Rethinking Success for Transnational Advocacy Networks: A Grounded Theory Analysis of the *16 Days of Activism Against Gender Based Violence* Campaign

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I also received primary supervision for one academic year from Laura Cram, while Catherine became a parent, and I am amazed that the transitions at the beginning and end of that year were both so smooth. Laura poured enthusiasm and support into my project and guided me through my first substantive drafts of three chapters. She did this despite taking up a new post at the University of Edinburgh only a few weeks after becoming my supervisor; and I am extremely grateful for the time and energy she so willingly dedicated to my project. Having previously been my biggest critic during annual reviews, I feel that her input has strengthened my project substantively and made me more confident in my claims.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis questions whether an adequate understanding of 'campaign success' exists in transnational advocacy network (TAN) scholarship. I argue that success has been understood as 'influence on state behaviour', but that alternative understandings are possible. These alternatives can be uncovered by bringing in the understandings of activists themselves and considering success through the lens of real experience. I study a well-known global campaign, *16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence,* run by a TAN organised around the issue of violence against women. I use Constructivist Grounded Theory as developed by Kathy Charmaz (2006) to make sense of semi-structured qualitative interviews with activists, and campaign documents. I argue that success in this case means 'sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge', and I demonstrate this by bringing together three distinct success stories which activists told about their work: (1) success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders, (2) success as empowering women, and (3) success as building a network. From my empirical argument I then develop three theoretical proposals to move TAN theory towards a fuller, more nuanced account of campaign success. I suggest that scholars should: (1) recognise both public and private spaces as sites of campaign success; (2) treat TANs as constructed, heterogeneous actors within which there are internal power hierarchies and consequent contestations over the meaning of success; and (3) view success as distinct from the achievement of the campaign's overall goal, and tied instead to incremental gains occurring throughout the process of a campaign.

INTRODUCTION

In International Relations the 1990s brought a surge of interest in the collective action structures Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) have called transnational advocacy networks (TANs). TANs are fundamentally networks of 'voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal' interactions between non-governmental organisations (NGOs), states and international organisations. These interactions take place 'around a principled issue … (and) across national borders'; and they are geared towards promoting new norms by facilitating cross national dialogue and influencing target actors - usually governments or influential institutions - to embrace new positions (Keck and Sikkink 1998). TANs have been heralded champions of human rights norms, highly effective in socialising non-liberal governments (see, for example, Risse et al., 1999); and '*the* organisational expression of social movements' (Desai, 2005:2). Interest has not waned over the years, and this thesis joins the debate by asking a new theoretical question about these networks – how should the success of transnational advocacy networks be conceptualised?

The success of TANs is an important yet overlooked question in the literature. This is despite the fact that TANs are largely understood as successful forms of activism, particularly in the area of human rights**.** In fact, there has been some criticism of the fact that analysis has tended to focus on 'successful' cases and has ignored non-successful ones (Schmitz, 2010:7189). Despite widespread assumptions of success however, the concept itself has received scant theoretical attention. Keck and Sikkink (1998) initially defined 'success' for transnational advocacy networks in their seminal work, *Activists Beyond Borders*; and they use the term interchangeably with 'effectiveness'. Since 'success' and 'effective' are synonyms I stick to the term 'success' throughout this thesis in order to keep matters simple. Also, as I will show in Chapter One which follows, success is a widely used term in much of the literature. Success then, was defined by Keck and Sikkink (1998) as the following five stages - 'framing debates and

getting issues on the agenda'; 'encouraging discursive commitments from state and other actors; causing procedural change at the international and domestic level; affecting policy'; and finally, 'influencing behaviour changes in states'. This has set a precedent for future TAN scholars who assume that success is measured in terms of the 'core mandate of narrowing the gap between states' international commitments and domestic practices' (Schmitz 2010:7202). I suggest however that this understanding of success may be too narrow; and it at least deserves some analytic scrutiny.

I argue that it is important to look more closely at the idea of success for three reasons – one ideological, one empirical, and one methodological. Taking the first – ideological – reason, I draw attention to the fact that TAN scholars have framed success in terms of influencing states – that is, 'explicit policy shifts seem to denote success' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:26). While networks herald an exceptional new form of power in influencing the agendas of governments, I point out that this is not all that they do and that there may be other possibilities when it comes to conceptualising success. I show that the current approach which TAN scholars take is not based solely on empirical observations about the ultimate end of network activity, but that it instead stems from an unacknowledged liberal assumption about the way in which politics is carried out amongst different actors in the international sphere. There is no doubt that the influence of networks on states is significant,[1] but I want to set aside any ideological judgements about which types of outcome should be named 'success'. I have clear reasons for avoiding this type of judgement, and I elaborate those in the chapters which follow. In Chapter One, for example, I argue that networks are heterogeneous structures and that not all members are necessarily aligned with a liberal perspective, and they may therefore seek to name success elsewhere. Feminist activism is one example of this since feminists have adopted both liberal and radical approaches towards their state-based gains.

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[1] Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 's 1999 and 2014 edited books arguably provide the most systematic and best-known examples.

In the same chapter, I argue that activist voices have been excluded from conceptualisations of TAN success. I seek to bring those voices in, and this means reserving judgement in order that their messages can be heard.

The second - empirical - reason to look more closely at the idea of success is that networks do more than lobby governments, and their campaigns may also have a longevity which makes it impractical to focus on only one type of outcome. The literature hints that networks undertake a wider range of activities than trying to influence states – references are made, for example, to grassroots awareness raising and increased consciousness among the public (see Keck and Sikkink 1998:25). The current understanding of success accounts only for outcomes around the behaviour of states or institutions, and overlooks outcomes in relation to any other sphere of network activity. I argue that a closer look would allow scholars to determine whether there are any other outcomes in spheres other than the formal political sphere can also be understood as success. Further, networks do not simply cease their activity following a textbook 'success', such as securing a Mine Ban Treaty from the United Nations (see Shawki, 2010 for a discussion of this case). The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) - which secured this treaty - is cited as a successful campaign. However, securing the treaty is only one aspect of what the network around this campaign has done and there is little analysis of whether and how it has been successful since. Outside of the literature it is clear that this campaign now seeks to 'finish the job' it started when it secured the treaty, and has evolved with a new set of goals (ICBL, 2014). This indicates that not only might networks carry out a wider range of activities and therefore have a different conception of success than we currently include in the literature, but that networks which meet the literature's current criteria for success may evolve after achieving it and engage in a wider range of activities which also merit consideration.

The third - methodological - reason to look more closely at the idea of success is that the voices of activists themselves have not been included in formulations of TAN success. I argue that including activist voices means that some of the possible ideological variance highlighted above, as well as evaluations relating to the different activities of a network, are more likely to be accounted for. TAN theory already describes the way in which activists construct campaign issues, negotiating meanings in order to find resonant 'frames' for activism. The idea of appropriate framing is borrowed from social movement scholarship and refers to the 'conscious, strategic effort by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996, cited in Joachim 2007:19).[2] Constructivism, which is the epistemological underpinning for TAN theory, indeed directs attention to the intersubjective construction of meaning. However in assessing the outcomes of activism, constructivism is used by TAN scholars in a top-down way. Theorists are interested in the negotiation of meaning between networks and states, not between activists facilitating the campaign. As such, success is determined to be about states adopting new identities – an outcome which can be assessed through statements and policy decisions. There is currently no 'bottom-up' account of success, based on the negotiation of meaning among activists. Without tapping into the meanings as negotiated by activists, I argue that the concept of success remains deceptively one-dimensional. It misses the insights which might emerge through the rich and varied world of activist experience. As such, this thesis tries to broader our understanding of success by exploring it through the lens of activist experience. In doing so, it is interested in what activist accounts of success can tell us about the current understanding of success we gain from TAN theory – that is, where it agrees, challenges, or adds texture.

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[2] See Benford and Snow (1988) and McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) for detailed discussion.

Overall, in looking more closely at the idea of success for transnational advocacy networks, this thesis has two aims. The first is to understand the concept of success for transnational advocacy networks, and to do so through an empirical enquiry which takes the ideas and experiences of activists as its starting point. The second is to rethink the existing literature on transnational advocacy networks in light of the empirical findings. Here I will ask in what ways my findings provide a critique of the existing literature, and consider whether any new directions emerge for TAN scholars interested in conceptualising success.

I conduct my empirical enquiry through a case study of a transnational advocacy network around violence against women and its campaign, *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence*. The network originally came together to pursue this campaign in 1991, aiming to get violence against women recognised as an abuse of women's human rights and included on the agenda of the United Nation's World Conference on Human Rights, which took place in Vienna in 1993. It succeeded in doing so, and continued by directing its efforts towards the United Nations Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing in 1995. All the time the campaign aimed to raise awareness at the local level around violence against women and the mechanisms through which it can be addressed, and to bring about shifts in the international commitments of states. The campaign has now completed its twenty-third year. It has adopted different themes along the way to reflect the intersectional nature of its issue and it continues to galvanise activists around the globe for local, national and international level campaign work**.** Throughout the thesis I pre-dominantly refer to the campaign rather than the network because the campaign provides a focal point for the case overall. Transnational advocacy networks are 'the most informal network type' (Khagram et al., 2002) and it is otherwise difficult to pin them down for empirical analysis. Transnational advocacy networks are importantly distinct from other forms of 'networked' organisation. For

example, Moghadam (2005) talks about 'transnational feminist networks'; and highlights DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New era) and WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization) among others as examples of such networks (see Moghadam 2005:105-41 for accounts of those networks and their activities). However, both DAWN and WEDO are member-based networks with specific organizational structures, including a board.[3] This represents a more formal and clearly defined type of network than Keck and Sikkink's transnational advocacy networks.

I chose this particular case for three reasons. First, Keck and Sikkink (1998) write about it in their seminal work exploring the TAN phenomenon, and suggest that it is an example of successful, or effective, transnational organising.[4] Returning to the case more than two decades later provides an opportunity to build on our existing knowledge of it and to look at its success from a new perspective. Second, and relatedly, it is interesting that the campaign has now continued for twenty-three years and therefore might have experienced transforming conceptions about its success over this time.[5] This thesis then reveals the ways in which ideas about success might change as a campaign matures and progresses. Third, as both the TAN literature and empirical observation indicate might be the case, this campaign clearly does more than challenge governments. It boasts a rich array of activity, and this may be able to yield different understandings about success. Calling for the elimination of all forms of violence against women, the campaign has a broad aim which demands action across all spheres of society. Even in its beginning it acknowledged the complexity of its vision, with a three-fold aim: 'to get people to understand women's rights as human rights' and use 'violence as the core issue to break that open'; to create 'a global campaign … the initiative (for which) would come locally'; and to 'make people aware of

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[3] See DAWN online at: http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/about/structure and WEDO online at: http://www.wedo.org/about/board for more information.
[4] Keck and Sikkink (1998) use 'successful' and 'effective' interchangeably.
[5] In total. It of course appeared in Keck and Sikkink's book 16 year ago.

the world conference on human rights, which was coming up in Vienna' (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New York USA, July 2012). This means that it not only targeted states, but also worked to impact local level social and political life.

To analyse this case and build an understanding of success from it, I have chosen to use a constructivist grounded theory methodological approach. Grounded theory facilitates the development of theory, or theoretical ideas, from empirical data. Although it is commonly understood to be part of the positivist methodological tradition, its more recent incarnations have brought it firmly within the realm of interpretivism. I follow Kathy Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory since constructivism itself has always been at the heart of TAN theory, as scholars have sought to explain how networks change the behaviour of states. However, I argue throughout that constructivism is also the key to a more nuanced understanding of network success – that is, it can help explore what happens within networks in the same way as it helps explain the external effects networks produce. Constructivist grounded theory is, in essence, about carefully exploring meaning and understanding the ideas which emerge as jointly constructed by the research participants and the researcher.

Despite grounded theory being rarely, if ever, used in the study of politics, I have opted for this approach in its constructivist form to guide my data collection and analysis, for two reasons. First, constructivism is the preferred metaphysical framework for TAN theory and I argue throughout that it can be extended to explore the meanings which activists construct about the success of a transnational advocacy network.[6] However, and second, in order to unlock this potential I needed to combine it with a more 'bottom-up' approach to enquiry – one which will allow me to prioritise the ideas of

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[6] I discussed this in more detail when I explained my methodological rationale earlier.

activists. Grounded theory is a methodology which builds on empirical data. It relies on subject-participants with first-hand experience to shape the resultant theory and help create new knowledge, and it provides specifically tailored tools for doing so.

Following my analysis, my empirical data reveals three 'success stories', each of which frames success in a different way: (1) success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power holders; (2) success as empowering women; and (3) success as building a network. Taking these stories, I suggest that an overall understanding of success emerges, in terms of 'sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge'. I argue that this is the best way to understand success in the case of the *16 Days* campaign and that it has at least three wider implications, or lessons, for TAN scholarship. The first lesson is that scholars should recognise both public and private spaces as sites of success. The second is that TANs should be treated as constructed, heterogeneous actors which have internal power hierarchies and consequent contestations over the meaning of success. And the third lesson is that success should be understood as distinct from the total achievement of campaign goals. In sum, this is an effort to contribute to TAN theory an understanding of success which takes into account the experiences of activists themselves. Doing so enables critique of the current approach which TAN scholars have taken to success. It also demonstrates some alternative ways of thinking about what success means for these networks, and suggests new considerations which TAN scholars can bring in to future research in this area.

The thesis is organised over five chapters. Chapter One reviews the transnational advocacy network literature and its current approach to success. It considers problems with this understanding, including how well it accommodates the variety and time invested in activism; and the space given

to the ways in which activists themselves understand success. I then consider some of the alternative approaches scholars have taken to considering success by turning to literature around feminist activism, social movements and public policy. This highlights considerations such as potential disagreements about what constitutes success, the different areas of society and politics which activism might affect, and the different available perspectives when evaluating success.

Chapters Two and Three detail the methodological approach of the thesis and introduce the case study respectively. Chapter Two explains the methods for collecting and analysing data; and reflects on the methodological limitations of the research. Chapter Three provides a substantive introduction to the case study, *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence*. The chapter details the origins and evolution of the network and its campaign, its aims, the different thematic focuses it has adopted over the years, and the key organisational and individual actors which have shaped it.

In the subsequent two chapters I present the results of my fieldwork around my case study, and then analyse the emergent ideas about success in relation to those I encounter in my initial literature review.[7] So Chapter Four describes in detail the three 'stories' which activists told about success – (1) success in changing the discourse and behaviour of power holders; (2) success in empowering women; and (3) success in building a network. The main purpose here is to allow the understandings of activists to come to the fore and to speak for themselves. Chapter Five – the final substantive chapter – then moves on to my analysis of the three success stories, bringing them together to generate an overall understanding of success. It revisits the TAN literature and reflects on the contributions made by other areas of scholarship, with the empirical findings in mind. From this discussion I

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[7] See Chapter One, which follows.

develop three theoretical imperatives for TAN scholars looking to gain a more nuanced understanding of success: first, we should look beyond the state and institutional domain when developing an understanding of success, incorporating effects in both the public and private domain; second, more attention should be paid to the internal power dynamics of a network, as they have some bearing on the way in which success is framed and which frames come to dominate; and third, we should be more attuned to the temporal conditions which affect networks and their understandings of success. This means looking beyond 'textbook' cases of success, and considering what networks do next and how their conceptions of success might change. First, however, I will begin in the next chapter by reviewing existing literature to establish what TAN theory has to say about success. This will provide a starting point for the empirical enquiry to follow.

CHAPTER 1 Literature Review: Academic Scholarship on Campaign Success

This chapter will explore academic debate around the concept of campaign success. First, it will consider the ways in which scholars have understood the success of transnational advocacy networks (TANs). I draw attention to the prevalence of the accounts offered by key theorists, including Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999). Both sets of theorists conceptualise success in relation to the influence which a network has on the behaviour of states or governments. However, I then go on to argue that three problems exist with explaining success in this way. First, I suggest that it is very state-centric and this means that other potential forms of success are overlooked and excluded from the evaluation of campaign activity. Second, I argue it is temporally limited inasmuch as it does not consider networks beyond their textbook successes. This means that it seems as though networks disappear once they have impacted a state, or states, in the desired way. Third, I make the case that the methodological approach of constructivism has only been partially applied with TAN theory. Here I suggest that while constructivism helps TAN scholars to explain the way in which networks construct new meanings and influence external actors to share them, the intersubjective understandings which activists share about the success of their campaigns is not touched upon. Following these critiques, I look beyond TAN scholarship and discuss the ways in which success has been approached in other areas of literature. I point out that: in policy analysis, the interpretation of the actor pursuing success is prioritised; in feminist scholarship, different approaches to a state-centric model of success are evident and suggest that ideological differences must be accounted for when conceptualising success; and in social movement scholarship, an interest in a wide variety of outcomes shows that there is benefit in opening up the concept of success to include more than TAN scholars currently do. I conclude this chapter with the idea that success is a

contested concept and is open to interpretation; and this sets the scene for the rest of the thesis which aims to look anew at success and discover different ways in which it might be interpreted, and indeed contested.

1. <u>Transnational Advocacy Network Scholarship and Success</u>

Research on transnational advocacy networks has focussed on the success networks have enjoyed in influencing the course of international and domestic politics (Kiel 2011:77). Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) and later, Thomas Risse-Kappen, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink (1999), explicitly offered frameworks for judging the success of TAN campaigns; and a focus on changing state behaviour cuts across both. To begin with, Keck and Sikkink (1998:201) describe TAN success in terms of particular stages of effectiveness, which include

(1) framing debates and getting issues on the agenda; (2) encouraging discursive commitments from states and other policy actors; (3) procedural change at the international and domestic level; (4) affecting policy; and (5) influencing behaviour changes in states.

This captures the fact that networks have several simultaneous tasks. They must define an issue and convince both policy-makers and the public to take notice and realise that the issue can be resolved through an identifiable solution. They must then monitor that solution as it is carried out. As Charli Carpenter (2011) additionally notes,

> the literature has demonstrated [that] networks such as these do a great many things, including lobbying, standard setting, monitoring compliance, and shaming norm violators; and much of the emphasis has been on demonstrating that their efforts actually make a difference to what states do (Carpenter, 2011:71).

Although varied, the activities scholars have been interested in are largely those directed at the state. Keck and Sikkink do consider, but reject, the idea that greater visibility for an issue can be called success because this makes it 'difficult to document the effectiveness of networks' (Keck and Sikkink

1998:194). Overall, the task which networks face involves their mobilization of what Keck and Sikkink call particular types of 'politics'. These include: *information politics*, which is about the ability to create 'politically usable information and move it to where it will have the most impact'; *symbolic politics*, which refers to the ability to convey a message in a way which will resonate with a far-flung audience using 'symbols, actions or stories'; *leverage politics*, which is about the use of powerful actors to affect a situation in a way which less powerful members of the same network would be unable to; and *accountability politics*, which is about 'hold[ing] powerful actors to their previously stated policies or principles' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:16). Networks usually incorporate many of these elements simultaneously within a single campaign (Keck and Sikkink 1998:16).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that this process typically occurs within a 'boomerang' pattern, whereby domestic NGOs seek the help of international allies to convince a national government, with whom their channels of communication are blocked, to be accountable for upholding human rights. Accountability is gained by exerting pressure on the rights violating government from 'above' – or through sympathetic actors outside of the state in the international community, with whom the issue resonates – and 'below' – through actors within the state and under the jurisdiction of its government (Keck and Sikkink 1999:93). The focus is on governments since human rights concerns are the key motivators for many networks, and governments are the 'primary guarantors of rights, but also their primary violators' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:12).

Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999) build on Keck and Sikkink's original framework and provide a more detailed, systematic study of how international norms interact with and influence the domestic structures and behaviour of states. They believe that states can be systematically socialized by TANs

until their behaviour and actions are consistent with the human rights norms which the TANs promote. A successful case is then framed as a state which exhibits the characteristics of having been fully socialized (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999:22-34). The authors posit a 'spiral model' of socialization, which is essentially 'several boomerang throws' and occurs thus: the 'target' state uses repressive tactics against sections of its population, and a TAN succeeds in gathering sufficient information about its behaviour to convince other states and non-state actors that human rights violations are occurring and put it on the international agenda. The repressive state usually then enters a phase of 'denial' whereby it rejects the validity of the norm posited by the international community and makes an accusation of interference, framing the international attention as a threat to national integrity. From this potentially counter-productive phase, the state then begins to make 'tactical concessions' where it enacts domestic level changes in order to pacify international criticism. Eventually, the target state begins to refer to the human rights norm when talking about its own actions and those of other states. This is 'argumentative' behaviour in as much as it explicitly engages with the norm in question; and international treaties will likely be ratified at this stage also. While this may still be a tactic to pacify critics, there will be consistency between words and action. The final phase of socialization is 'rule-consistent behaviour'. Here, 'it is crucial for this phase of the spiral model that the domestic-transnational-international networks keep up pressure in order to achieve sustainable improvements of human rights conditions.' (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999:31).

The changes which Risse, Ropp and Sikkink outline are essentially an elaboration of Keck and Sikkink's original scheme. The end goal of behaviour change is now fleshed out to include consistency in the state's rhetoric and actions, and is backed up by clues that the state has accepted and internalised the principles the network was trying to promote. This later scheme marks the high point of theorisation of TAN success, however, and

the concept has received little theoretical attention since. Scholars have implicitly worked within the frameworks set out by Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999) by hooking their narratives about successful networks to three outcomes: (1) absorption of discourse into policy language; (2) legal or policy changes / innovations; and (3) changes in overall state identity or rhetoric. Taking each in turn, I will review the conclusions of some TAN success stories which demonstrate this type of framework.

Turning firstly to the absorption of discourse into policy language, Kathrin Zippel (2009) provides an example of this. She describes the success of a gender equality TAN when it brought the issue of sexual harassment into the European Union (EU) and managed to have its language absorbed into the amended EU Directive on the Equal Treatment of Men and Women in 2002. The TAN was successful in two ways: 'in developing international expertise on sexual harassment' and 'Europeanizing' the issue; and in 'expanding legislation at the EU level', which was achieved by 'circumvent(ing) national governments' resistance to considering sexual harassment a legitimate policy issue' (Zippel 2009:59). Feminists used the TAN to construct sexual harassment as an issue with economic dimensions. This made the issue applicable to EU jurisdiction (Zippel 2009:61) and also created a 'common language by not only naming the issue but also providing alternative discourses to challenge workplace gender culture and the institutional mechanisms that perpetuated it' (Zippel 2009:79).

Second, on legal or policy changes Noha Shawki (2012) says that 'there have been a number of successful TAN campaigns over the last 15 years that have addressed a broad range of global policy issues'. The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), established in 1990, became an example of one such campaign after it secured an international treaty 'that

bans the use, production, stockpiling, and sale of anti-personnel (AP) landmines' (Shawki 2010:382). Shawki deals with success as political outcomes. She asks why certain TANs are more successful in securing political outcomes than others, and ultimately focuses on political opportunity structures. Shawki attributes the TAN's success to the diversity of its membership, which allowed participating groups to pursue national-level and context sensitive campaign strategies in support of the overarching campaign goals. This variety was effectively coordinated and the ICBL became a coherent and recognisable campaign. Further, there were effective communication flows between members, who could 'exchange information instantaneously and act quickly on new information'. As with Zippel's case above, providing relevant information was key. As one of the campaign coordinators put it, 'one of my primary roles in the coalition was to be certain that information was shared … Empowering everyone in the ICBL was key to its success' (Shawki 2010:109).

Thirdly, on changing state identity the 'success stories' in Risse, Ropp and Sikkink's (1999) edited collection are particularly relevant. Anja Jetschke (1999:162-164) examines the case of the Philippines and its path towards 'rule consistent behaviour', which makes it a 'success story' by the standard of the spiral model. Jetschke describes how human rights were eventually 'institutionalized not only in the legal and state structures, but also as part of compulsory educational programmes carried out in the military, in the police corps and in schools'. However whilst this seems positive, she adds that low level human rights violations continue, and that challenges to rule consistent behaviour exist in the form of a guerrilla movement and a non-professionalized police force exist. The presence of a 'tight and active network of NGOs' and 'partially institutionalized channels to international organizations' lays the way for further rule-consistent behaviour. State behaviour takes centre-stage and yet it is seen to be 'imperfect' in many ways. Similarly, Darren Hawkins (2002:49) examines the impact of a Chilean

human rights network. Despite obtaining only 'gradual and partial' results, 'much less than the network hoped for', he claims that it is successful for two reasons: it put human rights on the agenda, and it influenced the discourse of military regimes, policy and practice. Hawkins claims that the network 'created its own success' (Hawkins, 2002:49) because it was able to use pre-existing international and domestic human rights norms to remind Chile of its commitments and identity.

As these cases makes clear, TAN success has been hooked to the international level as well as to the level of the nation state, as Keck and Sikkink (1998) first detailed. Elizabeth Friesen's (2012) study of transnational activism in the field of global financial policy makes this international dimension clearer, examining how 'non-state actors mobilized to change the international financial system and (the) impact they have had on the rules and practices governing international finance' (Friesen 2012:4). She goes beyond Keck and Sikkink's (1998) analysis by questioning how the boomerang model applies 'when the dependent variable is *not* a state and its behaviour but instead the rules and practices of an increasingly transnational institution such as international finance' (Friesen, 2012:40 emphasis added). In the case of the campaign for debt cancellation, headlined by the popular Jubilee 2000 campaign, Friesen concludes that there were three innovative variations on the boomerang model. The first was that a number of states were targeted simultaneously in order to prompt an international organization to pressure a transgressor state. Second, an international organization was targeted by a responsive state, and this organization exerted pressure on the transgressor state. Third, and finally, civil society actors and states collaborated to influence an international organization to pressure a transgressor state (Friesen 2012:84-5). While these are interesting observations, the variations do not move TAN analysis beyond its original focus on influencing state and institutional actors – it simply adds another layer to this, some alternative scenarios within the original framework.

When success is framed in the ways these cases illustrate, a successful TAN is one which progresses towards, and attains, a clear goal which relies in impacting state actors. Once this impact has been attained the story ends – within TAN scholarship, at least. For example, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines sought a clear goal around the prohibition of landmines and managed to achieve this within international law. Its goal was clear, and once it had - to all intents and purposes – been secured, this very intuitively became an example of a successful campaign. Very little however is written about what networks do beyond such achievements; and any success thereafter risks being lost. In what follows, I address three key problems with the current approach which TAN scholars take to success. I highlight the state-centrism which has characterised TAN success, as well as the lack of a longer-term vision of success and the partial application of constructivism which prevents activists' own understandings about their success being properly addressed.

A. The Problem of State Centrism

Evaluations of TAN success look for there to be a satisfactory resolution to the problem the TAN has addressed and for this resolution to be reflected in the response of a target actor which, in the case of human rights TANs, is nearly always a state or government. Keck and Sikkink explain that in order for an issue to galvanize a network in the first instance there needs to be a 'target'. Further, to increase the likelihood of gaining state action, TANs take up the types of issues which lend themselves to such resolutions. Keck and Sikkink hope this will be the case when they argue that successful campaigns occur around very specific issue types - those involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals, or legal equality of opportunity (Keck and Sikkink 1998:204). Those issues are effective as advocacy causes because they can be moulded to fit ideational frames which are valid across different international contexts; and they can also produce causal stories about

relationships between clearly identifiable victims and perpetrators. The TAN around violence against women, for instance, fits this framework and the issue 'resonated across significant cultural and experiential barriers' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:167). It 'caught on' because it made sense to women's rights and human rights activists alike by tapping into their 'belief in the importance of the protection of the bodily integrity of women and girls'. The target in this case came in the form of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights; and later, the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women's Rights. Through targeting those conferences, the network was able to simultaneously target a number of states and ask them to consider violence against women as a human rights issue within their domestic jurisdiction.

However, this state-centric approach may cut short the full story of what TANs do since networks undertake a variety of activities not necessarily aimed at changing the behaviour of states. As discussed above, Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe 'stages of effectiveness' which end with a change in state behaviour. According to their analysis, the violence against women network was successful inasmuch as it provoked discursive change at UN conferences in Vienna (1993) and Beijing (1995). Successful outcomes included the UN General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in 1994; and the Organization of American States' adoption of the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, in the same year. Although Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999) focussed on national case studies, this result would also satisfy their later conception of a successful TAN campaign: 'change in discursive positions, procedural innovations, and policies are also occurring at national levels … Most governments took these initiatives in the period 1988-92 after networks helped put the issue of violence against women on the international agenda' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:193-4). Tackling violence against women however, ultimately demands more than this. The issue is complex and demands action at all levels of society, not only in the response of states. After all, it

'does not reflect a single cultural pattern but rather a core set of values' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:191) which are embedded in the very fabric of society. It does not refer only to bodily harm or legal equality of opportunity, nor in fact does it point to easily identifiable 'victims' and 'perpetrators'. Keck and Sikkink (1998:172) in fact make this point when they say that 'some violence against women is carried out by the state … but most violence against women is carried out by private individuals', even by women themselves. Violence takes many forms and is both perpetrated and suffered by many different types of people. This means that there cannot be one action or one outcome which offers a sufficient resolution to the problem. Keck and Sikkink (1998/9) do in fact note the awareness raising and local work undertaken by the TAN around violence against work, which must also be essential, but this receives little attention when evaluating the network's efforts.

Networks working on complex issues such as violence against women need to undertake varied work in order to address their issue sufficiently. The complexity of violence against women is of course well acknowledged by feminist scholars. Feminist understandings of violence against women point to 'interlocking structures of domination' and different 'terrains of power' (Hunnicutt, 2009:555-556) as well as a plethora of practices which constitute violence against women. For example, Hunnicutt (2009) states that violent practices range from 'rape, dowry murders, intimate partner violence and homicide', to the protectionist leanings of patriarchal social structures which ultimately repress women and limit their choices. Sharma (2005:475) clarifies that violence can be 'physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, social, financial, intellectual or other' – identifying 'other' as things such as the denial of rights. Further, feminist writers have addressed violence against women as a social change issue and proclaimed that 'ending social problems requires working with those who are afflicted or likely to be afflicted' (Campbell, 2009:437) – feminism is never detached from those who are vulnerable to, or suffer, violence. The question then becomes what this complexity means for how

success is measured, and whether TAN theory contains the tools to adequately measure the success of a feminist campaign against violence against women.

B. The Problem of Temporal Limitation

As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, networks do not necessarily stop their work after specific achievements.[8] Thus, when success is restricted to influence on states – the specific achievement TAN scholars have focussed on - a temporal cut-off is made and we do not look at what happens next, or the other ways in which a network might go on to be successful. Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (2013) however have recently argued that TAN scholars must now look beyond political commitment and ask whether networks foster longer-term compliance with norms. This has meant looking at how norms have been institutionalised and what practical difference they are making – not just whether states have agreed to endorse them in principle. As noted above even the 'successful' cases of activism might fall short of ideal outcomes, and this development may accommodate further-reaching conclusions.   Risse, Ropp and Sikkink want their analysis to account for 'new' problems, including weak or limited statehood, where states lack the authority or resources to implement their commitments; as well as instances where states get 'stuck' somewhere in the spiral process and cannot move forward. (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 2013:9-11).   Recalling Hawkins' (1999) success story, it now seems somewhat lacking as he admits that the TAN only partially achieved its goals. This suggests that any state based concession can indicate success regardless of what happens next. What happens next however is important. It is not necessarily the case that a network views its work as complete after one very specific achievement. I suggest that as TAN theory begins to look beyond these initial gains, it also

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[8] For example, I have referred to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL). It was successful in securing an international prohibition on landmines, but has since reframed its goals and continued its efforts.

highlights the need to re-think the point at which success, and the end of a campaign, is called.

However, while we are now seeing TAN scholars look beyond political commitment, there is still no substantial consideration given to what success means or how it might be reformulated. Even where success is briefly mentioned, the narrow focus on a state response remains. For example, Alison Brysk (2013) examines how compliance with human rights norms in the *private* domain, and amongst private actors, is driven. She argues that the driving force is states – their policies and mechanisms for enforcement. Having centralised state compliance mechanisms allows a new norm to infiltrate the private domain effectively, and therefore presents a successful case where private behaviour is more likely to reflect the norm. By contrast, the absence of centralised compliance mechanisms reduces how far the new norm can influence private actors, and therefore produces less successful cases. An example of a successful case is Canada's 'state level principled support for women's rights', which it provided through its introduction of gender based asylum in 1993 (Brysk 2013:265). Canada went on to promote this policy in the longer term and therefore demonstrated sustained compliance. The policy was also adopted by 'like-minded humanitarian states' (Brysk 2013:265) who were inspired by Canada's example, and this overall helped Canada to reinforce its identity as a 'humanitarian internationalist' (Brysk 2013:267). An example of a less successful case is the campaign against female genital mutilation (FGM). Although FGM has been condemned by a number of states and outlawed in fourteen African countries, a ninety per cent prevalence rate remains in six of those fourteen countries – a lack of centralized enforcement mechanisms means that the compliance of private actors with the new norm is poor. The temporal boundaries here need to be re-considered because commitment no longer seems a sufficient end point – TAN scholars had assumed things would continue beyond this point, but are troubled to find that this is not always the

case. This new openness and the shifting boundaries of analysis present an opportunity not only to re-imagine the scope of what TANs do, but to re-imagine the meaning of success.

C. The Problem of Partial Constructivism

Constructivism provides a metaphysical underpinning for TAN theory and is based on the assumption that the social world is constructed by actors who create meaning intersubjectively through their discourse and interactions. However, TAN theory is insufficiently constructivist. It focuses primarily on the construction of state identity, and in some cases on the construction of a campaign agenda, but not on the ways in which activists construct success. In what follows, I address the two ways in which constructivism has been used within TAN theory before suggesting a third possible use. Turning first to the construction of state identity, TAN scholars have used a constructivist theoretical frame to explain the diffusion of principled ideas amongst international actors, and the generation of new international norms (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999:4). Keck and Sikkink (1998:4), for example, 'draw upon sociological traditions that focus on complex interactions among actors on the intersubjective construction of frames of meaning', which have long been 'concerns of constructivists in IR theory'. Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999:6-7) also make their constructivist leanings explicit when they state that their focus is on how 'ideas and communicative processes' shape identities and define interests. The constructivist lens enabled Keck and Sikkink (1998:4) to consider how TANs can 'affect a world of states and international organizations constructed by states' through the process of persuasion explained above; while Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999) likewise explored cases where TANs have been either successful or unsuccessful in persuading states to adopt new identities in line with the norms favoured by a network. The assumption made by these early and still dominant TAN theorists is that states can be socialised into human rights compliant

behaviour (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999); and it is worth investigating how this happens.

The second way in which constructivism has been used with TAN theory is to understand the way in which the issue around which a network organises is constructed, understood and framed so that it resonates with activists in the network and with the international audience they wish to compel (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Carpenter 2007). As such, some TAN scholars have been interested in investigating why particular issues will resonate with activists and become transformed into campaigns when others seem unable to (see Carpenter 2007 and 2011). Keck and Sikkink (1998:27) are clear that TANs are more likely to form around particular types of principled issues, 'involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals' or 'legal equality of opportunity' which lend themselves to campaigns better than other issue types. Activists must be able to formulate convincing 'causal stor[ies]' together in order to campaign effectively on the issues they choose. The emergence of the 'violence against women' TAN is illustrated as the product of conversations between activists as they negotiate and make sense of the issue:

> Lori Heise, a US activist …. was interviewing women connected to the Chipko movement … (and) would ask the women, 'If something could change in our life to make it better, what would it be? …over and over they would raise issues of alcohol abuse and domestic abuse. (Keck and Sikkink 1998:179)

Charli Carpenter (2007a) additionally argues that a new advocacy issue must 'fit' with a pre-established advocacy frame and that activists are effective when they can discursively link a new set of intersubjective understandings about their issue to pre-existing moral standards. This again reinforces the sense that a 'constructivist' process of identity formation is essential within TANs as they select an issue and design a campaign. However, the effect this issue can have on states is the immediate concern for scholars thereafter. For example, Keck and Sikkink (1998:179) move swiftly from describing the emergence of the violence against women issue to telling us

that 'Nairobi was the first step in securing agenda attention to the issue, for initiating the change in discursive positions of governments'.

Keck and Sikkink (1998:3) explain that besides being powerful actors with international influence, 'transnational advocacy networks must be understood as political spaces in which differently situated actors negotiate - formally or informally – the social, cultural and political meanings of their joint enterprise'. I want to suggest that the TAN as a political space in which meaning is constructed, is also a space in which we can uncover and develop more nuanced ideas about campaign success. While TAN theory already acknowledges that meaning is discursively constructed in order to create viable campaign topics, the meanings of the outcomes or products of activism are surely also discursively explored by activists. TAN theorists acknowledge that meaning around particular issues must be constructed, but they do not consider that this conversation must evolve and part of it might account for progress being made and how satisfied activists are with the outcomes they have produced.   I suggest then that attention is given not only to what TANs as actors *create* in terms of campaigns, but also to their *interpretations* of where these campaigns have been successful.

2. <u>Beyond TAN Scholarship: Other Sources for the Theorisation of Success</u>

I suggest in this section that in TAN theory influencing states is the 'road taken' in determinations of success, but others exist and some clues as to what they might be can be found in other areas of scholarship. In the case of the violence against women TAN the network was doing more than lobby the UN and its member states, but other outcomes are not highlighted as successes in the same way. For example, it also raised awareness globally about violence against women and spurred local level discussion and capacity building (see Keck and Sikkink 1998:185) but these are left out of

evaluation. Keck and Sikkink do point out that effectiveness might be measured according to whether the number of cases of violence against women is declining, for example, but they quickly concede that this 'will be very difficult to say for a number of years' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:195). They also briefly refer to the visibility which the TAN gave the issue of violence against women. However, 'such a definition of success makes it difficult to document the effectiveness of networks'. It is clear already that there may then be a wider variety of ways in which success *could* be considered – but that these ways are both less obvious and more difficult to document. This raises both questions and possibilities; and in what follows I look to literature on policy success, feminist success and social movement success for clues.

A. Policy Success

Since TAN theory has largely focussed on changes in state policy, I will briefly consider here the way in which success is formulated within policy analysis literature. I turn first to a basic understanding of the factors policy analysts might consider when evaluating a policy. Success is however 'a much talked about but rarely studied' concept in the policy literature (McConnell, 2010a:3) and so I focus on the work of Alan McConnell (2010) as this specifically and systematically addresses the notion of policy success. First then, in the evaluation of public policy Kraft and Furlong (2013) identify three important criteria: (1) effectiveness; (2) efficiency; and (3) equity. All three require critical determinations to be made about what specifically should be considered. Effectiveness is about whether the policy lived up to expectations, but this can only be established once we decide whose opinion matters. Efficiency is about whether the policy provides the most cost-effective solution to a problem, but this requires making value judgements about how much was spent and what benefits were brought about. Equity is about who is better off as the result of a policy, and again this requires value judgements about the distribution of benefits (Kraft and Furlong 2013:508-9).

This means that while success can be called in public policy, it remains a slippery concept because it relies on a degree of interpretation and must therefore be difficult to establish resolutely. Alan McConnell offers a concrete definition of success; and in what follows I discuss the merits of his position. I draw particular attention to his anti-foundationalism and suggest that this is useful in light of the way in which I critique TAN theory's constructivism above. Simply, anti-foundationalism helps to reinforce the idea that the interpretations of protagonists – or those pursuing success – have an important role to play in how success is understood.

Alan McConnell's (2010) approach assumes an interesting combination of two otherwise contradictory ways of thinking about policy success – foundationalism and anti-foundationalism. Foundationalist approaches hold that policy success is a matter of fact, an objective state of affairs. Here, success is simply goal achievement – a policy has been implemented in line with the actor's perceptions about how it should be implemented and it has attained what it set out to attain. By contrast, perspectives informed by anti-foundationalism contend that political life is socially constructed and so whether a policy is successful or not is a matter of judgement or interpretation (McConnell 2010a:37). Success has positive connotations, and this means that only those who support the original goal will perceive its achievement as successful, and those who do not will think otherwise (McConnell, 2010b:351). McConnell tries to reconcile these two positions and argues that a policy is successful when it 'achieves the goals that proponents set out to achieve and attracts no criticism of any significance and/or support is virtually universal' (McConnell 2010b:351). In this way McConnell maintains a focus on whether the actor's goals have been achieved or not. However, he also reminds us of the fact that different actors will view outcomes on the basis of whether they agree with a set of goals in the first place and there will not necessarily be agreement about the success of an outcome.

To help solidify his approach, McConnell proposes a five point scale for measuring policy success. The scale ranges from (1) 'success', where all three types, described above, are present; through (2) 'durable success', where the policy falls short of its aims to only a 'small or modest degree' and this does not compromise its overall effectiveness; (3) 'conflicted success', where 'success is heavily contested between supporters and opponents as a consequence of the political space opened up by quite substantial departures from original goals'; and (4) 'precarious success' where 'major shortfalls or deviations' from the original goal put the policy on the 'brink of failure'; to (5) 'failure', when the policy 'does not achieve the goals it set out to achieve and no longer receives support' from its proponents (McConnell 2010:57-62). McConnell is keen to illustrate that 'we should not judge policies simply by programmatic outcomes. Instead, we should be prepared to consider their political repercussions also – and those are often at odds with programmatic ones' (McConnell 2010:80).

McConnell also recognises that success is a complex phenomenon and that it can be difficult to objectively identify correlations between specific policies and specific outcomes:

> in order to say that successful outcomes are the product of a particular policy initiative, we would need to ascertain that the policy actually produced those outcomes

and the outcome was not produced instead by 'intervening factors' such as political or economic changes, media influence or social attitudes (McConnell 2010a:81). Any policy is liable to be 'knocked off course' by external factors. Further, it can be hard to evaluate policies as a result of unintended consequences or hidden agendas, and policies may also be re-evaluated at a later date when circumstances or knowledge changes.

He acknowledges that there is a temporal dimension involved in considering success, as well as various different ways in which a policy might be successful. This means that a policy can be assessed in the short, medium or long term; and it can achieve process, programmatic and / or political success, all of which might be assessed at different temporal points. However he argues that it is important to recognise different types of success, or different ways in which a government or political party can be successful. Here, policy can be successful in terms of its process, 'putting together an agreement in order to get a key decision or legislation approved'; it can achieve programme success, where a programme achieves 'intended outputs and outcomes'; and it can be successful politically when the policy 'boosts [its] electoral fortunes' (McConnell 2010b:351).

McConnell's vision is clear. It ultimately rests on the assumption that success can occur in varying degrees and be packaged into different types; and that the actor's interpretation counts when making determinations of success. This means that we need not apply a success-failure dichotomy when judging success as this would result in many policies being framed as failures even although they have achieved something worthwhile. The interpretive agency given to the actor also means that success can be more subjectively evaluated. However while a policy could be favourably evaluated by those who authored it, and considered a failure by those who oppose it, it is also possible that the stakeholders or beneficiaries of the policy will evaluate its success differently. In what follows, I look specifically at feminist scholarship and the disagreements which exist within it about the usefulness of working with, or within, state apparatus. While feminists may be influential consultants in the creation of new policy,

scepticism exists around the extent to which the state truly can act in
the interests of feminist stakeholders or women beneficiaries.

B. Feminist Success: Incorporation or Co-optation?

There are different interpretations of success within the feminist literature
which examines the effectiveness of feminist engagement with state
authorities; and this shows that we cannot take for granted that success
should be hooked to state-based outcomes. Thinking about achievements in
relation to the state has been contentious, with feminist scholars disagreeing
about the level to which the state is able to advance the goals of feminism.
Broadly speaking, there is a divide between those who 'argue that certain
state arenas may be appropriate sites for feminist action' (Mazur, 2002:8)
and characterise success in terms of institutional and policy outcomes; and
those who believe that feminist values are in fact misused within state
systems to serve agendas which are not feminist. In particular, current
preferences for a neoliberal economic model often sit uneasily with feminist
preferences (see Fraser, 2009). As Karena Shaw (2008:2) has pointed out,
'feminist theory and politics have consistently reproduced this tension
between the strategic necessity of working 'within' structures of politics and
the realisation that these structures are themselves gendered in such a way
as to render such 'inclusion' unsatisfactory to address their demands'. Jutta
Joachim (2007:29) suggests that of all the allies non-governmental
organisations (NGOs) might have, 'the support of government is probably
most pivotal'. However, while 'governments may be motivated by their
genuine interest in a particular issue', their interest may also be due to
'domestic pressure or an upcoming domestic election' or a desire to enhance
their international image (Joachim 2007:29-30). There are thus a variety of
possible agendas which can intermingle with the agenda of feminist activists;
and this can be viewed in different ways. In what follows, I will address two
diverging positions, calling one the 'pro-institutionalisation' argument and the

other the 'co-optation' argument; and in both cases I will highlight the approaches they take to success when working with state authority.

I will begin with the 'pro-institutionalisation' argument, where scholars embrace feminist interaction with the state, as well as feminism within the state, and theorize the state in liberal terms. While they admit that masculine interests dominate state apparatus, they understand the state as reflective of the interest groups which control its institutions and argue that feminists therefore have scope to transform state structures (see Kantola, 2006:4-5). I suggest that theorists here fall into three distinguishable categories: those who engage in feminist comparative policy (FCP) to conceptualise 'state feminism', or 'the advocacy of women's movement demands inside the state' (Kantola and Outshoorn, 2007:2); those who support 'gender mainstreaming' strategies; and those who simply endorse situations where the state has made degrees of concession to feminist demands. Rather than reviewing each in turn, I will touch upon all three together to show the ideas they share and the way in which research into the relationship between feminism and the state has been conducted.

Much of the literature that is positive about feminist interaction with the state is based on the notion that states have 'reshaped, relocated and rearticulated (their) formal powers and policy responsibilities throughout the 1980s and 1990s' (Kantola 2006:17). This is largely due to the series of United Nations (UN) conferences on women, beginning in Mexico City in 1975 and ending in Beijing in 1995, which made advancing the position of women socially, economically and politically a requirement for all participating governments. Following the UN Decade for Women which ended in 1985, 'specific government machinery for women's affairs' began to be created – and come under scholarly scrutiny (Eisenstein, 1996:xvii). At the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing 1995, a 'gender mainstreaming'

strategy for governments was specifically recommended after the previous conference on women noted 'the failure of national women's machinery' to achieve significant results or influence government policies (Baden and Goetz, 1997:5). Gender mainstreaming is

> [a] process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, Including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy of making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (Rai 2003, cited in Kantola and Outshoorn 2007:14).

Some scholars have endorsed gender mainstreaming as potentially transformative (Lang, 2009:331), but others question the extent to which it can truly improve gender relations (Kantola and Outshoorn 2007:15).

Within the liberal perspective, there is a clear understanding of success for feminists who engage with the state. Success happens when policy decisions conform to changes advocated by the external feminist movement. This is why, for example, Kathrin Zippel (2009) tries to 'compare feminist demands with policy outcomes' to 'gain insights into challenges that feminism encounters within state and institutional settings'. There are however different versions of this understanding. Josephine Ahikire (2008), for example, challenges the view that feminist policy outcomes are requirements for feminist success when she suggests that policy makers' 'impetus to pay lip service as opposed to say, complete silence on gender relations or negation of women' is a form of feminist success (Ahikire 2008:28). Here, no policy is required – simply an acknowledgement of the argument. This has similarities with the way in which success is often reported within TAN scholarship. A full outcome may not actually be present but success is attributed nonetheless – and the question of whether *any* degree of institutional concession can be called success re-emerges.

Feminist Comparative Policy (FCP) falls within the liberal tradition. It offers an account of feminist success within the institutional context, arguing that success happens when substantive measures have been taken to incorporate the feminist position being advocated. Briefly, FCP has been the approach of the Research Network on Gender and the State (RNGS), which was established in the 1990s to explore 'what explains the success or otherwise of state policy machinery' in advancing feminist goals (Lovenduski 2005:5). Lovenduski (2005) explains that advocates of FCP hypothesise that women's movement activists have been most successful in increasing the substantive and descriptive representation of women in democratic states, especially where women's policy agencies (WPAs) exist inside the state and have good resources and institutional capacity. They also suggest that variations in WPA characteristics and the policy environment can explain variations in activist success in gaining increased representation within the state. The focus here is on how WPAs can fit into and transform long established practices within states. Attention is also drawn to the relationship between movement activists with feminist demands and the policy action of WPAs in generating compatible feminist outcomes (Goertz and Mazur, 2008:254).

Within this position, Amy Mazur (2002:38) makes the meaning of success very clear when she argues that 'a feminist policy is … considered successful if women's interests are represented in both substantive and descriptive ways in pre-formulation, formulation and post-formulation'. According to Mazur (2002), the policy must additionally be formulated in a 'feminist way' and take a gender-analytical approach to problems. Being feminist simply means that the policy incorporates 3 ideas out of the following 5: women's rights, status and situation brought in line with men's; gender based hierarchies or patriarchies are eliminated; the public and private spheres are treated equally; the focus is on both men and women; and ideas can be

associated with an external feminist formation (Mazur 2002:30-31). The accent here is on proper representation for feminist interests throughout the policy process. However, measures for *evaluating* success in these terms differ among theorists of state feminism. Outshoorn and Kantola (2007:6-7), for example, say 'success can be evaluated in terms of whether advocates have been able to achieve an institutionalised position within the bureaucracy'; or simply on 'the extent to which activists have been able to apply gender analysis to public policy making'. While these formulations differ slightly in their scope and criteria, they share a focus on gaining a feminist presence within state apparatus and, consistent with the liberal tradition, remain optimistic that the state is capable of becoming a helpful ally in advancing feminist principles.

Feminist scholars have also suggested that particular conditions and characteristics are important for obtaining success. Shirin Rai (2003) cites location, resources and the existence of strong, democratic movements as influential factors for feminists within the state. She adds that WPAs are most effective when they occupy a high level in the decision making process; have a clear mandate, functional responsibility and both human and financial resources; and also when they have clear links with civil society groups supportive of women's advancement. RNGS scholars have linked women's policy success with the political left being in power and the section of the women's movement which is mobilized being close to this left-wing authority. They also suggest that the issue around which mobilization occurs should also be a priority on the agenda of the movement and the various strands of women's movement should be unified around it (see Outshoorn and Kantola 2007:7). Other factors here include the compatibility of women's movement demands with dominant policy discourses and the different opportunity structures offered by different policy sectors. In this vein, success for the women's movement itself can mean simply that it has influenced a WPA to

engage with gender-analytic policy debates (see Outshoorn and Kantola 2007:7).

However, even when these conditions appear to be met, there can be difficult relations between WPAs and the external women's movement. Hester Eisenstein's (1996) account of 'femocrats' in Australia draws attention to this is her prediction that the 'femocrat experiment' may not be sustainable (see Marian Sawer 2007 and Birgit Sauer 2007). Femocrats are 'a cohort of feminist women who become bureaucrats in a quest for social change' and who owe 'their positions to pressure from the organized women's movement' whom they represent (Eistenstein 1996: xii). Whilst femocrats framed their claims in terms recognisable to the dominant political culture of the state and earned feminism 'a much larger piece of the pie', their bureaucratic success had the paradoxical effect of '(reducing) the access of activists to them' (Eisenstein 1996:199). So whilst RNGS scholars cite a high level position within the state as conducive to feminist success, this is also seen to erode the capacity for representation which has been tantamount. Eisenstein asserts that continuity may be a problem for feminists inside the state because this 'inevitably produced some co-optation, watering down, and taming of the original strategy' (Eisenstein 1996:199). Indeed Marian Sawer (2007:20) discusses the 'fall of the Femocrat after the rise of neoliberalism', where 'the relationship between the women's movement and state agencies was affected by neoliberal framing of non-governmental organizations as special interests rather than as legitimate community representatives'. The representative role played by femocrats was affected to the point that they lost support and governments were able to dismantle their positions. The dominance of neoliberalism gives many scholars increasing reason to question feminist interaction with the state (see Fraser 2009, Eisenstein 2010, McRobbie 2010).

This takes me to the 'co-optation' argument. This argument challenges the idea that feminism can be adequately, if at all, represented within the apparatus of the state; and makes it clear that the conception of success laid out above is not shared by all feminists. Co-optation occurs when feminist values have been absorbed and utilised by a state for its own – non-feminist - purposes (see Fraser 2009), such as the legitimation of its policies. This pattern has largely been identified in relation to neo-liberal states, and the idea that the neoliberal agenda does not make room for feminist interests. For example, Nancy Fraser (2009) has been critical of feminist engagement with the neoliberal state. She highlights feminism's 'extraordinary success' alongside the 'disturbing convergence of some of its ideals with a new form of capitalism' (Fraser 2009:97). Fraser suggests that institutions have in fact used feminist values to help legitimise a 'structural transformation of capitalist society that runs directly counter to feminist visions of a just society' (Fraser 2009:99). Feminism became a 'broad based mass social phenomena', shifting its focus to 'identity, difference and recognition' and away from earlier values of redistribution. The neoliberal paradigm absorbed some of this fragmented feminist critique to masquerade as a new opportunity structure which would nurture equal gender participation in the waged economy and advance the position of women. However, neoliberalism has in fact deepened inequalities among women: 'at one end, the female cadres of the professional middle classes, determined to crack the glass ceiling; at the other end, the female temps, part-timers … sex workers, migrants …seeking not only income and material security but also dignity …' (Fraser 2009:110). Fraser argues that the valuable tenet of re-distribution has slipped out of feminist critique and been kicked to the curb by neoliberalism. Hester Eisenstein (2010) agrees that feminism has a 'dangerous liaison with neoliberalism', pointing out the oppositional messages communicated by governments when they invoke feminist ideals to legitimate non-equitable policies. For example, the Clinton administration in America 'drew on the ideas of mainstream feminism … to sell free market capitalism to the world'

(Eisenstein, 2010:14) – the consequences being increased social and economic divides in American society and abroad.

Of course, anxiety about co-optation is not new and not limited to conditions of neoliberalism, as has been well noted by scholars such as Cooper (1995), Eisenstein (1996), Kantola (2006), Lovenduski (2005), and Outshoorn and Kantola (2007). Progressive groups have tended to associate any liaison between feminism and the state with 'co-optation, de-radicalization, bureaucratization and political diversion' (Cooper 1995:65), as opposed to positive developments for feminism. While second wave feminists were generally more optimistic when they 'envisioned a participatory-democratic state that empowered its citizens' (Fraser 2009:105), others have remained very critical of feminism in its institutionalised form (for example, Frey et al 2006, Bumiller 2008, Fraser 2009, McRobbie 2009, Eisenstein 2010). The relevant point here is that, whilst some feminists have seen entering the state with a view to transforming it as an attractive proposition (Cooper 1995, Fraser 2009), others believe that the 'co-optation [and] de-radicalization' of their values (Cooper 1995:65) are steep rent payments which they have had to cough up. Feminists should be highly alert to the manoeuvres of neoliberalism. Rather than celebrating the state adopting the same language, they should remain wary and work instead to 'reclaim' the original tenets of their position.

On this perspective, even gender mainstreaming is not such a positive phenomenon.[9] On one hand, gender mainstreaming has been instrumental in altering the various dimensions of state power to minimise gendered policy impacts. However, Prudence Woodford-Berger (2004) for example says that gender mainstreaming tends to be overshadowed by larger social development projects, is generally factored in to projects as a tool of

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[9] See above, where others have framed it more positively

legitimation, and is not adequate in overcoming the androcentric mainstream. Angela McRobbie (2009) meanwhile, argues that gender mainstreaming in the UK has become something of a 'substitute' for feminism. It is a way of incorporating feminist principles into the mainstream when, otherwise, conditions are far from ideal by feminist standards. For example 'the move into political and public life … is actually being endlessly contested and discouraged … [and] work-life balance tend to reinstate hierarchical gender norms in the heterosexual household' (McRobbie 2009:155). Gender mainstreaming becomes a 'technocratic-managerial strategy' (McRobbie 2009:155) which produces far from satisfactory feminist results. Following the ten year anniversary of the fourth world conference on women, Rao and Kelleher (2005:57-58) claim that positive examples of gender mainstreaming are 'not the norm'. Rather, the 'mainstream' tends to resist women's perspectives and rights claims by pursuing economically orthodox policies which promote unmanaged, export-led growth through competitive market capitalism, free trade and fiscal austerity; and these measures have 'hurt poor women the most' (Rao and Kelleher 2005:57-8).

All of this stands in stark contrast to the optimistic claims which RNGS scholars have made about feminist engagement with the state. However, the RNGS perspective looks less plausible if feminists are largely unable to achieve their goals through state mechanisms because those mechanisms distort their ideas in order to advance contrary ones. Feminists have sought to make changes in support of women's rights by impacting institutional spaces with their critiques, but a question mark hangs over the extent to which those spaces are truly able to represent feminist critiques and sufficiently enact feminist ideas about justice.

However, both the 'incorporation' argument and the 'co-optation' argument may be too narrow in themselves. Susanne Staggenborg (1994), a social movement scholar, implies that success can be interpreted in several different ways, each of which has merit. She suggests that success can

happen both inside and outside of the state, and should be considered in broader terms to allow its various manifestations to be appreciated. Speaking specifically about feminist social movement organisations (SMOs), she aims to determine under what conditions we can call success. After reviewing approaches to success in the social movement literature and considering some of the characteristics of feminist SMOs, Staggenborg (1995: 341) argues that feminist organizations can be considered effective if a broader definition of success is used.[10] She suggests three types of outcomes which a feminist SMO can produce to be successful: (1) political and policy, which includes 'bringing about substantive changes through the political system'; (2) mobilization, which refers to 'organizational successes and the ability to carry out collective action'; and (3) cultural, which accounts for 'changes in social norms, behaviour and ways of thinking' – essentially, changes in collective consciousness.

This broader view accords with the way in which some other scholars have described the success of the feminist movement. The historian, Barbara Epstein (2002:118), for example, says that 'the women's movement was the most successful movement of the 1960s and 1970s'. Discussing the movement in the US context, she draws attention to some of the gains made by the movement: women 'think differently about themselves now, than they did 30 years ago'; issues such as violence against women and childcare have come to be accepted as legitimate issues and placed on the public agenda.   In turn, the public agenda has been transformed as women's equality is accepted as a legitimate goal. She adds that 'probably the most important contribution of the women's movement … was that it gave women a sense of their collective power' (Epstein 2002:118). Using Staggenborg's framework, she has referred to political and policy changes as well as cultural changes. The most significant change for Epstein is cultural and speaks to the idea of collective consciousness which Staggenborg describes.

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[10] The social movement literature is discussed below.

Marx Ferree and Hess (1994) describe the success of the feminist movement in the 20th century by explicitly using Staggenborg's framework. They first note changes in the policies and practices of formal organizations, especially governments, such as women's access to higher education, women being able to keep their earnings, and easier access to divorce. Secondly, organizational survival has been an important success because it has enabled the continuing representation and mobilization of a constituency. While such resources often go unnoticed, they provide opportunities for further change because the mechanism for mobilization can be taken up by a constituency for 'occasional, intensive, political activity' (Ferree and Hess, 1994:208). Here, they cite 'varied and diverse feminist organizations existing today in every level'. Thirdly, cultural change is 'the least observable but perhaps the most enduring form of transformation' because culture provides the basic tools for organizing experience and giving meaning to our actions; and offers new possibilities for behaviour and new meanings for old behaviour. An example of cultural change is that 'for many women, discovering the ideas of feminism was the first step towards saving her own life' - that is, 'escaping from stifling cultural traditions and expectations and rejecting the suspicion of madness that such an escape entailed' (Ferree and Hess 1994:213).

C. Social Movement Success

Charles Dobson's (2001) offers an empirical account of several different successful movements, including feminism, in his essay, *Social Movements: A Summary of What Works*. He identifies successful social movements from throughout history, and then derives from them a set of factors and conditions which seem key to the creation and maintenance of social movements. The 'successful' movements he notes are those for: 'civil liberties, feminism, the environment, gay rights, anti-nuke, gun control, don't drink and drive, and a living wage' (Dobson 2001:1). Dobson reflects on

movements to consider whether they were successful, but is unclear about what he means by 'successful'. He focuses instead on the conditions which appear to lead to success; but in the examples he cites, the issues are far from resolved today and there is thus need for clarification about what makes a successful movement. Looking beyond Dobson, social movement theory has in fact provided a very detailed account of activist success.

Generally, in social movement studies William Gamson's (1975, revised 1990) work is the most influential and well-known contribution to a theory of success; and scholars have generally accepted, or accepted with amendments, his ideas (Meyer and Whittier, 1997:482). Gamson is interested in the responses gained by social movement organizations, or 'challengers', from those who hold power, the 'antagonists'. The antagonists are most commonly actors with formal political authority. There are four possible outcomes which can be obtained by the challenger: (1) a full response, where the antagonist accepts the challenger, and new advantages for the beneficiary are secured; (2) co-optation, where the antagonist accepts the challenger without delivering new advantages; (3) pre-emption, where new advantages are given but the challenger is not accepted; and (4) collapse, where neither outcome is obtained. Success for Gamson is the attainment of particular types of outcomes in the context of the relationship between the challengers and the antagonists. The outcomes he looks for in his empirical cases are: (1) whether the challenging group is accepted by the antagonists as a valid spokesperson for a legitimate set of interests; and (2) the distribution of new advantages – meaning goods of some sort - to the challenging group's beneficiary during and after the challenge (Gamson, 1975:29). On the first outcome, Gamson suggests that four degrees of acceptance are possible - from simple negotiations to inclusion in the antagonist's organisational structure; while the second outcome makes clear that the advantages delivered to the constituency which the social movement

intends to benefit need to be both *new* and *sustainable* – that is, their delivery cannot stall once the challenge period is over.[11]

In 'assessing the achievement of benefits the challenging group's own perspective and aspirations provide a starting point', according to Gamson, but achievements can also be evaluated from several other perspective too, including historians or the antagonists (Gamson 1975:34). Gamson accounts for the fact that more 'revolutionary' social movement organisations may not view 'acceptance' in the same way as other groups. For radicals, acceptance necessitates a 'radical reorganization of the authority structure' (Gamson 1975:33), for example. This is useful because it indicates varying conceptions of what success means across different actors. Yet Gamson does not take this point seriously, because if 'revolutionary' groups interpret the 'success' of their agenda in a way which diverges from the normal set of conditions, it is surely possible that other groups will deviate in more subtle ways. Gamson is however interested in *ultimate* outcomes and generally considers groups successful if they: cease to exist as a formal entity it ceases mobilization and influencing activity, and the challenge becomes 'regulated and waged under some standard operating procedures'; or when the movement's main antagonists accept it as a valid spokesperson for a particular constituency, and deal with it as such (Gamson 1975:30). Gamson also elaborates that acceptance should be measured as a positive change in relationship between the challengers and the antagonists – from hostility to collaboration (Gamson 1975:32).

In a departure from Gamson's language, the social movement scholar Edwin Amenta has argued for the abandonment of claims to either success or failure. Instead, Amenta suggests that such claims can be hard to determine, are overly restricting, and ultimately may not be useful for analysis. He

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[11] This simply refers to the duration of the campaign, before a desirable outcome is achieved.

proposes that the question should instead be, *how do movements matter?* This shifts attention to the various types of outcomes a movement may bring about, the potential variety in outcomes, and the different sites in which outcomes may occur: 'we need to end our attachment to notions of success and failure in thinking about the consequences of social movements and instead think in terms of the collective benefits that might flow to a challenger's constituency' (Amenta, 2008:15). He considers Gamson's formulation of social movement success to be limiting in three key ways: (1) it restricts thinking about the possible impact of challenges. As Sidney Tarrow has pointed out, 'radical movements in Western democracies invariably fall short of their goals, but a standard analysis would consider them all failures' (Tarrow cited in Amenta, 2008:15). There may be good reasons to believe the contrary in the case of many high profile movements. (2) Certain aspects of a challenger's program may in fact not provide collective benefits to the relevant constituency, and so it would be irresponsible to say that institutionalisation for the challenger is always the end of the story. (3) Finally and relatedly, failure, conventionally understood, is not the worst outcome since a challenger could also create negative consequences for a constituency it wanted to help. Gamson's theory 'limits the consideration of many possible impacts' (Amenta et al., 2010:290), while Amenta tries to present a more 'flexible' standard for assessing social movements and resolve the fact that 'the idea of success generally does not correspond well to the degree of political influence over states and political processes' (Amenta at al 2010:290). It is clear that his formulation of benefits is hooked to the state much in the same way as Gamson's, with his primary concern being the political impact of movements (Amenta et al 2010). He elaborates that movements can impact democratic states by: winning something specific for the constituency; producing institutionally provided goods; or bringing about structural reforms which give challenging groups greater leverage over political process.

The notion that scholars might pay attention and give credence to a wider variety of impacts is clear in the way others have written about movement impacts. For example, Bosi and Uba (2009) also argue that 'social movements have a wide range of consequences' and therefore 'should not be reduced to the simple terms, success and failure'. They suggest that the relativity of success and failure terminology makes it less useful than simply considering the merit of different outcomes. However, they go beyond 'political' outcomes when they suggest that social movement outcomes be considered as any 'modification of the political, cultural and biographical domain, which are either intended or unintended goals for the social movement itself' (Bosi and Uba 2009:409). In this way, nothing is lost; and even positive unintended outcomes can be attended to in analysis. Devashree Gupta (2009) agrees that 'movement organizations can fall short of the sweeping changes they seek while still making real inroads in other crucial areas of study, including increasing public awareness and winning over public opinion' (Gupta 2009:417). She calls these 'inroads' 'incremental outcomes' or 'successes and failures' and argues that the 'gains and losses which stop short of *decisive* victory or defeat' importantly influence the longer-term prospects of a movement. This influence might come about in terms of: 'changes in actors' expectations and behaviours; ' a sense of satiety amongst less committed movement supporters and activists who … find themselves less willing to continue devoting scarce resources and time to the movement'; or rises in support when a movement seems to be working.

None of this is to suggest however that different types of outcomes ought to be given equal value. Rather, there is a sense that success, conventionally understood, is simply not always possible and so the focus must be expanded beyond it if our analysis is to remain interesting. For example, with regard to the case of the British Abolitionist Movement, d'Anjou and Van Male (1998:214) write that 'although the first abolition movement did not

reach its goal – prohibition of the slave trade – the public discourse it initiated affected the way slavery and the slave trade were collectively defined in British society from then on'. If a conventional formulation is adhered to, we are faced with the possibility of dismissing this as a failed movement.

There is now also a growing literature on cultural outcomes, which demonstrates the plethora of spheres which movements can impact or shape. Over the past two decades, social movement scholarship has taken a 'cultural turn' (Zemlinskaya, 2009:449) and begun to emphasise the 'way in which a cultural environment shapes collective action and influences its outcomes'. This is reflected in the literature on 'new movements' which challenge cultural and lifestyle norms instead of 'old' mobilization around citizenship rights or 'traditional' mobilization around economic distribution (Raschke 1985 cited in Giugni, 1998c:xiv). Some interesting scholarship which charts cultural outcomes has been produced. For example, on the influence of social movements on social products such as children's stories (e.g. Pescosolida et al., 1997); on belief and opinion (e.g. Melucci, 1989; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Rochon 1998; and Krinsky 2008); and on the creation of communities and counter-cultures (e.g. Yinger, 1982 and Epstein 2002). However, the cultural domain is still studied less frequently than the political domain although it has recently begun gaining more and more weight (Bosi and Uba, 2009:410). Earl (2004) notes further that 'students of social movement outcomes have not reached consensus over what outcomes can be appropriately considered cultural', and there is a broader debate over what meaning of culture is being invoked in these debates in the first place (Earl, 2004:524).

Gamson has also latterly looked to incorporate culture into his theory of success, arguing that his original typology of outcomes can also be used to assess the cultural impact of social movements. In the cultural domain,

success can be measured by 'changes in the relative prominence of the challenger's preferred frames compared to antagonistic or rival frames (Gamson 1998:70). Here, he moves away from the reaction of the antagonist and focuses instead on the way in which public discourse has, or has not, been shaped by the movement. He argues that in a complex system of political interest mediation 'various actors in the system - political parties, corporations, associations, and social movements – attempt to generate, aggregate, transform, and articulate the interests of some underlying constituency' (Gamson, 1998:60), and the successful actor is the one which offers the most dominant definition of interests. Since the media is a 'major site in which contests over meaning must succeed politically (Gamson 1998:59) it acts as a 'critical gallery for discourse carried on in other forums, with success measured by whether a speech in the legislative forum … is featured prominently in the *New York Times* …' (Gamson 1998:60). The 'full acceptance' criterion has been met when the challenger receives prominence and support in the media; and also finds that their preferred frame has gained wider prominence. This however, does not necessarily translate into tangible improvements but refers to the prominence and popularity of a particular discourse. Gamson is ultimately getting at the idea that if the social movement can influence the media, then the media can influence voters, and this will eventually give the challenger's frame electoral weight and affect the decisions of policy-makers. Cultural success is simply part of a broader process, which culminates in effects in the political sphere.

As noted earlier, the incorporation of culture does not necessarily mean that 'cultural' outcomes are always given equal weight with 'political' outcomes. Staggenborg (1995: 345), discussed earlier, has perhaps represented the only attempt to give equal weight to a variety of social movement outcomes. She discusses radical feminist groups with goals directed towards changing structures; and notes that structural change is so challenging that such groups may dissolve before these aims are properly fulfilled, and be

considered failures as a result (Staggenborg 1995:347). In other cases structural change may not be the goal, but this means diluting the achievements of such groups in the collective memory. For example, a radical reproductive rights group focussed on generating discourse and raising consciousness may not make any marked changes in structural conditions, but nonetheless spark awareness among a population and recruit people to its position. The scheme she suggests for measuring success accommodates this type of achievement and does not set it beneath policy impact or structural change. Staggenborg (1995:231) also encourages a long-range, processual view of social movements' which accounts for the linkages between different types of success. For her, groups can be most clearly framed as successful when their contribution is considered in relation to the broader women's movement.

Conclusions

The chapter began by explaining the way in which success is framed in the current literature on transnational advocacy networks; and I made a three-part argument about this. I argued that there are good reasons to think about success in broader terms than influence on states. One reason is that some issues – violence against women being one – require more complex and varied strategies than the targeting of one specific actor. I further argued that the temporal framing of success could be re-considered to reflect more complex issue campaigns which require long-term efforts and have uncertain outcomes. Finally, I suggested that TAN theory's existing constructivist approach could be extended to incorporate activist ideas about success. This would not only provide a strategy for including otherwise marginalised voices, but it would potentially also introduce new ideas which could respond to my previous two critiques.

Following this argument I turned to look beyond TAN scholarship and at approaches to activist success in other areas, including: policy analysis, feminist scholarship, and social movement theory. I found that policy analysis literature had emphasised the importance of actor interpretation when thinking about the success of particular policy initiatives, and prioritised the interpretation of the actor pursuing success. This helpfully chimed with my view that constructivism in TAN theory could focus more on the interpretation of the actor (network) pursuing success. In feminist scholarship, I highlighted the debate around activist engagement with the state in order to show that success as gains from the state cannot be taken for granted. While some feminists feel that working with, or within, state structures is beneficial for feminism, others worry that this may lead to the co-optation, watering down or even replacement of feminism. Finally, social movement theory demonstrated the different spaces and the range of outcomes which movements can produce inasmuch as social movement theorists consider outcomes in the 'political' sphere as well as the cultural sphere. While Amenta (2006) has argued for abandoning claims to success as this is too limiting, I suggested that we instead broaden our understanding of what success means. This would enable scholars to speak to a range of outcomes and maintain the language of success where appropriate.

This chapter has framed success overall as a contested concept which is subject to interpretation. This holds true across policy analysis, feminist scholarship and social movement theory. TAN theory has focussed on state-based outcomes such as policy changes in determining success; and I have argued that this is inadequate because it undermines the variety of different ways in which success might be considered, especially given the varied work TANs undertake. This thesis seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of success for transnational advocacy networks. In particular, it hopes account for campaigns which deal with complex issues and which may not achieve their goals in simple or conventional ways. I have suggested

that a feminist network dealing with violence against women falls within this category as a result of its multi-dimensional definition and complex critique of the issue, as well as the longevity of its campaign. As there are very few TAN studies which try to broaden the definition of success originally established, this thesis is an attempt to begin thinking in this direction.

In the chapters which follow, I engage with the case of a transnational advocacy network around the issue of violence against women. I look to activists within this network for their understandings of success since activists have necessarily engaged in a process of formulating critiques of their issue and transforming those critiques into praxis.[12] The tools for this more interpretive approach already exist within TAN theory, but have simply not been applied in the way I have advocated. Scholars have favoured constructivism as an epistemological underpinning for TAN theory, but this has been largely state-centric and has focussed on explaining how states and other formal institutions are influenced to accept particular (human rights) norms. It has also helped to explain how campaign issues are constructed and made meaningful by activists; and this interest in the intersubjective sphere of activists could also help to explore the meanings which are constructed around success. I begin however with an account of the case through which I will explore activist understandings of success.

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[12] We know this already as a result of the literature on issue framing.

CHAPTER 2 Methodology: A Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach to Gathering and Analysing Data

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the choice of constructivist grounded theory as the methodological approach for this thesis; and to describe how the approach has been operationalized. The approach was chosen in order to address the question, 'what is success for transnational advocacy networks?' As I made clear in the introduction and first chapter my intention is to explore this question empirically, from the perspective of activists working within a transnational advocacy network. Grounded theory offers a means of privileging empirical data, and therefore the voices of those who help to constitute it. This chapter begins with a general overview of grounded theory – its development, purpose and the tools which grounded theorists employ. It then details the different traditions in grounded theory practice, focussing on the two major epistemological camps - positivist grounded theory and interpretivist grounded theory. I work within the interpretivist tradition and introduce the constructivist version I have chosen to adopt. I provide a rationale for this and then detail the way I have applied it within this thesis. Here, I also note any issues I have encountered in the application of the methodology and suggest some future revisions which might help to overcome them.

1. <u>Grounded Theory: An Overview</u>

Grounded theory was developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss at the University of Chicago during the 1960s. It is a 'systematic, inductive, comparative, interactive approach to enquiry' (Charmaz and Henwood, 2008:240) which is fundamentally about 'generating theory from data as opposed to testing existing theory' (Birks and Mills, 2011:2). It tries to overcome the hierarchical separation of theory and research by framing the two as mutually constitutive and simultaneously occurring processes

(Charmaz, 2006:241). Its philosophical roots lie in symbolic interactionism, which assumes that individual identity grows out of relations with social groups. To enable this sense of identity to emerge interaction in groups cannot be solely about people being responsive to their environment. Their communications also need to be reflexive, considered, and able to generate meaning through the use of common symbols, primarily language (Goulding, 1999:5). Glaser and Strauss were interested in the experience of being terminally ill in a hospital setting (see Glaser and Strauss, 2006 revised edition). To capture an 'experience' and make sense of it, they needed to gather considered, reflective responses from people with relevant experience of the phenomenon.[13]

The development of grounded theory not only helped facilitate this type of research, but also responded more generally to the dominance of quantitative research methods within sociology. Quantitative research aims to gather measurable data and turn this in to generalizable findings. As such, it has a structured approach to data collection and is interested in 'facts' rather than 'interpretation'. At the time of Glaser and Strauss' work the academy had a strong preference for quantitative data and considered qualitative data, by comparison, unsystematic and subjective. This prompted Glaser and Strauss to seek a qualitative method which would be robust enough to hold its own within mainstream academic thought. Grounded theory therefore is a very systematic approach to enquiry, and has several specific research stages and research tools to help researchers generate theory from data. In what follows, I describe the key features of grounded theory.

Grounded theory research first relies on the gathering of 'rich' data. This is data which is full of description and nuance, and carefully explores the ideas

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[13] *Awareness of Dying* was originally published in 1965 and was Glaser and Strauss' pinnacle work.

it is constituted by. Rich data can be identified according to whether it contains 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973). Attaining 'thick description' means 'writing extensive field notes of observations, collecting respondents' written (or spoken) personal accounts, and / or compiling detailed narratives' (Charmaz 2006:14). Rich data helps the researcher to 'get beneath the surface' of the studied phenomenon to discover how it is constructed and what meanings and assumptions are contained within it. As I hint at above, the type of data which can be considered thick description is strictly qualitative data – semi-structured or un-structured interviews, documents or texts, and field-notes from participant observation. Further, the researcher's own notes – known in grounded theory as 'memos' – can also be treated as data. I will explain the role of memos a little later in this section of the chapter.

The data gathered needs to be analysed, and grounded theory recommends a specific method for accomplishing this – several stages of 'coding'. Coding means 'assigning data to 'codes', which are simply words that are used to convey meaning' (Oktay 2012:54). Codes aim to define what is going on in the data and help the researcher to identify meanings and linkages between datum (see Charmaz 2006:46). Coding is accomplished in two key phases. In the first phase the researcher will generate codes which are specific, short and 'active' and capture what is happening in specific sections of the data at a basic, descriptive level. This may mean naming each 'word, line or segment' (Charmaz 2006:46). In the second phase - focussed coding - the many codes which have been generated in phase one can then be synthesised into concepts which explain larger chunks of the data, or categories (Charmaz 2006:46). These categories sit at a higher level of theoretical abstraction and can be articulated in terms of the properties and processes they share and encapsulate, and their ability to explain the data. Looking across codes and categories in order to reach higher levels of theoretical   abstraction   is   important   because   grounded   theory   is

fundamentally a constant, comparative method (see Charmaz 2006:54). This means that meaning emerges as we analyse the data and gain more and more insight into what is going on and how different ideas and experiences are related. The categories we end up with can eventually be combined to create a theoretical idea which accommodates and explains them all - and this signifies the highest level of theoretical abstraction which is available to the grounded theorist. In order for this to happen, the theorist must identify 'how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory' and manage to 'weave the fractured story back together again' (Glaser 1978, cited in Charmaz 2006:63).

Data gathering must proceed carefully so that suitable data - data which is able to contribute to, and help explain, what has emerged previously – is gathered. Here, grounded theorists practice 'theoretical sampling' - an iterative process to help in the refinement of a developing theory. Theoretical sampling is sampling for the specific purpose of developing the properties of theoretical categories, thus ensuring that categories are rich,[14] robust, and saturated.[15] Grounded theorists do not sample to increase the representativeness of a sample or to find counter-examples to test findings, but instead to 'find out more about the properties of a category, conditions that a particular category may exist under, the dimensions of a category, or the relationship between categories' (Strauss and Corbin 1998, cited in Birks and Mills 2011:11). This involves assessing particular sources – people or text - which may be able to provide the 'missing' information; or altering questions in order to dig a little deeper in emergent categories. In building on the data already gathered and trying to conceptually develop the insights it has revealed, the researcher can avoid gathering lots of general, unfocussed data and concentrate instead on data which is pertinent to significant themes already in the data (Charmaz 2003:85). This technique is practiced by re-

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[14] Theoretical sampling is important for obtaining rich data.
[15] Saturation occurs when no new properties are emerging

formulating interview questions or interrogating data sources for specific ideas, in an attempt to discover a greater depth of information about them.

Key to the data analysis process is the act of writing 'memos'. Memos are uniquely used within grounded theory methods and are essential to making sense of the empirical data. The use of memos illustrates the faith held by grounded theorists in the creative, analytic process of reflection and writing. It also represents the fact that grounded theory is a 'constant comparative method' (see Charmaz 2006:5) where data must be continually compared with data - codes with codes, categories with categories, codes with categories etc – in order to check and refine the emerging ideas. Memos are informal, analytic notes of any length which facilitate the de-construction and comparison of emergent categories so that they can be understood, refined and explained. Memos are 'a pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers' because they 'catch your thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections you make, and crystalize questions and directions for you to pursue … new ideas and insights arise during the act of writing' (Charmaz 2006:72). Memos can be used not only as a means of exploring and refining theoretical categories, but also earlier in the process as a way of figuring out what it at stake within theoretical categories and how they can relate to each other in a coherent way.

I have now outlined the basic tools of any grounded theory approach to research. However, there are many variations in approach amongst grounded theorists in practice. This variation is often overlooked by those unfamiliar with the methodology - and this has meant that grounded theory has been largely associated with the Positivist methodological tradition despite moving beyond this in recent years. In this next section I will briefly outline the development of grounded theory and the different approaches which have emerged, including the Constructivist approach which I have

adopted for this research. In particular, I will note the inclusion of reflexivity and demonstrate the way in which it edges its way in to grounded theory and moves it beyond positivism.

2. <u>From Positivist to Constructivist Grounded Theory</u>

As Birks and Mill (2011) explain, shifts in grounded theory over time have reflected the different phases of qualitative research. From the end of world war two until 1970, qualitative research was in a 'golden age of rigorous qualitative analysis'. Grounded theory was of course developed during this period, and environmental influences at the time prompted it to start out with a positivist position. This meant 'working within an ontological and epistemological frame where there is an assumed reality worth discovering by a detached, objective observer' (Birks and Mills 2011:7), Today, the positivist approach is most commonly associated with Barney Glaser's teachings on grounded theory. Glaser's rigorous quantitative training at Columbia University shaped his approach and is evident today in his belief that an unbiased grounded theorist can make external world discoveries. He believes that the data 'talks' and the researcher's role is to record and explain the reality it conveys – 'theory will emerge if you work with the data, like reality is out there and you work to get at it' (Strauss 1995 cited in Ekins, 1997:4). He tends to be committed to comparative methods and small samples, and takes little interest in incorporating reflexivity or transparency in his work. Instead, he endeavours to 'correct individual agendas' and 'cut through the data and preconceptions about it to the substantive problem quickly' (Glaser, 1998:2). One of Glaser's strongest convictions is that the data should not be 'forced' through over analysis. This would result in it being shaped according to the preferences and expectations of the researcher, telling us more about the researcher's background and principles and less about the true reality of what was observed.

While Glaser and Strauss pioneered the first phase of grounded theory's development, methodological harmony between the two did not last and their disagreements eventually lead to an important theoretical division. Grounded theory then moved forward in two 'divergent directions' (Charmaz 2006:8) with competing ideas about its aims, principles and procedures. While Strauss shares some of Glaser's positivist leanings – for example, an emphasis on gaining robust data and a pre-occupation with neutrality in research – he conversely takes 'the classic pragmatist metaphysical and epistemological positions on "reality" and "truth" … [that] emerging theory "emerges" in *interplay* between the researcher and the data' (Ekins 1997:4). As such, he is more sympathetic to interpretivism and includes concerns around agency, action, language and meaning in his work (Charmaz 2006:244). The theoretical divide between Glaser and Strauss became most apparent when Strauss published *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* with Juliet Corbin in 1990. Strauss and Corbin devised a new coding matrix – axial coding. Axial coding 'specifies the properties and dimensions of a category' and allows the research to chart the development of a category as it emerges (Charmaz 2006:60). In this way, Strauss and Corbin found a way to immediately conceptualise their findings (Goulding 1999:7), exploring concepts 'in terms of their dynamic inter-relationships' (Goulding 1999:9). According to Glaser, who writes with great passion and principle to defend the original approach to grounded theory, believed that this development was 'without conscience, bordering on immorality … producing simply what qualitative researchers have been doing for 60 years or more: forced, full conceptual description' (Glaser 1998:5).

From 1970 onwards however, the groundwork was already being laid for the most recent incarnations of grounded theory, particularly constructivist grounded theory. Scholars had begun to question their place in the texts they produced during the 1970 - 1986 'blurred genres' period of qualitative research, but the subsequent 'crisis of representation' saw researchers

concerned not only about their place in these texts, but also about their relationship with participants and the influence of the writing process (Birks and Mills 2011:7). Strauss and Corbin demonstrate some reflexive leanings akin to these concerns when they claim that that the 'effect of the researcher is automatically accounted for in data' (Birks and Mills 2011:53). However, Corbin (1998) eventually framed researcher interpretation as simply an unavoidable limitation (Charmaz 2006:127), showing that her sympathy for interpretivism was not deep-rooted. Kathy Charmaz (2006), in contrast, developed constructivist grounded theory, which embraces the interpretive role of the researcher. Charmaz 'adopts (similar) strategies for coding, memo writing and theoretical sampling' as outlined above, but differs inasmuch as she explains that the resulting theory is constructed rather than discovered' (Charmaz 2008:245, emphasis added).

Constructivists, contrary to positivists, hold the epistemological belief that there can be no 'overarching, fully universal and neutral theory' because all research depends on 'external factors' such as the researcher's beliefs, language, conceptualisations of the world, and chosen research methods (Gibson and Hartman, 2013:51). Research is therefore situated, not only in the interpretations of the researcher but also in the worlds and views of research participants; and this shapes the product of research. Thus, a constructivist approach generally lends a particular set of concerns to any research project. It directs attention towards 'intersubjective beliefs which are not reducible to individuals' and which 'construct the interests and identities of purposive actors' (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001:393). Its definitive conviction is that 'people are constantly involved in interpreting their ever-changing worlds' (Williamson, 2006:84), and so research must try to understand the ideas, beliefs and values which people hold, how they come to hold them, and how their social world is shaped by them.

Understanding the underlying convictions and motivations of a constructivist researcher is one thing, but to operationalize those beliefs in the research process is another, trickier, task. However Charmaz (2006) helpfully de-mystifies what is entailed in constructivist research. She explains that 'a constructivist approach means more than looking at how individuals view their situations. Not only does it theorise the interpretive work that research participants do, but it also acknowledges that the resulting theory is an interpretation' (Charmaz 2006:130). This means that while the approach aims to comprehend how ideas are constructed and shared, it is necessarily also interested in what goes on beneath the surface, what brings about particular constructions in the first place, and how the identities and understandings of social and political individuals facilitate these important processes. The researcher aims to get 'as close to the inside of the experience' as possible, and exercises reflexivity in the realisation that the experience cannot be replicated, that the field of study is situated and that the resulting theory is itself an interpretation (Charmaz 2006:130-1) – created by both the situated testimony of subject-participants and the equally situated understanding and analysis of the researcher.

A constructivist approach to grounded theory explores and interprets statements and actions which are implicit in the data, drawing out a rich array of meanings and experiences. A constructivist researcher acknowledges that research participants may make significant statements in different ways, and that it is the role of the researcher to identify and explore meaning, instead of recording data without question, as Glaser advocates. Charmaz argues that there is no way of separating the researcher from the observed phenomenon, and the continual self-critique of the researcher is therefore to be encouraged. Charmaz is clear that the constructivist grounded theorist should 'take a reflexive stance towards the research process and products and consider how their theories evolve' (Charmaz 2006:131). Since facts and values are linked, it is important to reflect that what is seen, or not seen,

in the data depends on the values the researcher brings to the study. Furthermore, every component of the study is socially situated – the researcher, the research subject-participants, and the context of the research field – making the resultant theory socially situated also.

3. My Approach

It is Charmaz's (2006) constructivist approach which I adopt for this research; and the rationale for the decision to do so is two-fold. First, constructivism is the preferred metaphysical framework for TAN theory and, as I make clear in both the introduction and first chapter of this thesis, I am optimistic about its ability to shed light on the meaning of success for advocacy networks. My aim throughout this thesis is not to challenge TAN theory, but to highlight what still has to be done and where new possibilities lie. I have argued that TAN theory employs constructivism to explain the influence which TANs have on state and institutional actors. It also describes a process of issue 'construction' amongst activists, essential to creating salient, resonant campaign themes. However, this interest in identity influence / formation and meaning construction is not carried into an evaluation of network outcomes. A particular type of success is assumed to be the standard which is aspired to, but the way in which success is in fact constructed amongst those who pursue it is not commented on. I argue that this is an oversight, and that activist voices are excluded from our understanding of network success when they could offer great insight. Constructivism is ideally suited to explore the intersubjective construction of 'success' in networks.

Second, and relatedly, a constructivist grounded theory approach is ideal for exploring the inter-subjective meanings which are constructed by activists – how activists understand particular ideas – here, success - the values they attach to those ideas and the role the ideas play in the socio-political world of an activist network. It can shine a light on the production of meaning amongst

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individuals in the same way as TAN theory already highlights identity construction between collective actors and formal institutions. In this case it means listening to people who may have first-hand experience in understanding and articulating success for transnational advocacy network; and helps me to mobilise my suggestion about where the constructivist potential lies in TAN theory as it is now. Constructivism combined with grounded theory is a practical way to tap into the meanings which activists hold about success as grounded theory itself relies on the testimonies of those who have 'first had experience' of the phenomenon being studied.

In the operationalization of constructivist grounded theory the starting point is a literature review. This may seem controversial because a common misconception about grounded theory is that it ignores the literature until the empirical data has been analysed (Suddaby, 2006). However grounded theory is not an excuse for a cavalier attitude towards prior work; and is essential in setting the stage for the research (Charmaz 2006:166). Without prior work to establish a clear and justifiable direction, there is a danger that the result will be 'a mass of descriptive material waiting for a theory, or a fire' (Coase 1988:230, cited in Suddaby 2006:634). I tried therefore to understand success as it had been framed in the literature on transnational advocacy networks; but I also looked across other areas of scholarship to discover what alternative ideas and issues may be associated with the idea of success. This helped me to assess what seemed important and what was missing, and be alert to those ideas when and if they arose in the empirical data. Suddaby (2006) suggests that the real danger of prior knowledge is not that it will somehow 'contaminate' the theory – of course it will - but that it will prompt the researcher to test hypotheses and 'force' the data into pre-determined categories. He suggests that it bodes well to be alert to pre-existing conceptualisations - I tried to remain alert and critical without letting those ideas lead my work. He also suggests that researchers do not 'overextend the objective of grounded theory research … (we) may shoot for

"the elaboration of existing theory' rather than untethered "new" theory' (Suddaby 2006:635). This is what this thesis intends – I do not wish to re-write TAN theory, but simply develop the way in which it approaches the idea of success. As such, it was important to consider the ways in which existing literature fitted with my findings, and so existing literature is given substantive attention in both the literature review and later in Chapter Five.

Following this initial review I used the criteria which Keck and Sikkink (1998) outlined to identify a transnational advocacy network (TAN) on which I could focus my collection of empirical data. For this, I chose a TAN working on the issue of violence against women. To recap on my earlier explanation,[16] TANs are loose, transnationally spread agglomerations of organisations – non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government departments, businesses, religious organisations and so on – which work together across national borders to wage advocacy campaigns around particular issues. To be clear, I was not exploring a networked organisation with steady and recorded membership. TANs are instead rather 'slippery' actors with members moving in and out on a relatively informal basis. They are diffuse and difficult to pin down empirically. To resolve this difficulty, I took a cue from the literature and identified a TAN by first identifying its campaign – this is the approach suggested by Keck and Sikkink (1998). According to Keck and Sikkink (1998:6), campaigns are:

> sets of strategically linked activities in which members of a diffuse, principled network (what social movement theorists would call a mobilization potential) develop explicit, visible ties and mutually recognized roles in pursuit of a common goal (and generally against a common target). In a campaign, core network actors mobilize others and initiate the tasks of structural integration and cultural negotiation among the groups in the network. Just as in domestic campaigns, they connect groups to each other, seek out resources, propose and prepare activities, and conduct public relations.   They must also consciously seek to develop a common frame of meaning – a task complicated by cultural diversity within transnational networks …'

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[16] See Introduction

The campaign waged by the violence against women TAN is *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence*; and I explain this case in detail in the next chapter.

My literature review enabled me to identify the different roles which organisations take within a network, and I used this knowledge to inform my decisions about where in the network to look for interviewees. The excerpt above describes the role of 'core network actor' - an integral player within a campaign, with linkages to a high number of other campaign participants as well as a high concentration of knowledge or information on the campaign. Once a core network actor has been identified it becomes easier to identify other organizations within the TAN through the links between them, and this is a helpful way of facilitating snowball sampling for interviewees. In this case, I have identified the core network actor as the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL). The CWGL is an academic centre at Rutgers University in New Jersey, USA. It is also a policy and advocacy non-governmental organisation with Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) special consultative status at the United Nations (UN), and was the birthplace of the *16 Days* campaign in 1991. Since then, it has coordinated the campaign, disseminating information and resources and collating and sharing information on campaign activity from across the network. During active campaign periods the CWGL may be in communication with around five hundred participant organisations (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). The role it performs demonstrates the 'explicit, visible ties' which have been established with participant organisations for the purpose of facilitating 'strategically linked activities' and sharing information in relation to the campaign theme or strategies.

I saw it as essential to interview members of the core network actor as well as some other activists differently located within the campaign network. In

total I interviewed twenty-eight activists from seventeen different organisations, and a list of the organisations from which I interviewed is provided in *Table A* below. The core network actor holds rich information and resources about the campaign as a result of its organisational role. Its connections also make it well placed to review the membership and overall development of the campaign; and insights of this nature have helped substantially to inform Chapter Three, which introduces the case. However, the core network actor was not the first place I went to conduct interviews. I first identified some general participants using the CWGL's online 'campaign calendar' from the previous year.[17] However, the geographical spread of participation would make it difficult to choose who to interview. I was aware of an upcoming international women's rights conference, being hosted by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) in Istanbul,[18] and determined that this would be a unique opportunity to interview an international cross-section of activists who participate in this network. I used the conference program to identify participating organisations, and matched them with the groups who had identified themselves in the campaign calendar. I made contact with several, detailing my project and requesting an interview during the two days of the conference. I was able to pre-plan five interviews, and also attained one additional interview as a result of networking during the days of the conference. These interviews captured activists working on the campaign in Australia, Costa Rica, India and Pakistan; and were thus able to offer a good, preliminary account of campaign success based on a relatively diverse set of experiences.

I arranged to spend one month at Rutgers University in New Jersey with the core network actor, the CWGL. This allowed me to access an archive of

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[17] The *16 Days* campaign calendar is an online tool hosted on the CWGL's website. Organisations which are participating in the campaign post details of their activities and event locations etc; and these entries are organised by geographical region to enable activists and members of the public to find local events.
[18] This was the AWID 2012 Forum, themed on *Transforming Economic Power to Advance Women's Rights and Justice.*

campaign materials and correspondence dating back to 1991, which I was advised had never been accessed by a researcher; and also to interview activists in this core group. I had plenty of time and so interviewed every member of staff involved in the coordination of the campaign. This included some previous employees of the CWGL who were keen to speak about their experiences of the campaign; and included the leading American women's rights activist, Charlotte Bunch and her partner Roxanna Carillo, who were both founding members of the CWGL and the *16 Days* campaign. Overall, the interviews with past and present staff from the CWGL helped me to gain a range of perspectives on the campaign from those who are or have been 'closest' to it - those able to bring its history and development in to their reflections. The CWGL remains at the centre of the network in its continued role in co-ordinating the campaign, and collecting data about it. However this is the only organisation from which I interviewed several different activists - for each of the other organisations represented, I interviewed only one activist.[19]   This means that a higher proportion of interviewees overall were from the CWGL; and therefore a higher proportion of my data, and the success stories captured within it, come from this source. It could be argued however that this makes my data an accurate reflection of the fact that activists working at the CWGL are dominant players in the network and have therefore also be dominant in shaping the emergent success stories about the *16 Days* campaign. Moreover, spending significant amounts of time with this group allowed me to access other actors in the network. Activists at the CWGL put me in touch with some of their ally organisations and campaign participants based a short journey away in New York. This again broadened the range of my interviews and facilitated snowball sampling for further participants.[20]   The interviews I gained in New York were in part helped by the fact that many human rights organisations were in New York at that time for negotiations around the Arms Trade Treaty at the United Nations

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[19] Although I interviewed two activists from Women's Aid Ireland in a joint interview.

[20] 'a technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors'. Sage Research Methods online: http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-social-science-research-methods/n931.xml

headquarters.[21] Activists from the CWGL also recommended other international locations in which the campaign is very active, and this included Ireland.

I also spent one month in Ireland, basing myself in Dublin with Women's Aid Ireland. Women's Aid is a key player in the *16 Days* campaign in Ireland and requests that Irish organisations participating in the campaign publicise their activities through them. This meant that Women's Aid was a great resource in linking up with different campaign participants in Ireland. I interviewed two members of their staff, for whom the *16 Days* campaign fell within their work remit, alongside activists from a selection of nine other organisations – most of which were grassroots, local and service-based organisations. Since a majority of my previous interviews had been with international or advocacy organisations, this was an opportunity to redress the balance with a different organisation type. It was also an opportunity to 'check' the data I had collected so far, as the dominance of international and policy organisations may have generated a version of success which those 'on the ground' would not agree with.

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[21] Negotiations took place during my research trip in the summer of 2012 and the treaty was adopted on 2nd April 2013: http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/

Table A: List of Interviewee Organisations

ADAPT Domestic Abuse Services	Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL)	Global Fund for Women	Pavee Point
Amnesty USA	Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA)	Gorey Family Resource Centre	Shirkat Gah
Action Aid	Eastern African Sub-regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI)	International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)	UN Women
Coalition of Student Leaders	African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)	Oxfam	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Aid			

As I was spending a considerable amount of time in the field with my research participants – particularly during the second phase, where I was based in a specific office for one month – I had to be alert to the way in which the relationships I developed might interfere with my data. The activists I spent time with were likeable personalities, with impressive careers, expansive knowledge, and feminist principles which I am sympathetic to. It was therefore easy to want to cast them in a positive light as I wrote up my findings. While I do not feel that they have been cast in a negative light in any way, I have still attempted to subject their claims to critical scrutiny. As will become clear in Chapters Four and Five, for example, I am critical about the way in which hierarchy functions in the network. I identify the existence of hierarchy and suggest that this has implications for the types of claims – in particular, claims about success – which become privileged within the network. Since interview participants explicitly rejected hierarchy on ideological grounds, I felt that this exposed a tension between theory and practice which was not resolved by interview participants, but which I attempt

to address in this thesis. In spending time with the activists at the CWGL in particular, I was careful to ensure that any data I collected was given with the consent of my research participants. This means that I have not used any personal testament or views which I heard in discussions outside of interviews for which I had attained proper consent. I have also not used any documentation which was not available in the public domain or given to me by research participants.

4. <u>My Research Tools</u>

I interviewed all of the activists I met – in Istanbul, the United States, and Ireland – in a semi-structured style. Semi-structured interviews are interviews which have enough structure to allow the researcher to ask particular questions and determine the topics to be covered in the interview. However, 'the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply' (Bryman, 2008:438) and can thus direct the interview. This means that the interviewer must be prepared to ask questions which were not in the original interview guide in order to pick up on the themes which the interviewee addresses. Within this project, a semi-structured style allowed participants the space to reflect on the conceptual question being asked.[22] It also acknowledged the lack of scholarship addressing this specific topic already, and the lack of privilege given to activist voices, by ensuring that the research would be moved forward by the testimonies of research participants and not by pre-formed ideas.[23] A semi-structured interview style is also important in constructivist grounded theory. Charmaz (2006:29) points out: that 'questions must explore the interviewer's topic and fit the participant's experience'. Constructivists emphasise the importance of eliciting the participant's meaning, the way in which they define terms, understand concepts and

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[22] What is success for this transnational advocacy network?
[23] The aim was to build an idea of success out of the empirical data and not let pre-formed ideas stand in the way of what activists told me. However, it must be acknowledged that pre-preformed ideas exist. They played a vital role in shaping my initial questions, and in my eventual analysis and interpretation of the data, but I was guided during interviews by the participants and remained open to any new ideas which emerged.

interpret their experiences. It is important therefore to ask the right kind of questions – questions which offer the opportunity to tease out meaning and avoid 'forcing' responses into pre-conceived categories.

Charmaz is clear that semi-structured grounded theory interviews should aim to foster participants' reflections - to explore, not interrogate. Further, the participant's comfort must be a vital consideration if reflection, and therefore theoretical insight, is to be made possible. Similar understandings and commitments around interviewing can also be found in feminist methodological literature. (Hesse-Biber, 2006:113-4), for example, echoes Charmaz's concern with developing an in-depth understanding of the research subject-participant's meaning and remaining aware of the relationship dynamic. She says: 'As a feminist interviewer, I am aware of the nature of my relationship to those whom I interview, careful to understand my particular personal and research standpoints and what role I play in the interview process … I have a research agenda. I want to know a 'something'. Yet I am open in the types of questions I ask …' (DeVault and Gross, 2006:176) note further that a feminist interviewer is accountable to research participants and other audiences, and must continually reflect on the intellectual and institutional context in which scholarship occurs. In my view this encourages cognisance of the sources of knowledge and is an essential component in the type of reflexive approach which constructivist grounded theorists champion. In conducting interviews it was also essential to remember the epistemological advantage I had as a researcher, in relation to participants. The questions asked during an interview frame the ways in which participants engage with the research project. For this reason, Charmaz (2006:30) says about her own interviewing approach:

> First, I assume that participants' comfort level has higher priority than obtaining juicy data. Second, I pay close attention as to when to probe … Third, I try to understand the experience from the participant's view and to validate its significance to this person.

In the grounded theory tradition, the first interviews I conducted were structured around a small number of open-ended questions, and aimed to elicit the interviewee's thoughts, experiences and reflections on the idea of campaign success. Additionally, the 'sensitising concepts' which I had discovered prior to the interview were explored further at this preliminary stage since more abstracted theoretical ideas were not yet available and everything was still there to be discovered.[24] For example, 'success' itself became a key sensitizing concept because I wanted to find out whether it resonated at all with interview participants – that is, did they discuss success within their organisation and hold particular ideas about what success means, or not? Charmaz advises that interviewers begin with only four or five questions so as to give the interviewee plenty of scope to introduce her / his own ideas and to establish the ideas which may become important as the research progresses. My initial interviews were able to provide data which set in motion the process of constructing theory. As the research process progressed, my interview questions changed in order to accommodate the emergent ideas. For example, if an earlier idea simply was not resonating with anyone I interviewed, I would stop asking about it and focus instead on the more pertinent themes. Additionally, the number of questions increased as I became familiar with specific ideas and tried to gain more detailed information about them to help build theoretical categories. Grounded theory encourages interviewers to change or adapt their questions in order to facilitate a process of theoretical refinement. The interviewer looks for significant ideas during initial interviews, and then uses subsequent interviews to find out what is at stake in them and tease out their inherent complexities. For me, this meant that some of the constituent ideas in the resultant theory were not ones I had anticipated or set out to ask about. Rather, they simply emerged because research participants raised them frequently and pressingly enough to suggest they had some significance.[25]

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[24] The notion of 'sensitizing concepts' comes from H. Blumer's (1986) *Symbolic Interactionism*, originally published in 1965.
[25] Although this experience characterises the research as a whole, my Chapter Five analysis around the role of hierarchy and internal power dynamics in particular comes from emergent

One significant disagreement between grounded theorists working in the constructivist tradition and those working in the positivist tradition concerns whether or not interviews should be recorded. Glaser, the classical grounded theory positivist, expresses strong opposition to recording interviews since he believes that the important parts of the data can be captured first hand in the interviewer's notes. He is concerned that recording invites over analysis and a subsequent 'forcing' of the data. Charmaz, on the other hand, argues that it is in fact important to record interviews as this 'allows you to give full attention to your research participant … and gives you detailed data' (Charmaz 2006:32). Charmaz is concerned that taking notes will distract from listening to what the interviewee is saying and being able to ask appropriate follow-on questions. She is also concerned that some important layers of meaning will be lost in the process of hurriedly trying to capture the interviewee's narrative by hand. I believe that Charmaz's constructivist framework ensures that the richness in the data is not lost, overlooked or missed. The ability to listen again to recordings of interviews can help to pick up nuances which were missed the first time, allowing the data to be worked and all the richness and subtle meanings it contains extracted. Glaser's approach, whilst claiming objectivism, results in participants' insights being captured only partially and in the hastily chosen words of the interviewer. As my concern is to understand the way in which 'campaign success' is constructed by feminist activists, and to do so from their own perspectives, I recorded my interviews. I agree with Charmaz that recording is the best way to avoid a situation where my data is thin and the way in which success is being constructed is not understood as thoroughly as possible. If I had not recorded I would have simply lost any information that I was not able to write down, and the quality of the interview itself may have suffered. I did of course offer interviewees the option of speaking without being recorded - and only one participant preferred this option. This particular interview demonstrated

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ideas I had neither anticipated nor prompted. As Charmaz (2006) points out, a grounded theorist can never be entirely prepared for what will emerge.

very concretely the advantages of having a recording. Although it lasted a similar length of time to other interviews, my notes were not comparable to my transcripts. The notes I took were much shorter and lacked the same detail. While the ideas expressed were useful, they were generally only able to support the more detailed claims I had captured in other, recorded, interviews.

It was not only interviews which I used, however – 'extant texts' also played an important role. An extant text is any document which has been constructed without the researcher's influence, and can therefore reveal commonly shared ideas which do not include consideration of the researcher's agenda. Extant texts written about the campaign by participating organizations provided a good source of data and were subject to qualitative document analysis. These texts I was interested in included organizational reports, evaluations, and statements about the campaign and its aims; and I found those through internet searches and in the CWGL's archive, mentioned above. My aim here was to gather any available information which could tell me something about the terms in which organizations consider the outcomes of their campaign work – do they mention success, and if so, how do they define it? How do they frame the goals of their work, and does this have any bearing on what success means? Extant texts are particularly useful for the constructivist project because they tend to represent organizational views, and those generally emerge out of processes of dialogue and negotiation within the organisation and are representative of views held within the organisation. Whilst the influence of my presence as a researcher is entirely absent from the construction of an extant text, when those texts became subject to analysis they were necessarily mixed with the context and values of the project – and thus their meaning is co-constructed by their authors and by myself as their analyst. Here, Charmaz's reminder that a researcher is never separate from their analysis must be kept in mind. The texts which were used informed the analysis in their own right, but their interpretation is

inescapably intertwined with the values and interests which I bring to the research. [26]

The use of qualitative data in the form of semi-structured interviews and extant texts helps to generate the 'rich data' I mentioned earlier. However, rich data can only be produced when the 'raw' data is worked in such a way that the meanings it contains are exposed and explained. The process of doing so is accomplished by using some of the other tools of grounded theory – coding and memo writing. I coded my data as I gathered it since grounded theory is progressed through 'constant comparison' (see Charmaz 2006:5) which means considering the meanings contained in pieces of data and comparing them continually with other pieces of data in order to work out the connections (if any) between them, as well as what ideas are emerging overall. The act of writing memos helps the coding process by facilitating reflection on the data and the codes being created to explain it. Writing simply helps to crystallise thought processes and make sense of the complexity in the data. In what follows, I will explain my approach to both coding and memo writing; and provide some reflection on my experience of doing both.

Coding texts and interview transcripts is the key means by which a grounded theorist can draw out the texture and nuance in the data, making connections between ideas and demonstrating the richness of the information it contains. For constructivist grounded theory, coding generally involves assigning 'gerunds' – the noun of verbs - to sections of data. This builds action into the code and helps the researcher to explain analytically what is going on in the data (see Charmaz 2012:5). This helps the researcher to clearly illuminate the assumptions being made, and the ideas and the processes by which

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[26] For example, my research agenda; and the concepts which had been associated with success in existing literature, which I had become familiar with. This inevitably shapes what is 'seen' during reading and analysis.

meaning is created. I coded my data in three stages, as Charmaz (2006) advises. These stages were: (1) open coding, where the first codes are produced and explain each line of data as they strike the researcher; (2) focussed coding, which amalgamates initial codes into specific conceptual categories; and (3) theoretical coding, which draws out and explains the connections between categories. During the initial 'open coding' phase, the grounded theorist should 'stick closely to the data' (Charmaz 2006:47) and create codes which focus on actions and intuitively capture what is going in the data. While there are different approaches to initial coding,[27] Charmaz advocates line-by-line coding, which in practice means naming each line in a piece of data. This keeps the researcher close to the data, and 'curbs our tendencies to make conceptual leaps and to adopt extant theories *before* we have done the necessary analytic work' (2006: 48). However, I found that this approach to coding was rather difficult in practice. First, not all lines in the data are coherent or full sentences for which a meaningful code can be created. Second, line-by-line coding erases the context of the utterance and again detracts from the meaningfulness of the code. There is a risk then that codes will not be able to explain the data sufficiently, and this will impact on subsequent analytical work. I therefore modified my approach at this stage of analysis and coded 'sections' – perhaps a few line or a paragraph at a time – using my judgement to determine how much data would need to be included in a code for it to be meaningful. Although this means that I am inclined to agree with Glaser on this point, I would suggest that this modification in fact helped to facilitate an interpretivist approach to analysis.

The second stage, 'focussed coding', refers to the development of codes which are more general than the initial codes and which can therefore be used to synthesise larger chunks of data. In practice, this meant that I '[used] the most significant and / or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data … [this stage] require[ed] decisions to be made about which

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[27] For example, coding section by section or incident by incident.

initial codes ma[de] the most analytic sense to categorize data incisively and completely' (Charmaz 2006:57-8). It also signified the first attempt at increasing the level of theoretical abstraction, and achieving an ever more sophisticated understanding about what was happening in the data. Essentially, this process was repeated until theoretical categories were arrived at – that is, categories which can describe the key themes in the data and subsume the analytical nuance which earlier codes have provided. Categories provide deep, textured and coherent theoretical analyses about what the data reveals, and their richness of explanation and analysis has meant that a stand-alone chapter (Chapter Four) is required to showcase these categories.

The final stage in the coding process was the development of theoretical codes. Theoretical codes function to show 'how the substantive codes [obtained through focussed coding] may relate to each other … [they] specify possible relationships between categories … [and] weave the fractured story back together again' (Charmaz 2006:63). However, according to the logic of grounded theory categories can only be properly established once theoretical saturation has been reached. Theoretical saturation is, 'the point [at which] the theoretical categories are judged by the researcher to be sufficiently developed' (Black, 2009:93). Saturation in qualitative research is typically considered to be the point at which new data does not yield any new insights – the same stories, ideas and patterns are being repeated over and again. However, Glaser (2001, cited in Charmaz 2006:113) shifts the meaning of saturation. It is not simply about failing to gather new empirical information, but about obtaining *conceptual completeness*. This means that saturation happens when the analysis process itself is no longer managing to extract new theoretical information or new properties or patterns from the data. Rather, a sense of conceptual density has been reached, signifying the point at which analysis has been exhausted and no new theoretical categories can be articulated. The overall aim is to produce analytical coherence both

between and within categories, and to enable them to tell a clear story about the specific data gathered. The researcher can claim a complete analysis and set of theoretical categories at this point.

For my study, this final stage of coding and theoretical abstraction was facilitated by writing memos. I used memos as a tool for the development of theoretical categories, as well as for moving towards the realisation that saturation has been reached. Writing memos is a procedure which is common to all grounded theory approaches, and is considered integral to theory building. Memo writing is an 'active, comparative and reflective analytic process (which) enables the identification of further categories and their properties' (Black 2009:93) and is vital if saturation is to be confidently claimed at all. It can be undertaken at any point in the coding and analysis process as it helps to establish connections between codes, ideas and events. These connections need to be considered thoroughly for the purposes of gaining analytical clarity and direction. Memos can take any form and be of any length – they are simply pieces of writing which a researcher constructs to help work through the data. While I wrote some short, informal memos throughout, my chapter drafts also functioned as types of memo. Writing drafts forced me to make sense of, and organise the emergent ideas. Receiving feedback on my drafts also helped to iron out the inconsistencies or the interpretations and connections which did not quite work, and this again pushed me to continue working towards greater theoretical abstraction and refinement. It often took two or three drafts before I had a chapter I was content had truly captured the data and presented it coherently. It is also notable that this process of drafting and re-drafting did not really stop until I had a full draft of the thesis. Analysis was not a stand-alone phase preceding writing, but occurred simultaneously alongside it.

At each stage of the research process, theoretical abstraction was also aided significantly by theoretical sampling. I undertook theoretical sampling in two ways. First, I determined what type of participants would be able to help me understand success. I felt that it was important to speak to a range of participants throughout the network, and to members of the core network actor who would be able to reflect more broadly on the network and its campaign. I made those decisions early on as, with a large network to navigate, I had to identify and plan where I would gather my data. I was not able to 'follow hunches about where to find (new) data and then go collect these data' (Charmaz 2006:103) by physically interviewing suitable new participants later on in the process, because I did not have enough time or resources to do this. However, I did ask new questions which would help me to 'test' or learn more about some of the key ideas which were emerging. After I had analysed the initial set of interviews, I was able to add or modify my questions as appropriate. During the second stage of interviews, this happened quite organically. My questions did not change very much during this stage, but I was able pick up themes and become immersed in a detailed conversation across different participants and their interviews. Often, interviewees would also recommend particular themes to bring up with their colleagues. Using these techniques helped me to refine my categories and also to discover intersubjective ideas, shared by participants in the network.[28]

The nature of my project however, did place some constraints on my theoretical sampling. Once the project was started, the nature of my fieldwork made it difficult to complete theoretical sampling by looking for interviewees with appropriate information. I had to navigate a large, sprawling network – loosely structured and globally spread - to find interviewees and to complete my data collection within a timeframe which suited the overall project. This meant pre-planning my interview schedule to

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[28] Following a constructivist approach, this was a helpful technique for drawing out shared meanings; and highlights how the theory is co-constructed by the researcher and research participants.

ensure that I could speak to a range of activists as well as to those with the most concentrated knowledge of the campaign. I had to consider where I could travel to within the budget and timescale I had been allocated. It was important that I established reliable and accessible contacts early on as this provided some assurance that I would be able to gather the data I needed. I explained above the way in which I went about this, from attending an international conference to visiting organisations in New Jersey, New York and around Ireland.   Perhaps the only example of sampling on the basis of people with appropriate knowledge as my project was in progress was my identification of interviewees in Ireland.   Women's Aid Ireland was recommended to me by staff at the CWGL; and provided an instance of more grass-roots based activism. Otherwise, I conducted theoretical sampling through adapting my interview schedule to reflect emerging themes.

The result of the work I have detailed above is - as the name of the methodology suggests – a theory. The categories I arrived at through analysis are described in detail in Chapter Four, but they are drawn together in Chapter Five to create one coherent idea about how success should be understood in the case I examine. This idea absorbs all of the categories in Chapter Four, and therefore all of the codes which emerged throughout the course of analysis. However, I want to make it clear that I understand theory in a particular – interpretivist – way. In the interpretivist tradition, theory is an attempt to understand a phenomenon - not to explain it, or make predictions about it. Thus, I do not aim to 'explain a process or scheme associated with a phenomenon' (Birks and Mill: 2011:12). Rather, I aimed to:

> conceptualise the studied phenomenon to understand it in abstract terms; articulate theoretical claims pertaining to scope, depth, power and relevance; acknowledge subjectivity in theorising and hence the role of negotiation, dialogue, understanding; and offer an imaginative interpretation. (Charmaz 2006:127)

In line with this, Chapter Five presents my understanding of success. I acknowledge that my understanding is based on my own interpretation –

imaginative, perhaps, as it required abstract thinking, but nonetheless firmly rooted in the testimonies I recorded - and has been constructed through my interactions with research participants. I have also tried to draw attention in this chapter to the limitations of the research. Here, I have emphasised that my work is situated in one transnational advocacy network, in a particular point of time and in the testimonies of particular activists within it. I am careful to avoid over-stating the scope of my research, and have suggested that its value lies in its ability to reveal what more can be said about success for transnational advocacy networks. It highlights some pertinent ideas and how they interact with each other; and gives weight to the claim that success can be interpreted in various ways and is not one dimensional.

Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the grounded theory methodology and provided a rationale for the choice of constructivist grounded theory. I have argued that the constructivist version is ideally suited to the purpose of this research, which is exploring the meaning of success for transnational advocacy networks from the perspective of participant activists. The methodology allows TAN theory's existing constructivism to be extended into the domain of activist evaluation of campaign activity. It facilitates a focus on the intersubjective meanings about success which are produced by subject-participants who have first-hand experience of negotiating these meanings. I explained two very different grounded theory traditions – positivist and interpretivist, with constructivist grounded theory of course falling within the latter. This distinction is very important as grounded theory is often mistakenly assumed to be a positivist methodology as a result of its roots. However the version adopted for this thesis is quite different in that it acknowledges the interpretive role of the researcher, and includes this in its understanding of how meaning is constructed and how the resultant 'theory' emerges. I also explained the steps in my own application of constructivist grounded theory, from gathering rich data through semi-structured interviews

and the analysis of extant texts, to coding and writing memos in order to increase the level of theoretical abstraction until I had a single theoretical idea.

While this process successfully revealed significant ideas and enabled me to complete a grounded theory, it did not come without some difficulties. Those difficulties included: the erosion of context in the first stage of coding, which seemed counter-intuitive and made it more difficult to create meaningful codes which could be used later in the analysis; the temporary focus on purely empirical data, which created anxiety about theoretical developments and how they might impact on my findings; the time limitations which impacted on who I could speak to; and the limitations of a single case study.

While those difficulties crept up along the way, they ultimately coloured my understanding of both the merits and limitations of grounded theory in studying the conceptual life of transnational advocacy networks. This thesis has used constructivist grounded theory in the most systematic way the studied phenomenon allowed; and I deem it an appropriate methodology because it enabled me to explore and prioritise the meanings produced by activists; but I had to re-assess some of the steps in light of the challenges I encountered and the type of data I collected. Ultimately, interesting results have been produced - and these will be revealed in the subsequent chapters. The emergent theory may be limited in scope but focussing on a single case means that this thesis not only produces rich data but also re-visits a case already described in the transnational advocacy network literature, adding to and updating it. Overall, the grounded theory produced for this thesis reveals new possibilities in conceptualising success – and this indicates great potential for future research. In what follows, I elucidate the case I have chosen in more detail; and then move on in subsequent chapters to the data which emerged from my study of the violence against women transnational

advocacy network and its campaign, *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence*.

CHAPTER 3 Case Study: The 16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence Campaign

This chapter will introduce the case which the thesis is focussed around - the violence against women transnational advocacy network (TAN) and its campaign, *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence*. A key aim of the chapter is to provide some context for the case. I will briefly set it within the academic framework I have chosen to use by explaining the sense in which the violence against women network fits the 'transnational advocacy network' criteria which has been set out by Keck and Sikkink (1998). I will then detail four precursors to the birth of the campaign, including: a series of international women's rights conferences hosted by the United Nations; the establishment of a Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL); the first meeting of the Women's Global Leadership Institute; and the Global Women's Rights are Human Rights campaign. I will also describe the aims of the campaign, both at its inception and currently. I will then move on to describe the different thematic focuses which the campaign has adopted over the years, and discuss the variety of ways in which participant organisations actively support the campaign. The final section in this chapter looks at the global popularity of the campaign and the actors, both organisations and individuals, which have been, and remain, central to it. Here, the campaign's growth from a small collective of activists to a much larger and more diverse cohort of participants will be described. In doing all of this the chapter sets the scene for subsequent chapters, which explore the ideas emergent from my analysis of this case and compares them with existing scholarship.

1. **Violence against Women Activism as a Transnational Advocacy Network**

In the introduction to this thesis, I explained the way in which transnational advocacy networks (TANs) have been defined in the literature. I also explained in Chapter Two that I will focus on the campaign organised by the violence against women network since campaigns provide the clearest route through which to study transnational advocacy networks – which are otherwise large and fluid structures, difficult to pin down for empirical analysis. In what follows, I will briefly explain the ways in which the violence against women TAN and its campaign reflect the TAN attributes which Keck and Sikkink (1998) initially outlined. While the main purpose of this chapter is to give an empirical account of the case the thesis focuses on, it will also be helpful to place the case within the theoretical frame which this thesis responds to. I will therefore highlight the following: that the *16 Days* campaign provides a focal point around which the violence against women network can organise; that the network has a fluid structure and diverse membership, that the network is in part held together by a core network actor; and that the network's activities are aimed at generating compliance with human rights norms, and use what Keck and Sikkink call types of 'politics' to work towards its goals.

Turning first to the existence of a campaign which can help to bring focus to the network's organising, the *16 Days* campaign performs this function for the violence against women network. It is this campaign which makes it possible to view the network at all. In Chapter Two, I cited Keck and Sikkink's definition of a TAN campaign; and it is worth repeating here for clarity. Campaigns are:

> sets of strategically linked activities in which members of a diffuse, principled network develop explicit, visible ties and mutually recognized roles in pursuit of a common goal (and generally against a common target) … they must also seek to develop a common frame of meaning. (Keck and Sikkink 1998:6)

The *16 Days* campaign is the effort of a diffuse and principled network – one which pursues commitment to women's human rights, including freedom from violence - to eradicate violence against women. This is the shared goal which unites activists in the network. While women's experiences, and experiences of violence, are diverse and culturally specific, the ability of activists to develop a common frame of meaning around this particular issue made the campaign possible in the first place.[29] Ever since, this frame has been developed by activists as the campaign evolves and finds ever more nuanced critiques.[30] While offering windows into networks and helping to establish what binds networks together, campaigns also 'highlight *relationships* – how connections are established and maintained among network actors, and also between activists and their allies and opponents' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:7). The ties which bind activists in this case appear strong. The campaign was established out of close collaborative work among an international cohort of women activists; and some interview participants involved in the contemporary network highlighted the continued presence of 'a level of trust' and the existence of interpersonal 'bonds' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012) between participants.

Turning next to the fluid and diverse membership of the violence against women network, activists reported that the *16 Days* is a campaign in which 'organizations do it [the campaign] for one year and they might not do it for another year' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012); whilst changes in thematic focus bring in new organizations which have not been 'key before' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Simply, the network is in a constant state of change. However alongside changes in participation, activists highlighted that the 'conversation' within the network, or how it frames and reframes its issue, is also very fluid. The network itself is thus subject to continual construction and reconstruction

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[29] See section 2 below on the origins and aims of the campaign.
[30] See section 3 on campaign themes.

as its members shift in and out and alter the nature of its discourse. Keck and Sikkink clarify that network members can be:

> international and domestic non-governmental research and advocacy organizations; local social movements; foundations; the media; churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; and parts of the executive and / or parliamentary branches of governments. (Keck and Sikkink 1998:9)

This framework was of course applied to the violence against women network in *Activists Beyond Borders*. To this day the network contains a plethora of different actors. It includes, among others: non-governmental organisations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); intellectuals such as international politics scholar, Cynthia Enloe (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012); international inter-governmental organisations, such as UNIFEM;[31] state departments, such as the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of the Government of Montenegro (see EU et al., 2011); media outlets, with non-governmental organisations mobilising their local and national media during the campaign (see, for example, Shirkat-Gah, 2011). Subsequent sections in this chapter will draw further attention to the diverse membership of the violence against women network.

However, within this diverse membership there are some actors which do not fall neatly within the scheme originally provided. For example, there are many local and domestic organizations which are primarily service based and which participate consistently within the *16 Days* campaign. This may include organizations providing shelter or refuge to 'battered women' or organizations offering direct services or referral to appropriate services, such as counselling and legal advice. For example, this type of activity is a key part of the mandate of Women's Aid Ireland, which has been an active and well-

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[31] Now UN Women. I refer to UNIFEM throughout because this is the UN organisation which my interviewees referred to most frequently and because I have collected campaign reports from UNIFEM.

known participant for a number of years.[32]   Other examples of such participants recorded by the CWGL include: a Woman's Crisis Centre in Suva, Fiji (see Kotoisuva, 1997); the Nadja Centre in Sofia, Bulgaria (see Venelinova, 1998); and the Domestic Violence Resource Centre in Brisbane, Australia (see Iyer, 1999). I suggest therefore that the network is even more diverse, or at least has become more diverse, than Keck and Sikkink originally realised. However, the service-based organisations I have highlighted have each made contact with the core network actor, the CWGL, to report their campaign activities. This shows that they are actively participating in the network in the same ways as the more traditional-type network participants. They pursue agendas distinct from the core network actor and other organisation types, and so are not part of an NGO or 'networked organisation'.[33]

Third, helping to bring focus to the network and its diverse membership are core network actors, which will 'mobilize others … connect groups to each other, seek out resources, propose and prepare activities, and conduct public relations' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:6). In the case of the *16 Days* campaign this is the role fulfilled by the CWGL, helping the sprawling violence against women network to coalesce around the campaign. The CWGL tries to 'build linkages' between groups internationally in order to grow the campaign.[34] It also leads the framing of the annual themes; distributes campaign resources and information to participants; collects, records and shares details of participating groups and their activities; and is known as the 'home' of the

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[32] In fact I conducted the final stage of my fieldwork in Ireland, based in Dublin with Women's Aid Ireland, because the core network actor, CWGL advised that they had received many communications from Women's Aid Ireland and believed the Irish section of the campaign to be very active.

[33] See Moghadam 2005, and comments in introduction to this thesis.

[34] This is also touched upon in section 3 of this chapter, which discusses the campaign's annual themes.

campaign.[35]   It should be noted that with this position comes a degree of power, and I touch on this issue in Chapters Four and Five.

Finally, the network and its campaign focuses on gaining compliance with human rights norms; and it uses certain tactics, or what Keck and Sikkink (1999: 95) describe as types of 'politics' typical of TANs, in order to engage with this task.   Below, I explain the goals of the campaign and the way in which it convinced the United Nations (UN) to establish that women's rights are human rights, and that violence against women is therefore a human rights violation. Further, chapters Four and Five discuss in some detail the actors which are targeted and urged to enact norms around women's human rights. Four different types of 'politics' are used for these tasks: (1) *information* politics is about moving politically important information quickly and to somewhere it will have impact. For the *16 Days* campaign, this has most prominently involved reframing the terms of the debate in UN fora. (2) *Symbolic* politics is about using symbols, stories and actions to make sense of an issue. For the violence against women network, Keck and Sikkink (1998:181) highlighted 'the routine use of rape in the former Yugoslavia as a tool of ethnic cleaning … [and] the rape and beating of a woman jogging in Central Park'. Such events resonate with women around the world, and send the message that no woman is safe. (3) *Leverage* politics is about using powerful actors to increase the opportunity of weaker actors to affect a situation. Network participants range from small, grassroots organisations to national and international level organisations with established influencing power.[36] Being a part of the network means 'you have a strong pool of [other participants]' which helps to legitimise claims and display support for the concerns being raised (Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012).   (4) *Accountability* politics is about trying to convince powerful actors to adhere to their (human rights) promises. Section 3 below notes that this has been a

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[35] This is discussed in section 2 of this chapter, on the origins and aims of the campaign.
[36] See section 4 on key participants.

specific theme in the campaign, and Chapters Four and Five provide some analytical discussion around the idea of holding powerful actors to account.

In sum, the *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence* campaign highlights the network around the issue of violence against women; and this network can be considered a transnational advocacy network (TAN) in view of the criteria Keck and Sikkink (1998) present. I have noted the way in which the network's membership is diverse and fluid. It contains a range of different actor types, most of which made it into Keck and Sikkink's original framework but of some of which did not; and these actors are held together by the co-ordination efforts of a core network actor, the CWGL. This co-ordination as well as the sharing of information between members of the network via the CWGL makes the network visible and demonstrates the common goals which bind these organisations and produce a TAN. I also highlighted the ways in which the violence against women TAN uses different types of what Keck and Sikkink (1998) call 'politics'. In this sense I drew attention to the fact that the network operates in the ways typically expected of a TAN. However, I will elaborate further on the activities which define a TAN throughout Chapters Four and Five. In what follows here, I now turn to look at the origins and aims of the *16 Days* campaign in more detail.

2. Origins and Aims of the Campaign

The *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence* campaign came about as a result of almost two decades of transnational women's organizing.[37] During this time women forged connections across borders, establishing common themes in their activism and created joint action strategies to tackle the problems they identified. In what follows, I highlight in turn four key events within those decades which were precursors to the establishment of the global campaign: (1) a series of international

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[37] From around 1970s to the establishment of the campaign in 1991

conferences at the United Nations throughout the 70s and 80s; (2) the establishment of a Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) at Rutgers University in New Jersey; (3) the establishment of a Women's Global Leadership Institute by the CWGL; and (4) the global *Women's Rights are Human Rights* campaign.[38]

Turning first to the international conferences which went before the campaign, women's groups had been organizing throughout the 1970s and 80s within the international spaces provided by a series of United Nations (UN) world conferences. The most significant of the conferences are those which formed the UN Decade for Women. The UN Decade for Women refers to a set of three conferences, beginning in Mexico City in 1975 to mark International Women's Year and ending in 1985 with a review conference in Nairobi. The first conference fell within the period towards the end of the Cold War and, in keeping with the times and the more general concerns of the UN, focused on the themes of equality, development and peace (Tinker and Jaquette, 1987:419). This conference was attended by one hundred and thirty three state delegations (Moghadam, 2005:16); and a parallel tribune was organized by the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC (CONGO), which additionally attracted approximately four thousand women from non-governmental organizations the world over (Moghadam 2005:16; Reilly, 2009:54).[39] However the conference was lead 'almost exclusively' by women from the global North (Marchand and Runyan, 2000:212). This created tensions with those from the global South; and it stifled agreement on what constituted 'women's issues' since women, coming from all over the world, brought with them different experiences and thus different priorities. While disagreement continued through the Mid-Decade Review Conference, which took place in 1980 in

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[38] I use the American spelling, 'Center', since CWGL is an American organisation.
[39] The United Nation's Economic and Social Council

Copenhagen; and the End of Decade Review Conference, in 1985 in Nairobi, collaboration was emerging among the world's women.

An International Tribunal on Crimes against Women was held in Brussels in 1976. This came in response to the UN Conference in Mexico City since many activists distrusted the conference and wanted a space to discuss the issues they felt were important (Joachim 2007:105). This space, also dominated by women from the global North, provided the opportunity for women to testify about their individual experiences of gender based violence. Although there were issues along the way, women were united by their diverse yet common experiences of violence.[40] As Joachim (2007:103) points out, 'only the types of violence to which women are subjected vary across regions and countries' as the phenomenon is an all too common characteristic of female experience. This commonality, or 'we-feeling' (Joachim 2007:114), helped to engender solidarity among women and facilitate international networking (Joachim 2007:105). For US based women's rights activist, Charlotte Bunch, it was during the conferences of the seventies and eighties, and the organizing spaces they opened up, that the violence against women issue really began to take shape. For example, it garnered the most interest and agreement during workshop sessions, and changed the tone from one of friction to one of collaboration:

> there were very intense splits (at the conference), including amongst feminists. But the sessions that we organized that dealt with violence against women, I found that that didn't happen - that there was a whole different kind of conversation when you started talking about violence against women' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012).

At this point in the women's movement there were already 'separate activist campaigns on … rape and domestic battery in the United States

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[40] For example, there was a perception of unequal power when organisers tried to ensure that testifying women kept to their scheduled times. See Joachim (2007:106-7) for discussion.

and Europe, female genital mutilation in Africa, female sexual slavery in Europe and Asia, dowry death in India, and the torture and rape of political prisoners in Latin America' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:171). Violence against women had never been taken as a general category by activists and discussed in a coordinated way before (Keck and Sikkink 1998:171).

The conferences were thus not all about friction: women had largely been able to reconcile their differences (see Joachim 2007:115) and there was also the opportunity for some transformative collaboration. In the period following the International Women's Year Conferences, women began to develop strong trans-border relationships and there was an 'explosion in organizing of NGOs' who were meeting each other during international conferences and other events (Keck and Sikkink 1998:179). In 1989, in response to the growing resolve women had expressed to secure their rights and challenge violence effectively, the Centre for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) - colloquially called 'the global center' or just 'the center' - was founded as a project of Douglass College at Rutgers University in New Jersey, USA. Its Founding Director was Charlotte Bunch who, together with the first staff members, used insights gained at the preceding world conferences to construct the Centre's mandate. It resolved to:

> (1) promote the visibility of women and of feminist perspectives in public policy decision making and in implementation globally; (2) increase women's participation in local and national governments as well as international agencies; and (3) build international linkages among women in local leadership that enhance their effectiveness and expand their global consciousness (CWGL 1992:7).

This mandate was the product of negotiation between the women who would run the Center, and Rutgers University. The latter was initially keen that the Center would focus more narrowly on women's representation in formal politics internationally. However great energy could be observed during the events women were organising, particularly

where discussions around the issue of violence against women were concerned. This observation motivated Bunch and her colleagues to press the case for a centre which could capitalise on that energy. Its mandate had to be broader. It should seek to develop the leadership of women worldwide, and in all parts of life, so that they could work on the issues which mattered (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012).

The discourse and ideas of the global women's movement had been instrumental in defining the role of the CWGL as an organization. However the movement's ideas, together with the Center's aims, were further concretized in the Center's first initiative, an annual Women's Global Leadership Institute. The Institute met for the first time in 1991, at the CWGL's office in New Jersey, USA. It was attended by twenty three women who were 'local civil society leaders with at least two years of experience in women's organizing who were also interested in building the global women's human rights movement', and who applied to join the institute through an open application process (CWGL, 2014c). The Institute was intended to be 'an in-depth cross-cultural experience, where people were able to build trust, learn from each other, and develop strategies together' (CWGL, 1992:10). The strategies being sought were ones which would help to articulate violence against women as a human rights concern and 'ensure the inclusion of gender violence on the human rights agenda' at the forthcoming World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 (Joachim 2007:12). The work to articulate the issue, which the CWGL lead on in preparation for the conference offers an example of 'entrepreneurship' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:185; Joachim 2007:122) where women 'consciously strateg[ize] on how to frame issues in a way likely to attract the broadest possible coalition' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:185).

Participants at the first Women's Global Leadership Institute were divided into working groups and asked to brainstorm appropriate strategies; and it was out of this activity that the *16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence* campaign was born. Participants intended that the campaign would 'build awareness [of violence against women]', 'facilitate networking' and symbolically link November 25th, International Women's Day, with December 10th, International Human Rights Day to show that 'such violence is a violation of human rights' (CWGL, 2014a). Not only did it draw those two important dates together, it also incorporated a host of other important international days, including: November 29th, International Women Human Rights Defenders Day; December 1st, World AIDS Day; and December 6th, which marks the anniversary of the Montreal massacre.[41] The *16 Days* initiative was intended to compliment the Center's first campaign, launched in 1991 immediately after the Institute - The *Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights.* Essentially a strategy of the *Global campaign* (Interview X, Galway Ireland, December 2012), the *16 Days* was not planned to continue beyond its first year. It was designed to symbolically link human rights and women's rights in the international calendar in a way which would reinforce the message of the *Global campaign*; and help to amplify activism efforts around the world. As Roxanna Carillo pointed out, activists were at that stage, 'just trying and testing different things' (Interview Roxanna Carillo, New York USA, July 2012). Indeed, the CWGL states on its official website that 'the (Women's Global Leadership) Institute's first graduates had no idea of the incredible success [this] campaign would have' (CWGL, 2014c).

The global campaign itself aimed to generate awareness of the upcoming 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria, and collect signatures for a petition to be delivered to the delegates, demanding that violence against women be recognized as a violation of women's human

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[41] An incident in 1989 in which a gun-man killed fourteen women students in a targeted attack in Montreal, Canada (see Decker 2013).

rights and included in the agenda. This recognition would mean that instances of violence against women could be addressed in the principles of the UN and in the political policy and legal frameworks of member states. The petition demanded that women's human rights not only be recognized, but recognized substantively by being considered at every stage of the conference's proceedings. In this vein, it fundamentally challenged the idea, dominant at that time, that women's rights were special interest rights which sit beside instead of within the concept of human rights. At this tome violence against women was not understood to be a human rights violation since it occurs in the private realm, where it as believed that formal state processes should not intervene. Further, it is perpetuated by private individuals and was not conceived as exhibiting a gross and persistent pattern (Joachim 2007:122).

The *Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights* lasted from approximately 1991 until 1995 (Interview X, Galway Ireland, December 2012) – two years longer than was initially intended – because it was so effective. The 'Vienna petition' had accumulated over 300,000 signatures from across one hundred and twenty three countries by the time of the Vienna conference in 1993 (Keck and Sikkink 1998:186). By the time the Conference arrived, many bridges had been built and the transnational women's movement was recovering from the fraught Decade for Women which had gone before. As the violence issue had taken off and developed increased solidarity and interconnectedness between women around the world, the groundwork had been laid for positive and productive collaboration and a stronger women's movement. Three thousand members of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) participated in this conference, and around half of them were women (Keck and Sikkink 1998:187). Women were also 'the most organised and vocal group' (Friedman 2003:320, cited also in Reanda, 1999), participating in a side caucus to discuss the conferences proceedings (Joachim 2007:126) and

also holding a tribunal in which thirty-three women representing twenty-five different countries testified about their experiences of violence (Joachim 2007:126; Keck and Sikkink 1998:187).

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action – the final document stating what had been agreed during the Vienna conference - recognised gender based violence as a human rights issue, as the petition had demanded. The UN General Assembly adopted a draft declaration on violence against women and the Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (Keck and Sikkink 1998:187). According to Reilly (2009:73), women's inclusion in the Vienna *Declaration* and *Programme of Action*, was 'the result of well-organized, broad based, transnational collaboration among diverse women's rights advocates and NGOs'. Likewise, Keck and Sikkink attribute these developments to the 'norm-setting activities' of the women's rights network (Keck and Sikkink 1998:187).

However, the campaign did not end with the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. The momentum which the petition had built for the Vienna conference made it possible to sustain the petition drive beyond this important date. The petition in fact circulated until the end of 1994. By this time it had gained over five hundred thousand signatures and two thousand co-sponsoring groups, and it was also be presented to delegates at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.   This conference was an opportunity to focus solely on the global position of women, with the theme 'look at the world through women's eyes' (Reichert, 1998:382). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the document showing what delegates had agreed, called for the removal of obstacles to women's full participation 'in all spheres of public and private life', and 'a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political

decision making based on the principle of shared power and responsibility' (Reanda, 1999:59). Importantly, it also noted: the burden of poverty on women; inequalities in education, training and healthcare; violence against women; the effects of armed conflict; inequalities in economic structures and policies; access to resources; insufficient mechanism to support the advancement of women and to protect the human rights of women and children; and inequalities in managing natural resources (Reanda 1999:60). Ultimately, the *Global Campaign* here managed to 'draw attention to issues, set agendas, and influence the discursive position of states and international organizations' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:186). While the initial conference program was full of 'bracketed language indicating areas of disagreement', women lobbied hard. They managed to influence the language which nation states eventually agreed to adopt, thus strengthening their ability to hold governments to account around women's human rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998:188).

Further, it has in part continued beyond even the Beijing conference. The *16 Days* campaign, although a campaign in its own right and with its own aims, was nonetheless a component of the *Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights*. However, the *16 Days* campaign has now entered its twenty-fourth year (in 2014) and has long survived the initial effort it was a part of. As the *16 Days* campaign has developed over time, and developed an ever more sophisticated critique of violence against women, it has become apparent that this campaign goes beyond the *Global Campaign* in more ways than its relative longevity. Charlotte Bunch explained that *16 Days* began with a three-fold aim: 'to get people to understand women's rights as human rights' and use 'violence as the core issue to break that open'; to create 'a global campaign … the initiative (for which) would come locally'; and to 'make people aware of the world conference on human rights, which was coming up in Vienna' (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New york USA, July 2012). In targeting 'people' and

emphasising 'the local' it was perhaps already suggested that the *16 Days* would concern itself very broadly with both society and politics. In fact, the *16 Days* played a vital awareness raising role as the Vienna Petition was circulated. Originally the *16 Days* period was intended as a symbolic connection between human rights and women's rights. It would link two important dates in the international calendar – the International Day against Violence against Women on 25th November, a day celebrated by the Latin American women's movement since 1981 (Keck and Sikkink 1998:177) and International Human Rights Day on 10th December. It was to be 'strictly a manifestation of the feminist movement and connected to all (its) commemorations and celebrations' (Interview Roxanna Carillo, New York USA, July 2012). However as the CWGL (2014c) now reflects, no-one had any 'idea of the incredible success (this) campaign would have as it now enters its twenty [fourth] year.

3. Campaign Themes and Activities

The development of different annual themes, detailed in *Table B* below, has allowed the campaign to address various aspects of violence against women, its intersections with other issues, and the structures which are relevant to understanding and challenging the phenomenon. Across the two decades of the campaign, there have been nineteen different themes. These themes have drawn attention to issues of democracy and accountability, racism, sexism, health and militarism – all of which intersect in important ways with gender based violence. The intersectional approach which the campaign has grown up with has not only enabled learning among activists and a deepened critique of the issue. It has also produced a range of partnerships with different organizations, and allowed the campaign to be framed in ways which appeal to various groups and populations who are primarily concerned with issues other than gender based violence. For example the most recent theme, *From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Violence against Women!* has helped the campaign to

'bridge the peace movement' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012) and recruit allies from this field. Most notably, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has become a key partner in the campaign since 2010. One key activist spoke about the groups and individuals who work with the CWGL to frame campaign themes and develop the critiques and materials which activists will use:

> that will change … depending on the theme … for example, in 2004 / 2005 there was HIV / AIDS. At that point, the Worldwide YWCA was our key ally because the woman who was heading it at the time was very focussed on HIV / AIDS. So we worked with her to develop appropriate materials … and now when we're working on militarism we've done a lot of work with WILPF. (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012)

In approaching the issue from the points at which it intersects with other issues the campaign has not only been able to maintain and develop a critique of gender based violence, it has also created shifts in the organisations participating and thereby diversified the campaign.

With its broad appeal, the campaign has stretched around the world since its inception and is now something of a global event for many organisations. The ways in which participant groups engage with the campaign however is just as diverse as the campaign's cohort and there is no one activity type which defines this campaign. Participation takes several forms, including: education events, seminars, public discussion, lobbying of officials, and distributing posters and information; performing street drama; holding rallies or vigils; producing research and working with local or national media outlets to spread messages to members of the public. Even within specific organisations, there can be much diversity in campaign activities. For example, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) has been a regular campaign participant over the years (see Rude, 1993, Fancy 1994, Ballin 1998, Burova 1999, Alkhovka 2005).[42] Through its one hundred and eight member associations, its activities have included: holding a women's human rights

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[42] These are communications which exist between the YWCA and the CWGL in the years noted.

tribunal in order to take evidence about the violence perpetuated against women;[43] the provision of free consultations for abused women, from lawyers and psychologists;[44] and seminars on a range of topics from human trafficking and modern slavery to breast cancer.[45] In 2001, the Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network (LACWHN) organised workshops to explain the different forms of sexual violence and how they impact on victims, started support groups for women, lobbied legislators and health professionals to provide emergency contraception and access to safe abortion in the event of rape, and also did work at community level to target the partners, family and friends of women who might be suffering violence. The range of campaign activity demonstrated in the data I collected shows that there is no one activity type which defines this campaign; or even defines any of its participant groups. Rather, the campaign is characterised by diversity, with even individual groups utilising a range of activities as part of their contribution to overcoming violence against women.

Table B: Annual Campaign Themes

YEAR	THEME	YEAR	THEME
1991/2	Violence against Women Violates Human Rights	2002	Creating a Culture That Says 'No' to Violence Against Women
1993	Democracy Without Women's Human Rights is Not Democracy	2003	Violence Against Women Violates Human Rights: Maintaining the Momentum Ten Years After Vienna, 1993-2003
1994	Awareness, Accountability, Action: Violence against Women Violates Human Rights	2004/5	For the Health of Women, For the Health of the World: No More Violence
1995	Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing: Bringing Women's Human Rights	2006	Celebrate 16 Years of 16 Days: Advance Human Rights - End Violence Against

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[43] This tribunal was held in 1993 by the YWCA in Zambia, Africa.

[44] This was held by the YWCA in Minsk, Belarus in 1999 and was accompanied by awareness raising efforts in the media and on the streets, and self-defence classed for women.

[45] This was also the YWCA in Belarus, this time in 2005 when the campaign was focussed on the intersection between health and gender based violence.

	Home		Women
1996	Bringing Women's Human Rights Home: Realizing Our Visions	2007	Demanding Implementation, Challenging Obstacles: End Violence Against Women!
1997	Demand Women's Human Rights in the Home and in the World	2008	Human Rights for Women - Human Rights for All: UDHR60
1998	Building a Culture of Respect for Human Rights	2009	Commit ▪ Act ▪ Demand: We CAN End Violence Against Women
1999	Fulfilling the Promise of Freedom from Violence	2010	Structures of Violence: Defining the Intersections of Militarism and Violence Against Women
2000	Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Campaign	2011-13	From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Violence Against Women!
2001	Racism and Sexism: No More Violence	2014	From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Gender-Based Violence!

4. **Key Participants and Popularity Over the Years**

In the campaign's first year, 1991, data from the CWGL suggests that only thirty-two organizations, all of which were Northern American, participated.[46]   The participants which the CWGL recorded included women's rights groups, human rights groups and universities as well as groups concerned with other, specific populations such as the homeless, workers, and ethnic minorities.[47] An explanation for the high concentration of American organisations and lack of diversity may be a result of the Women's Global Leadership Institute appearing as a single campaign participant in the CWGL's summary of campaign participation between 1991 and 2010 (CWGL, 2011b), which provides no clues as to which participants undertook campaign activities independently in their own locales.   Keck and Sikkink (1998:185) write that in 1991 the *16 Days* campaign was in fact 'carried out by groups in twenty-five countries', which

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[46] This however is not accurate since 23 organisations were present at the first Women's Leadership Institute, and subsequently took the campaign home to their various different countries. Further, Keck and Sikkink's (1998) account shows a much more eclectic mix of organisations were present for the origin of the campaign.
[47] See Table C

reflects the numbers of participants at the first meeting of the Women's Global Leadership Institute. Further, archived correspondence collected by the CWGL during 1991 shows a wider range of participant organisations and helps to dispel the thought that the *16 Days* might have begun as a solely Northern American campaign. For example, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) Zimbabwe penned a letter declaring their intention to hold an 'open day' with drama and activities around the theme of violence against women, in the city of Harare (see Butegwa, 1991); and Centro de Estudios e Investigacion Altrato de la Mujer (sic) (CEIMME) wrote that they would launch a book on gender violence as part of the *16 Days* (see Leon, 1992); and the Comision Chilena de Derachos Humanos (CCDH) in Chile wrote that it would be organising some public events, including seminars (see Matus, 1992).

In its preliminary years the campaign was able to spread using the networks and contact lists which had already been established by other active, international organizations (Interview Roxanna Carillo, New York USA, July 2012); and the organizations which had attended the first Women's Global Leadership Institute were particularly helpful in this process. For example, ISIS International and Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML) already had extensive lists of allies for their work; whilst the International Women's Tribune Centre 'had been networking for groups at the world conferences' and was therefore able to introduce the campaign to likely allies. Furthermore, key global events – such as the circulation of the Vienna petition, and the annual Leadership Institutes - 'became a means of developing those networks' further (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012). In the case of the former, new contacts could be gathered when groups were asked to sponsor the idea that women's rights are human rights and submit their details to the petition document. As Charlotte Bunch pointed out, by drawing in all of these groups by various means the campaign was able to 'build on ten to

fifteen years of women's activism globally' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012) and emerge as a new and important part of a global movement.

By the second year of the campaign, the CWGL's summary of campaign participation between 1991 and 2010 (CWGL 2011b) shows that participation had moved steadily beyond the North – although I suspect it already had - as Asian and Latin American groups began to organize *16 Days* events. The participation rates are displayed in Figure 1 below. This shows a steep decline in Northern American participation and, overall, fewer organizations taking part in the 1992 campaign.   Despite this Keck and Sikkink tell us that the number of participants in 1992 had doubled to fifty (Keck and Sikkink 1998:185), highlighting a degree of discrepancy in terms of the campaign participation trend.   Subsequently, and for the following four years, participation seems to steadily rise and become more evenly spread across North America, Asia Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean. There was also moderate participation in Africa and a small but stable amount in the Middle East and North Africa.   The campaign then entered something of a boom year in 1999. While there was an overall increase in participation the previous year, this was minimal compared to the explosion of activity which characterised the '99 campaign. In this year, overall participation increased by around 700%, with exponential increases in every region except the Middle East and North Africa.   The upward climb continued into 2000, but then dropped and stabilised after this; and seems to have been in very gradual decline since 2010. E-mail correspondence with the CWGL indicated that the co-ordinators do not know why there seems to have been such an increase in campaign participation in 1999 compared to other years (Interviewee G, 2013). The theme that year was *Fulfilling the Promise of Freedom from Violence*, which gives no clues as to its popularity. Overall, the campaign

has remained popular in all regions and seems to have been particularly successful in Africa, Europe and CIS and Asia Pacific.

The picture of campaign participation presented above is based on data collected and organized by the CWGL over the preceding two decades of the campaign. I have already noted its limitation in terms of failing to demonstrate the diversity of participation in the campaign's initial year. However, it is generally limited in another important way – it relies on participant groups communicating their activities to the CWGL every year, and making visible their status as campaign participants. Some larger organisations play a lead role in the campaign in their country, reporting to the CWGL, while smaller organisations do not and instead remain invisible participants. For example, Ireland is consistently represented in the global data by the national section of Women's Aid. Other than Women's Aid, very few Irish organisations appear in the CWGL's data. However my field work in Ireland revealed that there is a broad range of local groups and service providers which also participate 'off the official record', who have participated for many year, are even engaged with the annual theme, and view the *16 Days* as a very significant and busy time in their annual activities calendar (Interview W, Dublin Ireland, December 2012). Women's Aid collate a large - and also incomplete - quantity of information on the Irish campaign and are very focussed on generating local level action, but this never makes it up the chain to the global calendar and into the global statistics. Further, it should be noted that the CWGL's participation data for the years 2005, 2006, and 2007 is missing (see CWGL 2011b and Interviewee G 2013).[48]

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[48] This refers to a personal e-mail communication between myself and an anonymous interviewee in which she confirmed that data for those years is incomplete.

Table C: First 16 Days participants according to the CWGL (1991)

ORGANIZATION NAME	LOCATION	TYPE
Center for Women's Global Leadership	New Jersey, USA	Project of Rutgers University / non-governmental organisation.
Africana House	Rutgers University, USA	Learning community at Rutgers University.49
Homeless Hunger Project	Rutgers University, USA	Project of Rutgers University
Human Rights House	Rutgers University, USA	Learning community at Rutgers University.
Institute for Research on Women	Rutgers University, USA	Project of Rutgers University.
Institute for Women's Leadership	Hosted by the CWGL	Annual event
Bard College	New York, USA	College
University of Rochester, Feminist Leadership Alliance	New York, USA	University group
AFFIRM, formerly GABRIELA [50]	New York, USA	Non-governmental organisation
Australian Council of Trade	Australia	National trade union organisation
B'nai B'rth Women	Washington D.C, USA	Non-governmental organisation
Cowgirl Media	New York, USA	Media company
Hyacinth Fund	New Jersey, USA	Unknown*
African-American Women United Against AIDS;	Unknown*	Unknown*
Labor Association	United States	Unknown*
North American Indian Studies Association	United States	Unknown*
Occupational Safety and Health Administration Health Program	United States	Unknown*
SASHA	India	Not-for-profit marketing organisation
Women's Health in Africa	Africa	Unknown*
United Farm Workers of America	California, USA	Labour union
Bureau of Indian Affairs	Washington D.C, USA	Government office
Coalition of Labour Union Women	United States	Non-profit organisation
Office of Minority Health	Maryland, USA	Government office
More Than You Can Count	Unknown*	Unknown*
Patterson Coalition for the Homeless	New York, USA	Government coalition

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[49] 'a self-selected group of students who share similar academic interests and explore them together in common courses and out of classroom activities' – see Rutgers University webpage: https://rulc.rutgers.edu/
[50] Association of Filipinas, Feminists Fighting Imperialism, Re-feudalization, and Marginalization

Plainfield Refugee Centre	New York, USA	Service organisation
Women Aware	New Jersey, USA	Service organisation
Haitian Women's Program	New York, USA	Unknown*
NY Division On Human Rights	New York, USA	New York state department
Sakhi for South Asian Women	New York, USA	Service and Advocacy NGO
Women's Action Committee	University of Washington, USA	Academic advocacy organisation

*Cannot trace through internet searches, perhaps because the organisation no longer exists.

Figure 1: Annual Participation Trend by Region 1991 - 2011
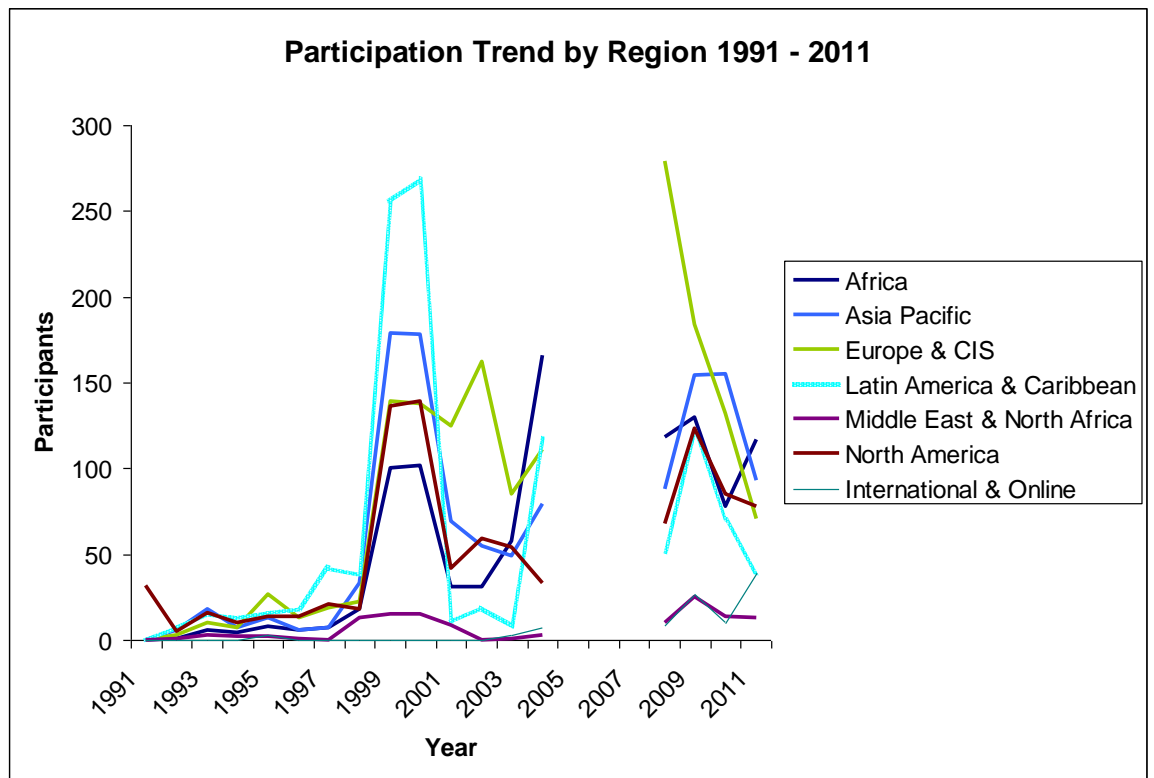
Of course, gaining any participation at all would have been difficult without the leadership of the women who created the campaign and drove it forwards. Charlotte Bunch, the Centre's Founder and first Executive Director, as well as the author of *Women's Rights as Human Rights:*

Towards a Revision of Human Rights (Bunch, 1990), is a key figure in the *16 Days* campaign from both an intellectual and a leadership perspective. However, intellectual credit is owed overall to the twenty-three women who attended the first meeting of the Women's Global Leadership Institute in 1991 (see *Table D*). They worked to articulate the global phenomenon of violence against women and it's correlation with development issues, the sex industry, sexuality, health, religion, culture and female human rights. They also discussed how the issue might be addressed through the human rights regime, legal reform, and local action and international networking (see CWGL 1992).

Table D: *Women's Global Leadership Institute 1991 Participants*

PARTICIPANT NAME	COUNTRY	ORGANIZATION NAME	ORGANIZATION TYPE
Shamima Ali	Fuji	Women's Crisis Centre	Service
Ana Carcedo	Costa Rica / Spain	Cefemina	Community based NGO
Gina Cedamanos	Peru	Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan: Women's Legal Rights Program	National NGO
Jana Chrzova	Czechoslovakia	CS Helsinki Committee for Human Rights	National NGO
Roberta Clarke	Trinidad & Tobago	CAFRA [51]	National NGO
Simone Grilo Diniz	Brazil	CFSS [52] & CEM [53]	
Woo-Seoup Han	South Korea	Women's Hotline	Service
Lori Heise	United States	Violence, Health & Development Project	CWGL Project
Megally Huggins	Venezuela	AVESA [54]	Service, advocacy and research
Hina Jilani	Pakistan	AGHS Legal Aid Cell	Service
Ebon Kram	Sweden	ROKS [55]	Service
Lata P.M	India	Bombay Women's	Service and

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[51] Caribbean Association for Feminist Research & Action
[52] Coletivo Feminista Sexualidade Suade
[53] Coordenadoria Especial da Mulher / Sao Paulo
[54] Venezuelan Association for an Alternative Sexual Education
[55] Swedish Organization of Emergency Shelters for Battered Women

		Centre	advocacy
Pat Mahmoud	Nigeria	WIN [56]	National NGO
Rana Nashashibi	Palestine / Jerusalem	Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committee	Grassroots NGO
Monica O'Connor	Ireland	Women's Aid	Service and Advocacy
Annette Pypops	Canada / Belgium	MATCH International Centre, Violence Against Women Program	Feminist NGO
Qiyamah A. Rahman	United States	International Newsletter against Violence Against Women and Department of Human Resources / Division of Family and Children's Services, Atlanta	Government Department
Nilda Rimonte	United States / Philippines	Center for the Pacific-Asian Family, Inc	Service
Syarifah Sabaroedin	Indonesia	Kalyanamitra Foundation	Communication and Information Center
Felicia Sakala	Zambia	YWCA Zambia, Center for Women in Need	National NGO
Marsha Sfeir	Canada / United States	Education Wife Assault, Public Education Program and 'Mujeres de Chile y Canada trabajando juntas: No mas violencia contra la mujer' project	NGO
Siriporn Skrobanek	Thailand	Foundation for Women	Service
Everjoice Win	Zimbabwe	Speakout / Taurai / Khulumani	Publication

There are also some organisations which have participated consistently in the campaign over the years, and / or who have played an important role

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[56] Women in Nigeria

in maintaining the campaign and moving it forward. I suggest that such organisations can be considered key participants; and that they might be identified on the basis of two factors. The first is the consistency or frequency of their participation since 1991; and the second is the identification of key campaign 'allies' by staff of the CWGL. On the first criteria, there are a few key organizations in each region. In Africa, the Masimanyane Women's Support Centre, the Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA) Zambia, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's (WiLDAF) Zimbabwe chapter have been the most consistent participants. The CWGL's dataset on participating organisations between 1991 and 2010 shows that in Asia Pacific, the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, Swadhina, Women's Aid, the Women's Resource Centre, the Women's Rehabilitation Centre (WOREC) Nepal, and the GABRIELA network participate most consistently. It also demonstrates that the greatest regional support has come from organizations providing direct services to women (see CWGL 2011b). It is a similar story in Europe where the campaign has been most consistently supported by the Women's Rights Centre, the Austrian Women's Shelter Network, Women's Aid Ireland, the Autonomous Women's Centre against Sexual Violence, and Womankind Worldwide. The Latin America and Caribbean region is lead by Alaide Foppa, Asociación Venezolana para una Educación Sexual Alternativa (AVESA), and Centro Integral De La Mujer; and lastly, the CWGL, UNIFEM and the White Ribbon campaign have been the prominent American participants.

Staff at the CWGL shared some particular ideas about which organisations constitute key allies. Ideas held about who is an ally reflected the consistency of participation to some extent, but also suggested key participants on the basis of other criteria, such as intellectual contribution to theme development. Examples of the former included the Worldwide YWCA, WOREC, the UN, the White Ribbon

Campaign and Women's Aid Ireland - all organizations which appear to have contributed consistently and are also readily pointed to by the CWGL's staff as allies for the campaign (see Interviews G, H, J and M, New Jersey USA, July 2012). However staff also tended to acknowledge organizations with whom they have worked, been in frequent contact, or engaged with in campaign framing activities. To this end, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is currently regarded as 'a very key ally' because they have been a key informant on the theme around militarism which began in 2010 (see *Table B*) and have continued as active participants ever since (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). WILPF has also helped to expand the campaign into the peace activism arena and recruit new participants from this field. Other notable groups are Femlink Pacific, ISIS-WICCE, the UN run Say No UNiTE campaign, the African GBV Prevention Network, the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) and MADRE. As Lucy Vidal, the Center's Information and Communications Director, notes, who is an ally changes over time and depends on the theme. For example, for the 2004 and 2005 theme on HIV / AIDS 'the worldwide YWCA was our key ally because the woman who was heading it at the time was very focussed on HIV / AIDS. So we worked with her to develop appropriate materials' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

Being able to communicate with allies, potential allies, and the public, has been vitally important to the development of the campaign; and advances in technology have thus played an influential role in the network's evolution. One interview participant recalled that when she began her role with the CWGL three years into the campaign they 'would create the theme announcement and I would stand in front a fax machine and fax the theme announcement for an entire day …. I would send it to all the missions, the embassies, all the regional offices of UN agencies, to try to get that global reach' (interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Forging a

global campaign was clearly a labour intensive activity; but despite this effort, there was however no way of knowing whether the announcement and information about the campaign was sent on by these organizations to their own networks.   Equally, the administrative task of recording the details of events being undertaken by different groups was a substantial one.   Every event detail was recorded, and together they formed a paper draft of a calendar of events which was distributed to all of the groups interested in participating: 'we were trying to capture every single event and then hand it out at events to show all the people who participated' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). This was, and still is, seen as a vital resource as it offers a map of events across the globe – allowing interested parties to find events near them, helping organizations to locate like-minded groups close by, and offering a snapshot picture of the transnational violence against women network. With the emergence of e-mail however, things began to change rapidly as groups could communicate with greater ease and speed. Sending or forwarding a message was no longer a laborious task, and so the rate of information dissemination was able to increase. A further significant, and more recent, change is that the CWGL has been able to devise an online calendar, to which participant groups can submit information of their own accord. Whilst this has alleviated the workload of the coordinating organization significantly, it also means a 'loss of control' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012) - something like handing the reigns of the campaign more fully over to the participant body.

The growth of the campaign, aided significantly by the internet, seems to have brought both advantages and disadvantages to the campaign and the network which supports it. It was pointed out that such is the scope of the campaign, many participant organizations are not in fact aware of where its roots are or that there is a global coordinating organization which plays an active role. Some of the loss of control mentioned earlier fritters

on the edge of loss of identity as organizations attribute the campaign to other participants with greater resources who are able to publicise it in more high profile ways (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012). For example, a common error is that the campaign is an original project of the United Nations (see, for example, Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012; and the concern identified in Interviews I and M, New Jersey USA, July 2012, and Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012). However, being in an ever more extensive network has allowed the campaign to develop a deeper and more detailed critique of violence against women; or, as one interviewee put it, there has been the opportunity to 'learn different aspects of something we thought we knew' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). For example when the militarism theme emerged in 2010, experts, academics and NGOs working on militarism or related issues were brought in to develop an analysis of the intersections between violence against women and militarism. One of the most notable NGO additions during this time has been the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which already has ninety-six years of committed pro-peace work behind it (Interview O, New York USA, July 2012). This particular intersectional conversation has been an opportunity to bridge the woman's movement with the peace movement, and therefore bring in a whole host of organizations that may otherwise not participate in the *16 Days of Activism*.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the case this thesis is based on - the campaign, *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence* as organised by the transnational advocacy network (TAN) working on the issue of violence against women. I explained the academic framework of the case by reflecting on Keck and Sikkink's (1998) TAN framework and attributing to it the characteristics of the case. I then reflected on the origins of the campaign by highlighting four events which were key to its

emergence. I discussed the original aims of the campaign, which I then showed have changed and developed over time. A large part of this change has been the strengthening of the campaign's intersectional spirit, inasmuch as it has identified and campaigned around a variety of different of themes. I highlighted this, and also discussed the different activities through which participants have engaged with the campaign. Some participants have of course been key to the campaign's development, and I identified some of those participants in the final section of the chapter. Here, I also used data on campaign participation taken from the CWGL's archives to show the trend in participation over the two decades of the campaign. I noted that there are limitations in this data, but hope nonetheless that it would demonstrate the 'staying power' and continued relevance of this campaign. In the next chapter, Chapter Four, I lay out my findings from my study of the ways in which activists working within the violence against women TAN, and on the *16 Days* campaign, understand campaign success.

CHAPTER 4 Findings: Activist Stories of Campaign Success

This chapter reveals the ways in which activists in the case of the *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence* campaign understand campaign success. As the methodological discussion in Chapter Two made clear, it is my intention to allow the voices of activists, captured in the data, to explain the terms in which campaign success is understood. As such, the chapter relies primarily on empirical data but does allude to academic literature where this offers a helpful source of insight. The emergent ideas about success have been organised into three 'success stories'. The purpose of each story is to explain a key way of thinking about success, why activists consider the concept valuable enough to act as a measure of success, and any issues which have been or can be identified with framing success in this way. The success stories I identify are as follows: success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders; success as empowering women; and success as building a network. There are of course some similarities between these stories and existing discussion of success in academic literature. Those parallels will be highlighted in this chapter and further developed in Chapter Five, which follows. Each story offers new and interesting considerations for TAN scholars; and as the stories come from activists themselves, they are textured by the realities of working on a campaign and the challenges which activists face in naming and evidencing the success of their effort.

First however, there are some important points which must be explained in order to contextualise the success stories below. This thesis has assumed that campaign success is an idea worth exploring empirically. The idea 'stuck' during interviews and in later analysis, and was a concept which, when asked to consider, activists readily expressed views and understandings about. They were able to articulate their experiences in relation to it without any difficulty. Had this not been the case, the success

stories which form this chapter would not have been possible – or at least they would have been called something else. Further, the success stories presented in this chapter assume that the case study campaign is successful. As noted in Chapter One, I follow Keck and Sikkink's (1998) assumption here, looking again at a case of a successful TAN but this time scrutinising the meaning of success.

A second point is that conceptions of success were plural.[57] The presence of three stories, instead of just one, reflects the different ways in which activists understood success. Each story is itself comprised of several of my earlier 'codes' but picks out the common themes and issues in order to create one coherent narrative.[58] This is the result of the 'theoretical abstraction' discussed in Chapter Two. Thirdly, there is a distinction to be made between the campaign's 'overall' success - that is, what can be concluded from the twenty-one years it had completed by the time I conducted my field-work; and the success which activists describe only in relation to their annual efforts. Each success story here describes a particular type of 'overall' success. Overall success however is not something which has been achieved at a time in the past, but it is something which is being actively and continually achieved by the campaign – that is, it encompasses the entire life cycle of the campaign. Annual efforts and the specific experiences of activists provide measures of and evidence for each type of overall success.

1. <u>Success in Changing the Discourse and Behaviour of Power-Holders</u>

Our first goal was to have violence against women put on the human rights agenda. Well it's on the human rights agenda now' **(Charlotte Bunch Interview, New York USA, July 2012)***; and 'as long as these*

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[57] An understanding of success which accommodates plurality was argued for in Chapter One.

[58] See Chapter Two for an account of 'codes' and the process of coding.

larger organizations, the UN, want to do it and say these things (women's rights are human rights) - for me, that's a measure of success (Roxanna Carillo Interview, New york USA, July 2012).

The first emergent success story is about changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders. It seems like a good idea to start with this story as it accords somewhat with previous discussion around the importance placed in the literature on the discourse and behaviour of powerful actors, ordinarily states. The section begins by returning to the violence against women network's first action for the *16 Days* campaign – the petition demanding that violence against women be addressed by governments participating in the United Nation's 1993 Vienna conference on Human Rights. It describes the concurrence between activists and the literature that this indeed resulted in a success for the campaign. Since this landmark achievement however, there has been no shortage of work for the campaign in changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders. Groups around the globe have used the campaign to lobby national governments, while internationally groups have continued to push for deeper and better commitments. The challenges which the *16 Days* campaign encounters in terms of changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders are therefore multiple and continually emergent. Moreover, successes like the Vienna petition also deliver challenges and create issues of contention for the campaign. I will discuss one such challenge – a concern about the changing role of the powerful actors who have been targets of the campaign. An important point which this story makes however is the powerful actors – that is, actors deemed suitable targets by activists – are not solely national governments and intergovernmental institutions. They are also private individuals, especially men. In this sense, this story also offers a critical perspective on who is considered powerful and which actors the campaign should therefore target. It further tries to re-imagine where we might look for success of this type since feminist activists in the case of the *16 Days* campaign direct their efforts towards actors in both the public and private domain.

A. The Vienna Petition Success and Beyond

The aim for the first five years of the campaign was to get violence against women on to the agenda of the United Nations (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New York USA, July 2012) and to bring the issue into 'global policy discussions' (Roxanna Carillo Interview, New York USA, July 2012). With this in mind, the first action of the campaign was a petition drive calling for the United Nations to recognise and address women's rights as human rights; and to include women's human rights issues on the agenda of the second World Conference on Human Rights - due to take place in Vienna Austria in June of 1993. The 'petition collected half a million signatures in 23 languages from 124 countries and is credited with helping to 'secure a formal declaration of women's rights as human rights and of violence against women as a human rights violation in the Vienna Declaration' (CWGL, 2014h).

The petition campaign however 'endured past the first (1991) *16 Days* campaign' (Clarke, 1998:5) and even beyond the Vienna conference it originally targeted. It was 're-issued after Vienna and directed to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing two years later' (Bunch et al., 2001:373). The time between Vienna and Beijing however saw some remarkable advances for women's rights in the international arena, including: 'adoption of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, the adoption of the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, and the placement of a Focal Point on Women's issues at the UN Centre for Human Rights' (Clarke, 1998:6). The position that violence against women is a violation of women's human rights was being embraced by governments. By the time of the Beijing conference itself, the 'Vienna petition' had gathered 'well over one

million signatures from 148 countries in 26 languages, and had garnered over 1,000 sponsoring organizations' (Bunch et al 2001:373).

Overall, influencing the agenda of the United Nations is something that the campaign's founders agree has 'been achieved' (Charlotte Bunch and Roxanna Carillo Interview, New York USA, July 2012). Those newer to the campaign continue to reflect on its success in 'bringing government attention' to the issue, and in managing to do this 'at such a high level' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). That the issue of violence against women has moved into the language of the UN and become an area for which states can be held accountable; and that it has also been formally recognized as a violation of women's human rights, marks campaign success for these first four years. As Chapter One of this thesis notes, Keck and Sikkink (1998) agree that the violence against women network's success lies in its provocation of discursive change at UN conferences, the UN General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and the Organization of American States' adoption of the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women. This fits their criteria for a successful network as state behaviour seems to have changed.

For those facilitating the *16 Days* campaign today, success as state behaviour change is not confined to the outcomes of the Vienna petition. For some, it may be the case that 'if the UN or an agency changes one line that incorporates gender and women that's an accomplishment, that's a huge measure of success' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). However, in a broader sense, 'the campaign has provided an opportunity for activists across the globe to put gender violence on the agenda over the *16 Days'* and to continue doing so (Gender Links and (GEMSA) 2009). For example, an activist from a Ugandan organization participating in *16 Days* reported that

the government put in place a programme for rehabilitation and development in Northern Uganda which is not very gender sensitive. So women lobby around that during *16 Days*, because women have experienced a lot of violence … and the development programme is not focussing on that.

For this campaign group, 'a big success would be (if) the programme … took a very gender sensitive approach' (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012).

The campaign continues to be a tool for pressuring governments, and its popularity is used by activists to demonstrate the legitimacy of violence against women as an issue. One interviewee reported that ordinarily 'it's very difficult to talk to government officials on women's rights' but the campaign offers her organization 'confidence to go ahead … and negotiate with these officials (Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012). She felt that the campaign 'builds a thing that is happening all over the world', enabling her organization to 'feel that they are part of some larger movement', and that they can lean on the campaign and find encouragement in the global support it receives when trying to engage with government officials. Pressing for governments to recognise the issue attained very visible and noteworthy success in relation to the Vienna petition. Since then however, similar but smaller efforts have continued around the globe. When the challenges in holding governments to account are multiple and on-going, we need to explore what the success of the Vienna petition means to activists as they reflect on it now. This success has been used in the TAN literature to define the work of the network around the *16 Days* campaign. However, there is arguably now a question around where it is situated in an understanding of success for the violence against women network and the *16 Days* campaign.

Something interesting happened within the network after the point of the Vienna petition success. Charlotte Bunch explained that activists wanted to 'take the success [they] had had in getting violence on the human rights agenda and [try] to move it in to some other places' (Charlotte Bunch

Interview, New York USA, July 2012). Indeed, this is reflected in 'the theme of the 1995 campaign *Bringing Women's Human Rights Home* which 'called upon women's human rights organizations to work to have the successes obtained in Beijing implemented' (Clarke 1998:7). While there was success as a result of the Vienna petition, this success was not taken with complacency but was responded to 'with another level of struggle' (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New York USA, July 2012). Rather than declare campaign success and lessen their efforts, this success was framed as a step in a longer process and as a springboard for the future of the campaign. Once the commitment had been made, it needed to be fulfilled. In framing the consequences of the petition as both a success and a new reason for activism, *16 Days* activists work to 'continually redefine and challenge what the governments think that the issue means' (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New york USA, July 2012).

Charlotte Bunch explained her belief that every success also represents a new challenge, meaning that activism exists in a state of 'continual revolution' (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New york USA, July 2012). This type of thinking clearly positions success within an indefinite campaign process. In this case it does not offer a reliable indicator as to whether the campaign has achieved its ultimate goal, or how near it is to doing so. Success is instead a step into a new phase of the campaign and an invitation to re-examine what is at stake. It is treated critically instead of as a cue to down-tool and self-congratulate. There are in fact so many challenges that one interviewee suggested that it may sometimes be difficult for activists to locate success in the campaign: 'I know a lot of activists who get very, very tired and frustrated because they don't always see successes … we have so much to do, and there's always more to do' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). While success can be identified, there is always a critical angle to be taken at the same time. For some, this puts success into perspective and informs what

needs to happen next; and for others it obscures their ability to identify success at all.

B. Changing Targets

One of the challenges which the *16 Days* campaign has encountered is the transformation of some of its original targets into participants. When the campaign first began, it sought to have violence against women recognised as a violation of women's human rights by both the United Nations and mainstream human rights organizations (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012). This has been accomplished and those original targets, including the UN, have endorsed the campaign to such an extent that they also became active campaign participants. This is particularly the case for UNIFEM, which has now been absorbed as part of UN Women and continues to be active in the campaign. However, the UN's involvement in the *16 Days* network has also created some tensions. Two areas of tension became particularly notable during interviews: (1) that the UN is a participant of the campaign but also remains a target which the campaign is trying to influence; and (2) that the way in which the campaign's identity is understood changes when the UN's participation is very visible. These tensions generate some sketchy ideological terrain for the network's participants to navigate. I will address these tensions before reflecting on the implications they have for the campaign.

The first point is that

> the UN and human rights organizations and mainstream development organizations like Oxfam … were all targets of the campaign in the beginning. Our goal was to get them to really address violence against women' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012).

This is of course evident through the campaign's targeting of the 1993 Vienna Conference on Human Rights and the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women. However, those larger organizations 'have more resources and

more power than most of the feminist organizations' who initiated the campaign. Further, as a result of the exponential increase in participating organizations throughout the nineties there has been a dilution of feminist organizations in the campaign as 'all groups working on any kind of social justice issue' have been getting involved (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). It emerged that interviewees were concerned about the increasing presence of non-feminist organizations, and in particular the very notable presence of one of the most powerful inter-governmental organizations, the UN. The result is a 'strange relationship' where the campaign asks the UN to 'support us at the same time … [as we] attempt to change your bureaucracy and the way you function because we need it to work for us' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). The concern is that non-feminist organizations with more resource power could 'erase the feminist leadership' of the campaign - and therefore its original spirit.

Secondly, a related concern comes from the perspective of the campaign's founders and current coordinators - that the breadth of the campaign coupled with the disproportionately greater resources and visibility of some participants may reduce awareness of the campaign's civil society, feminist roots. It was the United Nations' (UN) participation in particular which seemed to fuel this fear. One activist explained that 'there was always at least three or four misconceptions per campaign that it was the UN that ran the campaign … [which] makes the whole relationship again more complicated …' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Indeed 'one of the tensions that … has emerged is that about six or seven years ago [campaign activists] realised that a lot of people thought that the *16 Days* came out of the UN' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). This may be a result of the fact that the UN 'didn't write anything about the CWGL' when producing their own campaign materials (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012). While 'the nature of the campaign … [is] it's everyone's' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012), Charlotte Bunch affirmed that 'we don't want them

[the UN and mainstream organizations] to own the [women's rights] work' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012). Although some interviewees considered the UN's role positively 'because if the UN is taking on the *16 Days*, then …it's everywhere' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012) , it was widely indicated that 'Rutgers is the origin of the campaign and [they] want that to show' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). The campaign's physical home may not be as important as its ideological home. One interviewee

had felt that it didn't really matter very much whether people knew that [the campaign] came from the Center, but … did feel it was very important that it continued to be understood that it's a civil society initiative, that it's a feminist activist initiative ...

It simply cannot 'be seen as coming from governments or the UN' - the 'duty bearers' for human rights, the institutions, the campaign's adversaries (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

Interviewees from participant groups outside the USA indeed revealed a widespread belief that the *16 Days* campaign is UN based, whilst others recognized its civil society origins but were keen to emphasize the importance of the link to the UN. An UNIFEM report evaluating the campaign as it took place in the Andean Region between 2004 and 2007, 'found that 67% of interviewees were 'sure' that the *16 Days* campaign is 'a United Nations campaign' fronted by UNIFEM' (UNIFEM, 2008). Whilst UNIFEM claimed this was the result of its disproportionate workload in facilitating the campaign in this region, it is also a clear example of the UN 'stamp' on the campaign. One interviewee from UN Women defined UN women's role in the campaign as a 'co-ordinating' and 'leadership' role (Interview Z, Pakistan via e-mail, December 2012) – a role which has otherwise been reserved for the CWGL. Bunch (Interview, New York USA, July 2012) was keen to emphasise that in creating a loose campaign with a sense of ownership for all participants they 'certainly didn't mean for … it [the campaign] to be taken away'. Another interviewee from a participant organization considered it

difficult during the *16 Days* campaign 'to get some really high level people paying attention to what we're doing, because even government ministries participate in *16 Days of Activism*, even the UN participates in *16 Days of Activism* so … those bodies themselves are tied up with their own *16 Days* agenda' (Interview A, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012). Not only then can 'target' organizations appear to dominate the campaign as participants, but this may in turn impact on their ability to be responsive as targets. While this may or may not be a realistic representation of what is actually happening, the notion of the campaign being 'taken away' is framed as a 'critical question of feminist work' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012); and the implications of the UN's involvement as a participant was an important consideration for interviewees.

It is apparent that power matters. It not only matters in terms of how it is exercised, but also in terms of *who* exercises it and what this represents. The data has revealed some contention around the place in the campaign of resource powerful actors who were previously campaign targets. The move from target to participant dismantles the traditional adversary - ally binary. For some this is a significant indicator of success, and for others it also creates concern around how feminist civil society groups can maintain a prominent presence in the campaign and hold powerful actors to account. Interestingly, the data also gives scope to re-imagine what it means to be a powerful and accountable actor. While the UN has offered a clear example of an actor which the campaign tries to hold to account, less obvious 'targets' can be found in the form of private individuals and actors within local communities.

Further, the multi-level nature of the campaign challenges which actors are understood as campaign 'targets' in the first place. Since its inception in 1991 the campaign has also maintained strong local and grassroots dimensions,

and much of the work which goes on at those levels is relatively lower profile and less visible to a global audience. Even when the Vienna and Beijing conferences provided a clear target and purpose for the campaign and generated global awareness of its existence, much local work was on-going to raise awareness of violence against women and build the capacity of communities to deal with the issue effectively. As such, the common focus on actors with formal political power – governments, state agencies, even influential businesses - can be re-imagined to accommodate a wider sphere of responsible agents which also includes private individuals and communities. The point here is not that governments do not remain important targets. In fact, they remain highly significant because

what [political] leaders say greatly influences public perceptions, attitudes and behavior. Political discourse is a powerful tool for disseminating values and information; educating and raising awareness. It is also a measure of levels of state commitment and accountability (GBV Prevention Network Africa, 2010).

However, interviewees rarely framed responsibility solely in relation to governments. Their analysis instead highlights the complex cultural nature of the issue and attributes different but equal types of responsibility to both formal and informal actors. In one sense, society as a whole bears responsibility 'because of the patriarchal conceptions … it teaches boys not to respect their mothers but to expect some kind of treatment, it forces girls and women to behave in a certain way, and therefore in the process they accept [this] behavior, even if it is violence' (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012). Individuals also play a role: 'ethically, individuals, communities have responsibility to promote well-being and human rights, and equality, and care … and also pleasure … and happiness, and safety, security' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012). However, there also needs to be 'laws that are taken seriously and implemented' (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012). Governments become the 'duty bearers' for ensuring that women's human rights are set out and safe-guarded and all citizens are protected (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012). There are also 'violations by the state, on women' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012) in terms of the denial of

rights and physical transgressions (Interview B, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012) and in such cases governments are of course 'the ones that are responsible' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

Overall, responsibility for preventing and ending violence against women is framed in the data as something for which 'every member of society, young or old, male or female, doctors, lawyers, farmers, housewives, builders, the unemployed and the self-employed' is accountable, with all groups 'able to 'take action in their own way' (GBV Prevention Network, 2011). Responsibility 'falls on all our shoulders, as human beings who are interacting with other human beings' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012); and 'violence against women is a problem of the entire community' (EU et al., 2011) with 'all of us everywhere' able to 'set the tone for what's acceptable' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

The success of attempts to ensure that governments and other institutions take seriously their responsibility for human rights, and are accountable for their commitments, is commented on quite consistently. However, broadening the sphere of responsibility to society, communities and private individuals, suggests problems inasmuch as provoking and monitoring tangible signs of commitment and accountability cannot be done as easily as in relation to states. The social sphere is vast and amorphous and cannot be monitored as a whole; and the commitments of individuals do not carry so much weight or necessarily have far-reaching consequences. The data does however show that some activists focus precisely on gaining commitments and accountability from private individuals within their communities. For example, one African activist described a campaign activity in which male activists travel from town to town during local market days in order to engage male citizens in conversation about violence against women. At the end of the conversation the men who have been spoken to are asked to 'champion'

an anti-violence stance in the community and commit to non-violent private behaviors. The activists return at later dates to catch-up with the new champions, asking about their progress and persuading them to continue improving their behavior and promoting non-violence and respect for women to others. My interviewee explained that:

> it's not as easy as saying oh we have spoken to this person and this person is in agreement and we are looking to move on to the other community. It's a slow and painstaking process. So they take note of people … who are champions in that society, people who power rests with. And they keep following up with these people …this is like growing a baby … giving the baby milk until the baby's legs are strong enough to stand on its own. And then even after that they keep networking and keep monitoring what's working … (Interview E, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012).

For some activists, violence against women is best addressed at community level and there is less focus on state behaviour and commitment. On the other hand, state responsibility may be prioritised by some activists. As one interviewee commented, 'states are most often responsible for gender based violence in the context of militarism … they are in fact responsible for … great examples of violence on very large scales' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). However, even militarism need not always be framed in ways which highlight state responsibility. One activist working for a community based organization chose to frame the militarism theme, described in Chapter Three, in a way which avoided centralising the state:

the bottom line I felt was that peace in the home was the key part … if the family home itself, or the home which the individual is living in, is not a peaceful and happy environment, that has a knock on effect in the community' (Interview Y, County Wexford Ireland, December 2012).

This was the type of conceptualisation which made most sense to her in the context in which she works. Thus, while most activists referred to 'everyone's responsibility' there was still room within this claim to highlight the responsibility of specific actors with whom a group may be working. This enables a clearer understanding of the different ways in which responsibility

for ending violence against women can be conceptualised; and that it can be considered in broader terms than the literature currently specifies.

Two important considerations have emerged from this discussion. First, power is understood to be located with individuals and communities as well as with governments. Persuading 'powerful' agents of a more appropriate way to act and a new moral standard, and then following up on the commitments they make is a familiar story in the literature on transnational advocacy networks.[59] However, this type of pattern can also occur within activism at the local level; where 'power' is not the reserve of state leaders and international institutions but is held in very real terms by citizens themselves. Second, violence against women is framed as a complex cultural issue, and as such invites a variety of overlapping strategies and targets. Since the campaign occurs at multiple levels - local, national and international – participant groups address violence from different and specific angles. It is therefore the case that different types of responsibility are highlighted by different actors at different times, depending on their positions.

Overall, this section has discussed success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders. The data reveals a broad approach to understanding power-holders, where governments, institutions and private individuals are all included. The inclusion of multiple different types of actor reflects the complex ways in which patriarchal power is exercised, and therefore the many actors whose behaviour must be challenged. The most visible instance of success in challenging power-holder discourse and behaviour was produced by the Vienna petition, which demanded that violence against women be recognised as a violation of women's human rights. However, this was not the only challenge of this nature the campaign has taken on. There are continued struggles at the international, national and

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[59] See Chapter One

local levels to similarly compel governments to commit to this idea. Perhaps more popular latterly are drives to get governments to *fulfil* their obligations to supporting women's rights.

The category also revealed that successes are conceived of as representing new challenges. Rather than simply signalling the end of one struggle, they also signal the beginning of a new struggle and generate critical reflection on what has changed and what is now at stake. There are innumerable challenges when confronting power-holders – from getting commitment, compliance and accountability for women's human rights, to also negotiating on-going relationships with these actors. One key challenge for the *16 Days* campaign has been the transformation of the UN from campaign target to campaign participant over the years. This has caused concerns around whether organisations with high levels of power and resources might over-shadow less powerful actors in the campaign; and conceal the civil society, feminist roots of the struggle. Further, participation in the campaign by actors such as the UN occasionally has the effect of blocking lobbying efforts. Such actors are able to re-position themselves as allies pursing their own agenda towards the shared goals of the campaign. In framing success in terms of changing the discourse and behaviour of power-holders, this category has raised some important questions about the meaning and use of power.

2. **Success in Empowering Women**

I really want to emphasise in case it hasn't come out enough how much we see success in terms of changing, creating impact in people's lives **(Interview A, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012)**.

This story is about the success of the campaign in empowering women. Empowerment is framed in terms of giving women the tools to be able to make decisions or solve problems, and ultimately to bring about improvements in their lives, both individually and collectively. The campaign achieves success in this area through awareness raising and education

around the issue of violence against women. In what follows, I will explain the ways in which activists discussed empowerment in the campaign, and also note some of the ways in which empowerment has been understood within academic literature, including feminist literature. This enables me to tease out the meanings of this success story. From this I argue that a weaker version of the story is 'raising awareness', but that empowerment is the most accurate descriptor because it captures something much more than simply increased awareness.

A. Awareness Raising

For the activists I spoke to, empowerment begins with education and this is achieved through raising awareness. Ending violence against women involves 'a lot of education and raising awareness' (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012; Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012) - those elements have a functional value as a result of their ability to help facilitate a challenge to violence against women. The campaign was initially established as, in part, an awareness raising effort. Alongside the drive to change the position of governments through petitioning the United Nations, there was also a desire 'to increase international awareness of the systemic nature of violence against women and to expose this violence as a violation of women's human rights' (CWGL, 2014c). Raising awareness 'about gender-based violence as a human rights issue at the local, national, regional and international levels' remains listed as the first strategic aim for accomplishing the overall objective of eliminating violence against women (CWGL, 2014a). Although raising awareness is a broad aim which does not delineate a specific target, activists have been able to reflect that 'a campaign which started out in a small office in New Jersey has … raised awareness about these [gender based violence] issues' internationally and can be considered 'a success' in this respect (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). One key activist clarified the significance of increased awareness: it gives people the tools to 'think more critically'; it can begin 'really good conversations'; and 'at a very basic level

we are changing people's views … even if one event changed one person's view of not calling a woman a slut anymore … then I think we were successful' (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). There are two important points here. First, while 'international awareness' is a broad aim, its achievement in even incremental amounts is acknowledged when framing it as a success of the campaign. Second, awareness is 'making things happen' – it is starting conversations and changing views.

B. From Awareness to Empowerment

However increased awareness has a particular and valuable function – it can spur critical reflection on social norms and ultimately enable the development of new consciousness around violence against women. This enabling effect is important and provides the first indication that it is not awareness raising per se which is the overall success here. In fact, it is about '*more* than awareness raising because people are actually taking action' (Interview R, New York USA, July 2012, emphasis added). It is in fact about leaving people empowered to think and behave differently, and awareness is simply the tool for achieving this. Activists highlighted many instances which illustrate the way in which awareness functions as a facilitator of something more. For example: 'helping people to become *aware* of their rights and how to *access* them (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012); prompting men to take responsibility for their actions and thereby giving women better control of their lives (Charlotte Bunch Interview, New york USA, July 2012); and demystifying rights to enable women to develop a great enough sense of self-worth and confidence to *take action* (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012, emphasis added).

In discussing increased consciousness and the resultant changes in mind-set and behaviour which this can bring about, the idea of 'sensitisation' was often utilised. Sensitisation was nearly always used in the context of altering

behaviours, whether in the way the media reports on incidents of violence against women (Shirkat Gah 2011); or in the way in which society's leaders conduct themselves and enact leadership (UNHCR, 2010). For Gender Links (2010) 'sensitization and public awareness programmes' are 'aimed at changing behaviour and eradicating gender based violence'; while UNIFEM (2008) note that

> sensitization events discuss the issues, [making them] highly visible [and] showing that violence is not a normal part of living together and that therefore we all *have something to do about it* – [we have] responsibility to curb it.

Overall, awareness *in itself* has minimal function. Activists believe that what they are doing somehow produces more than this. Awareness is something which can have psychological and behavioural outcomes, and this potential is uppermost in understanding why awareness raising is undertaken and why it is valued.

C. Understanding Empowerment

Based on the way in which awareness, and its functionality, has been framed, I suggest that empowerment is an appropriate way of articulating what activists consider successful here since the awareness raising element of the campaign can only be properly understood by taking into consideration what awareness will *do* – that is, realising that it has an empowering function. It could then be argued that activists wish to have *power over people* to make positive changes in their lives. However as Anna Yeatman (1999, cited in Parpart et al., 2002:7) worries, this particular way of understanding empowerment may replicate the hierarchy between the 'powerful' and the 'powerless'. Indeed, power can also be understood in ways which overcome this asymmetry. Marilee Karl (1995:14) for example describes empowerment as something which can be either collective or individual, and which captures a sense of

gaining control, of participating, of decision making … empowerment is a process of awareness and capacity building leading to greater participation, to greater decision-making power and control, and to transformative action.

This is not just about making people do something good - it is about providing the resources to enable them to choose to do something good for themselves. The next part of this success story further develops the idea of changing women's lives. It discusses the empowerment of women individually and as a social group, and suggests that Karl's articulation of empowerment is the most appropriate way to understand it in this case.

Empowerment was certainly present in the way in which my interview participants understood their purpose in the campaign. For example, the campaign's founder spoke to the idea of empowerment when she stated that all of the campaign's advocacy and awareness raising is done '*in order to* change women's lives' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012, emphasis added). This affirms that women's lives – and women's everyday experiences – provide a focus and a point of culmination for campaign efforts. Additionally, a specific concern for the welfare of individual women was 'a critical measure of success' (Interview O, New York USA, July 2012) for activists who become involved in the campaign. For example, an interviewee reflected on how her thinking has changed during her time as a women's rights activist: 'I think now I feel much more a sense that even if one woman [gains something from the campaign] … that's important' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Another interviewee reported that she turned away from her previous job as a lawyer and became an activist because this better allows her to engage with work which seeks to transform women's lives: 'I was getting frustrated due to our whole system because we were trying hard, we were going to court every day, but not trying to solve the issues of our victims or survivors of violence' (Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012).

Considering the number of women who are helped by the campaign however, is not framed as the most significant factor in measuring success of this type because it is near impossible to estimate the actual figure. Rather, activists describe success where someone has, or may have been, helped in some way. This is a very loose claim and is of course difficult to quantify. The point is that activists 'don't try to save everybody' as this is an unconquerable task. Chapter One made clear that violence against women is a complex issue, and Chapter Three highlighted that the ultimate goal of overcoming violence is considered unachievable. With this in mind, activists must concede that there is only so much that they can do. However, 'if one person was [saved / helped] after the campaign that's a very big success' (Interview Y, County Wexford Ireland, December 2012). The claim suggests that if one person has been 'saved' – that is, they have managed to escape a bad situation or have adjusted their views on what is acceptable – then the campaign has been successful in empowering women. It seems a grand claim to make for one small gain. However, the explanation is that 'it is all relative': 'whether you have twenty thousand women or one woman, I think it's all the same, it's all relative'. This is because while 'you might call it small, for somebody else it might seem monumental' (Interview Y, County Wexford Ireland, December 2012). Even a small change is a valuable and necessary contribution towards the overall objective of eliminating violence against women; and it is another example of the empowering effects of the campaign.

Activists reflect on the value of an experience for one woman and suggest that empowerment must also be about what has been accomplished psychologically. Here I think it is useful to remember that different types of power can be identified – I noted this above in relation to feminist literature - and consider the ways in which they are possibly being operationalized by feminist activists in this case. To elaborate on my earlier comment, feminists have helpfully identified different 'power' concepts, including 'power to',

'power within' and 'power with'. Taking each in turn, power 'to' is about the ability to make decisions and solve problems, to challenge gender power hierarchies, and to improve women's lives. Power 'within' relates to individual consciousness - the ability to recognise and analyse how power impacts on one's life, and also the confidence to challenge this and improve it. Finally, power 'with' is about collective action and the achievement of collective goals (Karl 1995; Oxaal and Baden, 1997). In what follows I will consider how the emergent idea of success as empowering women may be better explained in terms of 'power within' and 'power with'.

Turning to power 'within', this is about individual consciousness - and I have highlighted this above as a key concern of my research participants. While activists wanted to draw attention to this type of empowerment they also identified certain challenges in doing so. In the data, successes of this nature tend to be loosely described and remain anecdotal as empowerment of this type is very difficult to quantify. This is the case for two reasons: first, there are many instances of violence against women and therefore innumerable instances where the campaign could trigger a shift in consciousness; and second, due to the highly personal nature of this type of empowerment anecdotal evidence may in fact be the most available and preferable type of evidence. Indeed, the campaign's coordinators identify it as a 'grassroots' effort, where 'the groups are *ground* groups and the events are *ground* events (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Successes come to light during inter-personal interactions – between activists and people engaging with the campaign; or amongst activists themselves as they reflect on what has happened. Stories based on interactions with people and communities was the most popular way in which activists articulated success as empowering women. Even for activists working on international advocacy instead of at a grassroots level, there was enthusiasm for emphasising stories told by grassroots colleagues about women being empowered to change their lives.

It is of course very difficult to quantify power 'within' in any concrete way: 'they're personal stories, and how do you quantify stories?' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). For activists who accumulate anecdotal evidence about women's empowerment, the personal nature of the experience prompts critical reflection not only on what that evidence means but how it should be used. Across the data there also emerged a desire to avoid speaking 'on behalf of' women, as well as reflection on the ways in which the testimony of empowered women might be recorded and used by the campaign: "we shouldn't, as a sector [as women's rights campaigners], be seen to be talking on behalf of people' (Interview S, Dublin Ireland, December 2012). Instead, the campaign must also be understood as 'a process which involves power relations, and a process which involves institutions and individuals' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Exemplifying the experience of a particular woman must avoid 'opportunism' (Interview S, Dublin Ireland, December 2012) and must be done

> in a way that protects the case … rather than just using pieces for the gain of advertising … there's a delicate balance of how you can be effective to the individual and ethical, and also use it to spread the message (Interview O, New York USA, July 2012).

Further, speaking on behalf of those affected by the campaign might be misrepresentative and lead to false assertions about their experiences. More than this, it may also override the 'agency' of those being spoken about (Interview H and Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). In the case of a woman who is empowered by the campaign, one interviewee reflected that 'you are not able to document her, the change in her personality. You can document the change in her lifestyle … you can see the change in the physical, but not the personality change - that's very difficult to document … (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012). This indicates that while power 'within' is a particular concern, it is not clear how to capture it responsibly or accurately. There is then an ethical consideration about the integrity of

success claims when they assert that they have impacted women's lives in some way:

> if one is to be honest, you know, how can we say that the *16 Days* campaign was instrumental in changing that life – unless she herself tells us that her perception of herself as a woman has been changed because of what the *16 Days* campaign has said about violence against women or about patriarchy. It's difficult to say thousands of women's lives have been changed … one has to be honest …it **is** possible to say that, but then how honest? (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012)

Assertions such as 'we helped thirty women in X case' become problematic because the situation of those women could be misrepresented unless each individually verifies that this is true. While the *16 Days* campaign seeks to change the lives of women globally, and it surely has, it cannot speak for those women and affirm this impact. Gaining confirmation of this type within any given case, let alone a campaign of this scale, is simply too tricky. The true value of campaign actions therefore remains intangible and unidentifiable to activists.

This concern was echoed by activists regardless of whether they worked internationally on advocacy or locally in service provision. Activists working on international advocacy found it difficult to make this type of claim because of their distance from substantive examples of 'on the ground' change in women's lives (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). There was a general notion that grassroots activists were able to get closer to the lived realities of individual women and therefore judge whether women's lives had been changed. However, grassroots activists - those working directly with women in the community services sector - also expressed the limited feasibility of making such claims with absolute certainty. The women who are engaged through the campaign may or may not re-evaluate their situation, seek help with a violent relationship, or pass information about resources or services on to a friend. Further, if empowerment has resulted and is externalized through taking action, the following can conceal this change

from activists: help may be sought from another, non-campaigning, organization; action may be taken months or years later, breaking a traceable link to the campaign; or the campaign may simply never be explicitly identified as the cause of the change. There is no real way of knowing the extent to which the campaign has empowered unless women explicitly relate their actions or feelings back to the campaign itself. In cases where help is indeed sought, the cause of empowerment may not be a priority question for those who respond and provide services.

There is a clear ethical consideration here. Several interviewees reflected that they occupy a position of power and that their identity and socio-political environment affects what they see; value and are likely to report. One interviewee explained:

> my identity as a woman, or a woman of colour, is affecting or influencing the way I move in society. And if I am walking around as a feminist who is aware of gender based violence, when I've experienced something or I'm speaking out against it, how much of that has to do with the fact that I am a woman, or a person of colour, or because of my entrance into that particular space. It's very difficult to differentiate and to isolate (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

This type of reflection arose most frequently in interviews with members of the CWGL. They expressed an acute awareness of their organisation's relatively privileged position not only as the founders of the campaign but also as a Western organisation receiving funding from a major university. In the past the organisation has received external criticism as a result of its affiliation with Rutgers University – critics have suggested that it is an 'ivory tower' and 'elitist' organisation (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). It is worth taking note of this reflexive stance because how success is framed in relation to the campaign is contingent on the identity and experiences of the people who are asked about it. Their responses are filtered through specific experiences, positions and privileges and can therefore never properly capture the empowerment experienced by other women, nor account for all

empowered women. Some will be captured and some will be overlooked. However, the message is that the range of experiences the campaign brings about must be seen as equally valuable. The caution exercised around speaking about changes in women's lives and consciousness therefore reflects concerns for truthful representation - a desire to explain success as empowering women while recognising the limitations of such claims.

The second type of power – power 'with' - is also a useful way of understanding empowerment in this case. Power 'with' is about collective action around common goals – being empowered by unity with like-minded others to solve commonly identified problems. This type of empowerment also emerged as something the campaign tries to engender, doing so in two ways. First, it was important to the CWGL's staff that all campaign participants be considered as autonomous actors who are empowered by their participation. In order for participation to empower however, there must be a sense in which the campaign belongs to each participant and can be used by them as a tool to contribute to the shared goals of the campaign. It was through attributing 'ownership' of the campaign to each participant that the CWGL's staff framed this type of empowerment.   Ownership means the sense in which the campaign is 'theirs', the participants''. It is a tool which belongs to everyone - and everyone has the freedom to tailor it to the particulars of their own context, to determine how to use it in their locale, and to take positive, collective action in solidarity with women around the world. Second, 'individuals can take the idea of the campaign and run in their own direction with it', or 'have it speak to their realities'. This was also described as one of the campaign's key successes (Interview G and Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). One interviewee stated that - 'as long as this campaign continues to grow and the interconnectedness continues to grow and the agency remains a core part of its value and its heart, then the campaign will have been successful' - ' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Agency here refers to the ability of participants to own their own

contribution to the campaign. The campaign's founders as well as current staff at the CWGL took particular pride in the fact that the campaign is a flexible tool which enables empowerment - or power to address problems via collective action. In regards the *16 Days* campaign, there may be something about the issue itself which sets up the importance of collective ownership in praxis. Keck and Sikkink (1998) explain that when the subject of violence against women first entered the transnational activist agenda, it was clearly an issue which 'no woman could help but feel was her own'. This indicates an underlying ideological commitment to shared ownership. If the issue belongs to every woman, it is important that the tool created to combat it also belongs to every woman. Without this understanding the original spirit of the campaign would be lost.

While this nuanced approach to power has been helpful, it is worth noting that the concept of empowerment was originally developed from Paulo Freire's (1996) notion of 'education as a means of conscientizing and inspiring individual and group challenges to social inequality' (Parpart et al 2002:5). This echoes some of what has been discussed above - that is, the idea about educating and raising consciousness in a way which inspires action. The concept of empowerment has been variously developed by different academics, social activists, development agencies and feminists.[60] In a general sense however, to empower implies 'the ability to exert *power over* (institutions, resources, people), to make things happen' (Parpart et al 2002:6). The basic idea here is that power can be exerted in a way which compels others to take actions to improve a situation. While the discussion above maintains some of this sentiment, it departs from it slightly by framing power as something which can be ignited within autonomous individuals rather than given to them - and therefore just as easily taken away - at the discretion of another actor.

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[60] A brief example of which I use above.

The section began by trying to understand the ways in which empowerment has been framed by activists participating in the *16 Days* campaign. By raising awareness and thereby educating women about gender based violence, the campaign empowers women to change their lives and to reject violence; and this phenomenon is framed as a success of the campaign. I expanded the definition of empowerment in order to consider how it might be broken down to focus on different types of power. Here, I discussed 'power within' and 'power with'. This enabled me to better explain parts of the data in which empowerment referred to shifts in the consciousness of women, or innate psychological changes; as well as to the idea that campaign participants are empowered through their participation in the campaign and by having a tool with which to work with like-minded others towards collective goals. All of this incorporates the idea of using awareness and education to challenge social inequality, to problem solve, and to improve the situation of women individually and collectively. I noted that empowerment has conceptual origins in the work of Paulo Freire, and that traditional conceptions of 'power over' do not quite fit with the success story being told here. Rather, the focus is on educating women and inspiring them to take positive and autonomous action.

I also identified some challenges with framing success as empowering women, particularly when the idea of 'power within' is used. Empowerment is hard to capture and the data expresses a general wariness about claiming to have empowered women because the assumed psychological shifts cannot be easily evidenced. To make claims about empowering women is to confront the unpalatable idea of speaking on behalf of women, and therefore of overriding their agency as well as possible misrepresentations of their individual situations. We are left with loose, anecdotal evidence that women have been empowered by the campaign, and the suggestion that tangible evidence of this is not necessarily possible. The campaign as a successful awareness raising effort would perhaps be a more simplistic story to tell.

However, it would not get at why awareness is useful and why activists value the power it holds.

3. <u>Success in Building a Network</u>

… when each organization comes out – sometimes together, sometimes individually – and everybody is saying the same thing, passing the same message, people will stop and listen …. my sense of accomplishment I suppose came from the number of groups participating increasing from year to year.   It felt like that meant that … we were getting our messages out more successfully **(Interview K, New Jersey USA, July 2012).**

Networking was highlighted as particularly valuable in that it provides a means of gaining support for the cause and spreading the campaign's message. There are numerous examples across the data which indicate that effective networking is something which activists also understand as a type of campaign success. This section will explain the ways in which networking has been framed as a success of the campaign, and the value which attaches to it. However, there are also some issues with this understanding of campaign success. One such issue is that the actual 'reach' of the campaign – that is, how far the network has managed to spread its message via its campaign - is most often unknown. Further, this has recently become even trickier 'because of social media': the campaign 'really has taken on a whole new life because they [campaign participants] can connect in a way they never could before' (Interview J, New York USA, July 2012). The campaign's potential reach has increased exponentially as technology has grown in sophistication and social media has helped to connect more and more people.   This increase has also introduced more anonymity to the network as there are now simply too many participants for the coordinating organisation, the CWGL, to keep track of.   This section will therefore explore the merits and challenges of networking for the *16 Days* campaign.

Some activists framed the campaign's success in terms of its continued ability to network with, and draw together, many different actors: 'as long as this campaign continues to grow and the interconnectedness continues to grow and the agency remains a core part of its value and its heart, then the campaign will have been successful. I don't think there's much more you could ask for beyond that' (Interview I, New York USA, July 2012). The key points here are the campaign's endurance over time and the growth in support of organizations able to complete their own actions as part of it. This view is substantiated more widely across the data. Examples emerge of campaign success being evaluated according to quantitative data gathered about the distance the campaign message appeared to have travelled and the number of people therefore reached. For example, 'the number of people' at an event (Interview A, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012), 'the open rates on our e-mail box' (Interview F, San Francisco USA, April 2012), or 'how many organizations participated … how many different parts of the world they are from' (Interview M, New Jersey USA, July 2012) were all given as indicators of success. There were no target numbers per se – simply an intuitive sense of having spread the message and recruited support. Reports of 'lively debates across sectors and stakeholder (GBV Prevention Network, 2007); 'partnerships between government, the private sector and NGOs' (Gender Links Africa, 2005), and a feeling that 'you need to be working locally, nationally, internationally simultaneously (Interview A, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012) emerged frequently to reinforce the idea that engaging a wide range of actors is important.

A. Reach of the campaign's message

Some organizations focused quite literally on the distance which the campaign message travelled and the number of people it therefore reached. Here, it becomes clear that it is not only the number of organizations joining and therefore building the capacity of the campaign which is important, but

also the number of people being exposed to the campaign and its message. The Canadian organization, Women's Health Stateside used bus advertising to spread their 2004 campaign message, and report that 'although difficult to assess, the bus campaign is viewed as particularly successful … The high reach potential of this form of advertising is enhanced by its ability to speak to non-traditional media consumers' (Women's Health Statewide, 2004). In this case, the audiences reached through bus travel as well as through the complimentary distribution of posters and pamphlets, were estimated according to populations covered by bus routes and posters, and the uptake rate of pamphlets. The latter was considered an especially pertinent indicator of success because each pamphlet taken was done through the 'personal choice' to pick one up and read the information.

Similarly, the WE CAN Alliance to End Domestic Violence in Bangladesh, India conducted both a 'mobile van campaign' and a 'train campaign' as part of their 2010 activities (see WE CAN Alliance, 2010). This involved travelling to different locations using rickshaw and train, in order to distribute campaign materials, speak to people and enlist support for the cause. Activists were able to report that throughout the entire campaign 'more or less 600,000' received the campaign's message directly, while this number rises to around 10 million when outreach through social media is included. Activists working at the community level in Ireland also place much significance on the number of people their message can reach. One interviewee explained that success is 'generally measured by how many people attended [an event]' but expressed frustration that her organization's events tend to capture the same people each year. She felt a 'need to get different people to these events … people who never thought about this topic … someone who would come along and come back with information or who would become more aware or understanding to a woman' (Interview W, Dublin Ireland, December 2012). To refine the measurement of success, it would then need to be asked

whether the campaign had reached *new* audiences and therefore spread the message further in real terms.

I have defined the ways in which expanding the network and the potential audience it can reach has been framed as a form of success. However, the value of this expansion now needs to be explained. To do this, I will highlight two important advantages of continued and effective networking. First, developing the network in turn develops the campaign's critique of violence against women and increases the saliency of the issue. Second, extending the network also extends a global sense of solidarity around the issue. The network then has not only a physical existence, but also a symbolic one.

B. *Developing intersectional critique*

The physical expansion of the campaign network has occurred simultaneously with its thematic development. Across twenty-three years the campaign has developed intersectional critique and has sought, alongside finding new allies, to identify issues which are hidden in the complex layers of violence against women. Making new connections has always been an important part of the campaign's achievement. Its creation linked two important international dates - 25th November and 10th December; and in doing so linked subjects which were traditionally conceived of as separate – human rights and violence against women. This has remained pertinent for participants, who continue to emphasise the point: 'violence is indeed a human rights violation that should concern everyone, not just those working on women's rights' (Action Aid, 2011). As was noted earlier, the network has broadened over time to include actors which do not traditionally work on women's rights, but who sympathise with the issue or feel that they can highlight its intersections with their own issue area:

> the groups we worked with initially all worked on violence … Whereas now, it's expanded to all groups working on any kind of social justice issue - not necessarily just violence, but you name it, they're working

on it. I mean, I just saw one that was against cruelty to children and animals or something, and they're doing work on *16 Days.* So it's just much broader (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

Many activists emphasised the need to broaden the network to include groups who would not traditionally work on violence against women or women's rights issues, or who 'may not call themselves feminist' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Such groups may however be able to identify intersections between their own work and violence against women. In this way new directions of critique can be highlighted, and this can enrich both the theoretical work of the campaign and the ability of other groups to understand and account for women's rights in their own work. Bringing in 'different organizations that may not be solely working on women's human rights' not only means that 'the cause can be heard a little bit more, have a bigger megaphone' (Interview F, San Francisco USA, April 2012);[61] but it is also 'the next step that you're going to have to take if you're really trying to change cultural norms … moving outside your comfort groups and working to get new people to understand violence' (Interview J, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

It is well known that getting a campaign off the ground in the first instance requires the issue to *resonate* with activists (see for example Snow and Benford, 1992; Keck and Sikkink 1998). However, in the case of the *16 Days* campaign issue resonance was not only established at the beginning but has been continually sought thereafter in an attempt to get 'new people' to understand violence against women. In the beginning, violence against women activists recruited human rights activists to their cause – having successfully made the case that violence against women is a violation of women's human rights. Since then, for example, the campaign has also recruited activists working on HIV/AIDS in 2004/5, and it has latterly 'bridged the peace movement' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012) with its focus on militarism from 2010 onwards.

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[61] Interview via Skype

As critique of the campaign becomes more robust and its relevance stretches out to an infinite pool of potential participants, the CWGL has been able to guide the campaign into 'different political arenas' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012). From 2010 onwards, for example, it has been 'a conscious priority now of the *16 Days* campaign to bridge the peace movement' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012) through focusing on militarism; and this is being achieved through working with new allies from the peace movement, most notably the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The desire to reach out to new allies and to understand violence against women in new and complex ways is motivated in part by a feeling that there is a bigger picture to be seen and much will be missed if issues are treated separately:

> this is an issue that exists both in governments and in NGOs, where they have a person or department that is focused on one issue and a person or department focused on another issue, which they see as separate. So, for example gender and then disarmament and then there's no integration or no linking between people, communication even (Interview P, New York USA, July 2012).

UNIFEM's (2008) introduction to the campaign refers to the CWGL's 'holistic overall vision', and this seems to be something which has persevered over time. In the early days of the campaign activists voiced frustration that governments, the UN and mainstream human rights organizations did not include women's rights and / or violence against women within their human rights mandates. Presently, activists are keen to emphasize the linkages not only between violence against women and human rights, but between violence and a host of other issues - development, economics, HIV/AIDS, and militarism being key examples. Further, activists 'want to be able to link [the issue] very effectively with local issues because … unless things are individualised they tend to lose their effectiveness and they just become these funded things which people … don't buy into and then forget very fast' (Interview B, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012). Having a wide range of participants at the local level enables the campaign to connect thematically

with issues relevant to local populations around the world. Here, expanding the network to capture local groups with local knowledge is important if the campaign is to resonate globally. Additionally, this enables a more nuanced understanding of violence against women as different manifestations and intersections emerge from different contexts. As one key activist pointed out:

> it's not just a coincidence when someone on campus is harassed or beaten up in a nightclub because they're bisexual, it's not just random y'know what happens to people on the streets related to gender based violence or whatever …What's happening now with the economy and with so many families, especially single … like, **women**, single mothers who find themselves in really difficult, maybe financial, situations -it's related to what's going on at a global level. Decisions that are made in one part of the world do in fact impact real people in another part of the world (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012).

In this way networking is valuable to activists not only because it enables them to expand their ally base and spread the campaign message further, but also because in doing so it facilitates a deeper understanding of the issue and reinforces its relevance to more groups and individuals.

C. Solidarity

The campaign is of course 'not just something that [organizations] are doing in isolation' (Interview W, Dublin Ireland, December 2012).   Rather, there is significant unity of purpose among the different organisations participating in the campaign. The campaign offers the opportunity to connect with a broader range of organizations and individuals; and to foster an international network of solidarity and support.   One interviewee framed the campaign as a 'campaign of solidarity' waged by a 'symbolic network' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012).   The *16 Days* is a time to demonstrate global solidarity with women around a single issue – to have a presence which is visible to women, and to power-holders whom-ever they are.   That the network is in fact as symbolic as it is physical, and that it functions as a demonstration of solidarity around the issue, is summed up in the following quotation:

> there was just one day where I got about … oh … 30 or 40 different e-mails full of pictures. I'm looking through these pictures and all the

pictures have one commonality to them – it's not the people and it's not the event, it's our purple and yellow posters. And I'm just staring at these pictures and I was in utter amazement because I'm looking at pictures from groups in Ghana, in Scotland, in Ireland … And I thought that like, this is it, this is what this is about - is that these pictures don't have a thing in common except the cause, which is the biggest thing. And that to me was the success of the campaign (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012). A high value was placed overall on 'building solidarity amongst different organizations to connect into what they are doing, to share ideas, lessons learned, motivate, inspire, support …' (Interview A, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012).

The network plays a 'symbolic' role in its ability to signal a unified sense of awareness and concern; and some activists in fact identified 'solidarity building' (Interview L, New Jersey USA, July 2012) as a key aim of the campaign and as a type of success. Solidarity is a show of strength which, on one hand, makes it 'easy to convince the media or at least the government [that activists] are doing something which is recognized by so many other networks …' (Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012); and on the other, demonstrates to activists concerned about the issue that they are not alone. The widespread and visible support engendered by the campaign is something which offers confidence to those who want to take action on violence against women.

The act of demonstrating support and understanding is in this sense valuable in and of itself. It can play a role in 'reassuring' not only activists but also women who have experienced violence. In this sense, solidarity ties in quite closely to 'awareness raising' and 'educating' because it functions to inform people about issues; and to shed light on existing experiences to reveal that they are sadly common and yet unnatural and unacceptable. One activist recalled that for the *16 Days* campaign one year her organization had 'mobilized 50 women from east Africa to go to Congo … to discuss the issue of sexual violence that is happening in the Congo.' She described this as 'very successful', partly due to the fact that it gave 'women some reassurance that they're not on their own' (Interview Q, New York USA, July 2012). In this sense, activists may view the campaign as an opportunity to

overcome the isolation and self-doubt victims of violence can experience. Another activist, who works with the travelling community in Ireland, tried to build a sense of solidarity in order to introduce discussion around violence against women as it is experienced through ethnic identity. She opened discussion by showing a video about the rape of refugee women in the Congo. The video drew attention to the fact that where this happens, it is framed as a situation in which men are disadvantaged rather than the women victims – 'and that would be one issue with disclosure of rape within the traveller community, is that it runs the risk of the husband leaving the traveller woman who discloses' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012). The discussion which the video provoked was itself a campaign success in the view of this activist because it had enabled her to reframe the experiences and fears of the women she works with and therefore reshape ideas about who experiences violence, why, and how acceptable it is.

This section has discussed success as building a network. It has highlighted the value associated with expanding and maintaining a network which challenges violence against women. First, a network helps support the development of critique on the issue. The campaign has a distinct intersectional flavour, and recognises the need to expand even beyond women's rights groups in order to both understand how the issue manifests in different spheres and to sell its saliency to a wide range of actors and potential allies. Second, the campaign provides a sense of solidarity for women and activists around the world who are concerned about violence against women. In this way, the network is described as a 'symbolic network' because it makes visible a global network of support and seeks to remove feelings of isolation from women and activists. Lastly, having a network ensures an enduring capacity to confront violence against women. As this thesis has hopefully made clear, the problem of violence against women is enduring and complex – and this network seeks to present a challenge in kind.

Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the ways in which activists working within the transnational advocacy network around the *16 Days* campaign, understand campaign success. As the chapter notes at the beginning, the concept of campaign 'success' had clear salience in this case; and this enabled three narratives about the meaning of success to be identified. The first narrative – or 'success story' – frames success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power holders. Power operates at many levels of society to perpetuate the different types of violence women experience. As such, power-holders are considered not only as governments and institutions but also as private individuals, especially men, and communities. Many instances of success in changing the minds and actions of those actors were reported across the data, but those instances did not come without challenges. It was revealed that achieving success could also indicate a new challenge. The challenge may be in sustaining commitment, having commitment matched with actions, or managing an on-going relationship and negotiating disparities in power. The second success story was also about power, and the success of the campaign in *empowering* women. This story began by noting the success of the campaign as an awareness raising effort; but concluded that awareness raising itself does not offer the best explanation. Empowerment brings awareness raising to life by capturing the intended functionality of awareness. With greater awareness women experience increased consciousness about gender violence and develop a greater capacity to personally reject or challenge it. Further, the campaign provides a tool for collective action, enabling women to work together to solve the problem of violence against women. If the essence of empowerment is 'conscientizing and inspiring individual and group challenges to social inequality' (Friere in Parpart et al 2002:5) then, according to activists, the campaign is successful in doing this. Collective action would however not be possible without a network of activists sharing common goals. Building a network was another

success story. This was demarcated as a type of success precisely because it enables the existence of a 'symbolic' network of solidarity. The global presence of solidarity is helpful not only to those concerned about violence against women and who wish to take action; but also to women who have experienced violence first-hand. It affirms the collective spirit of the struggle and overcomes feelings of isolation. In addition to this, building a network creates more allies for the campaign and enables a deeper and more intersectional critique of violence against women. Simply put, when the enemy invades every area of life it needs to be fought from every corner.

There are some themes which cut across all three success stories in this chapter, and need to be examined in more detail. The next chapter will do this task, but it is worth noting here where the 'loose ends' of the chapter lie. First, evidence of success across all categories remains anecdotal. This is explicitly addressed in the story, 'success as empowering women', where empowerment cannot be easily established and claims about having achieved empowerment are couched in ethical considerations. However, the anecdotal nature of examples within the other success stories can be observed. For example, the claim that an individual male 'power holder' has altered his behaviour and now treats his female partner with respect also relies on someone telling this story according to their own observation and interpretation of events. Chapter five will examine the use of anecdotal evidence, and draw some conclusions about what this means for understanding success. A second theme which requires further discussion is the critique of hierarchy which is woven through the stories. In the first, organisations which have been campaign 'targets' are considered as having greater power and resources at their disposal than the organisations who started the campaign. An asymmetrical relationship exists between the two. When targets become participants, they maintain their original resources but re-frame their position in relation to the campaign. This raises questions around the consequences of power inequalities within the network. In the

second story, activists avoid a hierarchical organisation of women's experiences within the campaign. Changing something for ten women is equal to changing something for thirty women; and if 'even one woman' was helped by the campaign it is successful. This tells us something about the kind of network activists consider themselves a part of. Networking is about showing solidarity - that women are equally affected by violence and are equally able to take action against it. In the chapter which follows, Chapter Five, I consider the way in which the success stories discussed in this chapter can be brought together to form a new theoretical understanding of success – an understanding which chimes with the ways in which activists working on the *16 Days* campaign understand success.

CHAPTER 5: Towards a Grounded Theory of Success

This thesis has so far elaborated an analysis of the empirical data and has constructed three new ways in which campaign success for transnational advocacy networks (TANs) can be understood. However grounded theory also seeks a theoretical contribution, as the name suggests. The three individual 'success stories' conveyed in the previous chapter do not quite accomplish this in their current form. They need to be brought together to form something more substantive and with greater theoretical abstraction, which also has some coherent messages for existing scholarship. This is the purpose of the present chapter. Charmaz (2006) defines theory as 'an abstract theoretical understanding of the studied experience' (Charmaz 2006:4). In line with her interpretivist approach, she emphasises understanding over explanation and assumes that the 'theorist' will offer an 'imaginative understanding' of the phenomenon based on her own interpretation of it. The point of theory in this case is to explore what research participants think is real and how they construct and act on this view of reality (Charmaz 2006:126-7). This chapter will therefore offer a particular understanding of success based on the empirical data of the previous chapter. It will explore what this understanding implies, where it is supported by existing scholarship, and what lessons it is able to offer to those interested in studying the success of transnational advocacy networks.

The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part I suggest a way in which the success stories of the previous chapter can be brought together to form a new understanding of success. I argue that success can be understood as 'sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge', and I demonstrate the points of convergence between the three empirical success stories which have helped me to form this understanding. In particular, I highlight the way in which all three stories are concerned with producing mechanisms for sustainable change so that a challenge can be continued into the future.

Further, all three demonstrate concerns around ensuring that a challenge is effective by being intellectually relevant and likely to advance the campaign's goals. Finally, all three also take an inclusive approach to the sites and actors which they attempt to impact. In the second part, I articulate the conceptual implications of this understanding, arguing that scholars must investigate questions around where success occurs, who pursues success, and when success occurs. A key task here will be to highlight specific theoretical and methodological imperatives for scholars interested in exploring success, particularly scholars of transnational advocacy networks.

1. <u>Rethinking Campaign Success as Sustaining an Effective and Inclusive Challenge</u>

In the first section of this chapter I argue that success can be understood overall as *sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge*. I do not claim that this is the only way in which success should be understood, but rather that this is one available understanding as well as the most appropriate for the *16 Days* case according to my interpretation of my data. It also highlights some significant considerations for theorists interested in campaign success. Before continuing, I will break down the specific understanding of success I have arrived at and explain what I mean by each of the terms I use. By 'challenge' I mean confronting or addressing the issue around which activism occurs – which, in this case, is violence against women. Social movement theorists have used the term 'challenge' to mean confronting formal political authority (see, for instance, Gamson, 1990), but I use a broader meaning whereby a challenge includes any action which activists use to confront their issue. This is important because my empirical data suggests that activists do not focus solely on attaining formal political impacts, but find multiple and diverse ways to 'challenge' violence against women. I use the idea of *sustaining* a challenge to capture the persistent nature of the campaign. Success is never called in an ultimate way, and the aim is to sustain pressure on the campaign's targets and ensure that the campaign and its message

can maintain a presence globally. I use *effective* to highlight the relevance and saliency of what the campaign does, and the way in which it understands its ability to bring about action. Finally, I use *inclusive* to illustrate the many spheres of activity and the many different actors which the campaign includes in its understanding of success. This is also important because my data showed that activists are keen to consider a diverse range of experiences when understanding their success – an inclination which perhaps emerged in tandem with the feminist motivations of my empirical case and its interest in both the public and private spheres.

This understanding of success is already hinted at in the way in which the campaign's goal is framed. In Chapter Three, I cited the overarching goal of the campaign as being about impacting 'all areas of societal, political and economic activities in each country and each region *in order to guarantee that in the long term, they will effectively contribute to eradicating violence against women*' (UNIFEM 2008, emphasis added). The very essence of this campaign is about ensuring that a challenge is sustained in multiple spaces and on an on-going basis - rather than in a single way, a single place, or at a single point in time. The need for an on-going challenge was likened by one interviewee to anti-war efforts: 'we will always have wars and that's why we must always work for peace' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012). The accent is on generating and re-generating relevant critique and action, and in carrying out this work at multiple different levels of society where it might be effective. The former point refers to developing a more nuanced understanding of the issue and it's intersections with other issues, and applying this evolving critique within lobbying at all levels. The latter point refers to targeting multiple actors, recruiting multiple allies, and empowering women in multiple different roles. Overall, abstracting a single understanding of success is possible because in comparing the three success stories of the previous chapter there is a striking degree of convergence between them

inasmuch as they all speak to the overall understanding which I have outlined.

Before exploring the understanding I arrived at in more detail, it will be helpful to re-visit the success stories outlined in the previous chapter and draw attention to the ways in which they converge to create this particular understanding. In Chapter Four, I showed that three success stories emerged from my empirical data – (1) success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power holders; (2) success as empowering women; and (3) success as building a network. The first story revealed that activists see success where 'power-holders' change their stated position and begin to behave differently. Power-holders included governments, institutions and private individuals – in particular, men. That the Vienna petition managed to get the UN to recognise violence against women as a human rights violation is an example of changing the position of governments, and this represents the most high profile success within this story as well as the only success which existing literature attributes to the *16 Days* campaign. However, the campaign continues to work at the local, national and international level to pressure international institutions, governments and private individuals. As such, influencing a man to respect his wife and understand gender equality and non-violence is also a success. The *challenge* is therefore both traditional in that it targets states and state institutions, and non-traditional because it also targets private individuals. Further, this story suggested that successes can equally be framed as new challenges, with the most popular challenge being to secure consistent compliance and accountability from power-holders. This illustrates why the broader definition of challenge I have adopted here is useful. That successes can be re-imagined as new challenges is made clear when Charlotte Bunch frames the Vienna petition success as a new level of struggle for the campaign (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New Jersey USA, July 2012). Activists seek to *sustain* their challenge and root their success in their ability to make gains and then build on those

gains to move the campaign further forward. This understanding of success contains no sense of complacency. It considers the campaign as a continually evolving process, successful if the process is indeed evolving and making gains in the right direction. This notion of simultaneous success and struggle also speaks to the idea of an *effective* challenge. The challenge must adapt alongside a changing institutional context so that it retains its relevance, saliency and capacity to produce meaningful change. The *16 Days* campaign's 1995/6 theme *Bringing Women's Human Rights Home* illustrates very aptly an entrenched concern with reiterating and developing a challenge. Here, the campaign shifted from seeking agreement that women's rights are human rights to focussing on the tangible ways in which those rights could be realised. The challenge here is also of course *inclusive* inasmuch as it pays attention to many different types of target, public and institutional as well as private and personal.

In the second story the campaign was depicted as successful when it empowers women to change their lives and reject violence. This has been accomplished through awareness raising and educating about violence, and there were different ways in which activists believed women's empowerment takes shape. For example, they referred to shifts in consciousness for women, or innate psychological changes; as well as participation in the campaign itself, which can be used as a tool for working with like-minded others towards collective goals. In this story, power was used in a 'power to' sense as opposed to a 'power over' sense. The campaign's success in empowering is hinged on its ability to enable women to take control of the issues, take action and ultimately make positive changes in their lives. In this story, a level of *challenge* is directed through women themselves when they begin to think differently and thereby produce different discourses and behaviour around violence. Here, the challenge persists at a grassroots level and this becomes one of the most vital ways in which the campaign is sustained. This level of challenge also has to be *effective*, and in this vein

the success story is framed around empowerment as opposed to raising awareness. Increases in awareness do not imply behavioural shifts in individuals in the same way as empowerment does. In fact, the latter is a progression of the former, and the importance of being effective means that the accent is on changed minds and behaviour as opposed to simply new knowledge. Again, the challenge is framed as *inclusive* because the idea is to empower *all* women. There is a concern with empowering activists through participation in collective action, and empowering non-activist women when they are touched in some way by the campaign's message. Just as there is no distinction between public and private power-holders, there is also no distinction between activist and non-activist women.

The third success story framed success in terms of building a network, where expanding and maintaining a global network which challenges violence against women was the key concern. Networking involves not only expanding the number of allies the campaign has in groups and individuals, but at the same time expanding the campaign's intellectual resources. Activists seek to expand the campaign beyond its original collection of women's rights groups in order to build up a picture of the issue as it crosses into different spheres. Doing so also helps to sell its saliency to an ever wider range of participants and potential allies. A final point is that having this network provides a sense of solidarity for women and activists around the world who are concerned about violence against women. In this way, the network is described as a 'symbolic, removing feelings of isolation from women in whatever capacity they engage with the campaign. Here, the *challenge* is around maintaining the campaign's growth – its ability to attract new allies and develop new critiques. This ensures that the campaign has the continued capacity to present an *effective* challenge. There are parallels with the first story where the development of new critique – achieved through an intersectional approach to campaign themes, and forming allegiances with groups in different issue areas - helps to adapt critique along with institutional

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developments and shifts in the way the issue is framed, to perceive new opportunities, and act on new challenges. Activists adopt some challenges from other issue areas, and have their original issue represented in new forms. An example here is the shift to focus on the multi-faceted intersections of militarism and violence against women (see CWGL, 2014e). This has won the campaign new allies in the peace movement and has also opened up additional mobilization opportunities. This is a vital part of sustaining an effective challenge because it enables activists to renew and update the information they use, and to inject new energy into the campaign through fresh alliances and fresh ideas. There is also a parallel here with the second story, whereby involvement in activism is a method of empowerment. If women are empowered through participation, any extension of the network also leads to an increase in the number of empowered and active women. This directly highlights a very obvious emphasis on sustaining an *inclusive* challenge. This is apparent in the drive to bring more people into the campaign, to have the campaign message reach as many people as possible, and to include various different facets of the issue in the development of a more robust analysis.

Each of these stories helps to build up an understanding of success as sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge. Looking across all three, I will now summarise where I see the commonality between them. First, there is a shared emphasis on sustaining a challenge. Persistence in presenting and developing that challenge is key. This is accomplished in several different ways: by sustaining pressure on the UN and governments to get accountability for past commitments, gaining further concessions, contesting meanings, keeping the issue on the agenda, and also introducing the issue to the personal agendas of private individuals; trying to bring about positive changes in the way women think so as to permanently alter the context of their lives; and growing the campaign to increase its capacity and resilience. Simply having a presence and keeping the issue relevant has to be a type of

success if the issue is unlikely to be solved. Simply put, there must always be a challenge to counter the problem and the movement's success essentially lies in 'removing the veil of silence' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012) around the issue, and in keeping it off. Second, while sustaining a challenge is important, it is equally as important that the challenge is effective. To be effective is to retain the relevance and saliency of the challenge, and this is accomplished primarily through the continual revision and development of critique. Developing new strands of critique unearths new aspects of the issue which will be helpful in keeping it on the agendas of governments and institutions, making further gains, and attracting wider support. Further, information about gender violence is empowering for women who are victims or potential victims of this violence. The campaign's critique is brought to life when women are empowered by the knowledge it provides. The changes they make in their lives are then just as relevant as the changes which the campaign's critique can provoke at the institutional level. This brings me to the third and final point - that being successful is also about sustaining an inclusive challenge. By inclusive, I understand that success considers the ways in which a range of actors – public institutions and states as well as private individuals – are impacted by the campaign. For instance, there are multiple different targets or 'power holders' which the campaign seeks to influence; all women are considered possible subjects of empowerment; and the campaign looks to include ever more allies and reach ever more people. Considering such a wide range of different actors has meant including multiple different sites of success in an understanding. These sites include public institutional spaces as well as private personal spaces, and the space which is the campaign itself.

2. <u>Analysing Campaign Success and the Implications for Transnational Advocacy Network Scholarship</u>

The understanding of success outlined above has three important implications for transnational advocacy network scholarship, which I will

address in this section of the chapter. To do this, I will reflect on my empirical data and on existing scholarship which can shed light on some of the ideas and debates which arise. First, I will explore *where* success occurs and suggest that there are multiple, simultaneous sites of success and that all of these deserve analytical attention. This means that TAN scholarship should look beyond the state or institutional domain and bring some additional sites in to its understanding of success. Second, I will ask *who* pursues success and argue that a collective agent – in this case, a transnational advocacy network – does so, and that the internal dynamics of this agent must be examined in order to explore where a particular understanding of success comes from and through which processes it is constructed. TAN theorists are already committed to the principles of constructivism, but could push this further in order to evaluate network activity and consider the ways in which an understanding of success is constructed. Third, I will ask *when* success occurs and suggest that it occurs within a campaign process rather than at a fixed point in time or when one specific aim has been reached. This involves re-thinking the temporal character of campaigns and the implications for success. TAN scholarship could begin to consider long-lasting campaigns and how they transform over time, developing new understandings of success and potentially revising older success claims when their historical context is crystallised.

A. Where Success Occurs

Reading across the three success stories articulated in the previous chapter, I argue in what follows that the activists who articulated them are committed to the notion that success can occur simultaneously in multiple different sites. These sites can include the state or institutional domain, communities or homes. For example, in the first success story of the previous chapter success occurs simultaneously in formal institutional sites, such as the UN, and in private sites such as communities and homes where the behaviour of individual men – equally defined as 'power-holders' - matters. In the second

success story, success again occurs in private spaces – the intimate spaces in which women experience personal empowerment. Even although empowerment can be experienced through the more public setting of the campaign, there is a sense in which it must remain primarily a personal experience. As one of my interviewees pointed out, 'this campaign is very personal' to those who participate (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). In the third success story, the site of success becomes the campaign itself – its physical and intellectual growth. It is important that it develops the saliency of the issue and retains its capacity to bring about change.

Importantly, as part of this awareness of multiplicity, the activists in my study conceptualise success as occurring in both public and private realms. This can be seen in the way that the campaign targets individual power holders – men – as well as institutional power holders – states. For my interviewees, the micro level changes in everyday behaviour which are made by individual men matter as much, or even more, as achieving an interstate agreement such as the Vienna Declaration. The Vienna Declaration is the signature success of the *16 Days* campaign as it secured high level international recognition for the issue of violence against women, formally entrenching it as a human rights issue. The Vienna Declaration called on states to 'exercise due diligence to prevent, protect, prosecute and provide compensation with respect to the problem [of violence against women]' (Erturk, 2009:62). This was a discursive shift for the United Nations which not only brought visibility to the issue but also paved the way for policy mechanisms which help nation states to address the issue effectively. As Bunch and Carillo (1991) note, when 'violence and domination are understood as part of a politically constructed reality, it is possible to imagine a way to deconstruct that system'. The network has subsequently been able to hook its demands for state accountability to this initial success. While this represents a more 'macro' level change, affecting formal political and social preferences or norms, success can also occur at the micro-level, in informal everyday

settings. Individual men are targeted, and activists are interested in their private lives as sites of success. This recognition of success in both public and private spaces is not surprising given that my interviewees echoed the academic recognition that different interlocking 'terrains of power' (Hunnicutt, 2009:555-6) are a key characteristic of the issue, and that violence is therefore perpetuated not only through the negligence of the state but also through individual actions such as domestic abuse, 'inappropriate sexual language, flashing and sexual harassment' or 'sexual murder and rape' (McMillan, 2007:21). This means that the multi-level nature of the campaign is important. Further, feminism itself has demanded that the private sphere is taken into account as much as the public sphere because both are politically consequential for women. A commitment to 'radical (root) change' pervades the feminist movement as a whole (Ferree and Hess, 1994:33) and this entails change in all corners of society.

Moreover, the activists I interviewed emphasised the private realm as an important site not only for ending male violence but also for the empowerment of women who are victims, or potential victims, of that violence. Reflecting the feminist emphasis on provoking women to 'think differently about themselves' (Epstein, 2002:118-9), my data has suggested that the campaign can encourage new modes of thinking or self-perception which in turn help women to take control of their lives. This control can be taken through participating in the campaign or through personally rejecting violence as an inevitable or acceptable part of life. Empowerment can therefore manifest in both public and private ways - 'it opens the door to organizing for change by making people believe things could be different' (Ferree and Hess 1994:28). The focus on the private as well as the public suggests that activists conscientiously aim for and place equal value on achieving what social movement theorists have distinguished as 'direct' and 'indirect' outcomes. Burstein (1999) points out some of the indirect impacts social movements can have, and includes 'changing the public's preferences,

that is, attracting public opinion to their cause' and 'increasing public concern with regard to the issues raised by their movement' (Giugni and Passy, 1998). Whilst these are 'indirect' outcomes for social movements which are in fact aiming at policy change (Giugni and Passy 1998), the activists I spoke to overtly emphasised these so-called 'indirect' outcomes as consciously intended and highly valued outcomes - instances of success. Changes in public perception can signify moments of empowerment for those whose perception changes and it can contribute to the growth of the campaign as more supporters are gathered. These changes, invariably framed as successes in the previous chapter, speak to the more everyday and altogether 'unremarkable' effects of the campaign. However considering the broad based goal of this campaign, if public perception was not altering and women were not being empowered to change, the campaign would have no effect on 'ordinary experience' and therefore no hop of attaining the cultural change it seeks (Chaney, 2002:10-11).[62]

Finally, the women in my study drew attention to the ways in which the campaign itself should be seen as a site of success. This is measured by its physical expansion across the world, its increased political authority and its intellectual capital. Taking each of these in turn, the physical expansion of the campaign is accomplished through recruiting more allies and reaching new audiences. Here, the capacity to sustain a challenge is bolstered as the campaign's constituency grows, it enjoys a more substantial presence and its collective voice becomes louder. Widespread solidarity with a cause also helps to make occasional, intensive political action – such as a public protest - possible when it is required (Ferree and Hess 1994). Increased political authority is about gaining more legitimacy in the eyes of political rulers (Giugni and Passy 1998). My interviewees thought that this happens as the

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[62] David Chaney (2002:10-11) defines the everyday as 'the forms of life we routinely consider unremarkable and thus take for granted'. He argues that cultural change is 'accomplished and made manifest in the routines of ordinary experience' and thus draws attention to the importance of less visible, everyday experiences as indicators that effective change is happening.

campaign develops a global solidarity network. The network provides a valuable feeling of being part of something much larger and a type of latent power – together these increase the leverage which members of the network have over their individual national states. Nancy Reiko Kato, organizer of Bay Area Radical Women, reinforces the importance of this type of solidarity to her own understanding of success: 'in terms of success, you gain a lot of confidence when you see that you can approach people on the basis of shared concerns' (Kato, 1997:28). Building a network is akin to building a community which shares a specific concern and will offer on-going support around it.

Lastly, it is important to recognise the intellectual capital the campaign can generate as a type of success. As Ferree and Hess (1994:208) point out, the 'creation of new resources for the continuing representation and mobilization of (a) constituency' enables activists to sustain and strengthen their challenge in the longer term. The continuous development of an intersectional analysis for the campaign is a good example of this. As Chapter Three illustrates, the campaign has sought to expand its understanding of violence against women by exploring and raising awareness of the relationship between gender violence and race and sex (2001 theme), health (2004/5 theme) and militarism (2010 – 2015 theme). This has generated new resources, attracted new allies, offered opportunities to impact more areas of society and reach more people, and increased the saliency of the issue for wider audiences. Snow et al (1986) in fact highlighted a need for the framing process to continually evolve so that a challenge retains its relevance over time. In sustaining an inclusive challenge – by including more activist groups and more analytical considerations in the overall analysis – the campaign issue is open to constant reconstruction which helps maintain its relevance.

Such empirical arguments about the multiple sites of success are not entirely unfamiliar from the literature on social movements and transnational activism. Reading this body of work we glean a rich harvest of the diverse impacts brought about by collective action. It is recognised that outcomes can manifest in a variety of venues (Bernstein, 2003), both as direct outcomes such as 'state-level policy decisions' and indirect outcomes such as 'expansion of a movement's social capital (or) changes in participants' biographies' (Cress and Snow, 1996:1064). Indirect outcomes have been harder to define as movements try to provoke 'cultural changes in society by influencing people's actions and behaviours'. For example, the environmental movement has tried to 'sensitize citizens' to contribute towards environmental change (Giugni and Passy 1998); and Gamson (1998) has even suggested that gaining exposure in mass media is a type of success because it helps to publically contest meanings. However Gamson does eventually hook the value in this to its [debatable] indirect policy influence (see Giugni, 2007).

Within this, the ways in which movements can impact political authority have received the most consistent attention. Gamson's (1975, 1990) articulation of success as gaining new advantages from political authority and acceptance and inclusion in the political process has remained influential. An interest in the reaction of political authority most closely reflects TAN theory, which has kept its focus narrowly on success as winning concessions from state or institutional actors. For social movement scholars, interest has been concentrated around the effects of movements on policy outcomes (Amenta et al., 1992; Burstein 1985; Giugni and Passy 1998), how movements influence the promotion of democracy (see Tarrow, 1993), and even how movements influence powerful economic actors (see, for example, Luders, 2006). While inclusion in the political process may not always be achieved or even desirable the idea of 'new advantages' has helped to highlight some of the more tangible benefits which constituents might receive (see Piven and

Cloward, 1977). Cress and Snow (1996) for example describe how homeless mobilization sought not only 'rights … that protect (homeless) people from discriminatory practice' but also 'relief' in the form of 'provision of basic necessities that accommodate daily survival on the streets' (Cress and Snow 1996:1068). The emphasis is not always on abstract political concessions, but on the goods which are distributed to grassroots communities. Further, Amenta et (2008) try to take the idea of new advantages further by suggesting that they must also be available to non-participants in the movement.

However, scholars writing about political outcomes do not take an 'all or nothing approach'. They have highlighted where social movement organizations may fail to impact the legislative or policy sphere as they had intended, but may nonetheless produce a range of valuable effects besides this.   For example, they may 'simultaneously succeed at shaping public agendas, discourse, and norms, while building stronger movement communities' (Gupta, 2009:417). With this is mind, the very notion of success has been contested. Amenta et al (2010) have explicitly argued that surveying movements through the analytical categories, 'success' and 'failure' could in fact fail to capture some interesting outcomes which occupy a grey area in between: 'the success standard limits the consideration of many possible political impacts' and makes it difficult for challengers with 'far-reaching goals' to call success. They may not have achieved their goal, but they may nonetheless have substantially improved things for the beneficiaries. Although Amenta et al focus their argument rather narrowly on the political, and do not speak to cultural outcomes, the assumption here is that analysis need not hold out for definitive goal achievement, as this may be unrealistic and overlook valuable gains a movement makes – either intentional or unintentional (see Tilly, 1999) – which help promote its goals. The question should instead be re-framed to ask 'how movements matter'.

Considering a wider variety of possible outcomes in this way helps scholar to frame movements as agents of overall cultural change. Staggenborg (1994) produces three categories of success for feminist SMOs which are used by Ferree and Hess (1994) to explain the women's movement. Cultural success - 'changes in social norms, behaviour, and ways of thinking' – takes its place alongside political success - 'bringing about substantive changes through the political system' - and mobilization success - organizational survival and the ability to carry out collective action' (Staggenborg, 1994:341). Indeed, feminist historian Barabara Epstein (2002) suggests that one of the greatest achievements of the feminist movement overall is that it has provoked women to think differently about themselves. Including changes in ways of thinking and behaviour for individuals necessarily brings everyday life into focus because such changes occur at the micro level of society and are not always visible. If we are to have an inclusive understanding of success, where multiple sites are recognised, we need to accept an articulation of success which contains those more elusive dimensions.

TAN theory also alludes to some of this variety in outcomes. However, it has remained relatively pre-occupied with shifts in state behaviour and has not produced an account of the more subtle everyday shifts which networks also bring about. In particular, the everyday has been overlooked in claims about success. Everyday effects appear in descriptions of the organisation and execution of campaigns directed at traditional targets – the state and state institutions. For example, Hans Peter Schmitz's discussion of campaigning against the Kenyan government and towards the creation of an opposition coalition ends with a positive vision of Kenya's human rights future. Schmitz says that 'most parts of the Kenyan society have gone through many years of intensive socialisation by international human rights norms and transnational networks' (Schmitz, 1999:77).   The final stage of the Spiral Model, rule consistent behaviour, is more likely where domestic pressure 'from below' can be sustained. This in turn relies on citizen support, so there needs to

have been significant awareness raising effects, resulting in citizens being empowered to continue to actively support new principles. The development of the violence against women network was accompanied by an 'explosion of organizing' in NGOs around violence against women, the reframing of violence as a human rights issue and the development of 'global awareness' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:179-81). This affects many actors, from those who engage in international processes, through those who join NGOs, and those who are influenced by mobilization activities happening domestically. However, these types of 'spill over'– or indirect - effects are overlooked in favour of direct institutional effects. Keck and Sikkink (1998) note, for example, that increased awareness is a possible success of the violence against women network, but reject the idea that this could be counted as success because it is too intangible to pin down in analysis.

B. Who Pursues Success

In this section I want to argue that the understanding of success articulated by my interviewees has been shaped by the internal dynamics – and in particular the internal power dynamics – within the transnational advocacy network (TAN) they are a part of. These dynamics are continually constructed and reconstructed as activists interact with each other and they play an important role in how activists understand their work. In highlighting these dynamics, I suggest that those who informed my study are part of a collective actor which has a rich inner life, and that scrutinising this inner life is helpful in getting at both shared and contested meanings within the actor. I suggest a need to unpack these dynamics because although TANs are often treated as unitary actors as a result of their shared goals and collective action strategies, the unity they project emerges from a process of negotiation among potentially diverse participants. After all, the network itself is a site 'of political or cultural negotiation' (Keck and Sikkink 1999:99). I agree with Melucci (1996) when he argues that the unity of collective actors should not be taken for granted. Rather, scholars must be aware that such actors do not

have a 'coherent identity or single will' (Eschle, 2005:21) but themselves signify on-going processes in which a 'plurality of attitudes, meanings and relations … come together in the same whole of the phenomenon' (Melucci 1996:20). A network may therefore be a 'specific institutional form' (Kahler, 2009), but it is not fixed in its identity. As actors within a network 'pursue repeated, enduring, exchange relations with one another (while lacking) a legitimate organizational authority to arbitrate and resolve disputes that may arise during the exchange' (Poldony and Page, cited in Kahler 2009:5), meanings and identities are necessarily contested and revised through these dynamic processes. This shapes not only the way in which the issues and strategies of activism are constituted, but also the way in which activism is evaluated and where success is called.

For example my interviewees drew attention to the tensions and power differentials between actors in the network, and explained how the resultant dynamics help to shape an understanding of success. Tensions arose from the conception that certain participants may have disproportionate amounts of power and resources when they change position from targets of the campaign to campaign participants. This was specifically attributed to the United Nations (UN), chosen during the 1990s to be the focus of the campaign's efforts because its power and influence could promote significant progress for women's rights. In re-framing human rights to include women's rights, the UN necessarily brought its state members along with it; and the first success story in the previous chapter marks this triumph. However, the UN has identified as a campaign participant and my interviewees revealed mixed feelings about the implications of this. While some welcomed the UN into the network and took its desire to participate as indicative of the campaign's saliency and ability to claim a global presence, others perceived that the UN was still importantly positioned as a target and that this role had been problematically diluted. Opportunities for accountability had been recessed; and a certain 'strangeness' had entered the dynamic between 'old'

members of the network, such as feminist and women's rights NGOs, and 'newer' members of the network, such as governments, supra-governmental organisations, and mainstream human rights organisations. The concern that accountability might be hampered when a target organisation comes 'on side' is of course not unique to this case. Chapter one of this thesis, for example, has highlighted the feminist concern that states may endorse the principles of activism but on their own terms and in a way which dilutes, or 'de-radicalises' its original aims (see, for example, Fraser, 2009). However, this was not the main concern which emerged in my data.

The tensions I have noted in fact had important implications for the identity of the campaign, inasmuch as there is a risk that the campaign's identity and history might be co-opted or misrepresented when more powerful participants have a strong presence. The activists I interviewed were not only concerned about the accountability implications of who participates in the campaign, but also about the implications of participation for the campaign's identity. Such is the presence of the UN, that some participants believed that the *16 Days* is a UN campaign. This realisation provoked others to express a desire to maintain ownership of their campaign and avoid having it 'taken away' (Interview Charlotte Bunch, New York USA, July 2012) by more resource powerful participants who may enjoy greater visibility and influence in the external world. The association of the campaign with a mainstream actor can de-radicalise the campaign in the popular imagination – the campaign may be seen as an institution-driven effort, as opposed to a challenge directed at an institution. It may also offer validation to a mainstream actor, without it being clear that this actor had to be transformed before it could be transformative. This could erode an important part of the campaign's story and is particularly problematic if it unduly valorises a mainstream actor, putting it at the forefront of the campaign and down-playing the role of the initial challenging group. My interviewees made it clear that being recognised as the heroines in the campaign's story is important - the campaign 'should

be recognised as being a women's rights initiative'. The suggestion here is that success is not only about achieving particular goals, but also about being *recognised* as having achieved those goals *as challengers* (see Gamson, 1990) who are *distinct* from and acting in *opposition* to relevant interlocutors. Even the briefest of engagements with feminism will solidify this concern. Feminists have long pointed out the way in which women's achievements have been written out of the pages of history and women have been traditionally characterised as lacking the agency to take self-determining action (see Gardiner, 1995). If a supra-national institution comes to dominate a feminist campaign, there is a risk that this pattern will be perpetuated.

Relatedly, the women in my study drew attention to the way in which identity is intricately connected to power. They claimed that power in the campaign is expressed through leadership, and hinted that women are empowered by their leadership only when this can be identified and credited. Activists participating in the campaign are considered to be leaders, with the changes the campaign has managed to bring about attributed to them and the power they have been able to exercise as women. Power is here used in a 'power to' sense – that is, power to influence and power to bring about change. Participation in the campaign gives power *to* women because it is offers them leverage and support to challenge patriarchal domination. This contrasts with 'power over' which means power as domination and control (see Young, 1990). If power is understood in this latter way it becomes something which can be bestowed by one person but just as easily taken away by another (Rowlands, 1998:12). This makes it less genuine and more fleeting. Charlotte Bunch, one of the campaign's founders has argued for the need to 'confront and change the world of traditional power defined as domination over others … feminists have begun to develop a new understanding of power – seen as the ability to act, to get something done – and to see power associated with energy, strength, and effective interaction (Bunch, 1997:29). This is a useful way of thinking about power because it highlights how the activists involved

in this campaign think about its power, or about how the campaign can be used as a tool of *empowerment*. Empowerment is about 'gaining control … participating … decision making' (Karl 1995:14). If the identity of the campaign is clouded by more powerful actors, the women involved in the campaign have lost control of its identity and the way in which it is held in the popular imagination. Their identity becomes bound up in complex ways with the power holders they target and this makes it more difficult to distinguish themselves and maintain control of their history, their identity and their demands.

This point was also highlighted through a different example. One interviewee identified a sense of hierarchy in the campaign's agenda setting process. She framed this as problematic for some of the network's participants, hinting that there are empowerment implications for those who do not feel that they have been able to make a meaningful contribution to setting the agenda. Setting the agenda can be an empowering experience because it means having control over how the issue is understood and what action is taken. However, she considered that not all activists always have real access to this process as some members of the CWGL and their closer allies have been able to dominate discussion during agenda setting: 'you're going to have individuals who dominate other individuals irrespective of what organization they're from; and there [are] certainly some individuals and organizations who are more vocal than others' (Interview R, New York USA, July 2012). She added that she was 'surprised' at the decision to continue the recent theme around militarism for another year as there was a good degree of dissent from this preference during a key agenda-setting meeting (Interview R, New York USA, July 2012). We know already that organizational position in the network can determine the ability of members to influence the agenda (see Carpenter, 2007b; Kahler 2009). However, it is instead individuals and their ability to 'dominate' or be 'vocal' in interactive settings which is highlighted here. The leveraged resources in this case are not financial or

political power, but personal charisma and entrepreneurship (see Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) as well as a history in setting the campaign's direction and providing it with global coordination. The dynamic this interviewee identifies exists between different NGO actors within the network, but it is nonetheless an example of the same issue as that which exists between the network and the UN. One participant is identified as having greater resources and a distinct set of interests. This means that some participants may be left feeling disempowered when they do not have equal control of the campaign; and they may feel that their identity and preferences do not play an equal role in writing the on-going story of the campaign.

Scholarship notes that success can have important identity implications. However TAN theory does not take seriously the issue of identity, paying no systematic attention to the internal dynamics of networks and how these shape understandings of success. For example, in network theory Yanacopulos (2009) explores the identity implications of influence. The campaign to get the issue of debt cancellation on to the agenda of the G8 reveals that the network was so effective in influencing the position of the UK's Blair government that network members were 'uncomfortable about the number of similarities between their demands and the government's position'. This highlights the important paradox in which efforts to influence target actors are packaged together with a desire to retain a position distinct from, and perhaps oppositional to, a target. I have already noted that some feminist scholars are concerned about the identity implications of working with, or within, state or institutional structures. The worry here is that collaboration can lead to a de-radicalisation of messages or goals, which naturally impacts on the identity an organization has and how its purpose is conceived more broadly. However, on the whole, TAN theory has idealised networks as unitary agents instead of treating them as sites of conflict. This is not helpful in developing a more nuanced understanding of success because it overlooks the dynamics which inform this understanding. I suggest that a

more nuanced account of success can be achieved by unpacking the network and considering the internal dynamics and power relations which are at play within it, constructing meanings around success.

I suggest three research imperatives which could help with this task. First, it is important to acknowledge the difficult hybrid nature of networks and then pay closer attention to internal politics. Networks, particularly those working on human rights issues, have been idealised. While they 'often bring together diverse types of actors' (Sikkink, 2009:229), the potential conflict this might produce has been downplayed to emphasise the cohesive (moral) purpose of networks. However TANs are naturally hybrid structures, encompassing a range of actors from NGOs through religious organisations, businesses, and sections of intergovernmental organisations (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Such actors are prone to have values and ways of working which are distinct from each other. For example, one of my interviewees emphasised how she feels that her organization is distinct from 'the corporate world' (Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012), and therefore also any business participants in the network. However most networks are in fact 'dominated or characterized by a particular type of actor' (Sikkink 2009:229). This may be a reason to assume greater homogeneity, but my interview data indicates that even organisations of the same type may perceive their preferences and expectations as distinct from others in the network. Further, the pre-dominance of one organisation type may in fact draw more attention to minority organization types and the influence their presence has on the network. In the empirical case I studied the campaign is dominated by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), with governments and UN departments in the minority. It is important to remember that the campaign began as a relatively close-knit assortment of feminist and women's rights NGOs, and they have had to adapt to the growth and changing dynamics of their campaign.[63] It is not only the formerly adversarial role played by women's organisations in relation to governments

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[63] See Chapter Three for a discussion on the evolving membership of the *16 Days* campaign.

and governmental institutions which creates friction, but also the way in which their identities and motivations are perceived as distinct from the original and 'majority' network participants. They exist for a different purpose – they are ideally the guarantors of rights, or the 'duty bearers', and have non-comparable power and resources. Any network's identity is shaped by its participants. A powerful participant may have significant resources to (re)shape identity in a way which is unattractive to the majority or original participants. In my empirical case the majority of participants, perhaps paradoxically, see it as important to attract new participants to the campaign at the same time as remaining true to their original identity.

Instead of exploring this hybridity, there has been a focus on the cohesiveness of networks; and this has diverted attention away from their internal politics. However, internal politics play a key role in shaping how success is understood. Looking across my empirical data, internal politics help to explain how notions of identity are vested in success claims. There is a desire for success claims to account for the identity of the collective agent, and this identity may be perceived in specific ways based on the agent's history and the perceptions of those who participate in it. Carpenter (2007) has already called for more research to be conducted into the internal politics of networks. Her suggestion arises from her work on the under-studied topic of issue emergence, although I argue that the equally under-studied topic of success also demands it. Carpenter argues that 'intra-network relations are crucial in shaping the TAN issue agenda' (Carpenter 2007:114). Lake and Wong (2009:131) also note the role of internal politics, maintaining that since power 'is an emergent property of networks', as networks begin to develop, 'power … is efficient and perhaps even necessary for overcoming conflicts of interest' (Lake and Wong 2009:128). Although there is growing interest in the internal dynamics of networks and acceptance of the fact that different interests and even conflict exists, the dominant idea has been one of cohesion within and between networks. Keck and Sikkink in fact point to this

cohesion as beneficial for issue emergence because it promotes the development of widely resonant issue frames (Keck and Sikkink 1998:28). However this overlooks the fact that organisations in a network take on different roles – influencing or gate-keeping for example; and how they negotiate conflicts of interest, or 'disagreements about framing new ideas' (Carpenter 2007:114). Schmitz has also proposed that 'advancing the study of transnational human rights networks as well as other types of non-state actors … entails an inquiry into the internal dynamics of participant NGOs. Leaders, boards, staff, and sometimes a membership continuously interpret and shape the mandate as well as the interests of the organization' (Schmitz 2010:7201). Following those prompts increases the ability of scholars to tell an 'inside story' about a network and to reveal the ways in which power is meted out and shapes how activists develop persuasive issue frames and strategies. It will also be crucial if TAN scholarship is to explore success from the perspective of those participating in a network. The position - perceived or real – of different members, their relative power and the history of their association with the network all help to shape the way in which activism is evaluated.

Second, extending the constructivist approach which has underpinned TAN theory offers a practical route to exploring the meanings which are constructed around success by activists within networks. TAN scholarship has followed Martha Finnemore's (1996) theory of constructivism by asking how the norms of international society affect state identities and interests. Philosophically, this approach holds that the world is defined through intersubjectively shared ideas, with reality being constructed and interpreted by people through their speech and ideas. In its existing application, constructivism has made three key contributions to TAN theory. First, it has has explained the mechanisms through which networks change state rhetoric and behaviour to reflect certain principled ideas. Identity change has in this sense been of interest to TAN scholars in the framing of success. However

this has been from the perspective of how powerful state or mainstream institutional actors are transformed as a result of network influence. Constructivism has offered a lens through which to view this process of 'socialisation' (see Risse et al., 1999) and assumes the existence of a 'plurality of attitudes, meanings and relations' (see Melucci 1996) which can be negotiated towards some degree of consensus. However, constructivists have not tried to understand how identity is constructed within collective agents. Second, constructivism has explored the processes through which activists adopt and frame campaign issues effectively. In this way, it has been helpful in understanding how 'categories of concern' (Carpenter 2007:110) are constituted and how advocacy campaigns emerge. Activists must reach a good enough degree of consensus on what an issue means and how it can be framed effectively. Issues must contain a set of shared meanings in order to be resonant both to those within a network and those outside of it. However, it has not looked at how understandings of success are negotiated and framed. Third, constructivism may also tell us something about the nature of transnational ties – how they are 'constructed through the communicative process of identification with the Other' and produce 'clear causal narratives of injustice and redress, and 'branding' of locations and victims' (Brysk, 2013:259).

Third, attention to the internal dynamics and power relations of networks would be enriched by a reflexive approach to research. Charmaz (2006) makes clear that reflexivity is a vital component in the constructivist approach. It involves being interested in how a particular theoretical understanding evolves, and being alert to the fact that its evolution is the result of interpretive work on the part of both the researcher and the research participants. In my empirical data, for example, the interlinking of success with conceptions of identity is due to the interpretations of particularly positioned activists. This connection emerged because it happened to be a significant consideration for my interviewees. On the whole, my interviewees

were alert to the power dynamics in their work, and readily reflected on them. They demonstrated self-reflexive approach towards their own position, with one interviewee asking 'who are we to do this work?' A reflexive approach to power may have emerged from the feminist convictions of activists within this network, and it is possible that the feminism I shared with my research participants prompted me to recognise this. However, a critical approach to power is not necessarily something which will be significant in the way every agent understands its success. A reflexive approach is therefore crucial for researchers who want to be attentive to where their theory comes from – the considerations and principles of both themselves and their research participants which are influential in what emerges and what is seen to be significant.

C. When Success Occurs

Success can occur as part of a process rather than solely at the perceived end of a campaign or challenge period, as the TAN literature assumes. A processual understanding of success is necessary when the issue or goal around which mobilization occurs is particularly broad based or complex. There may, for instance, be no simple solution to the identified problem; or the issue may be subject to a pattern of definition and redefinition over time, so that the desired outcome is not fixed. It may then also be necessary to understand success as distinct from direct goal achievement.   TAN scholarship does not examine the way in which a campaign might transform over time and adapt its understanding of success in response to complex issues or broad goals.   I argue that taking a 'long range processual view' of success (see Staggenborg 1994) is useful in understanding the accomplishments of networks; and that this approach pushes forward some different empirical directions which TAN scholars might consider pursuing. In this regard, it would be useful to move beyond the returned boomerang, the end of the spiral, or the point at which the campaign 'disappears', to call success. Instead, success can be identified as the campaign is in progress.

In the empirical data, success has an elastic quality. It can capture on-going activity and offer a sense of progress when the overarching goal is not in sight. A key question motivating this understanding of success is 'how to think about success in the meantime' (Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012) – that is, in the absence of definitive goal achievement. There is also a need to consider new questions around a campaign's present achievements and its future aspirations from the perspective of the agent pursuing success. The usefulness of the meanings used within the agent are covered above, but they are also helpful in terms of understanding the temporal character of a campaign – how long it is expected to continue, and so on. Here, I return to my earlier suggestion that constructivism offers a useful tool for probing the meanings which activists attach to their work.

Understanding success as part of a process means re-framing its meaning to reflect a particular – and less restricted - temporal character. Re-framing to accommodate this is important because this will determine how activist efforts are portrayed or remembered – whether they are considered successful or unsuccessful. Activism around complex issues or broad goals risks being considered unsuccessful if success is equal to achieving the overarching goal of the effort. My empirical data on the *16 Days* campaign offers an example of a campaign with a broad goal based on a complex issue, and the possibility of achieving the goal is explicitly rejected. This is due to the fact that the 'range of behaviours that constitute gendered violence against women are many … (from) inappropriate sexual language, flashing and sexual harassment, to acts such as sexual murder and rape' (McMillan 2007:21). Moreover, these acts are perpetuated by 'interlocking structures of domination' and are played out within 'different terrains of power'. This means that individual acts as well as the 'protectionist leanings of patriarchal social structures which ultimately repress women and limit their choices' (Hunnicutt 2009:555-6) are equally as vital to understanding the goal, informing mobilisation and assessing outcomes. When this complexity is

apparent, so too is the weak probability that the goal will ever be reached - there is simply too much to do. In response to this, shared meanings about success are developed to fit the nature of the campaign and enable it to be understood as successful. This is accomplished through 'success stories' which speak to the duration of an effective and inclusive challenge, instead of to a definitive end to that challenge. In fact, the idea of definitive success is rejected in the first success story, *Challenging the Discourse and Behaviour of Power Holders*, as the goal is re-formulated and a new phase of the existing challenge begins.

The Zero Tolerance campaign in Edinburgh offers another example where activists continued beyond their apparent success. This campaign 'built on its success … by bringing together a group of committed women to work on the second stage of the campaign' (Hart, 1997:104). While Hart describes this campaign as successful because it 'attracte(ed) the attention of, and gained a positive reaction from' both members of the public and survivors of gender based violence (Hart 1997:102) she also shows that this was not the end for this campaign. A second phase began shortly afterwards and Hart's concluding remarks indicate that the campaign has, and will continue to, 'move on to new heights' (Hart 1997:206-7). Here, the ability of activists to reimagine what the campaign could achieve and to find new work within the broad ambit of the issue is evident.

Success for groups working on broad goals cannot be adequately captured if analysts understand success to require a clear end point – whether as the achievement of a broad goal, or as the attainment of political concessions. First, success is hard to capture for those groups which have made some political gains but have not eliminated the problem they address. When NGOs and networks are measured against far-reaching change, critique can be harsh. For example, the violence against women network fails when

measured against a reduction in domestic level incidences of abuse. Likewise, Schmitz (2010) observes that 'an organization such as AI (Amnesty International) has defined what constitutes a human rights violation for a generation, but has failed to nurture a global human rights culture that would eliminate the need for its activism (Schmitz 2010:7202). Eliminating the need for activism on the basis of having eradicated the problem is another way of thinking about success. It is common, for example, to think about the campaigns for civil rights and women's enfranchisement as successful because, for the most part, they achieved their goals globally and no longer represent compelling activist issues. However, this process can take a very long time; and where the meaning of the issue is constructed and reconstructed over time, the length of this process is indefinite.

Further, for TAN theorists the end point is usually presented in the form of political outcomes around human rights norms. For example, securing the International Prohibition on Landmines was, for the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), an 'extraordinary accomplishment by almost any measure of what is considered to be success within international diplomacy' (Shawki 2011:99). Likewise, 'in the 1990s, women around the world convinced policymakers that violence against women was a serious violation of human rights that governments needed to address' (Khagram et al., 2002:5). These are both tangible, measurable outcomes which signal the accomplishment of particular political goals. A narrow focus on particular political outcomes may have been a strategic move on the part of TAN scholars because it enables particular, valuable and measurable network accomplishments to be captured. It does not demand waiting until the issue has been entirely resolved and everyone involved has packed up their desk and gone home. Descriptions of 'less success' (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink) or 'non-success' accompany more complex issue campaigns or the less straightforward facets of an issue. The International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) has reportedly experienced less success than the ICBL, but

the former's goals around the movement and sale of small arms are harder to secure and enforce because of pre-existing norms around gun ownership (see Shawki 2010). One of IANSA's activists in fact explained that success needs to account for moving in the right direction as well as achieving the ultimate goal, revealing a definition is adapted to fit the nature of the work. Equally, violence against women activists have experienced less success in 'actually reducing the incidence of violence at the domestic level' (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink). However we know that 'on the ground' reduction is complex and hard to trace, and that reduction levels also depend on what is included in a definition of 'violence against women' in the first place.

Social movement theorists have been more flexible, and ideas about 'cultural success' and 'mobilization success' demonstrate a longer-range approach which is inclusive of the campaign process. Staggenborg presents this approach most clearly. She suggests that feminist organizations can be considered effective if a broader definition of success is used, and incorporates political and policy success, cultural success and mobilization success – all of which are explained above. She argues that when evaluating the usefulness of Gamson's criteria for success, theorists should consider 'the extent to which they capture a broad range of outcomes that advance the cause of a movement' (Staggenborg 1995:339). Staggenborg thus asserts the need to look more closely at what movements are doing and at the range of activities they undertake.

In social movement theory, Staggenborg's ideas have some useful parallels with my empirical data. However, I suggest that my data can also add something to those ideas. Of particular use is the category 'mobilization success' because it speaks to the ability of a movement to *sustain* itself over time. Staggenborg makes the case as to why social movement organisations (SMOs) can claim this type of success within the context of the women's movement. Ferree and Hess (1994) adopt her framework to consider the proliferation and consolidation of feminist organizations over time. They say

that 'varied and diverse feminist organizations existing today in every level ... are crucial resources for securing future change' (Ferree and Hess 1994:208). And see this institutionalisation as a mechanism which allows feminist goals to be pursued on an on-going basis. However, there are two points to take into account about Staggenborg's approach. First, although it correlates well with the notion of sustaining a challenge, it has been used to examine a 'past' movement and does not take 'live' movements into consideration. This does not mean that it cannot be applied to live activism. For example, the activists I interviewed were able to reflect on the fact that their campaign had continued, and was live at that moment in time, as part of its success. Second, Staggenborg overlooks the fact that understanding success in a long range, processual way also has a very *functional* role and that it is important to consider how activists *use* those meanings and critiques within their current endeavours. Framing activism as an effort towards sustaining a challenge helps activists to remain motivated to continue campaigning, and to value the multiple aspects of work they undertake. If success is understood as political or policy outcomes only, much of what activists do could be considered moot. Likewise if success is framed as the full completion of a goal, activists have to accept that they are not successful and are not likely to see success in their lifetimes. The ability to frame activism *as successful* helps to overcome the negativity associated with continually striving and yet not achieving. In this sense, the empirical success stories I detailed in the previous chapter are attempts to value the actual work being undertaken within a campaign and to achieve this despite an unpredictable timescale for goal completion.

My interviewees spoke to the concrete advantages of retaining motivation for the campaign when the ultimate accomplishment of their goal seems rather distant. Attaching success to the campaign process helps to make a campaign 'feel' successful, and 'people wouldn't participate if they didn't think it was successful' (Interview E, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012). There are

implications for a campaign's ability to build a network and to retain mobilization if there are not shared, accessible understandings of its success. Activists also need 'validation' that the campaign is making changes and that their efforts are therefore worthwhile. If the campaign cannot be understood as successful – that is, if activists are to hold out for an end to violence before claiming success – then there is little imperative to continue (Interview E, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012; Interview I, New Jersey USA, July 2012); and 'burn-out' is likely to strike sooner (Interview G, New Jersey USA, July 2012). This makes it important to 'record and register success because it helps people to understand the contribution they're making and it helps them to keep going forward' (Interview D, Istanbul Turkey, April 2012). Activists recognise that the issue, and the campaign's goal, is bigger than their efforts and that their understanding of success must be attuned to this fact.

Staggenborg (1995:349) does point out that 'one obvious problem for groups with radical goals is that their aims are hard to achieve, and, in the absence of progress toward goal achievement, it is difficult to remain mobilized'. It is posed as a particular difficulty for groups whose 'ideology, goals and program pose a fundamental challenge to a particular system of power relations' (Staggenborg 1995:343) - specifically because this requires longer periods of activism. Understanding the functionality of success would help to explain the ways in which groups working on such issues do remain both mobilized and successful. In the TAN literature, there is no hint that an understanding of success might have a functional role. This is primarily because articulating success and considering how activists might use it has not been a central concern of this literature. It has been pre-occupied with demonstrating the substantive impact of advocacy networks on the identities and interests of states or private corporate actors – and success is thus couched in limited terms around this. Although an 'agent' based approach has been favoured within the political network literature (Kahler 2009) little interest has arisen around how the agent understands its own success, and what needs this

understanding caters to. The next section of this chapter considers where the TAN literature could be developed to better reflect the temporal realities of campaigns.

The boomerang and spiral patterns, which have been popular frameworks for the analysis for TAN activity, need to be revised where the life cycles of network campaigns appear lengthy in lieu of complex or radical goals. In the first substantive exploration of transnational advocacy networks, Keck and Sikkink were clear about the types of issues which do and do not lend themselves to successful advocacy. They warned that structural issues have a degree of complexity which skews the perpetrator-victim link, making solutions less obvious and action therefore less plausible. They argued that activists must show that 'a given state of affairs is neither natural nor accidental, (and then) identify the responsible party or parties, and propose a credible solution' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:19). As Carpenter (2007) has pointed out however, meeting these conditions does not guarantee that an issue will make it on to the advocacy agenda. I argue that an issue might appear to meet these conditions and make it on to the advocacy agenda, but can later reveal a more complex character. The issue of violence against women, for instance, presents complex relationships between perpetrators and victims and activists do not advocate for one specific and clear solution to the problem. They began by advocating for changes in state positions, but their calls subsequently became more substantial. Gender based violence is, after all, 'a structural phenomenon embedded in the context of cultural, socio-economic and political power relations' (Schuler 1992, cited in Mathur, 2004:11). It 'results from the structural relationships of power, domination, and privilege between men and women in society (Mathur 2004:37). As such, it cannot be solved by gaining the support of states alone. It goes beyond that to question the nature of such support, to sustain critique and push for more radical remedies, and to generate change from the grassroots level up as well as from the institutional down. The challenge exists to a

'particular system of power relations' (see Staggeborg 1995), and this leads to a much longer period of mobilization.

In this vein, TAN scholarship could begin to treat success as a concept which is responsive to, and adapts with time. A more recent interest in longer-term compliance with norms (see Risse et al., 2013) begins to get at issues around time – that is, how compliance with norms is sustained over time - but this does not stretch to a revised understanding of success. Chapters dealing with specific cases do however offer more. Brysk's (2013) case, for example, is quite specific in hooking success to the creation of a central enforcement mechanism. This enables a new norm to be consistently enforced in the private domain and helps to change behaviour around it. Producing consistent behaviour change, and thereby stimulating daily re-articulation of a norm has some interesting parallels with my empirical success story about changing the behaviour of 'powerful' actors at all levels of society.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that for the case of the *16 Day of Activism against Gender Based Violence* campaign success can be understood as 'sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge'. This means that the campaign is successful inasmuch as it continues to challenge violence against women in meaningful and relevant ways. It must preserve itself over time, pressing its message persistently and including in its efforts the different societal and political spheres which matter to overcoming violence against women.

The overall theoretical understanding which I arrived at derives from, and also brings together, the three 'success stories' which I detailed in Chapter Four: success as challenging the discourse and behaviour of power holders; success as empowering women; and success as building a network. In the

current chapter, I have drawn attention to the ways in which these stories converge. I have emphasised how the campaign challenges violence against women by exerting continued pressure on different 'power-holders', bringing about positive changes in the way women think and behave around the issue, and increasing the capacity and resilience of the campaign. I also argued that the relevance and saliency of the campaign has been maintained over time through the continual development of a critique of violence against women, and in developing and knowledge which will positively change the way women think about this issue in the context of their own lives. Finally, I suggested that a successful campaign is an inclusive campaign. I considered the way in which a range of actors are impacted as either targets or beneficiaries. For example, there are multiple different 'power holders' which the campaign tries to influence, all women are considered possible subjects of empowerment, and the campaign is always trying to expand its reach and its number of allies. Simply, it does not focus exclusively on one type of actor and exclude important others when articulating its success.

I also considered the implications of this understanding of success for TAN scholarship. I argued that multiple sites of success – both public and private – can be identified, and that TAN scholarship therefore needs to look beyond the state or institutional domain and incorporate some of the informal private or 'everyday' sites into its analysis. This means valuing the way in which a campaign affects formal actors as well as private actors, including the constituency or interest group it represents. In short, macro level changes are important but so too are micro level changes. Understanding these micro level changes as part of success can be difficult because they are less visible. However, one way to do this is to inquire into the shared meanings around campaign success which exist within a network. This enables the everyday realities of activism and the moments of success which can only be seen through intimate involvement in a campaign to emerge.

I argued that power dynamics have an important role to play in the way in which success is understood. However, this has not yet been explored by TAN scholars. TAN theory has been epistemologically committed to constructivism, and sticking to this commitment does in fact offer a useful incentive to explore internal meaning construction within networks. Some TAN scholars have already begun to do this in relation to issue construction and issue emergence, but this could also be applied for more evaluative purposes. Exploring internal dynamics and meaning construction also illuminates the difficult hybrid nature of networks, and the fact that not all actors in a network necessarily share the same interests, the same identity, or equitable amounts of power. Probing potentially difficult relationships can help to inform scholars about the way in which internal power dynamics and positions in the network – real and perceived – also shape understandings of success.

Finally, I argued that TAN scholars could be more attuned to the temporal character of campaigns and campaign success. Often, network campaigns are considered up to the point of their political and policy impacts and there has been little interest in their activities and their successes beyond this more visible type of outcome. The case I have chosen for this thesis is interesting because it a typical example of a successful TAN, as illustrated in Keck and Sikkink's (1998) seminal work. However, it has continued well beyond its textbook success. It has morphed and changed over time, and the truly broad nature of its goal has become evident in both the range of its activities and its self-reflective understanding of success.

The purpose of this chapter has been to offer an understanding of success which is based on my interpretation of my empirical data, and to consider this alongside the literature which already exists and discusses campaign success. I have demonstrated the implications of this understanding; and in

doing so I have offered a fuller account of what is going on in this understanding. I have also identified some theoretical and methodological imperatives for TAN scholars, interested in developing further an understanding of campaign success. The final task is to draw together the key findings of this thesis and the contribution it hopes to make, and I turn to this overleaf in my conclusions.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have explored the meaning of campaign success for activists working within a transnational advocacy network (TAN). I began by asking how success for transnational advocacy networks should be conceptualised, and addressed this by exploring the current conceptualisation of success in the TAN literature in relation to the new conceptualisations which I derived from my empirical work. My empirical work enabled me to understand success from the perspective of activists working within a TAN, and to look anew at the academic literature around success with these insights in hand.

In Chapter One I showed that the literature frames the success of TANs around their ability to influence powerful actors, usually formal state actors, to adopt new norms and alter their behaviour accordingly. Most markedly, TAN theory has worked since the early nineties to chart the extraordinary ability of networks to convince illiberal governments to adopt human rights norms (see, for example, see Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999). Subsequently, the understanding of success assumed by TAN scholars caters to this interest. However, I made three points about this. First, I argued networks do more than try to influence governments. For example, they also raise awareness at local and national levels. Second, I noted that activist voices are not explicitly featured in evaluations of success. I found this odd given the first-hand experience activists have of their network and the outcomes it produces. Further, the constructivist interest TAN scholars have in how activists construct meaningful issue frames as well as new identities in external actors is not applied to the ways in which activists understand their success. I showed that other areas of scholarship had different things to say about success, and argued that some of this may be helpful to TAN scholars looking for new approaches. In policy analysis McConnell emphasises that there is a place for interpretation when considering success, and feminist scholarship offered an example of how state based outcomes can be

differently interpreted amongst activists interested in the same cause. Finally, social movement scholarship illustrated a shift in approaches to success as scholars consider the way in which movements can impact sites besides the formal political ones - for example, the cultural and biographical domains.

Chapter Two then explained my approach to unearthing new ways of conceptualising success. Here, I introduced Constructivist Grounded Theory as my chosen methodology. I explained that grounded theory is broadly a method for generating theory out of empirical data – with this data being gathered from subject participants who have relevant experience. Its constructivist variant however places greater emphasis on the fact that the resultant theory is constructed and not simply 'discovered' (Charmaz 2008:244). The constructivist researcher is committed to exploring meaning in depth, probing the data for more information instead of accepting what is presented at face-value. I detailed my rationale for this choice, noting that constructivist grounded theory allows me to extend the constructivism of TAN theory and explore the meanings which activists construct around their success - what success is and why it should be framed in this way. Further, the reflexivity which has been worked in to the constructivist version was important as it allowed me to acknowledge that my role as a researcher, specifically one asking activists to conceptualise their success, played some part in the answers I found. Finally in this chapter I explained the way in which I operationalized the methodology and some of the challenges which I encountered in doing so. This involved discussing my use of semi-structured qualitative interviews and document analysis as my means of gathering data. I also charted the grounded theory tools I used, including theoretical sampling, writing memos and coding.

In Chapter Three I outlined the case which is the focus of this thesis, and from which I have drawn information about the ways in which activists conceptualise success for their transnational advocacy network. The case I chose was a network established in 1991 to work on the issue of violence against women, and its campaign entitled *16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence.* I firstly explained the way in which this case fits within the TAN framework as established in Keck and Sikkink's (1998) seminal work on advocacy networks.[64] However I noted that my case goes beyond this framework inasmuch as it contains a wider range of actors than initially identified as potential network participants. Further, it has continued its work beyond the 'success' it was originally noted for. I also discussed the origins and aims of the campaign. This involved reflecting on transnational women's organising in the spaces opened up by United Nations conferences during the seventies and eighties, and the way in which a common concern around violence against women was eventually solidified as a campaign with the co-ordination of the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL). I noted that in the campaign's twenty-three years it has embraced an intersectional critique of the violence against women issue, exploring the relationship between violence and, for instance, race, sexuality and societal militarism. Finally I noted that the campaign has been progressed by some key participants, and that those participants have changed over time and often in accordance with the thematic focus of the campaign.

Chapter Four presented my empirical findings – that is, the conceptualisations of success which emerged through my interviews with activists and my analysis of some campaign documents which activists had produced. In this chapter, I recounted three distinct 'success stories'. The first framed success as changing the discourse and behaviour of power holders. Here, 'power holders' were broadly defined as state officials and policy makers as well as individual men who enjoy patriarchal privilege in the

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[64] *Activists Beyond Borders* (1998).

private sphere. Changed discourse and behaviour occurred when those power-holders had committed to stopping violence against women in their own domain, and were actively undertaking behaviour which would mitigate gender based violence. This could be in the form of, for example, policy making, self-control or spreading an anti-violence message. The second success story was about empowering women. This explained that through increased awareness women could learn that violence is neither inevitable nor acceptable, and become empowered to affirm this message and make positive changes in their lives. The changes which activists highlighted here included: women leaving violent situations; women thinking differently about gender based violence so as to reject it as a part of life; or women participating in campaign activities and becoming part of a collective action effort. The third story was about building a network. This framed the campaign's success in terms of its ability to expand participation and create a symbolic chain of support around the globe. Further, its development was not just about increased participation, but also developing an intersectional critique of gender based violence which could penetrate social and political discourse in pertinent ways.

In Chapter Five I argued that, taken together, these three stories can produce a new understanding of success for my chosen transnational advocacy network, namely success as 'sustaining an effective and inclusive challenge'. This means that the campaign is successful inasmuch as it is able to confront the issue, violence against women, in a way which is persistent and relevant and also accounts for the different actors or sites where the issue has implications. In the chapter, I then suggested three lessons which TAN scholars might take from this notion of success, and highlighted other literature might support it. First, I argued that scholars might embrace a broader understanding about where success occurs. My data showed that activists locate success in multiple different sites - from formal, public sites to informal, private ones. This means that while influencing government is an

important expression of success, it is not the only one which matters. Social movement scholars have pointed to the range of sites on which social movements have impact, and TAN scholars could also begin to account for this diversity. Second, I argued that TAN scholars should attend to the ways in which the internal dynamics of a network produce particular understandings of success. For example, there was disagreement among my research participants about whether the participation of more resource powerful actors was success or de-radicalisation. This echoed the feminist debate I detailed in Chapter One. Third, I argued that scholars might consider when success occurs and frame it independently from the full accomplishment of campaign goals. My research participants noted the long-term nature of their campaign and its broad goal. They nonetheless understood the campaign as successful in the here and now, thereby suggesting that success should not be understood solely in terms of the abolition of violence against women. This lead me to suggest the need for a more flexible and processual approach to campaign success.

It should be noted that while the new way of understanding success outlined in this thesis may give rise to more general insights for TAN scholarship, it can only apply in its entirety, first, to the specific case from which it emerged and, second, to the activists who contributed to this project.   Taking the first point, the case is a single campaign – albeit a global campaign - around the specific topic of violence against women. Further, the activists participating in this campaign shared an ideological perspective informed by feminism. This campaign has feminist aims and all of my interview participants identified as feminist. This means that I have perhaps said more about success for a *feminist* transnational advocacy network than success for TANs in general. Indeed, some of the concepts which make up the resulting theory are easily identifiable as feminist concerns. The findings and analysis presented in this thesis then invite future research which can explore success for networks

with a non-feminist ideology.[65] Those researching such networks might be interested in the role played by participants' collective ideological beliefs in articulating their success. Further insight could also be gained by looking across networks with different ideological commitments and assessing the key similarities and differences in their conceptualisations of success.

Turning to the second point, my research is based on a particular sample of activists and my interview sample was restricted by two key factors. First, as I was committed to conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews in order to properly explore activist understandings of success, I had to be mindful that even a small sample would produce a lot of rich data for analysis. It was important to avoid collecting too much data and being unable to properly work the data I gathered. Second, the project was subject to both time and financial restrictions. This meant that I had to make decisions about who to interview and where to interview them. I interviewed a relatively small sample - twenty-eight activists, representing seventeen different organisations. However, over five thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine organisations in one hundred and eighty-seven countries have participated since 1991 – and so my sample is incredibly small when compared with overall participation; and thus not representative of the whole network.[66] As this was an in-depth study it was never intended to be representative. However, the account of success which emerged – and which is elucidated in Chapters Four and Five – is situated in the views, experiences and reflections of a relatively small group of activists. It is worth noting that if the activists I interviewed had come from different parts of the world and had different positions in the network, the understanding of success which emerged through my fieldwork and analysis might also have been different.

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[65] An example is 'empowering women' – see Chapter Four for a full discussion.
[66] This is the current estimate provided by the CWGL on their website - http://16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/about/campaign-profile

In light of this, it is clear that further research on the *16 Days* campaign could enrich the understanding of success which is used within the violence against women TAN. It would also be worthwhile to extend this kind of research to different empirical cases – that is, to other networks. Different approaches or methods could then be used to develop the findings of this thesis. It would be worthwhile, for example, to conduct a single case study of a different type of network, such as a network based around an environmental issue, or to undertake comparative research across different issue networks. Longitudinal studies might also be useful in terms of tracking the ways in which activist understandings of success change over time. Further, the transnational character of networks creates a space for research which can accommodate more than one language. Since I am not particularly fluent in any languages besides English, I had to exclude documentation and verbal testimony in the other languages spoken by campaign participants – such as French and Spanish. [67]

Networks are of course not the only activist structures which undertake campaigns and are able to construct meanings about their success. Exploring success for activists working within a social movement could also help to update or add richness to some of the existing literature. Whilst I have drawn attention to the relationship between social movement conceptualisations of success and TAN conceptualisations of success, it would be fruitful to ask whether there is any divergence in the way in which social movement activists and TAN activists understand their success. [68] Likewise, success for any other organisation – non-governmental or governmental – is worth exploring when prioritising the experiences of those involved in the daily life of the organisation. For example, I wonder whether the 'co-optation' discussed in Chapter One would be understood as such by

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[67] See Chapter Two where I note that some extant texts had to be excluded because they were written in a language which I could not read.
[68] I return later in this conclusion to the similarities and differences between social movements and transnational advocacy networks.

state officials engaging with activists and negotiating the incorporation of their principles in state policy.

There is also scope here for investigating a concept other than success; and an approach similar to the one I have used for this project could usefully be applied to other pertinent concepts. For example, this thesis has raised a question about the way in which networks, or even social movements, conceptualise 'politics' – and this could be explored further. My empirical work demonstrated that the meanings associated with 'politics' are significant. Politics was understood to transverse both the public sphere and the private sphere and, given that I used a feminist campaign as my case, this was hardly surprising. The case highlighted the importance of looking across both spheres to recognise various instances of campaign success. It is somewhat surprising that scholars studying specifically feminist TAN campaigns have not already accounted for this broader understanding of 'politics', and the subsequent implications for 'success'. My empirical findings made clear that the ideas which participants hold about politics, about success, and about the terms of the debate more generally are shaped by their ideological commitments.

In terms of conceptual work, the definition of 'transnational advocacy network' itself is an intriguing question for future research. I framed my chosen case as a TAN because it met the criteria outlined by Keck and Sikkink (1998/9), and these criteria also resonated with my research participants.[69] Nonetheless, I believe that the nature of TANs requires some further thought. It has been my understanding that TANs are not the same as social movements because social movements tend to be more expansive and generally stand in opposition to formal authorities rather than incorporating elements of such authority in their struggle. However, it did

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[69] See Chapter Three for an explanation.

become clear during the course of the research that there is a rather blurry line between TANs and social movements. Research participants related positively to the definition of 'transnational advocacy network', which I explained using Keck and Sikkink's language and explicitly identified as my understanding of the structure they participated in. However, participants often slipped into talking about 'the movement' and identified a 'porous' relationship between their network and the contemporary women's movement more generally.[70] This raises a question about how to disentangle the two, and how we might re-imagine networks as they transform over time.

For example, while social movement scholars have highlighted a broader range of outcomes that TAN scholars, TANs impact many of the same spheres of society and politics as social movements and this allows activists to understand their success in some of the same terms .[71] The 'boomerang' pattern (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and the 'spiral' model (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999) illustrate the ways in which TANs operate and focus attention squarely on their activities around socialising governments towards compliance with new norms. It is therefore unsurprising that scholars have focussed their attentions on a limited set of state related outcomes, but this need not be the case. Further, the interplay between TANs and social movements also merits some discussion. While Keck and Sikkink (1998) explain that TANs can contain local social movements, it is clear that the TAN explored in this thesis is situated within the women's movement more broadly. The network may be a distinct form of organizing but it is nonetheless easy to visualize it as part of - and indeed conflate it with - the larger, historic process which it inevitably helps to advance. I suspect that the conceptual slippage which my research participants illustrated is in part a

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[70] The idea of a 'porous' relationship is an in vivo code, meaning that I have adopted the exact phrase use by one research participant (from Interview H, New Jersey USA, July 2012) to capture a more general notion.
[71] See Chapters One and Five.

product of their own personal identifications and feelings of belonging with the women's movement.

While this project has limitations, it nonetheless pushes forward some new ideas about the concept of campaign 'success' as well as some potential lines of enquiry for future research. In thinking about the meaning of success for transnational advocacy networks I have engaged with a rather abstract conceptual debate. I have critiqued current ways of thinking about success and shown that a far richer array of meanings in fact exist within networks themselves, authored by the activists who participate in them. I have also considered the theoretical and methodological implications which these meanings hold for scholars studying transnational advocacy networks. However, there is an important sense in which this project is not abstract at all. It has been 'grounded' in the understandings of activists and has captured the way in which they make sense of their success. In doing so, it has brought some of the more marginal activities which networks conduct into focus, and it has asked the reader to re-think what networks do and what is valuable. I based my theoretical work around what activists told me, attempting to theorise *with* them - not *about* them, or in spite of them. In looking at the case of the violence against women network and the *16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence* campaign I have put a significant and on-going struggle to realise women's human rights at the centre of this research. I believe that in thinking about the success of networks, it is important that we recognise the realities which activists face and heed what is important, what is contested, and what is problematic. Only with a better understanding of those realities can we tell stories – including success stories – which truly represent women's lives and their on-going struggles for autonomy, respect and justice.

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