



# **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN INDIA**

**A select annotated bibliography**

**DISSERTATION**

**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

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BY

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This is to certify that the M.L. & I.Sc.  
dissertation of Ms Anjum Siddiqui on Women's  
participation in politics in India: A select  
annotated bibliography' was compiled under my  
supervision and guidance.

(S. Mustafa K.Q. Zaidi)  
READER

LIS SECTION

سورة التوبة

**Dedicated**

**To**

**My Parents**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of "Allah" The most beneficent, The most merciful, without whose will I could not complete this work.

I wish to express my sincere and heartiest gratitude to my respected teacher and supervisor **Mr. S. Mustafa K.Q. Zaidi**, Reader, Department of Library and Information Science, A.M.U., Aligarh, whose encouragement, cooperation and guidance have been a source of inspirations for me. I am lucky one to work with such a genius person I would like to thank him for his helpful suggestions and comments in checking the original work and with whose help I became success to complete this work in the present form.

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My special thanks to my respected brothers **Mr. Shahid, Mr. Juned "Vickey" and Mr. Naved** who encouraged and helped me to complete this work.

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*Anjum Siddiqui*  
(ANJUM SIDDIQUI)

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## AIMS, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

### 01. AIMS AND SCOPE

In the year 1996, when I was in my home during the Eid vacations, the sound of elections of Nagar Palika was heard all the time. I noticed that various seats like chairmen and members were reserved only for women. My mother also took part in the elections. The experience of this election was very interesting. At that time I had to select the topic for dissertation. Suddenly the topic related with this election came into my mind. So I chose this topic.

In the elections many women take active part, but there are various problems in front of women. They are fully or partly dependent on male leaders. Although women contest the election, but the actual activity is done by the male relatives or leaders. In such a situation, it is very difficult for the women to work in political field independently. Only the reservation of seats for women is not enough. They should be given freedom also in performing the political work.

In this work I tried my best to highlight the problems and solutions of "Women's Participation in Politics" with the help of the articles abstracted. Although this work cannot exhaustively cover such a wide area of the topic, but it will be helpful to understand the situation of women in politics.

## 0.2 METHODOLOGY

To collect the material on the subject the following secondary sources were consulted:

1. Guide to Indian Periodical Literature
2. Index India
3. Documentation Bulletin of CWDS

After searching the literature, entries were recorded on 7" x 5" cards.

To approach the primary sources, which were collected from the secondary sources, I visited the following Libraries and Institutions.

1. Centre for Women and Development Studies, New Delhi
2. ICSSR, New Delhi
3. J.N. Medical College Library, A.M.U., Aligarh
4. JNU Library, New Delhi
5. Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh
6. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
7. Sapru House Library, New Delhi
8. Seminar Library of Agriculture Department, A.M.U., Aligarh
9. Seminar Library of Business Administration Department, A.M.U., Aligarh
10. Seminar Library of Commerce Deptt., A.M.U., Aligarh
11. Seminar Library of Economics Deptt., A.M.U., Aligarh

12. Seminar Library of Political Science Department,  
A.M.U., Aligarh

(i) STANDARD FOLLOWED

The Indian standard recommended for bibliographical references (IS: 2381-1963), titles of periodicals are written in full form. In certain cases, where the said standards became unhelpful I have preferred own judgement (local variation)

(ii) SUBJECT HEADINGS

Attempt has been made to give coextensive "subject headings" as much as possible and allowed by natural language if more than one entry comes under the same subject headings these are arranged alphabetically by the author(s) name, or by periodical/News papers name.

(iii) ARRANGEMENT

The entries in the bibliography are arranged alphabetically among the subject headings.

The entry element of the author is in capitals, followed by the secondary element in parenthesis using upper and lowers and then the title of the article, subtitle (if any), then name of the periodical being underlined followed by the volume, issue number, the year, the month in abbreviated form, giving by using inclusive notation of the pages of the articles. Then each entry is followed by

indicative, annotative and descriptive abstract of the article.

Entries of periodicals are arranged as follows:

- (a) Serial number
- (b) Name of the author(s)
- (c) A full stop
- (d) Title of the contribution including sub-title
- (c) A full stop
- (f) Title of the periodical underlined
- (g) A full stop
- (h) Volume number
- (i) Comma
- (j) Issue number
- (k) A semi colon
- (l) Year
- (m) A comma
- (n) Month
- (o) Comma
- (p) Date
- (q) Semi colon
- (r) Inclusive pages of the articles

**(iv) SAMPLE ENTRY**

VERMA (Ravindra Kumar) and YADAV (Gyanendra Kumar).  
Women in Bihar politics. Economic and Political  
Weekly. 31, 15; 1996, April 13; 935-7.

In Bihar the participation of women in politics is

increasing. Although there has been a rising trend in the numbers of women contestants, the trend differs when compared with their male counter-parts. As compared to other parties Janata Dal's women won the election. The share of forward caste women legislatores in Bihar assembly has been declining gradually from 45.54% in the eighth assembly to a mere 10 per cent in the 11th assembly. The share of backward women legislatores went up from 36.36 per cent in 8th to 50 per cent in 11th assembly. In Bihar politics more women belong to the OBC category.

**(a) EXPLANATION**

The article is taken from the periodical "Economic and Political Weekly" which is entitled as "Women in Bihar Politics" written by VERMA (Ravindra Kumar) and YADAV (Gyanendra Kumar), volume no is 31, issue number 15 in April 1996 on the pages from 935 to 7 against this entry.

**(b) ABSTRACT**

The entries in the bibliography contain abstract giving the essential information about the article documented. I have given indicative, descriptive and annotative abstracts.

**03 INDEXES**

This part of the bibliography contains author, title indexes in alphabetical sequence. Each index gives the specific entry or entries in the bibliography.

LIST OF PERIODICALS

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>PLACE OF PUBLICATION</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>
1.	Administrator	Mussorie	Quarterly
2.	Deccan Herald	Bangalore	Daily
3.	Down to earth	New Delhi	Monthly
4.	Economic & Political Weekly	Mumbai	Weekly
5.	Economic times	New Delhi	Weekly
6.	Frontier	Chennai	Fortnightly
7.	Frontline	Calcutta	Weekly
8.	Hindu	Chennai	Daily
9.	Hindustan Times	New Delhi	Daily
10.	Humanscape	New Delhi	Monthly
11.	Illustrated Weekly of India	Mumbai	Weekly
12.	Indian Express	New Delhi	Daily
13.	Indian Journal of gender studies	New Delhi	Semi annual
14.	Indian Journal of labour economics	New Delhi	Quarterly
15.	Indian journal of political sc.	Bihar	Quarterly
16.	Indian journal of politics	Aligarh	Bi-annual
17.	ISI Bulletin	New Delhi	Monthly
18.	Janata	Mumbai	Weekly
19.	Journal of constitutional and parliamentary studies	New Delhi	Quarterly
20.	Journal of Rural development	Hyderabad	Bi-monthly
21.	Journal of social and economic studies	Patna	Bi-annual

22.	Journal of State politics and administrator	Sambalpur	Bi-annual
23.	Journal of Women's studies	Mumbai	Bi-annual
24.	Kurukshetra	New Delhi	Monthly
25.	Link	New Delhi	Weekly
26.	mainstream	New Delhi	Weekly
27.	Manavi Newsletter	New Delhi	Fortnightly
28.	Manushi	New Delhi	Bi-monthly
29.	National Federation of Indian women Bulletin	New Delhi	Monthly
30.	National Labour Institute Newsletter	New Delhi	Monthly
31.	New age	New Delhi	Weekly
32.	New quest	Pune	Bi-monthly
33.	NOW	Calcutta	Weekly
34.	Organiser	New Delhi	Weekly
35.	People's voice	Mumbai	Bi-Monthly
36.	Pioneer	Lucknow	Daily
37.	Political Sc. Review	Jaipur	Quarterly
38.	Prism	Mumbai	Bi-Monthly
39.	RCWS Newsletter	Mumbai	Fortnightly
40.	Radical humanist	New Delhi	Monthly
41.	Roshni	New Delhi	Quarterly
42.	Saheli Newsletter	New Delhi	Weekly
43.	Sangama	New Delhi	Annual
44.	Search news	New Delhi	Fortnightly

45.	Seminar	New Delhi	Monthly
46.	Social action	New Delhi	Quarterly
47.	Social welfare	New Delhi	Monthly
48.	Sunday Observer	Mumbai	Weekly
49.	Teaching politics	Delhi	Bi-annual
50.	Telegraph	Calcutta	Daily
51.	Times of India	New Delhi	Daily
52.	UMA Prachar Newsletter	Bangalor	Fortnightly
53.	University News	New Delhi	Weekly
54.	U.P. Journal of political sc.	Kanpur	Annual
55.	Vikasini	New Delhi	Fortnightly
56.	Voice of working women	New Delhi	Bi-monthly
57.	Voluntary action	New Delhi	Bi-monthly
58.	Women's equality	New Delhi	Quarterly
59.	Women's link	New Delhi	fortnightly
60.	Women's wing	New Delhi	Fortnightly
61.	Yojna	New Delhi	Fortnightly



*PART - ONE*  
**INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

Politics is the most important aspect of human world. The history of politics is as old as the human knowledge and development. When men started to be grouped, they also had their President or Mukhia, who's decision was concerned the last decision.

When human mind became more developed the society became more complicated. The "Mukhia" or "Sardar" became unable to run the society very well. So the complications were brought out in politics also.

Politics is very interesting aspect. In this not only man take active part but also the women has a great interest in politics. As far as the role of women in politics is concerned, it took various faces in different time periods.

In India women took active part in politics from ancient India to modern India.

In the history of medieval period, we saw that there were a number of women who played important role in politics. During the early medieval period upto 1200 A.D., there is a long list of the women politicians, played important role in politics. They are:

1. Didda - The queen of Kashmir
2. Razia - The queen of Delhi

3. Noor Jahan - The queen of Delhi
4. Rani Laxmi bai - The queen of Jhansi
5. Begum Hazrat Mahel- The queen of Lucknow
6. Chand Sultana
7. Jahan Ara
8. Zebul-Nissa
9. Rani Durgawati
10. Tara bai

Wives of Mughals used to interfere in the politics and various decisions related with politics were taken by them.

The Hindu Queens were also famous politicians. Rani Laxmi bai was famous for her rules and bravery.

In the period of Ramayana and Mahabharata also women took important part in politics.

The National movement for the freedom played an important role in the entry of women in politics in India. Various women - Sarojini Naidu, Kamala Nehru and specially Bengali women took active part in this direction.

In free India, Government is playing important role. By the help of reservation and panchayati raj, government is trying to enter more women in the politics.

Political participation has a crucial relationship with various social and political goals. Participation is not necessarily committed to any particular social goal.

It is actually a method of setting goals, choosing priorities and deciding what resources to commit to goal attainment. Political participation is looked upon as an index of political development by many political scientists. Traditional democratic theory generally regards participation by the individual in political activity as a virtue in its own right. Participation has been seen as a civic duty, as a sign of political health, as the best method of ensuring that one's private interests are not neglected. Usually political participation implies those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics. Political participation has been defined by Verbs and Nile as 'those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take.'

In India which have adopted liberal democracy but have not been able to assimilate the new political system in the national life, political participation has a broader meaning. It includes not only all those political activities that go by the name of political participation in the western democracies but also some new modes of participation which have not been institutionalized but have some bearing on the political process.

Needless to say, women constitute an important segment of political life. So an analysis of the role of

women in politics throws some light on the complex problems of political participation. Of all the aspects of relationships between women and politics, it is women's political participation that has received the most sustained attention from the political scientists. But the problem is that the forms of participation studied have been largely confined to politics, narrowly and conventionally defined.

Women everywhere hold some measure of influence, or informal power. The degree varies with the status of the class, caste, race, or the religious sect to which they belong, to state laws under which they live, the economic and political position their nation holds in the international structure of power, and their personal attributes and life histories. Everywhere some women may hold more power, in the sense of the interpersonal influence they exert, than the men with whom they associate. However, except within rare enclaves of still semi-autonomous egalitarian cultures, women as a category nowhere hold formal power or publicly recognized authority equivalent to that held by men.

However, the twentieth century has seen a worldwide revolution in the extension of political rights to women. Less than ninety years ago there was no major country in the world where women were guaranteed the right to participate in politics on an equal basis with men. Today, only a

handful of states, most of them in West Asia, legally bar women's participation in political life. But in many countries an enormous disparity exists even today between women's formal political equality and their meaningful exercise of political power. The near universal recognition of women's political rights and the strength of their voting numbers are nowhere reflected in their direct role in government. In many countries, women's participation in the most basic of political activities, such as voting, attending meetings, or discussing politics fall far short of that of men.

The question why women play only a marginal role in politics, despite legal guarantees, has received the attention of many eminent scholars particularly in the USA and the UK. The explanation, emerging from the work done, holds situational constraints and the socialization process mainly responsible for the limited participation of women in politics.

An interpretation of women's political behaviour emphasizes the importance of the immediate situation that constrains and prompts women. According to this view, the complex of factors associated with women's commitment to the family and the child-bearing function make a woman housebound and out of the paid work and limit her interest and actual involvement in politics. An alternative interpretation emphasizes the role of socialization in

forming women's political attitude and aptitudes. The writers who emphasize the role of socialization hold that political orientation arises within the context of already established sex roles and that these basic sex roles are principally instilled in childhood.

Writers who believe in the social learning theory are of the view that political participation involves roles that, like any other, can be learned. But it is not an easy task for women, since becoming politically active is just one of the many options open to a woman, and she can very well decide not to learn the role of a political activist.

Political participation is a function of numerous variables, but the nature of all these variables is dependent on the political climate of a country. As V.M. Sirsikar puts it:

Politicization and participation of women in a country will necessarily depend on the overall political situation. In our country, there are certain factors in the situation which favour politicization and participation of women in political life. The background of the freedom struggles, specially during the Gandhian era, was very conducive to this process .....

After independence, different political parties, for reasons best known to themselves, did not continue this healthy trend. Politics became more and more a business for 'men only'.<sup>1</sup>

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1. V.M. Sirsikar, 'Politicization of Women in India: An Overview', in Vina Mazumder, ed., Symbols of Power, Allied, Bombay, 1979, p.80.

### Historical Retrospect

The most eventful period in the history of Indian women's struggle for emancipation, was the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century was perhaps the darkest period so far as Indian women were concerned. Political decay following the disruption of the Mughal empire and disorder due to the advent of various European powers, combined with fossilised customs, traditions, superstition and irrational bigotry, led to the disappearance of the previously existing 'mother cult'. Under the new conditions, women completely lost their autonomous entity. The eighteenth century, with its intellectual stagnation manifested in the decay of knowledge and learning coupled with social degeneration, worsened the conditions of Indian women. Polygamy among the wealthier sections of society and kulinism, early marriage, the sati rites, killing of female children, and the throwing of the first female child into the holy waters were the most commonly prevalent practices.<sup>2</sup>

### Movement for Emancipation of Women in the Nineteenth Century

The dawn of the nineteenth century ushered in a new era, brought about by the interplay of several factors, introduction of English education, contact with the west and

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2. Krishna Basu, 'Movement for Emancipation of Women in the Nineteenth Century' in Role and Status of Women in India, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1978, p. 36.



western thought, inspiration from resurrected ancient traditions and India's glorious past, resulted in the great awakening - the Bengal 'renaissance' which aimed, among other things, to put an end to the social oppression of women. The first efforts that had been motivated by a reformist consciousness to abolish repressive social practice affecting women were those of individuals like Raja Rammohun Roy and Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Rammohun's activities embraced various spheres of life, but he was primarily a great champion of the cause of the emancipation of women.

In 1885, premier organization of Indian nationalism, the Indian National Congress came into being. At its first session Alan Octavian Hume asked the political reformers not to forget that 'unless the elevation of female elements of the nation proceeds **sari passu** with the work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement will prove vain.<sup>3</sup> But until 1889 no woman joined the organization. It was mainly on the insistence of Dwarkanath Ganguly that the demand for acceptance of women delegates in the fifth session of the Congress was recognized and Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambini Ganguly (the first woman graduate of the University of Calcutta) along with eight other women

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3. Manmohan Kaur, Role of Women in the Freedom Movement, Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1968, p.84.

delegates from other provinces joined the Congress session of Bombay. The next session held in Calcutta in 1890 saw women taking a more active part.

The early women's organizations were thus born as a result of the attempts by men to indoctrinate their female relatives with the ideologies and programmes of associations formed by themselves. During the swadeshi period of 1904-1911 attempts were made at mass mobilization and the tactful ingenuity of several leaders contributed to increasing participation of women in public affairs.

#### Women and Politics of Nationalism

The politicization of women began during the swadeshi movement of 1905-8 in response to men's call for their participation. Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, who accompanied her husband in his tour of India, noted that :

Swadeshi movement could not have succeeded without the help of women, some of whom do not know how to read or write, but in spite of this swadeshi movement is spreading very much in the places where one would hardly think there would be an opportunity of its growth.<sup>4</sup>

The entry of Mrs. Besant into Indian politics accelerated the process of women's participation in politics. Mrs. Annie Besant, the celebrated leader of the

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4. Modern Review, August 1910, p. 124.

theosophic movement and known for her activities in social and educational fields, joined the national movement in 1914. She founded the Home Rule League in September 1915 with the object of achieving Home Rule for India. During the Home Rule agitations between 1914 and 1917 women began to wake up to a realization of their isolation from political movement. Mrs Besant's commitment towards emancipation of women was quite pronounced. She mentioned that the progress of India depended on women's emancipation. She was the first president of the Indian Women's Association founded in 1917, and was largely responsible for putting forward the demand for political representation of women. Her internment in June 1917 generated political consciousness among women in various parts of the country.

### Sarojini Naidu

Sarojini Naidu was the first Indian woman to go in for full-time participation in politics. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was her political guru and he persuaded her to join the Congress. As a member of the Home Rule League, she led a deputation of women to England. But a Sarojini or a Besant was an exception. The fact remains that in the late nineteen-twenties women were still not active participants in politics.

### Gandhi and Women in Politics

The non-cooperation movement marked the beginning of Gandhi's leadership of the Indian national movement. The ideas and activities associated with the Gandhian movement encouraged the growth of women's movement. His experience in South Africa had made Gandhi aware of the potentialities of women as passive resisters. Women, Gandhi believed, would make effective **satyagrahis** since they had an immense capacity for endurance and self-sacrifice. Gandhi, therefore, included women in most of his **satyagraha** campaign. For him, women's participation in the nationalist movement was necessary for ideological reasons as well as for the practical reason that with women involved, the national movement would be linked to every home in India. His call to women met with unexpected response and galvanized mass mobilization of women in active politics.

### Women's Movement in Post-Non-Cooperation Period

There were major socio-political shifts in the position of women in the post-first world war period. The single largest contributory factor was the large-scale spread of institutionalized female education which heralded the advent of women's student community with considerable contacts outside the family, particularly with the realm of politics. Revolutionary ideas spread rapidly through private conversations, circulation of prohibited literature

and the girl students' contacts with women political activists.

### After Independence

The increase in the number of women voters since independence and their eager participation in voting, has made all the political parties pay special attention to organising them, campaigning among them, and choosing them to contest elections. Definitely in the earlier years such campaigning among women and soliciting their votes was done rather casually. Mobilisation in the past have been mainly at the time of elections in the form of ad hoc promises, made on populist and opportunistic short term basis, rather than on long term goals of a social change for women. However, to the extent there was any correlation between the campaign promises and voting support, it also reflected on the low impact that the women's movement had made in educating the women, as well as in making a dent on the patriarchal politicians. More recently the parties have organised regular party forums, cells and front organisations specially for women. These women's cells not merely mobilise and campaign among women seek their support and membership for the parties issues during election as well as normal period, but also quite often take up issues concerning women.

Despite the increase in the number of women contesting the election women still constitute only 1 to 2 per cent. Even where seats are reserved as in the panchayats, they do not come forward so easily. Out of these contestants, the ones who get elected constitute still smaller percentage. While those who belong to the major political parties stand a better chance of success, the non-party candidates and those who belong to minor political parties are hardly successful.

In the early years after independence the parliament did witness many women like Renuka Roy participating vigorously in the Hindu Code Bill etc. More recently many women MPs belonging to all the parties are drawing attention to issues like atrocities against women, women's rights, statutory women's commission as well as a social crimes like sati, dowry, rape etc. still by and large such participation is confined repeatedly to a few women. A majority of them are silent on many issues, particularly on the general, political concerns.

### Panchayati Raj and Women

Participation of women in Panchayati Raj has been another area of great interest in India. Being mainly at the grassroot level and operating in the context of rural women, the participation in the local government has been viewed as essential in promoting women's consciousness and

development at the local level as well as the in training them for participation in the wider politics.

In the 1960s when many states enacted legislation for the representation of women in panchayats, women's participation, consciousness and impact had emerged as crucial issues. The inclusion of women, by co-option and nomination if necessary in the elected bodies, it was believed, would lead a greater participation of women in local politics process and thereby promote women's development through empowerment. Even though the experiment had not been totally satisfactory party due to the small number of women (Two women members out of the toital roughly ten members) and party because of lack of political consciousness, the Gram panchayats and Mahila Mandals have been performing their roles modernately and working as training grounds.

The women representation became one of the takenism and ended as a near total failure. Many states have hence given up nomination or co-option and resorted to reservation as the only way of making sure that women are represented in the panchayati Raj.

There are various problems are limitations in front of women members - social and personal. We still have to go a long way before the rural poor women can participate freely and boldly and take initiative in making decisions and monitoring the programmes for womens rights. Also

possibly a taken representation of one or two women cannot overcome the patriarchal and high class/castes oriented panchayats way of arriving at decisions.

All the political parties woo women for votes, but when it comes to party representation, no party gave equal representation to contest either in Lok Sabha or in the State legislatures. After entry into the panchayati raj system women are confident that they can save the country from corruption and criminalisation of politics. The concept of reservation by mere operation of numbers will not be able to get their due share of seats. Objection raised by men is mainly because 181 seats out of 543 will go for women and if women came from general constituencies they can be even more in number.<sup>5</sup>

#### Participation of Women in the Indian Parliament - Lok Sabha

After independence the women taking the cue from their predecessors joined the realm of politics in larger number. Even the younger generation of women started showing keen interest in politics. There are a number of women in parliament and each women parliament has made very important contributions. The name of these parliamentarians are:

1. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur
2. Sucheta Kriplani

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5. Entry no. 38.



- |                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3. Maydea (Poora South)               | 4. Smt. Dixit                        |
| 5. Ganga Devi<br>(Distt Lucknow)      | 6. Chandrasebhar<br>(Tiruvallur S/C) |
| 7. A. Kale (Nagpur)                   | 8. Shivrajvati Nehru                 |
| 9. Mini Mata                          | 10. Kamalendu Mati Shah              |
| 11. Ila Pal Choudhury                 | 12. Tarkshwari Sinha<br>(Patna East) |
| 13. Parvathi Krishnan<br>(Coimbatore) | 14. Sahodara Bhai Rai<br>(Sagar)     |
| 15. Sushna Sen etc.                   |                                      |

From the above mentioned list of women it is clear that women from the South and West Bengal were more active.

The following table indicates the number of women members elected to the Seventh Lok Sabha in comparison with the position obtaining in the earlier Lok Sabhas.

	Total no. of seats	No. of women members	% to the total
First Lok Sabha	499	22	4.4
Second Lok Sabha	500	27	5.4
Third Lok Sabha	503	31	6.7
Fourth Lok Sabha	523	31	5.9
Fifth Lok Sabha	521	22	4.2
Sixth Lok Sabha	544	19	3.4
Seventh Lok Sabha	544	28	5.1

It would be seen that the representation secured by women in the Seventh Lok Sabha is only 5.1 per cent of the total membership of the house. This is however, a distinct improvement on the position obtaining in the Sixth Lok Sabha. It is nonetheless, way below the highest level of women's representation reached so far, which is 6.7% in the Third Lok Sabha.

Total No. of seats	Number of women members	% of the total
Eight Lok Sabha - 544	44	8.1

The representation of women members in the Eight Lok Sabha is 44 or 8.1% out of total membership. This is the highest as compared to their representation in all the earlier Lok Sabhas.

Regarding legislation from 1950 to 1989 from the first parliament to the eight parliament the women parliamentarians happened to introduce in all more than 150 bills in both houses of parliament.

Total No. of seats	Number of Women members	% of the total
543	37	6.9

**AGE COMPOSITION**

Age Group	First Lok Sabha		Second Lok Sabha		Third Lok Sabha		Fourth Lok Sabha		Fifth Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
25 to 35	3	14	2	7	4	12	3	10	3	14
36 to 45	5	23	13	48	19	56	9	29	6	22
46 to 55	7	32	9	33	5	14	12	39	11	50
56 to 65	4	18	1	4	4	12	5	16	1	4.5
66 and above	1	4	1	4	....	....	1	3	1	4.5
Not available	2	9	1	4	2	6	1	3	....	..
Total	22		27		34		31		22	

**RURAL/URBAN COMPOSITION**

Age Group	First Lok Sabha		Second Lok Sabha		Third Lok Sabha		Fourth Lok Sabha		Fifth Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Village	1	5	3	11	1	3	2	6	3	13
Town (with a population upto 100,000)	8	36	11	41	15	44	11	36	5	23
City (with a population over 100,000)	11	50	9	33	15	44	16	52	14	64
Not available	2	9	4	15	3	9	2	6	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>34</b>		<b>31</b>		<b>22</b>	

**EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND**

	First Lok Sabha		Second Lok Sabha		Third Lok Sabha		Fourth Lok Sabha		Fifth Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
School level	6	27	4	15	3	9	4	13	2	9
College/ University	12	55	16	59	22	65	22	71	18	82
Private	3	13	2	7	1	3	3	10	1	4.5
Not available	1	5	5	19	8	32	2	6	1	4.5
Total	22		27		34		31		22	

**PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND**

Profession	First Lok Sabha		Second Lok Sabha		Third Lok Sabha		Fourth Lok Sabha		Fifth Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture Land-ladies	2	9	4	15	4	12	4	13	4	18
Business	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Journalism	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.5
Medicine	-	-	2	7	-	-	2	6	-	-
Political & Social Workers	12	55	13	48	18	53	15	49	8	37
Service	1	4.5	1	4	1	3	1	3	1	4.5
Teaching	4	18	2	7	3	9	4	13	4	18
Ex-ruling Class	1	4.5	4	15	6	17	4	13	3	14
Not available	1	4.5	1	4	2	6	1	3	1	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>34</b>		<b>31</b>		<b>22</b>	

The above table shows that women's representation became more low in 12th Lok Sabha.

The tables shows that in India although the women constitute about 50 per cent of the total electorate, they have never been able to get adequate representation in any Lok Sabha and what is worse their representation has been on the decline.

### Rajya Sabha

In Rajya Sabha also women's representation is on margin. The opposition of political parties is responsible for it. In Rajya Sabha the political parties don't show any interest to choose the women members and the number of women become low in Rajya Sabha also.

But the little numbers of women in Rajya Sabha perform the various activities for their states.

### Reasons for the Low Representation of Women

According to the Indian tradition, the proper place for women is within the four walls of her home and chief duty is to look after her domestic chores. No doubt, the traditional position of women has been greatly effected by the various steps taken in the direction of their emancipation by the grant of equal legal rights.

The predominantly agricultural economy is another contributory factor for the low percentage women members in the Lok Sabha. With no economy independence and an

increasing load of work, it can hardly be expected from the rural women to take active part in politics.

In many cases, women, who have the means and the ability to participate in active public life, are reluctant to offer themselves for the elective offices, because of the expenses and difficulties involved in conducting the election campaign.

The low percentage of education amongst Indian women is also responsible for the low percentage of their representations in the Lok Sabha.

Thus, we find that the low percentage of women in the Lok Sabha has been partly due to their traditional place in society, the reluctance of women members to keep away from their families as well as the low rate of literacy and economic dependence on men-folk.



EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS (1952-72)

(In percentage)

S.No.	Legislature	Under-matriculates	Matriculates/ Higher Secondary or Intermediate certificate holders	Graduates	Post-Graduates	Doctoral degree or other high academic qualifi- cations holders
I.	Rajya Sabha	4.3	22.2	44.8	22.8	5.9
II.	All Legislative Councils (L.C.s)	17.1	17.6	31.6	29.0	4.7
1.	Bihar L.C.	7.1	25.0	37.5	25.0	5.4
2.	Bombay L.C.	15.6	15.6	56.8	8.4	3.6
3.	Jammu and Kashmir L.C.	8.9	42.2	33.3	13.3	2.3
4.	Karnataka L.C.	27.2	16.0	12.1	44.7	-
5.	Maharashtra L.C.	16.2	23.5	46.6	10.4	3.3
6.	Punjab L.C.	6.9	21.4	11.6	58.2	1.9
7.	Tamil Nadu L.C.	44.2	21.4	16.9	10.4	7.1
8.	Uttar Pradesh L.C.	3.5	5.3	40.9	41.2	9.1
9.	West Bengal L.C.	2.7	8.6	39.5	39.5	9.7

\*  
PRIOR OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS

	Cultivators and land holders	Political & Social Workers	Lawyers	Traders & Industrialists	Teachers & Educationists	Journalists & Writers	Other Occupation
I. Rajya Sabha	15.7	27.7	18.6	13.2	8.7	9.1	7 00
II. All Legislative Councils	25.3	29.9	14.8	8.1	13.3	3.3	5.4
Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council	40.9	23.9	12.5	4.6	15.9	-	2.2
Bihar Legislative Council	11.4	46.9	16.7	5.2	12.5	2.1	5.2
Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council	9.4	47.0	12.5	3.1	3.1	3.1	21.4
Karnataka Legislative Council	32.2	23.7	20.3	10.2	10.2	3.4	-
Maharashtra Legislative Council	20.3	14.0	17.2	20.3	18.7	4.7	4.8
Tamil Nadu Legislative Council	22.2	34.9	6.4	11.1	12.7	6.3	6.4
Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council	36.0	18.0	14.0	2.00	16.00	6.0	8.0

\* These include eight categories: (i) Civil Service (ii) Military Service (iii) Medical Practitioners (iv) Engineers and Technologists (v) Former Rulers (vi) Religious Missionaries (vii) Industrial Workers, and (viii) Artists.

**COMPARATIVE FIGURES OF PERCENTAGE OF EDUCATIONAL  
BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS 1952-72 AND 1972-74**

	Rajya Sabha		Legislative Councils	
	1952-72	1972-74	1952-72	1972-74
1. Under-Matriculates	4.3	7.9	17.1	20.2
2. Matriculates/Hr. Sec. or Intermediate	22.2	22.4	17.6	26.3
3. Graduates	44.8	45.4	31.6	29.1
4. Post-Graduates	22.8	19.9	29.0	19.9
5. Doctoral degree or other high academic qualification holders	5.9	4.5	4.7	4.5

## CONCLUSION

As we talk of the participation of women in politics, an important issue that keeps cropping up is the relationship of women's movement with other political movements of a general nature, as well as the major political institutions of the day like political parties. This is both a theoretical as well as applied issue, as it is one which very women's organisations face in their actual functioning. Should a women's organization treat itself as exclusively women oriented and non-political and thereby as often, end as a welfare organisation? Should it believe that women's issues are 'political' issues as they involve power-relations within and outside home, and hence view itself as a political activist group? In the later case, should it join some of the existing political parties or politically oriented groups and work through them and remain an 'autonomous' political group. In the second instance, it might help to be a lobby of pressure group that acts on one and all, but in the process loose out on political support and become isolated and marginalised, or even become dependent on one or the other when faced with challenges or survival.

Closely related to this, and in fact influencing it is the deeper question of the linkages between women's issues and the general issues of the society and the political system. Are the issues of women's rights, equality, justice, and social status removed from the general nature of the socio-economic culture and political issues of the day? Can women's question be pursued independent of, and at times contrary to, the developments in the broader sphere? Can isolation and aloofness ensure women's issues, their strength to survive and pursue their goals? In the past during the independence movement this has been proved impossible. A strong current of nationalism then the some other equally strong current during our times can coopt or sweep the women's issues and consciousness. Communalism and religious revivalism is one such current and involves participation of increasing number of women possibly the women's movement can stand on its own if it is strong enough not merely to steer clear in its own course, but even to intervene in the major trends of the day. This is perhaps why, women's issues, women's organisations and women's movement far from being isolated, perceive their role to be an active and interventionist one, as the conscience keepers of the society. This however, would immediately mean a linkage, and not isolationsim, from other organisations and movements.

Closely related to this is the participation of women in other social movements and activities of the day. Participation in trade union and peasant movements, in the reservation agitations, antiprice rise demonstrations are some of the instances. The issues fought may not be women's issues, they may be general issues that concern women and men. But the participation of women not merely make the women 'visible' but also strengthens the movement and gives it publicity. Further their participation help to steer the movement in certain directions, often away from sexism and violence. In fact, women's participation in such wider social movements and agitations have been the more common and earlier ways of the participation of women in politics.

The parties have, since then, moved much further by way of mobilisation of women organisation of party wings as well as articulation of women's issues. However, the basic critique is still valid viz. women's issues and women's participation are encouraged within certain parameters and are constrained by the basic objectives and interests of the government, once captured. A deeper empathy and gender sensitisation of politicians, political institutions, and in general in the public life, are woefully lacking. Women's participation and rights, thereby, move one step forward and two steps backward. Real gender equality, justice and rights are still a far cry.

*PART - TWO*  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**WOMEN, INDIA, POLITICS**

1. PATEL (Vibhuti). Women's participation in the process of policy and decision making. Now. 1; 1992; 8-12.

The most challenging question confronting all of us is to increase women's space in the mainstream of our political process, specific sociopolitical movements, the legal system and the government's decision making bodies. The women's movement in India has given a different understanding of politics as against politicising for narrow, sectarian goals. Some national level male politicians have expressed their outrage against the reservation of 30 per cent seats for women. They use the argument that women will not be able to govern as they are inexperienced.

**\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, COMMUNALISM**

2. BUTALIA (Urvashi). Communalism: A new challenge to the women's movement in India. J of women's studies. 1,2; 1997, Oct-March; 15-27.

The newest and perhaps most difficult challenge to the women's movement has come from communalism. The voice that gave the impetus to the destruction of the Babri masjid was that of a woman. There was also irrefutable evidence by some scholars of renewed activity in the women's wings of political parties. The state and political parties were forced to include



women in their policies and political manifestos. The women's movement was placed in a situation of having to constantly differentiate itself from communal parties. Will the women's movement prove equal to the multifaceted challenge of communalism? This question has no answer now.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, HINDUTVA MOVEMENT

3. SARKAR (Tanika). Women as communal subject: Rashtrasevika samiti and Ram Jammabhoomi movement. Economic and political weekly. 25; 35; 1991, Aug 31; 2057-62.

One of the most striking features of the recent Hindutva movement has been the foregrounding of the militantly communal Hindu woman in a variety of unprecedented way. The BJP has located women along with SC/STs as a primary target area for the coming times. The new communal phase enables women's self-constitution as active political subjects in dangerously unprecedented ways. The real problems lie in the realm of active politics, the resolution lies with more aware and sensitive forms of left democratic and feminist movements alone.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, NATIONAL COMMISSION

4. VELAYUDHAN (Meera). Political participation and women's struggle. Voice of working women. 11, 4; 1991, July; 18-20.

Since the 80s, the issue of women's political role has acquired significant dimensions. The rise of communalism and attacks on even the existing rights of women, the struggles against the Muslim Women's bill and sati, the left parties were the major allies of the women's movement. The reservation of seats for women in decision-making bodies through co-option, the women's organisations emphasised that democratisation from the panchayat and district levels onwards can only take place on the basis of elections. It is the linking of women's struggles with the wider political movement that led the former National Front Government to set up the National Commission for women.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, CORRUPTION and COOPTION

5. NARAYANAN (Revathi). Vote for women. UMA prachar newsletter. 1995, March-May; 4.

Women can and must provide leadership to the Indian polity. One of the main concerns is that the large number of women politicians will get co-opted into the present corrupt political structures, into the politics of electoral promises. Women need to define

their own platforms, vote for such ideas and action and ensure implementation if elected into leadership roles. Such goals need the building up of awareness of their rights and responsibilities among the million of women voters in the country.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, CRIMINALISATION, OPPOSITION

6. PANDEY (Divya), Criminalisation of politics and political participation of women. RCWS newsletter. 10, 3; 1989, Winter; 1-2.

Being a women has several disadvantages politically. Women find it difficult to establish contacts with the party workers and to compete with men in a male dominated party structure. Criminalisation of politics is a grim reality but it is time to take serious note. No parent will allow girls to work in social field and upliftment of the exploited. Unless the women are not sage in politics, there is no use of political manifestoes on women's issues and much talked about 30 per cent reservation in panchayati raj.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

7. SUDHA MURALI. To overcome the barriers. Manavi Newsletter. 2, 1; 1992, July-Sept; 1.

The increased criminalisation of politics has made most women wary of the political process.

Political culture has had its roots in a state formation process in which women have played a very limited role. Women decision makers have to be involved more seriously in the resource allocation and planning. Political institutions are one of the most masculine of all institutions into which women may not easily integrate. The political participation can come about only if the conditions can be created of ground reality that today isolate women or use them as sops to an issue.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **DECISION MAKING PROCESS**

8. RANJANA KUMARI. Women in decision making and political process. Sangama. 1, 1; 1994; 6-10.

Gender discrimination was categorised as a social issue and not a political issue. Women's political participation must lay considerable emphasis on women's involvement in the decision making process. The constitution of India gave the equal political rights. The invisibility of women in politics and decision making processes is equally glaring. The problems related with women can be solved only by the women and not by the political parties. Almost all political parties have a women's wing women hardly have a say in the candidates selections committees which are by and large dominated by men.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, EDUCATION

9. CHAUDHURI (Sachin). Women's participation in politics hard choices. Economic and political weekly. 26, 38; 1991, Sept 21; 2191-3.

Women's wings of political parties have mobilised women for important issues and struggles and women's groups have done sustained constructive work. The presence of women in elected bodies, must be accompanied by an active, alert women's movement. In a situation where political parties do not favour women candidates reservation is one way of entering mainstream politics. Women's organisations should see that the right kind of women are elected, that there is political education of women electorate, become informed about all public issues.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect of COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

10. SHARMA (Kumud). Is the women's movement in disarray? Down to earth. 1, 17; 1993, Jan. 31; 46.

The women's movement highlighted, through campaigns, seminars and the media, the effect that structural adjustment has had or would have on the lives of poor women. A significant development of women's movement was the panchayati raj bill. The women's movement's biggest challenge today is the resurgence of religious revivalism. Women's group,

have found it difficult to get the point across that fundamentalism targets women their rights are the first to be flag out of the window and it's they who suffer the most from communal violence.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, EDUCATION and MOBILITY, KERALA

11. GEORGE MATHEW. Paradox of Kerala Women's social development and political leadership. Women's link. 3,2; 1997, April-June; 31- 5.

In spite of favourable factors in Kerala, women have not come to the fore front of public life or political struggle commonsurate with their education and mobility. The reservation for women in panchayats and district council in Kerala show that, given an opportunity, women will excel in their responsibilities in public life in the state. Kerala society has still to travel a difficult terrain before Malayala women achieve their rightful place in public life.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, ELECTIONS

12. NARAYANAN (Revathi). Women as voters, women as supporters, women as people's representatives. UMA prachar newsletter. 1995, Aug 21; 2-3.

This legislation has been a truly empowering one for women in legitimising the entry of women in the electoral arena, making women visible in politics, in the campaigning, in term of wooing women voters, in

persuading women to contest the elections. For the first time women voters were addressed in their homes in the election in campaigns that had earlier been dominated by men. And of elected representatives taking action against their own families.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, effect of VIOLENCE, 1989

13. MADHU KISHWAR. Violence and the 1989 elections: Implications for women. Manushi. 54-55; 1989, Sept-Oct - Nov - Dec; 2-9.

The peripheralisation of women in the 1989 elections was apparent. Women were not organised outside of political parties in a way that they could choose and support those candidates who committed themselves to women's interest. Violence was an important factor in marginalising women. The issue of violence in the polity is directly linked to women's participation in politics. Women's potential for participation in political life can be encouraged; however only if violence is some what curbed. Women's group continue to work with the 1984 riot victims.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, 1989 role of JANATA DAL

14. KAUSHIK (Susheela). Issues of women's development and political participation. Teaching politics. 17, 1-2; 1991; 165-7.

In 1989 elections, issues like women's political

participation reservation were burning issues. The Janata Dal stressed most women's participation in decision making process, by worrying about the setting up of the women's commission as well increasing representation in legislature. The factor of booth capturing and violence which was looming large might particularly hamper the women's participation. Despite this more women seemed to have stood than before as candidates this time.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, NINTH, PARTICIPATION, LOW

15. KAUSHIK (Susheela). Women, Women's issues and ninth general elections. Teaching politics. 15, 3-4; 1989; 105-15.

The participation of women in politics in India still far from adequate. The mobilisation of women voters and their increasing turn out does not of course mean much of an increase in their participation in the decision making process either at the local, state or national level. All the major political parties had included issues of women's development in their election manifestoes for 1989. The number of women contestants in the ninth elections was only 189. The total number of those who won, was much less than 1984. This low presence of women in parliament has to be in



turn traced to the small number of women put up by the parties.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, EQUALITY and SUBJUGATION need for  
NATIONAL DEBATE

16. NATH (Kamla). When women cries freedom. Telegraph. 1997, June 5; 10.

Women's struggle for gender equality is based on the reality of their subjugation by men of all castes, classes and religious. Upper caste or class women are no less victimized than OBC or minority community women. Women's legitimate rights go beyond man made classifications denoting caste, class or religious membership. Some Indian men of conscience recognize the need for a national debate on the issue of one third reservation of legislative seats. It would extend to equality in the executive and the judiciary.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, FEMINIST CRITIQUE

17. MENON (Nivedita). Feminist perspective. Seminar. 385; 1991, Sept; 32-6.

When women do not vote, they are politically immature and when they do, it is for emotional, not political reason. The declining female sex-ratio is indicative of declining status which is bound to effect political participation. The studies show that

the Congress has always fielded the largest number of women and the majority would be from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Gender - specific analyses of elections simply can not make facile connections between voting statistics and the assumed nature of women. Women have interests as members of particular classes, castes and communities but also share common areas of oppression that cut across the boundaries.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **FEMINIST MOVEMENT**

18. THIRUMALAI (Roopa). From stree mukti to stree shakti? UMA prachar newsletter. 1995, Aug 21; 7-8.

Indirect party interventions play an important role in the working of many elected women representatives. Men feel that they will get more political mileage and media support if they voice their support for the feminist movement. Now the women are coming in every field with a new thought. Being political representatives women want to be a part of the social one. Women's organisations are coming together in each village and are trying very hard to force sarpanch to hold gram sabhas.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **FEUDALISM role of MALES**

19. SETH (Padma). Battling a feudal mindset. Deccan herald. 1997, June 1; 18.

Today the challenge to men's monopoly to power

is coming from alien quarters from women. Women with the help of electronic and print media have realised their voting power. Men who oppose women's rights are themselves embroiled in lot of political insecurity. The standard behaviour of men towards women is partronising. Women do not want leaders who are opposed to the reservation bill to negotiate with women. Women's rights or demands are totally out of the pale of concern.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **FUTURE**

20. BHATTACHARYA (Chandrima) and MUKHERJEE (Adrita). For a women's World. Telegraph. 1996, Jan 21; 17.

The party-hierarchy would ensure that it was women who hold the key positions of leaders at every level. Gaining access to actual political power, even today, women in our country need advise and help from men. The party also spells out its policy towards men. The birth of the party will turn this planet into a female world from a male world. And since female nature is innately truthful and honest, an uncorrupted, political atmosphere will be the necessary product of female rule.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **GENDER BIAS, WEST BENGAL, COOCH BEHAR**

21. MANDAL (Amal). Gender bias in panchayati raj: Observations from a district. Kurukshetra. 44, 9; 1997; June; 53-4 + 56.

Gender bias is taken here in some what non-

conventional sense; bias against, discrimination by male and bias for, indicating favouritism to exclusive women's issues in their role performance. This observation is selected from Cocch Behar district of West Bengal at the fag end of 1995. In the district bias is in the descending order in Zilla Parishad and two panchayat samities but not in Gram Panchayats - all women, irrespective of parties affiliation are not only unanimous but also vocifeiously complain of non-cooperation, neglect, biding of facts and assignment of no work at all.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, GOVERNANCE, DECISION MAKING, MARGINALI-  
SATION

22. THIRUMALAL (Roopa). Women and politics: A feminist's view. UMA prachar newsletter. 1996, April-July; 2-4.

When women enter political structures, they change the nature of the structure. Women are looking at their participation in governance in decision making but this is a very narrow limited view which marginalises the women. The women's movement has to continue to help the woman articulate her feminist identity. Reservation at the panchayat level has shown that women have come in large number. But in reserving seats women is fighting against women.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

23. MADHOK (Alka). Women in public life. Yojna. 38, 24; 1995, Jan 15; 18-20.

The women's wing of the Indian National Congress attracted a large number of women into its fold who not only actively participated in the political process like elections, but also organised bundhs, dharnas and strikes. By empowering themselves at local levels women have managed to transform development projects. In recent years, with the increase in criminalization of politics, women workers have become an easy target of violence. The major factor detrimental to women's participation in politics is the traditional outlook and attitude of the society. The reservation has given tremendous boost to women's participation in the management of their own affairs. For effective implementation of reservation the educational and economic standard of women should increase.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **INFLUENCES**

24. SARIN (Madhu). Women in power. Down to earth. 2,8; 1993, Sep 15; 46-7.

After the women were elected, they held their ground and did not give in to male manipulations. Reservation functions as a form of empowering women. Given the dominant political culture of today. Many women representative are likely to be politicians first

and women later. Where the women's movement or other organisations have facilitated awareness generation and empowerment of women, the women elected to panchayats have demonstrated the ability to introduce issue-based politics and win support.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_ in relation to **EMPOWERMENT, ASSESSMENT, RESERVATION**

25. INDIRESAN (PV). Is reservation good for women?. Hindu. 1996, Nov 27; 10.

Women are demanding reservation for themselves because they fear they will never get a level playing field and will be systematically denied their due. Reservation for women may increase women's representation numerically but the utility may not be all that much greater. The essence of the reservation scheme is that it will empower women without in any way impinging on meritorious selection. Women should fight not for more representation but for an effective voice.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **INSECURITY and PATRIARCHY**

26. JAYANTHI (C). Gender politics. Pioneer. 1996, April 24; 16.

Women themselves do not pull up other women in politics due to a certain degree of insecurity and as their candidature is endorsed by the patriarchal system in place, they do not question it. Most of the women in politics since independence have come from political

families and the consequent political exposure and connection have smoothed out ride in the murky world of politics. All the political parties in favour to give the 33 per cent reservation to women in all elected bodies, actively promote the legal and economic rights of women which must be equal to those men and not subject to debilitating clauses of personal laws: This is something to be happy about.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **ISSUES**

27. DESAI (Neera). Indian Women's march towards equality. Janata. 45, 36-40; 1991, Jan 6; 9-13 + 16.

The growing violence against women, the emergence of certain new problems like amniocentesis, housing and environmental hazards have raised certain fundamental questions with regard to government policies, women's group activities and the role of intellegentia. The government has responded to the demands of the groups to improve women's condition, but the action is quite often determinated by political consideration. Even the attitude of party member has been not pro-women but communal. It is hoped that 30 per cent reservation in elected bodies will increase the position of women in India.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_ role of **MALES**

28. GUPT (Bharat). Politics of Compensation. Indian Express. 1997, July 2; 8.

It is worth investigating if reserving seats for

women in parliament and the state assemblies would follow another trajectory. To implement the women's agenda and change the social fabric should be the priority of women parliamentarians and not to demand more jobs for women or promote the parties they come from political parties will always try to derail the women's agenda by making female legislators serve the electoral agendas of a predominantly male leadership.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, LEADERSHIP, ORISSA, GANJAM

29. PANDA (Snehalata). Emerging pattern of leadership among rural women in Orissa. Indian j public administration. 42, 4; 1996, Oct - Dec; 72, -8.

In this paper, the author through a survey of 81 elected women functionaries of panchayati raj institutions in Chatarpur block of Ganjam District of orissa, explores the emerging pattern of women's leadership profile in rural areas following amendment to orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1991 in line with the recent Constitutional Amendment affecting reservations for women in PRIs. Even in the predominantly traditional setting of the State, this paper discovers a positive emerging pattern of women's leadership role.



\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, LEGISLATURES, CASTE, BACKWARD compared  
with FORWARD, BIHAR

30. VERMA (Ravindra Kumar) and YADAV (Gyanendra Kumar).  
Women in Bihar politics. Economic and Political Weekly.  
31, 15; 1996, April 13; 935-47.

In Bihar the participation of women in politics is increasing. Although there has been a rising trend in the numbers of women contestants, the trend differs when compared with their male counterparts. As compare to other parties Janta Dal's women won the election. The share of forward caste women legislature in Bihar assembly has been declining gradually from 45-45% in the eighth assembly to a mere 10 per cent in the 11th assembly. The share of backward women legislature went up from 36.36 per cent in 8th to 50 per cent in 11th assembly. In Bihar politics more women belong to the OBC category.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PARLIAMENT, COMMITTEES

31. RANADE (Pradeep). Empowering women. Voluntary action.  
28, 5-6; 1996, May-June; 7-8.

The majority in the joint select committee favoured the passage of the bill in its present form as recommended, and not to delay the extension of the benefit of reservation to OBC women simultaneously. There is an equally strong view totally opposed to such reservation for women. Certain vital issues need to be

thrashed out in the parliament, within and among political parties in the women's movement itself, and in society at large before rushing the bill through.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', LEGISLATION role of MPS;  
WOMEN

32. SYAMALA DEVI (D). Contribution of women parliamentarians in India. Indian j. of political science. 55, 4; 1994; 411-6.

The contributions made by women parliamentarians in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha are quite significant. In the first Lok Sabha women members introduced a large number of private member bills on many important social issues as Dowry Restraint bill and the Hindu Marriage bill. The number of women members till sixth Lok Sabha decreased but from 7th to 10th the number of women members in Lok Sabha is increasing. A number of bills were passed by the women members as the Banning of Sex Determination Tests Bill, working children welfare bill etc. Women members of Rajya Sabha also initiated many private member bills. Women members of Rajya Sabha held important positions like the deputy chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', MEMBERS, KERALA

33. MANCHANDA (Rita). Women in parliament. Manushi. 47; 1988, July-Aug; 28-30.

Kerala with high politically mobilised women has

not sent a single women member to the eight Lok Sabha. UP with low political mobilisation has about 10 members in parliament. In parliament or indeed in other political decision making organisations women are marginalised. More women than ever are turning out to vote in the general elections, political parties are fielding even fewer women candidates. The Draft plan makes a much more positive assessment of the performance of the women MPs in parliament.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, PROFILE, AGE FACTOR

34. NAGI (Saroj). Women parliamentarians: A New breed. Illustrated weekly of India. 3, 20; 1990, May 20; 22-5.

Political power still eludes women despite 15 years of rule by a women prime minister. But the new crop of women members elected to parliament come from an interesting mix of backgrounds and many have made it on their own steam. There were far fewer women members in the ninth Lok Sabha than in the dissolved house, but some of the first timers elected to it stand out for their personality, their charisma and their proud commitment to the causes they uphold. Saraj Negi profiles the most prominent among the new women in the house and found that the average age of the women in the House that time was 51, some of them were really young - as young as 30.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_ role of POLITICAL PARTIES

35. ANITA ANAND. 36 women in parliament, 480 million outside. Times of India. 1996, May 27; 11.

Women want to participate in shaping the present and future of their nation. In the new parliament 36 of the 491 women standing for elections were successful. This low presentation arises the question that women do not want to participate in decision making. It is because most women do not have faith in the political system and other institutions. While political parties may be out of step in representing the interests of Indian women, the government over the last ten years has introduced programmes for empowerment of women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_ RESERVATIONS

36. MURALIDHARAN (Sukumar). Politics of insecurity: Contradictory positions on women's quota bill. Front-line. 14, 11; 1997, May 31 June 13; 113-6.

Only the brave or the reckless would predict an early enactment of the bill on reservation for women. The strategy would be for a diligent study of the patterns of social representation that have emerged from the women's quota in local bodies. The large number of women who have recently assumed offices as Mayors of important cities is an index of the substantive impact of this measure. The women who have gained seats in local bodies are as representative of

the underlying caste and class sub-stratum as are the men.

37. RAJ (Sebasti L). Reservation of legislative seats for women. ISI Bulletin. 5, 1; 1997, Jan-March; 2-4.

Till today, nearly 250 women have served the Indian parliament. It is difficult to comprehend why women should not be allowed equal participation. Equal rights for women is not possible until and unless seats are reserved in parliament and the State Legislatures. The reservation for women in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha should be preceded by adequate environment building and ramifications of the process of women's empowerment.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_' role of MALES

38. SETH (Padma) and JILANI (SYED Sadiq). Reservation of seats for women in politics. Women's link. 3,2; 1997; April-June; 15-6.

All the political parties woo women for votes but when it comes to party representation, no party gave equal representation to contest either in Lok Sabha or in the State legislatures. After entry into the panchayat raj system women are confident that they can save the country from corruption & criminalisation of politics. The concept of reservation by mere operation of numbers will not be able to get their due share of seats. Objection raised by men is mainly

because 181 seats out of 543 will go for women and if women came from general constituencies they can be even more in number.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, THIRTY THREE PER CENT QUOTA

39. MADHU KISHWAR. Do We need bivi brigades' in parliament  
Times of India. 1996, Dec 12; 2.

In India the few women leaders have not been able to facilitate the entry of greater numbers of women in electoral and party politics, and so remain an ineffective minority. Powerful male politicians are likely to use the absence of active female politicians as an excuse to corner the 33 per cent reservation quota for their wives and daughters. We do need special measures to enhance the participation and representation of women in our legislatures.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, MALE LEGISLATURES

40. JAIN (Devaki). Daughters of the house: Men's stranglehold on power makes a women's quota necessary.  
Telegraph. 1997, March 22; 12.

The majority of those who are against the women's quota are the men in legislatures. The elected women have broken all the myths associated with women. The men fear that the women will take their space in the parliamentary constituencies. On the issue of representation women have been challenged. But women

could usher in a more secular, less communal, political scenario. A pyramid of women politicians, from the gram sabha to parliament, cutting across party lines, needs to be formed to justify that women has an identity and a view and an ethic.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, OPPOSITION, MALE MPs

41. KOHLI (Veena), Gender divide stalls quota. Roshni. 1996, July-Sept - Dec; 66-8.

Male MPs are not in favour of reservation for women in parliament. Right then political parties did not give tickets to adequate number of women candidates but once the reservation was made that would be rectified. While the women are organising themselves for demanding more share in decision making, there are some vocal men MPs who are against it. There are other men who say that they are not against reservation but against the bill in its present form.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, ASSESSMENT

42. ANITA ANAND. Will it make a difference. Hindu.1997, June 15; IV.

Reservation for women is not intended to push them into an arena for which they are not ready. Rather it is a strategy to ensure that women - who have been kept away because of deep-seated prejudices, stereotypical attitudes and lack of opportunities - jump in

feet first and learn on the job. Critics of the bill include men and women in and out of active politics. The new legislation is to be seen as a challenge to women and men and a tremendous new opportunity. The legislative initiative of bringing women into mainstream politics has been unprecedented.

43. CHAKRABORTY (Swati). Rethinking on reservation for women in legislatures. Women's link. 3,2; 1997, April-June; 29-30.

Sending a few more women representatives in the legislative bodies through reservation quota may not bring about the aspired, results, for there is no dearth of policies and schemes for women's development in our country, it is due to the absence of effective intent, commitment and sensibility. The programmes meant for women and the financial allocations made for them remain unutilized or wrongly utilized. The proposed reservation policy can only be of partial help to achieve the women's equality.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **RESERVATION BILL**

44. MADHU KISHWAR. And the one who differs: Maneka Gandhi on the women's reservation bill. Manushi. 96; 1997, Jan-14; 17-9.

The United Front has brought forward the bill



for women's reservation in parliament and legislative assemblies, but it is just a populist measure of a government that has no intention of seeing it through. Women don't carry much clout in Parliament because very few manage to secure tickets to contest elections and still fewer manage to win. There are few women in Parliament have power as individuals. Women MPs have not come together on any issue except for the reservation bill because there is nothing that unifies them except that they are women and they are in parliament.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_', \_\_\_\_', \_\_\_\_', \_\_\_\_', \_\_\_\_', **PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE**

45. CHAUDHURI (Sachin) Women's bill: Not history, surely? Economic and Political Weekly, 31, 38; 1996; Sept 21; 2576-7.

The tabling of a bill reserving seats for women in parliament and its relegation to a parliamentary subcommittee for reconsideration are both significant markers in the charting of women's right in the structures of democratic institutions in the country. The opportunity provided by its detailed consideration by a parliamentary committee must be use to ensure that the bill to provide for reservation for women in parliament is not attenuated in this fashion.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, ONE THIRD SEATS, WOMEN'S PROBLEMS, CRITIQUE

46. BHALLA (Surjit S). En-gendering bad policy. Economic times. 1996, Dec 16; 8.

Reserving one-third legislative seats for women is neither necessary nor sufficient for a better deal for women or society. The problems related with women as poverty, social reform and education are not the problem which could be solved only by legislator policy. There in fact; is a policy which does not suffer from the absurdity of reservations; is good politics, and can achieve all of the goals of the women's bill and more, much more.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, OPPOSITION, MALE LEADERS

47. PANICKER (Lalita). Political patriarchy: Reservations about power for women. Times of India. 1997, May 24;10.

The bill makes no provision for reservation for minorities like OBCs and Muslims within the women's quota. The political culture as it exists today is more viciously discriminatory to women than perhaps in any other area. When the concept of reservations to the local bodies was mooted, there was very little opposition from the male political class as they thought that the village women would not effect them. But the implimentation of the panchayati raj show that women have the ability of independent decisions.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, PROBLEMS

48. VAIDYA (MG). Quota for women in legislatures. Organiser. 48, 14; 1996, Nov 3; 42-4.

The need for making provisions for reservations for women has arisen can not be a matter of pride for the society. When there was not much political awakening amongst women, there was not much female literacy. Even at that time women entered the electoral fray as candidates. With the reservation for women in legislatures, there is now the possibility of the level of merit going down. Political parties are not sure whether their women will be able to successfully compete with men candidates. Such thinking assumes women as being weak. All the problems cannot be solved only by the reservation.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ role of POLITICAL PARTIES

49. VMT. Reservation for women in legislatures. Radical humanist. 61, 1; 1997, July; 1-3.

Although all the political parties have been formally committed to one third reservation for women, a substantial section of members of all political parties do not genuinely share that commitment. It is not certain that proper steps would be taken to see that the bill is duly passed and becomes a part of our constitution. The purpose of giving reservation to

women is that they should have a share in the legislative power which is vested in the central and the state legislatures. In this paper the issue of reservation for Muslim women is also highlighted.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', **CRITIQUE**

50. CHAKRAVARTY (Nitish). Setback for women's quota: Minority cannot override majority. Deccan herald. 1997, May 19; 8.

In most societies across the world where women have relatively better access to the fruits of economic and social progress there are no quotas for them in national parliament or provincial legislatures. It is not believable that reservation of seats in legislatures or in public and private services will enable women to level up with men. The benefits of reserved seats for women have been cornered by a small section.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', **WOMEN ORGANISATIONS**

51. MEHRA (Deepti). Women march for reservation. New age. 44, 47; 1996, November 24-30; 1. a-e.

Women parliamentarians and women organisations had hoped that the bill ensuring 33 per cent representations to women in parliament and state assemblies would be passed in the last session of the

parliament. But the very presentation of the bill was delayed to the last day of the session and it could not be discussed for want of quorum. This definitely angered the women organisations but they did not get frustrated.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, 33 PER CENT RESERVATION CHAUVINISM

52. NAMBOODIRIPAD (E MS). Empowering women: The need to fight male chauvinism. Frontline. 13, 36; 1997, Jan 10; 99-100.

It was broadly welcomed proposal to get 33 per cent of the seats in legislative bodies reserved for women. One can well understand if some people want to raise the question of reserving seats in legislative bodies for backward classes, but they must raise the issue separately. To insist on reservation for communities as a condition for empowering women is nothing but male chauvinism.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, LOCAL BODIES, BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

53. PANDEY (Divya). Women councillors in Bombay municipal corporation. RCWS Newsletter. 13, 1; 1992, Summer; 78.

Maharashtra is the first state to reserve 30 per cent seats for women in the Zilla Parishads, Municipal Councils and Municipal Corporations. The women corporators in BMC have to activate the system to recognise their central role in development and struggle against forces which halt the processes of

empowering and power sharing to a stanstill. In BMC most of the women were self professed social workers. Most of these candidates were familier with their wards, knowledge-able about requirements and willing to help.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_ **MARGINALISATION**

54. PANDEY (Divya); Marginalisation of Women in politics. RCWS Newsletter. 12, 2; 1991, Monsoon; 4-5.

The position of women in the Indian political scene remains, by and large, low profile and unrecognised except for those women who are from elite families, who are related closely to political leaders through blood or through marriage. The current political culture in the country makes women's participation in politics difficult. But the women's increasing participation in various kinds of movements has challenged the concept of politics. With few women in public life, the men find it difficult to look upon them with respect, observed as they are with their traditional image of the household women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_ effect of **CRIMINALISATION**

55. MADHU KISHWAR. Women's marginal role in politics. Manushi. 97; 1996, Nov-Dec; 9-21.

Women have been politically marginalised in our country and most of them lives. The side living of

women in our polity is part of a larger process in which most honest, decent people have become politically marginalised as our politics and government have become the hotbed of crooks, thugs and even outright criminals. The breakdown of institutional politics in favour of gangster politics has made things much tougher for women. A woman who continues to devote time to politics even after the electoral setback gets to be taken down on as a hopeless addict.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, need for ELECTORAL REFORMS

56. MADHU KISHWAR. Women and politics: Beyond quotas. Economic & Political Weekly. 31, 43; 1996, Oct 26; 2867-74.

The move to reserve one third seats for women has the formal endorsement of virtually every major political party in the country. The marginalization of women is integrally linked to the marginalisation of all decent people from our party politics. We need wide-spectrum electoral reforms that will curb the role of muscle and money power in politics which facilitates representation of various marginalized groups without mechanical reservation quotas.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING role of  
WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

57. GAHRANA (Kanan). Participation of Women in Indian politics: An analysis. Indian J of politics. 25, 2-3; 1991; 111-8.

Various reasons are assigned for the ...

zation of women in politics in India. The issue of political integration of women has been long ignored even by those who are concerned with women's issues. An average woman lacks political interest and political understanding due to never ending domestic responsibilities. Women need to play both the roles, the formal political role and informal. Women's organizations have a vital role to play under the informal political process. In order to keep pace with the changing scenario, women's organizations need to play a more positive political in the political integration of Indian women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **MARRIAGE**

58. SHRIVASTAVA (Roshni). Role of women in Indian politics. Political science review. 21, 4; 1982, Oct-Dec; 351-8.

The purpose of present note is to critically examine the participation of Indian women in the politics of the country. By the study, it was found that married women were more in number than the unmarried women who took part in politics and became members of parliament. The role of Indian women in state politics is significant. The number of women from northern side of country has always been more through the participation of women is very low in centre and state politics.



\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, MODERNISATION, POLITICAL PARTIES effect of  
WORK

59. BHAVANI (V). Women, work and political modernisation. Indian journal politics. 18, 3-4; 1984, Sept-Dec; 89-94.

As compared to men, women in India are politically less active. This study aims at a comparative analysis of the level of political modernisation among two groups of women, one comprising of women employed in the local tobacco industry and another non-working housewives. As the result the awareness of political parties and personalities is relatively higher among working women. More working women are in favour of non-Congress parties, especially the left parties whereas a vast majority of the non-working women are disposed in favour of the Congress-I.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, MUSLIMS, ALIGARH

60. SHADBANO AHMAD. Muslim women and political participation: The case of Aligarh city. Indian j politics. 17, 1; 1983, March; 27-37.

The present study examines the political participation of muslim women residing in Aligarh city. The sample of 500 respondents was randomly selected and included married women between the age of 21 to 50 years. Results indicate that significant differences exist between pre-independence and post-independence

group of women. With the exception of interaction effects education x residential experience and socio-economic class x residential experience, all main effects and interaction effects yielded significant F values for political participation.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, UDAIPUR

61. ZENAB BANU. Political status of muslim women: An empirical study of Udaipur. UP journal of political science. 2, 1; 1990; Jan-June; 37-46.

Muslim women refrained from active politics right from the beginning. The muslim parties have not returned any muslim women to parliament. In Udaipur city, there are 30,000 total muslim votes out of which 17,600 are women - outnumbering muslim males. The political behaviour of muslim women ought to be understood in the Islamic perspective. The political status of muslim women is not altogether negative since she seems to understand the issues facing the community, locality and the nation. She seems to have made a number of adjustments to this.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, NATIONAL COMMISSION, role of JANATA DAL

62. DANDVATE (PrAMILA). Empowerment of women. Janata. 50, 19; 1995, July 9; 9 + 23.

The Commission for women could not be set up by Janata Dal but by present congress. The women's

commission has not been reconstituted after its expiry on 31st January, 1995. The Janata Dal inaugurated an era of "power to women" by providing reservation to them into the mainstream of politics. This has now become a model for the country and women. But the women have miles to go in their efforts to empower themselves by securing effective participation at all levels of decision making.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **NATIONAL compared with REGIONAL**

63. PATEL (Vibhuti). Women & politics: National scenario-regional differences. Manavi newsletter. 2, 1; 1992, July-Sept; 12-4.

Informal politics has made a qualitative charge in political goals and processes as a result of accommodating of women's perspectives and priorities. The parliamentary parties started seeing women as a constituency in the eighties. In South India not many women politicians have made great impact. Electoral analysts have found that women voters don't vote as per instructions of their patriana. In North India, we do see more women candidates of upper levels of political structures and in the North East we got only the National level leader. Unless, provide concrete alternatives in politics by understanding region-specific aspirations and needs of women, it will not be able to make a dent in this situation.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, need for EDUCATION AND EQUAL LEGAL RIGHTS

64. ARAVAMUDAN (Gita). Reservation of women? Roshni. 1996, July-Sept-Dec; 69-70.

Protective legislation implied that women belong to a special class of incompetents requiring such special care as minors and defectives needed and not covered by other provisions in the constitution. Without taking basic issues like education for women or providing them with uniform and equal legal rights, such gestures become meaningless. Empowerment cannot exist when the women are vulnerable to manipulation. If a percentage of seats are reserved for women, not only will they face a lot of resentment, there is a very strong chance that the women who win these seats will belong to the creamy layer of politically influential families.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, SUPPORT STRUCTURE

65. JAYANTI ALAM. Women, power and empowerment. Women's link. 2, 3; 1996, July-Sept; 41-3.

Women want to get into positions of leadership but do not want to undertake the work that it takes to get there. Women in power also need support structures. Women do not have the skills that are necessary to penetrate public life. Some women's organisations try to empower women, but it is very difficult because of

the lack of training in. It is very important to develop an understanding of power and build the identity of leaders, but power starts from the empowerment of women themselves.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **WOMEN'S PLATFORM**

66. RANGNEKAR (Ahilya). Women's representation in elected bodies. Women's equality. 3, 3; 1990, July-Sept; 19.

A number of discussions have been held in which various organisations have taken part. owing to the blatant discriminations against women their representation in elected bodies corporations, municipalities, zila parishads and panchayats - is dismal. There should be a separate women's platform of front which would fight on a common symbol and with a common manifesto. the argument for a women's platform stems from the erroneous understanding that women should have nothing to do with politics. The reservation of seats for women in elected bodies will help them get nominated as candidates.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS**

67. MISHRA PANDAY (S<sup>V</sup>eta) and SEN (Ayanjit). Women, where art thou? Pioneer. 1997, Feb 25; 10.

Many women leaders are either related to male politicians or belong to former ruling families. Very few women have joined politics on their own account.

Women find it difficult to sustain themselves in politics, having to constantly prove themselves to men. Today it seems there are more women in campus politics than mainstream politics. Women should have enough share in the decision making process as it can bring an improvement in the quality of politics. Many NGOs striving for women's empowerment claim reservation can transform the scenario.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **ORISSA,FACTORS,SOCIAL**

68. ANNAPURNA DEVI and PATI (NM). Women in state politics: (Orissa). Political Science Review. 30, 4; 1981, Oct-Dec; 117-44.

It is not easy to give a comprehensive account of women's participation in the politics of Orissa, because one finds hardly any writing about women, not to talk of their role in politics. There are no legal barriers to select women's political career in local, state or national level, the proportion of women in this field is very negligible. With regard to the female voters in the entire state, there is a vast difference in political consciousness in comparison to male. Lacking the support of any organized party the success of women candidates in Orissa becomes more of a chance than a reality. If proper decorum is maintained in the political life without taunting the

women folk, certainly more women are likely to come forward to join politics.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, POST-INDEPENDENCE

69. BARAL (JK), PARIJA (Ashalata) and BARAL (Sailbala). Women politics in Orissa. J Social and Economic Studies. 10, 1-2; 1982; 41-51.

Women in India in general and in orissa particular continue to subjugated group with their social political freedom greatly inhabited and restricted by social laws. During the freedom struggle a few Oriya women moved by patriotism, crossed the social barriers and actively participated in the freedom movement. After independence, there was some increase in the political participation by women. In respect to representation to legislatures the performance of Oriya women has so far not been encouraging and the gap between men and women is almost as wide as ever.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, POST, 1967

70. DAS (Hari Haran) and CHOUDHURY (Bishnu Charan). Role of women in the electoral politics of Orissa since 1967: An overview. J State Politics and Administration. 5, 1-2; 1982, Jan-Dec; 17-25.

Women are most active in advanced states. But only a very small number of women have taken part in

the electoral politics of the State Orissa. Most of the women participants were dragged into the fray of the electoral politics because of their relations with eminent political leaders. The chance of women candidates success has been proportionate to the success of political party to which they belong. The women leaders of Orissa are very few and they have come from what may be termed as politically oriented families.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PANCHAYATI RAJ, COOPTION without EXPERIENCE  
AND KNOWLEDGE ANDHRA and KARNATAKA

71. MANIKYAMBA. Women in panchayati raj: premises and performance. Teaching politics. 14, 3-4; 1988; 85-107.

This paper attempt to examine the aspect - The role of women in the structural functional framework of panchayati raj set up in India with special reference to Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. A study of Karnataka reveals that the formers realized the need for women's representation at all levels. Experiences in Andhra Pradesh in implementing the principle of cooption shows that in general, women got coopted in a very presumptory manner without any thought being given to their experience, knowledge and abilities.



\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect of KNOWLEDGE

72. RASHMI ARUN. Role of Women in Panchayati Raj. Administrator. 41, 2; 1996, April-June; 115-26.

The Panchayati Raj act has envisaged true participation of women and power sharing. Most of women are first time enterants in politics. Most of the women have no clear conception of their role as a member of Panchayat. Panchayati Raj has made women more vulnerable than before. Lack of knowledge about the rules and regulations hampers women from arguing on problems and devise solutions which are gender sensitive.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect on SOCIETY, BENGAL

- 73 MITRA (Amit). Will women in panchayats transform Bengal? Down to earth. 2, 4; 1993, July 15; 22-4.

The change in the functioning of the panchayats and the presence of women in it have transformed the system. Most women candidates in West Bengal contested in elections only because the male members in their family could not. The women showed hardly any interest in politics or in crossing over to public life. Only the more articulate and assertive women will be able to resist male hegemony over the panchayats. But West Bengal is on the threshold of an era which will witness women truly coming into their own.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, FACTORS, TAMIL NADU

74. SREEVIDYA (KR) and MANIMAKALAI RAJA. Women and no panchayats in Tamil Nadu. UMA prachar newsletter. 1995, Aug 21; 11-20.

In Tamil Nadu, women had little or no idea nor any direct experience of panchayati raj institutions. The women also vehemently voiced the opinion that men could not brow beat them or prevent their participation in the political arena. There is a clear lack of information among the women about panchayat raj. Elected women representatives have the added responsibility of barricading populist pressures and differentiating between aspiration and genuine needs. In Tanilnadu there is a need to bring a significant number of women into the political machinery for effective local self governance.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, GRASSROOTS, BARRIERS, need for TRAINING, WEST BENGAL

75. GHOSH (Dilip K). Grassroot women leaders: Who are they? A study in a West Bengal district. Journal of rural development. 16, 2; 1997, April-June; 291-311.

With the seventy third amendment to the Constitution one third seats of the Panchayati raj institutions at the three tiers are reserved for women of the rural areas. Rural women participate in large

number irrespective of caste, creed and religion. Mostly women of younger age group come to the forum of PRIs. But the education status of women members are comparatively lower. This sometimes creates barrier in effective interaction. For removing it launching of effective training programme is necessary. A large number of women members come from the agricultural sector while more or less equal number remained non workers.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, Role of TRAINERS

76. SUBHAK. Training: An aid to empower rural women leaders. Kurukshetra. 43, 7; 1995, April; 98-100.

Mere learning about the functioning of Panchayati Raj is not enough to empower women. Concerted and vigorous attempts on the part of the governmental and non-governmental for training political leadership at the gross roots levels is the need of the day. Women should be given fair knowledge about the functioning of the political system as a whole. Trainers have a significant role to play in making the representatives aware of their own rights and duties. The trainer thus has a dual role of educator and a catalyst in the process of empowering women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, in relation to VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT  
 U.P., SAHARANPUR, SURVEY

77. PATTANAIK (BK). Political empowerment of women and village development. Yojna. 40, 12; 1996, Dec; 24-5,31.

Reservation of one third seats for women in Panchayats and municipal bodies are glorious epitome of women political empowerment. This study was conducted in Saharanpur district of U.P. The aim was to assess the relationship between women political participation and their attitude towards village development. Political participation at the Central and State level, the status of women in U.P. particularly in its rural areas has not been sufficiently improved. Some suggestions are given as the human Resource Development of women political functionaries is very essential to enable women functions effectively at the grasses roots. Confidence building through awareness campaign would enhance women participation in political life at the grass root level.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS, HEADS

78. JEYAPAL (P) and DRAVIDAMANI (K). Women Panchayat presidents. Social Welfare. 44, 1; 1997, April; 29-33.

A large number of women had fought against men in non-reserved constituencies and won. Panchayat

presidents are facing difficulties in planning that they are not provided proper guidelines. Most of the women panchayat president are not having previous experience in politics and having low awareness on panchayati raj system. Proper education and intensive training on panchayati raj to women panchayat presidents and democratisation of powers and duties of panchayat members at various levels are the immediate need for effective functioning of panchayati raj system.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, WEST BENGAL

79. GHOSH (DK). Women panchayat members as heads of offices: A study in West Bengal, J of rural development. 14; 4; 1995, Oct-Dec; 357-66.

West Bengal has the distinction of organising four general elections to the their three panchayati raj institutions. But 1993 elections to the panchayati raj institution of West Bengal percentage of women numbers in all three tiers together was about 35. But women representation as heads of offices in different tiers of PRIs is not commensurate with their percentages in the bodies. In Zilla parishad there is no women sabhapati. The political parties are not ready to give the offices of the heads of institutions to women. For reaping the benefits of seventy-third

Amendment, it is desirable that adequate and continuous training support is provided to them.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, MAHARASHTRA

80. GAWANKAR (Rohini). Female representation in panchayati raj institution in the state of Maharashtra. New quest. 51; 1985, May; 133-40.

This paper is a modest attempt to study the nature of female participation in panchayati raj. There are quite a few women who can contest the elections. They have got ability and capacity if necessary they could raise some funds. Yet no ticket is issued to them. Women are not aware of the state politics or the political activities of their own party throughout the country. By the study it was found that the educated women members were ambitious and they believed that if they want to have better prospects in more fruitful political activities they have to start from Gram panchayat. Education, social and political work in representative institutions and some ability to present views are the factors which should be taken into consideration for nomination of female members.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, RESERVATION, ASSESSMENT

81. BATLIWALA (Srilata). Empowering women. Seminar. 449, Annual; 1997, Jan; 88-91.

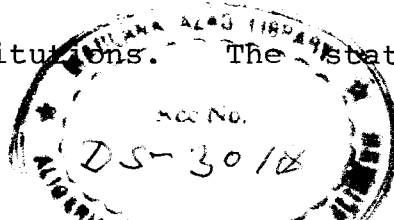
Reservation for women would create further

issues in an already fragmented society. PRIs quota for women are not based on any innate belief in their equal rights to political power, but are grounded in paternalism, reinforcing their images as a handicapped groups. The process of womens empowerment clearly requires two synergistic processes - social change agents and women working at the grassroots level. Women's empowerment is essentially a political task. It can not be achieved until and unless a critical mass of women access formal political power by entering political institutions on a large scale.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PANCHAYATI RAJ, MAHILA SAMAKHYA PROGRAMME,  
KARNATAKA

82. BATLIWALA (Srilata). Transforming of political culture. Economic and political weekly. 31, 21; 1996, May 25; 1248-51.

The experience of a small experiment undertaken by the Mahila Samakhya programme in Karnataka which attempted to find solutions to the problems raised by women's participation in the Panchayat Raj institutions as a result of reservation policy shows that women's participation in government may serve to transform the culture and functioning of local government institutions. The stated objective of



Mahila Samkhyas were education for women's empowerment. MS district teams helped the village mahila sanghas to strategise on how best to lobby the mandal panchayats which, under the 1985 act. The sanghas are actively analysing and transforming the culture of the institutions of political power from both outside and inside.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **MALE DOMINATED, role of INFORMATION**

83. D'COSTA (Chrissie). Women's political participation and empowerment. PRISM. 2, 3; 1996, March; 4-7.

The provision of women's reservation will infuse democratic way of functioning in the local government, will cause decline in corruption and will make a space for women in the male-dominated public sphere. Women realise that access of information is the first and vital step if they want to be in position of power. Most of the women did not know about the provision of the reservation of seats. Reservation for women in panchayati raj Institutions have been responsible for upsetting and unsetting the status quo.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **need for POLITICAL WILL**

84. KIRTI KUMAR. Strategies for empowerment of women in PRIs. Kurukshetra. 42, 9; 1994, June; 05-08 + 37.

The policy of reservation raises certain very pertinent issues. But elected women members have proved



their worth by their excellent work in various fields. The first strategy should aim at striking at ignorance by dissemination of information and raising political awareness among the toiling rural women. Political will is also necessary for empowerment of women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **SUPPORT, WEST BENGAL**

85. KANANGO (Shukla Deb). Panchayati Raj and emerging women leadership: An overview. Social action. 46,1; 1996, Jan-March, 76-91.

This paper discusses women's leadership in the panchayati raj with special reference to the state of West Bengal. Panchayat women themselves would need support from other women to make the system more meaningful. There is no way women contestants can gain access to power without aligning themselves with some political party or other.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **PANCHAYATS**

86. PANDA (Snehalata). Women in rural local government. Kurukshetra. 43, 7; 1995, April; 103-7.

Women's entry into the village political system would ensure change in the political system of the village, the role of women and develop grass roots leadership among women. But there are various problems for the women members of panchayats. In the second phase of study it was encouraging to observe that women

representatives were more enthusiastic and happy with their performance. Villagers have a positive attitude towards reservation of seats for women in local bodies. Women are willing to hold panchayat offices, have a pragmatic approach to the problems of the village.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', effect on CORRUPTION

87. TAMTA (BR). Women's role in Panchayats. Kurukshetra. 42, 9; 1994, June; 56-7.

The panchayats which today are steeped in corruption and nepotism would gradually change for the better with larger number of women inducted. But sometimes they too become partison due to village politics of caste and other disputes. The meetings of panchayats are shown only on papers. Under these circumstances the scope for sincere work by women is limited. Since women are more sincere and dedicated it is hoped that the scenario would change with their participation in panchayats. Same training classes can be held at the Gram Sabha level by the Panchayati Raj officers preferably ladies who can explain to them the system of panchayats and their role.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', LEADERS

88. NACHANE (Vasant). Women in gram panchayats. Janata. 49, 12; 1994, May 22; 13-6.

In many parts of the country menfolk refuse to

recognise that women have an equal right in running the administration of local bodies. But there are a number of instances to show courage and resisted the pressures of male members in their families and societies. Various activities has been done by the women panchayat members. It shows that a new leadership can emerge out of efforts of women members of gram panchayats.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', **MAHARASHTRA, JALGAON**

89. OMVEDT (Gail). Women, zilla parishads and panchayati raj: Chandwad to vitner. Economic and political weekly. 25, 31; 1990, Aug 4; 1687-90.

Vitner, aremote village in Maharashtra's Jalgaon district, voted a women's panel in the gram panchayat elections and chose a women as sarpanch. And Vitner's peasants went even beyond women's political power and took up the problem of women's economic rights. 127 families actually turned over legal properly rights to women. At the time the proposal for the reservations for the women in panchayats first came up, there was a strong critical reaction.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', role of MALE RELATIVES

90. MUKHOPADHYAY (Ashim). Role conflicts and female panchayat members. Frontier. 28, 32; 1996, March 16; 4-7.

The female panchayat members have to perform

many roles in their daily life which may effect her participation in the panchayat work. Opposition from relatives to women's participation in non-domestic activities has intensified the role conflicts of female panchayati members. But now the position is taking place. By interview of many female member's family, it was found out that they are in favour of the female panchayat members of their family.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', MALES , KARNATAKA,  
MYDOLALU GRAM PANCHAYAT

91. RASQUINHA (Sara). Looking inside: Karnataka's all women gram panchayat. UMA prachar newsletter. 1996, Oct; 14.

Mydolalu gram panchayat in Bhadrnati taluk, Shimoga district, has the unique distinction of being the only all women gram panchayat in Karnataka. The grama has only one Mahila Mandal but only one elected women representative is a member of this Mahila Mandal. Though it is an all-women gram panchayat, instances of camouflaged control by male members are visible;. The women representatives confessed that they have not thought of any specific programme for women so far.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', **POWER STRUCTURE**

92. KAMTA PRASAD. Women and panchayats: Making success of the new experiment. Kurukshetra. 42, 9; 1994, June; 16-8.

The prevailing male-dominated power structure in villages is obviously not ready to accept women as the chairpersons of the panchayats. It may be pointed out that women are not capable of holding important positions like those of chairpersons of panchayats especially when these bodies are expected to play an active role since more powers and funds are proposed to be given to them. A massive programme of training of trainers is needed so that adequate number of trainers are available at the block, district and state level to impart training to the members and chairpersons of panchayats immediately after panchayat elections.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', **role of TRAINING**

93. VERMA (SK). Women in panchayats. PRISM. 2,1; 1996, Jan; 11-2.

The representation of women in panchayats ensures that the special knowledge and talent of women are utilised for guiding and supervising programmes meant for women and children. The question arises whether such a reservation would result in development

of women. The participation of women in those bodies will increase with proper training and the increase in literacy and awareness among them about their rights.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **POST-RESERVATIONS, ANDHRA**

94. JAYALAKSHMI (K). Empowerment of women in panchayats Experiences of Andhra Pradesh. Journal of rural development. 16,2; 1997, April-June; 369-78.

The present paper focusses on the post constitutional arrangements which have emerged across states and enabled women to participate in local institutions. It is an empirical work in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Inferences of drawn from the study may give certain points in the drive for promoting participation. Can training be a factor by which women's performance in the local institutions could be improved? If so, can non-government organisations be visualised to perform this role as their experience in mobilisation efforts have fairly taken root. Development efforts in some parts of the globe has been successful where the programme has adopted a locate specific strategy in identifying the gender needs.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **PROBLEMS**

95. SEKAR (Helen R). women's participation in panchayati raj. NLI newsletter. 2, 5; 1994, Oct; 3-4.

A vast majority of women lack articulation,

capability of their problems, which in turn prevents them from participating effectively in leadership and political decision making process. Induction of women in great number to enter the political stream as a matter of constitutional right would be a major move towards the political empowerment of rural women. It stands many problem also. Women's political participation should amount to their sharing in the benefits of development programmes.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **LAWS AWARENESS**

96. SEKAR (Helen R). Panchayati raj: An instrument for empowerment of women. VVGNLI newsletter. 3, 10-11; 1996, March-April; 4-6 + 10.

Panchayati raj though provides opportunities for the participation of women get serious difficulties stand in their way. The first hand experience of interacting with the women members and presidents of newly elected panchayat had contributed the failures and frustrations and women's sense of powerlessness due to their struggle for survival. The participants of panchayat needed more awareness of laws pertaining to women, panchayat, land social problems and minimum and equal wages.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **WEST BENGAL**

97. MUKHOPADHAYAY (Maitri). Women and panchayati raj: West Bengal. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 47-8.

It has become very difficult to find 22000 women participants for three tier body in West Bengal. In West Bengal there is only one training institute where training is given to all panchayati members irrespective of men and women, though the proper training is required to the women representatives before expecting a satisfactory output from them. The lower level leaders are averse to women's participation. Women have remained outside participation's realm.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **PROSPECTS**

98. KAUSHIK (Susheela). Challenges and Opportunities. Social Welfare. 43, 1; 1996 +, April; 3-4.

The democratic process at village level had to accept women who had a mind of their own. Many women having been elected, were concerned with the prospect of their not being fielded in the next election, and resented this interference by the males in the family. Women have been allowed only to contest from these constituencies. A few women in different states faced physical assaults. Not many women who stood for elections mention them as limitations, though one may



find them as factors for those who did not come preward. Women have come forth enthusiastically and are participating in the training/awareness raising programmes eagerly.

99. NAYAYANAN (Revathi). Women's representation: Setting pace. Humanscape. 3, 11; 1996, Sep; 13-6.

The role of women representatives in panchayats and their struggles for empowerment are crucial concerns in the new social climate ushered in by the almost simultaneous introduction of decentralised structures and the new economic policy. Women must bring their own perspectives and life experiences to the political spaces they occupy. Existing links between the women's movement and the women panchayat representatives need to be strengthened and new ones forged.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **RAJASTHAN**

100. PRITAM PAL and SHAIL MAYARAM. Coming of age. Humanscape. 111, xi, 1996, Sep; 17-9.

Women's participation in Rajasthan's local bodies as panchayat leaders has grown since the introduction of the new panchayati raj act progress in rural development work successfully quells criticism of their new roles. Women's representation is negligible

in Rajasthan. The women are divided by caste, class and political affiliations. There is also hostility towards a women panchayat leader drawing upon the support of her spouse. Politics continues to be viewed as a male domain upon which women are encroaching.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **RESERVATIONS,** compared with  
**CO-OPTION**

101. MEENAKSHI SUNDARAM (SS). Empowerment of women through Panchayati Raj. Administrator. 40, 3; 1995, July-Sep; 161-5.

Several questions arise when reexamine the role of women in the local government structures. Women participated actively in large number in the freedom struggle, thereafter their participation steadily came down. In many parts of India women entered the panchayati raj system by co-option rather than election. Reservation appears to be the only way to ensure the presence of women in PRIs. With improvement in the level of literacy is certainly possible to ensure the adequate participation of women in decision making not only in rural areas but also the higher level of administration in future.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **CRITIQUE**

102. MOHINDER SINGH. Political equity for women. Social Welfare. 41, 10; 1995, Jan; 13-5.

So far the role played by women in panchayati

Raj has been weak because only those women who are connected to political or influential personalities come forward for elections. Lack of education, social and family barriers and pre-occupation with household duties also prevent women from participating in the political process. Mere reservation can not go a long way in the effective participation of women in grass-roots democracy as there are impediments that may hamper their active participation. The problems that can confront women in preparing them for Panchayati Raj are of best problems of a society in transition.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of MALE

103. AGTEY-ATHALEY (Gouri). Why reservations for women may fail. Sunday observer. 1994, Oct 2-8; 12.

Quotas for women in local self-government only makes sense if women are encouraged to have interests outside their homes. The political participation of women is very low due to the lack of opportunity, struggle to make two ends meet and the double load they carry in an industrialising society. If women are to effectively use the 30 per cent reservations and other policies, they must first be activated otherwise they are likely to end up puppets in the hands of the men who will still dictate policy.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, need of TRAINING

104. GOPALAN (Sarala). Women in panchayati raj. Roshni. 1995, April-June-Sept; 3-5.

The seats reserved for women may largely be occupied by women whose families are influential. The membership in panchayats has provided women great exposure to local self government. The prestige enjoyed by the women have enhanced or believed to have enhanced the popularity of the leaders. Strategies for harnessing the women power have to be intelligently worked out to achieve the spirit of the constitution amendment which envisages empowerment and participation of all sections of people in local self government. For empowering the women training and information is necessary.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PARTIES AGREEMENT

105. PATEL (Vibhuti). Getting a foothold in politics. Janata. 45, 36-40; 1991, Jan 6; 17-9.

The pressure from the new women's groups forced the mainstream political parties to show greater concern for women's issues at least in their public speeches. Concerted efforts are needed for a responsible and effective intervention on behalf of women in political process. 60 years later, the women leaders of political parties have agreed to support

30 per cent seats for women. Some national level male politicians have expressed their outrage against the reservation of 30 per cent seats for women. Some scholars of women's organisations think that the entry of women in the electoral process will help the curbing of violence and corruption.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of JANATA DAL, KARNATAKA

106. PRABHAVATHI (M). and HASHMATUNISSA. More power to women. Janata. 51, 16; 1996, Aug 25; 11+13.

With the advent of reservation for women a percentage of the post of the chairman and vice-chairman in the Zila panchayat and Taluk panchayat has been set aside for women. As a result of this development, women have assumed the post of chairman in seven Zila panchayats, whereas in five Taluk panchayats, women are carrying the onus of vice chairpersonship. Recently the Janata Dal Government had moved towards the reservation of women in Vidhan Sabha seats also.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **SARPANCHS**

107. MANIKYAMBA (P). Women presiding officers at the tertiary political levels: patterns of induction and challenges in performance. J of rural development. 9, 6; 1990, Nov; 983-94.

At the gram panchayat level, the principle of reservation is applied only in respect of women's membership but not to the offices of sarpanch. The only political activity in which women participated is voting. Considerable number of the presidents in the sample have been effectively discharging their functions. All the presidents in the sample are aware of the local needs. Women's leadership of the panchayati raj bodies has not received wide acceptance.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, SCHEDULE CASTE & TRIBES

108. UMA RESOURCE CENTRE (Team) SOCIAL STUDIES (Institute of -) (Bangalore). Challenge and opportunity: A study of women panchayat representatives in Karnataka. Janata. 59, 16; 1995, May 28; 4 + 16.

The participation of women in large numbers in political process is a major step towards inclusive politics. Karnataka panchayati raj has removed certain anomalies in the reservation for SC/ST sections. An earlier stipulation of a minimum of 15 per cent for SC and 3 per cent for ST irrespective of their population in a particular area had led to about 1072 gram panchayat seats remaining vacant. The ordinance also stipulates reservation for backward classes in two categories A and B. Within each category a third of the seats is reserved for women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role as VOTE BANK,ORISSA

109. RATH (Nirupama). Women in panchayati raj system of Orissa. Search news. VIII, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 46.

Orissa has the distinction of being the first state in the country to reserve thirty per cent of the seats for women in panchayati raj system. The orissa government has made it mandatory that the vice-chairperson's post for local bodies would be reserved for women. But in practice their political participation is very limited. It is felt that in the name of participation of women in political and decision making process, the orissa government is playing the politics of vote catching. There is no reservation for women's assembly elections in the state.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role for TRAINING , KARNATAKA

110. NARAYANAN (Revathi). Women in panchayati raj. Experiences from Karnataka. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1983, Jan-June; 38-9.

It was the first time in the history of the state of Karnataka that 25 per cent of seats were reserved for women. It was clear from the studies done on women's representation in Karnataka panchayati raj systems it was unfair to expect them to take on the tasks of local governance without some facilitation.

Women needed training and importance in various aspects to perform well as representatives of the panchayati raj institutions. Several questions can be raised when the issue of women's participation in governance.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role in MODERNISATION

111. SARAN (SV). Women in panchayats. Yojna. 37,16; 1993, Sept 15; 6-7 + 21.

Women's participation in election in an active role as candidates for office is a revolutionary step. It would speed up the pace of modernization. There are several questions relating to women's participation in panchayats. Such questions are neither hypothetical nor unreal, given the social milieu which denies equal position to women in several areas of activities. Women participate in decision making and are fully capable of weighing their pros and cons - be it an economic issue, a social problem or inter-personal relations. To make more effective the women's participation in panchayati raj training and education for women is necessary.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role in SOCIAL CHANGE

112. KRISHNA MURTHY (Lakshmi). Democracy seeps down. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 29-34.

The number of women in panchayati raj



institutions in the country as a whole is staggering. Experience shows that women are becoming instructions of change in improving the quality of life the country side of our nation. The effective way pursued by some of the women participants in the training camps to solve the local problems is worthy of emulation. The experience of some women is also showed that more women are entrusted vilage administration, the whole system would have a good chance of being humanised as women are pragmatic and compassionate.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of MALES

113. KAUSHIK (Susheela). Democracy and development at local level: Implications for women. Teaching politics. 14, 3-4; 1988; 115-240.

When the panchayati raj was introduced in India in 1959, very few women contested or got elected. A few states make provisions for women's representation. The women who are nominated are also often there only proxying the men in the family. The panchayati raj system, even with its increased membership of women, may not empower them efficiently. The various committees are working on the issues that women can take active part in decision making process in panchayati raj system.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **HIMACHAL**

114. VENKATADRI (Malini). Women representatives in Himachal today. UMA prachar newsletter. 1995, Aug 21; 5-7.

In Himachal, because of women's isolation, they have limited access to outside information, much less about their legal rights. The position of the women members in the gram panchayat became an unenviable one. Women's participation is resisted not so much by the older men as by the sons of members. The lone women member makes little or no impact on the panchayat decisions. It is hoped that in next panchayat elections the women representatives would increase.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of VOTE BANK, ANDHRA PRADESH

115. PHILIPOSE (Pamela). Wooing voters. RCWS newsletter. 10, 3; 1989, Winter; 3-4.

The panchayati raj bill allowed for 30 per cent reservation for women in panchayats and local bodies. In Andhra Pradesh, women have been the vote bank. All political parties wooing women voters and are ready to give concessions to women candidates to catch women voters. Certainly, having more women in position of political authority does not necessarily translate into gains for the masses of women. Unless deep rooted changes in power relations between people and between men and women are brought about, things are not going to change.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, SEVENTY THIRD AMENDMENT

116. KIRTI KUMAR. Seventy-Third constitutional amendment - A reality for women. J constitutional and parliamentary studies. 28, 1-2; 1994, Jan-June; 48-6.

Realising the futility of cooption/nomination, some states like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra etc. resorted the reservation to ensure adequate representation of women in PPIs. The idea behind this move is to enable more women to enter the political stream and create a critical mass. The increasing awareness about the panchayats and political training are necessary to empower the women through panchayati raj. To strengthen women's empowerment, female literacy alongwith legal and functional, has to be promoted.

117. MISHRA (Sweta). Women and 73rd constitutional amendment: A critical appraisal. Social action. 47,1; 1997, Jan-March;

This paper examines the probable role of women in the context of the 73rd amendment act. In the recent years, special efforts are being made to ensure women's representation in the PRIs. In the sense of its being an enabling and necessary though not sufficient. Conditions for empowerment, the 73rd

amendment is a milestone in the way of women assuming leadership and decision making position as it makes such a role mandatory and universal for the whole of India. But only a change cannot be brought about overnight and by legislation alone.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of TRAINING

118. STEPHEN (F). Training strategy to strengthen the women in panchayati raj institutions. Search news. 9,1; 1994, Jan-March; 13-9.

Politics is the important area where women's empowerment would be reflected with their participation in the self governance through the panchayati raj institutions. A large number of women who have got elected into the panchayati raj institutions, have done so because of a crucial legislative intervention - the 73rd amendment. Processes of training could unfold their talent potentials, enhance their leadership development and provide management skills to equip them to realise their full strength.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, RLEVENCE

119. MUKHERJEE (Neela). Rural women and panchayati raj institutions. Karukshetra. 42, 9; 1994, June; 9-11.

This paper examines the relevance and significance of the 73rd amendment, the existing

barriers for effective implementation of the act. The rural people have to be approached for suggesting ways and means for greater participation of rural women. The men should be able to appreciate that the rural women are able to understand village issues and are capable of doing much more in the socio-political life of village, if properly motivated. Proper orientation of panchayat members is necessary for which specialized training camps are required.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, RESULTS, COMPARISON

120. MOHANTY (Bidyut). Panchayati raj, 73rd constitutional amendment and women. Economic and political weekly. 30, 52; 1995, Dec 30; 3346-50.

If reservation for women in panchayati raj institutions are to lead to their empowerment in real terms social, economic and political conditions which facilitates and encourage their participation need to be created. Even though the women have been elected and have formed panchayats they have not been empowered except in a few cases. Micro studies available from West Bengal as well as Orissa indicate that the elected women representatives do not have enough say in the decision making process. But the study of Maharashtra and Karnataka give a different result.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of NGOs

121. MADHAVA MENON (NR). Women in governance: The challenge and the opportunity. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 27-8.

The seventy third amendment offers at once a challenge and an opportunity for women generally and to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women in particular to make an impact at the policy planning and programme administration level in each and every locality of our vast country. Women as a class are getting political authority to implement schemes which effect their lives most. The NGOs are working very well in the development of women that they can utilize the reservation policy.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of SOCIALIZATION

122. SINGH (Chandra BP). Stranglehold of gender bias. Social Welfare. 43,1; 1996, April; 5-6 + 31.

The seventy third amendment does not mean that women are incapable of understanding the politics of development. The provision of reservation for women of scheduled caste is a serious threat to male dominated politics by which a drastic change in power equation can be expected. Lack of political socialization compounded by choice of traditional roles have kept women away from active participation in politics. The elected women members failed to evolve leadership three

tier system. One third offices of the chairpersons in the three tier system has been reserved for women of all categories in order to counter male-dominated politics.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', WEST BENGAL

123. MUKHOPADHYAY (Ashim). 73rd amendment, panchayati raj and women. Frontier. 26, 24; 1994, Jan 22; 7-11.

West Bengal women in rural areas have been gearing themselves to enter politics at its very base in the spirit of self governance as committed citizens. Majority of the women in panchayati raj have been speaking on behalf of the male members of their families. The question is whether any progressive political party, that had supported the 73rd amendment and backed women's participation in panchayats, can follow themselves to be swayed by such primitive notions as patriarchy.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', ZILLA PARISHADS, CHAIRMEN,  
KARNATAKA

124. NAGENDRA PRASAD (G). Decentralised governance to harness people's native wisdom. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 40-5.

This paper takes into account the experiences of the women members of the zilla parishad who held unique

positions in the panchayati raj institutions of the Karnataka state. According to the 73rd amendment the state would have women as the chairpersons with more than 25000 members participating in the elections as the members of the panchayati raj institutions. Mere presence of women in local bodies cannot ensure their active participation and involvement unless they are kept informed about the existing development activities and are empowered to undertake critical responsibilities.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', SEVENTY THIRD and SEVENTY FORTH  
AMENDMENT, KARNATAKA

125. BATLIWALA (Srilatha) and GAYATRI (V). Women in Karnataka politics. Deccan Herald. 1996, April 7-13; I + III.

Karnataka significantly influenced the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendmend that made the reservation of one-third of the seats for women in local bodies mandatory all over the country. The authors of the article in a recent study of political participation of women in Karnataka, find that political parties are excluding them from playing a greater role in the decision making process nation wide. It appears as if panchayati raj reservation is a sop thrown to women to obscure their low access to those political bodies that



continue to have the greatest decision making power in the state and the nation.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, need for POLITICAL INFORMATION

126. KAUSHIK (Susheela). At home: Women's participation in panchayats. Vikasini. 9, 3; 1994, July-Sept; 15-6.

Most of the times the rural women have complained that their voices are not heard, therefore women's presence in the panchayats could help them to relieve the grievances of the local women. Women's entry into the local politics could be possible by 73rd and 74th Amendment of the constitution of India. The 33% reservation for women was the theme. But for political participation of women some political information is required.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role in LEADERSHIP

127. TAFZIL KHAN (M). Women's participation in local bodies: An instrument for emancipation. Radical humanist.60,4; 1996, July; 29-32.

The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment bill gave the 33% reservation to women in Panchayats and urban bodies. Participation of women at the different levels of local bodies will give them an opportunity to work in groups on projects of common interest, articulate women's needs and participate in the

decision-making process. Hence, reservation for women in local bodies alone cannot ensure effective leadership roles.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, SOCIAL DISABILITIES

128. MAHIPAL. Planning for women's progress under panchayati raj. Yojna. 38, 3; 1994, Feb 28; 23-6.

The single most important reason why decentralized planning has not been operationised at the grass root level was that it was not operationised under the panchayati raj institutions. Besides, nothing specific was mentioned about women. Women's social disabilities may be made a criteria for resource allocation to different tiers of the panchayati raj institutions. In India women are far below their male counterparts because they have not been involved as participaters and decision making in development.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, TRAINING

129. NARAYANAN (Usha). Women in panchayats: The path ahead. Mainstream. 34, 50; 1996, Nov 16; 11-2.

It is necessary to formulate a comprehensive programme of training in order to enable women to play their part fully and effectively in our democracy. In several states women have shown greater keenness to vote in elections than the menfolk. Women have to

address themselves to the gender-based problems of society, the specific needs and requirements of women, which tend to be neglected by men. The role of women to be effective in the panchayat system it is essential that the panchayats themselves should be vested with real powers.

130. SAXENA (KB). Panchayats and women. Kurukshetra. 37, 5; 1989, Feb; 58-9.

The participation of women in panchayati raj institutions is considered essential not only for ensuring political participation in the democratic process but also for the realising the developmental goals for women. Even representation of women in panchayati raj structures or elsewhere is not a sufficient condition for their effective political participation although it is undoubtedly an essential one. Despite being members of these democratic bodies or even their head, women's political participation may be severely constrained by socio-economic pressures. All women members of panchayats must be trained and empowered to exercise their authority.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, KARNATAKA

131. UMA RESOURCE CENTRE (Team), SOCIAL STUDIES TRUST (Institute of-) (Bangalore). Women in panchayati raj: Training institutions in Karnataka. Janata. 50, 15; 1995, May 21; 13-6.

The department of women and child development, Government of Karnataka conducted an experiment for elected women representatives. The study conclude that the participation of women at the present moment could be improved upon considerably. Women irrespective of caste, class, literacy and domestic duties are enthusiastic about attending meeting and training programmes. The study has brought out the need for nurturing support system for women members like Sangha collectives, the literacy mission and other mass based groups.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, 30 PER CENT RESERVATION

132. GALA (Chetna). Women in panchayats. Manushi. 59, 65; 1991, July-Aug.; 4-6.

Women of our country are not safe from violence in their own homes. Yet the atmosphere of fear and insecurity in villages often compels them to stay confined to their homes. Can women implement the 30 per cent reservation in such an atmosphere? Confronted by such questions, author decided to interview some

women in Man tulak, Maharashtra, who have been panchayat members. In four interviews only one was already active in social work. They all said that women's situation can be changed to get respect and be valued in society is most important. The police or the law courts could not be of any help in bringing about change for women.

133. REDDY (Tara). Inevitability of 30 per cent reserved seats for women. Janata. 45, 36-40; 1991, Jan 6; 43-4.

It was naturally expected that women's participation in all national movements would be reflected in the democratic set up which the country adopted after independence. Women's representation in village panchayats such a low ebb, that it become necessary to reserve certain seats for them, first one and later two seats were reserved in each village panchayat. The dwindling representation of women in electoral politics has proved once again that this country would not on its own, allow its oppressed sections to come into force.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **PARADOX MALE CHAUVINISM**

134. KAHAI (Tripat). Reservation for women - stalled by Chauvinism. Hindu. 1997, Feb 4; 21.

30 per cent representation to women, ensuring

them their legitimate place still causes an uneasy fear in the minds of lion hearted men. Women have always been the last priority and continue to be placed in paradoxical position. Women must shake away their apathy and protest in one voice against the mere largesse of seats reserved only for widows or the wives of legislature who themselves are unable to contest elections because they are embroiled in scans, kidnaps, or even murders, and hence the demand for the reservation that is on the anvil.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_' **YOUNGER WOMEN**

135. GEORGE MATHEW. Women in Panchayati Raj: Beginning of a silent revolution. Kurukshetra. 62, 9; 1994, June; 25-8.

Sooner or later 50 per cent of elected positions in the panchayati raj institutions must be reserved for women, and the state legislatures and parliament should follow this principle. Political parties had considerable difficulty in finding women candidates but found it easier to persuade younger women to enter public life than the older generation. In oppose of reservation of women in panchayats various reasons can be taken as anti social element. The task is best with enormous difficulties for women in its initial phases.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, PARTICIPATION, CRITIQUE

136. ABU ABRAHAM. Power on a platter. Hindustan times Sunday magazine. 1996, Sep 1; 3.

Women in politics in India do not suffer from any kind of disability due to their being women. Indeed in successive elections women have done a lot better than men. Women are still a small minority in our legislatures. But the reservation bill will only create a kind of second class membership and the practice is likely to go on forever. Our parliament's strength and quality will depend entirely on the type of women and men that the system attracts. Women can be as conservative, if not more, than men, as brutish, if not more as greedy and corrupt as gives to lying and hypocrisy as the rest of the society.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, effect of PATRIARCHY and CLASS

137. DIETRICH (Gabriele). Personal is political: Women and the process of political participation. Teaching politics. 10, Annual; 1985; 45-70.

Those women who get involved in the political process mostly do not belong to the exploited classes, this account for the fact that the concerns of the majority of the poor women are neglected. Political participation of the women to a large extent depends on the question how patriarchy can be confronted in the

family as well as in the public life. Participation of women in public production and political process can only be solved if women achieve control over their labour, sexuality and fertility. The urban middle class group cannot give leadership to the women's movement.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **LOW, effect of RESERVATIONS**

138. MISHRA (Sweta) and MISHRA (SN). Women and political process in India. Kurukshetra. 43, 11; 1995, Aug; 40-4.

In parliament, despite the steadily expanding participation of women in successive general elections, their numerical strength has never exceeded ten per cent of the total numbership. Women's participation in political process at the grassroots level by means of reservation will help encourage women to participate effectively in State and National political process.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **FACTORS**

139. SETHI (Renu). Determinants of women's active political participation. Indian j of political science. 49,4; 1988, Oct-Dec; 565-79.

An explanation of women's low participation must account not only for the fact that few women wield power, but that few women seek position of power. Participation of women in politics cannot be under-



stood in isolation from the socio-economic problem. Problem of women's education, employment and political equality are all interlinked. Women's participation in politics is mainly influenced by the attitude of women towards politics, attitude of family and above all the society's attitude. Political parties have a major responsibility in facilitating women's participation. women's organizations can help women in securing their rightful place in the legislature.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PARTIES

140. MENON (Leela). Time has come for a pan-Indian women's party. Indian Express. 1966, May 4; 8.

Women's marginal political presence is attributed to their apathy and unwillingness, the influence of patriarchal culture. Women form just 12 per cent of membership of any political party with the pro-male bias becoming quite pronounced at decision making levels. Women are fringe creatures because of the feudalistic system, which justifies the growing demand for reservation for women in the assembly and parliamentary polls. In Gender Empowerment Measure, the UNDP places India 99th among 130 countries in relation to the states of women.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, POLITICAL

141. NEELAM MAHAJAN SINGH. It's not gender animosity. Hindustan times. 1996, Nov 18; 12.

Between the rural and urban women, the scene setting is different but the nature and level of sufference is the same. Politics is a microcosm of society and hence reflect the status of people in society. So then where are the women in politics? there is not a single political party in India which invites women to participate in any kind of decision making. The issue here is not gender animosity but to give to the women of India their rightful due. Women themselves should make a strong chain and empower not one but others who can take their place.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, POLITICIANS, JAYALALITHA

142. GEETHA (V). Grand opera unfolds. Economic and political weekly. 25, 19; 1991, May 11; 1204-5.

The refurbished image which Jayalalitha is projecting today as the champion of women's cause hilds haunting lessons for women: that their multiple causes just might become the basis for a new patriarchal concensus. Jayalalita's preserve political logic as regards women and violence has mostly gone unchallenged in the state Tamil Nadu. Neither the media, nor the public nor the various other political

parties in the state have asked to debate the issue. Jayalalita has managed to communicate directly with the women voter in the state on a matter that is of existential and everyday concern to us.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PHOOLAN DEVI

143. JAIN (Sandhya). Phoolan as women's representative. Indian Express. 1996, May 15; 8.

Phoolan Devi is just another victim of all that is ugly, unjust and unacceptable in Indian society. Now, bursting with self-confidence and self-esteem, she has entered the public arena as a representative of people. Unlike other anti-social elements, Phoolan Devi did not slip back into her bad old criminal ways on her release from jail. She sought to rehabilitate herself in society and scaled the ladder of social success with admirable ease. The spirited little girl who tried to avenge an injustice meted out to a weak father, seeks to represent those who cannot fight for themselves.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PRE INDEPENDENCE, POST INDEPENDENCE

144. RAJALAXMI. Impact of women in formal politics. Vikasini. 9, 1; 1994; Jan-March; 11-2.

This paper presents the political status of women in India in pre independence era and post

independence era. Under Mahatma Gandhi's direction the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Salt Satyagraha saw women in forefront. Scores of women were in the vanguard of the movement. In free India the way in which the political rights are used by the people in general and women in particular. After independence women have improved a lot in the field of politics.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **REPRESENTATION**

145. BHRGAVA (BS) and VIDYA (KC). Position of women in political institutions. J of rural development. 11,5; 1992, Sep; 601-28.

The equal rights given to women in the constitution of India has in practice little weightage as seen by their poor representation in the offices of parliament. The number of women in political institutions is negligible. Women must be appointed at all levels of government, including the panchayati raj institutions. Women have been given a chance to raise their voice in decision making and to participate in these institutions, and further exposure would add to their experience and in turn enhances their ability to participate more fully and effectively. Being the elected member of a critical institution of the panchayati raj, the women members wield influence in development activities.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, DECENTRALISATION

146. MADHU KISHWAR. Multi member seats to ensure equality.  
Times of India. 1996, Nov 29; 10.

Representation of women will not be frozen at 33 per cent limit since women candidates will manage to win general seats well. Parties interested in seeing women participate ought to begin by activating their women's fronts at all levels and by including women in their decision making bodies through a voluntary quota system. We need thorough going decentralisation of power to enable people, especially women, to participate effectively in local governance.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, LOW, STATE and CENTRE

147. SURYAKUMARI (A). Strategies for political empowerment of women. University news. 27, 23; 1989, June 5; 17-8.

The level of women's representation in legislatures and the extent of their participation in political life has been steadily going down, both at the state level and at the centre. Cultural impact, burdened with household are the causes for women's low participation in politics. Local leadership among women, improving their rates of political participation through exposure to mass media and proper education are some solutions to increase the number of women in

politics. All political parties must be urged to ensure that at least some percentage of the candidates for elections are women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PARLIAMENT

148. MADHU KISHWAR. Women parliamentarians. Losing ground. Illustrated weekly of India. 110, 48; 1989, Nov 26 Dec 2; 22-7.

Every major political party swears to increase the representation of women in parliament. Yet the number of women MPs has remained consistently poor. In places where all women panels have fought the panchayat elections and won, rural women seem to get galvanised unexpectedly. Though the resentment at exclusion has not yet found organised political expression, there is enough of an under current of unrest. Male politicians do not oppose the idea of a quota because they know that the seats will be given to their relations. No single party today stands for safeguarding women's rights in a serious way.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, RESERVATIONS, ADVANTAGES

149. NATH (Meenakshi). Cutting across party lines: Women members of parliament explain their stand on reservation quotas. Manushi. 96; 1996, Sep-Oct; 7-16.

Reservation for women in legislatures is an

issue which has brought most women members of parliament together from across the political spectrum. Four women MPs are presenting their views about reservation quotas. Women contesting against men will be at a disadvantage so constituencies that are reserved solely for women will help them. Without constitutional compulsion, men will not yield space to women. The political parties do not want to share power with women in the real sense of the word.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, AGITATIONS, MARCH TO PARLIAMENT

150. PANDHE (Pramila). Women demonstrate before parliament demanding 33% reservation in Assemblies and Parliament. Voice of working women. 16, 1; 1997, Jan; 7.

Hundreds of women from different organisations march to parliament, with the demand of 33 per cent reservation. This was the first time that women from all sections expressed their anger against the government on a particular issue other than common issues. The issue of 33 per cent reservation for women was botting up since long. All the women's organisations were trying to convince the Prime-Minister to place the bill before the parliament.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, ASSESSMENT

151. DATTA (Prabhat). Seeking the right way to fight. Telegraph. 1997, June 2; 10.

In 19th century India, women began to participate in public life encouraged by male reformers and national leaders. The participation of women into parliament has not been encouraging. Empowerment of women calls for change in the process of socialization. Reserving seats in parliament for women would remain just a ploy to rope in their support unless it is accompanied by efforts to change the conditions which restrict their participation in politics. There is nothing wrong with increasing women's participation in politics by the reservation of seats.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, CRITIQUE

152. NIRMAL KUMAR. For a level battling field? Pioneer. 1997, June 16; 8.

Women's bill reflects the thinking that women cannot come to legislatures on their own. Many big leaders are opposed to reservation of women. It would be better if the women activists came out of their air conditioned offices of foreign aided NGO and fought elections. With the help of reservation leaders could give tickets their own family members and corner seats. As regards their seriousness about women's representation, any date on the number of ticket given



to women candidates by any party would expose the hollowness of their claim.

\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_'\_\_\_\_\_', BILL, CRITIQUE

153. SIMHADRI (S). Women's reservation: A belated move. Deccan herald. 1997, June 15; 22.

The women's bill though belated is a welcome move in this patriarchal and caste - riddled polity. women's wing of the left parties had than outrightly dismissed women's reservation as they thought it would bring about complacency. women's reservation does not mean reservation for dominant castes but for all. The logic of uneven society in an imperfect competition naturally eliminates a large majority from institutional positions and this will hold good even in the case of gender too.

154. LAL SINGH. Struggle of women is for real power - not the illusion of power. People's voice. 18, 17; 1996, Oct 1-15; 1 + 4.

Reservation for women will operate within the ambit of the prevailing party system of representation. The bill to reserve one-third of the seats in legislative bodies for women is merely an extension of the process of giving space of widening the avenues for

bourgeois pressure and containment of the women's movement. There are no short-cuts or half measures that can bring about the empowerment of women, or for that matter of all the most exploited and downtrodden sections of the people in our country.

155. VIJAYA SINGH. Billed on the wrong account. Telegraph. 1997, June 26; 9.

All major parties have accepted the women's bill as none is prepared to risk losing the vote of women who constitute 50 per cent of the electorate. none of the criteria justify reservation for women. Women have made great progress without reservation. Reservation for women will deprive about one third of the total electorate of the country the right to contest elections from their own constituencies. Reservation for women in legislators will mean a total denial of opportunity for many.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, EIGHTY FIRST AMENDMENT

156. SAHELI WOMEN'S RESCOURSE (Centre) (New Delhi). 81st amendment bill: Reserving opinion. Saheli newsletter. 1997, March 8; 13-4.

While reservation would certainly ensure that a larger number of women gets elected to formal decision making bodies, several issues remain unaddressed as to

the nature and limitations of this kind of representation. The limitation of the bill is the absence of any recommendations to increase the number of women in the decision making bodies of political parties. Unless the women in Parliament and assemblies are responsive to the voices of the movement, very little change is possible.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect on SC WOMEN

157. KANNABIRAN (Vasanth) and KANNABIRAN (Kalpana). From social action to political action: Women and the 81st amendment. Economic and political weekly. 32, 5; 1997, Feb 1-7; 196-7.

A study of 81st amendment resulted out that the notion of political participation should be inculcated in women's minds from the rank and file upwards, and not through a top down efforts like legislation. Nepotism, corruption and the degeneration in Indian politics is complete without women having any part in it. With the 73rd and 74th amendments some women have got elected to various local bodies through the influence of the men and communities and they lack of political will. This legislation will mean a large scale reorganization of constituency allocation in order to accommodate women and fewer seats for men. it creates the possibilities for SC women to represent

not only for men of her own caste, but upper caste men and women as well.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, MALE BIAS

158. MURALIDHARAN (Sukumar). Bill in vain: Reservation for women in legislatures. Frontline. 13, 36; 1997, Jan 10; 43-4.

Events following the reference of the bill to the joint select committee perhaps prove that the women MPs were on strong grounds when they suggested that patriarchy would not yield easily to enlightenment. The argument of bill was that a sub-category of women from other backward classes should merit special attention within the overall reservation quantum of one third. In its conception and subsequent career, the 81st constitutional amendment bill provided little room for informed political debate on the central question of gender inequality.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, CRITIQUE, INDIAN CULTURE

159. DESHPANDE (Nirmala). Participation of women in political system. Kurukshetra. 37, 5; 1989, Feb; 56-7 + 9.

Compared to other countries, the participation of women in India is high, both qualitatively and quantitatively. In the panchayats, there would be no

money power or muscle power and women would be more participative. The reservation for women in panchayats is not in tune with Indian culture. Reservation means that women are inferior and need some kind of protection. Reservation is one way of tackling problem but not the proper way. In the political sense as elsewhere women never try to imitate men. They have special role to play.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, NGO's TRAINING

160. RAIASEKHRAN (K). Reservation: Boon or bane? Social welfare. 43, 1; 1996, April, 7-9.

The poor record of political participation of women and their absence in the decision making bodies make the enforcement of many social legislations aimed at gender equality an unfinished social task. There has been strong criticism against reservation of women in political sphere. The reservation in the local governments is a good start for the emergence of a vibrant women leadership in politics in due course of time. The political parties can ensure better women's participation in politics by providing political education on sensitive issues. Non-governmental organisations can as well provide training for future women leaders.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **DECENTRALISATION**

161. DAVIS (Karaline); Representation of women through reservation and panchayats. Women's Link. 3, 2; 1997, April-June; 20-5.

The Constitution of India has granted women equal rights, but in practice these rights have no meaning because their voice is hardly given any weightage. The percentage of women members who get elected to the Lok Sabha has not increase. But women's representation in political bodies would improve through the system of reservation. Decentralization of structures and decision making due to panchayats certainly has the potential and relevance in increasing response to grassroots initiatives of poor women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **effect on HANDICAPPED GROUP**

162. SHUKLA (S). Reservation for women and multi-member constituencies. Mainstream. 35, 27; 1997, June 14; 13-7.

The current controversy over the bill for reserving seats for women in legislatures is reminiscent of that over democratic decentralization establishing panchayat with statutory rights, duties and finances. To some extent wide support for reservations for women in legislatures has been based on similar consideration

among many sections of political classes. One reservation is compulsarily enforced, OBC men would ensure the representation of their women in the same manner that in the matter of jobs all men have done - to the extent that caste identify prevails over other political interests. The idea of reservation with a common and not a separate electorate also ensures that persons or handicapped; gender or caste do get elected and they tend to be more conscious of the needs and difficulties of handicapped groups eg. SC/STs or women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect on HUMAN RIGHTS

163. PAL (RM). State of human rights with reference to women and the issue of reservation. Women's wing. 3, 2;1997, April-June; 17-9.

Since independence a good number of women have occupied high public positions in India. The number has been declining steadily, though - and therefore there is no cause for any alarm. Since the men's world has not found it possible to make room for women in legislatures and decision making bodies, it should have been done voluntarily - there is now a legitimate demand for making it possible legally. Once women get the opportunity to participate in decision making bodies - things will be different.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect on REPRESENTATION, LOW

164. RANGNEKAR (Ahilya). Women's representation in elected bodies. Women's equality. 3, 3; 1990, July-Sept; 19.

Some people felt that there should be a separate women's platform or front which would fight on a common symbol and with a common manifesto. A women's platform only on women's issues does not take into account the fact that elections are a big political battle among different forces on the basis of policies which concern every aspect of development, not only women's development. From a long time only a few women took active part in politics but the reservation of seats for women in elected bodies would help them get nominated as candidates.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, effect on SOCIETY

165. KOTWAL LELE (Medha). Beyond power. Humanscape. 3, 1; 1995, Nov; 16-7.

In the context of women, it can be said that becoming a part of the larger electoral process, which is far away from actual power, can have a very constructive role or impact. The declaration of reserved seats for women in all the bodies of the panchayati raj by some state government suddenly opened up new horizons and possibilities for women. Reservations have given women the assurance that come



what may, they would be elected to the seats reserved for them. The growing consciousness among women and the role of women's movement, apart from reservations, the negative attitude towards politics has undergone a considerable change.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, ELECTORAL PROCESS, CRITIQUE

166. MADHU KISHWAR. Why feminise corruption?: Reservation for women in legislatures Indian Express. 1996, Oct 4;8.

The reservation will mean at every election a new set of constituencies will be declared as reserved for women. Women will be forever pitched against other women in electoral battles and denied the opportunity to prove themselves equal to or better than men. Reservation might bring about an increase in women's representation, but the quality of their participation will not improve if the polity remains as venal.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, in relation to PARTICIPATION

167. GEORGE MATHEW. Will reservation ensure participation? Social welfare. 42, 5-6; 1995, Aug-Sept; 32-5 + 57.

The reservation may not ensure women's complete participation at the very outset, but at least it does provide a firm legal foundation from which women's involvement in grassroots democracy can take off. Women from the dominant caste formed 60 per cent of the elected women members in Zilla parishad in

Karnataka. Women candidates were unknown in their constituencies. In Karnataka and West Bengal women become more aware about the politics as compare to north.

168. KAUSHIK (Susheela). Organising women for panchayati raj. Search news. 8, 1-2; 1993, Jan-June; 17-26.

Only a few states make provisions for women's representation in panchayats. Reservation and quota may be the only way to ensure the presence of women in the panchayat raj bodies. A more effective way would be to guarantee women's emergence as the Sarpanch of the villages. In the particular context of women's representation, certain states have been reserved for women but the proportion varies. The representation of women by reservation and direct election by themselves will not lead to greater participation in local democracy. For the purpose some political training and education is necessary for women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, MALE BIAS

169. MADHU KISHWAR. Out of the zenana dabba: Strategies for enhancing women's political representation. Manushi. 96, 1996; Sep-Oct; 21-3.

The politicians who committed themselves to the

measures of reservation have done nothing to enhance the participation of women within their respective parties. Men tend to expect women to remain confined to the ladies section and assume that the rest of the seats are reserved for them. The present scheme of reservation will ensure that women will enter the electoral battle only against other women and never get an opportunity to contest against men.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, OPPOSITION, FAMILY

170. KAPOOR (Aditi). Women's empowerment: Tokenism through quotas. Times of India. 1996, Nov 29; 11.

Even after a third of the seats were reserved for women in the panchayati raj and Nagarpalika act, political parties have not fielded more women for assembly and parliament elections. Women's empowerment has to be supported by other, equally significant policy interventions like ensuring compulsory primary education. Potential women leaders face opposition from the family and the community which requires restructuring of gender relations both inside and outside the home.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PERSPECTIVE

171. LOOMBA (Primla). Reservation for women is a demand for justice. NFIW Bulletin. 1997, April; 9-11.

The failure of the political system to ensure adequate and equal representation to women in parliament and state assemblies has exposed the weakness of our political system. Reservation of seats in all elected bodies right upto the level of parliament is one such measure that has the support of the women's movement. In the country the measure received wide support from both men and women. The social status of women would improve as reservations have helped to do so in the case of other disadvantages groups.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, POLICY, CRITIQUE

172. MAZUMDAR (Vina). Reservations for women. Economic and political weekly. 24, 50; 1989, Dec 16; 2795-6.

While we agree with the need for greater representation of women in local bodies, we are constrained to point out that providing such representation through cooption would be supervision of the constitution and all democratic norms. The committee on the status of women in India had rejected both reservation and cooption as undemocratic and tokenist methods, and recommended the promotion of

genuine, representative women's bodies at the lowest level and a representative structure, to open up avenues for wider participation, articulation of women's concern and the emergence of genuine leadership.

173. SHARMA (Kalpana). Reserved seats for the other half. RCWS newsletter. 10,3; 1989, Winter; 4-5.

Political parties maintained that reservation is the only way to ensure women enter electoral office at the lowest level and this would prepare the ground for more of them to stand in open competition at the assembly and parliamentary levels. Even as political parties express concern about women's political participation, there has not been a deliberate policy to ensure that the maximum number of women candidates are nominated as candidates in each election. The reservation at any level, political parties should set themselves a target of the number of women candidates they will field. That would serve the purpose without making women feel as if they are some specially endangered species that needs to be preserved.

174. THAKUR (Sankarshan). In gender zone: Reserving seats for women in Parliament will simply message the feminist ego. Telegraph. 1996, Sept 13;12.

Women in public life in India have done rather

well, better than in most parts of the world. The status of women in Indian society has very little to do with their numbers in the legislatures. Reservation for women might serve the feminist clique - and its populist male collaborators in politics - very well but it would not serve the cause of women. The idea of reserving seats for women in legislatures is the notion that only women can speak on behalf of women, that men have nothing to do with it.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, PROSPECTS

175. PANDE (Mrinal). Politics of women politicians. Hindustan times Sunday magazine. 1996, July 21; 1 + 5.

The ball has already started rolling, at least on paper, with the proposed bill for 33 per cent reservation for women in parliament and state assemblies. This may well be the beginning of the rise of a whole new cadre of politically aware women. They will learn in time, for ultimately they will learn in time, for ultimately they will have to learn to lead themselves. Perhaps two survival lessons that women, both that are already in politics and those aspiring to join in, need to learn is, that serious opposition is a measure of success and that there are no perfect leaders.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, QUOTA , TOKENISM

176. PANDEY (Divya). Women and political participation. RCWS newsletter. 10, 3; 1989, Winter; 2-3.

Women's representation in elected bodies including the two houses of parliament has always been negligible. The effective empowerment of women in India is still very marginal. It is mere tokenism to set a quota without having sufficient cadre of women to fill it meaningfully, such a commitment would give an impetus to women joining the political process at the grassroots stages and to encourage them to pursue a women's agenda in addition to other political goals. The politics has become has brought in some women candidates who are not usually sensitive to women's issues.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role in DEMOCRACY

177. AIYAR (Mani Shankar). Damayanti without mala: Women in the panchayats. Women's link. 3,2; 1997, April-June; 26-7.

Women are denied their place in our polity because legislatures have in effect been reserved overwhelmingly for men. The legislation on the envil rectifies the reservations rather than creates a new category of reservations. We need women in our democracy because we need democracy. The argument for

ensuring female representation is not that women are better than man, but that they are no worse reservation would not have made sense if the political process had thrown up a fair share of women legislators.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role in DEVELOPMENT

178. LOOMBA (Primla). Women&s demand for reservation is a demand for justice. New age. 47; 1996, Nov 24-30; 3-4. a-e.

The idea of reservation of seats for women in the elected bodies right upto the parliament level is not new. Several women's group and some academics had recommended it to the committee on the status of women in 1974. However, at that time it did not find favour with the CSW nor did any of the women's organisations endorse it. Improving the political status of women is integral to improving their socio-economic status. There is no reservation for OBC's yet, not even in the 73rd and 74th Amendments. Reservation should be for the number of candidates put up by political parties and not for seats. It is only through reservations of seats that political parties can be compelled to field women.



\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of LITERARY LEVEL

179. BHATIA (Archana). Reservation will not empower women. Pioneer. 1996, Nov 26; 8.

It is a positive sign that public opinion has now shifted from the question of women's emancipation to women's empowerment, but reservation is not the solution in this case. Women can be empowered only when there is an active effort on the part of the policy-makers and the people themselves about improving their literacy level and addressing the real problems which act as deterrents to their social development.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, 33% **STRUGGLE, RALLY**

180. SARALA DEV(G). Women's movement for empowerment must continue. Newage. 44, 48; 1996, Dec 1-7; 4. a-e.

Seven national organisations of women had urgently called for a rally to press the demand for enacting a law for one-third reservation for women. In reality the women have been denied of their social, economic and political rights in decision making position. Very few women can contest elections and still fewer win the elections. The great achievement of women's movement in India to get one-third reservation for women in three-tier panchayat raj and urban local bodies. The struggle for one-third reservation is a struggle for social justice, equality and democracy.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, versus FEMINI SATION

181. PATHAK (Avijit). Quotas won't do: New paradigm needed. Pioneer. 1997, June + 23; 8.

If the dominant paradigm of mainstream politics remains unaltered, no amount of female representation can cause emancipation. More and more women enter the political sphere, they get coopted by the system and begin to behave as irresponsibly as their male counterparts. It is hoped that the femini sation of politics means the assertion of love, harmony and balance. But it may not be always true. Because the prevalent politics with its principle of dcmination and violence is imparable from the subjugation of women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role as VOTE BANKS

182. THAKKAR (Usha). Women's political participation in India: A long and difficult road. J of women's studies. 1, 2; 1997, Oct-March; 103-23.

Women in India have not yet emerged as strong voting blocs, which can make their presence felt in the elections. Indian women's bobilisation in public life started in the pre independence doys. The combined result of women's literacy, family financial position, involvement in politics is that very few women are given party tickets and fewer can get seats in the legislature. Political parties are always reluctant to

field women candidates. The reservation policy will help to strength women's faith in the political process. Traditional indicators of political participation are inadequate to evaluate women's activities.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, **POLITICAL PARTIES**

183. PHILIPOSE (Pamela). Women vote. RCWS Newsletter.12,2; 1991, Monsoon; 6.

Political parties invariably single out women as targets for election-time wooing. One can not make easy link between the level of literacy in a particular state and the number of women who stood for public office. Women have always tended to function as repositories of public memory and resentment over an issue like forcible sterilisations during the emergency did get reflected in the higher turnout of women in 1977 polls. Women are being used by various political formations for their own ends.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of **FAMILY**

184. PANDEY (Divya). Women in the mainsteam politics. RCWS Newsletter. 12,2; 1991, Monsoon; 2-4.

Most women face tremendous oppcsition from the family, community and male political leaders if they decide to enter electoral politics or public life. The increasing criminalisation, corruption and compromises

required to sustain one's political career also defer women from entering mainstream politics. To those who are opposed to the move, reservation as such is unlikely to solve the main causes of the limited political participation of women or ensure their genuine and effective participation to further their cause, given the socio-political context of mass illiteracy and the politics of violence.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of INTIMIDATION and VIOLENCE

185. NARAYANAN (Revathi). From kitchen to kingdom. Voluntary action. 28, 5-6; 1996, May-June; 11-3.

Despite their handicaps of poverty, illiteracy and low status in society, a heartening number of women have attempted to take their position as elected representatives seriously. The odds include a strong backlash against the reservation for women. In some places, it has led to intimidation and violence against women candidates, many of them have to suffer various forms of humiliation. The local bodies are themselves weak structures struggling to assert themselves against vested interests,

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of MALE CHAUVINISM

186. CHATTERJI (Shoma A). Her master's choice. Telegraph. 1996, June 26; 9.

Many political challenges lie dormant within the

participation of women in the decision making process at the formal level. Reservation for women in political bodies is only one troubled step towards righting gender imbalance. Men want women to participate in elections because they want to enjoy power by proxy. In many areas, men do not like to take orders from women or bow to their decision. The women are encouraged to participate in the election only so long as this participation does not challenge the power structure within the family.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of MALE PREJUDICE

187. SUBRAHMANIAM (Vidya). Quit dreaming, lady the gent says no. Times of India. 1996, Dec 11; 10.

Women ought not be allowed even within sniffing distance of power till they understand the commanding position maternal instinct occupies in the power structure. Quota is a male preserve. Elsewhere the cheeky female many have broken through the glass ceiling. But not in the Indian parliament. The male MP must shut his ears to the female plea that she is asking for the de-reservation of male seats.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of MALES

188. PANDEY (Divya). Politics still a male preserve. RCWS Newsletter. 12,2; 1991, Monsoon; 1.

All political parties' manifestos emphasised

empowerment, upliftment and larger representation of women in politics but the post election scenario showed that politics was a male preserve. Most political parties see women as mere executors of male opinion and feel there is no independent women's vote like minority of Dalit vote. The proportion of women playing a real part in political leadership is ridiculously small. Women also fear problems like access to finance and other resources to fight the election, character assassination and threat of violence with the increasing criminilisation of politics.

189. RANGA RAO (SP). Women - No more a political novice. Kurukshetra. 62, 9; 1994, June; 58-60.

Political violence which is on the increase in rural India is creating an awareness in rural women about not only local but higher level politics also. Rural women do lack experience in the working of local self government institutions, but is not true that they lack knowledge about public affairs. Men by nature do not encourage their women folk to enter local politics. But with the reservation being made statutory, local people have to support some women or the other during elections. The training programme

should be broad based aiming at the development of leadership qualities in women.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

190. PANDEY (Divya). Women, politics and fundamentalism. RCWS Newsletter. 12, 1; 1991, Summer; 1-2 + 8.

The growth of religious fundamentalism and its politicisation in recent years has been a matter of great concern for women's movement in India. While acknowledging the dangers of fundamentalism to society in general, it is the collusion of patriarchies across within and between religion and politics that is especially dangerous for women's issues cannot be dissociated from the larger social, economic and political issues. The political situation of women in India is extremely volatile. The representation of women in India has been decreasing in every Lok Sabha.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, role of SECULARISM

191. AGNES (Flavia). Redefining the agenda of the women's movement within a secular framework. Social action. 44, 1; 1994 Jan-March; 104-13.

Women marched the streets of several major cities in protest marches shouting slogans, raising the demand for legal reform. The movement did not have secularism as one of its prime objectives. Women's

issues became an important agenda for all political parties. An is the movement women had the blessing of the political party and the community leaders. No longer could women's issues be addressed only as a women's issue but had to be placed within the context of majority and minority politics. The women's movement does not stand in isolation and is an integral part of other social movement.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, role of SOCIAL IN EQUALITY, TRADITION

192. VELAYUDHAN (Meera). Political participation and women's struggles. Women's equality. 4, 2; 1991, April-June; 13-15.

Political participation is meaningless in the case of women who suffer from another dimensions of inequality, namely the weight of traditional attitudes that regard them as physically, intellectually and socially inferior to men. The growing political participation of women was reflected in the electoral process as well as in the popular struggles. Since the 80s, the issue of women's political role has acquired significant dimensions. It is the thinking of women's struggles with the wider political movement that led the former National Front government to set up the National Commission for women, which despite its limitations, marks an important gain for the women's movement.



\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, role of SOCIALIZATION

193. SAXENA (Kiron). Empowerment of women. The Indian context. Indian J. of political science. 55, 4; 1994, oct-Dec; 391-9.

A study of Indian women showed that women has low interest in information and political issues and are conservative in their opinions. Within political parties, there is a non-involvement of women in decision making bodies. Within political parties, women's issues are categorised as social and not political issues, to be dealt exclusively by womens wing. In spite of India being a backward country, a large number of women had participated in the national movement. Indian women have been granted constitutional democratic rights as a favour that Indian society in contrast to the western society has no gender bias, and that the emerging feminist movement in India is not only redundant, but is against the culture and ethos of India.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, role of TRAINING

194. BANERJEE (Mukta). Training women in panchayats. UMA prachar Newsletter. 4, 1; 1997, Jan-Mar; 8-9.

Many of the women panchayat functionaries are facing formidable problems because of their lack of political education and the prevalent patriarchal

social attitudes. Empowerment of these functionaries through training is therefore imperative to actualize gender participation in the panchayats. Unless changes take place to empower women, the elected representatives are faced with the contradiction of their roles within the home and the panchayats. For a human, just and meaningful exercise of their power the women must first be able to evaluate the reasons for their own disempowerment as women and as people.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, **RURAL, MAHILA MUKTI MORCHA, MADHYA PRADESH**

195. MUKHOPADHYAY (Ashim). Empowering rural women. Frontier. 26, 34; 1994, April 2; 7-9.

The experience of the Mahila Mukti Morcha in Madhya Pradesh and other autonomous women's group revealed the quite disadvantaged position of the female folk in the political arena. Women have placed a high hope on their becoming panchayat members as a chance and means to empower themselves and other female they represent. Political realities may take more ugly turn and in fact, have done so over capture of power in panchayats. In such cases the female members are the major victims. Sometimes the political parties take advantage of the patrilineal, patrilocal family structure to pressurize a female members. This situation is never welcome.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, KERALA,  
SURVEY

196. BHASKAR (Manu). Women panchayat members in Kerala: Profile. Economic & Political Weekly. 32, 17; 1997, april 26 - May 2; WS-13-20.

This study attempts to sketch a picture of the socio-economic backgrounds and the political motivations of women who become panchayat members. Political dynamism in Kerala is rooted in communal and caste politics. Only about 30 per cent of members belong to forward caste and bulk of women panchayat members are from the backward castes. Maximum members have upto high school level education. Those factors which help women to enter as panchayat members are personal qualities and party politics.

\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_,\_\_\_\_, TAMIL NADU role of BHARATI

197. RAMAN (CK). Symbols, Women and Tamil Nadu politics. Economic and political weekly. 18, 30; 1983, July 23; 1335-6.

In this article the author is doing discussion about the article of CS Lakshmi "symbols, women and Tamil Nadu politics". Through out the article the author betrays lack of proper appreciation of Bharati's work. Bharti lived in an age when women's emancipation looked a distant dream. Bharati fought for the

equality of women. CS Lakshmi found faults with Bharati. Bharati only wrote against women who were shouting in Parliament, surrounding the ministers and bothering them. According to CS Lakshmi Bharati considered that "political rights are not very important for women". But he was in favour of women's equality in all fields of life.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, 33% RESERVATIONS, role of MALE LEADERS

198. FAROOQUI (Vinla). Give us one-third reservation. NFIW Bulletin. 1997, April; 1-2.

Women's participation in political process is essential to strengthen the democratic system and fight against feudal hierarchy practiced against under privileged groups. With the reservation of seats only women related to some leaders may find in legislatures but this has been happening all the times. Those who say that men will rule by proxy through women related to them, in fact fear that they will lose their seats in this process. 33 per cent reservation is one step towards women's equality.

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, U.P. 1975-85

199. JHA (UN). Women's participation in the electoral politics in Uttar Pradesh. Teaching politics. 11,1; 1985, 51-9.

The present paper aims at the participation of

women in general election during the last ten years in U.P. There was not only an increase in the number of women candidates for legislature seats in the successive elections but also increase in the number of successful ones. There is considerable awakening among the women folk of the state and political consciousness is dawning them, yet it has been observed that there are certain constraints that do not allow them to take active part in political activities.

      ,       ,       , **VOTERS, MOBILISATION**

200. SREEVIDYA (KR). Forum: Women contenders speak. UMA prachar Newsletter. 1996, April-July; 8.

The political participation at all levels of decision making has not seen women participate in good numbers except as voters. Most political parties are of the view that women candidates will not recover their deposits nor will they survive the increasing criminalisation of the electoral process. But it is upto women to change the trend. Mere Mobilisation is giving way to greater political consciousness of women in India.

      ,       ,       , **VOTING BEHAVIOR, RURAL, SURVEY, DELHI**

201. MULAY (Sumati). Research study on political & voting behavior of rural women of Delhi. Roshni. 1994, Oct-Dec; 19-20 + 34.

If the citizens of India are to be made vote

conscious and educated about the power of the ballot it is necessary to make the women politically literate. The study showed that the progressive village women had better political knowledge than the non progressive. The age group of 35 to 50 were more conscious about their voting rights. Women who had more contact with urban Delhi were more conscious politically and more conscious about voting.

\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, in relation to RIGHTS

202. SARALA DEVI. Women's movement for empowerment must continue. NFIW Bulletin. 1997, April; 8-9.

In reality women have been denied of their social, economic and political rights in decision-making positions. Women played a great role in the national movement for freedom. The great achievement of women's movement in India was to get one third reservation for women in the three tier panchayat raj and urban local bodies. This process has created confidence not only among women but also among democratic sections of the country that women can play a positive and creative role in parliament and a definite role for achieving political empowerment.

***PART - THREE***  
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