CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION
The Statement of Problem

The impact of globalization has activated the world over, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that take up women's issues. To promote women's rights is now accepted internationally and NGOs – those that address women's rights – all over the world, have, as a result, accelerated their activities. This dissertation compares the work of NGOs concerning women's rights in Iran and India in the light of the globalization process. Today, women in all parts of the world, whether in the European Union, in Asian, African or other countries, fight for their rights and it is the process of globalization that has made us aware of similar struggles taking place in different societies and in different social and political conditions. This dissertation looks at the women's movement in Iran and India, specifically examining the role of NGOs in furthering the rights of women in the social and political contexts of both countries.

NGOs have often been seen negatively as organizations that pick up the slack after the withdrawal of the state from its social sector responsibilities. My argument is that under certain social and political conditions, NGOs play a positive role in taking action on the demands of some social groups. In Iran, for example, NGOs active on the women's front have, helped by the globalization process, been able to take up women's issues. The question is, do NGOs in India play a similar role? Although the field of study in this dissertation is the women's movement, our specific focus is on the tremendous effect of the globalization process on the movement. The impact of globalization is sought to be understood through the role of NGOs. How globalization impacts the women's movement, whether it has a positive or a negative impact, also depends on local social and political conditions.

With the rise in the educational levels of women, the decline in their fertility rate and heightened female employment, which are pushed by international organized
efforts like MDG’s programs1, we see the development of NGOs that are active in addressing women’s issues. Influenced by the globalization process and easy access to information, women’s NGOs in various countries have many common characteristics, a consequence of the shared universal objectives and concerns of these organizations.

Although the beginning of the globalization process refers to the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the process has grown into robust dimensions in a short period of time. It seems that the impact of globalization on NGOs, especially women’s NGOs, has not yet been a subject of comprehensive academic research, perhaps because of different theoretical viewpoints about the globalization phenomenon and its ever-increasing extent. It is for this reason that this dissertation seeks to examine the impact of globalization on women’s NGOs in Iran and India. Certain NGOs are institutionalized manifestations of social movements and as such, represent these movements in a more subtle way. It can be said that globalization has directed women’s NGOs to move towards focusing on women’s rights. In other words, women’s rights have occupied the central point of women’s NGO activities in recent times, which is why this research aims at a survey and analysis of women’s NGOs in defending women’s rights in Iran and India. Next, we point to the background of women’s NGOs in Iran and the social movement of women in India very briefly. We must note that in Iran the women’s movement acts through existing NGOs. This is the only way of promoting women’s rights in the formal way due to the political and social system of Iran. To be more clear, women’s demands can be considered in decision making bodies if and only if they have the support of women’s NGOs. Therefore, women’s NGOs in Iran act as mediators between state and people. Any further women’s movement beyond NGOs is not officially recognized and usually if such a gathering as a women’s movement happened it turns into a political issue rapidly.

1 MDG’s Millennium Development Goals of United Nations.
While in India women's movement activities are beyond the existing NGOs. As a matter of fact women's movements in India are more indigenized than NGOs. Meaning, women's NGOs are born in the context of women's movement. Considering what was mentioned above, globalization's effect thus depends on local political and social conditions of each country.

Definitions

Let me now define the main variables of my dissertation. Globalization which has been defined in several different ways, describes the increased mobility of goods, services, labour, technology and capital throughout the world. Although globalization is not a new development, its pace has increased with the advent of new technologies, especially in the area of telecommunications. It can also mean a process by which the experience of everyday life, marked by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, is becoming standardized around the world. Anthony Giddens has defined globalization as follows: "Globalization can be defined as the enhancement and intensification of social relations at the world level according to which divergent geographical places are interrelated in one way or another. In this trend, local events and currents take shape because of the facts that have occurred millions of kilometers afar. This influence and effect is global." (Giddens, 1990, 64)

Discussing the impact of globalization on women in the Middle East, Valentine M. Moghadam has defined it as follows: "Globalization is a complex and multi-dimensional process in which the mobility of capital, organizations, ideas, discourses, and peoples take on an increasingly global, transnational, and integrated form. As such globalization has economic, political, cultural, social and spatial dimensions, although it is (arguably) at its heart an economic process driven by technological, financial, and business interests." (Moghadam, 2003, 75)
Globalization as a process is growing in strength day by day. This phenomenon, as Anthony Giddens suggests, is part of the evolution of human social life, with its own positive and negative impact. The positive and negative impact of globalization is discernible in economic, political and cultural areas. Economic instability and increased inequalities lowered state sovereignty and heightened social cleavages constitute the negative effects of globalization. The positive effects of globalization, however, are increased human awareness, lowered distances, increased volume of social communications, and the formation and enhancement of transnational and international institutions.

The Third System Theory, which is among the existing approaches to social movements, studies the question of movements at the world level (Qavam, 2003, 116). This theory is rooted in Marxism and Humanism. On this basis, at present, there is a crisis of development in the North as well as South which is simultaneously of an economic, financial, environmental, social, cultural, ideological and political nature, affecting the common security of individuals. Consequently, it has created a movement by the concerned people, who seek to control this current. The theorists of the Third System Theory use the term ‘NGO’ rather than ‘social movement’ which, according to their viewpoint, are actors connecting world action and citizens. This link is established through the United Nations and networking. (Qavam, 2003, 116-7)

The globalization process has affected the lives of states and nations. In the modern age, we witness the change in the role played by the states and the rise of new actors in political, cultural and world economic scenes. Those functions, which were previously assumed by the state, are now accorded to non-governmental and transnational institutions and organizations. Social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in particular can be counted as active participants in civil society, which defend the rights of citizens and put the states

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1 In Developed Countries as well as Developing Countries (The North as well as The South).
under pressure in order to realize such rights. With the entry of NGOs into the decision-making domain, there has been a decrease in the range of state influences in national and international developments and these organizations are given a share in decision-making as the intermediaries between the state and people.

**Social Movements** are defined by Anthony Giddens as follows: “A large grouping of individuals who seek to establish or stop a social process. Social movements are usually created in conflict with organizations, which often oppose their ideals and outlooks. However, movements that challenge the power successfully, themselves can turn into organizations.” (Giddens, 2001, 699) Charles Tilly defines social movements in the following words: “Social movements include a continuous challenge to the holders of power in the name of a group of people who live under the sphere of power of the first group and are undertaken through frequent showing of value alliance, number and commitment of that group at the public level. Every social movement includes at least three distinct groups: holders of power who are under protest, participants in the social movement who are interconnected, and a reference community on whose behalf the participants make their claims.” (Tilly, 1992, 251) Mario Diani describes social movements as: “informal networks of interaction among individual, groups, and organizations involved in a political or cultural clash based on shared collective identity.” (Diani, 1992, 23) Social movements may cover political parties and campaigning organizations. It also includes individuals who are not part of any formal organizational structure. They are organized around ideas which give the individuals who adhere to the movement new forms of social and political activity.

**Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)** are any non-profit, voluntary citizens’ groups which are organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of
information. There are two kinds of NGOs: those that are ideological, voluntary and independent, and those that are affiliated to the government.

Civil Society is defined as the set of intermediate associations which are neither the state nor the extended family. Therefore, civil society includes voluntary associations and firms and other corporate bodies.

Women’s Rights, as a term, typically refers to the freedoms inherently possessed by women and girls of all ages, which may be institutionalized, ignored or illegitimately suppressed by law, custom, and behavior in a particular society. These liberties are grouped together and differentiated from broader notions of human rights because they often differ from the freedoms inherently possessed by or recognized for men and boys, and because activism surrounding this issue claims an inherent historical and traditional bias against the exercise of rights by women.

Background of Women’s Rights

Since our focus is on the women’s movement, let us very briefly, look at its development in general, before we turn to a discussion of women’s struggles in Iran and India. For centuries, women around the world have struggled against unequal treatment and discrimination based on various societies’ views of the role of women.

The effort to secure women’s rights in the west began at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. A group of women and men drafted and approved the "Declaration of Sentiments," an impassioned demand for equal rights for women, including the right to vote. The declaration was modeled after the language and structure of the Declaration of Independence of 1776. Many of those gathered at Seneca Falls, including early women’s rights leaders Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had been active in the abolitionist movement, seeking an end to slavery. However, these women realized that they were second-class citizens,
unable to vote and possessing few legal rights, especially if they were married. Some leaders, like Lucy Stone, saw parallels between women and slaves: both were expected to be passive, cooperative, and obedient. In addition, the legal status of both slaves and women was unequal to that of white men.

After the Civil War ended in 1865, many of these reformers fully committed their energies to gaining women's suffrage. Stanton and Anthony established the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), that sought an amendment to the U.S. Constitution similar to the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave nonwhite men the right to vote. In 1872 Anthony was prosecuted for attempting to vote in the presidential election. Stone, on the other hand, helped form the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). AWSA worked for women's suffrage on a state by state basis, seeking amendments to state constitutions.

By the late nineteenth century, lobbying of state legislatures by AWSA and other suffrage supporters began to bear fruit. A few states changed their statutes to permit female suffrage. By 1912 nine states had extended the franchise to include women. In 1918 President Woodrow Wilson endorsed women's suffrage, and Congress soon adopted a constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote and submitting the amendment to the states for ratification. In 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, immediately doubling the potential electorate.

The second wave of the women's rights movement in the west began in the 1960s and gained momentum with the development of the scholarly field of feminist jurisprudence in the 1970s. The civil rights movement of the 1960s drew the support of many college-educated women, much like the women who supported the abolitionist cause a little more than a hundred years before. Like their predecessors, these civil rights workers realized that discrimination based on race existed side by side with discrimination based on gender. The result was the birth of the modern feminist movement and the quest for women's rights.
The quest for women's rights has led to legal challenges in the areas of employment, domestic relations, reproductive rights, education, and criminal law. Although the women's rights movement failed to secure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the courts have generally been receptive to claims that demand recognition of rights under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

If the anti-slavery movement gave a fillip to the women's movement in the west, in the third world, anti-colonial movements gave an impetus to struggles for women's rights. In many third world countries, including India, women active in the freedom struggle, also began to, and have continued to, demand equal treatment for men and women.

Women's Rights and United Nation

The principle of equal rights for men and women is one of the basic tenets of the United Nations Charter. Specialized machinery to deal with what were perceived to be "women's rights" was set up in 1946 in the form of a U.N. Commission on the Status of Women. A fundamental issue is, of course, whether there is a separate category of "women's rights" warranting specific treatment through special machinery, instruments, and procedures.

Instruments Relating to Women

At its first session in 1946, the Sub-Commission on the Status of Women of the Commission on Human Rights adopted a program of work based on the principle that "freedom and equality are essential to human development and woman is as much a human being as man and therefore entitled to share them with him." In order to enable women to participate fully as 'free and responsible members' in the building of the new society, it was necessary 'to raise the status of women to equality with men in all fields of human enterprise.'
As set forth by the Sub-Commission and subsequently endorsed by the Economic and Social Council, the program included: (a) political equality, based on equal participation in government and possibility to exercise all rights and duties of a citizen; (b) civil equality, based on equality in marriage, monogamy, equal right to guardianship of children, equal right to a nationality and to property; (c) social and economic equality, based on the full possibility to take part in social life, the prevention of discrimination against women in social and economic status and customs, the abolition of prostitution by removing legal and customary provisions pertaining to it, the prevention of traffic in women and change of basic conditions, including the reintegration of prostitutes into social and economic life without discrimination; (d) equal opportunity to education.

In order to achieve these goals, the Sub-Commission proposed to give priority to the preparation of studies on the status of women in national legislation, with a view to elaborating the necessary legal instruments.

However, it was not until 1979 that a comprehensive international convention including implementation provisions and supervisory machinery aimed at eliminating discrimination against women was adopted when at its thirty-fourth session, the Assembly finally adopted an international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. This Convention, which has been hailed as a turning point in the history of the United Nations approach to the protection of the human rights of women, was the first international instrument to deal comprehensively with the condition of women and to establish standards that are binding on states parties. In the preamble to the Convention, the parties recognize that, despite the existence of the International Bill of Human Rights and other international instruments, ‘extensive discrimination against women continues to exist.’
The most important aspect of the new Convention was its provision for the establishment of implementation machinery to review progress in the elimination of discrimination against women.

Four world conferences on women convened by the United Nations in the past quarter of a century have been instrumental in elevating the cause of gender equality to the very centre of the global agenda. The conferences have united the international community behind a set of common objectives with an effective plan of action for the advancement of women everywhere, in all spheres of public and private life. The struggle for equality entered thus a second stage with the convening of four world conferences by the United Nations to develop strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. The efforts undertaken have gone through several phases and transformations, from regarding women almost exclusively in terms of their development needs, to recognizing their essential contributions to the entire development process, to seeking their empowerment and the promotion of their right to full participation at all levels of human activity.

**Women’s NGOs in Iran**

Since our focus is on the women’s movement in Iran and India, we need to look at developments in the women’s movement in Iran and India. In Iran, concern about the situation of women and recognition of the need to make efforts to improve and promote their status is the reason why numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and popular groupings have been formed. These organizations deal with women’s issues and problems at the national and international levels and are engaged in activities to improve their social and familial situations on a voluntary and non-profit basis. Due to its religious convictions and national customs, Iran has always witnessed the rise of voluntary activities oriented towards benevolent purposes throughout its history. Women have been successful founders of NGOs and popular groupings in Iran because of their ethnic, educational and spiritual
motivations, sense of responsibility for the welfare of their society, and deprivation of access to governmental power circles.

Drawing upon historical evidence, we can conclude that the women’s collective movement goes back to the early Qajar era (1775-1925). In fact, the extensive participation of women in the Tobacco Movement and the Constitutional Revolution proves this claim. Nonetheless, women were denied the right to vote under the constitution approved after the Constitutional Revolution along with bankrupt people, murderers, thieves, and the insane. Therefore, the Constitutional Revolution did not result in any immediate change in the position of women. Ultimately, however, the Revolution had the important long-term effect of increasing their awareness and motivating them in subsequent struggles. Lack of access to legal rights did not present an impediment to later movements and women became engaged in activities for the achievement of further fundamental rights, such as education.

In general, the serious presence of women in movements in contemporary Iran begins with the Constitutional Revolution. Their activities and movements may be classified into three categories:

1. Creation of women’s associations and organizations
2. Publication of material
3. Establishment of schools for girls.

The oldest and most deep-rooted NGOs in Iran are organizations devoted to charity, their history going back to the pre-Islamic era. Since the Constitutional Revolution period, a transformation occurred in such organizations as some of them turned into educational and cultural organizations. They also assumed ideological and political dimensions after the Islamic Revolution and showed their willingness to interfere in decision-making and managing the country affairs. During the last period of the Iran-Iraq war and, particularly, following Khatami’s coming to power in 1997, these organizations became even more specialized, aiming at defending
women’s rights. In brief, charity organizations are considered as the first generation, educational and cultural organizations as the second generation, ideological organizations as the third, and ‘specialized’ NGOs as the fourth generation of women’s NGOs in Iran.

Women’s NGOs in Iran entered a new stage in their activities following the 1995 Beijing Conference. Until the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), 50 women’s NGOs had been established or were identified by the Unit for the Coordination of NGOs. But more than 450 women’s NGOs have been identified in Iran up to now according to the latest statistics released by the Center for Women’s Participation (affiliated to the presidency). These organizations are active in various fields, encompassing social, cultural, educational, scientific-professional, protective and charity affairs. They also address different subjects, such as health, environment, rural life, religion, sports, arts and mass media.

Women’s NGOs in Iran, while showing a quantitative increase, have moved toward better quality too. Considering the growing trend of increasing numbers of female students in universities (more than 60%), reflecting the heightened public awareness of women, it can be expected that in a foreseeable future, women’s NGOs in Iran will be treated more positively by the general public.

Social Movement of Women in India

Just as the beginnings of the women’s movement in Iran are often traced to charitable organizations and religious movements formed long ago, the history of the women’s movement in India is said to begin with the social reform movement of the nineteenth century. In spite of the somewhat ambivalent agenda of the social reformists, slowly women in India began to see themselves as subjects, agents, individuals with rights of their own. The following section traces some of the contours of the women’s movement in India.
The status of women was an issue of great concern to nineteenth-century reformers in India. Their first efforts were directed against certain customs — *sati*, female infanticide and prohibitions against widow remarriage — seen as detrimental to the status of women. Later, they tried to educate women and bring them into public life. By the first decade of the twentieth century, a few Indian women were convinced that they needed an all-India women's organization, run by women, to deal with women's problems. Saraladevi Choudhurani, the founder of the Bharat Stree Mahamandal (the 'Great Circle of Indian Women') was a pioneer in this regard. (Rao, 2000, 365). Another all India organization, The All India Women's Conference is the oldest and the largest and is spread throughout the country. The AIWC played a very important role during the 1930s and 1940s in highlighting the subjugated position of Indian women and mobilized middle-class women to fight for their rights.

In India the struggle of women for greater control over their lives has taken place in four major forms:

- Women have organized themselves autonomously;
- They have fought through unions for an improvement in their standards of life and conditions of work;
- They have fought for equal and just payment for their work;
- They have fought in more general social movements on issues which affect men and children as well, such as against political repression, for housing, or against the rise in prices.

Neera Desai and Vibhuti Patel classify women’s organizations in India into the following types:

1. Agitational, propaganda, consciousness-raising groups, which may be termed autonomous groups.
2. Grassroots or mass-based organizations, such as trade unions, agricultural labourer organizations, democratic rights groups or tribal organizations taking up women's issues.

3. Groups concentrating on providing services, shelter and homes to needy women.

4. Professional women's organizations such as those of doctors, lawyers, scientists, researchers and journalists.

5. Women's wings or fronts of the political parties.

6. Groups involved in research and documentation on women's issues.

The late 1970s saw the establishment of feminist groups in order to fight against discrimination and social abuse of women's rights, dowry, sexual harassment of working women and rape. The new women's movement developing after 1975 did so in a new atmosphere of cultural radicalism that had been absent for most of the pre-Independence movement women leaders, who had tended to insist on their own 'Hindu' roots and to idealize the Vedic period.

The Indian social arena in the last decade of the 20th century has witnessed an upheaval in the social status of Indian women, with Indian women, depending on their own capabilities, playing a more outstanding role in their society. One of the issues that has become important in these years is the political representation of Indian women, from membership in the panchayats to representation in legislative bodies.

**The Significance of Research**

A comparative study of women's rights in India and Iran would be very interesting because the two nations share certain cultural similarities in their attitudes towards women. In both countries women suffer discrimination, and there are
traditional cultural claims of male superiority which can be traced to religious beliefs, and philosophical justification of female inferiority embedded in culture.

India and Iran are ranked as developing Asian countries. They are facing some similar social and economic problems due to high rate of development which affects the fulfillment of their international responsibilities regarding women. In addition, both Iranian and Indian societies are becoming modern societies. It would be interesting to investigate how the role of women as merely center of the family in an ancient society could change to an active socio-economic agent and what are the legal, economic steps necessary to be taken.

There are some improvements in the life of ordinary women in both societies, partly as the result of globalization and the activities of women's NGOs. This study measures and compares the level of these improvements in each country and tries to find out if there is any significant difference between Iran and India, or if they are enjoying a similar pattern of achievements. We may find patterns of overcoming the women's problems in each of the two countries that could be adaptable by the other country.

**Main Question**

What is the impact of globalization on social movements by women, particularly the quality of formation and activities of women's NGOs in Iran and India? This question will be answered with reference to the experiences of two countries, Iran and India. Other related questions are also proposed as follows.

**Supplementary Questions**

- Has globalization affected women's NGOs in determining their objectives?
- What is the relationship between women's NGOs and the political system in Iran?
• What is the relationship between women's NGOs and the political system in India?
• What is the impact of the United Nations and international actors on the formation and activities of women's NGOs?
• What are the effects of differences in economic, social and cultural frameworks on the formation and activities of NGOs?

We shall address these questions throughout the thesis, and more specifically in the conclusion.

**Main Hypothesis**

With the creation of new spaces for the action of social movements, notably women's NGOs, globalization has provided the basis for the rise in the number of NGOs and the extent of their operations, because it leads to a decline in the influence of the state and brings about the establishment of international communication networks. In countries like India, which are further integrated to the international system and have political systems that are more democratic in nature, this impact is more evident than in countries such as Iran.

The impact of globalization on women's social movements can be seen in the qualitative and quantitative growth of these movements. In other words, globalization has led to an increase in the number of such movements as well as the quality of their organization and activities. This quantitative and qualitative growth has turned them into active actors in the realm of global decision- and policy-making. It can even be claimed that with the entry of these movements into the realm of decision-making, this aspect itself has become globalized as well. This is what we call globalization of decision-making or globalization from below.

Globalization from below contrasts with globalization from above. The driving force behind globalization from above is the group of eight industrialized nations (G-
8), multinational companies, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and other such organizations, while the force behind globalization from below includes agricultural unions, student, environmental and women’s movements, trade unions, pacifist movements and so on. While globalization from above seeks the globalization of production, markets and finance, globalization from below demands the rise in salaries and wages, respect for human rights, social and environmental rights, democratization of world and local institutions, reducing the gap between the haves and the powerful on the one side and have-nots and the weak on the other at the world level. It also aims at sustainable development. Through the channel of non-governmental organizations, people are also given a share in decision-making so that it loses its vertical character (that is the participation of states, intergovernmental organizations, and multinational companies), thus taking a horizontal shape.

**Scope of Research**

This dissertation focuses on a recognition of the effects of globalization on the quality of formation and operation of women’s NGOs in Iran and India. In order to reach this goal, the parameters affected by the globalization process will be identified and scrutinized. It seems that the quantitative rise of NGOs is among the consequences of globalization. This can also influence the link between NGOs and the governmental decision-making mechanism and help NGOs to achieve their true status.

Due to globalization, certain common goals and concerns have appeared in women’s NGOs that represent global solidarity among them. One of the objectives of the research includes the identification of common goals as well as the objectives affected by cultural and historical frameworks as exist in each of the two countries.
Research Methodology

This dissertation is descriptive-analytical and comparative. In this method, the following sources for gathering data have been used:

- Books, articles and other published material on the variables of the research.
- Documents for the identification of the impact of globalization and recognition of the history of women's NGOs in Iran and India.
- Interviews with specialists and scholars on women's NGOs in Iran and India.
- Questionnaires to assess the operations of women's NGOs in Iran and India.

Literature Review

Considering that no specific work has been published on our research subject, our relevant sources are divided into three parts:

- Sources that discuss globalization and its impact on social movements.
- Sources that focus on NGOs in the Third World countries.
- Sources that examine women's conditions in Iran and India.

Now, we look briefly at a number of these books. The following works deal with the women's NGOs and social movements in India as well as the political participation of women in Iran.

Michael Edwards and his colleagues, in their illuminating study of the role of NGOs in the globalized world, seek to analyze the status of NGOs in the globalization process.¹ Researchers are of the belief that NGOs will elevate their

activities, in the future, from the general level onto the world stage, and in this
course, their practices and roles will change. Globalization, inequality and insecurity
will occur simultaneously. International collaborations in the form of foreign aid will
decline and the question of humanitarian actions will become political in a complex
manner. This study argues that the process will bring about certain changes in the
roles of NGOs, their capacities and their accountability.

Globalization will transform the patterns of poverty and domestic and
international insecurity and such a process will demand new international answers.
With the emergence of a world civil society, NGOs will gain more power, which
will assist people through the redistribution of opportunities and allowances. While
foreign aid will reduce in quantity, new forms of international cooperation will take
shape along with world changes. NGOs will assume important functions in such
developments and will play their part by creating strong native elements for
international collaborations, and by changing international agreements in such a way
that the poor become able to communicate their concerns with the governments
within pluralist structures, and promoting the capacity of civil groups.

Thus, NGOs will play a crucial role in the alleviation of human plight and making
international humanitarian policies transparent. In the global future, they will
transform their strategy from development-as-delivery to development-as-leverage.
They will create new relations among the alliances, elements from the states,
military apparatus, international bodies and other groups of civil society and will
acquire extensive capacities for mediation within these communication networks. In
a global future, the world will be dominated by NGOs, so we have to achieve our
own aims in this course.

Leon Gordenker, and his colleagues argue that NGOs have had less effectiveness in
undertaking their representation of all peoples of the world.\footnote{Leon Gordenker and
Others,\textit{NGOs: the People's Voice in International Governance},UN
University, Tokyo, Japan 1996.} They serve as a centre
for echoing the voice of people who want their voice heard by world people. This activity is compatible with democratization, liberalization, and social movements in civil society. Certain governments and social organizations continue to make serious efforts to silence the voice of NGOs. They face secrecy, obstacles and antagonism at the national level. At this level, a number of nationalist, religious and ethnic groups have intensified disrespect for human beings and NGOs defending people. They describe the activities of NGOs as creating tension. Nevertheless, women’s NGOs have improved women’s rights at this level. Where there is tension and arbitrariness, the voice of NGOs is heard and they have gained general popularity as an effective factor. The voice of NGOs prevents in practice disrespect for and inattention to human rights.

The History of Doing is a book about the history of women’s movements in India during the past two centuries.¹ There is a theoretical division between pre- and post-Independence feminism in India. The book argues that the promise about the equality between the sexes which was guaranteed by the Constitution of Independent India was denounced as a sham during the 1970s and this caused a change in the lull in feminist activities. As a result, plenty of new women’s organizations were born, while older ones revitalized by the 1980s. The special category of women’s activism was newly researched and expanded with a view to charting its specialties as well as the logical and organic links between feminism and Marxism, feminism and anti-communalism, feminism and anti-casteism, and so on.

At the first stage of women’s movements for these rights, it was more or less taken for granted that the difference between the sexes was such that their roles, functions, aims and desires were different. In post-Independence India, the contemporary feminist movement began by basing itself firmly on principles of equality and asserting that structures, which are based on gender, oppressed and subordinated women. From this point of view, the difference between men and

women was held to be an ideological one, which should not affect women's right to equality with men in both public and private spheres. As a whole, the book is a historical review of the causes and development of the women's movement in India, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the present day.

*Raka Ray has studied the women's movement in India in a book which grew out of her dissertation.*¹ It is a research study about the political and cultural circumstances under which groups of women organize to create and sustain movements. The discussion focuses mainly on a comparison of two different movements that occurred in Calcutta and Bombay, cities in which women have fought for their rights and their self-worth during the past two centuries. Throughout the book, the author elucidates the differences in Calcutta and Bombay in the rhetoric of two women's movements and the possibilities for action. She believes that women's organizations inherit a 'field' and its accompanying social relations, and that the act of these organizations is in response to this field and within it. It is because of the differences in the nature of the political fields of Calcutta and Bombay that the two movements have developed as they have. The book mainly explores the motivations and strategies of women activists in both cities and situates them in specific and local fields in order to find out why certain issues could be successful in one city and fail in another, or why certain battles could be undertaken by one group and ignored by another.

*Nandita Gandhi and Nandita Shah begin their book with a prologue which defines the objectives and methodology of the work along with a brief biography of the authors and the process of their study.*² By comparing the definition of 'movement' with what is called the Indian women's movement (IWM), the authors divide IWM into particular phases and briefly discuss them all. The body of the book

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contains three main issues of the movement, violence, health and work as political, emotional and intellectual experiences. Different chapters are designated to these three issues, and a chapter is devoted to legal campaigns. Organisations are described in another chapter along with the personal struggles of activists. The book comes to a conclusion, saying it is 'not a conclusion' by raising several questions.

Nivedita Menon's book is about the women's movement in India and deals with a wide range of issues that impinge on women in different and significant ways. This book presents a comprehensive overview of the feminist movement, its theory and politics in India in the form of debates that emerged within the movement on key issues. The introduction outlines the issues involved and their importance in understanding the political aspects of gender. The essays provide an insight on the impact of policies and new technologies on women and the engagement of feminism with law. The implication of feminist politics on other discourses within mainstream politics has been dealt with as also the feminist critique of imaginings of 'community' and state practices which deny validity to any loyalties other than to the state itself. The book makes stimulating reading for students of gender studies and those interested in the dynamics of the women's movement as it exists in India today.

Feminist 'theory' has always resisted the implied dichotomy with 'practice', and has therefore continuously been in a dynamic relationship with politics. Thus, there are very real stakes involved, and the debates and disagreements within the women's movement in India are as significant as its opposition to what it struggles against. Nevertheless, despite these complex internal critiques, it is possible to discern a shared concern about the ways in which 'gender' is defined, institutionalized and mobilized in perpetuating inequality and in justice. It is this concern which marks out a field which can be called feminist politics.

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1 Nivedita, Menon(ed.), *Gender and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.
Nasrin Mosaffa believes that women's mass and extensive participation in the process of the Iranian Islamic Revolution represents one of the salient characteristics of this revolution which is accepted by all scholars. Women's participation in the revolution began from the formative stages of revolutionary movements and women took part in demonstrations and protests along with men. The women, who had not any extensive presence in political scenes previously and did not enjoy any training or organizational activity, entered the political scene. This book is divided into five sections. The first section refers to general issues in which the main question of the research revolves on the relationship between the regulative ability of the Islamic Republic of Iran's political system and women's political participation. The second one examines the theoretical foundations of political participation and offers a literature review. The third section is on women's political participation and pays attention to the process of granting women equal political rights in the constitution. Then the reasons for women's weaker participation in the political scene as well as the international factors such as modernism, capitalist socioeconomic system and UN actions in this regard are discussed. The fourth section deals with the factors influencing the domestic environment and their roles in the political process. The fifth section explores the results of the field study derived from 150 questionnaires distributed among women.

Parvin Paida has used a rich array of sources to discuss the role of women in the political processes of twentieth century Iran. Her focus is on women's organizations, their leaders, journals, and political activities. Another prominent researcher in this field is Hammed Shahidian, whose book deals with the issue of gender and politics in the Islamic Republic. Blending social scientific theories about feminism, social movements, and culture with the specifics of the Iranian situation, his book examines

changes in the structure of patriarchy from the 1960s to the present by looking at domestic labor, employment, education, politics, culture, and sexuality. Combining personal narratives and socio-philosophical discussion, Shahidian focuses on policies that shape gender relations, primarily on the Islamic government's strategies to re-strengthen patriarchal practices. This book studies gender discourses in Iran as the interplay of ideologies and socio-historical conditions. There is another book titled 'Iran Encountering Globalization'\(^1\) that discusses the uneasy balance between theocratic conservatism, modernization and globalization in present day Iran. This is a key tension in Iran - one which has arisen following the revolution of 1979, since the regime has worked to Islamicize the country. At the same time, forces of international globalization have been pulling the country in a different direction. Concluding that forces for change in Iran are currently building up, this is an extremely topical book that makes an important contribution to current debates surrounding democracy in Iran. This book examines the current state of Iran, exploring a wide range of areas including the economy, finance, politics, the media, and the position of women and migration.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter is an Introduction (theoretical framework of research). The major cores of this chapter are: expression of the issues of globalization, NGOs and women's rights, main questions, supplementary questions, research scope, definitions and methodology.

The second chapter discusses globalization and women in Iran. This chapter is divided into four parts: first, the position of women in Iran in the light of statistics and figures; in the second part, the role of Iranian women in contemporary political and social changes is discussed; in the third part, the women NGOs in Iran are introduced, while in the fourth part, the subject is globalization and women in Iran.

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In the third chapter, globalization and women in India are discussed. This chapter, too, is divided into four parts: first, the position of Indian women as culled from statistics and figures; the second examines the role of Indian women in relation to contemporary political and social changes; in the third part, the women NGOs in India are introduced, while the fourth part discusses globalization and women in India.

The fourth chapter's topic is women and globalization. The most important issues in this chapter are: definitions of globalization, dimensions of globalization, the impact of globalization and the impact of globalization on women and women’s NGOs.

The fifth chapter gives statistical data and field information and studies the situation of women’s NGOs in Iran and India. A summary and conclusion comprise the sixth chapter.