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The impact of women's mobilization:

A study of the impact of civil society organizations on the implementation of the Special Land Titling and Cadastre Project (PETT) in Peru.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALLPA	The Allpa Group - Communities and Development
APRA	American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
CBC	The Bartolomé de Las Casas Andean Studies Centre
CBO	Community-Based Organizations
CEPES	Peruvian Center for Social Studies
COFOPRI	The Commission for the Formalization of Informal Property
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
FARDAC	The Revolutionary Agricultural Federation Tupac Amaru
FDCC	The Federation for Peasants in Cusco
FEMOCARINA	The Federation for Rural Women in Cusco
GRADE	Group for Analysis of Development
ID	Identification Document
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEP	Institute for Peruvian Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development.
INEI	National Institute for Statistics and Information
INRENA	The National Institute of Natural Resources
IPADIC	The Peruvian Institute for Development Aid for Communities
LSMS	Living Standard Measurement Survey
MRTA	Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIBR	Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research
NSM	Theories of New Social Movement
PETT	The Special Rural Cadastre and Land Titling Project
PTRT1	Phase one of the land titling project, 1996-2001
PTRT2	Phase two of the land titling project, 2001-2006
RENIEC	National Registry of Identification and Civil Status
REPRODEMUC	The Women's Network for Rural Women in Cajamarca
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
RNMR	National Rural Women's Network
SER	Rural Education Service
SUNARP	National Superintendence of Public Registry Office
WB	World Bank

MAP 1: PERU AND THE REGIONS IN THE STUDY
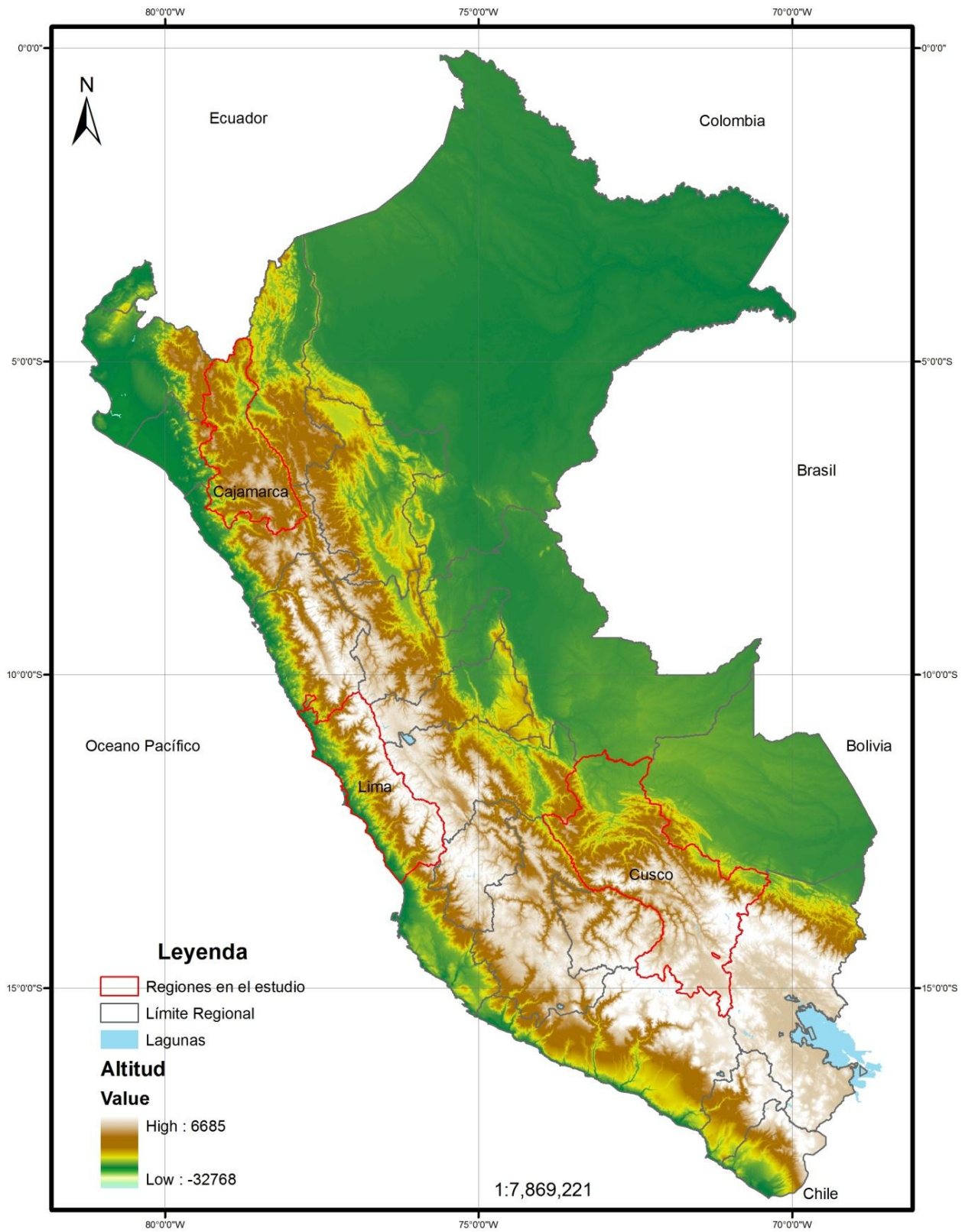
Source: Elaborated by Oscar Madalengoitia at IEP

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE AND RELEVANCE OF THE THESIS

The purpose of this thesis is to study the impact of civil society organizations (CSOs) on the implementation of the Special Land Titling and Cadastre Project (PETT) in Peru. During the 1990s, several Latin American countries were undertaking land titling projects, aiming to provide security for owners and producers and to create a more effective land market. During this period, several laws were passed in Peru to remove the constraints on property rights that had been established during the agrarian reform years. These laws made the need for formal land titles more apparent. The Ministry of Agriculture in Peru acknowledged the need to formalize land rights and in 1991 Fujimori launched PETT to formalize rural landownership (Deere & León 2001). Land titling projects such as PETT raise a number of questions about the social implications of formalization. The present thesis will focus on the impact that the land titling project in Peru had on women's land rights.

Women are often disadvantaged when it comes to land titling, given factors such as lack of legal documentation and language barriers (Deere & León 2001), and according to IFAD (2003) women own less than 2% of all land in the world. Deere and Doss (2006) claim that factors such as male preference in inheritance, male privilege in marriage, male bias in the community, and in the state-led programs of land distribution and formalization, have created a significant gender asset gap in Latin America. Agarwal (1994) states that access to resources is one of the most important rights to increase women's bargaining power in society. Land may be a key resource in empowering women and it is especially important for women in the South, as this may be an important resource in the negotiation of gender roles.

Access to land is a highly contentious issue and brings up the question of social mobilization and struggle for land. Women in the South have historically fought for their rights, and over the past few decades, they have grown strong and gained more power. Access to resources, education, property and income, strengthening women's political and economic role, and the right to a life free of oppression and violence are important issues (Caivano & Hardwick 2008). Over the past 50 years, a growing worldwide movement, with women in the lead, has fought for equal rights for women and men. Over the past 30 years, the women's movement has become one of the most important expressions of social movements in Latin

America. Women seem to be key actors in periods of crisis and change; protests, mobilization, and increasing participation in social organization have become a battle strategy for women (Padilla 2004, Caivano & Hardwick 2008). Women have fought against direct and indirect barriers to their self-development as well as their political and economic participation by challenging prevailing gender relations (Peterson & Runyan 1993).

Despite advances, long-standing social prejudice and discrimination against women has resulted in women experiencing higher levels of poverty and unemployment than men in Latin America (Deere & León 2001). A number of countries in Latin America adopted policies of joint titling of land to couples in their land-titling programs to address the gender inequality problem because of the pressure of the organized women's movement, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the national women's offices. However, the Peruvian formalization law is gender neutral and was only intended to formalize existing informal property rights (Fuentes & Wiig 2009). Because of this, heavy criticism was raised towards PETT by civil society organizations in the late nineties. The main objection was that women's rights were neglected in the implementation process, resulting in women losing rights to land that was theirs or was owned by them together with their spouse or cohabitant. NGOs and women's movements in Peru launched a campaign in favor of women's land rights in 1998. One of the main demands of the organizations involved was that land titles be given in the names of both spouses whether they were married or in a consensual union.

Evaluations of the formalization process in Peru show that there has been an increase in the incidence of joint ownership from the first phase of the implementation process to the second, even though the joint titling of land to couples was never adopted as official policy. The Peruvian research institute Development Research Group (GRADE 2007) evaluated the PETT program, and found that 76% of all the households with couples had shared title to at least one of the household's plots. This represents a massive increase if we compare it with historical data from the Peruvian Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS 2000 in Deere & León 2001). Fuentes and Wiig (2009) mentioned the protest from feminist organizations as a possible explanation for the increase in joint ownership, suggesting that the activism of CSOs led the implementing agency to favor joint ownership between spouses.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND APPROACH

This thesis is part of a research project at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR). The project, *Land titling and gender in Peru,* looks at the effects of formal joint ownership on women. The goal of this project is to find out if formal joint ownership of land has been translated into *de facto* ownership for women too; if women as joint owners have a larger say in intra-family matters; if joint ownership allows a more efficient use of labor and higher household income, generates more decision-making by consensus and income-pooling in the household, and leads to access to credit for women. My contribution to this project is to investigate the process that led to an increase in formal joint ownership. An important gap in social movement literature is the focus on the impact of mobilization, and with this thesis I hope to make a contribution to this field of research. I will investigate whether the criticism of PETT that was raised by civil society organizations in the late nineties had an actual impact on women's land rights. Civil society may want to influence both the formulation and implementation of government projects, but in this thesis I have focused on the effect they had on the actual implementation.

The study of the CSOs' impact on women's land rights in Peru will be approached from the perspective of social movement theory and theory on women and land rights. This thesis is based on primary data collected among participants in women's movements, NGOs, government officials, politicians and academics in Lima, Cusco and Cajamarca, as well as secondary data collected from CSO archives, newspaper sources and government documents. Although there are differences between different types of civil society organizations, such as community-based organizations (CBOs) and NGOs, "civil society organizations" is a more all-encompassing term and refers to the broad range of associations and groupings that fall under the term civil society (Habib & Kotzé 2003).

1.2.1 Research question

Through this thesis I attempt to answer the research question: *How did civil society organizations influence women's land rights during the implementation of the National Land Titling Project (PETT) in Peru?* To be able to answer this question I want to find out:

- What type of CSOs participated in the campaign for equal land rights?

- What forms of collective action were undertaken by the CSOs in Peru to influence the implementation? What was the background for mobilization, and on what scale did the actors work?

- Did the campaigns and protests have an impact? If so, which strategies made a difference?

Answering my research question requires an understanding of the background for the Peruvian formalization project, how the government executed and implemented it, and the political context in which it took place. It is also essential to understand the emergence of CSOs and the background for their mobilization, as well as the goals and the strategies they applied, to be able to analyze the impact of their work.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

For the purpose of clarity, I shall outline the structure of this thesis. Chapter 1, encompasses the relevance and purpose of my thesis. Chapter 2, will shed light on the methodological choices made during the process of writing this thesis, highlighting the the challenges grappled with during all stages of the process, and how I dealt with them accordingly. In Chapter 3, I shall attempt to integrate three theoretical approaches to develop a framework suitable for understanding women's collective action for land rights in Peru. I will integrate theories of collective action, theories on how social movements matter, as well as theories on gender and land rights into a framework that can give me the tools to understand the impact of the feminist NGOs and social movements on women's land rights in Peru. In Chapter 4, I will start the empirical analysis, by presenting the Peruvian land titling project and the political and juridical context. I shall then present the civil society actors involved in the process and their goals and strategies. In Chapter 5, I will analyze the impact that the CSOs had on the implementation process of PETT. Using information from my in-depth interviews, I will perform a narrative analysis of my material, and discuss my empirical findings in the light of the theoretical framework. Finally, in Chapter 6, I will summarize the findings of this thesis, and provide some concluding remarks and suggestions for further studies on this subject.

2. METHODOLOGY

The main objective of qualitative research is to come to an understanding of social phenomena. The way the researcher interprets and analyzes these phenomena will therefore be of high importance for the outcome of the research. In social science, the researcher is a part of the social world that is being studied. The close contact between the researcher and those who are being studied is characteristic of qualitative research, and poses a series of methodological and ethical questions in terms of how the research is carried out (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009, Thagaard 2009). During the process of writing this thesis I have made several methodological choices. All strategies and methods have advantages and disadvantages, and this chapter is a way to reflect upon and illuminate the choices I have made and the challenges I met during all stages of the process.

2.1 PREPARATORY STAGE

Finding the research question was a process in itself. After spending one semester in Chile as an intern at the Norwegian Embassy, my interest in South America grew, especially my interest in Peru. During my internship at the Embassy, the civil society in Peru was active in protesting against national and international oil companies. For months, the protests peacefully marked desperation at the government's recent laws promoting the opening of indigenous land to oil companies and other groups hoping to exploit the rainforest's resources. In June 2009, the protest grew violent. This situation made me want to obtain more information on civil society agents in Peru. After speaking to the former intern at the Embassy, who was just starting the work on her PhD, the idea of joining a research project on women and land rights at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) was brought to the table. The project "Land titling and gender in Peru" looks at the effects of land-titling for women in Peru. In addition, the project leader was interested in finding out what happened in the implementation process, and the influence the civil society had on this process. After a conversation with the project leader, I was convinced that I could use this as a possibility to combine my interest for political geography and my interest for Peru, writing about the impact of civil society on women's land rights.

After developing the idea, I started the work on the research design. Pre-fieldwork preparations are crucial to any research project, and idea development is a process continuing through all the stages of a research project (Thagaard 2009). Before my fieldwork I wanted to clarify the research problems, work the research question into a viable form and develop a research design. The first stage was to turn the problem into a set of questions to be answered. In this process it was important to consider external resources such as time and funds, but also personal ones such as background information, social characteristics and circumstances. I wanted to produce an explanation of a social phenomenon and my idea was inspired by a social event: the fact that women had received more land rights. According to data analyzed by Fuentes and Wiig (2009) there was a significant increase in the number of formally titled plots that were jointly owned from the first phase of the implementation process to the second phase. This was an opportunity to test the explanatory idea: that the protest of civil society organizations might explain the changes (Hesselberg 1998, Hammersley & Atkinson 2009).

2.2 QUALITATIVE METHOD

I have chosen to use a qualitative approach because it is the method best suited to help me answer my research question. In contrast to quantitative methods, qualitative methods focus on the context and the importance of interpreting the processes in their context. In this thesis, I want to gain an understanding of a social phenomenon and qualitative method gives me the tools to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of civil society in Peru. The advantages of using qualitative methods are flexibility and openness, especially in the study of subjects that have not been studied before (Thagaard 2009).

When doing qualitative research, one can choose different approaches. Traditionally, qualitative research is said to be inductive in its nature, which means that the theoretical material develops based on the empirical material. However, qualitative methods can also be used deductively, basing the research on former theories. The opposite is often true in quantitative research where knowledge is based on deductive logic where empirical data is used to test theoretical statements. An abductive approach is involved when established theory forms a point of departure for the researcher, while patterns in the empirical data will give a foundation for new theoretical perspectives (Ragin 1994, Thagaard 2009). In this thesis, I have used an abductive approach, because theory and data have been used in a dialectical fashion. I alternated between the empirical material and the theoretical framework throughout

the writing process, as I developed new ideas and obtained a better understanding of the material. The theory offered a perspective to guide the interpretation of the data.

2.3 FIELDWORK AND METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION

I conducted my fieldwork in Peru from April to June 2010. I was there for two months, and conducted interviews in Lima, Cusco and Cajamarca. During my fieldwork I lived in San Isidro, a quiet residential area in Lima. I had an office at a Peruvian research institute for Peruvian studies (IEP), arranged through the project for which I am writing my thesis. The support from the researchers and students at the institute was a great help. They showed me how the Peruvian society worked, the correct way to proceed to obtain material, and how to get in contact with my informants and the experts on my subject among the local researchers. Having a place to go to work every day made the situation much easier, and the process less lonely. It was a great advantage to be able to discuss the problems and frustrations I met with someone who had been through the same process. At the research center, I also had the opportunity to attend presentations and workshops on different studies related to my thesis. This enabled me to get in touch with people who were interested in the subject, and who had constructive comments on the subject. At the end of my stay I also had the opportunity to present my findings at a workshop[1], and received many constructive thoughts from the other participants.

Selecting the setting for my fieldwork was based on the nature of the problem I wanted to investigate. To study civil society in Peru, I had to go to Peru. I chose to live in Lima, the capital, because that was the location of the national NGOs, the academics I wanted to interview and the politicians working in PETT. From Lima it is also easier to get around to other parts of the country. In addition to Lima, I decided to go to Cajamarca and Cusco, because I wanted to interview people from local NGOs and social movements. The two regions are also similar, as both regions are in the highlands, with similarities in living conditions and population. I chose these places because they were two of the regions where the national NGO, The Peruvian Women's Centre Flora Tristán (Flora Tristan), had its campaign. Access was also a factor, and to establish the initial contact with the local CSOs I used the network of the national NGOs in Lima. The more settings studied, the less time can be spent in each. There was a trade-off between breadth and depth of the investigation, and I

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[1] Workshop on Land and Gender in Peru, IEP, June 17-18.

think choosing three places was the best solution for my investigation and the time I had available.

2.3.1 The qualitative interview

Interviewing is one of the most frequently used approaches in qualitative methods (Thagaard 2009), and is also the approach I have used in my fieldwork. I conducted in-depth interviews with informants from the Ministry of Agriculture, from the PETT administration and from national and local CSOs. I conducted 30 interviews altogether, and all the informants were involved in formalization processes as employees or as members of CSOs wanting to influence the implementation. I used qualitative interviews as a research methodology because it is a good way to obtain information on people's understanding of a situation. It allows informants to express the complexity of the situation and explain their experiences in detail. It also made it possible for me as a researcher to go back to the same questions and ask them again in a different way in order to explore the issue more thoroughly (Valentine 2005). The qualitative interview gave me rich, multi-layered data, providing a more detailed and deeper picture of the situation than I would have obtained using other methods. I decided on the number of interviews using the principle of saturation. When I started to obtain the same information from the informants from the different groups, I felt that I had sufficient material to analyze (Valentine 2005, Thagaard 2009).

According to Thagaard (2009), you can do an interview in several ways; a structured approach is when you have planned the questions, the structure and order of the interviews in advance. With an informal approach, you have no concrete questions in advance, and the interview is more like a conversation around the different subjects. In my interviews I used a semi-structural approach, which is between these two extremes. I entered the interviews with a list of issues that needed to be covered, but I still allowed the conversation to flow in a natural way (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). I had the questions in advance, but I changed the order and structure of the interview according to the person I was speaking with, and the way that the interview was developing. In this way I was able to be more flexible, adding more questions if I found it necessary, and the interviews took a more conversational form. As Eyles (in Valentine 2005:111) said: "an interview is like a conversation with purpose". The flow of the interview is like a conversation, but the researcher always has an agenda and a need to control the proceedings. Even though it is important to minimize the influence the

researcher has on the informant, some structuring is necessary to determine what is relevant and what is not. Most of my interviews were around 45 minutes to one hour long (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009).

It is important to have some questions prepared, especially for new researchers, who are not used to the situation. Having the questions on paper gave me security and confidence, especially when the informants were quiet and their answers were quite short. I also conducted a pilot interview on members of my friend's family to prepare, and to modify my questions when necessary. The interviews were very different from each other, even though I had the same questions prepared for each of the informant groups. I started with more general questions, to make the informants feel comfortable and to ease into the subject, before asking the more direct questions. One goal of ethnographic research is to give people the possibility to reveal their own versions of events in their own words, and it is important to ask follow-up questions in such a way as to encourage and critically question the stories told (Cook and Crang: in Valentine 2001). After a few interviews, the process became easier and I felt more comfortable in the situation, making the interviews better.

2.3.2 Recruiting informants

There are different strategies available for selecting a sample. I have used quota sampling for my study. Quota sampling refers to samples that have predefined categories that guide the selection of informants in each category (Thagaard 2009). In my case I operated with three different categories: Government officials/bureaucrats, NGOs and social movements. According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2009), access is not a simple matter of physical presence in the field. The way I established contact with my informants was mostly through network connections. I had the name of some organizations and academics before travelling to Lima, but no one had answered my emails before I arrived. The first week was quite frustrating; I wrote many emails with no response. Only after consulting with my fellow students at the research institute did I discover that calling or actually showing up on the doorstep was the only way to obtain an interview. They also informed me that my European appearance might help me get appointments with government officials faster, because this is seen as a class advantage in Peru. However, the frustrations of the first week were soon forgotten when I obtained my first interview with an expert on the subject of women and land

rights, who was active in promoting women's rights under the PETT process. He also suggested whom I should contact, and which organizations were relevant.

The real breakthrough came when I had dinner with a friend's family one evening during the second week of my fieldwork. I told my friend's father about my project, and to my surprise he told me that he had worked in the Ministry of Agriculture in the 1990s, and that several of his friends and colleagues used to work in PETT during this period, exactly the period that was relevant for my thesis. According to Thagaard (2009), the most important strategy to obtain an entrance in the field is to know a central person, a "gatekeeper", from that environment. For me, my friend's father was my initial point of contact with the politicians and bureaucrats working for PETT. A "gatekeeper" has the authority to give the researcher restricted or unrestricted access to an environment or an organization (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). Through him I obtained an interview with the person who was the leader of PETT in the late 1990s, and he in turn helped me arrange interviews with his colleagues. So my friend's father can be said to be a "gatekeeper" with respect to the politicians working in the first phase of the formalization project.

Another coincidence provided me with access to the politicians working in the second phase of the formalization project. A Peruvian friend of my cousin heard about my thesis, and happened to have a good friend working in the second phase of PETT. After a phone call I obtained an interview with him, and he became my "gatekeeper" for the government officials who had been working for PETT in this period. After this conversation, the "snowball effect" worked its magic. This method is referred to metaphorically as snowball sampling because more relationships are built through mutual association. Through those new relationships, more connections can be made and a great amount of information can be shared and collected, much like a snowball that rolls and increases in size as it collects more snow. This is a useful method for building networks and increasing the number of participants (Valentine 2005, Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). The snowball effect also worked well in Cajamarca and Cusco. In these regions the people working in the CSO sector often collaborated on projects. Especially in Cajamarca, the people working for the CSOs on the subject of women and land rights all knew each other. After I had contacted the first informant in Cajamarca, a leader of a local women's network, she helped me contact the other CSOs. She even accompanied me around the city, introducing me to people that had been involved in a campaign in the 1990s.

The success of the technique is highly dependent on the initial contacts and connections made. The "gatekeepers" might in some cases try to control the information the

researcher obtains, and might present themselves and their colleagues in the best possible light. To avoid this problem, it is better to have several "gatekeepers" from different environments (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). In my case I started with several "small snowballs", to find informants from different groups. The use of multiple contact points was important when I started snowballing so that I got in touch with informants from different circles. It was also important to be selective, not trying to participate in everything. This improved the quality of the data, and I did not drown in information. I learned this after trying to grasp everything during the first weeks, because I was so afraid of missing any important information (Valentine 2001, Thagaard 2009).

2.3.3 Recording and transcribing

I chose to use a digital recorder for all the interviews. The main reason was to facilitate my attention on the informants, keep eye contact, and make the interview as similar to a normal conversation as possible without becoming too focused on taking notes. Taping produces a more accurate record of the conversation, and no information will be subjected to interpretation by the researcher in the first phase of data gathering. This will increase the reliability of the data, and the quotes used in the thesis will be literally the informants' own expressions. However, the use of a tape recorder may also have negative aspects and may disturb the interview situation by making the interview more formal than necessary (Valentine 2005, Thagaard 2009). Hesselberg (1998) argues that the informant may be reluctant to speak openly about sensitive issues as he/she may be afraid that the answers might be used against him/her, or afraid of giving the "wrong" answers. I experienced this in a few of the interviews. In some cases I had to assure the informant that the information would be treated confidentially (see 2.8). However, I think the advantages of using a recorder outnumber the disadvantages, because I could focus on the situation and the interview object. I used a recorder in almost all the interviews, always asking the informants before I started recording. In most occasions it did not have an impact on the atmosphere, and after a minute the informants forgot it was there. Most of the interviews took place in the informant's office, but I also conducted some at the informant's home, at cafes, and after meetings. The noise was at times a challenge, because I chose to record my interviews.

Transcribing is a useful way to identify the major topics in an interview and the approximate point at which they occur in the recording (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009).

Transcribing is time consuming, so I obtained help from a transcriber working for IEP to transcribe some of my interviews. First, I made a decision on whether a full transcription was necessary for all my interviews. I picked out the 14 of the 30 interviews I felt were the most important ones to answer my research question, giving me a word-for-word written copy to read when working with my data. By using someone else to do this work I saved a lot of time, but not doing the work yourself may also have some negative aspects. To avoid any errors and familiarize myself with the data, I listened to the interview while reading the transcription. In this way, I could fill in those portions of the dialog which the transcriber found incomprehensible, and correct any of the errors made by the transcriber, who was less familiar with the narrator and the subjects mentioned in the tape than I who had conducted the interview. The rest of the interviews were also used, but instead of creating a formal transcription, I made a shorter summary that outlined the major topics discussed on the tape in the order in which they were mentioned. I indexed and summarized most of them, transcribing only what seemed essential.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2009) emphasize, the use of tape-recording does not provide a perfect record, and does not remove the necessity of writing field notes. I also kept a research diary during my fieldwork period, writing down experiences and events. I tried to take down some notes as soon as possible after the interview, and every night when I returned to the apartment I wrote about my experiences that day. The field notes were useful in helping me to remember observations, how the interview experience had been, if I wanted to change some of my questions, or remember to ask about something in the next interview. My field notes were also a valuable aid during work with my material after I returned from the field. When going through the interviews and transcriptions I also went through my notes, to construct a more detailed picture.

2.3.4 Language barriers

According to Valentine (2005), working with an interpreter can result in linguistic and cultural misunderstandings, and may influence the behavior of both the interviewer and the informant. I chose to conduct all the interviews in Spanish, without an interpreter. Since I have lived and studied in Spanish-speaking countries, I did not see the Spanish language as a barrier. Most of the informants spoke poor or no English, so conducting the interviews in English would have affected the information and the flow of the conversation. When

recording the interviews, I had the possibility to listen to the interviews again and pick up things I missed during the interview. When I was alone with the informant, the situation was more relaxed; they did not see me as a threat and I gained their confidence. I considered using an interpreter in Cusco, where most of the population speaks Quechua. However, when I arrived there I realized that the leaders of the organizations and groups that I wanted to interview were fluent in Spanish, so I decided to conduct the interviews in Spanish.

2.4 POSITIONALITY

The position the researcher has in relation to the informants will affect how the researcher affects the research situation. External characteristics such as gender and age will impact on how the informants perceive the researcher during the interviews. It is important to always reflect on how this relationship affects the information that is made available to the researcher (Thagaard 2009). My position as a researcher was mostly that of an outsider, because I do not share the history of my informants and because I come from a different cultural context. However, I could identify with the female informants on the basis of gender, which made me more of an insider in this setting. I was treated more as a guest, and most of the time I was met with curiosity and goodwill because people appreciated my interest in their situation. This outsider role suited me well when I was trying to obtain access to informants. It seemed that the politicians felt less threatened by a young foreign woman than by local researchers, and therefore agreed to participate. This positioning reflects the power dynamics inherent in the Peruvian society. There are advantages and disadvantages of studying a different culture. For an outsider, it may be easier to see congealed patterns and hegemonized ideas, but some nuances disappear in the process. In order to balance the cultural handicap as an outsider, I have made an effort to understand as much as possible from the Peruvian context and culture. Before the field trip to Peru in April 2010, I spent time studying secondary literature. I also regard it as an advantage that I had lived in Chile for eight months, and had visited Peru before the fieldwork. Gezelius (in Thagaard 2009) discussed the importance of finding a balance between closeness and distance by entering a role as an accepted outsider. This role makes it possible to combine friendship with a certain distance, and characterizes my role in Peru.

On some occasions, it is also important to think about your appearance. Personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and age will shape relationships in the field, and are

not possible to change. However, other factors such as how you dress can also influence the interview situation, especially when you are in a different culture (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). In Peru, dressing formally is more important than it is in Norway. Arriving at a meeting in casual wear is not the best way to obtain assistance, and can also be seen as a lack of respect. When conducting interviews with government officials I always dressed formally, and this was especially important when I arrived at an institution without an appointment.

2.5 DOCUMENTS AND SECONDARY LITERATURE

Document analysis is a widely used method in qualitative research, often in combination with interviews or observation. Documents are defined by having been developed prior to the research project and written for another purpose. It is therefore vital to keep in mind the context in which the documents were developed during analysis of documents (Thagaard 2009). I have used secondary literature, such as documents from the CSOs, documents from the PETT office, books on the subject and scientific articles, as a supplement to my interviews. Organizations and government institutions generate a great amount of information such as reports, statistics, and charts. An enormous amount of written material was available to give me insight into the subject, and this was a valuable resource for my research. Some of the material was freely available, while other material had to be given to me through connections. I collected documents at the local PETT offices and at the CSOs. The NGO Flora Tristan also had a library with a good selection of literature on women and land rights. They also had a large collection of older articles, not available online. These documents provided me with information about the organizations, their campaigns and the broader context. Newspaper articles and reports from the campaign gave me additional information, enabling me to go more thoroughly into the information I obtained from the informants. Since the changes I wanted to study happened during the 1990s, some of the informants did not remember all the details. I used the written documents to check facts, dates and numbers and obtain more detailed information to fill in the gaps in the stories of my informants.

2.6 ANALYTICAL APPROACH: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The process of data collection and the process of analysis cannot be separated from each other. Interpretations and analysis happen throughout the process, both consciously and

unconsciously. The analysis needs to be included in the early stage of a research project to enable the researcher to grasp the material. The process of analyzing the data had already started during the interviews. At that stage I started to find recurring themes and started to make systems of the data in my head (Coffey & Atkinson 1996). Interpretation and analysis may go hand in hand, but should not be confused with each other. Analysis is the process where we find patterns in the collected data, while interpretation is how the data is understood and represented. I conducted a narrative analysis of my material; by collecting the stories of my informants and analyzing these stories further I wanted to find out what the stories told me about impact. A narrative is the primary way through which humans organize their experiences into temporally meaningful episodes. People link events narratively, and it is the connection between the events that produces the meaning. Hinchman and Hinchman (in Riessman 2005:1) explain narrative analysis like this:

> "Narrative analysis in the human sciences refers to a family of approaches to the diverse kinds of texts, which have in common a storied form. As nations and governments construct preferred narratives about history, so do social movements, organizations, scientists, other professionals, ethnic/racial group and individuals in stories of experience. What makes such diverse texts "narrative" is sequence and consequence: events are selected, organized connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience. Storytellers interpret the world and experience in it; they sometimes create moral tales how the world should be."

I started the process of analysis with the development of a set of analytic categories that captured aspects of the data. I conducted a thematic analysis, a systematic way of studying personal narratives of experience. By emphasizing the content of the text, and what was said more than how it was said, I collected many stories and created conceptual groupings from the data. This way of working with the data was useful to me because I wanted to find common thematic elements across the informants and their explanations of the events. I tried to locate various themes and nodal points within each interview. I compared information on the different subjects from the different informants. However, I still had in mind the person and the context in which the information was given. I worked my way through the material a sentence at a time. During this process, ideas about the topics emerged, and I took notes. This way of working is called open coding and is a good way to get a feel for the material (Crang 2005, Thagaard 2009).

After this process I started to sort the data and develop ideas. Each time the informants used a particular explanation of an event, it was given a code. This was a time-consuming process, because all the codes had shades of differences, and in some cases they had to be divided further, subdivided, or changed. I chose to do this coding using colored pens and taking notes on paper, because this is the method that worked best for me and my material. The codes were not an end in themselves, but they were a help to me when I organized my material. With the codes, I could see relationships within the data more easily. The process went from the material to the ideas, then back to the material, and so on. The codes are not predetermined, and other researchers might have used other codes. I used both "emic" and "etic" codes. "Emic" codes reflect the categories used by the informants themselves, and "etic" codes are used to describe events and give them meaning. The codes were divided into smaller parts to reveal all the dimensions and more subtle differences (Crang 2005). In some cases there were clear oppositions between categories. Organizing the relationships between categories helped me to develop ideas about the bigger picture and to identify patterns. However, coding is not the same as interpreting. Analysis is more than a matter of managing and manipulating data. To analyze, I had to go beyond the data to develop ideas, and link the ideas to those of others. Ideas are used to make sense of data, and this process involves alternation between idea and data. After having the categories, I saw how different groups of people had competing stories of the event I wanted to understand.

In the analysis, I focused on oral narratives of personal experience. This is a verbal technique to recapture experience by constructing narrative units to capture that experience. Narrative analysis focuses on the ways in which people make and use stories to interpret the world and provides another perspective on discourse analysis. Discourses try to understand the meaning and create a context. Stories are important components in discourses, because they give us an understanding of a situation. They are a way to create a context, and help us to make sense of complex situations. Even though a lot of the literature written about narrative analysis is based on the analysis of literature and film, some of it can be transferred to the social sciences. The key argument in this way of analyzing is that people tend to make stories to make sense of the world around us (Crang 2005). In narrative analysis, you are storying other people's stories. A narrative gives you access to the collective story, when the informants articulate how the past is related to the present. Baldwin (2008:1) expresses the importance of narratives in this way:

"Once upon a time there was a land where story-telling was all there was. The world had been brought into being by the power of stories and the people there not only told stories but were the stories that they told about themselves and about others. But not only individuals, organizations and institutions had stories. Medicine, the Law, economics, politics, government, social science, even Science were all made up of stories."

When performing narrative analysis, one produces narratives based on the narratives of the social actors one has interviewed. This is how I did the last part of my analysis, combining the stories from my informants into two main discourses, two main stories about what happened. Some researchers see narrative analysis as an "empowering" social science methodology because it gives respondents the venue to articulate their own viewpoints (Hammersley & Atkinson 2009). In a narrative analysis, it is important to remember that narratives do not mirror the past, since strategic interests will influence how storytellers choose to connect events and make them meaningful to others. However, this is also the strength of narratives. Rather than reproducing past events, storytellers interpret them as they move between past, present and future. However, narratives do not speak for themselves; they require interpretation when used as data in social research. Re-narrativizing is allowing new meanings and systems of meaning to emerge from the stories (Riessman 2005).

2.7 THE CHALLENGE OF ANALYTIC GENERALISATION

In social sciences, reliability, validity and generalization have traditionally been proposed as standard criteria to determine the quality of the research (Kvale 1997). These criteria are useful in quantitative studies where knowledge is seen as something measureable, but have to some extent been rejected in social science. Thagaard (2009) has replaced these criteria with some concepts that better grasp and reflect the underlying assumptions in much qualitative research, namely *credibility, confirmability, and transferability*. *Credibility* is an evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a "credible" interpretation of the data drawn from the original data. *Confirmability* is a measure of how well the researcher's findings are supported by the data collected and the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. *Transferability* is the degree to which the findings of this research can apply or transfer beyond the bounds of the project.

One way of demonstrating the credibility of the research is to discuss the choices made throughout the research process. I have made an effort to let the readers know what

approaches I used, and the connections between the theoretical background, research question, methods for data collection and analysis and interpretation. I have also made an effort to make the research transparent, by exposing the theoretical presuppositions, methods and analytical strategies applied and by saving all the research material. To address confirmability, in Appendix 2 I include the interview guides used to generate the answer to the research question. The complete set of data analysis documents is on file and available upon request. The access to the "paper trail" gives other researchers the ability to transfer the conclusions of this research to other cases, or to repeat, as closely as possible, the procedures of this project. There are a number of strategies for enhancing confirmability. I have tried to document the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study, by explaining my methods and creating "a chain of evidence".

The transferability of the case will be determined by how successfully the researcher provides a justification for how the case can contribute to an understanding of other situations (Thagaard 2009). Qualitative research and case studies have been criticized for producing particular knowledge, not suitable for making generalizations. Lincoln and Guba (2000) argue that the concept of statistical generalization in itself is problematic and that the role of science is not necessarily to find "universal laws" and always arrive at a generalization. However, case study research is in many instances aiming to transfer knowledge of the particular to a larger setting, and in this thesis I will make an effort to draw some lines from the findings of the specific case in Peru to a broader understanding of how civil society mobilization can make an impact.

2.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are important in all stages of a research project; from research design to publication. It is therefore vital to continuously reflect on the possible ethical implications of the research. The close relationship between the researcher and the informant in the field poses several ethical challenges and it is the responsibility of the researcher to act in a way that is ethically appropriate (Thagaard 2009). All research demands that the researcher follows certain ethical principles, and ethical guidelines were an important part of my fieldwork in Peru. The ideal of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality were guidelines I followed. I always told the informants about my thesis before the interview, and was honest about my intentions. In most cases, when possible, I sent out an email in advance

explaining the goal of my project, and the motive for the interview. This way the informants had the possibility to obtain an understanding of the situation before making the choice to be a part of my research.

Ethical considerations also arise after the completion of the fieldwork. During an interview the informant presents his or her experiences through a personal understanding of these experiences. The researcher will then analyze this information from a professional perspective, and this analysis may differ from the informant's understanding, which could lead to the informant feeling violated and misunderstood. The researcher has a responsibility to present the analysis in a way that respects the principles of anonymity and confidentiality (Thagaard 2009). Although there is not much sensitive information in this thesis that might harm the informants, I have chosen to change the names of all my informants. I have attached a description of where the informant worked, the type of CSOs and information on where in the system the government officials worked and in which phase, because this is important information to answer my research question. I have not included the name of the CSOs as this might lead to the recognition of the informants, because of the size of the organizations. However, if this information should lead to the recognition of some of the informants by their colleagues, it is not likely to harm them in any way.

2.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the methodological choices I have made during the process of collecting and analyzing the data. I have chosen to use qualitative method because it gives me the necessary tools to obtain a deeper understanding of the phenomena I study. I used an abductive approach highlighting the dialectic relationship between theory and data. Most of the data collection was done during my fieldwork in Peru through in-depth interviews with informants from CSOs and politicians working with the formalization process. I used qualitative interviews as a research methodology because this is a good way to obtain information on people's understanding of a situation by allowing the informant to express the complexity of the situation. To substantiate my observations, I also chose to use secondary literature. To find patterns in the collected data, and gain an understanding of it, I conducted a narrative analysis of my material. To increase the credibility and the confirmability of my findings, in this chapter I have elucidated and explained the choices and thoughts I have had during the process of writing this thesis.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theoretical approach to the study of the impact of feminist NGOs and social movements on women's land rights in Peru has to take into consideration three key elements: collective action, impact and gender. The assumption that social movements are able to affect the society in a significant manner must be theoretically addressed. In this chapter, I will integrate theories of collective action, theories on how social movements matter, and theories on gender and land rights into a framework that can help explain the impact of the feminist NGOs and social movements on women's land rights in Peru. These approaches complement each other by providing a framework fit to explain the emergence and mobilization, the background for the demands and goals, and the outcomes and consequences of civil society organizations.

To provide a better understanding of the field, I will start this chapter with a brief presentation of the social movement theory and the theory on gender and land rights, before I go more thoroughly into my main focus, the field of how social movements matter. It is necessary to study the social movement's interactions and dynamic to understand the outcome. It is not possible to trace the outcome of mobilization without having an explanation and description of the goals, strategies and operations. Finally, I will make an attempt to integrate the three approaches to obtain a suitable framework for understanding women's collective action for land rights in Peru.

A definition of the term *social movements* is necessary. Tarrow (1998:4) defines social movements as *"collective challenges, based on common purpose and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities"*. This definition is suitable for this thesis because in this perspective, the primary goal of social movements is to change aspects of their political environment. I will also use this definition to categorize broader parts of the civil society organizations in Peru, and use social movement theory as a basis to explain their actions and impact.

3.1 SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

The growth of social movements has led to the emergence of new theories of collective action. There are a number of theories that aim to explain the linkage between social movement, political landscape and larger society. Though a discussion of these models falls

outside the main scope of this paper, it is nonetheless important to touch upon these briefly to clarify the conception of social movements in the context of this thesis. During the 1980s, there was a sharp increase in literature and studies on social movements. Social movements as independent political organizations had then become a permanent component of the Western democracies. In the literature one can find a distinction between old and new social movements. New social movements are characterized as those movements that have emerged after the 1960s (Buechler 1993, Radcliffe 2004). An example of the *old social movements* is the labor movement, which is characterized by class distinction. The new social movements are seen as fundamentally different from earlier movements when it comes to location, goals, organization and funding. New social movements may be more complex and varied. Examples of these are the environmental movement, the new feminist movement, the peace movement and the animal rights movement (Della Porta & Diani 2006, Nicholls 2007).

There are different theories about how and why social movements arise in today's society. The rise of social movements and their importance in all parts of the world has led to a growth in empirical studies on the subject of mobilization. In the 1960s people mobilized to fight for a better livelihood, to stop marginalization of groups, and to promote democracy and political freedom. The presence of social movements was especially noticeable in Latin America (Escobar 1992, Stokke 1999). Older sociological classics such as Marx can no longer explain the new forms of social mobilization in modern society, and this has led to the emergence of new explanations. Among them are two paradigms that have developed over the last 40 years. A variety of theories that go under the collective term *theories of new social movements (NSM)* has emerged in different parts of the world. These theories have in common that they regard the new movements as fundamentally different from earlier movements (Johnston et al. 2000). *Resource mobilization theory (RMT)* emerged in the postwar era and is one of the most comprehensive approaches to theorize social movements. These theories aim to explain *how* social movements arise in the post-modern society by focusing on the resources that make collective action possible (Della Porta & Diani 2006, Stahler-Sholk et al. 2007).

Theories of new social movement have their roots in European tradition within research on collective action. Theorists within the new social movements approach often have a background in Marxism, but nevertheless stress that social movements can no longer be explained on the basis of class struggle. Theories of new social movements criticize classical Marxist explanations of social conflict as deficient when it comes to explaining the growth of

new movements (Escobar 1992, Stokke 1999, Radcliffe 2004). Theorists in this field are concerned with problems related to a macro perspective, such as changes in the structural and cultural conditions for social movements. Individuals and groups seeking identity and social recognition are central factors in explaining mobilization. These theories place the participants in the focus and wish to capture the innovative characteristics of social movements. Theorists in this field argue that the arena of social conflict has shifted from the political sphere to civil society and the cultural sphere. Social movements change society by creating new action and new forms of democracy (Radcliffe 2004, Della Porta & Diani 2006). A common feature for theories within the paradigm of new social movements is that they want to identify the economic, social and political structures that form the basis for the emergence of social movements. A struggle for identity, lifestyle and self-governance plays out in various social movements in civil society. New social movements are located in civil society and are concerned with promoting change in values and lifestyle. Their identity is constructed on the basis of their demands, and not in relation to social class (Escobar 1992, Buechler 1993, Radcliffe 2004, Della Porta & Diani 2006).

Resource mobilization theory is primarily concerned with how social movements occur and can be said to be a more actor-oriented approach to social movements. The resource mobilization perspective is seen as an American tradition and focuses to a greater extent than before on the fact that social movements are not necessarily a phenomenon based on weaknesses or problems, but are just as often the expression of rational projects (Buechler 1993). Resource mobilization theory points out that differences exist at all levels of society, but that only in some cases will these relationships be put into question so that they develop into social mobilization. Rather than focusing only on why people are active, these theories are more concerned with what makes the mobilization possible, how social movements get started and what drives them forward (Radcliffe 2004). The main point in this perspective is that social movements are not primarily spontaneous responses, but targeted action. One wants to understand how rational actors can find and apply the resources necessary to bring about social mobilization as it takes shape in social movements. Access to three kinds of resources is often highlighted as necessary as a starting position for social mobilization; organizational resources, political resources and cultural resources. Collective mobilization depends on existing social networks, cultural identities, and the degree of suppression or support from the state. Social movements are increasingly seen as one of several types of normal political action, and not as irresponsible and irrational protest (Stokke 1999, Della

Porta & Diani 2006). When the focus is more on the rational, this approach is more open to the idea that social movements also have institutional or organizational traits, and that this organization is a prerequisite for achieving their goals. Leadership is emphasized as an important element in the formation of social movements. Opportunities for collective action come and go, and it is up to the social movements to identify and seize the opportunity for action. Some theorists in this direction explore the similarities between social movements and formal organizations. Movement nature, their goals, recruitment and form of leadership will affect organizational structures (Buechler 1993, Radcliffe 2004).

3.1.1 Criticism and opportunities for integration

Both the resource mobilization theory and theories of new social movements have been criticized as being inadequate in explaining the diversity in the new forms of collective mobilization (Radcliffe 2004). There are clear differences between these two directions, as they were developed separately from one another. The new social movement's perspective sees the new movements as a struggle for control over the production of meaning and construction of new collective identities and emphasizes the difference between the new social movements and traditional collective actors. Resource mobilization theory focuses instead on the political content of the new movements and interprets them as conflicts over the allocation of goods in the political market. RMT also emphasizes the continuity between the new and the old collective actors (Canel 1997, Stokke 1999). Until recently, there has been no interaction between the two directions, but since they analyze social movements at different levels of analysis they may complement each other in a good way. Canel (1997) argues for an integration of the two approaches to obtain an adequate understanding of social movements.

The two theoretical directions agree that a number of structural factors take part in the process from an initial position to actually taking collective action. However, they disagree on which factors are important in mediating the transition from this initial position. Resource mobilization theory believes that it is access to some key resources that will be crucial in this transition. Moving away from explanations based on class conflict and economic explanations for the new perspectives offers an opportunity to identify new sources of conflict that lead to the emergence of new players (Canel 1997, Della Porta & Diani 2006). By focusing on identity and the cultural dimensions of movements, the new social movements approach

explains why social movements occur; however, it only provides a partial explanation of the roots of social movements and does not identify all the processes that affect the transition from the initial position to take collective action. New social movement theory does not explain the structural dimensions of social action, that is, how social actors make decisions, develop strategies and mobilize resources. Identity formation is seen as the most important step in the mobilization and is the focus in studies of social movements. This focus on the formation of collective identity overshadows the strategic issues (Escobar 1992, Pichardo 1997, Della Porta & Diani 2006). Another criticism of the theories of new social movements is that there is a one-sided focus on the cultural aspects of the new movements and the assumption that civil society is the only arena for social movement's activity. These assumptions have prevented theorists from exploring the relationship between civil society and the government and between social movements and political reform. They do not discuss the institutional process in which a democratization of the state can take place. Theories of new social movements are also criticized for ignoring the organizational dimensions of social movements such as organizational dynamics, leadership, recruitment processes and goals (Canel 1997, Radcliffe 2004).

While theories on new social movements explain the origin of new movements in relation to macro processes, the resource mobilization theory focuses on a set of contextual processes as conditions for social movements to realize their potential. The case, actors and limitations are taken for granted and instead the focus is on how the participants develop strategies and act to achieve their interests. Resource mobilization theories contribute explanations of mobilization dynamics and identify resources and organizational features that are the basis for social movement's activity. Resource mobilization theory sees social movements as political actors that operate side by side with other traditional political institutions, while this perspective is neglected in the literature on new social movements. RMT also focus on political processes that say something about the relationship between social movements and the political system. This approach is useful to explain how social movements arise, and how strategies, decisions and resources seem to determine the formation of social movements (Escobar 1992, Canel 1997).

A weakness in the resource mobilization theory is that it neglects the importance of normative and symbolic dimensions of collective action by focusing exclusively on the rational instrumental action. Theories of new social movements point out that social movements are more than political actors and stress the importance of the formation of new

identities. The focus on how social movements arise has stood in the way of explaining the meaning behind collective action. Resource mobilization theory has an individualistic view of collective action; it rules out social relationships and major processes at the macro level. RMT does not fully explain the transition from an initial position to collective action; nor does it explain how a group of people develops a common identity and becomes a social group. The theories are also vague in their explanations of inequality between the traditional movements and new social movements (Canel 1997, Radcliffe 2004).

In spite of clear differences, the two approaches have a few points in common. Both directions have criticized traditional theories of collective action and hold that social movements contain forms of action and organization that are specific to a modern industrial society. Collective action is seen as a regular form of feedback in modern society and the players are rational and integrated members of organizations. It is understood that the transition from an initial position to collective action cannot be explained by objective conditions, because discursive practices, ideologies, political processes and resource management affect the process (Canel 1997, Della Porta & Diani 2006).

Theorists within both traditions have started to build a bridge between the two approaches, despite the existence of large differences. Given the diffuse and contradictory nature of today's social movements, they are best studied through a more selective approach by "borrowing" from both the theories of new social movements and resource mobilization theory. It is important to analyze the structural factors, but equally important to examine how movements interact with the environment, manage resources and develop strategies to achieve their goals. Social movements must be analyzed at several levels to gain an understanding of processes at both the macro level and micro level. A factor at the macro level important in explaining social movements is to investigate the structural potential for activity by identifying tensions and conflict in the system that may contribute to the formation of new actors. The nature of the political system and the relationship between the state and civil society, including political processes and changes in political opportunity structures, will have an influence on the outcome. At the micro level, analysis must look at the dynamics of mobilization, resource management, strategies, leadership roles and allies. Organizational dynamics, the nature of recruitment processes, leadership roles and goals will also affect the mobilization. Other important factors are existing social networks, the nature of these networks, and to what extent they have helped the group develop new leaders, communication channels and the sense of group identity (Canel 1997, Pichardo 1997). Only by taking into

account all these factors can we come up with an adequate explanation of social movements and explain the links between micro and macro levels. The processes at the macro level can best be explained by theories of new social movements, while the micro-processes can be better explained by resource mobilization theory. When neither of the two above-mentioned theories can provide an explanation of these factors alone, integrating the two theoretical directions might be a possible solution.

3.2 THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

According to Tilly (1999), when studying the outcome of social movements it is important to look at both social movement's processes and outcome. While an integration of RMT and NSM can provide a good framework to analyze movement's emergence and mobilization, it does not pay much attention to the impact and consequences of protest. The study of the origins of social movements is a well-known terrain, but the literature on how to define the impact, outcome and effects of social movements is scarce. Research on social movements has usually addressed issues of movement emergence and mobilization, but paid less attention to their outcomes and consequences. This neglect is surprising since the ultimate end of social movements is to bring about change (Giugni 1998) and "the interest of many scholars in social movements stems from their belief that movements represent an important force for social change" (McAdam et al. in Burstein 1999:3). This can be explained by the methodological problems specific to this subject, but it is important to try to understand the outcome of social movements even if it seems a difficult task. Tarrow, Tilly, McAdam and Giugni are important researchers in this field, who look at the impact of social movements on society and national policy, as well as on an international scale. Despite a considerable volume of investigations on this subject, little systematic research has been done. To understand the impact of social movements, one must understand what might have happened in the absence of protest. To conduct research on this subject requires new theoretical thinking and a methodological approach. The key methodological question in this approach would be what would have happened in the absence of the challengers. I want to understand how and why public protest by relatively powerless actors in civil society may have an impact on national and international politics and lead to social and political change. What conditions foster certain types of impact? Which aspects of society can social movements change and how? What impact have contemporary social movements had? How do social movements matter?

It can be difficult to measure the potential impact of social movements because the dimensions of change are many and varied. To establish the causal link between the social movement actions and the observed change in society is the main challenge. Therefore it is important to take all factors into account. To assess the impact of challenge, it is important to ascertain what would have happened in the absence of challenge. The main difficulty is to eliminate the possibility that the change we see is the result of social mobilization and not of other factors. Even when social movement activities are followed by changes that the movement had asked for we cannot "a priori" exclude the intervention of a third party. It is important to understand the role of other actors, in this case international organizations, the state, and the Ministry of Agriculture, in order to make a better assessment on the movement's actual impact. Furthermore, it is equally important not only to look at levels of mobilization and strategies, but also to consider social change, political opportunities and social-democratic factors (Giugni 1998).

3.2.1 Previous investigation on impact

Early work done on the study of impact has focused on the impact of organization; that is, characteristics of movements that are most conducive to success, and how these help certain outcomes occur. This research looks at organizational variables and whether strongly organized movements are more successful than loosely organized movements. This way of analyzing movement outcome can be said to derive from the resource mobilization theory, focusing on the organizational characteristics of movements. Gamson (1990) is one of the main researchers within this line of investigation. He performed systematic research where his central argument stresses that internal variables and resource mobilization are determinants of group success. Many researchers re-analyzed and critiqued his work, stressing the importance of the broader political context. Challenging Gamson's data, Goldstone (in Giugni 1999) concluded that the organizational and tactical characteristics had no effect on group success. The focus on organizational characteristics needs to be replaced by a model that takes into account the role of the political context in explaining the success of social movements (Giugni 1999).

The other line of investigation in earlier works of impact assessment focused on the impact of disruption. The focus was on the effects of disruptive and violent protest and opened a debate in literature about whether the use of disruptive strategies by social

movements was more likely to lead to change than moderate tactics. Many studies were conducted on these subjects after the 1960s, claiming that the use of force by social movements was more likely to lead to change than moderation. This line of research has also been challenged by researchers stressing the importance of the broader political and social context in which disruptive actions take place (Giugni 1998).

As the previous research has shown, it is not enough to study the internal characteristics of social movements. The broader political context plays a crucial role in facilitating or constraining the potential outcome of mobilization. Newer work on this subject has shifted away from the focus on the organizational characteristics of social movements and the effectiveness of violence toward a focus on the environmental conditions that channel their consequences. From this perspective, two different avenues of research have developed. One focuses on the role of public opinion, while another focus has come from comparative analyses that attempt to take the movement's political context into account. The role of public opinion is important, as movements normally have two targets: the power holders and the general public. Movements normally aim to change people's perceptions of a specific issue. Creating awareness and changing public opinion can help movements to reach their goals, and may therefore be a powerful factor in determining the outcome of movements. According to Burstein (1995), it is important to look at the interconnectedness of movement actions, public opinion and policy changes for discriminated-against groups (Giugni 1998, Tilly 1999).

The role of political opportunities structures is of great importance for movement outcome according to Giugni (1998). The study of social movement outcome cannot avoid taking into account the political context in which the movements operate, and Goldstone developed a model that emphasizes these factors. The political-process model looks at how external factors affect protest behavior and stresses the importance of the movement's larger environment. Two important aspects are emphasized as influencing the impact: the system of alliances and opportunities and the structure of the state. Having allies within and outside institutional arenas is stressed as a determining factor influencing the impact of social movements (Burstein 1995). Thus, following the emphasis on the importance of political institutions, more recent work has developed placing political opportunity structure as a mediating factor between social movement claims and their success. A way of performing this kind of research is by comparing movement outcome across countries. According to Amenta et al. (1992), the attention to political opportunity structure is an important step in the right direction in understanding the outcome of social movements.

3.2.2 Success or Failure

There is no agreed-upon model for investigating the success of a social movement, nor a clear definition of the concept of success. According to Gamson (1990), success is a set of outcomes that fall into two main categories: acceptance and new advantages. Acceptance refers to the recognition of the movement as a legitimate representative of a particular constituency and its concerns, while new advantages refer to the gains won by the movement for its constituency. These clusters are then further categorized into a scale of outcomes to assess success or failure of a movement: Full response (complete success), Co-optation (recognition without gains), Pre-emption (gains without recognition), and Collapse (complete failure).

Amenta et al. (1992) has elaborated Gamson's theory and operates with three levels of success: Cooperation or recognition from the opponent, gains in policies that aid the group, and transformation of challengers into members of the policy. Within each type of success there are various degrees, and the highest level of success is when the movement transforms itself into a member of the polity. Schumaker (1975) traces the impact of social movements on policy changes through five categories: access responsiveness (access to antagonists through acceptance); agenda responsiveness (the movement's concerns placed on the political agenda); policy responsiveness (formulation of legislation to address the concerns); output responsiveness (implementation of policies); and impact responsiveness (level of real change) (Della Porta & Diani 2006).

The notion of success and failure is problematic because it overstates the intentions of participants. According to Tilly (1999), success and failure hardly explain most of the effects created by movements. The movement's actions can also leave political by-products that are outside of their program, or even contradict them. It is necessary to separate the goal-related outcome and the broader consequences and both short-term and long-term consequences must be examined. These are some of the reasons why the tracing of outcome is so difficult. The effect of social movements exceeds the explicit demands, and success and failure cannot describe most of the effects (Tilly 1999). It is important not to see movements as a homogenous group, but to determine what success means to whom. Actions of authorities, other interested parties and environmental change will also affect social movement activity and impact. According to Giugni (1998) and Tilly (1999), researchers should take into account all movement claims, all effects of the movement's actions, and all effects outside events and actions. These variables are overlapping and create four different scenarios that

must be distinguished. Figure 1 explains the complexity of analyzing the impact of social movements, and illustrates the different scenarios: 1) The effects of movement action that bear directly on the movement claims, 2) the joint effects of movement actions and outside influence that bear directly on movements claims, 3) the effects of outside influence that bear directly on movement claims and 4) the joint effects of movement actions and outside influences that do not bear on movement claims.
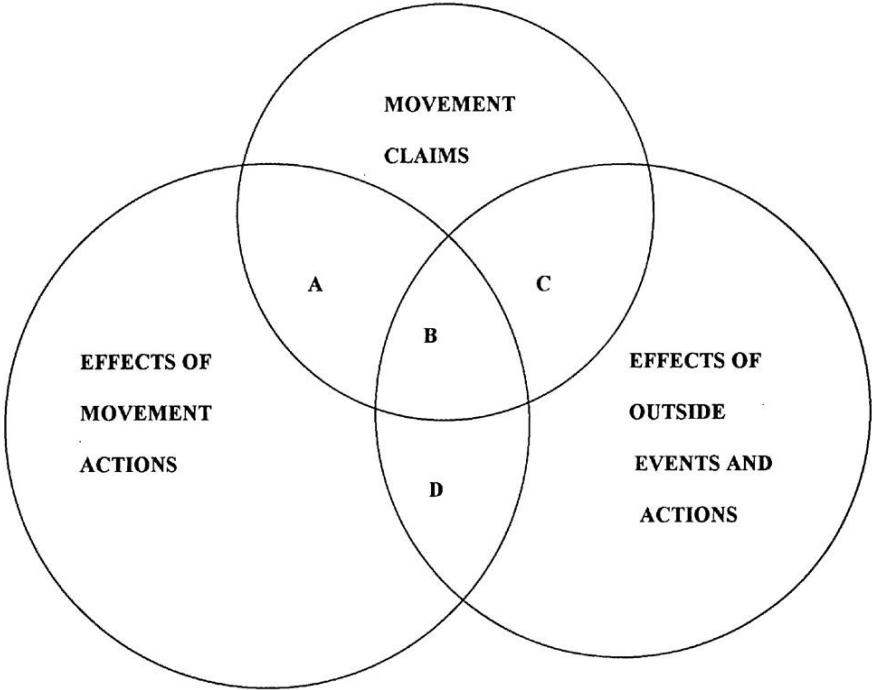
A =   EFFECTS OF MOVEMENT ACTIONS THAT BEAR DIRECTLY ON MOVEMENT CLAIMS

B =   JOINT EFFECTS OF MOVEMENT ACTIONS AND OUTSIDE INFLUENCES THAT BEAR DIRECTLY ON MOVEMENT CLAIMS

C =   EFFECTS OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCES (BUT NOT OF MOVEMENT ACTIONS)THAT BEAR DIRECTLY ON MOVEMENT CLAIMS

D =   JOINT EFFECTS OF MOVEMENT ACTIONS AND OUTSIDE INFLUENCES THAT **DON'T** BEAR ON MOVEMENT CLAIMS

Figure 1: The problem of defining social movement outcome

Source: Tilly (1999: 269)

This figure might be helpful in explaining the complexity, and might work as a tool for building causal theories about social movements and their outcomes. The figure shows the definition of outcome; the effects of movement claims and the results of overlapping of the various factors, thus making the analytical problem clear by illustrating all the factors that need to be considered in an analysis of the outcome of movement actions (Tilly 1999). To respond to this problem, it is necessary to formulate clear theories of the causal processes by which social movements produce their effects to limit the investigation. There is a broad range of effects produced by movement action, not only goal-related impacts, but also broader consequences. Some of the effects might be intended, but action creates unintended effects as well. Investigators must take into account the joint effects of movement action and outside influence. The effects of social movements may also be connected with cultural change and the elaboration of new codes. It is important not to focus only on the policy outcome, as contemporary movements address the larger public, aiming to change opinions or creating focus on a specific matter. New social movements do not necessarily have a political target, but have identity-related goals (Giugni 1998). The context within which social movements can have an impact varies over space and time. The goal of research in this field is to unveil the dynamics that allow movements to make an impact in society and to establish a link between the two broad phenomena: the emergence, development and decline of the cycle of protest on one hand, and the political, institutional and cultural changes on the other hand (Tilly 1999).

3.3 GENDER AND LAND RIGHTS

According to Agarwal (1994), gender relations cannot be understood as given or static differences between men and women. These relationships are socially constructed and are subject to negotiation and change. Negotiations could be about both material resources and structures of meaning such as traditional gender roles and the machismo mindset. The outcome of gender negotiations depends on the bargaining power of the individuals and groups. The bargaining power is controlled partly by what one has to fall back on if the relationship is broken. Direct ownership of assets can reduce women's vulnerability to poverty and provide the power in negotiations and more opportunities; thus land rights are a resource that can increase women's bargaining power. By direct ownership of land, I refer to holding "title" to it. The evidence of that title is the deed, and with the title comes a "bundle of rights":

The right of possession, the right of control, the right of exclusion, the right of enjoyment and the right of disposition (Sevatdal 2006). However, there is an imbalance between women's rights in relation to the law and the achievement of these rights in practice. The distinction between legal recognition and social recognition is important because women may have the legal right to property, but if the right is not socially recognized and the law is not enforced this remains just a right on paper (Agarwal 1994). According to IFAD's report (2003), women can be a powerful force when it comes to changing their life and that of their family. However, to be able to do so it is necessary to provide the specific opportunities, such as control over resources. Control over resources gives women greater confidence and increased opportunities to influence decisions that affect their lives. Agarwal (1994) defines independent land rights for women as the ownership or right to use land associated with different degrees of freedom to lease it, use it as security to get a mortgage and sell it. *Land rights* are a form of security related to the right to claim the land as opposed to the concept of *access to land*. Access is a term that may refer to ownership rights, but women can also have access to land through informal agreements with friends and family. Property rights provide more security for women than other types of access do.

Women have been excluded from land rights on the basis of legal, cultural, structural and institutional mechanisms. The land owner is often the head of the household, which in most cases is the man, following the traditional masculine/feminine division of labor. In traditional gender distribution when it comes to labor in the household, men are seen as farmers and women as helpers. According to Basham (1976:8), the basis of machismo can be seen most clearly in the skeleton of Latin family structure:

> "Intra-familial relationships are divided between a respect for authority of the father, who directs the family's relations with the outside world, and love of the nurturing homemaker mother. The father is an authority figure who "grants permission to other members of the family to attend village social functions, to leave the village, and to his children who wish to marry."

According to Deere and León (2001), this view has been reflected in agricultural reforms in countries in Latin America. The growth of the women's movement in the 1960s and '70s, the so-called "second wave" of feminism, has been of crucial importance to the struggle for women's land rights. Agarwal (1994) believes that only individual rights are good enough to make a difference for women, and that joint ownership will not make any difference in

practice. Deere and León (2001), however, disagree with this and believe that joint titling is essential to include women in land rights process. According to them it is important to look at how agriculture is organized as a family practice in Latin America, and that rural women in Latin America will gain from the use of joint titling. Only in the cases of female household heads has individual titling been discussed as an option in Latin America (Deere & León 2001). Both internationally and in Latin America, the focus has been on women's gender identity and recognition of the fact that there are differences between men and women instead of the importance of land rights. According to Deere & León (2001), the relationship between women and land rights has received too little attention, as this is fundamental to changing gender relations and bringing an end to women's subservient role compared to men. Women's movements in the 1990s focused more on identity, diversity, representation and political participation than on the right to material goods.

3.3.1 Arguments for individual land rights

Agarwal (1994) mentions several related arguments for why land rights are important to women. These arguments can be put into four broad categories: Welfare argument, efficiency argument, equality argument, and empowerment argument. 1) *The welfare argument* is based on the assumption that female ownership reduces the risk of poverty and increases the physical well-being of women and their children, and more generally reduces the household's risk of poverty. This argument is based on differences in how men and women spend their income and the positive links that exist between children's nutritional status and income controlled by the mother. Research shows that it is more likely that income controlled by women goes to food security for the household than when the income is in the control of men. Men spend their income to a greater extent than women on their own needs, such as tobacco and alcohol. Agriculture has played an important role in large parts of the world as a resource, such as a livelihood and source of income, and has been a source of status and political power. Land rights create an important form of food security and the possibility of diversification of livelihood strategies for women (Agarwal 1994, Deere and León 2001). The welfare argument focuses not just on women's welfare, but on the welfare of society as a whole through the increase in production that female ownership will generate. "The expansion of women's capabilities not only enhances women's own freedom and well-being, but also has many other effects on the lives of all" (Sen in IFAD 2003:4). This argument has been used to promote policy changes both internationally and by national governments. *2) The Efficiency argument*

states that female ownership and control over land will increase women's opportunities to produce and increase the likelihood of access to credit and technical assistance. The security of owning land will create an increase in the capacity and desire to invest, which in turn leads to increased productivity. Higher productivity will lead to higher revenue, which in turn leads to increased well-being of women and their children. The efficiency argument focuses not only on women's wellbeing, but also on society as a whole. *3) The equality argument and empowerment argument,* according to Agarwal (1994), are the two last arguments for why women should receive individual land rights. Non-discrimination is the first step to achieving real equality between men and women, while a second step is similar in terms of opportunities. Individuals should have equal access to education, health, work and other important social goods. All forms of gender discrimination should be combated and according to Agarwal this requires a change in women's access to both land and power. Empowerment can be defined as a radical change in the processes and structures that reproduces women's subservient position as a gender, and is about mobilizing and recovering people's own strength, and neutralizing the forces that lead to powerlessness. Empowerment can be seen as the basis for generating alternative visions of women and the process by which these visions can be implemented as social relationships change. One of the prerequisites for empowerment is political space for participation and organization of women. Empowerment requires changes in women's attitudes, and in the attitudes of their partners and family. It is not a defined process, as empowerment is individually shaped by the context. The organization of women into groups to discuss gender relations is mentioned as a first step towards empowerment (Agarwal 1994, Deere & León 2001).

3.3.2 Negotiation of gender roles

Gender roles are constructed relationships that are the subject of a negotiation process. These negotiations will take place at various venues, which Agarwal (1994) believes can be divided into three main areas: *the community, the market and the state*. Women's bargaining power within the household is linked to their situation in society as a whole. Within the market arena, owning land might strengthen women's bargaining power in negotiation of rules, governance, access to resources, and social behavior. Women generally have less bargaining power in such negotiations than men; however, women's power increases if they are able to negotiate as a group rather than as individuals. Women's ability to organize themselves is particularly important in relation to the state. These areas are also possible collaboration

points for the state and women's groups, as in some contexts it will be in the state's interest to cooperate with women's groups. Political pressure built up by these groups, perhaps with the help of the opposition and/ or media, could affect the next election. The size of the group will have an impact, and its ability to get attention from the media, opposition and gender-sensitive employees in the state. International opinion may also be an important factor (Deere & León 2001). According to Agarwal (1994), in order for women to gain access to land rights, a struggle must take place simultaneously in all these arenas. To gain a better understanding of the mobilization of women, I will consider the theories of social movements in the context of theories about gender relations and land rights, and see how those perspectives together can explain the emergence and impact of women's movements.

3.4 AN INTEGRATION OF THEORIES: UNDERSTANDING THE EMERGENCE AND IMPACT OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Gender relations are constructed and fluid and can thus be negotiated. According to Agarwal (1994), land rights are a source of power in these negotiations. Resources, especially land rights, can provide bargaining power for women. Gaining access to land rights is necessary for women to mobilize themselves in order to gain greater bargaining power in all arenas: the state, market and society. Mobilization of women can be seen increasingly in Latin America, and in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of these movements it is important to look at different theories of social movements in context to explain both processes at the macro level and micro level. To explain the emergence and impact of women's movements in Peru, it is important to find a bridge between theories of social movements and theories on impact assessment, while having a focus on gender relations.

In the 1980s there was an increase in the number of social movements in Latin America, partly as a result of a neo-conservative experiment with structural adjustment programs that led to increased inequality and poverty. Up to 70-80% of the participants in these movements were poor women, and many of the actions primarily addressed gender issues (Marchand 2000). Women have historically fought against direct and indirect barriers to their self-development and political and economic participation by challenging prevailing gender relations (Peterson & Runyan 1993). Over the last 50 years, a growing worldwide movement, with women in the lead, fought for equal rights for both women and men. Issues such as women's access to resources, education, property and income, strengthening women's

political and economic role, and the right to a life free of oppression and violence are in focus (Caivano & Hardwick 2008). Marchand (2000) argues that women's participation in social movements in Latin America creates the potential for studying gender in relation to resistance. Women's groups, networks and movements have here been organized to deal with the consequences of neoliberalism, and women in Latin America are proof of the existence of gender-centered forms of resistance. Participation in women's movements has been a way to challenge the established gender roles and to bring out their voice, participation, and bringing subjectivity into the discussion of neoliberal policies. These movements challenged the traditional understanding of universal human rights and created awareness on a global scale. The movement grew rapidly—locally, nationally and internationally—and was later supported in its claims of international conventions against discrimination based on gender and ethnicity (Marchand 2000, Caivano & Hardwick 2008).

According to Agarwal (1994) and Ray & Korteweg (1999), one can distinguish between different forms of gender interests as the basis for mobilization. There is a difference between practical and strategic gender interests, where practical interest comes from the desire to meet basic needs for a women and her family. Practical gender interests can be said to arise inductively, while strategic interests that want to change the conditions affecting women's lives can be said to arise deductively. Practical gender interests arise as a result of women's role in society and are also characterized as feminine interests. They ignore the philosophical injustice that comes from the oppression of women and look at the acute needs in relation to women's social role. Practical gender interests may include topics such as public welfare, food shortages and lack of care. Strategic gender interests, however, form an alternative to women's subordinate role in society and can help to change their position in society. Strategic interests may mean jurisdiction over reproduction, political and legal equality, an end to discrimination, and a legal prohibition of violence against women. These are often characterized as feminist concerns. Strategic interests are often long-term initiatives with a goal to improve women's position in society (Ray & Korteweg 1999, Marchand 2000).

Peterson & Runyan (1993) claim that women's participation in social movements and protests for practical gender interests can lead to their attention to their strategic interests. Contact with other active women may lead to more awareness of gender perspectives. Strategic interests normally come into focus after the practical interests are answered. Women in the South are thus often driven by practical gender interests, but the practical interests may go on to become feminist consciousness in the face of other women in the same situation. An

example of this is the NGO "Mothers of the May Square" (Madres de la Plaza Mayo, Argentina) who organized themselves as mothers, but who then became aware of and addressed major human rights issues. The same goes for women who organized themselves in soup kitchens in Peru, who in contact with other women in the same situation developed a feminist consciousness in relation to gender roles and unfair distribution in society (Peterson & Runyan 1993, Ray & Korteweg 1999).

Gender awareness is defined as the development of identities to renew gender roles, different from the traditional view of women's roles in society, as wives, mothers and housekeepers, within a male culture (machismo). Gender awareness also involves women showing greater sensitivity to women's socio-political situation and welfare (Padilla 2004). Baca (1998) believes it is in women's nature to have different political interests than their male partners. Topics such as abortion, domestic violence and rape are in the sphere of women's political interests. Seeing women's movements in the light of theories of social movements and gender theory may provide a better understanding of how women organize themselves, what personal consequences this has for them, and what changes activism can bring. Theories of social movements and gender relations are complementary in that feminist theory explains the background for strategic gender interests. When women organize themselves often on the basis of practical interest, they become more gender-conscious; they come in contact with other ideas and develop consciousness of their strategic gender interests. Both theories about gender relations and social movements emphasize that the likelihood of being heard is greater when you stand together as a group (Agarwal 1994).

Identity is, according to theories of new social movements, a key factor in this group formation (Escobar 1992). According to Della Porta & Diani (2006) it is the identity that allows players who are part of a conflict to see themselves as part of a group linked by the interests, values and a shared history. It does not need to be a homogeneous group, but compatible on a number of fundamental questions. According to Nicholls (2007), a common identity contributes not only to a proliferation of mobilization, but also to a base for lasting sustainable mobilization. The development of and access to advanced communication technologies promote new opportunities in this area, where the identity formation can take place across national borders. This may lead to new relationships across the old traditional boundaries that increase the potential relative to the social movement's influence (Nicholls 2007). Agarwal (1994) emphasizes that in some contexts women have different interests based partly on social class. This could be problematic when trying to mobilize across class,

but women's movements such as Mothers of the May Square in Argentina show that class does not need to be a factor.

According to Marchand (2000), it is necessary to introduce the gender perspective in the discussion of social movements. Theories of social movements often refer to women and gender concerns. The fact that women are often mentioned means that there is an awareness of gender, but not necessarily a starting point for gender analysis. To study resistance with a gender perspective involves more than an instrumental treatment of women's movements, as it means having gender as a starting point for the analysis. An analysis of women's movements must be based on the idea of gender. Gender relations can be defined as the social construction of relationships between men and women and the social construction of masculinity and femininity within a specific space and time frame. These social structures are not neutral, but involve power relations. Gender can be said to operate on three related levels: the individual, the social and ideological. Gender analysis must be based on the different spheres and levels where these gender relations are played out (Agarwal 1994, Marchand 2000).

Deere & León (2001) mention *the triangle of empowerment* in relation to the negotiation of gender relations. They think that change in policy is a result of actions carried out by three groups: women in social movements, women in the government and women in formal politics. International organizations are sometimes mentioned as a fourth agent that has the ability to influence. The conclusion is that the women's movements must be a part of the solution to the land issue. The probability that there will be a change is minimal without the mobilizing of women for the equal distribution of land rights. Rural women's movement, national women's organizations and networks are new political actors that might have an important impact on changes in society and must be taken into account (Deere & León 2001).

Actions of authorities, other interest parties and environmental change will affect social movement activity and impact. The political space is primarily dependent on the state's nature and the relationship between government and population. The structure of both the state and the local is shaped through discourses and practices that affect the extent to which participants in the community have the possibility to take advantage of new opportunities and the possible impact of protest. The concept of political space is primarily useful to contribute to a meaningful understanding of political processes and what implications these have for development. In a study of political space, it is important to study both groups and individuals strategies, and to look at the interplay between processes at the micro and macro levels. The

fiscal space can be understood on several different scales: locally, nationally and internationally. This is especially relevant with regard to international human rights conventions. Using funds developed on the international scale to push national governments to implement promises and commitments reflect a multi-scale strategy that can be used by women's movements (Nicholls 2007).

The concept of political space is not only important to explain the emergence of women's movements, but also in assessment of the impact of mobilization. Researchers studying the impact of social movements stress the role of the political context in explaining their success or failure. According to Giugni (1998), it is just as important to consider social change, political opportunities and social-democratic factors as it is to look at levels of mobilization and strategies to understand the possible impact of women's movements. Using the idea of success and failure elaborated by Amenta et al. (1992) and Schumaker (1975) as tools, together with the concept of political space, may provide a suitable framework to assess not only the emergence of women's movements in Peru, but also the impact of their mobilization.

3.5 SUMMARY

Three key elements that must be taken into consideration when studying the impact of feminist NGOs and social movements on women's land rights in Peru are: collective action, impact and gender. To explain both the emergence and the impact of women's movements, it is important to find a bridge between theories of social movements, theories on impact assessment, and theories on gender and land rights. Theories on gender and land rights may help me understand the background and goals for mobilization, while an integration of RMT and NSM may provide a good framework for analyzing the movement's emergence and mobilization strategies. Theories on the impact of social movements may help me understand which factors will influence the outcome. Having established a link between these theoretical approaches, and thus creating a suitable theoretical framework, I will present my case and start analyzing the mobilization and impact of the women's movement in Peru. The theoretical framework will guide the interpretation of my data.

4. EXPLAINING THE CASE: PETT, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

To answer my research question, it is important to understand the background for the Peruvian formalization project, how the government executed and implemented it, and the political context in which it took place. A further prerequisite for analyzing the impact of the CSOs' work is an understanding of their emergence in this period, their background for mobilization, and the strategies they used. In this chapter I will start by presenting the Peruvian land titling project and the political and juridical context in which the land titling project took place. In the last part of the chapter I present the civil society actors involved in the process, their goals and strategies. I will use information from the interviews as well as secondary literature to explain my case.

4.1 PETT AND THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Poverty and inequality have been and still are a widespread problem in Peru, with around 35% of the population living under the national poverty line in 2009 (INEI 2009). Poverty in Peru is most widespread in remote rural areas, and the populations that struggle the most are those living in the southern highlands and in the Amazon areas (ibid.). According to Fernandez et al. (2000), rural women are most negatively affected by poverty because of the lack of opportunities. Poverty among women is a result of insufficient access to education, credit, land rights and social benefits. The economic collapse and the Latin American debt crisis in the 1980s worsened living conditions for poor Peruvians and provided a breeding ground for social and political discontent (Gwynne & Kay 2004). Furthermore, the emergence of the terrorist group Shining Path in rural areas and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) in Lima created more tension and chaos. Economic mismanagement led to hyperinflation. In the 1990 elections, the Peruvian voters were concerned about the economy and the increasing terrorist threat, and elected a relatively unknown politician, Alberto Fujimori, as President. Fujimori implemented a market-oriented agenda and carried out drastic economic reforms to tackle the inflation, pushed by international institutions and Peruvian technocrats (Blondet 1991, Gwynne 2004). Fujimori's regime can be understood as a form of populist rule, and his regime was characterized by a particular combination of

populism and neo-liberalism (Gwynne & Kay 2004). Under Fujimori, political parties were allowed to function, elections were held regularly, and freedom of expression was theoretically upheld by the regime; however, Fujimori's presidency is most known for putting a stop to terrorism and restoring the Peruvian economy (Rousseau 2006).

During the 1990s, several Latin American countries were undertaking land titling projects. Most of them were financed by The World Bank (WB) or The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the aim was to provide security for land owners and producers. The hope was that this security would create higher productivity, increase investment, and create a more effective land market, by enhancing transparency and making it easier to sell, rent and apply for loans. The Ministry of Agriculture in Peru acknowledged the need to formalize land ownership rights and in 1991 Fujimori launched The Special Rural Cadastre and Land Titling Project (PETT) to formalize rural land ownership. Formally, PETT was a special investment project of the Ministry of Agriculture. The mission was to promote the development of a transparent rural land market and promote investment in agriculture nationwide (Deere & León 2001, Fuentes & Wiig 2009).

The background for initiating the project in Peru was the agrarian reform in the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, the land was taken from the landlords and given to the farmers under the slogan "the land belongs to the one who works on it." The land was usually turned over to the former workers of the haciendas and kept in large holdings (cooperatives). Before this land reform, Peru was the prime example of unequal distribution of land, with approximately 5% of the population possessing around 90% of the land (Deere & León 1998). The 1969 Agrarian Reform Law prohibited the sale of land acquired through the agrarian reform. However, in the early 1980s, these cooperatives began to split the large holdings into individual parcels and distribute them to the members. By the late 1980s, only a small number of cooperatives still existed. Although the government favored the parcelization, little was done in regard to land titling until the 1990s. In 1991, the Legislative Decree 667 was passed to simplify the laws and regulations pertaining to formalization of property rights. During the same period the government also passed the Agrarian Investment Law (Legislative Decree 653) to remove the constraints on property rights that were established during the agrarian reform years (Republic of Peru 1991). This changed the legal basis of agricultural land ownership by declaring that all agricultural land could be sold, rented, or mortgaged. Thus,

the usefulness of and need for formal land title documents became more apparent (InformantNCSO-1[2], Deere & León 1998, Lastarria-Cornhiel 1999).

The PETT project was a logical step in creating a more liberal land market and there seems to have been a consensus on the importance of land titling projects among international institutions, the Peruvian state and the civil society. PETT's operations started on the coast of Peru in 1993 and initially aimed at issuing property titles and elaborating a cadastral map for beneficiaries of the agrarian reform, owners of uncultivated land, and campesino and native communities. Later, in 1996, the Government of Peru signed an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) to increase PETT's titling process to cover all rural estates (InformantNCSO-1). The loan agreement was signed between the Government of Peru and IDB and involved the government institutions responsible for farm regularization, registration of rural properties, and management of natural resources. The institutions involved were PETT, The National Superintendence of Public Registry Office (SUNARP), and the National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA). The four-year project aimed at registering 1.1 million property titles in the coast and part of the highlands, and US$21 million was earmarked for the project (IDB 1995). The formalization project was free of charge for the farmers and worked in a decentralized way, with several regional offices sending their personnel to the field simultaneously. Due to easier access PETT started their operations on the coast. The coastal areas are level, making it easier to work with aerophotography. The first phase ended in 2000 with a disagreement between the institutions involved, and the negotiations about the second phase began (InformantPETT-1).

As the first phase of PETT ended in 2000, there were also important political changes affecting the Peruvian society and the formalization project. After Fujimori was declared the winner of the 2000 presidential elections, a bribery scandal arose, bringing political and economic instability to the country. Fujimori had to leave the country, and Alejandro Toledo, the leader of the opposition against Fujimori, was elected President in the 2001 elections. Toledo continued exercising neoliberal economical policies, promoting foreign investments (Remy 2005, Rousseau 2006). The corruption scandal affected the titling project by delaying the second phase. The project's general objective in the second phase was to continue the development of an effective, transparent land market to encourage efficient land use. They aimed to give out over 1 million property titles on the coast, in the highlands and in the

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[2] See appendix 1 for more information on the informants

Amazon areas. In addition to this, the Commission for the Formalization of Informal Property (COFOPRI) was issuing titles in urban areas.

The year 2000 was the starting point for a range of political changes in Peru, and the new political scene created a new political space for civil society actors (InformantNCSO-5). As Tilly and Tarrow (2007) points out, the political opportunity structure is essential to understand mobilization. People take collective action as a result of political opportunities, and this in turn creates new opportunities. The most important change was the transition from populist to democratic rule. The transition to democracy created a favorable space for mobilization and civil society played an important role in promoting change in the beginning of the 21st century. Another important change was the decrease in political violence. During the 1990s, leaders of social organizations were murdered both by Shining Path and by government forces who took advantage of the situation to get rid of political opponents (Remy 2005). Della Porta and Diani (2006) argue that social mobilization depends on the degree of suppression or support from the state. Hence, the changes in the political context in 2000 created a good environment for the growth of social movements and organizations. The feminist movement was a strong force in Peruvian society in this period and Remy (2005) claims that civil society mobilization was the most effective mechanism to promote change and influence governmental decisions during the transitional government. According to Garay and Tanaka (2009) the intensity, geographical extension and diversity of social protest increased during the first years of Toledo's presidential period. The CSOs worked at all levels, influencing the state, institutions and local government.

In June 2006 Alan Garcia, the candidate of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), was elected president for the second time. APRA is an old political party, with formal structures and with spaces for dialog. During this period of change PETT continued its operations. The second phase of PETT continued until 2006 and in 2007 PETT was merged with COFOPRI, making COFOPRI responsible for both rural and urban land. The Ministry of Housing, Construction and Drainage is now responsible for both the rural and the urban land-titling projects (Fuentes & Wiig 2009, InformantPETT-1). In 2011 the Peruvians face another election, where Fujimori's daughter, Keiko Fujimori, and leftist former army officer, Ollanta Humala, are the two remaining candidates for the second round that will take place in June 2011. The two candidates come from opposite extremes of the political spectrum, so the elections will have profound implications for the political future in Peru.

4.2 PETT's IMPACT ON WOMEN AND LAND RIGHTS

Deere and León (2001) stress the fact that women often are disadvantaged when it comes to land titling, due to several factors such as lack of legal documentation, illiteracy and the predominant gender division of labor. Most of the Latin-American land titling projects were gender neutral, with no specific attention to women's land rights, and the Peruvian formalization project was no different (Deere & León 2001). Despite the fact that PETT did not have any policies to address gender inequality, investigations show that there has been an increase in the number of joint titles in Peru in the second phase of the PETT program. According to data analyzed by Fuentes and Wiig (2009) there was a significant increase in the number of formally titled plots that were jointly owned from the first phase of the implementation process to the second phase. The Peruvian research institute, Development Research Group (GRADE 2007), evaluated the PETT program based on a survey of 2034 households that had received titles during the second phase of the program (from 2000 to 2004). They found that 76% of all the households with couples had a shared title to at least one of the household's plots. This represents a significant increase in the incidence of joint ownership. Fuentes (2008) analyzed the same data set and found that 56% of the plots in such couple households received joint title, and this is still a massive increase if we compare it to historical data. In comparison, an analysis of the Peruvian Living Standards Measurement Survey for 2000 revealed that only 13% of the plots were jointly owned (Deere & León 2001).

More recent numbers (table 1)[3] show an increase in joint titling on a national scale, and especially in Cajamarca. But the differences are not as great as the previous investigations show, with 44% joint titles in PTRT1 and 57% in PTRT2. However, these numbers also reveal interesting regional differences that are lost in the national data. The regions I have focused on in this study, Cusco and Cajamarca, are also very different. In Cajamarca the increase in joint titling from PTRT1 to PTRT2 is higher than the national average, but in Cusco there has actually been a small decrease in the percentage of joint titles. Since I received this data late in the investigation process, these differences have not been a focus of my analysis. However, I still choose to present part of the table, and use this information later in the discussion (see appendix 3 for information on all regions).

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[3] Statistics collected from COFOPRI by the project: Land titling and Gender in Peru, 2011

Table 1: Percentage of joint titles PTRT1 and PTRT2

	Number of Titles in PTRT 1	Number of Joint Titles PTRT 1	% Joint Titling PTRT1	Number of Titles PTRT 2	Number of Joint Titles PTRT 2	% Joint Titling PTRT 2
NATIONAL	1 061 666	472 200	44%	447 151	256 542	57%
CAJAMARCA	259 271	81 392	31%	85 612	53 988	63%
CUSCO	25 446	14 943	59%	18 204	9 371	51%

Source: COFOPRI 2011, Calculated by Oscar Madalengoitia at IEP

The results of the titling process in Peru are surprising and seem to have taken place without any policies to address gender inequality. During the 1990s PETT was subject to criticism for neglecting women and their rights to land. Feminist NGOs and rural women's movements were in the front line of this criticism, working hard to promote women's access to land. National and local CSOs wanted to influence the implementation process through campaigns, both nationally and in the regions. Ending discrimination against women was on the international agenda after the UN convention in 1979, and there was a growing international consensus to achieve these goals. The Peruvian women's center Flora Tristan conducted a research project to investigate what happened to women during the formalization process, and later a campaign to promote women's right to land ownership together with a national women's network (Fernandez et al. 2000, Deere and León 2001). Fuentes and Wiig (2009) mention the protest of feminist movements as a possible explanation factor for the increase in joint titling, as it appears that the criticism from civil society in the late 1990s had an impact on how the formalization program was implemented.

4.3 LEGAL CONTEXT

The increase in joint titling from PTRT1 to PTRT2 seems to have taken place without any changes in the legislation. According to InformantNCSO-1, an academic studying the subject of land rights, there was never a specific law or directive giving concrete instructions on the use of joint titling. However, the Peruvian legislation does protect women's rights: Women and men are formally equal with respect to rights and duties in the Peruvian Constitution and in the Civil Code. According to Deere and León (1998), the 1979 Peruvian Constitution was an important advance for women in Peru. The constitution of 1979 was replaced by the Peruvian Constitution of 1993 and states that men and women have equal rights under the law, banning any discrimination based on gender, race or language (Article 2). The Constitution assures the legal rights of women living in consensual unions. Women in consensual unions were given the same rights as married women, except for the right to inheritance (Article 5). The Constitution also recognizes equity in opportunities for men and women when it comes to labor (Article 26) (Republic of Peru 1993, Macassi León 1996, Del Castillo 2000).

In 1981 Peru signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The Convention was approved by the Congress in 1982, and led to a revision of the Peruvian Civil Code. The 1984 Civil Code gives the same duties and responsibilities to women and men in the family, stating that both can represent the family legally (Article 4). The Civil Code also recognizes consensual unions as a legal union. To have the same right to participation in profits as married couples, one has to prove that the union has been valid for two years or longer (Article 326) (Republic of Peru 1993, Macassi León 1996, Deere & León 1998).

Concerning property, the law states that both men and women have rights to own land. In 1995 Fujimori approved the land law (Law No. 26505). This law guaranteed all people access and rights to own land (Article 90). However, the Civil Code does not grant inheritance rights to couples living in consensual unions as the Land Reform provisions did. This could especially affect women living in the highlands, where around 40% of all couples have not formalized their marital status (Republic of Peru 1991, Lastarria-Cornhiel 1999, Fuentes 2008).

The legislation concerning property has been adjusted several times during the formalization process according to the reality found in the field. However, according to my

informants there were never any changes in the law, directives or norms in the aspect of gender in this period (InformantNCSO-1). InformantNCSO-2 states that gender equity has never been an objective for Peruvian Agrarian legislation. However, the politicians working at the Ministry of Agriculture claim there never was any discrimination against women due to the protection of women's rights through the Constitution and the Civil Code. In Peru, the default marital regime is that of participation in profits. Thus any land purchased during the marriage or consensual union should be the joint property of the couple. However, if the land was purchased before the marriage, it would be part of the individuals' patrimony (Article 302) (InformantPETT-4, Republic of Peru 1993). InformantPETT-1 argues that there was no confusion in this aspect among the PETT officers:

> "In this aspect the law is clear; if a couple is married they should both receive the
> title. When giving a married couple a title, the women have rights to the land, and
> the man cannot sell it without the approval from the wife."

According to Informant PETT-1, when the PETT officers came to the plot, the owners had to prove that the land was purchased before the marriage. If they were not able to prove this, the title was given as joint property. So the idea that married women should receive joint title was there from the beginning of PTRT1. The idea of joint titling is also made clear in the loan proposal to the IDB. According to the loan proposal from the Ministry of Agriculture to IDB (Republic of Peru 1995:31):

> "The Peruvian Civil Code does not discriminate between men and women with
> regard to property. Moreover, under the project, the registry offices must, by law,
> require that the names of both husband and wife appear on the application for
> property registration, thus protecting the rights of women."

As stated above, there are not many legal limitations for rural women in Peru. The Civil Code and the Constitution protect the rights of women, thus the discrimination that exists is a question of implementation and cultural norms in the Peruvian society. Barrig 2006 (in Fuentes 2008:22) argues that the legislation is not supported by empirical evidence:

> "What is evident, is that the different law's directives on equality between the sexes
> is not always supported by empirical evidence from rural Peru; women tend to have
> less public tasks, have less education (…)"

The unwritten norms in society keep women from accessing their rights as citizens. The idea of the man as head of the family is deeply embedded in Peruvian society, and this idea also affects women's access to land. According to several NGOs, the government's neutral policy will affect women in a negative manner as long as civil society organizations do not intervene and make sure that the formalization process is implemented according to the rights in the Constitution and the Civil Code (InformantLCSO-4, Macassi León 1996).

As far as I understand by looking at the Peruvian legislation and the legal aspects of PETT, there were no specific laws or decrees stating anything about joint titling for couples. Nor were there any changes in this aspect from PTRT1 to PTRT2. However, women's rights are protected through the Constitution and the Civil Code (Republic of Peru 1993). These rights have been the same since the beginning of the formalization process, and it is therefore hard to see the link between the legislation and the changes in the use of joint titling. It is my opinion that the increase we observe can be better explained by changes in the implementation of the project than by alterations in the legal base. In section 4.4, I will delve more deeply into the civil society organizations that worked to influence the implementation process as well as their goals and strategies.

4.4 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING EQUAL LAND RIGHTS

Civil society organizations, both at a national and a local level, wanted to influence the implementation of PETT in the 1990s. According to the Norwegian Ambassador in Chile, who is responsible for Chile and Peru, Peru is one of the countries in South America with the strongest traditions for civil society protest as a way of solving political issues (Bjørndal 2010). Remy (2005) claim that mobilization has been an effective mechanism for civil society in Peru to gain attention to their demands, and that protest has proven to be more efficient than using the institutional space for participation. In this section I will focus on the campaigns the CSOs had during the implementation of the formalization project. CSOs might have had an influence during the development of the project as well, especially international organizations such as IDB that had the economic power to influence the financing of the first phase of the formalization project. However, the focus in this thesis will be on the influence civil society had on the implementation of PETT. I will present the national and local CSOs working for equal land rights during the implementation of PETT and look at their goals and

strategies. This is to gain an understanding of the situation, so that I can analyze the impact they had on the implementation of the formalization process in the next chapter.

4.4.1 National NGOs

Flora Tristan was one of the most active organizations among the national NGOs working for equal land rights during the implementation of PETT. Flora Tristan was started to promote human rights for women both nationally and locally. One of their priority areas is their rural development program, which focuses on access and control of resources. In 1998 they started their campaign to promote gender equity in the titling process. Flora Tristan collaborated with other national organizations on the equal rights campaign. Especially important was the Peruvian Centre for Social Studies (CEPES). Flora Tristan worked together with CEPES throughout the campaign, and the two organizations became part of the ALLPA group. The ALLPA group is a network of NGOs working on land issues initiated in Lima in 1997. Another organization working on this campaign was The Rural Education Service (SER), a civil society organization specializing in rural development based in Peru. SER worked with Flora Tristan and CEPES on the national campaign. Other national NGOs joined in on this work during the process, but these were the organizations responsible for initiating the national campaign in 1998. SER also had several campaigns at a local level, with financial support from Oxfam. International organizations were also involved in the process, but mostly by providing funding to the national and local CSOs. Oxfam Canada and the German service for social cooperation gave financial support to the campaign for equal land rights. Other organizations giving economic support to the CSOs involved in the campaign were NGOs from Spain, Canada and Great Britain (Fernandez et al. 2000, Deere & León 2001, InformantNCSO-3).

4.4.2 Local CSOs

The implementation process took place locally, and created opportunities for local campaigns. The participation of local CSOs was especially evident in Cajamarca, where the local network for women helped to initiate the national campaign. The women's network for rural women in Cajamarca (REPRODEMUC) started their campaign for equal land rights before Flora Tristan started nationally. As early as 1996, the project *Legal aspects, property rights in rural areas*

and women's situation was created. The mini-project was started together with the Peruvian institute for development aid for communities (IPADIC) and was financed by the World Bank (InformantLCSO-4). The project team started its work related to women and land rights after studying the PETT process and becoming concerned about how many women were receiving titles. IPADIC collaborated with a network of more than 130 rural women leaders, campaigning for the issue of land titles in the name of both spouses. Through collaboration with the local government and the Ministry of Agriculture, and with help from the local network of CSOs, they executed the project in 35 districts in Cajamarca. The main beneficiaries of the project were authorities, local authorities at district level, rural women and peasant leaders. The local CSOs in Cajamarca seemed to be well organized, and collaborated through the local women's network. All the members of REPRODEMUC had women's land rights as their top priority during the campaign, and they focused their efforts on this subject. They coordinated their efforts and had a strong sense of their common identity as women (Macassi León 1996, Deere & León 2001, InformantLCSO-4).

Flora Tristan had a representative in Cusco working with the local organizations, organizing workshops, press releases and meetings with the PETT officials. The local NGO, Bartolomé de las casas (CBC), has worked with land and peasant rights in Cusco since 1983. CBC worked with PETT from the beginning and was the first NGO to focus on this subject in Cusco, working mostly with the communities. CBS collaborated with other NGOs and social movements such as the social movements the Revolutionary Agricultural Federation Tupac Amaru (FARDAC) and the Departmental Federation of the Peasants of Cusco (FDCC). The local organizations worked together with the national NGOs and received financial support from international collaboration. The federation for rural women in Cusco (FEMOCARINA) also participated in the campaign for equal rights, together with the peasants' movements FARDAC and FDCC, and the leaders of the Municipal Milk Program "Vaso de Leche". They created a network with different civil society agents in Cusco, "Mesa de Tierra", where CSOs in Cusco could discuss land issues and challenges. This was a local initiative in Cusco, but other agents did the same at a national level. Land rights became a much discussed subject, and Flora Tristan was one of the organizations bringing the gender perspective into the discussion (InformantLCSO-7). However, the CSOs in Cusco did not seem as coordinated as the organizations in Cajamarca. Their common identity can be said to be based on their identity as peasants, rather than as women. CBC and the local peasant's movements were not feminist organizations. Their primary goal was to give information to all peasants, and make

sure the titling process was done correctly, not to promote gender interests. Even though the different CSOs all worked with the same issue, their efforts were not coordinated as they were in Cajamarca.

4.4.3 Background for mobilization

As mentioned in the theory chapter, a blend of new social movement theory and resource mobilization theory in combination with a gender perspective is necessary to gain an understanding of the mobilization of women in Peru. After speaking with my informants, I concluded that the background for the mobilization in Peru could be said to be based on a common identity as women and, for some of the local movements, a common identity as peasants. They all had a mutual goal to promote change in values and culture in the Peruvian society affecting women's rights. The campaign can be seen as a struggle for a common identity as women are seeking social recognition for their demands, and creating a feeling of belongingness and solidarity within the group (Della Porta & Diani 2006). The mobilization was made possible on a national scale because of access to some key resources. The financial support from international NGOs and the collaboration with national networks was essential for the implementation of the equal rights campaign.

The participants in the larger NGOs and the local social movements expressed different motivations for wanting equal land rights for women. The informants from the larger NGOs had strategic gender interests as a motivation for their work, while women in local social movements and smaller organizations often participated in the campaign because of more practical gender interests. As mentioned in the theory chapter, strategic gender interests are often long-term initiatives, aimed at changing women's role in society. Informants from the NGOs mentioned strategic interests such as the importance of a land title for women to create security, both for the women and for the children, wanting women to feel identified as a person with rights, empowering women in decision-making, helping women's self-esteem and giving them power to speak up for their rights. The informants also highlighted the importance of women understanding the political aspects of owning land and the security provided by land rights. If the man leaves, if he dies, or if the woman wants to make a decision in the household, she has more security to do so when having a land title (Agarwal 1994, Ray and Korteweg 1999, InformantNCSO-2).

Flora Tristan was inspired by research done by Carmen Diana Deere, a professor at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, to start up the national campaign promoting equal land rights in 1998. According to InformantNCSO-2, Deere wanted help from the NGO to conduct some of the research for her book on women and property rights in Latin America. After performing an investigation on women's land rights in relation to PETT, Flora Tristan decided to launch the campaign in Peru. The objective was to create awareness around the subject and to make sure that women did not suffer during the titling process in Peru. According to the project description, the main goal was to improve rural women's legal rights to own land. They focused on vulnerable groups such as illiterate people and women living in consensual relationships without being legally married. The campaign was executed on a national scale, in collaboration with regional NGOs and social movements. The campaign was directed at the Ministry of Agriculture, the PETT officials in Lima and in the regions, as well as at the rural women informing them about their rights (InformantNCSO-2).

The inspiration for the project in Cajamarca was similar, building on the idea that access to resources results in empowerment and financial security for women. For people living in rural areas in Peru, land is one of the most important resources. Therefore the CSOs in Cajamarca saw the importance of including gender in the formalization process. The primary goal was to promote information about the impact of the content of the law and decrees and to ensure that the rights of women were protected in the implementation process. The CSOs wanted to identify the problems that affected the women in rural areas and to come up with specific suggestions on how to improve their situation (InformantLCSO-1, Informant LCSO-4).

In Cusco, CBC's main goal for the campaign was to promote a change in culture and mindset. According to InformantLCSO-10, it was necessary to promote change, because the women were deprived of their rights to resources. Many women from the rural areas migrated to the city, where they worked as housekeepers or in worse cases as prostitutes. This migration was a consequence of the deprivation of their rights. Therefore, informing women and the rest of the community about their rights was an important task. In rural areas, one of the biggest problems was the lack of cultural knowledge and language difficulties among the PETT officials. The inability of PETT officials to speak Quechua was the root of misunderstandings and mistakes in the titling process. CBC offered their assistance in this process to avoid misunderstandings (InformantLCSO-10). According to InformantLCSO-7,

one of the informants working for the national rural women's network in Cusco, women's rights are often violated due to the machismo mindset: Women obtain land through marriage, and do not need to inherit land. This practice is still present, and was the reason why the network joined Flora Tristan's campaign. The women's network wanted to look at the issues related to women and access to land rights, and at the difference between access and decision-making. The objective was to put equal land rights on the agenda.

Some of the local CSOs and the women participating in the women's network expressed another motivation for participating in the campaign. Their motivation can be characterized as practical gender interest, since interests such as security and access to food for women and their children were stressed as the most important reason for participation in the campaign. InformantLCSO-12, the leader of a women's movement, had a different perspective on the importance of land rights than the NGO leaders. She and the other women at the gathering for women leaders in Cusco worked with land rights, rights to territory and environment, and emphasized that women needed to be more active in the process of protecting the earth. The women's network is working on campaigns promoting access to resources, territory, water, and working on improving the women's movements.

> "Land and territory is extremely important to women because it gives access to food. Having a title means a lot to women because the earth is our mother, a woman that gives us food, life, light, and also economic income."
>
> (InformantLCSO-12)

The leader of the Municipal Milk Program "Vaso de Leche" in Cusco argued that women's organizations are important actors in informing women about their rights. According to her, a land title is important to women because the land is everything to the farmers living out in the rural areas. In the beginning, it was up to the men whether the wife should receive a title or not, and only some of the men decided to give the title to the wife. The motivation for participating in the campaign for these women was that having a land title could give women a feeling of responsibility and empowerment, and the belief that women always manage the land in the best way possible for her children. They perceived the women's groups in regions as important actors in the process, and information meetings as important arenas to give all women access to the decision-making processes. To a certain degree, these women were also aware of the strategic gender interest, especially the women leaders participating in meetings

and workshops. Contact with other active women often leads to more gender awareness, as mentioned in the theory chapter (Peterson & Runyan 1993).

4.4.4 Strategies/ Social movement repertoire

Flora Tristan's campaign took place on a national scale, lobbying PETT officials in Lima and in three of the departments: Cajamarca, Cusco and Tacna. Among other actions the campaign included discussions with departmental PETT officials, gender-training sessions with the personnel and an evaluation of the program (InformantNCSO-2, InformantNCSO-4). The national and local CSOs complemented each other, working on different scales and dividing responsibility. They collaborated through networks and used diverse strategies. The national NGOs worked more toward the state than the local organizations did. Flora Tristan wanted to influence the decision-making institution: the Ministry of Agriculture and PETT. Flora Tristan had a relationship with state actors and it was easier for national organizations working on this level because of access to resources and networks. According to InformantNCSO-2, Flora Tristan had good contact with several of the functionaries and lawyers working for PETT and at the Ministry of Agriculture. Flora Tristan representatives went to the institutions to talk with the officers, and sometimes PETT invited the NGO to participate at meetings and workshops. However, working with the state became difficult because of the high personnel turnover. Many of the PETT officials were only there for a short period of time, with frequent changes in leadership. The personnel turnover, both nationally and regionally, was also a consequence of corruption and scandals within PETT. When Flora Tristan started in the early 1990s, they established a good dialogue with the leaders, but when the leaders changed, so did the political climate (InformantNCSO-2). Flora Tristan works on different levels, carrying out campaigns to promote legal reforms and monitoring implementations in coordination with other actors in civil society. Flora Tristan is based in Lima, but one of their strategies is to collaborate with local organizations and movements, and this is very important for their success (InformantLCSO-7). In resource mobilization theory, social networks are seen as one of the necessary elements for mobilization. Part of Flora Tristan's strategy was empowering rural leaders to promote women's movements in the regions through the National Rural Women's Network (RNMR) (InformantNCSO-2). Using local organizations was a good way to use local knowledge, and also to avoid coming to the regions as "outsiders" from Lima.

Flora Tristan's main strategies during the campaign were giving information to the rural women about their rights, creating interest groups, and working with the PETT employees, making sure they carried out their work without any form of discrimination. On a local scale, Flora Tristan collaborated with CSOs in Cajamarca, Cusco and Piura, conducting campaigns with the technicians who worked in the field doing the registration. The purpose was to make the technicians reflect on their way of thinking and make them more aware of the implications their work had on women and their rights. This was not to influence politics, but to make sure that PETT did their work correctly. One of the strategies was to inform the women about their rights, using local women from the RNMR as spokespersons. Information was provided through communication channels such as radio programs, videos, and information stands at Sunday markets. The local press responded well to the campaign, and Flora Tristan held press conferences and appearances in the media discussing the subject of women's rights (InformantNCSO-2).

In Cajamarca, the strategies were directed more toward the peasants than toward the government. The CSOs gave information to the farmers, spoke with the people about their rights, arranged role plays with technicians to create gender awareness, showed films, and made radio announcements (InformantLCSO-1). One of the most important strategies was to go with the PETT officials into the field and give information to the peasants, and in this way reach both the technicians and the peasants at the same time. The main goals were to identify the problems that the women of Cajamarca would face in the formalization process, inform the women about their rights, and come up with and promote suggestions on how to improve the situation/rights for women. Flora Tristan assisted the local organizations with courses, workshops and information. According to an evaluation of the project in Cajamarca (Fernandez et al. 2000), around 360 women and 800 men received detailed information about women's rights in the titling process. The local organizations also claimed to have good communication with the leader of the local PETT office and with some of the group leaders (Macassi León 1996, InformantLCSO-4).

In Cusco, CSOs worked with PETT officials with empowerment, gender-sensitivity training, and accompanying the technicians into the field. InformantLCSO-7 thinks this work had a major effect, since the personnel in Cusco was more stable than in many other regions. In addition, local organizations have the advantage of stronger networks and better contact with the local PETT office. The local CSOs held workshops and meetings, and collaborated with other civil society organizations. The goal was to create awareness of the problems, and

put women's rights on the agenda of neutral civil society organizations. The campaign was first and foremost directed at the politicians, the Ministry of Agriculture and PETT officials. According to an evaluation of the campaign, the CSOs in Cusco also had a workshop with 45 participants from PETT: lawyers, engineers and technicians. Furthermore, they had an information meeting with PETT to get the technicians to reflect upon their mindset. At this meeting there were approximately 40 participants. They also had a press conference where they presented the equal rights campaign, attended by 14 representatives from the press (Fernandez et al. 2000).

However, the CSOs in Cusco also had some strategies aimed at the public, by collaborating with social movements and distributing information to the peasants (InformantLCSO-7). To obtain access to the field, it is important to know the language and the cultural characteristics of the place where one works in order to gain the trust of the people. This was especially important in Cusco, where many of the peasants are monolingual, only speaking Quechua. CBC went out into the field with the technicians from PETT, because they did not have the social experience necessary to do their work correctly. They started with an awareness campaign with the peasants, explaining to them what it means to have a title and the value of having a title. This was an important part of the work in rural areas, because the peasants did not see the value of obtaining a title, since they had never had one before (InformantLCSO-10). In some of the rural areas, there was another way of thinking that made it difficult to understand the concept of land rights. A peasant from Cusco said to me:

> "No man can own the land, the people are only her for a limited period of time, and we are just passengers. We cannot say that we own the land; it is the land that owns the man, our life comes to an end, but the land is still there."
>
> (InformantLCSO-7)

This culture is different from the one in Lima; the CSOs in Cusco and Cajamarca worked primarily with communication, trying to avoid conflicts and misunderstandings. According to InformantLCSO-10, the collaboration with local CSOs was essential in order for women in the rural areas to receive knowledge about their challenges and rights.

4.4.5 ID Campaign

During the campaign for equal land rights, several of the CSOs realized that one of the main obstacles that kept women from receiving their land title was the lack of identification documents (ID). To participate in the titling process and receive a land title, the peasants must have civil capacity and legal documentation; access to an ID was therefore essential for women to receive their title. The lack of formal documents was especially a problem for women in remote rural areas. This problem dates back to the terrorism and political violence that the population in rural areas has suffered. According to Villanueva and Alva (2006), the lack of ID papers is a result of discrimination of women living in the highlands, and it is evidence of the absence of the state in this area. When they discovered the gravity of this problem, Flora Tristan initiated a campaign for women's rights to ID in collaboration with other organizations and institutions. Flora Tristan cooperated with the government, and had an important alliance with RENIEC (Villanueva 2005, InformantNCSO-4, InformantLCSO-7).

The ID campaign started in 2003, and was executed on a much bigger scale and had more finances than the campaign for equal land rights. The goal was to make the process of obtaining ID papers easier for everyone, and to reach out to women living in remote areas. The national campaign can be divided into three phases. During the first phase Flora Tristan started to investigate why women in certain areas were not given titles, and the results showed that a high percentage lacked both ID cards and birth certificates. The goal was to place the subject on the political agenda, and make it easier for the poorest part of the population to obtain their papers. In the second phase of the campaign, they focused more on informing the women about their rights as citizens. They gave out information to the rural women about their rights, focusing on the benefits of having an ID card. By educating female leaders, they could spread the information to a greater part of the population. They used the media to inform everyone about the implications of not having identification documents in order. In the second phase the political work was also very important, with efforts to change public opinion at both national and regional level by putting pressure on the politicians to make it easier to access the identification documents. In 2003 they started the work in three regions, before expanding the campaign to the whole country in the third phase (Villanueva & Alva 2006).

According to InformantNCSO-4, the work in Lima was especially important. Flora Tristan wanted to get a law through to the Congress, to simplify the process of obtaining the ID card. After Flora Tristan initiated this process, several other NGOs and institutions joined the campaign. Flora Tristan was the only organization from civil society that participated in

developing the plan of the identity project and they were invited to participate in the development of the whole process. The members of the ALLPA group were also important actors in this campaign (InformantLCSO-7).

4.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have presented the Peruvian land titling project and the political and legal context in which the land titling project took place. PETT was implemented by Fujimori in 1993 to promote investment in agriculture and create a more transparent land market as a natural step in his neoliberal politics. The project was financed by the IDB, and like other formalization projects in Latin America, PETT was gender neutral. Despite this, there was a significant increase in the number of formally titled plots that were jointly owned in the second phase of the project. These changes cannot be explained by changes in the legislation, and must therefore be a consequence of changes in implementation. At the end of the 1990s, CSOs criticized PETT for neglecting women's land rights. Flora Tristan, a feminist NGO, started a national campaign for equal land rights, working at different levels to influence the implementation of PETT. Their main goal was to include women in the titling process. Through strategies such as workshops, lobbying and information work they wanted to reach out to the rural women with information and influence the government, both nationally and locally. The work of the CSOs might be a possible explanation for the increase in the number of jointly owned plots. There is a connection between the "movement claim" and the increase observed in joint titling in the second phase of PETT (table 1). This relation could be a consequence of movement action, but also a consequence of outside events and actions.

5. ANALYZING IMPACT: WHAT HAPPENED?

People make sense of the world around them by composing stories. When going through my material I realized that all my informants had given me their own version of what happened during the implementation process and the importance of civil society mobilization to the implementation of PETT. However, two main stories recurred. The two stories overlap in their understanding of which factors kept women from receiving titles in the first phase of the formalization process, but they differ in their explanations of how the problems were discovered and solved. The informants working for the CSOs think that the pressure from civil society was essential for the changes in implementation, while the informants from PETT believe that civil society had very little impact. So, is it true that the pressure from CSO influenced the implementation process at the end of the 1990s? In this chapter I will analyze the impact of CSOs by using information from my in-depth interviews and performing a narrative analysis of my material. First I will discuss the factors that kept women from receiving titles in the first phase of the implementation process, before I present the two explanations of the reason for the changes. Finally I will discuss the two stories in the light of theories on social movement outcome.

5.1 PROBLEMS IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the changes in the legislation do not explain the increase in the number of jointly owned plots. Hence, the observed increase has to be explained by alterations in the implementation of the formalization project (InformantNCSO-1). All the informants agreed that several difficulties during the first phase of PETT had kept women from accessing their land rights and receiving a land title. As Deere and León (2001) stress, women are at risk of being marginalized in these kinds of processes without an explicit focus on gender. According to the informants there were factors in the Peruvian society and in the organization of PETT that led to the marginalization of women during the first years of implementation. The obstacles that kept women from receiving titles in PTRT1 were: women often lacked identification documents (ID), informal marriages, the machismo mindset (a culture deeply embedded in the Peruvian society), the pressure put on the technicians to achieve fast results, and language barriers (Figure 2). These issues were mentioned as

determinant factors in all the interviews. The first phase of PETT is described by several of the informants as an experimenting phase, without any concrete plan for the implementation (InformantPETT-1, InformantPETT-4). To understand why these factors had an influence on women's land rights I will go deeper into each of the obstacles mentioned in Figure 2.
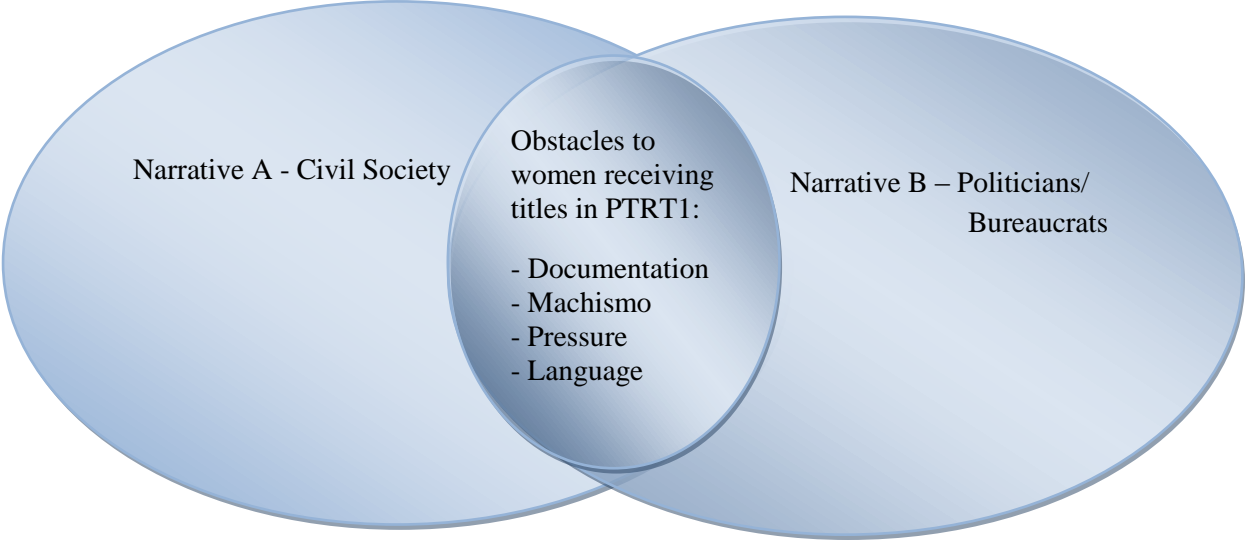
Figure 2: Overlapping explanations
Source: Fieldwork

5.1.1 Lack of identification papers and other documents

One of the main obstacles preventing rural women from receiving their land title was the problem with ID. According to InformantPETT-3, in an area of 10,000 titles, 9,000 of these had some kind of problem with their documentation. This was a problem among both women and men, but the largest percentage of persons without an ID was comprised of women. A large percentage of rural women did not have national identification papers, such as birth certificates and voter registration cards, and many couples did not have civil marriage certificates. All these documents were a requirement for including women as joint property owners. This was a serious problem, and neither the government institutions nor the CSOs had considered the gravity of this before the formalization process started. Another more serious problem they discovered during the implementation was that some women did not exist in the civil register, and therefore lacked all documentation papers. If the women did not

exist in any register they had no right to vote, no access to social services, and no possibility of obtaining a land title.

> "The most important barrier for women to get their land title was the problem with ID. This was and still is a serious issue keeping women from accessing their essential human rights."
>
> (InformantNCSO-4)

The men often had their papers in order, because they were the ones taking care of the financial transactions and legal aspects of everyday life. Furthermore, some women in the rural areas did not understand the importance of obtaining their identity card, and some were not able to get it because of the fees and administrative steps they had to go through. This affected the number of titles given to women because the PETT officers required the number of the identity card to be able to give joint or individual titles. Since the men in most cases had their ID papers in order, the women rarely protested when the technicians only put the man's name on the title. All the informants, both from PETT and the CSOs, agreed that the problem with documentation was the main challenge for women with regard to receiving their titles during PTRT1.

A large percentage of couples in Peru, especially in the highlands, live together without being legally married. Informal marriages and consensual relationships are the norm. According to Villanueva and Alva (2006), approximately 65% of women in Cajamarca and 57% of women in Cusco live in consensual unions. In this situation women have fewer rights than they would have in a legal marriage according to the Peruvian civil code. Lack of documentation to prove relationship status was also an issue for women to receive their title. In the highlands, many people are not able to become legally married. Reasons for this may be that they are already legally married to someone else, that they do not exist in the civil registry and thus lack all types of documentation, or that their husband had died and they did not have their papers in order to prove they are a widow (Republic of Peru 1993, InformantPETT-4, InformantLCSO-7).

The lack of identification documents is not only an issue for women when it comes to the formalization of land rights; it also poses a series of difficulties for women in a broader perspective. Without ID papers, women cannot access other important rights, such as economic rights, social rights, and cultural and political rights. Without ID papers women

cannot get a formal job, get elected for tasks, vote, get support from social programs or work programs initiated by the state, or go through with any legal steps. It also limits the access to social benefits, such as education, healthcare, and access to economic and productive resources essential for development. To access social programs such as the Municipal Milk Program "Vaso de Leche", the municipal kitchens, and the social program for poverty alleviation the "Juntos", the women must have their ID. Furthermore, the problem is not only the lack of ID, but also mistakes in the documents. Mistakes such as the misspelling of the name, errors in gender, and documents missing due to terrorism or offices being burnt down make processes such as PETT more complicated (Villanueva & Alva 2006, InformantNCSO-4).

5.1.2 The machismo mindset

The second problem affecting the number of titles given to women was the fact that Peru has a man-dominated "machismo" culture. The English word "machismo" derives from the identical Spanish word and refers to the assumption that masculinity is superior to femininity. It roughly translates as "sexism" or "male chauvinism". The machismo way of thinking is embedded in the Peruvian culture, where the man is seen as the head of the household (InformantPETT-1, InformantPETT-4, InformantNCSO-1).

> "The machismo culture is still strong in Peru. The woman has to do what the man tells her to do. Women are often seen as less intelligent than men. A girl goes from being the "property" of their father to becoming the "property" of her husband. Educating women on their rights is an important measure in changing this problem."
>
> (InformantLCSO-5)

The machismo mindset affected the formalization process because the women were rarely considered when the technicians went into the field and asked for the owner of the plot. The machismo culture affected the technicians working for PETT both in the way they formulated their questions and in the way the farmers reacted when the technicians approached them. According to InformantPETT-13, the fact that the man is seen as the household head was a problem when he came to the plot to ask about the civil status. The men often wanted the title in their name, and sometimes they tried to hide the fact that they were living in a consensual union. However, the machismo mindset was not only a problem among the men, but also

among the women. Sometimes women refused to receive a title in their name. The women often stayed in the house when the technicians came to the plot, and did not want to be included in the process. According to InformantPTRT1-1, the women often suggested that the title should be in the name of the son instead of her own name if the man of the house was not present. The mindset expressed as a problem by the informants is clarified by Basham's (1976:4) interpretation of a "macho":

> "From the macho's viewpoint the natural place of the woman is in the home. She is a mother first, a wife second, and a sexual being almost never (…) She must recognize and accept her role, always remembering to show deference to her husband and brothers."

This mindset poses a series of challenges for rural women in Peru with regard to accessing their rights as citizens. The way the officers articulated themselves might also have influenced the results. If they asked for the head of the household, the women were not considered. Some men stated that the plot was theirs without mentioning the women of the house to make the procedure go faster. Many women did not participate in the conversation with the technicians, due to reasons such as language barriers. Even though the Peruvian Constitution and Civil Code clearly state that both man and wife are leaders of the household, changing the culturally embedded way of thinking is a time-consuming and complicated task (Republic of Peru 1993, InformantPETT-4, InformantNCSO-3).

5.1.3 The pressure to achieve fast results

According to several of the informants, a major problem was the unawareness among the technicians working in the field. The technicians did not know the law and the implications it had for women's rights to obtain a title (InformantNCSO-1). In the beginning of PTRT1, the technicians worked based on daily goals, having to issue a certain number of titles per day.

> "The state is working to fulfill goals. To be able to reach these goals the technicians forgot or ignored important issues like asking more questions to find out if the man was married. The man often declared himself as single even though he was married and his ID card often showed the civil status he had before getting married."
>
> (InformantNCSO-4)

According to InformantNCSO-1, one of the biggest mistakes PETT made in the first phase was paying the technicians per title and contracting the officials for short periods of time. Paying according to the number of cases resolved every day made it tempting to accept quantity over quality by not asking enough questions, and not making sure the titles were issued to the right persons. So when the ID indicated single, the technicians often did not bother to ask more questions. The officials in the provinces had little knowledge of the legislation, due to lack of information and training about laws and decrees. Because of the time and paperwork, it was easier to give a title to one man than to the whole family; therefore the women were often excluded. InformantPETT-1 agrees that one of the mistakes made by PETT was to pay the employees per title, and requiring them to issue an unrealistic number of titles per day. This put the emphasis on issuing as many titles as possible, and several important details were not registered.

5.1.4 Language barriers

According to InformantNCSO-2, language barriers also kept women from receiving titles, especially in the southern highlands. Peru has two official languages, Spanish and Quechua, but there are also many other indigenous languages. Quechua and Aymara are predominant among the indigenous Peruvian population. In Cusco many peasants only speak Quechua and CSOs mentioned language barriers as a serious problem during the implementation of PETT, especially for women. Women are more often monolingual than men, and had problems communicating with the PETT officials in Spanish (Fernandez et al. 2000). When the PETT officers came, the women were not able to speak for themselves, and the men often took advantage of the situation (InformantLCSO-7). Another issue making it difficult for NGOs and researchers who wanted to investigate the impact of PETT on women was the lack of information from the PETT office disaggregated by sex. PETT data was deficient, and it made it difficult to estimate the number of female beneficiaries. It also made it hard to plan and target the equal rights campaign (InformantNCSO-2, InformantLCSO-4).

5.2 THE IMPACT OF CIVIL SOCIETY: A TALE OF TWO NARRATIVES

As we have seen in the last paragraph, the informants agree that several factors kept women from receiving individual and joint titles during the implementation of PTRT1. However, the informants disagree on how they came up with the solutions to the difficulties mentioned above. Analysis of the data from the interviews reveals two prominent narratives explaining the increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of PETT, and the role of civil society in this process. The politicians and government officials had one picture of the situation, while the members of the CSOs had another. In this chapter, I will give a presentation of the two narratives based on the information from the interviews before I discuss them in a political context.

5.2.1 Narrative A: Civil society organizations as agents for change

Narrative A – Civil Society

- The Peruvian state is a conservative institution not capable of changing on its own.

- Pressure from CSOs is the reason for the increase in joint titling.

Narrative B: Politicians/ bureaucrats
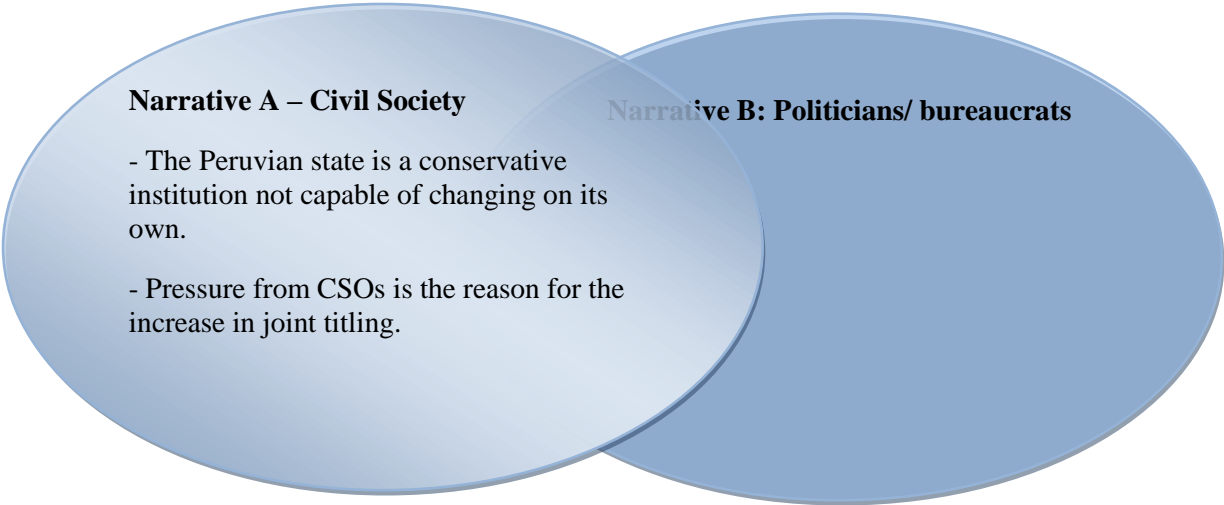
Figure 3: Narrative A – Civil Society's explanation
Source: Fieldwork

The informants working in CSOs both nationally and regionally explained the increase in the use of joint titling from PTRT1 to PTRT2 as a direct result of the equal rights campaign carried out by CSOs in the late 1990s. According to them the work of civil society, not only in Lima, but on a national scale, was of great importance because it changed the implementation

process and created awareness on the importance of equal rights to land. InformantNCSO-2 states that the campaign that Flora Tristan started in 1998 put the issue on the political agenda. Despite being a small NGO, Flora Tristan, together with other CSOs, managed to mobilize a large network of organizations both nationally and regionally. According to InformantNCSO-2 and InformantNCSO-4, the campaign made an impact on the implementation and the use of joint titling. Without the work of the civil society no change would have occurred. InformantLCSO-7 is certain that without the work of Flora Tristan and other CSOs, the number of joint titles would have been different. To change the machismo mindset is a difficult task, but InformantNCSO-2, InformantLCSO-1 and InformantLCSO-5 believe that the workshops, role plays, radio announcements and other forms of information had an impact on the way of thinking.

> "I promise you that without the work of the civil society the results would have been different. We managed to mobilize a big part of civil society involved in this subject and put the subject on the agenda despite being a small NGO."
>
> (InformantNCSO-2)

According to most of the informants from the CSOs, there would not have been any changes without the pressure from civil society, due to the structure of the Peruvian society. The informants characterized Peru as a typical bureaucracy, marked by hierarchical authority and fixed procedures. Without the work and effort of CSOs, PETT would have continued to do the things the way they did in the beginning, with minimal effort. Civil society was there to make sure that the implementation was done the way it was supposed to be (InformantNCSO-2, InformantLCSO-4, InformantLCSO-7). InformantNCSO-1 emphasizes the work done at the end of the 1990s as especially important for the changes in joint titling. PETT started opening up for change after all the pressure from civil society, and without this work PETT would have gone on taking the easiest way out. According to him the most important CSOs were CEPES, SER, Flora Tristan and the ALLPA group.

> "PETT never admitted to having problems, but it did incorporate ideas and suggestions from civil society organizations into the formalization project without giving them credit for it."
>
> (InformantNCSO-1)

The work of CSOs was important at both the national and the local level, according to my informants. The strategies at both levels were necessary to achieve results, by influencing the decision-makers and influencing the peasants. InformantLCSO-1 agrees that the work of CSOs, not just in Cajamarca, but on a national scale was extremely important for the results. She stressed the importance of the work that Flora Tristan and the local women's network did in educating the technicians on gender issues. According to her, this strategy made an impact because the technicians started to realize the importance of giving titles to women. She claims that the work of the NGOs changed the technicians' way of thinking. Political space and openness from the leaders of the national and regional PETT offices were also important factors for the success of the campaign (InformantLCSO-1).

InformantLCSO-4 agrees that the equal rights campaign had an impact on the results of the titling process, and that the results would have been different without the work of the CSOs. However, he is not sure to what extent the equal rights campaign influenced the results, since it was a small campaign without many resources. To a certain degree the work done by CSOs in this period also changed the machismo mindset, and thus improved the situation for women. He also claimed that the government would not have changed on its own, and stressed the importance of civil society organizations in Cajamarca. The civil society in Cajamarca is quite strong, and the peasant patrols (the Rondas Campesinas) helped the CSOs to get in contact with the communities. The Rondas Campesinas are social organizations concerned with daily routines and conflict resolution (InformantLCSO-4).

National NGOs and regional CSOs had different opinions on which strategies were the most effective: the ones directed toward the government or the strategies directed toward the peasants. However, all informants from civil society agreed that the work of CSOs was very important at all levels. Flora Tristan chose the regions for the campaign based on information from the local partners (NGOs and social movements) and data from PETT. PETT informed Flora Tristan about where they had most difficulties, mostly because of the lack of ID (InformantNCSO-2). InformantNCSO-4 thinks the campaign had most impact in Lima, and highlights the communication with the PETT office and the conversations with IDB as the most effective strategies. However, the strategy that worked best locally was giving out information to the rural women about their rights. According to her, the problem in working with the regional offices was the rapid changes in the technicians.

Informants from the local CSOs claim that the two most effective strategies were encouraging the women to obtain their identity papers and explaining the importance of land

rights. The women who gathered at Sunday markets were eager to obtain information and to ask questions about their rights. The information work combined with the agreement with local governments in the ID campaign was of great importance for the outcome (InformantLCSO-4, InformantLCSO-7). InformantLCSO-10 agrees that the changes in the use of joint titling are a result of the work of civil society. He states that without the work and help from CSOs, PETT would not have been able to execute the titling process. He agrees that the most important part of the campaign was speaking with the peasants about their rights, giving information and answering questions.

According to InformantNCSO-1, one of the most important outcomes of the campaign was the change in the form they used in the field to fill out information. In 2000 a new format was introduced, giving the technicians more possibilities in the section where they filled out information on civil status. In the first form, the possibilities were single or married, but in 2000 this was changed to include cohabitant as well. According to InformantNCSO-2, InformantNCSO-4 and InformantNCSO-1, the changes in the form were a direct result of the pressure put on PETT by civil society, especially by feminist organizations such as Flora Tristan. The change in the form made the details to be filled in clearer for the technicians, requiring them to ask about cohabitants as well as about wives.

The ID campaign was emphasized by all the informants as especially important for the results, by creating awareness about the importance of having ID. According to InformantNCSO-2 the equal rights campaign revealed that women's lack of ID papers was a considerable hindrance for PETT technicians with regard to giving titles to women. Technicians could not issue land titles to people without formal identification papers. As a result of this, Flora Tristan launched an awareness campaign on the importance of having ID papers, which coincided with (and possibly reinforced) ongoing governmental programs in the countryside. Several NGOs worked together to help distribute documents nationally, through information meetings and workshops. A comparison of the results from the two campaigns showed that the ID campaign was more successful, according to most of the informants. The reason for this was that it lasted for several years and had far more resources than the equal rights campaign. However, the campaign for equal land rights was also very important, and was the reason they discovered the gravity of the ID papers issue (InformantLCSO-7). Placing the importance of ID on the public agenda as well as making the process of obtaining the ID easier and faster represented a great success. The campaign went from protest to collaboration when the ID campaign was taken over by the government and

the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MINDES). As a result of the ID campaign, the government simplified the process by relaxing the requirements for obtaining the ID card by no longer requiring registration in the military service. Since military service is no longer mandatory, the Law No. 10437 (Article 37) was passed in 2004 to make the birth certificate the only requirement for obtaining the ID. The role of the CSOs changed into the role of supervisors when state institutions took over the campaign (InformantNCSO-3). The success of the ID campaign was highly dependent on the politicians, as some were helpful and open to collaboration, some not. One of the most successful activities of this project with regard to improving women's status and citizenship was to facilitate the resolution of this documentation problem. More women obtained their ID card, and more women obtained their land title as a result of the campaign (All informants).

5.2.2 Narrative B: Technocratic view

Narrative A: Civil Society

Narrative B: Politicians/bureaucrats

- The state is capable of learning from their mistakes and change.

- The changes are the results of a learning process and capacity building; CSOs had none or little influence.

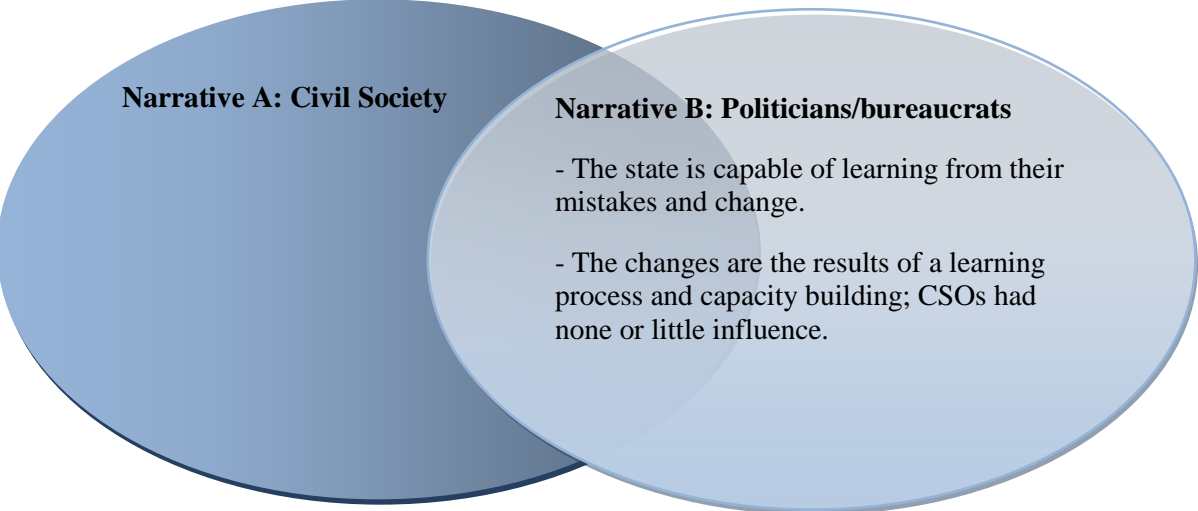Figure 4: Narrative B - Technocratic view
Source: Fieldwork 2010

The informants working in the Ministry of Agriculture (MINAG) and PETT in Lima and the regions explained the increase in joint titling by progress and development within the institutions. The changes in the formalization process took place as they discovered the aspects that needed improvement. After seeing the reality in the field, the technicians

discovered several issues that inhibited them in doing their job correctly (InformantPETT-1, InformantPETT-4, InformantPETT-6). An example to illustrate this is the practical issues such as the cost for the farmers to pick up their title, the cost of the bus ride and the copy fee that kept farmers from going to the office. Small improvements in issues like this happened throughout the process. According to InformantPETT-1, the first phase of the implementation was a construction process in which many mistakes were made; changing and learning from those mistakes has been a gradual process.

> "In PTRT1 we had a lot of difficulties, because we did not have any experience. They should have done a pilot project to find out what kind of problems we might encounter, and the problems with the forms we used. I did not receive any information like this, and the first phase was like a limbo, and little by little we learned from our mistakes."
>
> (InformantPETT-6)

The reality the technicians met in the field formed the development of the project. According to InformantPETT-1, many of the problems in the first period of implementation were a consequence of the fact that the Legislative Decree 667 was implemented on a national scale without a concrete plan. There was no control of the quality of the decrees, norms and the forms that were used. The technicians had no experience with similar projects and no guidelines, and the explanations from the technicians from Lima did not match the reality in the field. According to informants from both Cusco and Cajamarca in PTRT1 everything was a bit uncertain, the employees had no experience, and they started the work without exact directions on how they should proceed (InformantPETT-7, InformantPETT-13).

> "My point of view is that the main issue was that we did not have a clear vision of how the process was going to be when we started. And if we, the leaders, did not know how to proceed, how could we give clear instructions to the officers going into the field."
>
> (InformantPETT-1)

According to InformantPETT-1 the increase in joint titles reflects better procedures and routines in the field, not due to political change, but to a change in implementation. The institution learned from its mistakes and strived to be better. One example of these improvements is the change in the form they filled out in the field. According to the

informants from PETT, this change was not due to any pressure from civil society, but an effect of experience in the field. The form had several modifications since 1997. At first the only options for civil status were "married" or "single", but after discovering that a large percentage lived in consensual unions, PETT changed the form to better fit the reality in the field.

> "In PTRT2 everything was easier, the guidelines from the PETT office were better and the workers more experienced, thus PETT improved. The technicians were more experienced, they knew how to fill out the form and what questions to ask. The decrees were clearer and the forms were better."
>
> (InformantPETT-1)

The changes were a consequence of the experiences the technicians had had in the field and the realities they found in the rural areas. In the rural areas in Peru, informal living situations were the norm, and PETT needed to adjust the form to solve the problem. Another explanation of the changes mentioned by the informants in PETT was that they paid more attention to details in the PTRT2, because of the problems with the public registry in the first phase. If the ID stated "married", both the man and the wife had to sign in order for the couple to receive the title (InformantPETT-1).

Most of the informants in this group agreed that civil society organizations had little, if any, influence on the implementation process. Informants at the national level could not recall being in contact with any organizations with respect to this subject, or having any conversations with CSOs. They agreed that the impact CSOs had on the implementation process was minimal, on both the national and the local scale. InformantPETT-4 argues that the inclusion of women was a gradual process. InformantPETT-10 agrees with this and argues that he did not participate in or hear about any workshops or campaigns in Cajamarca during this period. The PETT officials themselves explained to the peasants the importance of including the women in the land title, and the consequences if they did not. The officers filled out a form, and in the form it was clear that the name of the wife or partner had to be filled in and both had to sign the papers. InformantPETT-13 claims that there was no protest from civil society on this issue, stating that there were some disagreements, but only at an individual level.

In 2003, after discovering that the lack of ID was a widespread problem, PETT made an agreement with RENIEC to make it easier to obtain the ID card. The ID campaign was initiated in 2004 on a national scale, where both institutions and CSOs participated to make it easier for people living in extreme poverty to access their papers. PETT made an agreement with the national registry, so that they could cooperate on giving out the ID and the land titles for free in the poorest areas (InformantPETT-3). Several NGOs also participated in this process, especially in the poorest areas in Cusco. The church was often involved, together with social programs such as the Municipal Milk Program "Vaso de leche" and women's movements (InformantPETT-4, InformantPETT-6). If civil society had an impact on the formalization process, the informants from PETT all agreed that it was because of their work on the ID campaign. In the ID campaign, the work of civil society organizations played an important role by contributing to changing the way of thinking in rural areas (InformantPETT-10).

5.3 DISCUSSION OF THE TWO NARRATIVES

The two stories agree that there were changes in the practice of implementation from the first phase to the second phase of PETT, and that the implementation improved in PTRT2. Nevertheless, the parties each have a different understanding of the role civil society played in promoting these changes. They have opposing views of the bureaucracy's ability to change without pressure from other actors, and different understandings of the impact of CSOs on the implementation process. This illustrates the difficulties in analyzing the impact of civil society mobilization mentioned in the theoretical framework. The two stories give a black or white understanding of the situation, but the reality seems to be more complex. The answer to my research question might be a more nuanced version of these polarized stories.

5.3.1 A more nuanced view

Most of the informants under-communicated the interaction and interplay between the civil society and outside influence, but a few of the informants voiced a more moderate view and gave me a more complex story. InformantLCSO-7 believed the increase in joint titling to be a sum of various factors.

> "Finally, I would say that the changes were a sum of several factors. Part of the reason could have been that the technicians learned from their mistakes and strived to be better, but the pressure from civil society was very important to push these improvements. Political openness was also an important element."
>
> (InformantLCSO-7)

InformantLCSO-7 agrees with the informants from PETT that the institution learned from its mistakes and made changes to improve the implementation process. However, she stresses that this alone does not explain the increase in joint titling. The pressure from the civil society was the most important reason for the improvements and for the civil society to succeed it is dependent on political openness from above. All these factors led to the changes in implementation, but the pressure from CSOs was decisive for the increase in the use of joint titling (InformantLCSO-7).

InformantPETT-3 and InformantPETT-4, working in the second phase of PETT, were also more nuanced in their understanding of the situation. According to InformantPETT-4, Peru has a strong civil society, and it has played an important role in improving political processes in Peru and in making politics more transparent. InformantPETT-3 claims that the CSOs had a certain influence in the late 1990s and that they played an important role both nationally and locally. The NGOs worked to promote women's rights in the titling process, and the CSOs in Cajamarca were especially active. The informants claim that the work of the CSOs that was directly associated with influencing the implementation was probably of some importance for the changes in the use of joint titling. However, they do not think the campaign was essential for the results.

According to InformantPETT-4, it is important to place the changes in PETT in a political context.

> "In Fujimori's time the political context made it difficult for civil society to reach through. This was a complicated era, with censorship and stately control of the press. The political context is extremely important to understand the differences between the two phases."

According to InformantPETT-4, the political openness depended on the person sitting in important positions. The vice minister of agriculture in 1999-2001 wanted to open up for criticism and changes, and PETT improved during this period. In the second phase the

institution was open to any kind of help and suggestions for improvement, including from NGOs. In PTRT1 the focus was on the number of titles one could achieve in a short period of time, while in PTRT2 the process changed and PETT became more open to outside influence. There was more openness from politicians in this period and PETT also made institutional agreements with the Ministry of Women (InformantPETT-4).

InformantPETT-4 does not recall any interaction with Flora Tristan on a national level, but PETT collaborated with local CSOs in the areas where the people did not trust the police, such as the Rondas Campesinas in Cajamarca. However, according to InformantPETT-4 the work of CSOs was important both at a national level and locally. International NGOs also helped, especially with the information work, informing people about their rights. The informants disagreed on where the work of CSOs had most impact. InformantPETT-6 agrees that the CSOs might have had an impact, but thinks that the influence of civil society was more at a national level than in Cusco.

> "At a local level we just went out in the field, explained to the farmers the motive of our presence, the advantages of having a title, and did our work. I think that the NGOs and civil society could have made a difference at a local level by explaining to the farmers the value of a land title, and by explaining what they can do with it. But I do not remember participating in any workshops, or having anything to do with CSOs in Cusco in this period."
>
> (InformantPETT-6)

According to the supervisor for the implementation in the northern regions (InformantPETT-3), the officers were met with another reality than the one they expected when they went out into the field. This affected the quality of the results, because they did not always know how to handle the difficulties. Cajamarca had a strong civil society in the late 1990s and Flora Tristan worked with these organizations at a regional level in Cajamarca. According to him, the CSOs made PETT aware of aspects that needed to be changed, such as the fact that some of the technicians overlooked the civil status and gave the title to the man alone. According to InformantPETT-3, the influence the CSOs had on the implementation was more at a local than at a national level. There might have been the same type of pressure as seen in Cajamarca from civil society in other areas as well. However, he claims that the changes were foremost a result of a learning process. He argues that the changes that took place at the PETT

office in Lima were a result of experience from the field, because the NGOs in Lima do not have a strong impact on the state (InformantPETT-3).

5.3.2 Analyzing Impact

Amenta and Young (1999) stress that to ascertain the impact of challengers it is not enough to take the challenger's word for this. Focusing only on the challenger's stated goals means placing limits on an analysis. The key methodological question when analyzing impact is: what would have happened in the absence of the challengers? The main challenge is to establish a causal link between the social movement action and the observed change. It is difficult to differentiate which factors had an impact on joint titling from each other and to assess the direct effects of the movement campaign, since one cannot exclude the intervention of a third party. According to Tilly and Tarrow (2007), only by singling out social movement campaigns can we detect relationships between them and other sources of change. One of the key questions in this analysis will be how the obstacles to women receiving title in PTRT1 were solved or at least minimized.

The solution to the problem of ID papers started with the realization of the gravity of the problem by both CSOs and government officials. The national ID campaign was launched in 2003 by Flora Tristan with support from international NGOs. The goal of the campaign was to reach the women in the poorest and most remote rural areas. The national campaign executed by RENIEC was started the following year, in 2004 (Villanueva & Alva 2006). This problem was first put on the public agenda by Flora Tristan, prior to several other organizations joined. The result was collaboration between CSOs and the government institution. The issue was put on the political agenda and the requirement to obtain ID papers was simplified. This campaign made ID papers more accessible for all, by eliminating one of the requirements for obtaining the ID card. Using Schumaker's (1975) terminology, the ID campaign led to both agenda responsiveness and policy responsiveness. This means that the movement's concern was placed on the political agenda and civil society contributed to the formulation of new legislation to address the ID issue. One can also talk about output responsiveness, when the policies that civil society pushed through were actually implemented during RENIEC's national campaign. By facilitating the steps to obtain the ID, a higher percentage of rural women were able to obtain their documents, giving them the possibility to obtain their land title as well as access to other important resources. This process

of change seems to have been the result of civil society mobilization; the work CSOs did to change values and mindset, as well as the more practical work, seems to have had an important impact. According to Villanueva and Alva (2006), hundreds of thousands of Peruvians benefited from the national plan for documentation from 2004-2009. In Cajamarca alone they issued 15,000 IDs during the first year of the campaign.

The CSOs were not only interested in changing public policy; they also aimed at gaining support from those responsible for implementing public policy and changing values in society. Changing public opinion can be a powerful factor in determining the outcome. An important part of the campaign was to put women's rights on the agenda, and to change the machismo mindset. As Gelb and Hart (1999) state, one of the areas of feminist movement impact is a change in consciousness and value change. Most of the informants agreed that the most obvious impact of the equal rights campaign was agenda responsiveness, in that women's rights to land were placed on the political agenda. The capacity of social movements for the realization of their goals has been considered low, but they are considered more effective in the introduction of new issues into the public debate as they seem to have done in Peru (Della Porta & Diani 2006). More focus on women's rights internationally in this period may also have had an influence both on national organizations and on state institutions.

The CSOs also wanted to change the attitude of the PETT officers through workshops and information work, making them more aware of the consequences of their mistakes. However, according to most of my informants this was not the most successful strategy. There were only a few workshops around the country and many changes in the workforce. The officers participating in the workshops might not have worked for PETT for more than a couple of months. If the workshops had had any effect on the mindset of the technicians, one can mention Gamson's (1990) term pre-emption; the movements may have won gains, but did not receive recognition for their work. None of the politicians gave this part of the campaign any credit for the changes. Part of the campaign was also to accompany the technicians into the field, in order to overcome the language barriers. This work might have had an impact on the problem with miscommunication and misunderstandings, but compared to the impact of the ID campaign and the awareness work it had an impact on a smaller part of the population.

To illustrate the complexity of analyzing the impact of CSOs on women's land rights in Peru, I have used Figure 1 as the basis for a new figure (Figure 5) to illustrate the factors involved. The discursive part of the campaign was the work CSOs did to put equal land rights on the political agenda, putting political pressure on the state and challenging the machismo

mindset. The practical part of the equal rights campaign involved workshops with the PETT officers, educating local women on their rights, and distributing information to the rural women. The bureaucratic changes are the changes made by the PETT institution itself to improve the implementation process, based on experiences in the field. These three circles represent the three factors that I believe, in combination with the changes in the political, social and cultural space, seem to have led to the increase in the incidence of joint titling.

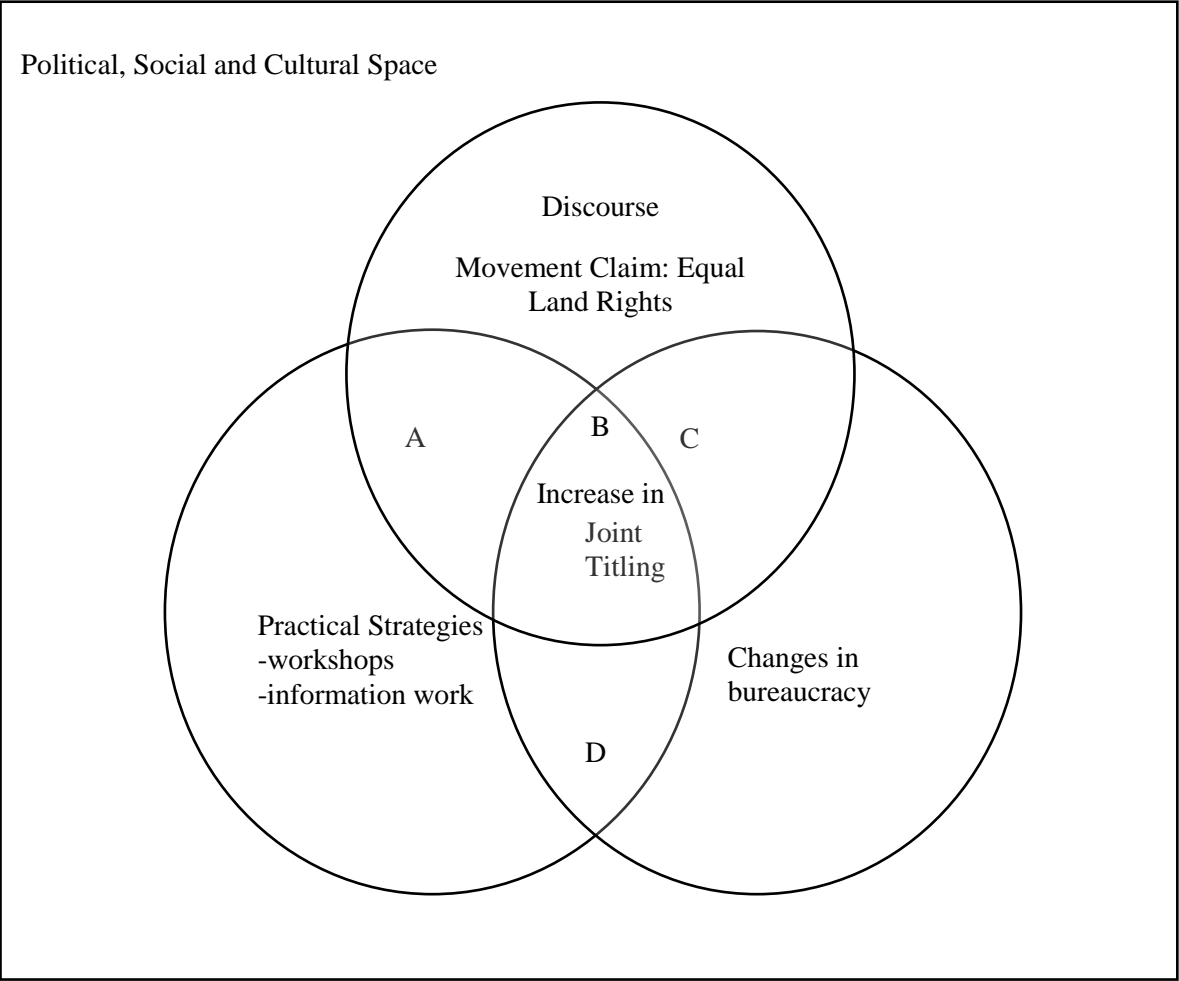Figure 5: The problem of defining the outcome of civil society mobilization in Peru

Source: Fieldwork (Based on Tilly 1999: 269).

As observed in Figure 5, the increase in joint titling seems to be a joint effect of movement actions and outside influence that bear directly on the movement claim (B). Even though the result of PETT was an increase in the incidence of joint titling, and the goal of the civil

society campaign was to include women in the titling process, we cannot exclude other explanations. As figure 5 illustrates, defining outcome is more complex than this. All the effects are taking place within a broader political and cultural context that will form the political opportunity structure and influence the impact of civil society mobilization. As mentioned in the theory chapter, the political opportunity structures are features of regimes that affect the likely outcomes of actors possible claims. Those features include: a) the multiplicity of independent centers of power within the regime, b) the regime's openness to new actors, c) instability of current political alignments, d) availability of influential allies or supporters for challengers, e) the extent to which the regime represses or facilitates collective claim making, and f) decisive changes in items a) to e) (McAdam et al. 2007). The political opportunity structure in Peru in the beginning of the 1990s was influenced by the Fujimori regime, but more importantly by the threat of the terrorist organization Shining Path.

> "The Fujimori era was a complicated period. The political context was very different from the way it is today. Shining Path was still present in some rural areas, and this affected the formalization process as well as the space of action civil society could work within."
>
> (InformantPETT-4)

The repression of civil society actors led to fear among CSOs participants during this period. In 1991 Shining Path began an open attack on the leadership of popular women in Lima. One coordinator of the Municipal Milk Program "Vaso de Leche" in Lima was murdered after she had denounced the presence and activity of Shining Path in the neighborhood, and leaders of CSOs were threatened. Some were killed and several fled the country (Blondet 1991). As the Fujimori regime ended in 2000, the threat of Shining Path also diminished. After the capture of the leader, Abimael Guzmán, in 1992, most of the remaining Shining Path leadership fell as well. The organization fractured into splinter groups after the last leader was captured in 1999. These changes affected the political opportunity structure of CSOs in 2000, creating an environment that was more "civil society friendly" by reducing repression.

It is important to also note the geographical aspects in Figure 5. The work of the CSOs on the discursive part in the changes of opinion came from national organizations, but they were in turn influenced by international organizations. The practical work they did was both national and local. This meant that regional differences in the impact also occurred. The importance of CSOs has varied from region to region. Both the informants from CSOs in

Cajamarca and the leader of the implementation in the northern regions agreed that Cajamarca had a strong civil society that pressured the regional office to look at the procedures and how they worked in the field. The reflections of InformantPETT-3 coincide with the results we see in the national numbers shown in table 1. Cajamarca was also one of the few departments where PETT was disaggregating data on land title beneficiaries by sex from the beginning. According to Deere and León (2001), PETT started collecting this data only after being pressured by local CSOs. The numbers in table 1 also show large variations between the regions, which makes it seem that local CSOs might have had a greater impact than the pressure put on PETT nationally. The regional differences cannot be explained by improvements within PETT as an institution. However, one cannot know how the results from the titling process would have been without these factors.

5.4 SUMMARY

The first phase of PETT is described by several of the informants as an experimenting phase, without any concrete plan of execution. The lack of identification documents, the machismo mindset, and the pressure put on the technicians to achieve results and language barriers were the factors that kept women from obtaining their land title during the first phase of PETT. The lack of ID papers was emphasized by all the informants as the most important issue, not only keeping women from receiving their land title, but also preventing them from accessing other essential rights and social benefits and welfare programs. The increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of PETT and the role of civil society in this process were explained by two conflicting stories. The politicians and government officials explained the changes as a result of improving and learning from their mistakes, while the members of the NGOs and social movements claimed the changes to be a direct result of civil society protest. The two narratives illustrate the difficulties in analyzing impact, by revealing a complicated and complex reality. Some of the informants had a more nuanced explanation, leading me to believe that the answer to my research question might be a more nuanced version of these polarized stories. A change in the factors that kept women from receiving titles in PTRT1 has to be the reason for the increase in joint titling. The ID campaign started by Flora Tristan in 2003 seems to have had a decisive effect. The civil society also seems to have contributed to changing the machismo mindset and putting women and land rights on the political agenda, but the political context has also played a significant role. There were several changes in the

political opportunity structure with the fall of Fujimori in 2000. A sum of these factors seems to have led to an increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of the implementation process, making the impact of civil society mobilization part of the explanation. However, comparison of the regional differences suggests that local CSOs have had a greater impact than they have had nationally.

6. CLOSING REMARKS

The research question that was posed for this thesis is: *How did Civil Society Organizations influence women's land rights during the implementation of the National Land Titling Project (PETT) in Peru?* In order to answer this question I had to find out more about the civil society agents by answering the following sub-questions:

- What type of CSOs participated in the campaign for equal land rights?

- What forms of collective action were undertaken by the CSOs in Peru to influence the implementation? What was the background for mobilization, and on what scale did the actors work?

- Did the campaigns and protests have an impact? If so, which strategies made a difference?

PETT was implemented by Fujimori in 1993 to promote investment in agriculture and create a more transparent land market as a natural step in his neoliberal politics. The project was financed by the IDB, and like most other formalization projects in Latin America, PETT was gender neutral. Although PETT did not have any policies to address gender inequality, investigations show that there has been a significant increase in the number of formally titled plots that were jointly owned in the second phase of the formalization project. These changes cannot be explained by changes in the legislation, and must therefore be a consequence of changes in the implementation process. During the 1990s, PETT was subject to criticism for neglecting women and their rights to land. Feminist NGOs and rural women's movements were in the front line of this criticism. The feminist NGO Flora Tristan initiated a campaign for equal land rights in 1998, in collaboration with local CSOs in the regions. The civil society in Cajamarca was especially active, and started a local campaign for equal land rights as early as 1996. The goal was to include women in the titling process. Through strategies such as workshops, lobbying and information work they aimed to influence the government, both nationally and locally, and reach out to rural women. By looking at the goals of the equal rights campaign and the results from the investigations done by GRADE (2007) and the numbers in table 1, one can observe a correspondence between the "movement claim" and the

increase observed in joint titling in the second phase of PETT (table 1). This relation could be an outcome of movement action, but also a consequence of outside events and actions.

The first phase of PETT was described by several of the informants as an experimental phase, without any concrete plan of execution. I find that the lack of identification documents, the machismo mindset, the pressure put on the technicians to issue an unrealistic number of titles each day, and the language barriers were the factors that kept women from obtaining their land title during the first phase of PETT. The lack of ID was emphasized by all the informants as the most important issue, not only keeping women from receiving their land title, but also preventing them from accessing other essential rights, social benefits and welfare programs. The increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of PETT, and the role of civil society in this process was explained by two conflicting stories. One story came from the bureaucrats and politicians, while the other explanation came from members of the NGOs. The politicians and government officials explained the changes as a result of improving and learning from their mistakes, while the members of the NGOs and social movements claimed the changes to be a direct result of civil society protest. The two narratives illustrate the difficulties in analyzing impact, by revealing a complicated and complex reality.

However, I find that some of the informants had a more nuanced explanation. These explanations together with information on the broader political context lead me to believe that the answer to my research question is a more nuanced version of these polarized stories. A change in the factors that kept women from receiving titles in PTRT1 has to be the reason for the increase in joint titling. It is hard to estimate the effect of the information given to rural women and men on the importance of including women, but the numbers from the evaluation of the campaign in Cajamarca show that they educated more than 1000 peasants, who in turn spread the information to their communities. The ID campaign started by Flora Tristan in 2003 seems to have had a decisive effect, as a large number of IDs were issued during the first couple of years in the campaign. The CSOs also seem to have contributed to changing the machismo mindset and putting women and land rights on the political agenda. The political opportunity structure influenced the space that civil society works within, and the change in the political context in 2000 was important for CSOs. A sum of these factors seems to have led to an increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of the implementation process, making the mobilization of civil society part of the explanation. The main goals of the campaign were to identify the problems women would face in the titling process, inform the

women about their rights, and come up with and promote suggestions on how to improve the situation/rights for women. According to Della Porta & Diani (2006) social movements are considered effective in the introduction of new issues into the public debate. The equal rights campaign can be said to have created gender awareness by creating greater sensitivity to women's socio-political situation and welfare.

I find that the principal problem in studying impact is the causal relationship between the variables and their effect, making it nearly impossible to identify cause and effect. The shape of institutions and regimes will always affect movements and any impact will be mediated by political opportunity structure. The presence of a plurality of actors makes it difficult to assign success or failure to one particular strategy (Tilly & Tarrow 2007). However, I have tried to work around this problem by not only gathering data on the organizations in the equal rights campaign, but also collecting data on the actions of other actors. It is also essential to see mobilization in the context of broader social change variables such as the political opportunity structure. I have made an attempt to clarify the picture of what happened during the implementation of PETT, by focusing on movement claims, the effect of movement actions, and the effects of outside events, then contextualizing these events into a broader political context.

Finally, it is important to remember that the increase in legal rights to land for women do not always transfer to effective land rights. There is a distinction between legal recognition and social recognition, and if the right is not socially recognized and the law not enforced, the land title remains just a right on paper (Agarwal 1994). Even though the land titling program in Peru has led to an increase in the incident of joint titling, little investigation has been done on the actual impact on rural women's rights, and if access to a land title has the effect that theories on women and land rights believe it to have. Civil society might be important actors in this process; as supervisors, making sure that the legal rights are being socially recognized. It will be interesting to follow the investigation project: *Land titling and Gender in Peru* as they investigate the implication that formal title will have on women in Peru.

6.1 ANALYTICAL GENERALIZATIONS

Qualitative research and case studies have been criticized for producing particular knowledge, not suitable for making generalizations. However, in the case of social mobilization and impact assessment I will make an effort to draw some lines from the findings concerning the

specific case in Peru to a broader understanding of how civil society mobilization can make an impact. In today's society we see the importance of mobilization and protest. Contention is back on the front page thanks to the uprising in the Middle East and North Africa. In countries such as Egypt and Tunisia we have seen the power of mobilization, and how protest can lead to a seemingly positive change for both participants and the rest of the society. In Egypt the President, Hosni Mubarak, had to resign after 30 years in power after months of protest and pressure from civil society. However, mobilization does not always lead to the fulfillment of the protesters' goals. So what conditions must be present for social movements to have an impact? Why did mobilization have an impact in these specific cases and not in others? Can I draw some conclusions on similarities between the situation in Peru and the impact of mobilization and protest more generally? Are there any similar factors and can the finding in this thesis be generalized?

What seems to be common to the cases where mobilization and protest leads to success is that several factors have been present simultaneously. Various factors will influence the political opportunity structure and the possible impact of mobilization. It is not enough to have a common identity and available resources if the timing is not right. There has to be a weakness in the political system, a space to act. The political opportunity structure will decide the possible impact of mobilization. And there has to be an alternative to the present situation and instability in the current political alignment. Resource mobilization theorists point out that opportunities for collective action come and go and that the challenge for social movements is to identify and seize opportunities for action. In Egypt the timing was right: there was instability in the political alignment and availability of influential allies. The Muslim Brotherhood supported the challengers, and represented a strong alternative to Mubarak.

In Peru political changes were occurring, and there was recognition of women's land rights in international politics. The changes in the political space created space for new actors, and a change in the extent of repression of collective actors, both from the government forces and from terrorist groups. These changes seem to have created a good environment for action. However, the increase in joint titling might not have occurred had it not been for PETT's willingness to improve and the changes that have taken place in the broader political context. Hence, I find the conclusion to be that the impact of CSOs is dependent on the political space. Protest alone is not enough, and it is up to the CSOs to recognize the opportunity to take action when the time is right.

6.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The data I received from COFOPRI (Appendix 3) at the end of my thesis inspire new research questions. According to statistics from the COFOPRI (the former PETT office) in Lima, Cajamarca is one of the regions with most incidents of joint titling and the highest increase from PTRT1 to PTRT2 (table 1). This is an interesting observation since it was also in Cajamarca that the civil society started their campaign first. According to Deere and León (2001), the regional PETT office in Cajamarca was the first one to keep data disaggregated by sex, as a result of the pressure from local CSOs. The differences we see in the results of joint titling regionally may have something to do with the work of local organizations. The difference between the regions did not show in the national dataset, and hid important variations. The implementation of PETT happened in a decentralized way, and it seems to be in the implementation process that civil society had the most impact.

According to Gamson (1990), strongly organized movements are more successful than less organized movements. Cajamarca has a well-organized civil society and long traditions of social movements. The peasant patrols of northern Peru (Los Ronderos) started in the 1970s and spread during the 1980s in northern Peru. They arose out of peasant concerns over security and were supported by the church and center-left political parties. The Rondas Campesinas and Rondas Urbanas are social organizations concerned with daily routines and conflict resolution (Starn in Radcliffe 2004). The Rondas were founded in 1978 in the province of Chota, department of Cajamarca. The foundation was a consequence of the social exclusion of the farmer population, almost forgotten and underprivileged by the Peruvian government. Every community has its own Ronda, and Women's Rondas also emerged in this period to deal with social issues (Garcia-Godos 2006).

It would be very interesting to look more closely at the history of CSOs in Cajamarca, and how the strong traditions and network might have influenced the sucsess of the equal rights campaign there. A comparative analysis, comparing Cajamarca with other regions with similar attributes, but with a weaker civil society, might make it possible to draw some conclusions on the importance of civil society mobilization for the outcome of PETT.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of informants

Appendix II: Interview guide

Appendix III: Joint titling in the regions (table on all regions)

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Informant	Date & place for interview	Information
Group 1: Politicians & Bureaucrats		
InformantPETT-1	12.5.2010, Lima	Director of PETT during the first phase.
InformantPETT-2	12.5.2010, Lima	Lawyer working for PETT during the first phase.
InformantPETT1-3	13.6.2010, Lima	Responsible for the implementation in the Northern regions in PTRT1 and PTRT2.
InformantPETT-4	13.5.2010, Lima	Director of PETT in the beginning of the second phase.
InformantPETT-5	6.5.2010, Lima	Working for the Ministry of Agriculture during the first phase and gatekeeper to the informants working for PTRT1 in Lima.
InformantPETT-6	25.5.2010, Cusco	Technician working in the field in Cusco PTRT1 & 2.
InformantPETT-7	25.5.2010, Cusco	Technician working in the field in Cusco PTRT1 & 2.
InformantPETT-8	25.5.2010, Cusco	Working for COFOPRI and gatekeeper to PETT employees in Cusco.
InformantPETT-9	2.6.2010, Cajamarca	Technician working in the field for PETT in Cajamarca PTRT1 & 2.
InformantPETT-10	2.6.2010, Cajamarca	Technician working in the field in Cajamarca PTRT1 & 2.
InformantPETT-11	1.6.2010, Cajamarca	Technician working in the field in Cajamarca PTRT1 & 2.
InformantPETT-12	2.6.2010, Cajamarca	Leader of the PETT office in Cajamarca during the first phase.
InformantPETT-13	2.6.2010, Cajamarca	Technician working in the field in Cajamarca PTRT1 & 2.
Group 2: National CSOs		
Informant NCSO-1	7.5.2010, Lima	Researcher and leader of a national NGO network.
InformantNCSO-2	11.5.2010, Lima	Working for a feminist NGO.
InformantNCSO-3	21.5.2010, Lima	Leader of a national NGO .
InformantNCSO-4	15.6.2010, Lima	Working for a feminist NGO.
InformantNCSO-5	6.5.2010, Lima	Researcher on the subject of civil society working for a national organization.

Group 3: Local CSOs		
InformantLCSO-1	1.6.2010, Cajamarca	Leader of local women's network in Cajamarca.
InformantLCSO-2	1.6.2010, Cajamarca	Former president of the Rondas Campesinas in Cajamarca.
InformantLCSO-3	1.6.2010, Cajamarca	Working for a local NGO, especially active in the ID campaign.
InformantLCSO-4	1.6.2010, Cajamarca	Leader of a local NGO, responsible for the first equal rights campaign in Cajamarca.
InformantLCSO-5	3.6.2010, Cajamarca	Representing Flora Tristan in Cusco.
InformantLCSO-6	25.5.2010, Cusco	Leader of a farmer's movement in Cusco.
Informant LCSO-7	24.5.2010, Cusco	Working for a local women's organization.
InformantLCSO-8	25.5.2010, Cusco	Leader of a farmer's movement in Cusco.
InformantLCSO-9	24.5.2010, Cusco	Working for a local NGO focusing on land issues in Cusco.
InformantLCSO-10	24.5.2010, Cusco	Working for a local NGO focusing on land issues in Cusco.
InformantLCSO-11	27.5.2010, Cusco	Leader of a women's movement in Urubamba, Cusco.
InformantLCSO-12	27.05.2010, Cusco	Leader of a network of local women's movements in Cusco.

* National CSO = NCSO

* Local CSO = LCSO

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Fieldwork in Lima, Cajamarca and Cusco (translated from Spanish)

April-June 2010

INFORMANT GROUPS

Politicians and Bureaucrats working in PTRT1 and PTRT2

National and Local NGOs and Academics

Local Grassroots Movements and Women's groups

Politicians & Bureaucrats

• Introduction: telling the informant about myself and my thesis, what I write about, the purpose of the interview and asking permission to record it. Starting off with general questions about PETT to ease in to the subject.

• When did you work for PETT, and what was your position?

• Can you talk a little bit about PETT's policies in relation to gender sensitivity?

• What were the guidelines in relation to the use of joint titling in the various stages of implementation?

• According to surveys, one can see an increasing in the use of joint titling in the second part of the implementation process of PETT. Why do you think this happened, what do you think this is a result of?

• How do you think PETT influenced women's land rights?

• NGOs and Women's Organizations wanted to influence the implementation process. Do you think this work had an impact on the outcome? Do you think social mobilization of women played a role in promoting these changes? How do you understand the changes that took place in the second period of implementation?

• Did you participate in or hear about gender sensitivity workshops arranged by Flora Tristan or any other involvement of CSOs in the implementation process?

• Are there any other factors that you believe have affected the process? (Changes in political parties, outside influence from international institutions such as IDB and international NGOs?)

Civil Society Organizations & Academics

• Introduction: telling the informant about myself and my thesis, what I write about, the purpose of the interview and asking permission to record it. Starting off with general questions about the organization to ease in to the subject.

• Can you tell me about the campaign for equal land rights? How did you work to influence the implementation process?

• Why did your organization get involved in the implementation of PETT? What was the background/goal? Did international organizations influence/inspire the campaign?

• Why are land rights important for women?

• When did you become involved in the implementation of PETT/ start the campaign?

• What strategies were used, and which strategies do you think worked best?

• What was the goal of the work, and to what extent do you feel that you reached your goals?

• Did you collaborate with other organizations and institutions? If so which organizations, on what level?

• How did you finance the campaign? Did you receive financial support?

• How do you view the implementation process of PETT relation to the use of joint titling? Have you seen any changes in this aspect from when the process started until today?

• According to surveys, one can see an increase in the use of joint titling in the second phase of the implementation of PETT. Why/What do you think this is a result of? How do you understand the changes that took place in the second period of implementation? Do you see the changes as a result of your work?

• NGOs and Women's Organizations wanted to influence the implementation process. Do you think that this work had an impact on the outcome? Do you think that the social mobilization of women played an important role in promoting these changes?

• Are there any other factors that you believe have affected the process? (Changes in political parties, outside influence from international institutions such as IDB and international NGOs?)

• Do you think that the number of joint titles would have been the same without civil society participation?

• Did you cooperate with other actors internationally, nationally or locally?

• Do you think that the work nationally or locally had most effect on the outcome?

• Were there any differences between the regions; if so why?

• What is your goal for the future in relation to women and land rights?

Local Grassroots Organizations & Women's movements

• Introduction: telling the informant about myself and my thesis, what I write about, the purpose of the interview and asking permission to record it. Starting off with general questions about the organization to ease in to the subject.

• Why are you dedicated to this issue, and when you became involved in the process?

• What did you want to achieve with your participation? Why are land rights important for women?

• Were you encouraged by others to get involved (NGOs / other women), or was it based solely on your own initiative?

• Do you feel that the national and regional NGOs are representing the rural women?

• What methods/strategies did you use to influence implementation?

• Do you think that the work you did had an impact on implementation process?

• What strategies do you think were most effective/had an impact on the results?

• What other actors do you think influenced the authorities?

• NGOs and Women's Organizations wanted to influence the implementation process. Do you think that this work had an impact on the outcome? Do you think that the social mobilization of women played an important role in promoting these changes?

• Are there any other factors that you believe have affected the process? (Changes in political parties, outside influence from international institutions such as IDB and international NGOs?)

• Do you think that the number of joint titles would have been the same without civil society participation?

• Did you cooperate with other actors internationally, nationally or locally?

• Do you think that the work nationally or locally had most effect on the outcome?

APPENDIX III: JOINT TITLING IN THE REGIONS

	Number of Titles PTRT 2	Number Joint Titles PTRT2	Number of Titles PTRT1	Number Joint Title PTRT1	% Joint Titling PTRT1	% Joint Titling PTRT 2
NATIONALLY	447 151	256 542	1 061 666	472 200	44%	57%
CAJAMARCA	85 612	53 988	259 271	81 392	31%	63%
LA LIBERTAD	66 222	37 216	41 386	22 127	53%	56%
PUNO	57 732	34 898	58 858	41 784	71%	60%
JUNIN	32 777	18 708	26 916	14 482	54%	57%
APURIMAC	23 810	14 725	38 225	23 878	62%	62%
HUANUCO	23 116	11 689	12 474	666	5%	51%
AYACUCHO	22 110	11 336	75 947	38 780	51%	51%
ANCASH	20 134	11 212	294 358	110 783	38%	56%
CUSCO	18 204	9 371	25 446	14 943	59%	51%
AREQUIPA	12 796	8 713	56 004	31 673	57%	68%
HUANCAVELICA	12 098	8 134	1 290	158	12%	67%
LAMBAYEQUE	11 167	4 369	28 444	14 587	51%	39%
AMAZONAS	10 426	5 938	20 997	11 706	56%	57%
UCAYALI	10 057	5 522	2	2	100%	55%
PIURA	9 834	6 221	22 112	14 732	67%	63%
LIMA	7 853	3 542	14 060	4 567	32%	45%
SAN MARTIN	7 121	3 975	27 947	15 866	57%	56%
PASCO	6 984	3 417	6 080	3 278	54%	49%
LORETO	3 660	1 024	400	33	8%	28%
ICA	1 589	721	25 081	12 240	49%	45%
TUMBES	1 582	783	4 296	2 313	54%	49%
MADRE DE DIOS	1 024	439	2 108	1 152	55%	43%
MOQUEGUA	822	398	13 828	7 736	56%	48%
TACNA	396	197	6 129	3 321	54%	50%
CALLAO	25	6	7	1	14%	24%

Source: COFOPRI 2011, Calculated by Oscar Madalengoitia at IEP