

# WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND THE ETHICS OF DEVELOPMENT

Bella Abzug and Devaki Jain

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## Women and Ethical Leadership

*Devaki Jain*

It is a privilege for me to be associated with the Bradford Morse memorial lecture and to participate in its inauguration. The connection with Bradford Morse has a very special meaning for me as an Indian. We in India think of Bradford Morse as a partner in a struggle for justice, in a struggle for a kind of development which is *enabling*, and not disabling.

In his 1992 report to the World Bank on the social consequences of the Narmada Dam in India, Bradford Morse provided powerful support to those engaged in the life and death struggles against the dam. His judgement was that:

*...the project as it stood was flawed, that resettlement and rehabilitation of all those displaced by the project is not possible under prevailing circumstances, and that the environmental impacts of the project have not been properly considered or adequately addressed.*

If those with power would merely behave with the integrity and courage that Bradford showed when he gave this judgement on the Narmada Dam, then that would go far to create the *enabling environment* that we need to generate the *just* development that we all seek. So much depends on the *moral* sense of the individual, and yet we spend so little time and energy on providing the foundations for creating a greater number of morally sound individuals.

It is worth recalling the process which enabled Bradford Morse to understand that the project was flawed, and which precipitated the events which followed this judgement, including the World Bank withdrawing its support from the project. One of the critical elements in this process has been the existence of a mass movement called the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), which means "save the Narmada struggle". The NBA was formed nearly nine years ago. It is broad based, well informed on technical facts and persistent. It is part of the wider movement of mass-based struggles in India which are redefining, rethinking and recasting development. The NBA has provided a critical link between outsiders, like Bradford Morse and his team, and the voices and experiences of the most immediately affected people. One of the most articulate and thoughtful leaders of this movement is a woman in her forties, Medha Patkar. Before leaving for Beijing, I asked Medha for some recollections of Bradford Morse, whom she had met many times. She said, with soft laughter, as if recalling Bradford Morse brought a touch of happiness:

*He was a very peculiar man. He was an administrator, and yet he genuinely believed in consulting people, in peoples' participation in their development. He was very bulky, could not negotiate the slopes and footpaths which led to the villages threatened with submersion. But the villagers said "lie down on the cot and close your eyes, when you open them, you will be in our village" and bodily carried him as on a stretcher to the villages for listening to evidence.*

Medha said he listened and listened with genuine respect. That is the second critical element in this episode of Bradford Morse: a classic example of a powerful official, international figure, a former administrator, being peculiar enough to respect people. Medha used the word peculiar because she found it an impossibility that an administrator could believe in peoples' views and judgements.

Do we see any elements here to be incorporated into our various indices and necessary conditions for *just* development? I believe there are at least two:

- the demand side, consisting of strong, mass-based, well-informed, groundswell resistance organisations; and
- the supply side, provided by an exemplary administrator who is sensitive to moral issues and respectful of peoples' views and rights.

I would like to carry this story one step further. What has happened since? The struggle of the NBA against the construction of the dam goes on, only now the World Bank has withdrawn. Contractors, and those who need power and water away from the site, are still fighting for the dam, and the Andolan continues to fast, to file cases in the Supreme Court of India (the federal and highest judicial authority). That is our Indian story. But according to Medha, a panel now exists in the World Bank to which people affected badly by any project supported by the Bank can petition. This grievance process, if it is working, is a real achievement, an encroachment by "the space of struggle" into the belly of the World Bank: an *enabling* measure for all the world - wow!

The Indian story I have told illuminates two important themes of *just* development; its relationship with *struggle* and the role of a critical mass of *moral exemplars*. In exploring these themes, I will link them to women's experience, women's actions. In the last twenty years, since Mexico, there has been a flood of literature, a great leap forward in understanding and a tangible change in the consciousness and solidarity of the world-wide women's movement. I will, however, limit myself to a few experiences of struggle and a few recent documents for my illustration, analysis and proposals. I will suggest that:

- women's struggle provides both the substance and the method of just development;
- to break through the hard rock of gender inequality, we need to shift our focus on gender difference from the body to the mind;
- women's struggles also provide the ethical underpinnings for economic reasoning;
- political restructuring is key to economic growth with justice;
- women's political leadership can provide the necessary condition for just development;
- it is not enough to draw attention to the abysmal gaps between men and women nor to show the links between social and economic development, and between women's empowerment and effective change;
- it is not enough to add-on women's empowerment or build in gender equity through reducing the gap between women and men;
- it is necessary to break down the central structures of power, to replace their politics with the leadership of exemplars; and
- to do this we need both "sides" (supply and demand), continuing my imagery of a play of the two critical elements I referred to in the Morse story; affirmative, unified, competent issue-based struggle organisations on the one hand and sensitive power structures on the other. Specifically, we need:
  - the conscious convergence of the women's movement into presenting a unified platform, backed by a feminist ethic; and
  - morally sensitive, democratic, transparent and accountable development agencies.

### **We are Minds, Not Bodies**

Women who are toiling at the ground level without even basic amenities ("fragile if not negative sources of income, no bread, salt or water", to quote Dr. Nelson Mandela) are constantly engaged in *collective struggle* in the countries of the South. Michael Jackson's new song "Scream" could be about them. These women are screaming, not crying: they have been pushed beyond crying for attention to their terrible situation. Their food and water sources, their raw material and fuel sources, their personal security, whether in relation to so-called extension services or in relation to

armed and unarmed conflict, are all diminishing and they are not finding a way out of this deterioration. Even the minds of their children are becoming distant from them, being filled with unachievable lifestyles and the values of violence, whilst the bodies of their children are forever their responsibility.

A review that I made of women's collective affirmative action in India reveals their strengths and courage (Jain 1993). Spontaneous, mass-based resistance struggles in India (over Trees in the Himalayas, Arrack (homemade liquor) in Andhra, vending space in Ahmedabad, drinking in Manipur, land in Assam and so forth), reveal that when there is a threat to livelihood, to social peace (or reverse, when there is household violence), women rise like a wave, mobilised through their individual experiences in a collective movement as if they had hi-tech signalling systems.

These collective struggles also illustrate women's choices and their methods. The issues which women mobilise around are usually fundamental ones, concerning livelihood, income, family security and so on. Their response is derived from local idiom, both in language and in action; for example, the use of a *lengha* (skirt) in Rajasthan, of *kum-kum* in the elephant's trunk in Assam, of rice in Andhra. It is this self-developed language and action which generates instant solidarity. Both the struggle and the means of redress are localised.

Putting their bodies on the line, they are hurting themselves in order to reorder development. But the result of this courage and agency is that women, and especially women in poverty, are then seen as merely bodies in need of inputs; food (nutrition), health, fertility interventions, shelter, security from physical assault and violence (like rape, female foeticide, dowry murders and so on). This is a reality. Yet, every action that women take, at the domestic, local or global level, is also an expression of their *mind*. These actions reflect a woman's intellectual and cultural capability, her individuality and creativity, her sense of responsibility.

In taking action and making choices, women are the agents of their own development. She is the subject. But in conventional images and analysis, not enough attention is paid to women's minds. Instead, women become objects for the development agenda.

Medha Patkar describes what she calls the difference in *mahol*, (a Hindi word for the atmosphere) that is tangible when women are present in a march, a *satyagraha* (peaceful resistance) or public action. I asked her what is this "difference". She said:

*They have a look of determination and they persevere even when the men say, "let us give up". They say, "let us finish what we have come to do". They don't stop for the toilet or for tea. They want to get on with the action.*

She said the whole atmosphere gets charged with their seriousness and fearlessness, their honesty and sincerity. She used the word "inspiring", a reflection of their *minds*, and in comparison with men, an effacement of their *bodies*.

However, women's struggles against real threats to life and liberty have had muted results in the larger arena. The Anti-Arrack movement in Andhra Pradesh provides an illustrative example of this. In compelling the State Government to impose a total prohibition on both manufacturing and consumption of liquor, the movement has been perceived as successful, and as influencing election platforms and politicising a women's choice of policy. But in response to this first major victory of these women, political parties have mobilised the "other party", those who were earning livelihoods through brewing liquor, many of whom are women. Liquor has re-entered the villages in other forms, packaged in bags and therefore not requiring a vendor's shop. Worst of all, no women from the struggle have been included in the political structures, though it was yielding to the women's demand to ban liquor that provided the voter support to the political party that won the elections. There are hundreds of other experiences of struggle, equally illuminating and equally problematic.

## Gender Relations

Some of these struggles (or offers of resistance) are in the spirit of *rebellion* against imposed codes of conduct/stereotyping of gender roles, and the consequent operation of gender hierarchies. These

rebellions have almost always been denounced, if not effaced by the patriarchal/authoritarian power structures which they challenge. Thus, "Nushuz" is a concept in Arabic which labels a woman who is strong, and therefore deviant, as mad (Mernissi 1986). In Ghana, a strong successful woman is regarded as a witch, and thus is marginalised and demonised in a similar way (Amoah 1986). We all know about Joan of Arc, who it is said, was burned as a witch because she threatened the male order.

Changing the hardened hierarchies in gender relations is not easy, even though women have been struggling against it from time immemorial, and across histories and cultures. However, inspiration may be drawn from the struggles that women have undertaken. Marjorie Topley tells of an interesting case from 18th century China, that of the Golden Orchid Association (Topley 1975). She writes:

*For years, thousands of women silk workers vowed never to wed. They swore friendships to each other and lived in pairs or groups in "vegetarian" halls or monasteries devoted to the cult of the goddess Guan Yin. These women liked to be free to move about, detested to become the slave of a man or a human machine of propagation and abhorred the loneliness of marriage and its lack of economic independence. Life in the associations offered the members the possibility of a career in religious affairs and political status not open to married women. Their resistance was collective, involved the construction of a female counter-culture, an act of rebellion.*

The nature of women's struggle, their acts of rebellion, continue to be the subject of feminist debate and enquiry. Saskia Weiringa (1995) in her recent volume, "Subversive Women and Their Movements" says:

*Women's acts of resistance, of self-affirmation, as social actors in their different historical and political contexts are already in themselves subversive to existing power relations, but women have been "subversive" also in another sense: in circumventing and denying the various, distinct and multi-layered verses in which their subjugation is inscribed and in replacing them with their own verses.*

In her analysis of women's struggles, she concludes that, "difference is thus no longer an essential quality, but a location of politics". Addressing difference thus becomes a political act, as is evident in the welcome emphasis given to affirmative action by the "Human Development Report" (UNDP 1995), and in the Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen book on social opportunities (see Dreze and Sen 1995; Sen 1995). Affirmative action is a necessary element of redressing the widespread, pernicious and pervasive discrimination against women, the inequality between men and women.

But whilst affirmative action programmes address what I have termed the demand side, I see no reference to the supply side, namely the kind of *exemplar* provided by Bradford Morse. I hope that the bold and beautiful men and women from the powerful international agencies sitting here or striding with their ever-so-long legs and arms into our villages and cities will note this aspect of the human development index, namely the role of the individual and his or her moral sensibility. The "Human Development Report" (UNDP 1995) talks of missing women, dropping out of life in infancy because of a hostile environment, which gives no or little value to her existence. What about missing ethical individuals, who drop out of or cease to participate in our arenas of governance because such governance appears of no or, at best, low value to building a decent, virtuous human being? Can the memory of Bradford Morse encourage the bold and beautiful to respect *struggle* as a political choice of development and not a negative factor? At the same time, can these individuals provide the *enabling environment* of their own personal ethic that Bradford Morse provided for people-led development?

### Gandhi's Response

Mahatma Gandhi had a universal response to the denouncement of women who deviated from patriarchal paths, the given stereotyping of male-female roles and codes of behaviour. He suggested to women that they resist this male order, and refuse to marry, to have sex, refuse jewellery and

even refuse to cook. He believed that such collective resistance by women would be the only way to liberate themselves from the chains of gender apartheid. An entire generation of women who fought with him took a pledge of celibacy just to prove this point. They were not nuns, who are also celibate, considering themselves married to God. Rather they lived among men and with men in cohabitation, but rejected their sexuality.

Not surprisingly, as Gandhi was a great believer in harmonising and equalising, he persuaded men to cook, sew, clean dishes, knit, and do what are called "women's jobs". Joshi (1988) quotes Gandhi as writing:

*More often than not, a woman's time is taken up, not by the performance of essential domestic duties, but in catering for the egoistic pleasures of her lord and master. To me, this domestic slavery of the kitchen too is a remnant of barbarism. It is high time that our womankind was freed from this incubus.*

Some of these ideas may seem extremist and old-fashioned, but Gandhi was reacting to what he felt was the terrible fact of female subordination, in a caste-ridden, hierarchical and diverse society. He perceived women as equal, but *morally* different.

In the indexing and ranking done by the Human Development Report 1995, Scandinavia comes first from the point of view of gender equity because men take an equal share of the burden of domestic chores, with paternity leaves and so on. I wonder whether in the mental bending of the disciplining of the mind to perceive these chores as not lowly, the removal of mind-body hierarchies has also taken place? Or is it a mere mechanical changing of places, a changing of only bodies, not minds? Can the poorer countries afford the Scandinavian system of social security? Would not Gandhi's approach to "confuse" gender roles be both stronger and more possible?

There is also a deeper, more pervasive hierarchy in this mind-body categorisation. The mind, of course, is seen as superior to the body, as in Descartes' famous dictum *cogito ergo sum*. For years, activists were seen as good at doing things and then there were the intellectually skilled who wrote or analysed, derived or theorised. Then there was also the North/South hierarchy amongst NGOs, including women's groups. We, in the South, were great organisers, full of action and our comrades or sisters in the North would write up for us or help us with formats and training modules, concepts, frameworks and create networks for us. In other words, the technical assistance of North to South reproduced this very *mind/body hierarchy*. We were the bodies and they were the minds.

In the Ashrams, or collectives, that Gandhi created, roles were constantly transposed to dismantle hierarchies. For example, everyone (men, women and children) had to do manual work as well as meditational work, so that the intellectual or the educated would not look down on the manual. Brahmins had to lift night soil so that night soil lifting could not hold stigma and untouchability. Persons belonging to all the diverse religions in India had to recite the prayers of all the religions thus muting the kind of difference that connotes hierarchy through effacing the distance between people of different faiths.

I am fascinated by this technique as it illustrates how much of these gender-related hierarchies are in the *mind*. It suggests to me that a critical factor in changing the relations of power between men and women is to emphasise the *difference* between men and women, not only through their biology and its consequences but in their moral, methodological and intellectual ways. I do not suggest that these differences are physiologically fixed, but that they do emerge from the difference in women's life experience. From reviewing women's collective struggles, I can sum up these differences in *quality* as: avoiding conflict; preempting injustices; strong when it comes to basic needs for the family; learning through doing; undoing hierarchies; rebuilding informality; tentative, consulting, sharing and caring. These are some aspects of *women's ethics* that seem to emerge out of a review of the life experience of women.

The empowerment of women and the overcoming of gender-based oppression requires that women are perceived differently, by women themselves as well as by development analysis and programmes. There is a role for feminists to illuminate the special qualities and ethics of women and to politicise the worldwide women's movement around this vision. There is also a role for

development agencies and personnel to change their understanding of women, gender and development. But to do this, there is a need to reorient economic and political thinking such that it works from the ground up rather than the top down. Only this way will the urgency of women's condition be addressed.

### Economics and politics from the ground up

If we take the analysis of poverty and inequality that is coming out of not only the "Human Development Report" (UNDP 1995) but also the "World Development Report" (World Bank 1995), in addition to the signals coming from the world-wide struggles of women, then it does seem clear that the engines of economic growth in operation today are inappropriate for achieving the stated objectives of economic growth.

Gandhi offers an alternative that I have called "the bubbling up theory of growth." According to this line of reasoning, the criterion by which any political choice for economic changes is made is whether it improves the condition of the poorest person. If we deal with removal of poverty first, then the rest of the model follows.

In many large population countries like India, removal of poverty acts as a spur to demand, and therefore a stimulus to growth. I suggest that poverty eradication is the best engine of growth and that by dealing with the last first, economic regeneration will bubble up, as economic prosperity has never trickled down.

India, too, has a story to tell of the bubbling up of political power; the story of India's grassroots women leaders. In 1993-94, India amended her Constitution to bring in elected local self-government, elected through multi-party, competitive politics and universal franchise. She introduced an element of what is called affirmative action or positive discrimination by "reserving" 33.3 percent of the places on the councils for women only. India also reserved over 15 percent of the places for the *dalits*, those social classes in India who had been discriminated against for centuries. India has already held elections for these local bodies at rural level and is about to hold them for the municipalities at the urban level. One million women are beginning to take their places in local self-government as they enter this arena of formal politics, traditionally occupied by men. Their statements suggest that they are watching the men from "behind the veil" as it were, watching and knowing that such participation means power, control, negotiations, heat, dust and dirt.

The majority of them are totally illiterate, have entered political spheres for the first time, have often been dragged in by men who don't want to lose that seat of power and therefore use the women as proxies. But once women have seized power, they are beginning to exercise it.

Even skeptics in the media have begun to take note of this transformation. For example, a magazine called "India Today", which is seen as the Indian equivalent of "Time" magazine, not only ran a long, illustrated piece on these women but exhibited an unqualified admiration if not awe at the way the elected women are dealing with development and most important, power and gender relations. Every elected woman who has been interviewed by anybody in the country, and any part of the country, has said that she will now redress the injustice done to her by men. It would be patronising to call this natural feminism. These women are deeply conscious of the fact that in order to redress the relationships of power, including between men and women in their own houses, political power and participation in political spheres is critical. Men and their habits and attitudes seem their major concern and first arena for attack. The scent of power they are enjoying is often expressed in having control over men.

There is a danger that this first excitement can be dissipated by the more pernicious and all-pervasive pressure of patriarchy and bureaucracy. These feminists can be shaped into unpaid development workers, by being "trained" to mimic bureaucracy, or worse still, be shaped into men. We will see.

## Political Restructuring Requires Feminist Leadership

The Indian illustration of women's political participation demonstrates more than that women are aware of, and ready for, politics. It has implications, again, for both sides; the feminist movements as well as development structures and agencies in respect of theory and practice.

First, the experience reveals that women's presence in the political power structures of formal governance does begin to redress the historically embedded disdain and disregard for women. This point has been recognised by the "Human Development Report 1995", which called for specific measures to move toward the 30 percent threshold as a minimum share of decision-making positions held by women at the national level in order to reach an ultimate target of 50 percent. Perhaps India could have had a better ranking, even first, in the Human Development Index if the index had incorporated proximate democratic political bodies as India has exceeded this threshold in women's participation in local, elected bodies. There are more than one million women politicians in India today.

The second implication is that government into which women are brought, say with 30 percent reservation, would be more *empowering* to women if it was *proximate*, i.e. a system of local self-government with an elected body subject to regular re-election to provide for redress and accountability. It is also clear that women's own strength in government would increase if they used their role as voters in an election as a lobby for their priorities and their methods.

Political decentralisation has to be matched with economic decentralisation. The new women politicians of India are handicapped by the mismatch between their political domain and the economic domain. Alternative economic institutions like cooperatives, self-help groups, which represent a part of women's contribution to alternative development, are needed to replace the large, the corporate and the "untamable".

The elements of classical democracy (freedom of the press and of association, an independent judiciary, electoral politics, universal adult franchise) remain a minimum condition for women's empowerment. It is true that the value of democratic politics is open to question given that the performance of the "old" democracies has not been exemplary. But feminists can bring back its values if they *lead* these systems.

But the story of India's women politicians also reveals that participation in decision-making is not enough. In all the forums that are gathered here in Beijing (Jain 1995b), and in the Platform for Action that is being negotiated at the official conference, there is a demand for bringing in more women (if not 50 percent women) into what is called the decision-making process. I have problems with the use of the term "decision-making". I would prefer the word "leadership".

*Leadership* as a concept is much stronger than and different from the concept of decision-making. Participation in decision-making does not necessarily include, or address, the power hierarchy. One could be part of a decision-making process and not be powerful enough to influence that decision. Leadership, on the other hand, has a hierarchical significance. The demand from everywhere, whether from women, the Platform for Action in Beijing, or the "Human Development Report 1995", is for participation, for fixed shares in decision-making. That is not enough.

To make effective demands for change, there is a case for the feminist movement to claim leadership and claim it because of its ethics and not only its gender. Reflecting on women's struggles and rebellions and their experiences in local politics underscores the importance of *space*, usually offered by classical democracy, wherein struggle and rebellion can be expressed and then translated into response.

## Deconstructing the Development Monoliths

On the supply side, there is a need for the monolithic institutions of development to deconstruct themselves and, by reinterpreting their meaning, create space for women's leadership and the ethics that such leadership embodies.

The UN system depends on centralised structures, as it needs to deal with strong central governments for its accountability to be processed. In working at the national level, the UN clones itself in the national governments as focal points and departments. These continue to be regarded as the necessary national machineries for women's advancement or empowerment (a recommendation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking strategies, and being followed up in the draft Platform for Action at this conference). However, these focal points are embedded in hierarchical, patriarchal bureaucracies and thus are not able to generate the impulses for change that women's empowerment and gender equity require. Furthermore, they can be set up with great fanfare and visibility in the most authoritarian and opaque political regimes.

There is a deep fault line in the processes of management in the UN system. As a colleague in DAWN, Gigi Francesca from the Philippines, put it:

*The Globe and Eurocentricism are the two key ideological forces in the world today.*

Activists and the women at the grassroots that we wish to empower are baffled, if not angry, that the UN and other international institutions set up to bring peace and justice are not overpowering these dinosaurs. Most of the energy of women activists participating in UN meetings is used in resistance and attack.

National governments and national spaces are the appropriate arenas for change to take place. Machineries and processes for women's empowerment need to evolve from struggle, from legal facilities, from politics. Development agencies, like the UN, should go beyond "adding on" gender, to learning from women and to creating spaces for women's leadership (Jain 1995a). Women in struggle and rebellion are already there. What we need is *exemplary* support from all of us.

## Exemplars

To develop the notion of *exemplary individuals*, it does trouble all of us to talk of individuals because social movements see collectivity as altruistic and strategic. But I think women's experience of collectivities, except feminist collectivity, has been painful, if not oppressive. The feminist collective, however, is different because the members are feminist, with an ideology and an ethic. Feminism can teach us that exemplary individuals are necessary constituents of *just* collectives.

Today, the collective ethic is predominant. Terms like "organisational strategy" and "consciousness raising" really suggest the submersion of the individual. Whether we consider communes in socialist or liberal countries, or whether we consider such institutions as trade unions or the family elsewhere, the boundary is the group, not the individual. An ethical position is asked of the group, not the individual, thus tending to erode the individual's sense of responsibility. Women, however, still assume and face responsibilities as individuals in the family. Women's traditional ethical norms are neither individualistic, nor group-centered. Rather, women seem to consider the individual as the context of the group.

Gandhi had a formula for this problem, too. During his political struggles, he needed strong "soldiers" for resistance. He argued that they had to be morally-trained individuals in order to sustain the collective struggle. The *collective*, in this view, is the expression of its *moral individuals*.

To conclude, when I am asked to give a lecture which will illuminate the UN's quest for empowering women, for gender equity, I am assailed by the contradiction between this genuine interest and the reality, as seen from the ground, of the implementation of that genuine interest. There are so many women's voices reverberating in my head. I wish I could bring them all here to this room. I can never forget an evening in the Kennedy Auditorium at Harvard University when my sister Achola Pala Okeyo of Kenya, delivering a memorial lecture started her lecture by just reading out about 20-30 names of African women social scientists as if she were reading a roll call of honour.



In her own subtle way, she was communicating to the very high profile community of development specialists in the room, including Professor Kenneth Galbraith, that there were as many women specialists in development in Africa as at Harvard. I wish I too could just list so many hidden struggles so that all those brilliant women who fought them could be telling us what should be the women's agenda for the 21st century. Sometimes, though, roll calls of honour are very troubling. Most awards for heroism are given posthumously. An heroic child, woman or a man has to die for their cause before the world recognises their courage and wisdom. I hope we who have gathered here in Beijing won't wait that long.

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## INDIAN WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION CHART

(Devaki Jain, 1993)

INDIAN WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION CHART						
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Place	Nellore	Khiralote	Imphal (City)	Manek Chowk (City)	Assam	Manipur
	1992-93	1982	1989-90	1993	(1980)	(1979)
1. Issue	Arrack	Quarrying traditional market	Relocating rebuildin	Relocating vendor	Evication from land colon	Liquo
2. Action Bas	Villag	Villag	Marke	Marke	Housing colon	All Stat
3. Basis of Social Homogencit	Dalit /Musli	Kumoan Trib	One tribe (Maithei	Occupation (vegetable vending	One trib	Maithe
4. Technique						
a. Turned back (through "SIT-IN")	Jeeps	Donkey-carriers	Police & Corporation	Police, jeeps and corporation	Elephants	Men
b. "Dramatics"	Cooked rick thrown in front of arrack sellers.	Reducing width of donkey tracks, so they fall.	Slept in market at night with lanterns and mosquito nets.	Slept on pavements all night.	Worshipping elephants to distract from their destructive role.	Patrolled streets at nights with lathis.
c. Slogans	No jeep to carry sack but jeep to carry arrack.	Girls have no road to go to school, but donkey's have.	From women's market in <u>outside</u> Dhukan Dhar's market.	Cars for the rich but no shop/selling space for poor (as it was to be a car park).	Low profile supportive (locally).	
5. Men's Behaviour	Low profile 2-way support (no gender	Low profile. Supportive (no gender	Nowhere in the picture	Supportive (locally)	Low profile. Supportive (locally)	Men were point of attack. Retaliatio

	conflict at village level	conflict at village level)				
6. Support						
a. Initial impetus?	Literacy primer (curriculum)	Gandhian Padayabra visiting houses, letting people speak up. Building confidence to think and act.	Historical strength of women's collectives in Manipur.	Trade union method/ Gandhian Satyagraha.	Gandhian Ashram's extension to assist rights.	Historical strength
b. Focal point	Jana Vignaman Vedika	Lakshmi Ashram	NUPILAN	SEWA	Gandhian Ashram	NUPILAN
7. The State's controlling instrument	Auction of liquor/ giving of licenses	Auction of quarry/ giving of licenses	Urban development traffic nuisance	Urban development traffic nuisance	To develop land	Liquor shops licensed
8. Outcome	Arrack auction sales stopped in Andhra Pradesh	Quarry closed even at a loss to contractor 1 lakh (court order)	New market project abandoned. Old market to be renovated in consultation with the women	Court order. The pavement (entitlement) Manek Chowk belongs to the women vendors.	Don't know	Prohibition bill brought into Assam (but no follow