CHAPTER - II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES
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2.1 Political Participation:

The concept of political participation has illustrious lineages, starting from Aristotle to Rousseau, Mill, and John Dewey down to contemporary political thinkers. Political scientists like Sidney Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie talk of political participation as a mechanism through which needs and preferences of citizens are communicated to political decision makers. Contemporary democratic theorists like Carole Pateman and Benjamin Barber have argued in favour of participatory or strong democracies, in which the ordinary citizen is more fully involved in decision making process. This could be done by strengthening local democracy so that citizens are involved in community affairs and social movements. Advocates of participatory democracy generally follow Mill in attaching importance to civic education as a way of creating a more active and politically engaged citizenry. In India, Mahatma Gandhi, M.N Roy and Jay Prakash Narayan had advocated their own ideas about participatory democracy.

Advocates of such participation basically belong to two categories: one views participation as a means to achieve institutional efficiency and the other which sees participation as furthering the goals of empowerment, equity and democratic government.
2.2 Definition:

The study of political participation today demands a broad inclusive definition: all political actions by individuals and groups, or any action aimed at influencing the development or implementation of public policy. This was not always the case. Early empirical studies mainly by American political scientists, tended to focus only on “conventional political actions”: voting, discussing politics with friends, party and interest group, campaigning, contacting politicians or officials.\(^5\)

The term refers to the activity of private citizens designed to influence government decision-making. There have been many attempts to define political participation. Nie and Verba define political participation as “those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and /or the actions they take.”\(^6\) They therefore exclude from the purview of political participation those activities which are not legal. Huntington and Nelson refer to political participation as “activity by private citizens designed to influence governmental decision-making”.\(^7\) According to Michael Rush, “political participation is the involvement of the individual at various levels of activity in the political system, ranging from non-involvement to holding of political office.”\(^8\)

Some political scientists have used the concept political participation to cover not only conventional political actions like-voting, campaigning, contacting politicians and public officials, discussing politics but also non-conventional forms of participation like protest movements, demonstrations, riots, assassinations and other such forms through which efforts are made to influence decision-making. It is also used to refer to the attitude and behavior of the individuals toward the government.\(^9\)

Thus, political participation now is perceived to include a vast array of all those activities or efforts of citizens, which can influence the behaviour and
temperament of decision-making authority to a great extent. It thus is denotative of a system that comprises the citizens, those in the government and in the seats of power, and perceived through the actions of the citizens the interaction between these two sets in the system that in consequence affects the lives of the citizens. It is a process. Thus, political participation means the actual involvement of people in politics, i.e. in power, political activity and process, which affects the lives of people. However, the effort to influence the decision-making of government may be legal or illegal, violent or peaceful, successful or unsuccessful.

Initial studies on political participation were influenced by the Behavioural revolution in Political science. A pioneering work was Merriam and Gosnell’s Non-Voting in 1924. Seminal works on political participation have been done by Laswell, Dahl, Lipset, L.W.Pye, S.Verba, Almond, Easton, Myron Wiener, Huntington, Nelson, Milbrath among others. Scholars have put forward elaborate lists of activities as political participation (Rush and Althoff: 1971) Robert .E. Lane identified several socio-psychological variables to explain political participation in the USA (Lane: 1959). Milbrath (1965) classified the acts of participation into a hierarchy on the basis of time and effort that each demands. S. Pandey introduces an elaborate list of activities of political participation. These are voting behaviour, election campaigning (i.e. to influence others to vote for a particular candidate or political party), active involvement in any organised activity, political affiliation, information about politics, etc. It also involves attending political meetings, rallies street demonstration, etc.

Though there are various classifications available in this respect, yet the classifications of Verba and Nie (Verba, S and Norman H. Nie, Political Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality, Harper and Row, New York, 1972.) is considered as more sophisticated one. Authors of "Politics: An Introduction", Axford Barrie and Ben Rosamond, have noted that this study indicates an interesting fact that participants tended to be specialists in a particular mode.
Table 2.2: Strength of Different Types of Political Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERIAL NO.</th>
<th>TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Those who regularly vote</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Those who always vote</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Those who are active in at least one community organisation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Those who have worked with others in finding solution to community problems</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Those who have attended to persuade others to vote.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Those who have actively worked for a political party.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Those who have contacted local officials about some problems.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Those who have attended at least one political party meeting in last 3 years.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Those who have contacted a state or national Government about some issues or problems.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Those who have formed a group to solve a community problem.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Those who have given money to a party candidate</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Those who are presently a member of a political party or organisation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Verba & Nie (1972)

Political Scientists have tried to look at political participation from different angles but the point of convergence is the view that, it is basically a process involving all those actions and interactions that are directly or indirectly related to policy making and decision-making for the society. Therefore, in this study we will use the term to refer to participation by the people in the process of societal policy making and implementation.
2.3 Theories on political participation:

There are no systematic and coherent theories connecting social, economic and psychological variables to acts of political participation. But in the various empirical researches done in this subject attempts have been made to explain political participation with the help of both theories and variables. Karl Deutsch, Daniel Lerner, Mannheim are associated with the theory of social mobilization. The assumption of this theory is that the process of modernization affects the process of socialization, which, in turn influences the political attitudes, and behaviour of the people. Political elites manipulate and mobilize the people who have been uprooted from their community and traditional ways of life (e.g. refugees, immigrants, slum dwellers etc.)

The theory of social stratification is based on the assumption that modernization creates new social groups which are mobilized for political participation. Two sub-theories which flow from this are the theory of relative deprivation and the theory of status reversal. According to the theory of relative deprivation, individuals and groups, which have been subjected to inequality and deprivation, take active role in the modernization and democratization process and use the democratic institutions as a means to assert their historic new positions. On the other hand, according to status reversal those groups and individuals who have lost their earlier status due to democratization and modernization use these institutions to reassert their position by greater participation. Leonard Pearlin, Reinhard Bendix, Seymour Lipset, have been associated with these theories.

The theory of social environment, which is based on empirical findings, emphasizes the role of race, religion, caste, sex, education, age, occupation, residence and mobility on political participation.

Another theory which has been put forward is the theory regarding the role of the intelligentsia in mobilizing the people for political participation, through national movements, ideologies etc.
2.4 Factors Affecting Political Participation:

Political participation is a very complex phenomenon and depends on a variety of factors. Some of them are socio-economic (status, education, religion, sex etc.); some psychological (differences in drives and capacities) and some are influenced by the political environment (political structures and institutions, party system etc.). All of them are closely interconnected and have to be examined while analyzing political participation.

The extent to which citizens participate in politics and the ways in which they do so are influenced significantly by their social circumstances. These circumstances include how individuals live, where they live, the kind of education they have, their occupation and how much they earn, and the opportunities they have for improving their lives. Social circumstances affect the level of resources available for political participation and serve to foster or inhibit development of attitudes and belief that underlie various types of participation. Indicators of social circumstances include such characteristics as age, race, education, caste, region, place of residence, marital status, etc.

The five nations study of Verba and Nie focuses the 'strong relation' between education and political participation especially in campaigning activity and communal activity. Education has great potential to keep people informed, aware and conscious of the surrounding and about the day to day political and other happenings which indirectly induces them to take part in politics. Due to this, in modern times different political institutions lay stress on imparting education to the people.

Life experiences which are in part determined by social circumstances also influence a person’s political behavior. Difference in life experiences are not constant over time and as life experiences changes with changing social and economic conditions the effects on citizen’s political views and on citizens mobilization for political activity also change.
Political participation is also influenced by the psychological orientations of the citizens. These orientations can be explained to some degree by the personality or character, the general culture or more specifically the political culture, shared with others in the tribe, village, city, country, or world region, early political orientations or how they are acquired, i.e. political socialization, personal experiences and circumstances, life situations and the particular situation one confronts or believe one confronts at a specific historic moment. One important component of psychological orientation in politics is one’s sense of political efficacy. Political efficacy is the extent to which an individual feels that his or her participation will be effective and generally people with a sense of higher political efficacy participate more in politics.

Group consciousness is another important factor that mobilizes political participation. In fact, Class or group consciousness may produce high levels of organisational involvement and of political participation. The group or class-consciousness of people binds them through some common interest, the serving of which induces them to involve in organizations/organized behaviour and ultimately this mobilizes their political participation. Group identity or consciousness assumes greater saliency when groups compete for scarce resources, power, or other desired goods but group awareness also emerges when, groups perceive their valued attributes (e.g. culture, language, religion, language, identity) threatened by actions of others, be that threat real or imagined.

The political environment also plays an important role in motivating or discouraging participation. The electoral system, fund-raising techniques, campaigning, support of political parties or other organisations may promote and facilitate political participation. In democratic countries the scope of political participation is greater than in others, in fact the success of democracy depends on the very nature and intensity of political participation. Though the impact of the mass media on political participation is a matter of continuing dispute, it must be recognized as a key element in the political environment. The expansion of radio and television coverage, newspapers and the print media and the overall
revolution in information technology has had a significant impact on citizen's perception of the government, politicians and the political process. To many it goes on to create, interpret and present reality among the masses and in this process mobilize opinions, develop certain attitudes and eventually the actions of the people. As such this medium is extensively used by the political parties in disseminating information as per its interests.

The critical understanding of political participation includes the nature of abstinence from political activities. The factors that have been dealt with above may discourage or make passive peoples' involvement in political activities. Historically noted, certain sections of the society were marginalized, politically and also in other social aspects, structurally and ideologically which rendered either impossible or difficult their political participation. This used to include mostly the slaves, the modern day notions of citizenship that defines the political activities of the great section of immigrants and also even in the contemporary societies, of women irrespective of their citizenship status. Studies on political participation have revealed that women are generally less participative in politics than men.26 In particular, unless specific conditions are met, women face multiple hurdles and find it difficult to participate in the political process that has hitherto been a male bastion.27

Thus, in most of the contemporary modern political systems there are sections of people who despite being given ample scope for political participation remain shy of it. To this we can account the very many factors apart from the directly political ones that influence political participation. Therefore, a host of interacting factors influences the nature and degree of political participation.

2.5 Factors affecting Women's and Political Participation:

Women's activities in the political arena are severely affected by the conditions of their gender which being a social construct are associated with the
social structural mechanism that places her at a disadvantageous position. Gender refers to socially constructed roles and socially learned behavior associated with females and males. Women and men are biologically different but all cultures interpret and elaborate these differences into a set of social expectations about what behavior and activities are appropriate, and what rights and resources they possess. Gender as a social category largely establishes one’s life chances, shaping one’s participation in the society, polity and economy. An examination of women’s political participation from this perspective reveals that women often react to politics in the ways that society has socialized them and expects them to behave.

The social inequalities that exist are visible when it comes to the rights, privileges and responsibilities of men and women. Socially conditioned in such a setup which ideologically and structurally impinges her expansion beyond the traditional frontiers the modernizing forces were not adequate to deal with this.

When women were given the equal rights to vote with men nothing else changed. That is, the ideology of what was proper for women i.e. their task to look after, care, support the home front remained unchanged. Even under the modernization of political system that advocates and provides scope for women’s participation however being superimposed over the foundational multi faceted structural disadvantages in which she is posited renders it difficult for her to manage her domestic domain in such a way that would facilitate her to explore the extra-domestic domain where too she is hardly socialized to venture and sustain. Under such conditions women could not meet obligations in one area without being accused of neglecting duties in another. Her ability to devote time and energy to public activity is often questioned and she is apt to be criticized as a neglectful wife and mother if she spends too much time in public activity. In the early 1960’s Swedish essayist and journalist Eva Moberg used the expression “conditional liberation” to describe the circumstances of women. They were allowed to be wage earners and otherwise active outside the home as long as they took care of their domestic chores too. This form of conditional liberation that found visible representation in mass media in the USA and the Western developed nations during the 1960’s in the various commercial advertisements
that sought to promote the image of a “modern liberated traditional women” of a
developed economy and of the “super mom” had laid bare the inherent social
inconsistencies. This aroused much discourse and debate on the resources available
and accessible to women. Because of patriarchy and gender division of labour
and roles, men have more access to resources, which facilitate political
participation – time, money and civic skills.31

Women have less free time because of their special responsibilities of
looking after the home and children, have little or no money, no property, and
have less knowledge about the nitty-gritty of public offices because of their
confinement to the domestic sphere and therefore, the difference in their visibility
in the offices of power. It is said that the four ‘C’s, culture, childcare, cash and
confidence are the stumbling blocks to women wishing to run for the parliaments.32

Equally important with these factors is the fact that political parties are
reluctant to sponsor women candidates. All political parties recognise that women
are an important vote bank but numbers of seats allotted to women have always
been meagre. This is interpretative of a social system: at the family, community
and wider societal level, which otherwise presents many modern aspects, but has
not yet woken up to address women’s rights, a system that has not yet succeeded
in generating enough force to orient the political parties to the energies of women
in securing their rights, a system in which womanhood is made to be understood,
accepted and to be carried forward as a given condition facilitating and
consolidating their marginalized and subaltern status. In India illiteracy, lack of
exposure and fear of character assassination, corruption, criminalization of
politics, high electioneering costs and complete lack of accountability also deter
women from entering politics.33

Women who have been successful in political careers do not particularly
represent a female vision of the region. They have come from middle and upper
class backgrounds; have a good educational background; have been able to rely
on the resources and support of their families or to have minimized the handicaps
deriving from women's status within the family by remaining unmarried or by entering public life later in life when their familial obligations have to some extent been met.

It is seen that it has been difficult for women to establish a foothold in politics without the active support and backing of the family. Very few women in politics have an independent base as their entry point. Most enter politics as wives, daughters, and sisters of some men. Patronage of powerful men in the political parties has also helped some women to establish a foothold in politics. Moreover, the leading social science treatises analysing national and regional issues also hardly give the cardinal place to the female perspective.

2.6 Gender and Politics: Recent Debates:

Martha Ackelsberg and Irene Diamond while discussing some prominent trends and debates about gender and political life points out that in Political Science as in many other disciplines feminist scholars have called into question many existing paradigms and modes of thinking and have attempted to reconceptualize the central categories of the discipline. They have explored two broad areas of the feminist reconstruction of political science namely: i) attention to the theorizing of difference both between men and women and between women themselves; and ii) an examination of women's activism and participation, and its implications for the conceptualization of politics and democratic theory.

On the question of differences – differences between women and men and between women themselves, attempts have been made to conceptualize a "feminist standpoint" or to "theorize difference" and this provides a backdrop to the feminist re-conceptualizations of citizenship. Feminists criticize the mainstream/pluralist views because they ignore or deny difference and diversity or misrepresent their significance. According to them these failures have a number of dimensions: i) they pay insufficient attention to the nature and consequences
of structured relationships of domination and subordination; ii) they lead observers to understand the situation of the members of the oppressed groups almost entirely in terms of their oppression; iii) they take differences in participation or power as necessary consequences of "cultural" or "gender differences"; and iv) they ignore the need that feminist and black studies scholars and activists have noted for members of oppressed groups to "find their own voice". Therefore to get a sense of what differential experience is for different women or members of different groups one needs to look more carefully at the collective context of people's lives rather than looking at citizens as isolated individuals who come to political life with no prior ties.

Following Nancy Harsock's introduction of the term "feminist standpoint" there have been efforts by many feminist thinkers to establish a material base for women's subordination and explore the nature, origins and nature of a "women's consciousness". Many empirical findings have in fact heightened the debate about the differences. Sociobiologists claim these differences to be genetic, i.e. hormonal differences between men and women account for the aggressive behavior in men and the nurturant-conservative behavior in women, insisting that differences in attitudes of men and women are rooted in biology and have no independent political meaning.

Some feminist theorists draw on objects relations theory to locate the source of women's political consciousness. According to them women's primary task as caregivers to the young develops in them the qualities of caring, empathy and nurturance in contrast to that of men whose primary concerns are separation and individuation. They therefore call for a concerted effort to bring the nuturant perspectives of women into the public arena and make politics more like a women's work of love and care.

There are still other feminist thinkers who argue against giving priority to women's experience of nurturing insisting that the existing pattern of socialization create both men and women whose experiences are partial,
incomplete and distorted and that familial relationships do not provide adequate models for political behaviour. They would rather focus analysis on the kinds of collective action in which women have engaged in and explore its implications for political life.\textsuperscript{41}

While feminist thinkers have been treating gender differences very seriously they are also becoming aware of the diversity of women's experiences and the need to explore the differences among women as seriously as they have taken the differences between women and men. New research on women's community activism has indicated that both historically and in the contemporary period women have been involved in resistance movements in neighbourhoods and communities and have not always been passive members of the polity. Rapid increase in the number of women serving in state and local offices has generated new interest in gender as a category of analysis. Scholars have pursued a variety of new questions regarding the impact of women's presence and whether they have been able to have a distinctive impact on policy outcomes.\textsuperscript{42} Some scholars argue that party is more important than gender especially when the issue is legislative voting. Some scholars like Flammang claim that women politicians and activists exhibit a politics of connectedness that is rooted in the gender division of labour.

Some other studies\textsuperscript{43} have revealed that the ability of women leaders to work effectively depends on their rootedness as women based on networks based on kinship, religious and cultural ties. Women's participation has been particularly noticeable in many popular uprisings wherein they developed a specifically female consciousness because of their roles as caretakers of the community and households. Women also have a special sensitivity to quality of life issues and have been engaged in collective action to promote many such issues as environmental degradation, price rise, food adulteration, potable water supply etc. Studies on women's community activities have also shown that women particularly those who belong to the lower socio-economic groups cross the supposed boundaries between the public/private domains in the process of carrying out their domestic responsibilities.\textsuperscript{44}
The interrelationship among economy, family and the state is clearly brought to light by the contemporary feminist exploration of what has come to be known as the "feminization of poverty", a term originally coined by sociologist Diana Pearce (1979). Largely because of the sex-segregation of labour, subordination of women within the waged sector, sex-role expectations that assign women the primary role of child rearing, and the divorce law reforms that have not taken adequate account of the subordinate status of women in the labour market, women are more likely to be poorer than men. Thus women and children living in female headed households have a much chance of living in poverty than those living in male-headed households especially if they also belong to an ethnic or racial minority.

Moreover in connecting public and private they draw on intricate networks of relationships and particularly women belonging to the ethnic and minority groups do not enter the public arena as isolated individuals as liberal political theory presumes but as people firmly grounded in networks of kin, religion and neighbourhood groups. Feminist thinking have opened up new areas of thinking and has led to some important attempts at reconceptualising the very definition of politics but none of these lines of thought has yet articulated a fully developed alternative paradigm but they point us in important directions.45

2.7: Development theory for women:

In 1970, Ester Boserup's landmark study, Women's role in Economic Development, reported that many development projects, rather than improving the lives of the Third World women had deprived them of economic power and status. According to Jane Stien, this pragmatic work in the 1970's initiated a bifurcation between generalized development theory and development theory focused on women.46 Inspired by Boserup's work a new subfield of development, Women in Development (WID) gradually emerged. Influenced by liberalism, the WID approach sought to improve the situation of women by integrating them
into development policy and practice. However, this approach saw women's development as a logistical problem rather than as something requiring a fundamental reassessment of gender relations and ideology.

During this period many new developments took place in the international sphere. Global environmental concerns, issues of smaller communities, issue of power relationships in patriarchy etc. were coming to the fore in the discourse on development. Neo-liberal reforms had failed to provide a better life situation and employment opportunities in the developing countries and many economies were plunging into financial crisis. There grew a strong reaction to the idea of development as a solution and suspicion of the state too surfaced in many quarters. The emerging critiques of development and patriarchy got transferred into the theoretical domain, which served as a backdrop to a new approach to the development of women. This new approach called Women and Development (WAD) was built on the assertion that women could develop outside the patriarchal power structures and emphasized on women only projects and warned against close co-operation with male dominated institutions. It was very influential in the policy and programmes of many non-governmental organisations.

The series of conferences held during the UN Decade for Women (1976-1986) highlighted many problems which the women of the South were facing and also encouraged writings and research by Third World scholars. The scholarship that emerged from these organisations strengthened the voice of Southern scholars and activists and provided the basis for feminist theorizing and action grounded in Southern realities and led to a new approach to women's development increasingly known as Gender and Development (GAD). Gender is seen as the process by which individuals who are born into biological categories of male or female become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally defined attributes of masculinity and femininity. Since gendered division of labour is constructed rather than a natural part of life, it sees the possibility of transforming gender roles. All human beings whether male
or female are free to develop their personal abilities and make without the limitations set by the gender stereotypes and other prejudices. It sees women as agents of change rather than recipients of development assistance and stresses the need for women to organize themselves for an effective political voice. It recognizes that women’s lives are affected by multiple variables such as race, ethnicity, caste or class but argues that the ideology of patriarchy operates within and across classes to the disadvantage of women.  

In the 1980’s Maxine Molyneux made a distinction between strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. While strategic gender interests referred to those interests that would significantly alter gender and power relations and contribute to women’s empowerment through affecting patriarchal bargains with the state and men, practical gender interests took care of the immediate interests of women that no doubt enhanced their wellbeing but did not significantly alter gender and power relations. Moser identifies five different approaches to gender planning: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment. Of those equity and empowerment are aimed at meeting strategic gender needs and the others deal with practical gender needs.

The welfare approach is the oldest and most popular development policy for third world countries and women in particular. It regards women as passive recipients of welfare and given assistance through programmes like food distribution, nutrition, education population control etc. The equity approach recognizes that women are active participants in the development process who through both their productive and reproductive roles provide critical if often unacknowledged contribution towards economic growth. The anti-poverty approach focuses on women’s poverty and failure of modernization to redistribute income efforts are concentrated on enabling women to become income generators generally through small scale enterprises.

The fourth approach is efficiency approach, in which women are treated as elastic resources and solutions to the problem of a worsening international
economy. Here economic development is seen as the goal and it is assumed that the status of women will improve as a result of her increased role in economic development.

Moser regards empowerment as a Gender and Development strategy which addresses both practical and strategic gender needs. The principal difference between this and the other approaches is that it rejects top down strategies and believes in consciousness-raising, a recognition of women's triple roles – production, reproduction and community and a belief in the importance of women organizing for themselves.

Some feminists have linked gender and environment and call for new ways of thinking about development and environment that are grounded in women's daily lives as women have a close relationship with nature. Women, Environment and Development (WED) is a new approach within the Women and Development literature.50

The 1990's saw a shift in the development paradigm with the publication of the UNDP Reports on Human Development. Accordingly it was stated that "The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and the objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives (Mahbub ul Haq)." The necessity of giving priority to quality of life was pioneered within economics by Amartya Sen through his "capabilities approach." and it became highly influential through the Human Development Reports of the UNDP. Its great strength comes from the importance it gives to enabling a person to function to the full extent of her or his human capability. What this approach is after is a society in which each individual is treated as worthy of regard and in which each as been put in a position to live really humanly. It asks not about the
resources that are present but about how those do or do not go to work, enabling a person to function.\textsuperscript{51}

Amartya Sen, defined development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy... it requires the removal of all major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunity as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states".\textsuperscript{52} Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze believe that development policies should not view people as means of production but as ends in themselves.

Attempts to synthesize the strengths and insights of the empowerment approach with that of the participatory methodologies are leading to a radically new approach to development, whose intent is to consider and redefine the very notion of what 'development' is and to reinsert women with other exploited and oppressed social groups into the process as agents of transformative change rather than as beneficiaries of it is being conceived as the most viable and proper mechanism of realizing goals of democracy and decentralization. It was against the backdrop of such developments at the international and national level that initiatives to incorporate women into the political institutions took place in many of the developing countries throughout the world.

2.8:Introduction of gender quotas to increase women's political participation:

According to the statistics of the IPU, the world average proportion of women members in national level legislature stood at a mere 17.2\% in January 2007.\textsuperscript{53} (Ref. Table 1.2.1) This was despite the fact that countries around the world have recognized the under representation of women in politics and started to adopt measures to facilitate their entry into the decision making bodies. In 1995, at Beijing, the process was initiated to strive for 30\% women's
representation in national legislatures so as to enable women to make a meaningful contribution to the otherwise male bastion. However, women the world over have still far to go so far their political participation is concerned.

**Table 2.4: Countries with Constitutional Quota and/or Election Law Quota Regulation for the National Parliament**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Quota Type (Constitution and/or Law)</th>
<th>Year Introduced</th>
<th>Present Quota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>1991,1991</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>1999,2000</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>6 seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>20-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>1995,1989</td>
<td>56 seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>30 seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6 seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>1990,1990</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>60 seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>C,L</td>
<td>1995,1995</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>10-25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quotas for women are a form of affirmative action to enable them to overcome the obstacles that prevent women from entering positions of political decision-making in the same way as men. They aim at increasing women’s political representation in publicly elected or appointed institutions like governments, parliaments or local bodies. There are many socio-economic, political, psychological reasons which create obstacles for women entering politics. Quotas act as compensation for all the obstacles that women are up against by reserving a certain percentage of seats in the legislative bodies for women. When all the impediments responsible for the meagre participation of women in decision making bodies are removed, quotas will no longer be necessary. In this respect, quotas are a temporary measure. However, it may take a very long time for all social, cultural and political barriers preventing equal female representation to be eradicated.54

It is in the Scandinavian countries that women’s representation the National legislatures is the highest. It took approximately 60 years for Denmark, Norway and Sweden to cross the 20% threshold and 70 years to reach 30%. The reasons for this high participation of women were subscribed to such reasons by Nordic researchers—structural changes within these countries such as secularization, the strength of social democratic parties, development of an extended welfare state, women’s entrance into the labour market in large numbers in the 1960’s and the electoral system.55 Strategic factors were also seen as important especially the various approaches employed by women’s organizations to raise the level of female political representation. Quotas were introduced in these countries when women had already reached about 25% seats in Parliament and that too, by internal party decisions and not by law. These Scandinavian countries represent a model of gradual increase in women’s political participation called by Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Friedwel as “incremental track”.56 The 1970s and onward these countries witnessed a wide range of initiatives to increase the parliamentary representation of women; campaigns by the women’s movement, in several cases supported by the state, actions against male dominated assemblies, forming “Women’s Parliaments”, the threat of forming a Women’s
Party etc. Party quotas, however, was not passed until the 1980s and 90s, when women already had 20-30 per cent in parliament and had reached a high level of education and labour market participation. In Scandinavian politics quotas were always voluntary party quotas. They were decided by the political parties only after women had gained considerable influence in the party structure, and successfully demanded their share of the seats in the nominations committees. Quotas for the internal party structure usually predated quotas for electoral lists. Thus, the introduction of quotas was the result of a long gradual process of empowerment of women.

But today women's movement all the world over are not willing to wait that long. Gender quotas have now been introduced in nations where women had been entirely excluded from politics or where participation was very meagre. These countries like Argentina, Costa Rica, South Africa, and Rwanda represent the new “fast track” model. For example in South Africa, the introduction of quotas in the 1994 election by the African National Congress (ANC) party resulted in women's representation in this new democracy, reaching 27 percent in the very first democratic election.

The ways in which the problems of women's under-representation are framed have important consequences for what strategies are considered to be relevant. If the problem is discursively constructed as women’s limited knowledge or experience, then educating women is seen as the right remedy. If, on the other hand, institutional mechanisms of exclusion are considered to be the main problem, then the burden of change is placed on the institutions and political parties, which are seen as responsible for the discriminatory practices. A totally different concept of development and democratization is involved in applying electoral gender quotas. The strategy of waiting for women ‘to improve themselves’ is rejected. In newer development discourses equality between women and men is not seen as something that will eventually follow from ‘development’. Rather, the liberation of women and women’s active involvement is seen as a prerequisite for social and economic development. As stated in the UNDP Human Rights
Development Report for the Arab region, the very exclusion of women from public life might be one of the reasons for the lack of democratic development. Consequently, the inclusion of women may in itself further the development of democracy in the Arab world as in many other parts of the world.\(^{59}\)

It is with a view to increasing women’s participation in the decision making bodies that quotas have been introduced in many countries. In some countries quotas have been passed with little debate but in many others it is seen as a form of discrimination and a violation of the principles of fairness. Advocates of quota see them as a compensation for the structural barriers that prevent women from entering the arena of formal institutions of power. If we take the exclusion of women from these institutions as the starting point and recognize that there are many structural barriers that prevent women from entering politics then quotas are not seen as discriminatory but as an effective way of ensuring equality i.e. equality of results. The introduction of quotas represents a shift in the approach from equal opportunities to equality of result.\(^{60}\)

2.9 The question of women’s political participation in India:

In the Indian context, though history is replete with examples of women rulers and queens, it is only with the coming of the British that the seeds of representative government were sown and the question of women’s political participation in a democratically elected government arose.

In the pre-independence era, the reformist movement of the 19\(^{th}\) century which started with the objective of promoting social, civil, moral and educational welfare of women and children created a favorable climate for the improvement of the status of women. The issues which attracted the attention of early 19\(^{th}\) century social reformers were sati, the ill-treatment of widows, the ban on widow marriage, polygamy, child marriage and the denial of property rights and education to women.\(^{61}\) However early associational political activities were confined to
the elite urban women and they were incorporated into public activity not through their own initiative but by the male members of the family who questioned the social practices affecting women. The early twentieth century was marked by an intensification of the national movement and also witnessed the emergence of many women's organisations – The Bharat Stri Mahamandal in 1910 by Sarala Devi Choudhury, the Women's Indian Association in 1917, the National Council of Women in India in 1926 and the All India Women’s Conference in 1927. The objectives of these organisations particularly of the Bharat Stri Mahamandal were to improve the material and moral progress of women in particular, irrespective of their race, creed, class and party and thereby bring about the progress of humanity. But the Women India Association was also concerned with issues like women’s suffrage, education and social reform.

The period from 1918-1922 saw the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a prominent leader in the Indian freedom movement and it was he who played a very crucial role in expanding women’s participation in political life. A transformation of the attitude to women was precipitated by the Gandhian view regarding women’s role in social revolution and reconstruction. “Woman is the companion of man gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the minutest details of activities of man, and she has the same rights of freedom and liberty as he... By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have”. Gandhiji explicitly focused on the feminine qualities of women as having the strength to combat imperial power and based his examples on Sita, Drupadi and Damayanti rather than the Rani of Jhansi. Thus while Gandhi wanted women to be politically active; he seemed also to link their activism to their traditional roles and what he saw as the essential spirituality of women.

Gandhiji’s Dandi March on 12th March 1930 opened a new chapter in India’s freedom struggle, but his decision not to take women greatly disappointed many women and was also protested by the many women’s organisations. Ultimately Gandhi had to permit women to participate fully in
the Salt satyagraha. The entry of women in politics was no longer a debatable issue in India after the 1930's. The most important development during this period was the resolution of the Congress for “Declaration of Fundamental Rights”, wherein equality of sexes and abolition of discrimination in employment and equal opportunity for all were included. Women's participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32 and the Quit India movement of 1942 was more intense than the movement of the early twenties.

Women’s participation in freedom struggle changed many perceptions. It helped them to liberate themselves from some of the age old social traditions and norms but within certain prescribed limits. The image of 'new woman'-a middle class perception, developed during this period. She was one who was educated, had knowledge of the outside world and also possessed the feminine virtues of chastity, self-sacrifice, submission, devotion, kindness, patience, thrift, cleanliness, orderliness etc. She could venture out into the world as long as it did not endanger her femininity, culturally determined by her dress, eating habits, social demeanour and religiosity.

Despite the fact that in the period prior to India’s independence awareness of the need to remove the social disabilities of women was created, several legal enactments were made to better the condition of women, the access of women to education was opened, women’s organisations had emerged to ventilate the needs and aspirations of women and political participation increased women’s mobility; the reform movement failed to bring about substantive changes in the elements of social conservatism such as caste distinctions, patriarchal forms of dominance in the family, acceptance of the sanctity of the religious scriptures etc. According to Vina Mazumdar the nineteenth century reform movement was keen to imbibe Western progressive and democratic values and also wanted to re-establish the past glory of Indian society and this very contradiction influenced in a large way the women's question as it developed later.
An important issue which the women’s organisations had to address to during the freedom struggle was the relationship between the national movement and the women’s movement. This raised the question of women’s role in the wider social and public life. Opinion was divided on whether women should be concerned only with women’s issues or whether it should encompass wider social and political concerns. There was also the belief that once India attained freedom, the appropriate conditions for women’s equality would be created. It is believed that these debates contributed to making women’s issues as being primarily a welfare or social question and as having little to do with the nature of government and political development after India attained independence.\textsuperscript{76}

The leadership of Gandhi and the National movement are nevertheless the two major forces which acted as a catalyst in the achievement of political equality of women in independent India.\textsuperscript{77} It is interesting to note that in the Constituent Assembly there were 15 women members.\textsuperscript{78} After Independence, the Constitution which was adopted in 1950 pledged the nation to achieving –social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity; fraternity, dignity of the individual and unity the nation. While Indian women are recipients of the same rights as men there are also some provisions that have a special bearing on the status of women. Article 14 of the Constitution confers equal opportunities for men and women the political, economic and social spheres and Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the basis of gender. Article 15(3) on the other hand, empowers the state to make affirmative discrimination in favour of women and children. Article 16(1) guarantees equality in matters relating to employment to any public office for all citizens and Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings as well as forced labour. Similarly Article 39 enjoins upon the state to provide equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work and Article 42 directs the state to make provisions for ensuring just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. Article 51 makes it a fundamental duty of every Indian citizen to renounce practices that are derogatory to the dignity of
women. These constitutional provisions\textsuperscript{79} ushered in a new era of liberty and equality for women in independent India.

That women's transition to social, economic and political equality was not to be a smooth process was very soon obvious. As the euphoria over the newly found freedom subsided, the complicated and intricate pattern of politics with its variations of castes, languages, religions, family structures and cultural traditions came to the forefront and women encountered great difficulties in handling them.\textsuperscript{80} Voting, contesting elections, occupying decision making positions are important means whereby citizens are assimilated into the political process and it did not take long for women to discover that access to these positions of power and responsibility were not within easy reach. Only a limited number of women have been able to get represented in the Parliament and state legislatures as revealed in the following tables.
**Women Members of the Constituent Assembly of India**

Shrimati Ammu Swaminathan*
Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudan*
  Shrimati G. Durgabai*
  Mrs. Hansa Mehta*
  Mrs. Leela Ray*
  Mrs Purnima Banerjee*
  Shrimati Sucheta Kripalini*
  Shrimati Kamla Chaudhri*
  Shrimati Sarojini Naidu*
  Shrimati Malati Chowdhury*
  Mrs. Renuka Ray*
  Vijay Lakshmi Pandit**
  Raj kumari Amrit Kaur***
  Anne Mascarene***
  Begum Aizaz Rasul***

**Source:**

** Sushila Nayar & Kamla Manekar , (ed.), 2005, Women Pioneers in India’s Renaissance National Book Trust: India, p 324
*** http://164.100.24.209/news/constituent/members.htm
Table 2.5: Representation of women in the State Legislatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Year of election</th>
<th>No. of Women elected</th>
<th>Percentage of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal P</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarh</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harayana</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu Kashmir</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharastra</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Commission of India
**Table 2.6 Women Representation in Parliament**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Lok Sabha</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Rajya Sabha</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSDS Data Unit

As the tables reveal, representation of women in the Lok Sabha has basically stagnant. It reached a high point in 1999, but falls much short of 33% the critical mass of women required for meaningful decision-making as specified in CEDAW. The presence of women in the Rajya Sabha has only been marginally better may be due to the indirect elections and nomination of some women members and also does not come close to the 33% mark.

Most studies on women and political participation revealed that there was an overall neglect of the aspirations of the women and their need for political participation by both political parties and the government. Kumari and Kidwai opine that women did not figure as a powerful force in the decision making
process perhaps for the reason that they have not recognized themselves as a group which can wield power. Individually women have been completely disempowered. Psychologically they have been socialized into believing that a disempowered woman is the ideal and in order to legitimize her position she is made the custodian of tradition that confines her. This holds well in case of a majority of women in India but attempts have now been made to change this situation and the historic 73rd and 74th amendment to the Constitution may be regarded as a crucial step in this regard.

A National Policy for the Empowerment of Women was also adopted in 2001. The Policy promises to respect all the international commitment India has made to establish a gender equal society. The Policy pronounces that the 73rd and 74th Amendments (1993) to the Indian Constitution have served as a breakthrough towards ensuring equal access and increased participation in political power structure for women. The Panchayati Raj Institutions will play a central role in the process of enhancing women's participation in public life. The Panchayati Raj Institutions and the local self Governments will be actively involved in the implementation and execution of the National Policy for Women at the grassroots level. The advancement, development and empowerment of women are its proclaimed goals.

Prior to this, the Report of the CSWI can be regarded as a watershed on the issue of women's political participation in India. Its study had glaringly revealed that despite the political equality the representation of women in the Parliament and state legislatures had been declining. Though the dominant opinion was against reservation of seats for women in the Parliament and state legislatures (there were two notes of dissent), there was agreement on the need for reservation for women in the local bodies so as to ensure the interests of the rural and poor women.

In order to honour their international commitments and also due to pressure from women's groups, many countries have introduced gender quotas
to bring about gender parity in the representation to the legislative bodies, national, state and local. In India though quotas for women in the Parliament and state legislatures are yet to be ascertained but, reservation of seats have been made for women in the rural and urban local bodies by the 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Constitution, respectively. Therefore we see that in India the 73rd Amendment was generated from an understanding and a commitment to achieving gender equality both as a goal and as a crucial part of the development process. Women’s access to positions of power and decision making was to be used as a key strategy for altering gender relations both in the public and private sphere, with the belief that women in power would choose policies that would improve the status of women and transform the very nature of political power by making it more honest and accountable.

Notes and References:


2 Political Theory, 2002, Book I, IGNOU School of Social Sciences (MPS-002) p33-34

3 Puri, op. cit.

4 Puri, op. cit.


7 Ibid, p140


11 Rush, M. and Althoff, P. 1971, An Introduction to Political Sociology. London, Nelson (Cited in Asraf and Sharma, p142). On the basis of the degree and extent of participation political activities have been arranged hierarchically by Rush and Althoff as the following:
i. holding political or administrative office
ii. seeking political or administrative office
iii. active membership in political organisation
iv. passive membership in a political organisation
v. active membership of a quasi-political organisation (interest group or pressure group)
vi. passive membership of a quasi-political organisation
vii. participation in public meetings, demonstrations and so on,
viii. participation in informal political discussions;
ix. general interest in politics;
x. voting;
xii. apathy

12 Robert Lane refers to age, sex, education and status as bases of political participation and through extensive studies in America reveals the complex relation of political participation to race, religion and national origin. (Cited in Asraf and Sharma, p148

68
Milbrath stratified the electorates into "gladiators" (the small number of party actives and officeholders), "spectators" (who seek information and vote) and "apathetics" (who participate only passively, if at all), Cited from McClosky Herbert in 'Political Participation', Sills David L. ed. *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Macmillan Publishers, London, p254


17 Ibid, p116

18 Ibid, p116

19 Ibid, p116

20 Ibid, p116

21 Ibid, p117


26 Ibid p26


33 Ibid, p 240

34 Ibid, p 240

35 Waslekar, Sandeep, South Asian Drama. Konark Publication: 1996


37 Ibid, p 515

38 Ibid, p 516
39 Sociobiologists like E.O. Wilson, Lionel Tiger, Joseph Sheper claim that sources of these differences are genetic, ibid, p 516


41 ibid p517

42 ibid, p509

43 ibid, p518

44 ibid, p 518

45 Ackelberg and Daimond, op cit., p 520


47 Rathgeber, Eva M., Gender and Development in Action, in Marchand Marianne H & Parpart Jane L ed. 1995 Feminism/Post Modernism/Development, Sage, p 206

48 ibid p 206

49 Stien Jane, op cit. p27

50 Bina Agarwal, Vandana Shiva, Maria Mies are some of the advocates of this school.

51 Martha N. in Loutfi, Martha Fetherolf, (ed.) 2002, Women, Gender and Work, What is equality and how do we get there?, Rawat Publications, p 52-55

52 Sen Amartya, 2000, Development as Freedom, First Anchor Books pp 3-4


71
55 Hedland, Gun, op cit. p102

56 Dahlerup, op cit.


59 Dahlerup, op cit

60 ibid


63 Abhilasha Kumari and Sabina Kidwai, *Crossing The Sacred Line*-Women’s search for political power, p24

64 Panda, op cit, p79.

65 *Towards Equality*-Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1974, p284


67 Qualities like tolerance, self-sacrifice, ability to endure suffering etc

68 Kumari and Kidwai, op cit, p25


Panda, op cit, p87

Kumari and Kidwai, op. cit. p23

Desai and Krishnaraj, p312

Kumari and Kidwai, op. cit. p20 (view shared by Sumit Sarkar and Partha Chatterji)

Ibid, pp 24-25

Ibid, pp. 24-25

Towards Equality, p283


Pylee M.V, 2005, India's Constitution, S Chand, p71-146

Desai and Thakkar op cit, p97

Kumari and Kidwai, op. cit. p28

Ibid. p32

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women: http://wcd.nic.in/empwomen.htm

Towards Equality, op cit.

Ibid. p. 283