become even more pronounced as the main opposing position to the reproductive rights agenda.

The judicial branch has only recently become involved in the institutional framework on reproductive rights. Two important cases have been channeled through the court system and produced contrary results. The first case was presented by reproductive rights activists against the MoH in 2002 for refusing to implement emergency contraception in its services. In 2006, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the activists, charging that a refusal on the part of the MoH to ensure the provision of emergency contraception in government health services free of charge constituted discrimination and ordered the MoH to distribute the method. The second case was presented by an anti-reproductive rights organization to stop the MoH from distributing emergency contraception free of charge claiming it was a form of abortion. In late 2009, the Constitutional Court rule in favor of the anti-reproductive rights groups, thereby halting the free distribution of emergency contraception in government services. Emergency contraception is legally sold and available in pharmacies and private clinics. On March 8, 2010, International Women´s Day, the Minister of Health declared that it would defy this ruling and

reinstate the free distribution of emergency contraception in all government health clinics.

The findings on the political context and institutional framework are an expected result given that social movement literature has demonstrated their importance for both the emergence of social movements as well as the attainment of movement outcomes. Specifically, the concept of "political opportunity structures" is used to examine how political institutions present a set of obstacles and possibilities to foster or inhibit social movements, and to propel them in a given form or direction instead of another (Eisinger 1973; Tarrow 1988). Following Amenta et al.'s (1992, 1994) Political Mediation Model, the political context and institutional framework for reproductive rights advocates in Peru is a mix of favorable and unfavorable factors. On the one hand, Peru has a democratic political system based on open party competition and universal suffrage, with three independent branches of government. Further, it has developed favorable policy and bureaucratic structures concerning reproductive rights. On the other hand, sympathetic regime partisanship is difficult to attain precisely due to the weakness of political parties and the blurring of left-right ideologies. Moreover, government agencies have limited capacity, resources and skilled professionals to carry out laws and policies effectively in practice. Finally, other policy actors hold positions that directly oppose reproductive rights, in particular, the ultra-conservative position upheld by the Catholic Church and its lay allies. The main consequence of this is that while one part of the government may be making credible attempts to advance reproductive rights policies, another part may be operating directly against them, allowing policies to be distorted or reversed. As demonstrated in papers one and four, the coalition members in the study have helped create many favorable political conditions and currently use them to facilitate advocacy: therefore, they understand their susceptibility and act to protect them from the unfavorable conditions.

Social Aspects Facilitating and Hindering Advocacy

While coalition members perceive political factors having both facilitating and hindering effects on their advocacy, they perceive social factors as primarily hindering them. They point to four main social factors: gender inequality, class inequality, racism, and the influence of the Catholic Church on society. Gender inequality upholds conservative norms regarding maternity/paternity, male control over women, gender division of labor, and women's lack of autonomy. This

causes stigmatization of coalition members for advocating against these norms. Class inequality maintains stark differences in the socio-economic conditions of the population as well as according to geographical residence (rural versus urban). This makes it difficult for the coalition members to mobilize large sectors of the population in support of reproductive rights because vulnerable groups are primarily seeking to secure their economic well-being and tend to offer their support to politicians in return for material benefits. Thus, stark class cleavages allow the persistence of patronage politics. Institutional and individual practices of racial discrimination continue to construct cultural divides in Peruvian society. This presents a challenge for coalition members when they are advocating for change within government agencies because they must deal with paternalistic and degrading attitudes among elites towards the population. A final factor is the strong social influence of the Catholic Church over the population and political elites in the regions where the coalitions and their members operate. This presents an obstacle to the coalitions' advocacy because the population and political elites publicly uphold Church teachings even though in practice they frequently disregard these when it comes to sex before marriage, divorce, contraceptive use and even abortion.

It is not surprising that coalition members see these four social aspects as on-going obstacles given that they are seeking to change these over the long-term. Hence, it is likely that they will remain critical of them even when progress is being made. Peru has undergone enormous changes with regard to all three forms of structural inequality during the last decades. For example, in terms of gender, attitudes support women's multiple roles and there is widespread support for women holding public office (Blondet 2002). Nonetheless, there are important regional differences in Peru, the pace of change varies across them, and decentralization processes are still relatively new. The findings show that there is a gendered opportunity structure facilitating the coalitions' advocacy, because this has allowed them to convert their demands into salient policy issues and to present themselves as legitimate actors in the formal political sphere. These opportunities exist be side by side with conservative attitudes towards gender (McCammon et al. 2001). It is also possible to see this with regard to discursive opportunity structures: new ones endorsing rights, equality and diversity exist alongside entrenched hegemonic ones upholding rigid social positions (McCammon et al. 2007, 2008).

Contradictions also exist with regard to the influence of the Catholic Church on society. Borland (2004) found that the unfavorable opinion of the Argentine population towards the Catholic Church constitutes a cultural opportunity for reproductive rights advocates, an opportunity not shared by advocates in Chile where the population has a favorable opinion of the Church. Popular opinion is an important dimension to gauge the relationship between the Church and society. Nonetheless, this may not convey the entire picture. My findings confirm the use of "double discourses", where inhabitants and political elites uphold conservative values publicly even while their personal attitudes and practices are more liberal (Shepard 2005). The populations' relationship to the Church is an ambiguous one because it combines positive aspects of tradition and ritual with negative aspects of social control and repression. These findings suggest that the persistence influence of the Church is based not only on popular support for its role as a religious institution but also popular fear for its role as an institution of social control.

Relationships with Other Policy Actors

In the overall strategy of advocacy, the coalitions' main target is government officials representing various branches, agencies and levels. Coalition members emphasize the regional level due to their strategic location in regional capitals combined with decentralization processes. Nonetheless, they carry out strategies directed not only at government officials by also at additional actors in order to intervene in government agencies and effectively influence policies. First, the coalitions work internally to mobilize their own members, by forming new organizations and networks, engaging in on-going planning, and identifying allies. Second, the coalitions and their members work with allies by articulating agendas and strategies. Allies include low-income women's organizations and professional associations (legal and medical community) in their respective regions as well as feminist organizations based in Lima and elsewhere in the country. Third, the coalitions and their members work with "undecided actors" by sensitizing them to reproductive rights issues and mobilizing them to support these. "Undecided actors" are those groups that have not clearly identified themselves as either allies or opponents. These include the general population, political parties and development NGOs. Coalition members carry out community-based activities with local organizations and municipal leaders, engage with regional media

outlets, and conduct trainings for political parties and development NGOs.

Finally, the coalitions and their members deal with their main opponent, which is the Catholic Church hierarchy and its network of lay allies. The Church hierarchy espouses a restricted role for women as mothers and wives, whose duty is to sacrifice their own self-realization to serve others, even their fertility and sexuality. Moreover, the Church opposes all forms of contraception, condoms for the prevention of HIV, and abortion under all circumstances. As described above, the Church hierarchy has long had a stable role in politics and society. Its standing became less secure during the 1990s when feminist organizations began to intervene in government policies and when the Fujimori government disregarded the Church's stance and prioritized a national family planning program. Since then, the Church leadership has additionally taken the form of a countermovement to feminist advocacy, particularly on reproductive rights. As such, it has adopted new strategies of building a network of allies within the political, non-governmental and private sphere with whom it carries out aggressive legal and media tactics as well as even disruptive protests against reproductive rights. It coordinates these domestic strategies with international networks of the Church and anti-reproductive rights organizations from the U.S (Chávez and Coe 2007).

That the coalitions and their members carry out advocacy directed towards a wide range of organized political and social actors is a central finding in this study. Feminist studies of women's movements have long been concerned with the relationship between women's movements and political parties. The coalitions and their members maintain relationships with political parties as autonomous organizations and as double-militants (many of them are active members of political parties). Nonetheless, coalition members do not perceive political parties as the central or most reliable actors for channeling demands with regard to reproductive rights, due to party weaknesses and the blurring of left-right ideologies. Moreover, a demand exists from the population for social movements that make claims on specific issues with defined ideologies. The two coalitions are the only alliances in their respective regions conducting advocacy on reproductive rights. For these reasons, the coalitions and their members work to maintain relationships with multiple organizational actors and view this as necessary to advance their goals.

This even applies to dealing with the emergence of a rather aggressive countermovement. The Church and its allies are seeking not merely to counter feminist advocacy on reproductive rights but also to attain their own political outcomes in terms of restrictive policies on these issues (Meyer and Staggenborg 1995). In the short run, the actions by the Church and its allies have heightened awareness among the general population of reproductive rights issues pursued by the coalitions, such as emergency contraception and therapeutic abortion. In the medium-term, they appear to wear away at government officials' willingness to stand their own ground and thereby constrain the coalitions' influence on policies.

Coalition and Advocacy Aspects: Factors directly controlled by the reproductive rights coalitions

As Model 1 illustrates, the study findings captured factors that the reproductive rights coalitions and their members have proximate or immediate control over. These can be divided into the two broad groups. Coalition aspects entail the coalition members, their individual and organizational characteristics, and the motivations driving them to participate. Advocacy aspects entail goals and issues, definitions and strategies, and framing and emotions. Combined, these aspects constitute organizational, strategic and cultural resources that the coalitions and their members make use of in order to carry out advocacy in favor of reproductive rights, and subsequently intervene in government agencies and influence policies.

Coalition Aspects: The Reproductive Rights Coalitions and their Members

In this sub-section, I present the findings regarding the coalitions' infrastructure including their characteristics, individual and organizational members, and motivations for participation. The study examined both the coalitions and their members. The coalitions would not exist without their members, yet some members may cease to be active members and new members may be incorporated without jeopardizing their collective existence. Meanwhile, each coalition member operates separately from the coalitions: they carry out their own actions and work on a variety of issues in addition to those actions and issues they take on as part of the coalitions. I will begin

with a description of the coalition members and then turn to the coalitions as whole.

At the time of data collection, each coalition consisted of twelve members who were either organizations or individual activists. Individual members are psychologists, lawyers, physicians, nurses and nurse-midwives working regular day jobs in government or private health, education and legal services. Organizational members reflect five organizational types: volunteer associations of trained community activists, professional associations of health care providers, volunteer networks of professionals promoting health or gender equity, non-profit organizations providing direct services to the population, and non-profit organizations with a feminist and/or social justice mission. Each organization has its own membership and biography. Their members range from volunteer participants and dues-payers to employees, and include both women and men.

Organizations have diverse strengths and weakness, and their trajectories indicate that institutionalization does not necessarily go hand in hand with involvement in the formal policy arena. Some organizations have strong competence and experience in the policy processes yet low levels of institutionalization, with a small staff and uneven streams of funding. Meanwhile, other organizations have high level of institutionalization with formal structures organized around paid employees and secure levels of funding, but lack policy expertise. The bulk of international funding to the non-governmental sector is for activities with the population: services, training and interventions. Organizations become institutionalized in tandem with their increased role in developing such externally funded activities. Little international funding is for advocacy activities to influencing policies. Therefore, even though advocacy has entailed that coalition members adopt a certain level/type of professionalism to intervene with government agencies, it is not necessarily accompanied by increased institutionalization. The organizations in the coalition obtain funds from both local sources, such as membership dues, service fees, and personal resources, as well as from external sources such as non-governmental organizations in Lima, international foundations and bi/multilateral donor agencies.

Coalition members - individual activists and individuals representing organizations - recounted how they became involved in reproductive rights and shared their motives for continuing to do so. While each of their stories is unique and significant, it is impossible to tell them all here: instead, I will describe the pattern that emerged

from the analysis of their individual trajectories. Most of the coalition members live in their region's capital, are university graduates and have fulltime employment. Many became politically active in either student movements during the university or associations connected to their employment. Activism brought them into contact with feminist ideas of gender equity and specifically reproductive rights. Indeed, several coalition members were pioneers in starting the first feminist organizations in their regions in the 1980s. Coalition members further described lengthy experiences working directly with the population through community-based activities at some point during their working careers. These activities include providing services, conducting popular education or training, and/or mobilizing local groups. In most cases, they continue these activities today. These experiences raised the awareness of coalition members with regard to the realities of low-income urban neighborhoods and/or remote, rural communities in the Andean highlands, and allowed them to learn concretely about the effects of social and gender inequalities and particularly about the problems related to reproductive rights, such as unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion and maternal mortality.

This political and social consciousness in turn has shaped the trajectory and working life of the coalition members. They continually work to infuse their commitment to reproductive rights and gender equity into all of their daily work and volunteer activities. Coalition members indicate that this gives their work meaning, as they feel that they are contributing to something bigger, a higher purpose. Several coalition members are members of political parties, have run for public office and/or held political office. Moreover, coalition members maintain connected to other reproductive rights advocates outside their regions through electronic communication, travelling and inviting guests to visit them for conferences and workshops.

At the same time, none of the coalition members make a decent salary from this trajectory. In fact, they practice a significant portion of their activism without remuneration. Moreover, they face risks for their activism, including marginalization, stigma and rejection from family relations and social networks. This is because in both sites, the coalitions consists of most if not all of the organizations and activists working in favor of reproductive rights in their respective regions. Finally, all of the coalition members juggle their activism and work with caring for family members – parents, partners, children and grandchildren.

Coalition members in Cusco formed the *Colectivo por los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos* (Collective for Sexual and Reproductive Rights) in 2003, only two years after decentralization processes were begun and the first regional elections held. They decided to form the collective because, despite the existence of different coalitions and networks addressing different issues, none were focused on sexual and reproductive rights. They formed at a time when the national policies on reproductive health were under the direction of ultra-conservatives who sought to constrain access to regular contraceptives, which had become widely available during the 1990s and refused to implement emergency contraception. Collectively, the coalition has been advocating for health policies that ensure the provision of emergency contraception and regular contraceptives, and address unsafe abortion.

Coalition members in Arequipa had previously worked under another collective, the *Foro de Equidad de Género* (Gender Equity Forum), formed in 2003, which included a broad membership and focused on gender equity policies in health and education. The *Foro de Equidad de Género* identified key reproductive health problems such as adolescent pregnancy and maternal mortality. Some of the members of the *Foro de Equidad de Género* decided to form the *Foro Regional por los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos* (Regional Forum on Sexual and Reproductive Rights) focusing specifically on sexual and reproductive rights, in 2006 shortly after the UN Commission on Human Rights delivered its ruling on K.L.'s case described in the introduction. Collectively, the coalition in Arequipa has been advocating for health policies that ensure access to therapeutic abortion as well as provide emergency contraception and regular contraceptives.

Although the coalitions themselves are small, they see themselves as part of a larger reproductive rights movement that goes beyond their regions to feminist organizations and activists throughout Peru and other countries. In addition, they are active within the broader local women's movement that includes organizations of popular urban women, peasant and indigenous women, women laborers (in unions), and women political leaders. Through their involvement with both these "branches" of feminist and women's movements, the coalitions articulate their goals and strategies. For example, with the larger women's movement, they seek to monitor the implementation of the Law on Equal Opportunities between Men and Women in their respective regions.

The study findings portray important aspects of movement infrastructure shaping the coalitions' advocacy. These include characteristics of the coalitions, their individual and organizational members, and the motivations driving their members to participate. This is an expected result given that social movement research has consistently demonstrated the significant role of organizational resources in sustaining social movements and helping them to achieve their goals. The findings here fit two of the three criteria included in the Movement Infrastructure Model proposed by Andrews (2001): a differentiated leadership, embedded in indigenous structures and with diverse skills as well as a mixture of formal and informal organizations to serve different purposes. However, the organizations here continue to rely mainly on resources from outside the movement membership and even local supporters. Their strength could be significantly enhanced by the adoption of local fundraising activities, for which there currently exist opportunities given the recent economic growth of Peru in general and the two regions in particular as well as the accumulation of wealth among urban popular classes and the resurgences of middle-classes. At the same time, the findings point to an aspect missing from Andrew's Model: the articulation between different activists, organizations and networks to develop coordinate goals and strategies. Even at the organizational level, social movements need to pay attention to the relationships between different movement actors and those near it, such as allies.

Advocacy Aspects: Goals, Issues, Definitions, Strategies, Framing and Emotions

In this sub-section, I present the findings regarding the coalitions' advocacy, including their goals and issues, definitions and strategies, and framing and emotions.

Advocacy Goals and Issues

The coalitions' goals fall into two sub-categories: those related to reproductive rights specifically and those related to gender equity agenda more broadly. The coalitions and their members work with the feminist concept of sexual and reproductive rights that entails both freedoms and entitlements. They stand for women´s autonomy to control their bodies as well as to decide over their sexuality, fertility and maternity. The coalitions and their members support women and men's right to access the means to put these freedoms into practices such as access to contraceptives, emergency contraception, abortion

and sex education. Further, they support creating the necessary conditions – such as empowerment and the elimination of violence - for women (and men) to exercise their reproductive rights, including laws and policies that advance gender and social equity. For coalition members, gender equity is a necessary to achieve reproductive rights and reproductive rights is a central component to ensure gender equity. Finally, the coalitions and their members support government accountability and transparency and citizens' independent organizing to monitor government actions while they oppose the intervention of the Catholic Church hierarchy in government policies.

The coalitions themselves focus on what is commonly referred to as a single issue: they advocate in favor of reproductive rights and seek specific policies to advance these. Gamson ([1975] 1990) found that social movement organizations focused on single issue were more likely to achieve political outcomes. Nonetheless, reproductive rights consist of goals promoting role change, which are often harder to achieve than goals proposing role equity (Ball and Charles 2006). This is illustrated by the global status of women's suffrage compared to abortion reform. In most countries throughout the world, women's franchise is widely accepted and has been institutionalized, but abortion rights are still contested and are less institutionalized (Ramirez and McEneaney 1997). Abortion rights entail the creation of new rights for women whereas the franchise is a right extended to both men and women (Ramirez and McEneaney 1997). Thus, the process of liberalizing national abortion laws "is that of an incomplete project" (Ramirez and McEneaney 1997:19). In Peru, even access to regular contraceptive methods and emergency contraception remains an incomplete project. Therefore, it is not surprising that the coalitions and their members seek goals related to role equity, such as the implementation of the Equal Opportunity Law, in order to ensure that they secure outcomes in the short-term. Indeed, during this study, the coalitions in both sites translated this goal into two concrete policy outcomes: the development a Regional Council on Women and of a Regional Equal Opportunities Plan.

Advocacy Definitions and Strategies

Advocacy is an overall strategy, which the coalitions defined as influencing policy decisions at the macro-level that have wide-reaching impact on the population and public sector workers. The coalitions and their members carry out a series of (sub) strategies directed at government officials that include sensitizing them on

reproductive rights, shaping their definitions of the problem, proposing policy changes and monitoring policy implementation. In addition, as described above, to develop advocacy strategies directed at government officials, the coalitions and their members carry out additional (sub) strategies that allow them to mobilize their own members as well as to reach out to other political and social actors as described above. To date, they use persuasive strategies that include both institutional and protest tactics (non-violent demonstrations), rather than disruptive tactics.

According to the Political Mediation Model, movements that adapt their strategies to the political context are more likely to achieve their goals. Given that Peru is a mixture of favorable and unfavorable political conditions, it is not clear which strategies - persuasive or disruptive – are most effective for movements to achieve their goals. I suspect that proponents of this model would suggest disruptive strategies. Yet, one aspect missing from this model is to what extent strategies should be adapted to movement issues. In Peru, workers demanding better wages or working conditions can effectively employ short-term disruptive strategies since employers and government officials want to avoid the interruption of production or services. This is not the case for advocates seeking to advance reproductive rights. Indeed, attaining policy outcomes in reproductive rights requires medium- and long-term strategies to convince not only government officials but also a range of actors as mentioned above. Coalition members perceive that persuasive strategies are the most effective for maintaining their relations with these actors and thereby being able to persuade them. They perceive that disruptive strategies will alienate sympathetic actors from their cause. In this sense, the coalitions and their members adapt their advocacy strategies to their issue and to their relationships with other policy actors.

Advocacy Framing and Emotions

The reproductive rights coalitions and their members make use of two cultural resources that are intertwined in the overall strategy of advocacy: framing and emotion. While the coalitions and their members engage internally in short/medium-term framing, they have constructed nine frames through their sustained relationships with different organized social and political actors over the long term. Frames include bodily autonomy, women's (sexual) citizenship, class inequality, women's health, gender equity, human rights, interculturality, secular state and pluralism. These frames tap into five

discourse opportunity structures, including feminist, hegemonic, new, opposition and procedural, thereby constituting a cultural resource from which the coalitions and their members draw upon to influence government actors and achieve policy change. These findings show that frames are not necessarily static or "out there" but rather forms of negotiation, interaction and communication given that the coalitions and their members adapt their framing by means of relationships with other policy actors.

Similarly, the coalitions and their members employ and manage emotions in relation to different political and social actors who they must deal with to influence policy change. Five relevant actors were identified: the internal members of the coalitions, allies, the public, the Catholic Church as the major opponent, and government officials as the main target. Each relationship requires distinct emotion work because it is structured upon different initial emotional dispositions. Annette Schnabel and I refer to the necessary coordination of emotion work as "orchestration" of emotions. This orchestration constitutes an outcome of coordinative movement action by itself, which affects the movement's goal attainment.

These findings were not reflected in the previous studies as presented in the first analytic frame. Even though several studies examine how social movements use frames to achieve outcomes, these mainly focus on the adaption of framing to political and cultural contexts, not to relationships with other policy actors. Moreover, there is little research into how social movements use emotion work to achieve outcomes and particularly how they orchestrate emotion work with regard to their relationships with other policy actors. Therefore, these findings are presented in the second and third papers respectively.

Core Categories: Coalition-Government Interactions and Policy Outcomes

As illustrated in Model 1, two core categories were identified that best capture the research questions: coalition-government interactions and policy outcomes. These findings are presented in the first and fourth paper respectively.

Coalition-Government Interactions

The findings show that the reproductive rights coalitions intervene in government agencies by developing multiple interactions with government officials. The study found three types of interactions between the coalitions and officials: relations, collaboration and negotiations. These interactions are illustrated by the examples in the introduction of the meetings between coalition members and regional government officials regarding the implementation of the Equal Opportunities Law. In both Arequipa and Cusco, the meetings were the product of the on-going *relations* between the two parties carried out prior to the observed meetings, in which coalition members had established contact with government officials, worked to sensitize them regarding the issues and convinced them of their position. The purpose of the observed meetings was to develop *collaborations* between the two parties to advance the implementation of the Equal Opportunities Law.

Different interpretations of these meetings are possible, including that the regional officials were somehow co-opting coalition members to neutralize them. Another is that that the regional official sought to fulfill their public roles by transferring tasks to the coalition members for which they themselves are responsible. Yet, from my observations of these meetings and background knowledge, regional officials did not appear to be in a position of control over the coalition members. This is due to the weakness of political parties, the lack of expertise among government officials to developed public policies on gender equity and reproductive rights in addition to their limited ability to convene civil society participation. Coalition members, on the other hand, have been accruing expertise in gender equity and reproductive rights for many years, and have some capacity to convene a broad base of women's organizations. In fact, regional officials appeared dependent upon the coalition members to take the policy process forward precisely because they did not know what do. This gave coalition members leverage to develop *negotiations* with regional officials and thereby make demands upon them.

Longstanding social movement theories predict that the tactical change of feminist organizations in Latin America to institutional means such as advocacy has two possible consequences: either the organizations gains greater influence over policy arenas and become more effective in achieving outcomes, or they lose capacity to carry out protest tactics and become less effective in achieving outcomes. The findings from this study do not support either of these theories on how

social movements attain their outcomes. The coalitions and their members influence policies by developing an array of interactions with government officials, including but not limited to lending technical expertise. They are well aware that participating in formal policies may affect their ability to act as independent pressure groups. Their multiplicity of interactions with government officials allows the coalitions to influence policies through various channels, and thereby handle potential constraints on their ability to be a critical voice. In sum, the study finds that feminist advocacy among the study subjects does not consist of a single form of policy involvement. This suggests a fit with the first analytic frame, which assumes that social movements take different paths to achieve outcomes by drawing upon various resources - organizations, tactics, framing and emotions - in order to contend with different contextual factors (Amenta et al. 1992, 1994, 2005; Andrews 1997, 2001; Cress and Snow 2000; Franceschet 2004; McCammon et al. 2001, 2007, Trevizo 2006).

Policy Outcomes

The findings show that the advocacy carried out by the two reproductive rights coalitions has effects on different stages of the policy process. The study found five types of policy outcomes: coalition-government interactions, issue visibility and recognition, policy mandates, policy implementation and policy position. These outcomes can be illustrated by the example in the introduction regarding the demand among Peruvian feminist advocates for the implementation of therapeutic abortion in government hospitals. In May 2006, the coalition in Arequipa disseminated a press release demanding that regional official ensure access to therapeutic abortion in health services. This was soon after the U.N. Commission on Human Rights ruled in favor of K.L.'s case. The coalition held a successful press conference, thereby beginning to attain public visibility to the issue of therapeutic abortion. In March 2007, the coalition met with two members of the Regional Council (legislative branch) and convinced them of the need for a regional plan to reduce maternal mortality that included at least three measures: contraceptives, emergency contraception and therapeutic abortion. During fieldwork, I observed coalition members successfully negotiate with the Regional Health Council (executive branch) to agree to formulate such as plan. Thus, the coalition achieved the recognition of key reproductive rights issues among government officials. This occurred through the interactions between the coalitions and

government officials, including relations, collaboration and negotiations.

During the coming months, coalition members and government officials worked jointly to formulate the regional plan to reduce maternal mortality. One outcome of this collaboration was the creation of a regional protocol on therapeutic abortion that would serve to guide all hospital staff in the provision of this health intervention. Thus, the coalition succeeded in convincing government officials of their policy position. Meanwhile, the coalition mobilized support for the protocol among a wide range of actors, including the medical and legal professional communities and grassroots organizations, thereby convincing them as well of their policy position. In early 2008, the director of the Regional Health Department approved the regional protocol on therapeutic abortion, constituting two outcomes for the coalition: a policy mandate at the regional level as well as a step in the implementation of the national-level law permitting therapeutic abortion. Here, we can see that all five policy outcomes were attained.

A month later, the regional president, who had backed the regional protocol on therapeutic abortion, yielded to pressure from the Catholic Church leadership and revoked it. This move hit the coalition hard after two years of intense work. Meanwhile, it bolstered Church authorities and their lay allies mobilizing against reproductive rights. One favorable outcome was that the move prompted a widespread debate in the media on therapeutic abortion and on the positions of both sides: the coalitions and their allies, and the Church and its allies. More than any previous media coverage, this debate allowed women and men throughout the region to learn about the right to access therapeutic abortion. It also informed regional officials and reproductive rights advocates working in other parts of the country.

Studies of feminist movements in Latin America have found that the modification of legal and policy changes alone is insufficient to achieve real changes to women's lives (Barrig 2001; Blondet 2002; Lind 2003; Schild 2002). The coalitions in this study perceive this deficiency: therefore, they direct their advocacy to reach beyond the modification of laws in order to influence various stages of the policy process. Their advocacy affects policies not only in terms of policy change but also on other dimensions of the policy process. Further, the five categories of outcomes identified in this study offer a more dynamic typology that those presented by authors such as Schumacher (1978) and Andrews and Edwards (2004). Indeed, within

each category, it is possible to identify outcomes involving the transformation of the political arena, redefinition of key political ideas, and expansion of democracy in society (Alvarez et al. 1998b). These are cultural outcomes that the coalitions do not make explicit in their advocacy goals and strategies. Finally, the outcome of policy position reflects the translation of movement frames into policies. Policy position is a cultural outcome and constitutes the discursive impact whereby social movements influence the ways in which their issues are understood and their frames affect broader discourses, including within policies (Bernstein 2003). This indicates that feminist advocates have cultural outcomes even through their activities directed the formal political sphere. The conceptual distinction of organizational, political and culture outcomes is useful for understanding the effects of feminist advocacy (Staggenborg 1995; Bernstein 2003). However, because cultural outcomes are embedded within the political outcomes above, this suggests that these are highly interconnected.

CONCLUSIONS

The process of refining the fit between the images built from the evidence and the analytic frames derived from theories can lead to different outcomes. Besides contributing to the final representations of this study, the analytic frames were substantially refined by the images constructed from the evidence.

With regard to how the coalitions and their members influence policies, the study found that they do this by developing an array of interactions with government officials, including but not limited to lending technical expertise. Their multiplicity of interactions with government officials allows the coalitions to influence policies through various channels, and thereby handle potential constraints on their ability to be a critical voice. The findings indicate that the interactions between social movements and elites are shifting and dynamic, not uniform or static. As conveyed by the first analytic frame, social movements influence policies through different pathways.

When compared to the first analytic frame, the coalitions must deal with all of the contextual factors raised in previous studies: political aspects encompass political contexts, social aspects encompass gendered opportunity structures, and relationships with other policy actors encompass a countermovement, consisting of the Catholic

Church and its allies. Moreover, they have at their disposal different discourse opportunity structures contained within these contextual factors. Nonetheless, the findings of this study offer a more complete picture of the contextual factors in various ways.

The study found that political, social and cultural aspects are not the only external factors affecting the coalitions' influence on policies. Another key contextual aspect is their relationships with other policy actors comprised of a range of organized political and social groups. Relationships with other policy actors are crucial for the coalitions and their members to carry out advocacy and intervene in government agencies. Relationships include allies, undecided actors, the general population, government decision-makers as well as opponents, the Catholic Church and its allies. This finding addresses a gap in the literature given that existing studies, as presented in the first analytic frame, do not emphasize social movements' relationships with other policy actors. Further, the study found that the Catholic Church and it allies is present in all contextual factors: it is a political actor due to its long-lived privileged position within the State; it is a social institutions because of its role as the dominant religion in the country; it is a countermovement given its public mobilization and activism against reproductive rights; and it is a policy actor with whom the coalitions must relate. Having a presence in all contextual factors helps explain why the Catholic Church hierarchy continues to have intense influence and even success in opposing reproductive rights, despite that a large portion of the population and government officials does not follow its teachings in practice. Finally, the coalitions and their members deal with social relations tied to class and ethnicity in addition to gender. Thus, while women's movements tend to focus on gender issues and may primarily benefit from gendered opportunity structure, this finding indicates that they are also concerned with and affected by other prominent social inequalities, such as those based on ethnicity and class in the case of Peru.

Also compared to the first analytic frame, the coalitions make use of all of the resources signaled by previous studies: organizations, strategies, framing and emotions. Nonetheless, the findings of this study offer a more complete picture of these resources in several ways. In terms of organizational capacity, this study points to the need for not only internal movement diversity but also the means for different movement components to articulate agendas and strategies with one another and their allies. In terms of tactics, the coalitions tailor their strategies to the issue itself as much as to the political context:

reproductive rights remains a controversial issue and the coalitions are concerned with gaining support from a wide range of actors. Therefore, they primarily use persuasive protest and institutionalized tactics in order not to alienate others from their cause. Furthermore, besides organization and tactics, the coalitions and their members rely on framing and emotion work to influence policies. Finally, the coalitions and their members attempt to adapt these four resources to their relationships with other policy actors as well as to their political and cultural context.

When compared to the second analytic frame, the study found that the modification of laws is only one piece of the picture regarding the effects of advocacy on government policies. The coalitions' advocacy has effects on different stages of the policy process including their own interactions with government officials and agencies, issue visibility and recognition, policy mandates, policy implementation and policy position. These findings capture two aspects missing from the second analytic frame. First, political outcomes are dynamic processes rather than fixed products. The coalitions use gains in one policy stage to work towards gains in another stage; despite gains in all policy stages, the modification of laws (and regional decrees) is overturned swiftly by Church opposition; and even with major setbacks in laws and decrees, the coalitions influence other policy stages, such as issue visibility and recognition. Second, policy position is the conversion of coalition frames into policies: it is a discursive impact crosscutting different dimensions of the policy process. This effect is missing from most definitions of social movement outcomes.

This study points to topics within the study of social movement outcomes that demand additional research. Additional research needs to examine how social movements tailor their framing and emotions not only to political and cultural contexts but also to their relationships with other policy actors. Future research should also examine how the dynamics between movements and counter-movements affect movements in achieving outcomes. Finally, it is necessary to explore in-depth the variation of the interactions between social movements and government agencies as well as the relationships between different types of social movement outcome.

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