

Citizenship Practices of Women's Empowerment First Part

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Introductory remarks

- Field of research: citizenship and civic activism
- Approach focused on phenomena, not on theories or normative models
- Focus on Western societies, especially Italy and EU countries → a possible term of comparison, useful to catch differences and similarities

- Today: the inherited citizenship model lives a deep transformation process, due among others to women's activism
- We will look at women as citizenship-shaping actors

- A conceptual toolbox, enabling both gathering of information and action will be presented

Content of the lessons

- First part
 - Citizenship as a phenomenon
 - Women and citizenship: a critical relation
- Second part
 - Active citizenship as phenomenon
 - Women's active citizenship practices

CITIZENSHIP AS A PHENOMENON

A device

- Citizenship as a device enabling inclusion, cohesion and development of political communities
- Also a tool to define «who is in» and «who is out»
- Emerged in the modern era as a way to hold together many people living in large territories and not familiar to each other (different from the previous «proximity citizenship»)



Relevant features

- **Dynamic:** ever-changing, not implementation of a well-established model
- **Contextual:** related to times and places
- **Conflictual:** field of struggles on its definition, content, extension
- **Ambivalent:** at the same time a tool of social cohesion and a source of conflicts; it includes and at the same time excludes, etc.

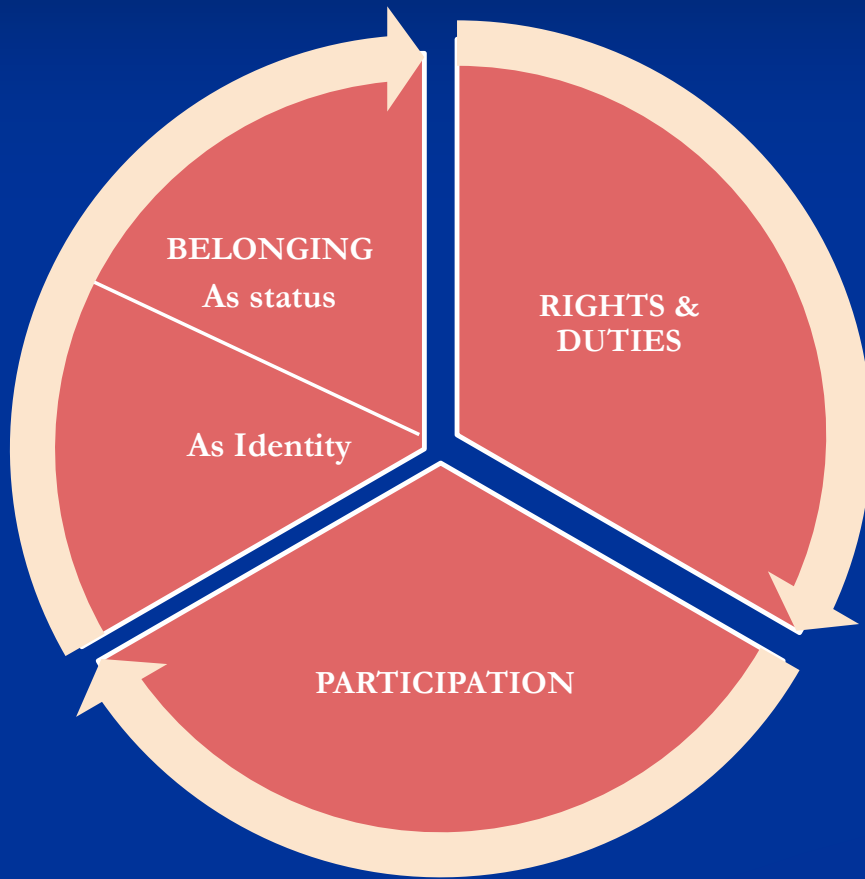
A definition

- «Citizenship is a condition of civic equality. It consists of **membership** of a political community where **all citizens can determine the terms of social cooperation** on an equal basis. This status not only secures equal **rights** to the enjoyment of the collective goods provided by the political association but also involves equal **duties** to promote and sustain them – including the good of democratic citizenship itself» (Richard Bellamy)
- To be noticed: rights cannot be established without the citizens' participation on an equal basis and cannot be implemented without shared values and habits, which are the basis of common duties

Operationally

- We can look at citizenship as a three-component device, which is defined and redefined in three «places»
- Components:
 - Belonging as status and as identity
 - Rights and duties
 - Participation
- «Places»
 - Constitutional norms
 - Civic storage
 - Citizenship practices

Device components



Belonging: being recognized (in legal and social terms) and feeling part of the political community

Rights: standards of life taken for granted and implemented through institutional arrangements and through the exercise of **duties** of members of the political community (as individuals and as organizations)

Participation: involvement of all the members of the political community in the establishment and functioning of the institutional system, as well as of its aims, standards, and rules of the game, on an equal basis

«Places» where citizenship is defined and redefined

Constitutional-rank norms

Norms that define legal status, rights and duties, forms of participation

Civic Acquis or «storage»

The set of legal-, policy-, judicial- or civil regulation-based provisions establishing the content and extension of citizenship (e.g. public administrations establish which citizens can access to health services free of charge)

Citizenship practices

Dynamic relations between citizens and the polity and political community (citizens take part in shaping citizenship)

THE ITALIAN CASE

The focus

- Deepen the knowledge on citizenship with reference to its three components
- Use of references to Italian experience
- The Italian experience is based on the traditional Western paradigm of citizenship

The XX Century emerging paradigm, a synthesis

Belonging

- Linked to national dimension
- Defined by the State → borders
- Based on the identification with a cultural (imagined) community → internal boundaries

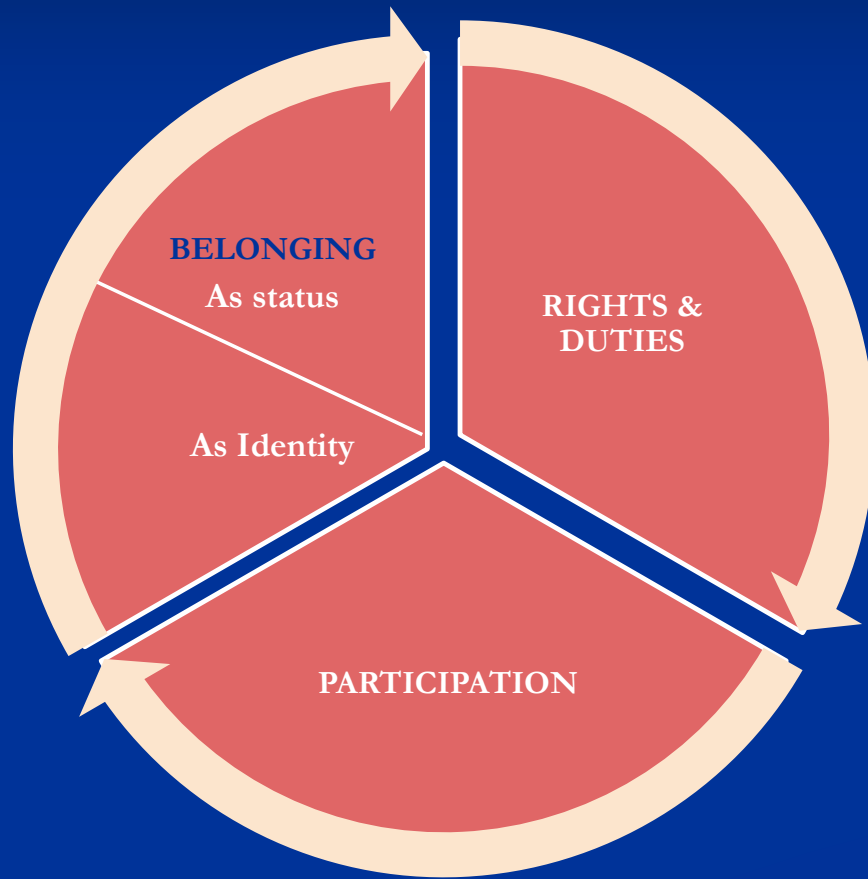
Rights & Duties

- Civil, Political and Social Rights
- Human rights (for citizens only)
- Traditional duties

Participation

- Establishment of the political system through elections and political parties
- Possibility of directly addressing to political system through institutions of direct democracy, acts of protest and lobbying, and taking care of the community

Device components



Belonging

In general: being recognized and feeling part of political community (the whole citizenry) as a group defined by a system of institutions, values, norms, habits that make it possible the common life in terms of interdependence and reciprocity

Belonging as a status: being recognized by the State, the other members of political community and by people and institutions outside the political community as part of it

Belonging as identity: feeling part of the community of citizens and of its political institutions

Belonging as status

Legal satus



Social status



What we mean

Legal status

You are citizen of a State: the symbol of passport

Principles of recognition of the legal status:

- Descent (ius sanguinis)
- Birth (ius soli)
- «Naturalization»

The recognition of the legal status produces exclusion

Strangers living in a political community have a status of «semi-citizenship»: rights and prerogatives without right to vote («denizens»: neither strangers nor citizens)

Social status

Being recognized as member of the political community «as...» (a condition, a situation, a place...)

An example: official statistics gather data on family income → being member of a family identifies the members of the political community (but in Italy 32% of families are single-person)

The others are internal or external: often stereotypical representations that in any case produce recognition

The definition of social status produces internal exclusion and inequalities among those that according the law would be equal

Belonging as identity

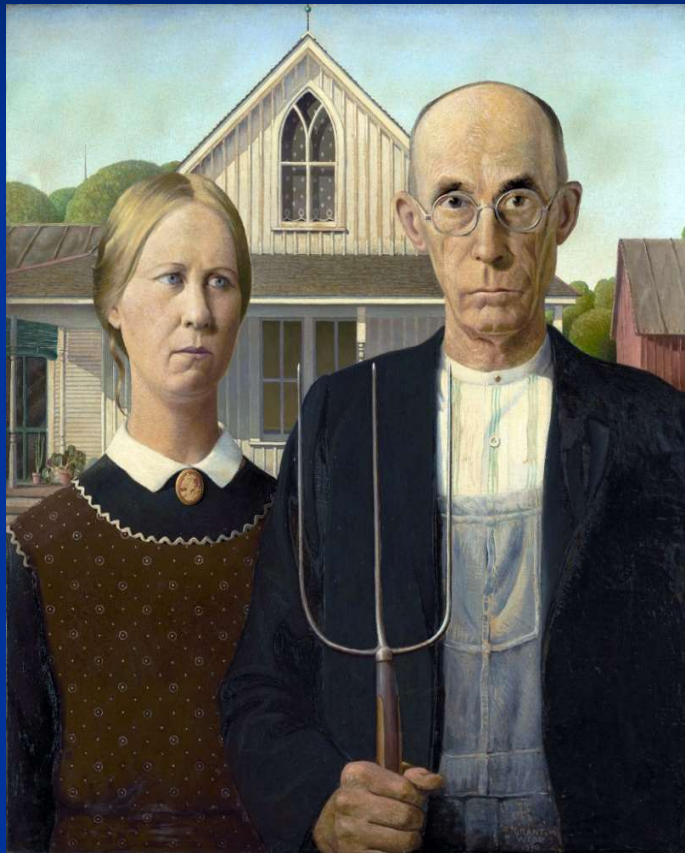


What we mean

- In general: sense of belonging of an individual to a human group, made up of all people that share the same feeling
- **National identity:** sense of belonging to a community identified by external borders, that is defined in terms of common heritage, history, language, religion, lifestyles, material culture
- National identity differentiates those that are members from the «Others»: the Others define who we are
- How national identity is built. Examples:
 - Wars
 - Narratives
 - Symbols and rituals (e.g. public holidays, unknown soldier monuments, etc.)
 - Education (history, civic education)
 - Daily identity («Banal identity»): e.g. national flags on buildings, symbols of coins and banknotes, ...
- It is not needed to feel strong affection or love towards own nation to feel part of the national community
- Attention: nations are «imagined communities» (Indonesia had never existed before 1949 – it was an archipelago of 17.000 islands colonized by Dutch)

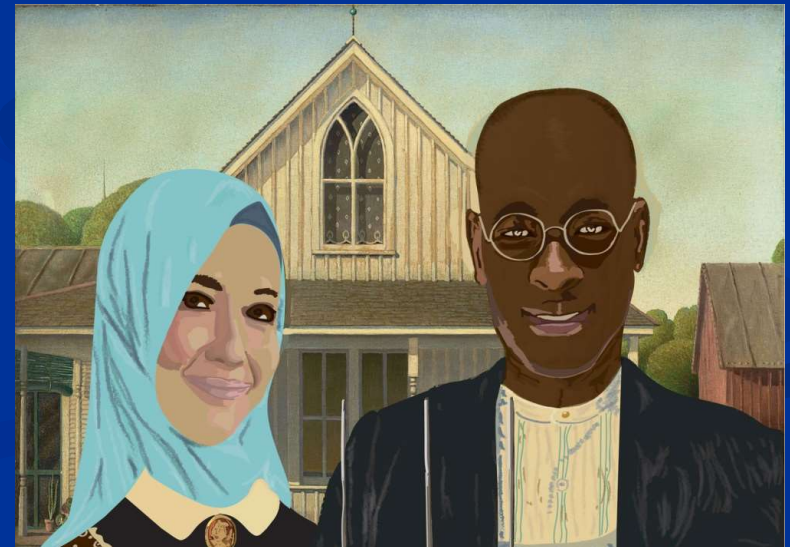
Belonging is always based on a hidden anthropological model

The USA case:
WASP (White, Anglo-
Saxon, Protestant)



Grant Wood, American Gothic, 1930

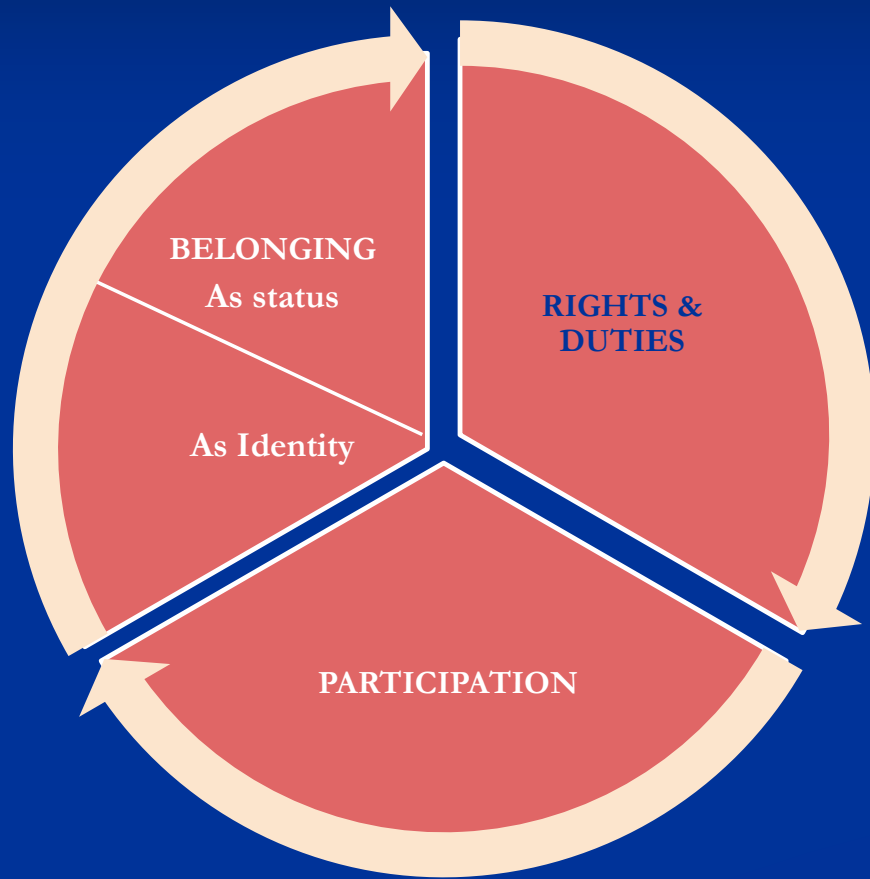
Variations



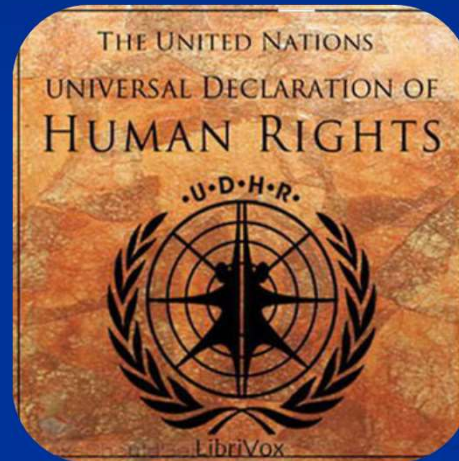
In Italy too:
«In the national team would play only Italians»



Device components



Rights and duties



What we mean

- The legitimate claim, recognized by the law, to act to achieve own interests, objectives and life conditions
- In practice: **standards of life** recognized and protected on an equal basis
- Citizenship as «right to have rights».
- Rights have a political nature; they are not forever and are the field of conflicts (e.g.: «pro life» vs «pro choice»)
- The State is the guarantor of rights through legislation, administration and jurisdiction
- Other actors concur to recognition and protection of rights: organized citizens, civil society institutions, the media, etc.
- Rights are individual but also collective (e.g. trade unions, freedom of religion)

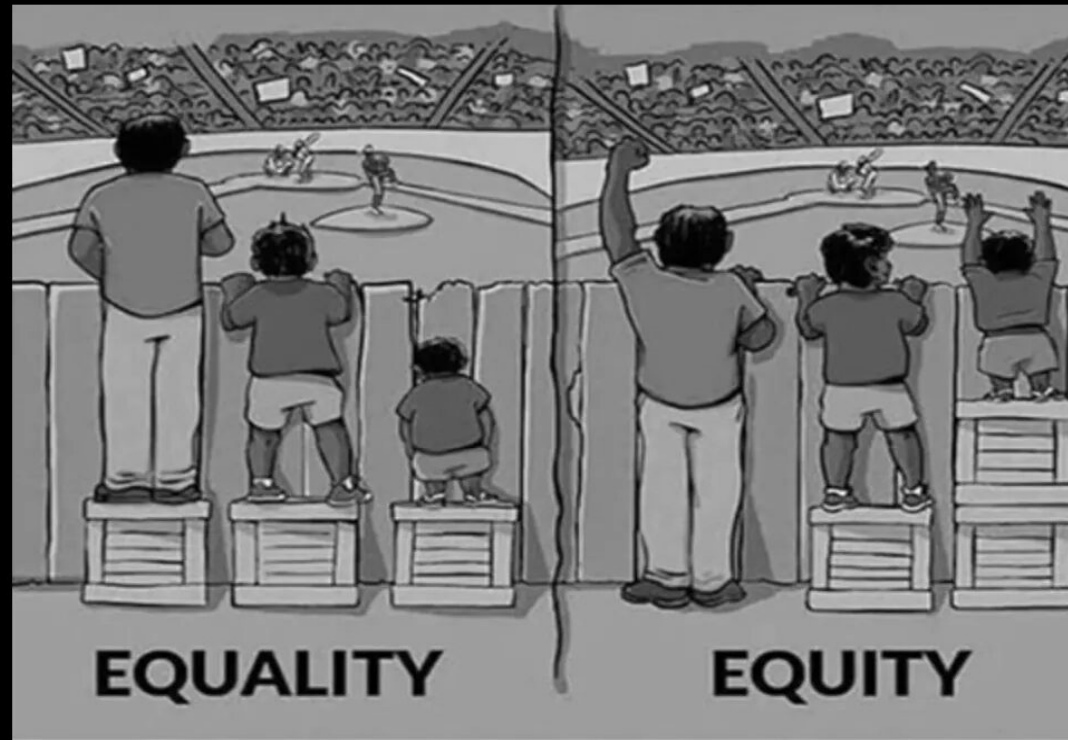
Citizenship rights: the standard model

(Thomas Marshall, 1950)

Kinds of rights	Content	Examples
Civil	Concerning the private life, protect citizens from interferences and abuses of the State and other actors	Freedom of expression and action, habeas corpus, personal security, fair trial, to form a family, to property, etc.
Political	Concerning the participation to political life and to the establishment of public decisions	Right to vote, to association, freedom of assembly, right to information
Social	Concerning measures and services delivered by the State to the end of ensure a net of social protection	Education, health, pensions, social security, social services, housing

Citizenship rights include human rights as well

Affirmative actions



1. Equality: is giving people the same thing/s.
2. Equity: is fairness in every situation.

Duties

Duty: a moral obligation to act in accordance with recognized legal or social norms, that implies sanctions if not respected

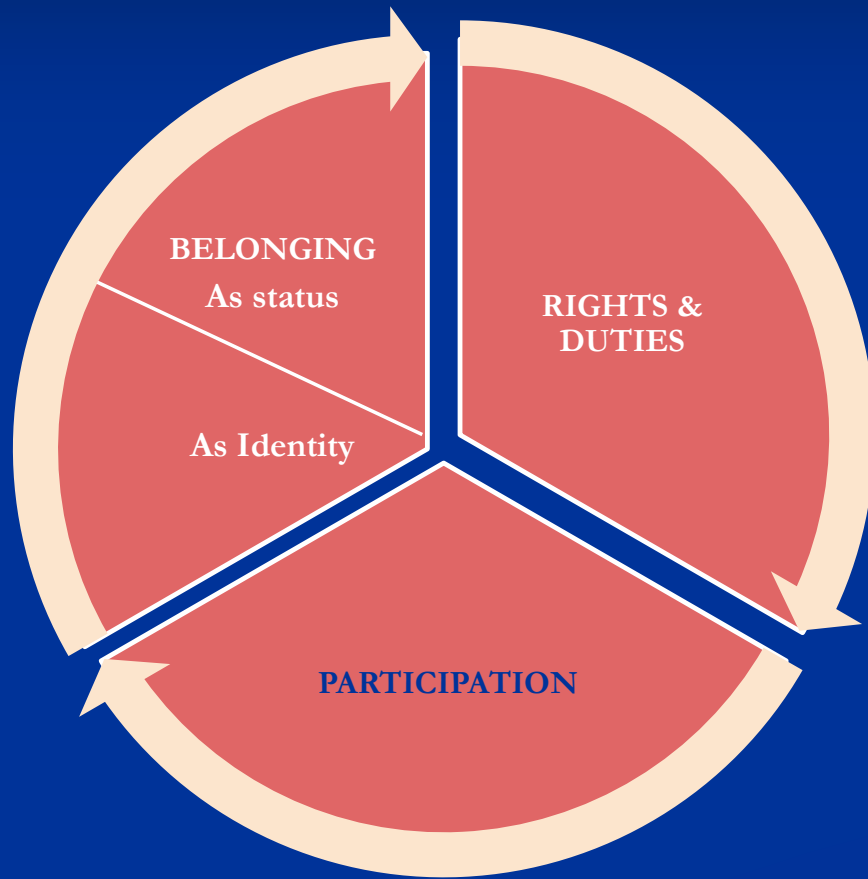
In practice: **standards of behavior** recognized also in case they are not practiced

Traditional duties: to pay taxes, to defend the homeland, to cooperate in justice administration

Two kinds of duties can be distinguished:

- Duties directly related to rights (duties of reciprocity. e.g. to not harm)
- Duties as exercise of responsibility towards the whole community (duties of solidarity, e.g. to pay taxes)

Device components



Participation



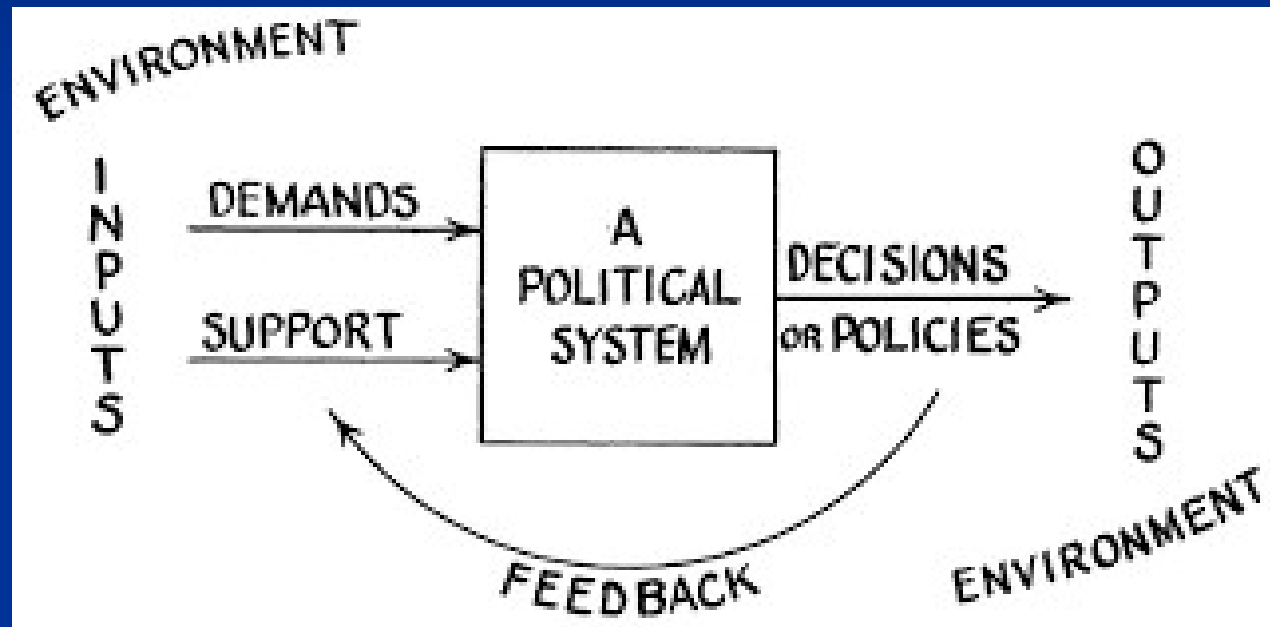
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FAC-SIMILE
 FORMATO PER IL SISTEMA ELETTORALE COMPLESSIVO
 DI APPLICAZIONE PER IL TRIANGOLO ASTRIPROCE (M.M. 2007)
 NEL CASO DI 14 SINGOLI

What we mean

- Take part in the definition, implementation and evaluation of ends, standards and rules of the game of common life, through political parties and in other forms
- «One man, one vote»: individual preferences are dealt with in an equal way
- Political parties need to take into account a wide spectrum of points of view and interests in their programs, so that citizens have to practice a certain degree of tolerance and reciprocal adaptation
- Participation and representation: voting legitimates the political system (parliament, government, State institutions) to stand for and act for the whole citizenry
- Citizens are also legitimate to directly address the political system, through direct democracy (e.g. referenda), social movements (focused on protest) and interest groups
- Citizens can also feed the social ties through associations and organizations acting «horizontally»

The political system



In sum: the content of the inherited model

Belonging

- Linked to national dimension
- Defined by the State
→ borders
- Based on the identification with a cultural community
→ internal boundaries

Rights & Duties

- Civil, Political and Social Rights
- Human rights (for citizens only)
- Traditional duties (compliance with the law, paying taxes, serving in the army, cooperate in administration of justice)

Participation

- Establishment of the political system through elections and political parties
- Possibility of directly addressing to political system through institutions of direct democracy and acts of protest and lobbying

CRISIS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

The crisis of paradigm

Belonging	As status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questioned borders (the «Internal Other») • Crisis of basic social structures (family, work) • Privatization of the public sphere • Secession from common citizenship (e.g. gated communities, Golden Passports) • Diffusion of double citizenship
	As identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-nationalism and sovranism, based on ethnic, religious, territorial definitions • Multiplication of identities and attachments (hybrid identities) • Weakening of social ties
Rights & Duties	Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights (rights no longer identifying the citizen) • Implementation gaps of rights and related policies • Claims for new rights, based on differences
	Duties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Escape from taxation • End of military service • Weakness of the traditional duties and uncertainty on the new ones
Participation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ineffectiveness of popular sovereignty • Detachment of citizens from the political system • Weakening of parties' constituencies • Alternative forms of participation and representation

Ongoing transformations

Attempts to redefine the paradigm

- Separation between citizenship and nationality
- Pluralization of citizenship
- Principle of residence (*ius domicilii*) vs *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*
- Community of fate vs. community of origin
- Participation as redefining factor
- From identity to differences
- Breaking the public-private borders

Ongoing phenomena (anomalies)

- Urban citizenship
- European cit.
- Global or cosmopolitan cit.
- Multicultural or cultural cit.
- Gender cit.
- Consumer cit.
- Corporate cit.
- Digital cit.
- Active cit.

WOMEN AND CITIZENSHIP, A CRITICAL RELATION

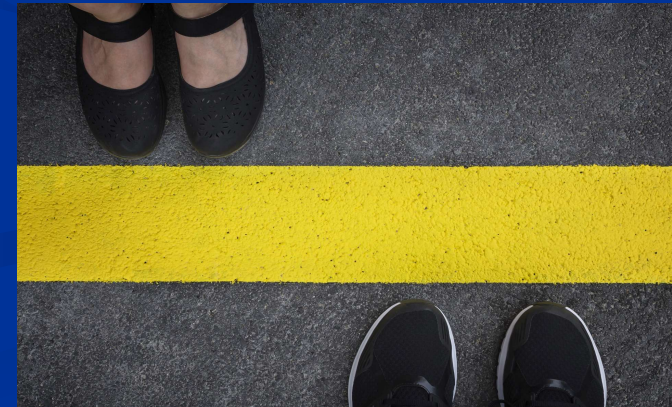
Borders

Established by the State, delimit externally the space of life of political community and «who is in» and «who is out»



Boundaries

Internal structures of legal, political, social, cultural, economic, racial, religious nature, that define the place and limits of individuals and social groups, on the base of some of their conditions or features



The boundaries of inherited model of citizenship

- Women subject to males (fathers, husbands, but also eldest sons)
- Exclusive role: reproduction of political community through family care
- No role in public life, only in private one
- For a long time, excluded from voting
- Excluded from some civil rights (e.g. access to justice, property rights, etc.)

**REMOVING, RELOCATING,
REDEFINING BOUNDARIES**

What follows

- Three cases of women struggling to change internal boundaries:
 - Olympe De Gouges and the French Revolution
 - Suffragism and the right to vote
 - Women's civil rights in Italy
- The cases concern:
 - The claim for equality in public and private life
 - The claim for recognition of diversity
 - The push for redefinition of citizenship overcoming the «male breadwinner model»

Olympe de Gouges

1748- guillotined in 1793



“A woman has the right to mount the scaffold.
She must possess equally the right to mount
the speaker's platform”

DÉCLARATION DES DROITS DE LA FEMME ET DE LA CITOYENNE,

A décréter par l'Assemblée nationale dans ses dernières séances ou dans celle de la prochaine législature.

PRÉAMBULE.

Les mères, les filles, les sœurs, représentantes de la nation, demandent d'être constituées en assemblée nationale. Considérant que l'ignorance, l'oubli ou le mépris des droits de la femme, sont les seules causes des malheurs publics et de la corruption des gouvernements, ont résolu d'exposer dans une déclaration solennelle, les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de la femme, afin que cette déclaration, constamment présente à tous les membres du corps social, leur rappelle sans cesse leurs droits et leurs devoirs, afin que les actes du pouvoir des femmes, et ceux du pouvoir des hommes pouvant être à chaque instant comparés avec le but de toute institution politique, en soient plus respectés, afin que les réclamations des citoyennes, fondées désormais sur des principes simples et incontestables, tournent toujours au maintien de la constitution, des bonnes moeurs, et au bonheur de tous.

En conséquence, le sexe supérieur en beauté comme en courage, dans les souffrances maternelles, reconnaît et déclare, en présence

A parallel reading ...

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 1789

- Art. 1: Human Beings are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be founded only on the common good.
- Art. 4: Liberty consists of doing anything which does not harm others: thus, the exercise of the natural rights of each man has only those borders which assure other members of the society the fruition of these same rights. These borders can be determined only by the law.
- Art. 10: No one may be disquieted for his opinions, even religious ones, provided that their manifestation does not trouble the public order established by the law.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, 1791

- Art. 1: Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights. Social distinctions may only be based on common utility.
- Art. 4: Liberty and justice consist of restoring all that belongs to others; thus, the only limits on the exercise of the natural rights of woman are perpetual male tyranny; these limits are to be reformed by the laws of nature and reason.
- Art. 10: No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.

A parallel reading ...

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 1789

- Art. 11: The free communication of thoughts and of opinions is one of the most precious rights of man: any citizen thus may speak, write, print freely, except to respond to the abuse of this liberty, in the cases determined by the law.
- Art. 12: The guarantee of the rights of man and of the citizen necessitates a public force: this force is thus instituted for the advantage of all and not for the particular utility of those in whom it is trusted.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, 1791

- Art. 11: The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since that liberty assures the recognition of children by their fathers. Any female citizen thus may say freely, I am the mother of a child which belongs to you, without being forced by a barbarous prejudice to hide the truth ...
- Art. 12: The guarantee of the rights of woman and the female citizen implies a major benefit; this guarantee must be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.

A parallel reading

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 1789

- Art. 17: Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of private usage, if it is not when the public necessity, legally noted, evidently requires it, and under the condition of a just and prior indemnity.

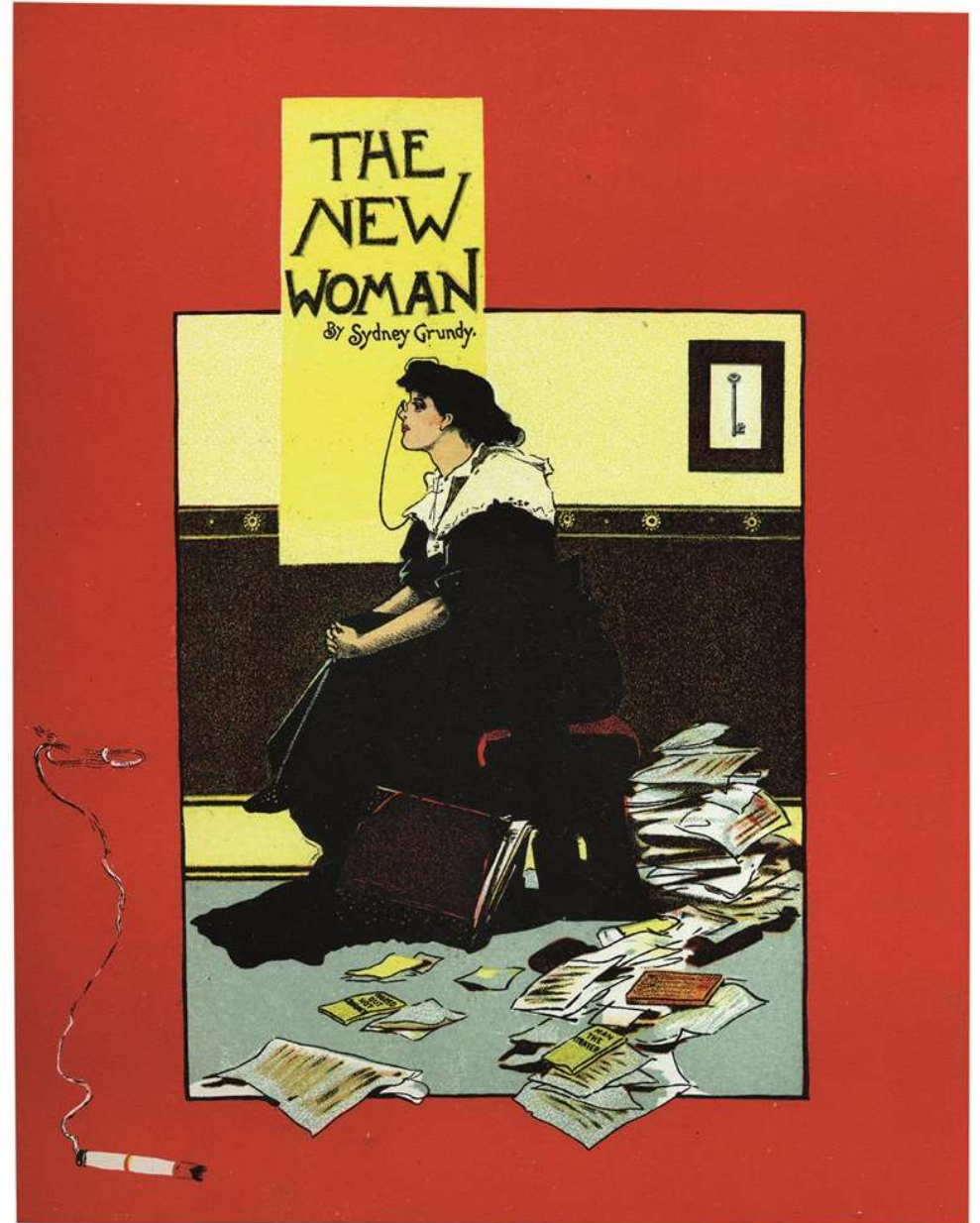
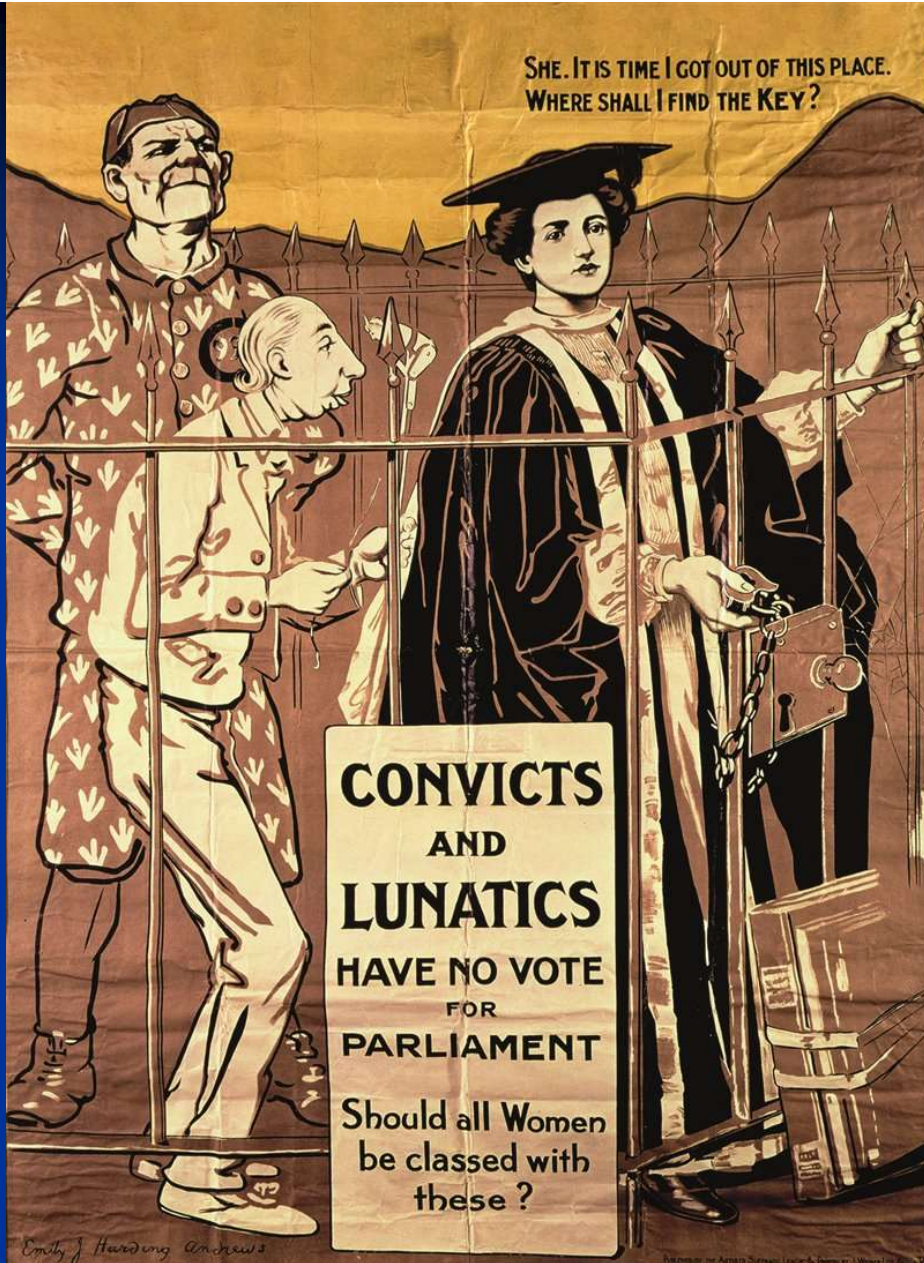
Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, 1791

- Art. 17: Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; for each it is an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it, since it is the true patrimony of nature, unless the legally determined public need obviously dictates it, and then only with a just and prior indemnity.

Suffragism

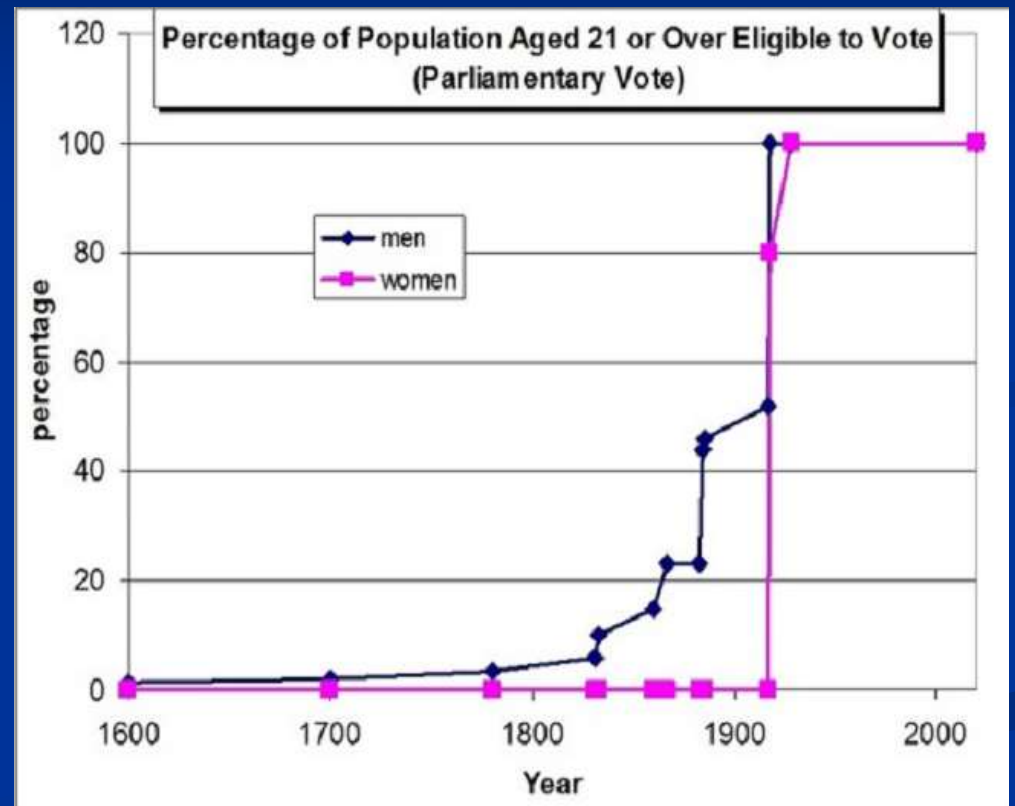


- A women's movement established in the second half of XVIII claiming the right to vote
- Operated through various strategies: e.g. rallies, hunger strikes, acts of sabotage of public events, etc.



Achieving the universal franchise

- 1918 Canada
- 1919 Germany
- 1920 USA
- 1928 Great Britain
- 1944 France
- 1946 Italy
- 1948 Belgium
- 1954 Greece
- 1971 Switzerland



Civil Rights, Italy

- 1975: reform of family law
- 30 years after the adoption of democratic Constitution, which had established that «marriage is based on the moral and legal equality of the spouses» (art. 29)
- Declared full citizens in the Constitution; but treated as «second-class citizens» in legislation and administration
- Achievement due to the mobilization and struggle of women's and civil rights movements

«Italian wife becomes adult»



The 1975 Law

- Abolition of the role of male breadwinner
- Equal rights and duties of females and males
- In particular:
 - Marriage gives rights to both spouses to be reciprocally maintained, if they do not have the means for sustenance they must assist one another. Besides, they have the same inheritance rights.
 - It is forbidden to oblige the wife to live in the home chosen by the husband (the family home must be chosen taking into consideration the needs of both spouses); to exclude the wife from the decisions related to children; to deprive the wife of her means of sustenance; to exclude the wife from family governance (also from the financial aspect);
 - Infidelity is sanctioned in the same way for the husband and the wife, while previously it was always a crime for wives only
 - Two options for managing family property: communal or separation of property regime