UNIT 1B WOMEN’S POLITICAL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

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Structure

1.1B Introduction
1.2B Objectives
1.3B Civil Society: Empowering Women’s Political Agency
1.4B Identity Politics, Communalism and Women’s Political Mobilizations
1.5B Community Based Organizations
1.6B Let Us Sum Up
1.7B Glossary
1.8B Unit End Questions
1.9B References
1.10B Suggested Readings

1.1B INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we have read on citizenship rights to public, provision of legal-juridical systems to protect their rights and freedom. The state also enacts legislations to equalize unequal social relationships and create enabling conditions through policies and programmes for the excluded groups to take part in political decision-making, and development processes. In this Unit we will look at the category of ‘Civil society’ that is empowering women’s political agency. We shall understand the role of women’s movement, identity politics and women’s political mobilization, civil society organizations and community based organizations.

1.2B OBJECTIVES

After completing this Unit, you will be able to:

- Analyze the category of civil society and its initiatives to empower women’s political agency;
- Discuss identity politics, communalism and women’s political mobilizations;
- Learn the meaning of community empowerment.
1.3B CIVIL SOCIETY: EMPOWERING WOMEN’S POLITICAL AGENCY

The term ‘common public good’ refers to those things that benefit society as a whole, rather than only specific groups or individuals within it. ‘Individual initiatives’ for such public good take multiple forms ranging from simple ‘good neighbourliness’ and day-to-day respect for and tolerance of others, to structured volunteer work. ‘Collective initiatives’ take many forms. People work together with others for the common public good in many different associational and organizational settings—from social movements essentially focusing on the needs and interests of women, to community groups and associations (often called Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), to formal and institutionalized Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) often called Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), or Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs) reflecting their emphasis on development-oriented functions (Tandon and Mohanty, 2002).

The vibrant civil society counterbalances the state by holding the government to account, advocating for special interests, and mobilising people around concerns and causes. Civil society touches the subject of active/participatory/inclusive citizenship. It fosters political learning, creates new forms of articulation across and beyond existing democratic spaces.

Women’s Movement

You have read some of the issues of women’s movement in MWG-001, Block 1, Unit 2. Let us reflect on some more issues. In the 1970s, and more particularly in the period following the national emergency (25 June 1975 to 21 March 1977), the women’s movement in India assumed a role and form different from the one which it had in the social reform phase as well as during the struggle for independence. The anti-colonial and reform movements constituted important foundational initiatives and continued to be significant reference points for the contemporary women’s movement as well as feminist politics. It was only from the 1970’s onwards that the women’s movement began addressing feminist issues by organizing themselves to protest and challenge the patriarchal norms that enslaved and subjugated women. Such protests took on varied forms and modes of political action. This upsurge came up with the slogan ‘What is personal is political’. It questioned the divide between private and public domain, so designed by the male-dominant society to suppress women and disable them from bringing into the open, the violence and discrimination that victimize women within their homes and in society (Phadke, 2003).

Some of the concerns of the contemporary Indian women’s movement were first systematically represented in the report of the Committee on the
Status of Women in India (CWSI) in 1974. It laid bare the shocking gender disparities in the country and illustrated the invisibility of women in several sectors of society and the economy. The data provided by the CSWI lent legitimacy to the protests mounted by the women’s movement a few years later and helped to focus both state and media attention on the issues that were being highlighted. The CSWI report (1974) stated that women were not adequately represented in the various decision-making fora and recommended a reservation of 30 per cent be allocated for women in these bodies. They also suggested the setting up of ‘all women panchayats’. These recommendations were significant for being among the first efforts to draw women into the formal electoral process (Phadke, 2003).

Violence against women became an important rallying point for the women’s movement in its early phase. It was the widespread national campaign protesting the Supreme Court judgment in the Mathura rape case in 1979-80 which finally brought together the various isolated protests across the country and women’s groups began to speak in one voice. This campaign was also to mark the beginning of the quest for legal reform by the women’s movement (Phadke, 2003). You will be studying about the women’s movement in the next two Units in a detailed manner.

1.4B IDENTITY POLITICS, COMMUNALISM AND WOMEN’S POLITICAL MOBILIZATIONS

The movement in the late 1970s constructed itself as secular but did not make any effort to define its identity as such. It was assumed that affiliations with the women’s movement were based on gender and positions of difference were articulately largely on grounds of class rather than caste or religious community. Class was constructed as a modern identity unlike caste or religious community, which were seen as pre-modern identities to be transcended.

By the mid-1980s, there was an awareness of the fractionalization of the women’s movement, and various groups spent considerable energy and effort in defining their identities as separate from others. However, this sectarianism did not prepare the women’s movement for the deep schisms that would be created by the events to follow, in particular the Shah Bano case and the Roop Kanwar sati case, which opened up a Pandora’s Box of divisiveness highlighting cultural, religious and communitarian identities. You have already read on Shah Bano case in the MWG-002, Block 3, Unit 3. Let us revisit in the context of political rights of women in institutions.
**Shah Bano case:** The Shah Bano case provided the first major intervention to the women's movement and demanded a rethink about the question of women from different categories. In April 1985, the Supreme Court ruled that Shah Bano was entitled to maintenance by her divorced husband under Section 125 of the Criminal Procedures Code. The judgment upheld Shah Bano's right to maintenance from her husband both under Section 125 and under Muslim Personal Law. Secondly, it asserted that Section 125 transcended the personal laws of any of the religious communities. The judgment was criticized on a number of grounds. Varied groups such as feminists, liberals and secularists felt that it brought issues of personal laws in the domain of religion which were essentially a question of secular criminal law. Having asserted that Section 125 transcended personal law there had been no need to comment on personal law or the need for a common civil code.

In response to the judgment and the comments of the judges, the Muslim fundamentalists demanded that the judgment be repealed and that Muslims be excluded from Section 125. Whereas, Hindu fundamentalists celebrated the judgment. In February 1986, the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Bill was introduced in parliament which excluded divorced Muslim women from the purview of Section 125. The bill's passage was ensured by a majority Congress government.

The Bill had been widely protested by various groups through public meetings, demonstrations and a sustained press campaign. In some instances, groups were divided on religious grounds. Muslims who opposed the bill felt impelled to form ranks within their own community. The Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Muslim Women, for example, which was formed solely in order to oppose the bill decided to limit its membership to Muslims, allowing Muslim men but not non-Muslim feminists. For most of the autonomous women's groups, this was a hard idea to accept because it appeared to lend legitimacy to the idea that the rights of women could be defined by the religious community to which they belonged instead of arguing that rights and religion were separate issues.

**Roop Kanwar sati case:** In September 1987, Roop Kanwar, an 18-year old woman was burnt to death on her husband's funeral pyre in Deorala, a village in Rajasthan in the presence of a crowd of several thousand people. The huge public outcry that followed this event both by those who opposed it as well as those who supported it became an issue of tradition versus modernity, and most importantly, an issue of the
A cultural right of the Rajput people to preserve their identity. Once again in the space of a few years the issue of cultural rights was raising its head against women.

The issue was posited as one of tradition versus modernity, where feminists protesting against sati were seen as modern having lost touch and connection with their cultural roots and therefore not in a position to mediate in the issue. The labels of ‘westernized’ and ‘elitist’ were once again revived and the notion of the real Indian woman was created: traditional and culturally Hindu. There was little consciousness that the so-called tradition of sati was being assiduously constructed in a new ‘avatar’ through the setting up of trusts and building of temples.

(Source: Phadke, 2003).

The women’s wings such as Hindu right wing organizations over the years became more visible and active. The organizations such as the Shiv Sena’s Mahila Agadi, the VHP’s Durga Vahini, the BJP’s Mahila Morcha and the RSS’s Rashtrasevka Samiti located their stand firmly within the non-threatening ideology of patriarchal family structures. They emphasized that Hindu women must become militant in support of their religion as well as against the possibility of physical violence but not at the cost of losing their primary identities as wives and mothers. Women were actively mobilized in riots, for instance, in Bhagalpur in 1989, in Ahmedabad in 1990, in Surat in 1992 (Phadke, 2003).

1.5B COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Active citizenship does not happen naturally in response to political opportunities. Promoting political rights among citizens marginalised from politics is not a straightforward task. Information is the key to positive change. Civil Society Organizations (CSO) have taken initiatives to mobilize women in large to support their political participation.

CSOs have realized that without an enabling environment, effective political participation of women cannot be facilitated. It is a big challenge for women to function in formal political spaces which are predominantly a male bastion and dominated by powerful elites. The patriarchal culture neither sees women as political entities nor does it allow development in any direction. Caste, class and ethnicity issues still determine women’s access to opportunity structures and their positioning in traditional power structures. A discussion on the constraints in preceding section has explained this clearly.
The early literature on marginalized citizens in development emphasized that they lacked skills and experiences. Their capacity needed to be strengthened through training so that they could join others in the mainstream. The scope of capacity building now moves beyond training in specific knowledge and skills to empowerment so that they gain self-confidence, self-esteem and become aware of their innate and acquired capacities and capabilities.

Empowerment refers to the processes of change which enable those who have been denied the ability to articulate their needs, to exercise their rights and influence the decision-making processes. The changes occur in inter-dependent dimensions of resources, agency and capabilities. The resources can be tangible in nature as land, jobs, equipment, assets, and finance. Resources can also be intangible in the form of education, analytical and practical skills, knowledge, creativity, imagination and wisdom. Finally, they can be social in nature encompassing the social networks, associations, connections through which people are able to improve their situation and life chances. The agency is the ability to act. Agency is generally operationalised in decision-making; it also encompasses collective action and critical reflection. Resources and agency together constitute capabilities, the potential to achieve. Empowerment can be seen as providing the marginalized with capabilities (Kabeer, 2002). The capabilities of marginalized elected representatives can be fostered through education, knowledge and training and supportive social relationships (Pant and Dale, 2007). The focus is, therefore, on enabling conditions created by the CSOs which activate and sustain leadership. A brief description on civil society organization as follows:

- Structured Training Programmes: Training is an important component in strengthening political leadership of elected representative (ERs) from the marginalized groups. ERs gain strength not only from the critical mass they produce in terms of numbers but also from their knowledge and skills. Training programmes are organized to bring changes in knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the leaders. Training expands their knowledge of local government operations, budget and finance, their responsibilities and rights as members, understanding of gender, mediation, and related skills to increase their effectiveness as members. Leaders become aware of constraining behaviours and attitudes and act with more confidence and self-belief. They learn to articulate clearly, apply techniques for increasing visibility and impact at work, assert and influence others more effectively and strengthen ones’ constituency for support and to sustain the progress beyond their office tenure.

- Partnerships: Partnerships with key stakeholders such as Government, donor agencies and other CSOs, CBOs enable practice of continuous
sharing, learning, review and planning of the project so that the programme remains relevant to address the issue of marginalized leaders’ political participation, shifting power basis and social change. The concept of capacity building moves beyond training programmes. Various instrumentalities like information resource centres, local resource group, forums, exposure visits, and issue based meetings are part of capacity building efforts. Diverse capacity building has instrumentalities for continued educational support. Forums provide a platform to engage in discussions on leadership issues in local governance and build consensus on issues of importance. Workshops also initiate dialogues on specific development problems in order to reach out to other CSOs and network with them, and to disseminate information about project activities to local stakeholders in a structured setting. Reflections, dialogue and sharing of experiences with other stakeholders provide support to leaders and in turn enhance their effectiveness in local governance.

- **Capacity Building**: Information is a critical ingredient for development. Elected representatives from marginalized groups need hand-holding support in terms of regular information update to play their roles effectively. Information resource centres provide relevant information such as key phone numbers and addresses of the officials, government orders, literature on rights of marginalized groups and formats of different schemes and applications. Publication of the learning material and communication material and disseminating the same through different mediums is one of the ways to build capacity of the leaders. Different types of posters, pamphlets, booklets, CDs and films are prepared and disseminated through information resource centres. In order to make grass root democracy effective, there is a need to strengthen community empowerment to hold the governing institutions accountable. Perspective building campaigns are initiated to spread information about some of the issues like, people’s participation in governance, features of local governance legislation, role of women in governance. Posters, handbills and pamphlets are used for dissemination of information during the campaign. Assistance to public information campaigns through local radio stations, theatre groups or trained multipliers can be an effective tool to demonstrate to people the relevance of decentralization in their daily lives and the significance of strengthening leadership from the marginalized groups.

- **Networking**: There is strength in numbers. Networking facilitates the exchange of experience and gives leaders a greater political visibility and increases their bargaining power in their own local government. Peer support through networks would raise their confidence and build their credibility in their constituencies and local bodies. The network or association could be used as a platform to identify common issues
Women’s Agency in Post-Independence India

and chart out strategies for action to ensure their continuous engagement. A strong pressure group can be created for raising issues and demanding their resolution.

- Field Exposures: Organizing field exposures of leaders to different states is an effective strategy to create a comprehensive understanding on the issues of governance and to share strategies, achievements and challenges faced and learn from each other’s experiences.

The empowered community enables leaders to deliver and hold the governing institutions accountable. CSOs have initiated community mobilization and the awareness programmes using various educational mediums like poster, pamphlets, folk media, and radio programme. Besides these, direct community level campaigns were launched on free and fair election. In other words, while the capacity building of the elected representatives was a major focus, the community was enabled and empowered through educational events to participate in the developmental programme. The grassroots women collectives such as the Self-Help Groups (SHGs), albeit organized to act for their own socio-economic development, as community based organizations have also addressed concerns relating to women and activate their participation in local governance.

Studies on SHGs have reported a number of changes in women’s lives, which could be deemed as empowering. Women members have gained control over produce and income. Self-earned income has instilled in them a sense of pride and confidence of managing on their own. Membership of SHG and easy accessibility to loan and engagement in micro-enterprise has facilitated their inclusion in household decision-making. They are now able to negotiate with their husbands on crucial matters. The training programmes have reinforced a collective identity among its members. The learning and exchange between women’s groups enhanced their confidence. Meetings and sharing of experiences have made them sensitive to each other as well as to the community’s needs. They are emerging as strong power groups. They negotiate confidently with government officials, moneylenders and outsiders (Pant, 2004).

Studies have also shown that organised self-help groups as community based organisations of poor women have provided the poor and marginalised women in the village with intangible resources like information, social networks and associations, which in turn promote their self-confidence and strengthen their ability to exercise agency. This participation has taken many forms, such as pro-actively aiding panchayats in the implementation of their programmes, attending and speaking out in gram sabha meetings, deliberating and debating in public forums for making claims to rights and entitlements, forming pressure groups, leveraging access to resources, setting agenda and even altering rules and norms through intensive interfacing.
SHGs have participated in a range of issues. Their actions are in the nature of articulation of demands for service, making complaints against poor service, demanding quality of service, claiming entitlements and raising issues for development.

The community-based organizations contribute to building social capital. They develop and strengthen women’s’ support networks and access to information outside the home; provide a basis for collective action around both community and gender issues in local bodies e.g., panchayats; and provide a basis for wider level of advocacy and lobbying in defence of women’s interests in panchayats. However, a CBO’s strength to achieve its goals will depend on a number of conditions viz., a strong organization, access to resources and opportunities, strong capabilities built through education, information, skills and confidence and freedom of choice and action.

Check Your Progress:

Write in your own words the understanding of civil society?

In what ways Community Based Organizations activate women’s political agency?
1.6B LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we learnt about women's agency in political sphere in post independence India. We examined the State and civil society institutions which mediate women's access to rights and enable their political agency for right claims. In the section on civil society, we understood the role of women's movement, identity politics and women’s political mobilization, civil society organizations and community based organizations.

1.7B GLOSSARY

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) : The multitude of associations around which society voluntarily organizes itself and which represent a wide range of interests and ties. These can include community-based organizations, indigenous peoples’ organizations and non-government organizations (OECD, 2007). According to Richard Halloway CSOs is “Citizens, associating neither for power nor for profit, are the third sector of society, complementing government and business, and they are the people who constitute civil society organizations. CSOs can encompass grass-roots organizations, citizen’s movements, trade unions, cooperatives, and NGOs, and other ways in which citizens associate for non-politically partisan and non-profit motives. They are not necessarily formal or registered.

Community Based Organizations (CBOs) : Community Based Organization is a group of individuals organized by and for a particular community of people based on shared interests and/or attributes. The community could be defined geographically (e.g. a neighborhood), could contain members from diverse backgrounds, and/or could be defined on the basis of shared condition. Members may include various stakeholders, such as the public, elected officials, advocacy groups, and business leaders. A Community Based Organization focuses on issues and concerns at the local level and not on a national scale. They are often organized around a particular purpose or cause and tend to be grass roots in nature, working from the ground level upward to
address issues. Community Based Organizations may also participate in regional coalitions with similar groups in support of an issue such as affordable housing, water quality, or connection of open space. Community Based Organizations use a number of names to describe themselves, including association, alliance, and commission. Many Community Based Organizations will hold regular meetings for a specific period of time where they discuss the issues of common concern. Participation on CBOs is generally voluntary and open to any individuals with interest in the particular issue. Example of CBOs includes water user associations at gram panchayat level and Forest Committees at hamlet levels.

**Citizenship**

A new conceptualization of citizenship recast it as citizen participation, involving expressions of diverse identities. This entails developing a greater understanding of poor people’s perception of their rights and responsibilities. Multiculturalism, plurality, diversity and difference are significant terms of reference in citizenship. This means that citizenship rests at the intersection between the citizenship rights and citizens’ multiple identities. The understanding of citizenship needs to be embedded on the ways legal-political-constitutional rights interweave with the multiple: socio-cultural-regional identities.

**Development for Women: and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)**

It is centrally sponsored scheme of Government of India. The scheme was aimed to improve the socio-economic status of the poor women in the rural areas through creation of groups of women for income-generating activities on a self-sustaining basis. The main strategy adopted under the programme was to facilitate access for poor women to employment, skill upgradation, training credit and other support services so that the DWCRA women as a group could take up income-generating activities for supplementing their incomes. It sought to encourage collective action in the form of
group activities which were known to work better and were more sustainable than the individual effort. It encouraged the habit of thrift and credit among poor rural women to make them self-reliant. The Scheme had been merged into Swarnajayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY) with IRDP, TRYSEM etc. from April, 1999.

**Fundamental Rights**: Fundamental Rights are constitutionally mandated rights for all citizens. The Directive Principles of State Policy are a framework for the State to provide for an appropriate policy, enabling conditions, congenial environment to its citizens for fulfillment of the Fundamental Rights of its citizens.

**Human Development**: Human Development implies expansion of choices and increases in human capabilities (the range of things that people can do or be). The human development agenda draws on the notions of claims and obligations implicit in rights to achieve the goal of expanding people’s options and capabilities. Human rights are claims that one person has over others – other people, groups, organizations, and states. Broadly, they mean that all people have claims to social arrangements, which protect them from the worst abuses and deprivations and secure the freedom for a life of dignity.

**Information Development**: It is State level Apex Body of Non Governmental Organization to bring NGOs under an umbrella to implement the programme Women Development Programme (WDP). The function of IDARA is information dissemination, training, staff selection and preparing news letters, posters and pamphlets. It was also involved in spreading the women empowerment throughout Udaipur district. The concept of an IDARA was based on the fact that a substantial portion of the work involved in group-formation is related to information needs of the group. Hence, appropriate learning material has to be created and made available in the popular idiom. Also, the dissemination...
of information has to be conducted with skill. The responsibility for IDARAs has been entrusted to voluntary agencies based in the area, working in the sphere of education and women’s development. The State IDARA is the coordinator of the district IDARAs and its role is fulfilled by the Women’s Studies wing of the Rajasthan Adult Education Association. The functions of the State IDARA are as follows: -
Training of district and block level staff, Training district IDARA staff, establishing contact with officials and non-officials dealing with women’s issues and generating learning material for field staff Programme evaluation

Integrated Rural Development programme (IRDP)

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was launched in 1978-79 in order to deal with the dimensions of rural poverty in the country. The programme covered small and marginal farmers, agricultural workers and landless labourers and rural craftsmen and artisans and virtually all the families of about 5 persons with an annual income level below 3500. The main aim of IRDP was to raise the levels of the BPL families in the rural areas above the poverty line on a lasting basis by giving them income generating assets and access to credit and other inputs. The programme was to be implemented by District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) with the assistance from block level machinery. The scheme for Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) was launched in 1982 as a part of IRDP. Both in terms of the volume of aggregate investment planned and the number of families to be benefitted, the IRDP was the largest programme of the Sixth Five Year Plan for the alleviation of poverty in rural areas.

Lawyers Collective: Lawyers Collective

It was established in 1981, Lawyers Collective Women’s Rights Initiative (LCWRI) is one of the leading public interest service providers in India with a proven record of setting high standards in human rights advocacy, legal aid and litigation.
Women's Agency in Post-Independence India

Lawyers Collective was formed at a time of important changes in the Indian judicial system. The traditional paradigm of an adversarial judicial process—where only the person whose interest is prejudiced may move the court—was being replaced by a more expansive notion of judicial function. Courts undertook the process of judicial review and there was a liberalization of the rule of the law of *locus standi*. Both developments made the judiciary more accessible to disadvantaged sections of society who were denied their rights, enabled individuals and groups of people to move the courts on matters of common concern arising from dishonest or ineffective governance and increased public participation in the process of constitutional adjudication. Such litigation came to be known as public interest litigation.

A number of organizations began approaching the Supreme Court for violations of fundamental rights. The Supreme Court also took cognizance of newspaper reports on the same. Prisoners’ rights, the rights of children and bonded labourers all flowered in this period. Lawyers Collective was formed during this period with the specific aim of providing legal services to the community and meeting unmet needs of victims of undeserved wait. It took up cases of pavement dwellers and slum dwellers, hawkers and women in distress.

In this context, Lawyers Collective was distinguished by its membership comprising of professional lawyers, law students and human rights activists. It was created to provide expert legal assistance to the underprivileged, especially women and children, workers in the unorganized sector and other members of marginalized groups. Lawyers in Lawyers Collective were engaged in both professional and public interest work. However, even in their professional practices, members of lawyer’s collective are bound by the
Collective’s code of ethics and do not take up any cases that are in conflict with public interest principles. Thus, they do not represent clients such as alleged rapists, or employers who violate labour laws. They also run funded projects on HIV-related issues and women’s rights. (http://www.lawyerscollective.org/about-lawyers-collective/history.html accessed on December, 2014.)

Mahila Samakya(MS): In pursuit of objectives of New Educational Policy (NPE), 1986, the Mahila Samakhya Scheme was started in 1989 to translate the goals enshrined in the NPE into a concrete programme for the education and empowerment of women in rural areas particularly those from socially and economically marginalized groups. The MS scheme recognizes the centrality of education in empowering women to achieve equality. The Mahila Sanghas or women’s collectives at the village level provide the women a space to meet, reflect, ask questions and articulate their thoughts and needs and make informed choices. The programme has also focused on awareness of the need to educate the children, especially girls, to give the equal status and opportunities which has resulted in a direct impact on enrolment and retention of girls in schools.

Political Representation: It refers to elected officials nominally speaking for their constituents in the government. Elected representatives participate in governing the affairs of their constituency, and engage themselves in making decisions on behalf of the constituents.

Self Help Groups (SHGs): A Self-Help Group is an informal association of 10 to 20 poor women belonging to the same village and sharing a common socio-economic background. The group enables its members to gain their identity as individuals, while realising - and utilising - the immense power of mutual aid. It provides them with a platform
Women’s Agency in Post-
Independence India

from where they can access banks and public services, and spearhead changes that affect them as poor women.

Towards Equality Report: Towards Equality Report was the first and only comprehensive document on the Status of Women in India. It changed the perspective of women from targets to agents of change in development. The policy document emphasized that as a community women were characterized by three recognized dimensions of inequality: class (economic inequality), status (social position) and political power. The state sponsored programmes like DWCRA, WDP and MS stressed formation of grassroots women collectives for development of solidarity and joint problem-solving. This community space enabled women to learn as a group, reflect on their skills and competencies, meet and strategize collectively, formalize and sustain their involvement in local development beyond short-term volunteerism. This space also created a favourable environment for women’s participation in local governance.

WDP: Women’s Development Programme

Civil Society: It is a collection of individual and collective initiatives for the common public good, which benefit society as a whole. ‘Individual initiatives’ for public good take multiple forms—from simple ‘good neighbourliness’ and day-to-day respect for and tolerance of others, to structured volunteer work. Similarly, ‘collective initiatives’ refer to initiatives for the common public good in many different associational and organizational settings—from social movements to community groups and associations, often called Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), to formal and institutionalized Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).
1.8B UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Discuss the concepts of rights and citizenship from a gender perspective.

2) Describe in what ways civil society organizations can activate and sustain women’s political agency.

3) Explain the meaning of identity politics, communalism and women’s political mobilizations by providing suitable examples.

1.9B REFERENCES


### 1.10B SUGGESTED READING
