Chapter – III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Elections, Political Leadership and faith of citizens in them are an essential prerequisite of a democratic set-up. Powerful, efficient, and independent leadership at local level go a long way to enhance the performance of local institutions and politics. It is often said that urban elite wield considerable political power, assume leadership and also dominate the local political scene. But their power to a great extent depends upon their socio-economic and personal background through which they come to occupy positions of power. In India, political parties are ridden with factions based upon religious and caste attachments, locality-based loyalties, pulls and pressures of different kinds and degrees.\(^1\) The active participation of political parties in local politics is almost complete. These factors are to a great extent have their impact on urban leaders who strive for local power and make every effort to win the election against their rival groups and factions.

Politics, whether it is local, state or national, is all about capturing political power and election is the mechanism through which the political parties try and capture political power. Elections provide an equal playing field for all the political parities for testing their strength. The political party which is stronger than other parties manages to win elections, which is the ultimate aim of political leaders and political parties. This may seem simple in theory, but in practice, this is not so easy. Political Parties need to work hard to win elections. They need to come up with program and policies and try and attract the voters in their favour. While parties need to do continuous work among the people in order to attract the voter’s but in order to win elections the parties need to mobilize the voters during the period of election campaign. During election campaign, parties try and mobilize the voters with their program and policies. Political party’s issues manifesto before every election in which they try and highlight the achievements of the party in the
past and also try and make promises about what they are likely to do for the welfare of the people if they are voted to power. Manifestos are considered an important tool for sending party’s message to the common voters.²

**STUDIES ON WOMEN:**

Growth of civilization, social changes and the division of labour in society have discriminated men and women purely on gender basis ignoring the physical and mental capacity. Biological and psychological theories are propounded to explain aptitude and personality of man to be responsible for such dominance. This has subjected woman to a sub-human in the society of man. The typical characteristics of woman are at par with that of man. A strong proof of biological equalities on gender basis is the anthropological fact of societies of animal, especially primates. Rather, the psychological developments seem to be responsible for the acceptance of low profile due to centuries long transition to lop-sided male dominated outlook.

The acceptance of the low profile by woman for centuries is really a strong social phenomenon. It has led some workers to think that women are not born with such a fate rather the human society is waiting with all its traditional and cultural parameters to put her into a trap with so many limitations in her social activity. So, they have proved that a woman is made as a result of social interaction. Now with the feeling that women are exactly half of the human race and that they should develop to their right position in the society, all attempts are being made at international sphere. But there are marks of proportional tardy feminine developments in the developed and developing nations in spite of wholehearted attempts. This has raised so many sociological queries on the personality development, leadership potential and deficiency in the social milieu to confer same degree of development in women.³

Solitary achievements by women leaders in history and Indian Freedom Movement can be cited as examples, but not instances of social equality. Head counting
in society in terms of male-female ratio, economic calculations of role of female or granting a legislative support have not conferred equality on gender basis. So, the focus is how the elite emerge from among women in a society, how they stand socially and think for their fellow women still under the stigma of the past discriminations or new imports creeping into today’s society inadvertently. As leaders among males, the women leaders are expected to exist in all the fields in a society, eg. Politics, administration and commerce. Their stand and attitude are very important when one thinks of developing women in general and in third world context in particular.4

Though studies on women have been scanty, it is heartening that the social scientists have begun to conduct research focused on women. Particularly, the years following 1975, the International Women’s Year, various organizations in India and other parts of the world have been sponsoring studies focusing on women and organizing seminars, symposia and conferences in a concerted way to focus world attention on the issues of women. In recent years more and more works have been devoted in relation to women. While the earlier studies had focused on women workers, recent studies have analyzed diverse problems of women as manual workers, the status of women sanctioned by various religions, political representation of women, reasons for entering the political and professional world and the conflicts arising out managing the two roles at work and family. The relevant literature on topic chosen for study is dealt with the status of women in the global context, that deal with political representation and status of women in India, that cover up the concept of women leaders at various levels, that deal with the books on women, that consist of articles and reports of different perspectives of women in journals.

**FOREIGN WRITERS:**

Jane H. Stanford, Barbara R. Oates and Delfina Flores from Texas A&M University, Kingsville, Texas, USA., in their book “Heuristic Model of Female Leadership” poses the question: Do women have different leadership styles from those of men? With the current and projected impact of women-led business on the world's
economies, this question is an important one. Surprisingly, however, there is an insignificant amount of empirical research into this leadership-gender debate—most of the contemporary literature is purely conceptual. Therefore, the goal of the present study is to initiate scientific inquiry of this topic. An exploratory investigation of a sample of women business owners and managers was conducted to examine their leadership styles. From this preliminary study, utilizing the qualitative research methodology of content analysis, a heuristic model of female leadership is developed.

James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner in their article “The Leadership Challenge: How to get extraordinary things done in organizations” discusses the characteristics of a successful leader and ways of achieving exemplary leadership. Challenge the process by looking for new ways of doing things. Inspire a shared vision by looking into the future and communicating the organization’s goals to the rest of the group. Enable others to act by listening and encouraging others to participate. Model the way by first knowing the philosophy, goals and plan of the organization. Encourage others to grow by acknowledging and rewarding their accomplishments. Something found interesting is that Kouzes and Posner suggest that the one thing that sustains a leader and gives him/her courage is love. “Leaders are in love—in love with the people who do the work, with what their organizations produce and with their customers.”

Patricia L. Smith and Stanley J. Smits in their work “The Feminization of Leadership” highlighted that although male and female leaders have similar personal characteristics research suggests that female leaders influence the workplace differently from males and their leadership styles are a result of this difference. The socialization process of both males and females accounts for this difference. Men and women are treated differently in the workplace, thus act differently and vice versa- a circular process. Findings of the study suggest that women enjoy working for other women and that having more women in leadership roles could inspire and help other women assert themselves. A synergistic model of leadership would probably be most efficient, one that
encompasses a continuum or balance of both male and female strengths. Problems with the study: Findings of the study suggest that having more women in leadership roles could inspire and help other women assert themselves. The results of the study suggest that women and younger better-educated males enjoy working for other women.

Nan Stone in his prominent work “Leading Change, Changing Leadership” said that present day leaders may think in terms of empowerment and team building, the fundamentals of leadership are integrating followers and helping them achieve the organization’s common goal. In order for the organization to grow, there needs to be change. There are two things that need to happen in order for change to occur. First, many leaders need to be working together. Secondly, leaders need to break down or abandon the familiar way of doing things. Although this is often seen as the disruptive side of leadership, this process challenges others to go beyond their limits and bring to the organization new and innovative way of doing things. “Change for the sake of change is as dangerous to an organizations health as unthinking loyalty to the past.”

Clay Carr in classical work “Empowered Organizations, Empowering Leaders” discusses the differences between traditional and empowered organizations. Today more organizations are changing from traditional ways of leading to empowering leaders because empowering leaders value “autonomy as an end itself” which contributes to the overall growth of the organization. In empowered organizations all levels of people manage themselves but leaders need to ensure that some of the key goals are met: Defining a mission and aligning employees with it, maintaining trust not only themselves but increase trust throughout the organization, coordinating activities to ensure work is done by consulting and playing a team building role, communicating and facilitating the flow of information, ensuring learning, promoting and ensuring creativity because when organizations change only “creative firms survive.”

Simon Priest and Robert Chase in their article “The Conditional Theory of Outdoor Leadership Style: As exercise in flexibility” discusses the characteristics of an
outdoor leader, who emerges from within the group and the different characteristics and roles of outdoor leaders. The history of leadership can be traced back to two phases of theories, the classic theories (before 1938) and the contemporary theories (after 1938). The article discusses these various theories that have emerged through the years, which all emphasize different leadership styles. Since many of the leadership theories were created for management strategies, the authors are uncertain if the research done on these various leaders theories can be applied to outdoor leaders because both business management and outdoor leaders have different primary concerns. With a synergy of all theories a new model can be created, one that can be applied to outdoor leadership and perhaps even management.

Mary, Catherine, Fay Ross, Linda, Marcia and Texler Segal (1980) in their study on women by six social scientists representing four disciplines- Psychology, sociology, economics and political science. Each section of the book presents the perspective of a particular social science. Some aspects of behaviors are discussed in most of the chapters. The book starts with an overview of the American Women’s movements. This opening section is concerned with the 19th and 20th Century women’s movements from a sociological perspective. The authors draw upon social movement theory to analyze the various organizations and activities associated with these movements.

Beverly Lindsay (1980) provides comparative study of the position of third world women in developing countries with those of minority women in the United States. This volume does not intend to provide encyclopedic coverage of any or all particular groups of Third World women. Neither does it purport to be an exclusive or definitive treatise viewed within the conceptual framework, represented by the disciplinary fields such as sociology, psychology or education. It is offered as an introduction to vital issues that profoundly influence the lives of Third World women. In the opinion of the author
the denial of women’s rights and opportunities is the very root of our development problems and socio-economic ills including illiteracy, malnutrition and mass poverty.

Margherita Rendel and Georgina Ashworth (1981)\textsuperscript{7} tried to testify to the development of the study of women in Political Science. It is necessary condition for women to share more effectively in decision making that they should also share in the most destructive of all forms of competition namely war. In the opinion of the editors, the women to reach powerful positions and to be able to act on behalf of women they need the support of a strong and active women’s movement. They have suggested that the failure of political scientists to study women in all ways relevant to politics and of politicians to include them in economic and other concerns derive in part from seeing fragments of reality within predetermined boundaries. A holistic view that includes women would increase the understanding of political scientists and the effectiveness of politicians and planners.

Lynne Brydon and Sylvia Chant (1989)\textsuperscript{8} provides an over view of women’s role and status in the contemporary developing world. By roles the authors refer to the manifold activities carried out by Third World women such as household work, subsistence farming, remunerated employment and health care. By status, they refer to the value and meaning given these activities by the wonder society which reflect as well as influence the general rubric of gender relations. The book has been divided into major sections. The first looks at women’s position in rural areas and the second examine their conditions in town and cities. The book mainly deals with their conditions in towns and cities. The book mainly deals with women of low-income group because poverty is the condition of the vast majority of people in the Third World. The authors conclude with the view that while membership of a higher class may improve the material aspects of women’s lives and raise overall status in society they continue, nonetheless to suffer from gender subordination.
Sirima Kiribamune and Vidyamali Samarasinghe (1990) seek to identify the major issues facing women in Sri Lanka in an attempt to gain useful insights into women’s role functions and their relative status. They attempt to draw out commonalties that affect women in changing societies and to trace the differential impact of the twin concepts of patriarchy and modernization of women in the Third World. A look at the hitherto neglected area of women in pre-modern Sri Lanka provides a useful backdrop for a study of traditional positions in changing milieu. The authors have emphasized that issues considered being of vital concern to women is the need to share power with men at the decision making levels. One of the most significant features that emerge from these contributions is the importance given to the institution of family in the context of dual role functions.

Jane L. Parpart, Shirin Rai, Kathleen A. Staudt (2002) looks at the changing role of women in developing countries and calls for a new approach to empowerment. An approach that adopts a more nuanced, feminist interpretation of power and em(power)ment, recognises that local empowerment is always embedded in regional, national and global contexts, pays attention to institutional structures and politics and acknowledges that empowerment is both a process and an outcome. Moreover, the book warns that an obsession with measurement rather than process can undermine efforts to foster transformative and empowering outcomes. It concludes that power must be restored as the centrepiece of empowerment. Only then will the term and its advocates provide meaningful ammunition for dealing with the challenges of an increasingly unequal, and often sexist, global and local world.

Humera Yousaf (2007) analyzed the impact of women political participation and their capacity building on their role performance in public and private spheres in Pakistan. The democratic government should be representative of the population. LGO 2001 brought a space for the marginalized community including women and minority in the local government system. A 33% quota was fixed for women political participation.
To enable women to participate in politics with their full capacity, civil society organization launched capacity building services for women. The present research aims at finding out impact of women political participation and their capacity building on their role performance in public and private sphere. The triangulation approach using case study and survey method was applied for conducting research on women councilors in district Muzaffargarh, Pakistan. A total of 100 women councilors were taken into the sample frame using Multi Stage Cluster Sampling and Systematic Random Sampling. The subjects for case study were selected through purposive sampling. It concludes that with political participation, women have achieved better status at household and society level and the training has improved role performance of women councilors.

To talk about women in the context of leadership must appear rather paradoxical, at least within academic sociology. Most studies of leadership, start from the perspective of elites, and while research on women as a group may fit into various theoretical frameworks, it does not fit into elite theory. Few societies are known where the patriarchal structure of family and society has given rise to such oppressive norms and institutions regarding women, and where this oppression has been so perfectly internalized by the women themselves, as Indian society. Although the excesses of women's slavery sati (burning of widows), child-marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, purdah etc. have been legally abolished, the attitudes, as well as "the actual behavior of the majority of Indian men and women, are still largely determined by these norms, which are summarized in the ideal of the Pativrata, the husband-worshipping wife. Practically all the role conflicts of educated working women in India are caused by the still prevailing patriarchal family structure and its congruent ideology of female submissiveness and the priority of women's role as housewife and mother. However, the paradox exists before our eyes: this extremely patriarchal country is ruled by a woman. Indira Gandhi is today undoubtedly the most powerful woman in the world not only in terms of the number of people she is responsible for, but also in terms of the number of votes she was able to get at the last elections. Yet it would be totally wrong, as sometimes
is done, to see in the rise of Indira Gandhi to power an indication of the emancipation of Indian women. It would be equally wrong to simply brush aside this phenomenon as totally unique a simple exception in the overall position of male dominance in modern societies. Empirical evidence shows that it is not Indira Gandhi alone who was able to rise to an important position. The number of women in leading positions in politics, business, administration and in education is comparatively larger in India than in the so-called advanced countries of the West and certainly in my own country, West Germany. What is more revealing, women in leading positions in India do not have to face the same aggressiveness and resentment of their male colleagues which is notorious in Western societies. Indian men do not immediately suffer from an inferiority complex when they have to work "under" a woman.

INDIAN WRITERS:

The Government of India Report: (Towards Equality-Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India-1974) ‘Towards Equality’, the first major attempt to review and evaluate data on women’s role, rights and opportunities in the wake of planned development mentions that a majority of women are very far from enjoying rights and opportunities guaranteed by the constitution. In general the report stressed on the need for political participation and representation of women in political institutions. As noted, the committee recommended the establishment of statutory women’s Panchayats at the village level with autonomy and resources to manage and execute welfare and development programmes for women and children. The committee recommended it as a transition measure to break traditional attitudes that inhibit women from articulating their problems and to participate actively in local bodies.12

Vijay Agnew in her book Elite Women in Indian Politics, Neera Desai in Women in Modern India, Manohar Kour in Women in Indian Freedom Struggles, Veena Manjudar in ‘symbols of Power’ deal with political roles and political participation of women in India. Recently certain books have come out on the roles of women in
Panchayat Raj written by writers like Manikyamba and Suseela and Kousikh in ‘Women in Politics’. Vibhuthi Patel deals with the need for participation of women in decision making process. Suseela Patni in ‘Women in Political Elite' examines the implications of role perceptions and role conflicts and Uma Sekaran in ‘Women Power' stresses on the need for creating gender positive environment.  J K Chopra in Women the Indian Parliament' wrote about the role played by women in the Parliament.

Studies attempted so far on the participation of women in politics are mainly confined to their voting behaviour or at best their position as candidates, members of legislature and ministers. Women’s participation in political process and decision-making bodies forms a key concern of the women’s movement in India. The analysis of democratic system and the representation of various sections of the population therein reveals that women lag way behind men. Women politicians face many problems in their political life that in turn inhibit their performance in political processes. In this context, Bhatt says, “the reason for women’s diminished role in the political arena include tradition, physiology, lack of vertical mobility, concern of home and family, psychology and lack of patronage particularly from senior women politicians.”

Mandakini Devasher Surie in his book “Women Take the Lead in India’s State Assembly Elections” highlighted that despite impressive gains in the political arena, women in India continue to face numerous challenges and threats that prevent them from claiming their rights and seizing opportunities. Despite their differences and idiosyncrasies, the strong and often controversial women leaders are giving their male counterparts a run for their money. Moreover, their rise to important positions is significant given the many difficulties Indian women still have to overcome. Women here continue to face numerous challenges and threats that prevent them from claiming their rights and seizing opportunities. Patriarchal attitudes, early marriages, low levels of literacy, and lack of access to healthcare prevent many women from entering the work force, let alone participating meaningfully in the political sphere. In 2010, the
government committed to providing 33 percent reservations for women in parliament and in state legislatures there has been a progress in women representation. The Women’s Reservation Bill, approved by the Upper House of Parliament, has faced stiff opposition and is currently stalled in the Lower House of Parliament. If passed, the bill could have game-changing effects, bringing substantially more women into politics. India still has a long way to go in terms of securing equal rights for women in the social, economic, and political spheres, but these women politicians offer a glimpse of a better future. Historian and political analyst, Ramachandra Guha, sums things up nicely: “Whatever the reasons for their rise – personal (their courage and drive), historical (the impact of generations of reformers), or political (the advent of universal adult franchise, where a woman’s vote equals a man’s) – and whatever its consequences, the phenomenon itself is noteworthy, and merits an appreciation, however qualified.”

The study of Muni (1970) reveals that majority of women who are already engaged in politics have come from economically well-to do families and have at least one of their close relatives, mostly father, husband or mother, who is also involved in active politics and shows a linkage of their political career with their families. Even Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes women leaders generally belonged to higher educational category and economically well-off families. Therefore, the association between higher social and economic status and higher rate of participation is clearly established. D’Lim (1983) points out that it is only upper caste women belonging to big landlord families or politically influential families try to dominate the position reserved for women in Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samiti.

Urmila and Indira (1978) presents comparative study of the status of women in different social structures. Based on the assumption that “status” in correlated to the participatory rights and obligations of women in managing the society, these studies examine the role assigned to them by tradition, religion, ideology and the stage of economic development. Each of the contributors in such filed has been assessed on the
standing realities. As the enhancement of status is essentially the enlargement of the scope of participatory rights in the ever developing society, a review of the society and the trends towards emancipation in different countries have been dealt with. Since the status and role are part of a culture-complex, this complication is intended to be, as nearly as possible, a representative mosaic.

Seth (1979)\textsuperscript{18} while studying the social background of women MPs, observes that most women MPs were educated and some were very well educated. His astonishing revelation was that even the candidates from the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes generally belonged to the higher educational category. It was their background of higher education that gave them a perspective of politics and helped them in their understanding of public issues and political processes. The study further pointed out that family background and a fairly higher education harnessed during their social and public life made them articulate. This was largely in contrast with the glamorous MPs from the princely houses. By their grooming background, the latter were neither painstaking nor very articulate. Most of them belonged to rightist parties like the Swatantra and Jana Sangh. But those belonging to the Congress, and later to the Janata Party in the Sixth Lok Sabha were the ones who made their presence felt in parliament. The average age of women was 51 years and a majority of the MPs were married to middle-aged people in the higher middle-income group. None was illiterate and most of them were well educated. Income wise and education wise, they were better placed than the average male MPs. The largest group had their linkage with various social, cultural and women’s organization. Many of them had been active in the freedom movement and after independence, they entered active politics under the banner of the Congress Party. The study also referred to the male equivalence factor. This factor applies to a situation in which a woman seeks to gain in the political positions as a substitute for a man. Thus, it appears that in a “widow succession case”, a woman candidate mostly succeeds to her husband’s constituency on the latter’s death. This has been more marked in the case of the wife assuming the political role of an agitator or taking up causes that her husband stood for. This may also be considered as a function with political background families.
The association between higher social and economic status and higher rate of participation is also established. In the case of women activists with family linkages, this view may be slightly modified because linkage, irrespective of education, is a powerful factor in a woman’s politicization. One more factor influences the politicization and participation of women in politics. The factor that shows the significance of the background of their political career is their family linkage. The interest and understating acquired through father, husband, brother and such other relations constitute the familial influence for women activists. The incidence of membership of the politicized family is much more obvious in the case of the candidates belonging to the Congress and Communist parties. The women leaders have emerged as leaders through contesting elections. Most of them demonstrated their survival capacity in politics by getting themselves elected twice or thrice and some of them even five times. Another factor found to be responsible for their selection as candidate is the personal charisma and impact they have made in a major city or their constituency.\(^{19}\)

One of the major and most common areas of research on women and politics in contemporary India is the political participation of women. The subject has been dealt within the sphere of formal electoral politics. Political participation is, by and large, interpreted as the voting behaviour of women voters. This is due partly to the dominant role electoral politics plays in parliamentary democracy in India, and partly to the dominance other behavioural approach followed in social science research in general. Those studies merely confirm the popular impression that: (1) women are not independent; (2) a majority are illiterate; (3) a majority make their choice on the basis of suggestions from male members of the family; (4) women lack information and political awareness; and (5) women were not politically conscious. A deeper analysis of the socio-economic and cultural factors, more particularly the family position and power relations within the family, and of factors that prevent from gaining access to political information and education is mostly lacking. Equally conspicuous by its absence is the analysis of any mobilization and organization women, their participation in activities/organization during
the inter-election period. In the absence of such participation and exposure to activities other than familial sources, women cannot be expected to have developed an independent political consciousness.  

**V. Rajalakshmi (1985)** attempts to evaluate factors relevant to women’s participation in the political role. The study focuses on Indian politics particularly the state politics of Tamil Nadu during the period, which runs from the first grating of the limited franchise to women to the present day. The study further discusses the factors associated with the way in which women relate to politics. In seeking to explain under representation of particular group on a particular situation, descent, discriminations and disadvantages are usually cited. There are, however countervailing forces which may mediate women’s entry into politics rather than militate against it.

**Amit Kumar Gupta (1986)** in his edited book discusses the role of women politicians in decision making apparatus. Annapurna Devi, one of the contributors of the volume, points to under representation of women political elite. The author has pointed out the role of women in politics in terms of their ability to influence the decision making of the State and their capacity for political organization and political participation.

**Mazumdar (1986)** discusses on the basis of some research studies on ‘Women’s Political Participation’. He says that women’s political activity is always influenced by political affiliation and their consideration in various positions that hinders that after coming to power they should work for the betterment of women.

**Annapurna Devi (1987)** in an article has discussed the nature and background of women’s participation in the Nationalist movement in Orissa during 20th century that largely tallied with the women’s movement at the national level. Women’s participation was initiated by men and operated under the leadership of men. In the opinion of the author from the beginning, women’s participation in the freedom movement was oriented towards elite representation and not towards mass mobilization.
R.C.Swarankar (1988) examined the studies of parliamentarians of national level to see how far these studies are helpful in identifying, describing and explaining their recruitment, growth and development at the state level in Rajasthan. The author has defined the legislative elite as the group of persons holding the position of legislator by virtue of the victory in Rajasthan elections. Thus, the legislative elite are the elected members of Rajasthan Assembly holding formal positions, performing representative and developmental political functions, exercising influence and enjoying all the advantages that political power brings. The author has concluded with the view that the socio-economic make up of legislative elite is analogous with the higher echelons of the society that they represent. This is true for all the three variables – caste, occupation and education.

Snehalata Panda (1990) an outcome of her research, reveals the gender differences in political participation. In her opinion, effective participation in politics is determined more by psychological factors than sociological factors. But both the sets of variables are interdependent attitudes formed in the environment where a person is nourished.

V.Prabhavathi (1991) discusses women legislators in relation to State Legislature of Andhra Pradesh, both legislative assembly and Council during the period of 1956-1983. The focus is mainly laid on their participation within and outside the State Legislature, their motivations in entering politics, playing a pivotal role in the decision making apparatus and their divergent perceptions on international and national and local issues. Her dissertation covers several aspects with elaborate discussion in ten chapters. She has concluded a view that in regard to the active role in political parties, political agitations and defections, the women representatives have not lagged behind the male counterparts. The women elite in Andhra Pradesh maintained a glorious record of their profile as freedom fighters during pre independence era and as seasoned politicians and activists in the post independence period.
A World Bank Report (1991)\textsuperscript{28} on “Gender and Poverty in India” concluded that the rapid growth in women’s organizations indicates the success of women’s organizations are well as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that deal with socio-economic issues of the vulnerable sections of the society. While the struggles and constraints faced by organizations included here are indiative enough of some of the major underlying issues, it would have been even more interesting if some organizations that did not succeed as all were tracked down and interviewed along with these eight case studies. One only hopes that many of these defunct or unsuccessful organizations, reflecting the fact that most of the obstacles faced in empowering women can be overcome.

Kitur A.T. (1992)\textsuperscript{29} in his work “Emerging Pattern of Leadership – A Study of PRIs in Dharward District”, attempts to analyze the emergence of rural leadership on the basis of the socio-economic background and concludes that the panchayat leadership was younger in age. In the process of rural development and modernization they hailed from the locally dominant caste. The weaker sections of the society were not able to penetrate into the panchayat leadership which was composed of literate groups even graduates in some MPs and ZPs. Landlords and moneyed people only were able to contest the election and they also seem to have monopolized the Panchayat powers.
Sribasthava (1992)\textsuperscript{30} discusses the level of women’s awareness and participation and finds that these are very low and in order to remove these problems, he suggests the idea of establishing national, state and local women organizations for the purpose of creating and promoting political consciousness and upliftment.

Kaushik (1993)\textsuperscript{31} has drawn some important conclusions in her study on women’s role and participation in panchayati raj. They include: the participation of women is low in terms of number and quality. A majority is over the age of 50. Most of them belong to the affluent landowning, high-caste families and are related to the politically well-connected sections of the society. Secondly, political awareness and participation in and knowledge of wider issues are below the mark. The co-option of women is more of a tokenism than real representation; and thirdly, the continuation of nomination-co-option or even reservation is a reflection of the continuing inability of women to get elected through the normal process. Because of these factors, the role of state level politicians has become distinct from those at the national level. As such, the study of political elites at the state level and their perception of social, political and economic change acquires greater importance. Keeping this in view, the study of political elites in a state like Uttar Pradesh and particularly of women politicians there is likely to be more fruitful and more important than those of other states.

While Bhatt (1995)\textsuperscript{32} studied all 155 women MPs elected to sixth Lok Sabha, she observes that most of them belonged to middle class families. Women MPs from general constituencies had higher educational qualification compared with those elected from reserved constituencies. Kumari and Dubey (1994)\textsuperscript{32} focused on the socio-economic condition and other related issues like the role of women MPs in the parliament proceedings, their association with political parties, the hindrance faced by them and their involvement in local politics. She covered all 74 women MPs from Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. She found that many women MPs belonged to the families with political background, with the support of their parents or spouses. Most of them seem to be mainly
conversed with the issues related to women. Irrespective of their party affiliation, the Women MPs seemed to unite and take a common stand on the floor of the house on women specific issues. They also expressed their concern about the indifference of male parliamentarians.

**Muzumdar, Vina (1995)** in his book entitled “Gender Dimension of Social Development” opined that, there was also opposition to women fighting from general seats on the plea that women were not for politics. This is evident from the way males behave towards women in the latter’s functioning in Panchayats. Most women find that their male colleagues and officials do not recognize them as leaders and do not listen to them either during the meetings or in decision-making.

**Kaushik (1996)**, in her study of women in politics of India, draws the sample; of women politicians from national, regional and local levels, which covered ministers, MPs, legislators, members occupying important positions, members of district boards, local village bodies and common women. From the survey of 80 women politicians and 300 common women from different regions and classes, she found that majority of women politicians are from a middle class urban background. Sixty three per cent of middle class common women disapproved of their family members’ participation in politics, as it was considered a “dirty”, “corrupt” and “immoral” vocation. Some other researchers also found similar findings.

**Snehalata Panda (1996)** attempts to explore the emerging pattern of women’s leadership profile in Chatrapur block of Ganjam district of Orissa. Her study on “Emerging pattern of Leadership Among Rural Women in Orissa” reached the following conclusions: (1) traditional social structure and cultural milieu had little influence on the perception of the rural people in choosing women for representation on panchayats, (2) personal merit contributed significantly to the choice of women representatives (3) age, relative freedom from family responsibilities and communication skills were major determinants of their selection, (4) they had inherent traits of leadership and the capability to arrive at a firm decision by choosing from among several alternatives, (5)
guidance from their male colleagues, family members and the villagers helped them in developing their participatory skills and (6) their non-party background, responsibilities which they shared as change agents and above all, the class from which they came, indicated positive directions of change in rural leadership.

**Bhaduria (1997)** discussed about the ‘Status of Women’ and states that the status of women is closely linked with their participation in decision-making process. The extent of their participation is a measure of their empowerment. But the fact still exists that women’s participation in decision-making at all levels whether local or national has been low. **Tripathy (1996)** highlights in his study on “Role of Women Sarpanches in Village Development”, the need to impart training to women and that they should be given information about their rights and duties. The constitutional amendments are not the only solution, according to him.

**Jayalakshmi, K (1997)** in her case study entitled “Empowerment of Women in Panchayats: Experiences of Andhra Pradesh” set out to analyze the role of women as decision-makers in the local institutions and to identify their priorities in bringing about development in Jamastan Palli – an all – women Panchayat. The study concludes that reservation ensured opportunities for all social groups to participate in the governance of panchayats, thereby promoting grassroots level leadership.

**Society for Participatory Research in Asia (1999)** (PRIA) focused on the effect of 33 percent reservations helped the women to emerge as leaders in the rural local bodies and the level of political empowerment. In 1993, India passed the 73rd Constitutional Amendment which reserved 33% of panchayati raj (village councils) seats for women. The Amendment enabled thousands of women to enter the political arena. While some have created political space to voice their needs, concerns and priorities, others are still trying to grapple with the power and authority thrust upon them. If empowerment is seen as a process by which women overcome the challenges of a patriarchal society then it is difficult to maintain that the 73rd Amendment has achieved it
for women. What has emerged, however, is that women have felt empowered at different points through their experiences and at various levels. A number of women have challenged their roles as care givers by entering the public domain, have gained new prestige and acted as role models for other women. Although it is difficult to measure how the experiences have impacted on the women in their personal lives, it is known that through participation in Panchayati Raj, women have acquired a critical gender consciousness on how they have been denied their rights. This occurred because women had been facilitated to enter the world of politics through the passing of the Constitutional Amendment.

Rama Devi (2000)\textsuperscript{42} former Governor of Karnataka State who was involved in the drafting of the 73\textsuperscript{rd} Constitutional Amendment is a strong supporter of reservations for women in panchayats. She says that the great social engineering of the century, providing 33 per cent reservation for women in panchayats is a positive aspect. She expresses that the husbands’ panchayats is a positive aspect. Regarding women’s problems in panchayats, Rama Devi referred to one instance when a woman Pradhan was asked about the problems in panchayats. The Pradhan replied “Women face problems because they are women”. She was the Pradh\textup{a}n and the Upa Pradhan was a man. The Upa Pradhan believed that he was at a higher level than her because he was a man and that his voice should prevail on hers. Thus, men try to bully women even though, constitutionally men are supposed to take orders from women if women are in senior positions to men. On the contrary, men, even in junior positions try to order women around. She says that these are the results of prejudices and patriarchal attitudes.

Shabana Azmi (2000)\textsuperscript{43} points out that political empowerment of women is necessary because women work at home and outside the home and become knowledgeable about challenges at home and outside. Women in political process at higher level have or some women came with dalit agenda. So their mindset was not attuned with women’s agenda and has no concern for women’s needs. So real political
empowerment requires empowering women who have concern for women’s agenda and women’s needs.

**Aingeal O’ Donoghue (2000)\(^4\)** focuses on equality. She says that women across the globe face many difficult challenges and struggles, which can take many different forms. She mentions that ‘equal participation in decision making is a central concern of women in the globe’. In India, women in panchayats are in the forefront of this struggle, i.e., equal participation in political decision-making process.

**Premajam (2000)\(^5\)** focuses on the implications of the 73\(^{rd}\) and 74\(^{th}\) Constitutional Amendments. She says that these amendments are revolutionary and of great significance. She mentions that although the constitution guaranteed political equality, there is discrimination between men and women on the basis of sex and political empowerment remained elusive. To her, even after four decades of Independence, it became imperative that reservations was accepted as a starting point to bring women into the mainstream of political activity and women’s organizations have fought relentlessly to achieve representation in Panchayats.

**Priti Sharma (2001)\(^6\)** in her research paper on "Training Elected Women Representatives-Haryana Experience” concluded that, the participation of elected women representatives is increasing, they have started coming for the meetings even if it is only when they have to get something done either in their respective wards or for an individual. This is a sure sign of their involvement in the affairs of PRIs. Moreover the pressure is also mounting on the government officials to give elected women representatives their due. There are orders from higher officials of the district to entertain only elected women representatives and not male members of their families. This will go a long way in the effective and true participation of the women in the decision-making process of Panchayat Raj Institutions.

**Dr.Promilla Kapur (2001)\(^7\)** in edited volume made an attempt to analyze the
concept of empowerment of women, multifarious facets and the obstacles that come in the way of women’s real empowerment, as also of the strategies to achieve it in reality. In the last decade or so the empowerment of women has been recognized as central issue in determining the situational reality of their status. The Government of India has declared the year 2001 as Women’s Empowerment Year, and a lot has been and is being done at national and international levels. Yet a lurking question that still remains to be answered is that despite all the efforts and the apparent psycho-economic and socio-political progress that have taken place in women’s situations, why there continues to be so much of exploitation, abuse, discrimination, violence and crimes against women. This book attempting to answer this question is a unique collection of data covering comprehensively the analysis of issues related to women empowerment.

*Palanithurai (2002)*\(^48\) says that training helps in getting awareness of roles and responsibilities and dealing with officials of PRIs. Pointing out men’s perceptions of women in PRIs, he says, “men of local bodies consider the women leaders as incompetent and inefficient”. Pointing out men’s behavior, he says that in the meetings, men leaders never bother about decorum, decency and etiquette and use freely unparliamentarily words without minding the presence of women members and wherever the female members are weak, the male members dominate the proceedings.

*Suchalatha Panda (2002)*\(^49\) in her study “Political Empowerment of Women – A Case Study of Orissa”, attempts to explore the rural socio-political situation and the performance of women representatives of PRI in Orissa with the mandatory one-third reservation for women provided by the new PR Act 1994. The author concludes that women entered politics due to the mandatory provision of one-third reservation; most of the women were non-political and entered politics due to persuasion by their family members or pressure from the village community or pressure from a political party; and, personal interest. The study indicates that there is a positive change in the socio-political dynamics of the rural society.
Padmalaya Mohapatra and Bijoyini Mohanty (2002)\textsuperscript{50} in their research publication focused that women in the sociological stream, have stayed behind men in all countries at all periods. Gender equity and empowerment of women have been the main issues over last three to four decades of last millennium throughout the globe. Easy methods are not available to calculate the speedy development of women due to long standing social aberrations. The women elite composed of active and influential women of different fields definitely form a separate group, who can inspire women in general and their background and attitude can find ways of imparting welfare measures of women in particular. There is projection of specific socio-economic profile. Their attitude to different issues relevant to women have been dealt at length.

Manikyamba (2003)\textsuperscript{51} in one of her recent writings says that the 73\textsuperscript{rd} Constitutional Amendment is an achievement of Indian Women’s Movement. The Amendment is expected to provide bigger and better share to women in political process and a space for women in the male dominated public sphere and bring simple women in the task of governance. Though since the inception of Panchayati Raj, women’s representation is recognized, the dilemma relating to the representation is recognized, the dilemma relating to the representation to women and the manner of recruitment continued for a long time.

Ramesh Madan’s (2004)\textsuperscript{52} study focuses mainly on urban, middle class, educated employed women in Japan and India because they are most likely to have been affected by social, political and economic change. Though numerically small, they are the opinion formers. The study aims to find out the opinion how far education and employment empower women? To what extent is education an agent of social change? In order to do this, it will look at the following aspects: women’s education, its growth and its quality, employment pattern, its growth and its quality, employment pattern, how far employment affects women’s education, its growth and its quality, employment pattern, how far employment affects women’s status within family, problems women face in work
situations, how far participation of women in activities outside home in the public sphere has changed their role and position in the family, the impact of modern technology on women’s lives, the impact of various legislative measures and the role of women’s voluntary organizations. An attempts has been made in this study to bring out the similarities and differences between Indian and Japanese women in the social, legal, economic and political fields. Finally, measures for improvement in the status of women have been suggested.

**Y.Indira Kumari and B.Sambasiva Rao (2005)** focused on the impact of women self-help groups on the social and economic empowerment of rural women in Andhra Pradesh. The analysis of primary data in the selected mandal of Krishna District has, to certain extent, highlighted the positive influence of women self-help groups on incremental income of the poor families and their increased awareness and participation levels. The authors have also delineated the factors and reasons which are impinging on healthy growth of the movement based on the field data. In view of the importance and increasing recognition by the planners and policy makers in our country that empowerment of women is indispensable for rapid transformation of our economy, society and for protection of environment and regeneration of natural resources. The suggestions given by the authors particularly on marketing of goods produced by the members are noteworthy.

**Sandeep Kumar (2005)** in his article on “Constitutional Provisions and Women Empowerment” felt that empowerment of women would depend upon change in the value systems, attitudes and social structure prevailing in the country. Women have to change their attitude towards women. This would necessitate a coordinated and concerted effort on the part of our political leaders, social reformers and other members of social strata including the women themselves.

**Sunanda S. Shirur (2005)** examines the emergence of elite women in twin cities, Hubli-Dharawad of Karnataka, in the light of modernization and democratization
process set in India. She evaluated the role played by the agents of modernization like liberal and rational education, democratic institutions and principles, social reforms, voluntary organization including women voluntary organizations, freedom movement, etc., in creating awareness in people in general and women in particular about the important role to be played by women in the nation building process including building of integrative and all inclusive democratic system. She also examined the linkage between independent variables like religion, caste, language, marital status, size of family, education annual participation of these elite women in ten political activities like attending public meetings, participation in canvassing, involvement in procession and demonstrations, organizing public meetings leading delegations to officials and elected representatives propagating ideology of party, holding public offices in party organizations, contesting election to public offices and holding elective offices in the representative institutions. This work tries to assess the degree of participation of elite women in the political process on the basis of their socio-economic determinants of elite women and degree of their participation in various political activities. It makes some valuable suggestions regarding universalization of education, economic independence and reservations in elected bodies from village to Delhi, employment opportunities in public and private sectors etc., for women.

Chandra Mauli Mani’s (2005) book “The Evolution of Ideals of Womenhood in Indian Society” is an English translation of an award winning Hindi book “Bharatiya Samaj Mein Nari Adarshon Ka Vikasa” written by late Pt.Chandra Bali Tripaqth, is being a compendium of traditions and practices so far as these impacted on the position of women in Indian Society, is a critical appraisal of the same from an objective angle. While it eulogizes the strong points in the social matrix in various ages, it does not hesitate in bringing out the shortcomings which had resulted in denial to the women of their rightful share in building the social fabric. Replete with quotations from original sources, adding to its authenticity, the book expands its horizon by including a thorough comparative study of the situation obtaining in other societies.
Rajvir S. Dhaka (2005) in his article analyzed the Women’s Leadership in Urban Local Government in Haryana. Women’s role in decision making is one of the most important question for consideration in the movement for their empowerment. The main reasons for low participation has been the women’s subordinate position to men in every aspect of life since ancient times. It is not that women in the past have not contributed substantially in politics, but because of their subservient status and low esteem, majority of them were denied entry in political decision-making. Reservation for women in urban local government is not just a question of getting certain number in; it also develops their capacities to play their rightful roles in the development process and makes an important difference as the local governments deals practical needs and their strategic needs the better we meet women’s strategic needs, the better they are able to contribute to good city governance. Good local government enables a better response to women’s practical needs.

Jasprit Kaur Soni (2006) in his prominent work “Women Empowerment: Exploring the Facts” is an effort to analyze the effect of education and economic independency of women in the all round development of women’s personality – physical, intellectual, mental and emotional. Media and general public have portrayed women in limited, stereotyped ways and most failed to present women’s perspectives that affect women directly and are not really concerned with women’s role in social, political or economic matters. Our national policies have to be intrinsically linked to various events and hence, women will be fully aware of what is happening and this would enable them to appropriately prepare themselves for the future. What we mean is that women changes may be called for in the principles and steps, and not the approach outlined. So it is necessary to create an environment to seek the knowledge and information at their own pace.
R.C. Mishra (2006) highlighted the issues of women’s freedom and gender equality in the Indian Society. In Indian society the status of women has changed from time to time. In ancient India, women enjoyed equal status with man in all fields of life, she received the same education like man. During the medieval period, the status of women went down considerably. The position of women in modern India has changed considerably. Today her position is equal to that of men, socially, economically, educationally, politically and legally. India was one of the first countries in the world to give women the right to vote. The Indian Constitution is one of the most progressive in the world., and guarantees equal rights for men and women. Despite the advances women have made in many societies, women’s concerns are still given second priority almost every where. They continue to face discrimination and marginalization both subtle and blatant and do not share equally in the fruits of development. It is noted that through the concerted public action that women’s freedom and equality will move from being words to reality.

Sudhir Kumar (2006) in his research article highlighted that the true nature of social inequalities and disabilities that hamper women by giving special opportunity for participation in representative structure of local government. He emphasized that the real political empowerment of women needs an attack on material problems that limit their participation. Poverty, malnutrition, ill health and illiteracy are the most dominant factors that contribute greatly in their political negligence. The participation of women legislators in assembly proceedings as it appears, is not so much determined by the gender factor as it is by their numbers. This paper aims to study the political participation of women in India and more particularly in Uttar Pradesh. In India a region of conflicting and paradoxical complexities, affirmative measures are being adopted to institutionalize women’s participation in politics. But the central issue in women’s participation is how for they have assumed the role of citizen beyond their traditional roles in family and kinship. While assessing their political participation, we will; primarily focus on women as voter and as an elected member.
Manas Chakrabarty and Vidyawati Agarwala (2006) in their book entitled ‘Women & Politics in India’ highlighted the role of the Women Parliamentarians in India. It is known to every body that even prior to the attainment of India’s Independence, the womenfolk came out from within the four walls of the house. The clarion call of Swaraj led many women to come to the forefront of politics and sacrifice their lives at the alter of the nation. The trend continued even after the attainment of Independence. The women are taking part in politics in more and more number. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts are definitely path breaking in this regard. It lit a new hope in the minds of the women folk that they have an equal share in the administration of the country. Today, they take part in the local administration, in state politics and also in national politics in more and more number. Their role inside the Parliament is also becoming very significant day by day. Naturally, studies regarding the role of women are gaining more and more importance. The present work has taken into account the role of the women Parliamentarians in great detail. It has made a humble attempt to make analysis of the role of each member of the House as far as possible. This work is a significant addition to the existing literature on women and politics.

Subha, K. and B.S. Bhargava (2007) in their article on “Feminism and Political Empowerment of Women - The Karnataka Experience”, observed that, the PRIs have provided space for women to articulate, influence decision-making and to work towards improving the neglected field. Women should mobilize themselves and the community to demand the basic health need. The women representatives should act as motivators and spread awareness in this regard as their presence will ease communication with hither to unexposed women in the villages. Formation of women’s groups will improve access to services and increase the sensitivity of programmes to women needs.

Pamela Singla (2007) in his book on "Women participation in Panchayati Raj : Nature and Effectiveness", observed that, discrimination against women is one of the most pervading social phenomena. Even though women constitute half of the world's
population, they are not equal partners in decision-making. They are relegated to a secondary position, be it the household, society, work place or governance. The crisis is deeper in the developing countries. Even though in the 21st century, empowerment and participation are the buzz words, yet women participation in governance still remains a distant dream. The goal of women empowerment is not just to change the hierarchical gender relations but also to change all hierarchical, relations in society, class, caste, race and ethnic relations.

Purusottam Nayak (2008) made an attempt to analyze the status of women empowerment in India using various indicators based on data from secondary sources. The study reveals that women of India are relatively disempowered and they enjoy somewhat lower status than that of men in spite of many efforts undertaken by government. Gender gap exists regarding access to education and employment. Household decision making power and freedom of movement of women vary considerably with their age, education and employment status. It is found that acceptance of unequal gender norms by women are still prevailing in the society. More than half of the women believe wife beating to be justified for one reason or the other. Fewer women have final say on how to spend their earnings. Control over cash earnings increases with age, education and with place of residence. Women’s exposure to media is also less relative to men. Rural women are more prone to domestic violence than that of urban women. A large gender gap exists in political participation too. The study concludes by an observation that access to education and employment are only the enabling factors to empowerment, achievement towards the goal, however, depends largely on the attitude of the people towards gender equality.

Harsukhjit Kaur (2008) in his research article published in IJPA analysed the women’s role in Gram Panchayat and Block Samitis accords with the expected role and to study the factors that impede or stand in the way of her expected functioning. For this purpose, first of all the analysis of socio-economic background of the respondents have
been made. A modest attempt has been made to examine the actual degree of participation in the decision-making bodies. The socio-economic profile of women leaders in India in the Panchayt Raj Bodies assumes added importance in the backdrop of the fact that rural women by and large remain under the influence of their family members. Quite a number of factors hinder the successful participation of the grassroot-level leaders. Majority of respondents held that socio-economic norms, illiteracy and attitude of men towards women Panchas were the main hindrances. The study reveals that most of women take active interest in problem of education in rural areas. As they have realized the importance of education, being illiterate, they cannot manage the affairs of Panchayat properly. The 73rd Amendment Act has contributed to the political empowerment of the women and the increased number of elected representatives. They have been given opportunities to participate in the socio-economic development of their area. The potentiality is there but the hidden energy needs to be released.

Jameela V.A., (2009) in his article highlighted the political participation of women in the political process and reasons for marginalization of women in politics in Kerala state. Women’s participation in the political process is critical to the strengthening of democratic traditions and to their struggle against oppression. Political activism for women, as for the other underprivileged groups is integral to social transformation. Jameela identified the obstacles include factors like the strength of the women’s movement, patriarchy, discrimination, illiteracy and poverty and a host of other socio-economic problems that have a direct impact on women’s marginalized participation in politics. In the highest and lowest decision-making bodies of various political parties and trade unions in the state, women’s representation is similarly low. For the growth of genuine and sustainable democracy, women’s participation in politics is essential. Their participation in public life will solve many problems of society. Women’s participation in politics is essential to their advancement. Without their voice being heard at the decision level, how will the women get the changes they need in employment, health, education and access to supportive services.
Ashutosh Pandey and Gautam Vir (2010) made an attempt to examine the exact position of women in Indian politics, society and economy. They discussed women’s empowerment in present world, in general, and its impact on people, society and state, in particular. It is believed that the articles included in this edited volume throw some light on different aspects related to women’s empowerment and be helpful in grasping the problems of Indian society to some extent. They narrated that the globalization raises certain questions that will be central for understanding the ensuing developments in the 21st century. The prevailing status of women in society has now been recognized all over the world as an important indicator of the progress of a nation and its development. The position of women in any society serves not only as an index of its civilization, but also it influences to a great extent the socio-economic development of the country. The position of women acquires a greater importance in a democratic welfare state like India because it manifests the level of their well being and the success of the country in achieving the goal of becoming a people centric state. It is needless to say that women can play their various roles properly only when they possess the necessary awareness, knowledge and skill. But all these depend upon the scope they are given and the status they enjoy in society. This explains the interest of social scientists studying the problems connected with the status of women.

Dr. Pulla Rao (2011) has shown the many dimensions in his edited volume “Women Empowerment : Emerging Dimensions in 21st Century” which is an important work on the Empowerment of women. In his volume contributors highlighted that empowerment is not just confined to the demand for equality, it is gone beyond that as the papers in the volume indicate. The book contained several papers which deal the various issues like self help groups, equality in treatment, political participation, social issues and several emerging dimensions of women empowerment during the years to come.
Dr. Pulla Rao (2011)\textsuperscript{69} highlight that the gender gap in India is quite strong and conspicuous in vital areas like literacy, health, labour participation and political representation. The problem is particularly serious in India, and certainly deserves public attention as a matter of public policy. The volume is engaged in the study of work participation, capability, knowledge, self-respect, self-objectivity, access and control over the resources by women. Some of the case studies in this volume throw light on the dimensions of discrimination and the struggles undertaken by women brave women in achieving the desired social goals.

Dr. Pulla Rao (2011)\textsuperscript{70} examined the status of women in India is a contested terrain as there are protagonists and antagonists of the conditions of women. There is definitely some progress in the condition of women in modern India compared to the past. Modernization and the development of educational facilities for women have changed the conditions to a large extent. But, the empirical reality seems to be different from what we perceive about the status of Women in India.

Dr. Pulla Rao (2011)\textsuperscript{71} in his edited volume states that despite some favorable traditional values and emergence of powerful women personalities down the ages, the position of women is not very encouraging in the country. The political representation by women in local, district, State and national level bodies are insignificant which is common particularly among socially deprived sections. The contributors to the volume have examined political dimension of discrimination against women with caste studies at local bodies, state and national level participation of women. The book is timely in providing data and analysis for a serious discussion o the women’s reservation bill.

There are numerous research studies, books, articles and monographs dealing with topics like women and politics, women and reservations, political empowerment of women, women and education, women leadership in Urban Rural Local bodies, women
and urban development, women representation in the Urban Local Bodies and Women in Local Governments and so on.

The above studies covered at length in abroad and in India, the states of Maharastra, Kerala, Orissa, Karnataka and other states leaving out Andhra Pradesh. The studies pertaining to Andhra Pradesh at micro and macro levels are scanty.

In the light of the above research gaps, the present study makes an in-depth analysis of the representation of women in Urban Local Bodies in Andhra Pradesh after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and the reservations introduced by Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1994 without effecting any major changes in the existing system of local bodies in Andhra Pradesh.
REFERENCES


4. Ibid.,p.2


14. Source: mdsurie@asiafound.org.


20. Ibid., p.84.


36. Ibid., pp.53-81.


53. Dr. Y. Indira Kumari and Dr. B. Sambasiva Rao, Empowerment of Women and Rural Development, New Delhi, Serials Publications, 2005.


