Sexual politics and regime transition: Understanding the struggle around gender and sexuality in post-revolutionary Nicaragua

Heumann, S.G.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
# Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................................................ VII

I. Introduction .............................................................................................................................................. 1

   The issue and the context: Sexuality as an object of political struggle .............................................. 3
   Theoretical approach: Linking the personal and the political in the study of social movements .......... 19
   Methodology: Giving an account of the research process .................................................................... 30
   Organization of the book ......................................................................................................................... 41

II. Feminism, Sandinismo, and Politics: The development of the women’s movement in Sandinista and post-Sandinista Nicaragua ........................................... 45

   Feminism, sexuality, and politics in Nicaragua before the Sandinista revolution .............................. 46
   Development of organizational spaces and activism under the Sandinista regime .......................... 50
   Experience of Sandinismo and the meaning of regime transition ....................................................... 59
   Development of organizational spaces and activism after regime transition ....................................... 65
   Conclusions .............................................................................................................................................. 78

III. The churches, social conservatism and politics:

   The rise of the “pro-life” movement in post Sandinista Nicaragua ................................................... 81

   The churches, “pro-life” politics and the Sandinista revolution ....................................................... 82
   Experience of Sandinismo and the meaning of regime transition ....................................................... 92
   Development of organizational spaces and activism after regime transition ....................................... 99
   Conclusions ............................................................................................................................................ 111

IV. The struggle over the 1992 penal code reform on sexual crimes ..................................................... 115

   The social and political context ............................................................................................................. 117
   The law reform initiative ......................................................................................................................... 122
   The parliamentary debate ..................................................................................................................... 128
   Debate and mobilization in response to the law reform ...................................................................... 143
   Conclusions ............................................................................................................................................ 149

V. The struggle over the abortion law reform 1999-2001 .................................................................. 151

   The social and political context ............................................................................................................. 152
   The emergence of struggle and mobilization around the abortion law .............................................. 155
   Losing ground: The public debate ......................................................................................................... 166
   The outcome of the abortion law reform .............................................................................................. 175
   Conclusions ............................................................................................................................................ 177
VI. A common frame? Discourses on gender, sexuality, and abortion among social conservative activists and the role of religion

Sex, reproduction, and the family
Conservative discourses on homosexuality and the “natural order”
Abortion
Religion and social conservative activism
Conclusions

VII. Unity in diversity? Discourses on gender, sexuality and abortion among women’s rights, sexual rights and reproductive rights activists

Sexuality, reproduction, and abortion
(Homo)sexuality and sexual rights
Feminists, religion, and the struggle for sexual and reproductive rights
Divisions within the Nicaraguan women’s movement
Conclusions

VIII. Conclusions: The personal and the political in the struggle around sexuality in Nicaragua

Tracing the actors over time: Feminist and social conservative activism under changing political regimes
Two episodes of contention: Political alignments, mobilizing strategies, and competing discourses in the public debate
Discursive resonance and collective identities: Activists’ personal discourses on gender and sexuality
Sexual politics and the link between the personal and the political

Interview quotes in Spanish
Interviews
References
Summary
Samenvatting
Resumen

Figures & Tables

Figure 1: Changes in Religious Affiliation 1950-2000
Figure 2: Therapeutic Abortions in the National Women’s Hospital “Berta Calderón” 1989-2002
Figure 3: Estimated number of people mobilized in rallies against therapeutic abortion 1994 • 2000 • 2006
Table 1: Overview of articles that are reformed in the 1992 penal code reform on sexual crimes