1-Historical Resume

2.1-1 Participation of women during the freedom struggle:

The western education revolutionised the position of Indian women not only in the sphere of knowledge but also in the social, economic and political field. Romila Thapar writes, “The last quarter of the nineteenth century brought a tremendous momentum into Indian middle class life. It saw the birth of political movement for national independence. The formation of Indian national Congress in 1885 with its initially limited demand for Indian representation in Government was to lead the demand for total independence. Inevitably, the women’s movements came to be linked with this broaden movements and in order to acquire the understanding that they had to participate as well.” By now women had acquired a personality in their own right.

Lakshami Raghuramia writes, “It was inevitable that women should seek to express their new idea in the political as well as other sphere and this new movement should link itself with the Political embodiment of the new Indian National Congress.” Thus the struggle for political freedom also because the struggle for emancipation of women.

The outbreak of 1857-58 war the first war of independence which out of the frustration, humiliation and injustices of an alien rule. The part played by the
women in this great struggle like Rani of Jhansi, Rani of Ramgrah and Begum Hazrat Mahal are amongst the bravest and best militant leaders of Indian, invited admiration ever from the English people.

The birth of India National Congress in 1885 furnished a political platform to women. Most of the Indian political were western educated person. Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj movement gave impetus to political awakening. The National movement in India did not begin with the idea that Indian should liberated from alien control domination. The stress was on the social reform, initiated Raja Ram Mohan Ray. Vidya Sagar and Brahma Samaj. The transformation of the social reforms movements in to the movements for political freedom took a long time. Even the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was not meant to wrest political independence. The organization in its early years was something like an annual get-together of the affluent and the educated peoples. While they were concerned for the welfare of country their activities were restricted to demand for small concessions and they sought through well phrased and polite resolution the redress of grievances and pleaded for greater participation of Indian in the service and administration,” Through the establishment of Indian National Congress was not aimed political step towards the creation of political awaking in the country.

2.1-2 The Indian Congress and the participation of Indian women till world war 1st:

From 1885 to 1900 role of Indian women was confined to social reforms. “During this period Pandit Ramabai Rande, Maharani Tapasvani, Swarn Kumari Devi, Franchina Sorabji and lady Harnam Singh worked in the field of women education,
Political Participation of Women in India Politics

important in the condition of Hindu women, prudah, Medical aid and infant care. Towards the close of the century many more ladies took up the cause of women’s education in particular and also contributed to the literature of the land, like in Maharasta Miss BharSamaskar, Godavi bai and in Gujrat Miss Patrick Parsi lady who conducted the Stri Mitra Mandal, Mrs. Putli bai and in Bengal Mrs R.N. Rai, Mrs Gindra Mohini, Mrs Pramila Nag and many others.”

The contribution of Indian Women to the national struggle was lacking in the early years for the simple reasons that they were ignorant and uneducated. The social freedom of Indian women was necessary for their participation in the freedom movement. Smt Swarn Kumar Debi and Kadambini Ganguli were the first two delegates who spoke from the congress platform in 1889 at Bombay session of the Indian National Congress. While moving the vote of thanks to the President Mrs.K.Ganguli is reported to have said “Indian’s freedom would uplift Indian’s women hood.”

The participation of Bengali women was started by meeting at Jemo Khand village to protest against British Government. They contributed their ornaments to the National fund. Miss Kumudini organized a group of women to help the revolutionary Leaders and to contribute revolutionary literature.

In Punjab Smt Sushila Devi, Smt. Har Devi and Smt Parani spread the national consciousness among people. In Delhi, Agyawati addressed public meetings to preach against castism. Sister Navedita’s contribution for exceeds other in the course of Indian National Freedom. Sarla Devi worked as secretary of “Bhart Stri Maha Mandal”.

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Women outside India also did best to make the cause of Indian Nationalism a success. Most important of these who worked for the revolutionary activities were Mrs Shyamji Krishan verma, Miss P.Narogi, Miss. M. Chatopadhyay and Madam B.K. cama. B.K. cama established contact with nationalist of Ireland, Russia, Egypt and Germany. She launched a vigorous campaign for swaraj in America, while the women in Indian were fighting’s the battle of freedom the women in south Africa were taking training in satyagrah. During this period. When the revolutionary activities were in full swing. There was the declaration of First World War.

2.1-3 Participation of Indian women during world war first (1914-1918):

The Political scene of India after 1911 was Significant for reason more than one. Firstly, the cancellation of the partition of Bengal remarked the cause of agitation and removed mainly led by the Bengali extremists women. Secondly the declaration of world was first in 1914 was a sort of Promise to introduce democracy in all those countries that helped the aliens in the war. Unfortunately during this period there was no active leader to lead the national movement.

Annie Basent came to India in 1893 from 1903, She started her work of social reform continued up to 1913, She associated her self with Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Bomeros. During this period. She started her crusade against caste system, child marriage and unsociability. She established Hindu college at Banars. She Organized movements for the emancipation of women. Mrs. Basent observed that, “India is not ruled for the prospering of the people but rather for the profit of her conquerors and her sons are being treated as the conquered race”.

Political Participation of Women in India Politics
In 1914, She was elected a delegate for congress session where a resolution was passed for reciprocity between India and the colonies in the matter of emigration. The year 1915 was the starting point of Annie Basent’s political activities. Ever since 1878. She was charging the British Empire for making the life of Indian’s miserable. She had purchased the Madras standard Press in July 1914. She started a paper called New India. She wrote, “The fate of British Empire hangs on the fate of India and therefore, it is but wisdom and prudence to keep India contented by granting home rule to her. “India was a tremendous reservoir of man power, for greater than America and Home rule India was, “a asset to empire in the struggle against German militarism.”

The greatest contribution of Mrs. Besant was the formation of home rule league in the congress session of 1915 in Bombay. Her purpose was to bring India and Great Britain close at each other. She declared, “One thing that lives very near to out heart its to draw Great Britain and India nearer to each other by making known in Great Britain something of India movements and of the men who will influence from her the destinies of the empire.” In 1916 she made congress to fight the cause of Home rule league fervently. In 1917, She was arrested but under the pressure of Home Department, Mr. Wadia, Mr. Aruale, Mrs. Besant were released on 17th September 1917. On coming out from the prison she formed United Front and toured Madras, Banaras, Allahabad and Bombay. The same year she becomes the president of the Indian National congress.
2.1-4 Women’s Participation in Independence Movement from 1921-35:

Before the advent of Gandhiji on the Indian scene, politics was not a sealed book to the women of India. They had become rulers, administrators and warriors in the past. In the age of Gandhiji also women did take part in the national and Political movement of the country. Gandhiji was a foresighted man and he saw in women the great qualities of head and heart patience, endurance capacity for sacrifice and sufferings.

From the very beginning of his Political activities, Gandhiji associated him-self with women and took their help as and where necessary. In the early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, he encouraged women including his wife Kasturba to participate in the political activities in South Africa. Kasturba was arrested along with some other women and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment.

In India also, Gandhiji sought cooperation of women in his non-violent struggle for the freedom of the country. He called upon them to join the Indian National Congress and take part in the movement of Swaraj. He wrote in 1921 “I expect great things from the women. I expect them to do their full share in the struggle. Let government capture every one of our soldiers. I do not mind our work is as very easy that even our women can carry it without difficulty ”. Thus at the call of Gandhiji Women began to join the Indian National Congress and they contributed a great deal to the strength and popularity of the said organization. In 1921, at its 36\textsuperscript{th} session of Indian National Congress held at Ahamdabad, member 131 ladies were active as volunteers, 14 women were member of the subject committees and 144 attended the session as delegates.
Women did not enter in politics as silent spectator but as active participant in the drama of non-violent struggle for freedom. During the non-cooperation movement (1920-22), the women came out in large numbers from their purdah, took out and led processions and attended meeting. Not only this, but they bravely faced the police wielding lathis, bore any suffering and humiliation and welcomed even imprisonment.

The women helped Gandhiji in the implementation of his constructive programmes also by spinning, wore and sold Khaddar. In Bengal, Smt Basanti Devi, Smt. Urmila Devi Smt. Sunita Devi, organizers of Nari Kram Mandir were the first ladies to offer civil resistance to the government. They went in to the streets asking people to by and use home spun Clothes. The government arrested them on the charge of obstructing the gentle men of Calcutta by compelling them to buy Khadi. At this juncture, Gandhiji declared, “The women of India should as much share in winning swaraj as man”10 Gandhiji asked the whole nation to welcome this innovation and women to take up the challenge and organize themselves. The country responded to his call and the arrest of ladies produced the desired effect. The Deputy commissioner had hit Hem Nalni Ghose on her head with a stick at a public meeting in Bhawanipur. Smt Urmila Devi openly and boldly gave evidence the Dy. Commission and among all the witness, she alone gave out her name the other witness, She alone gave out her name, the other witness being indicated only by initial. Smt. Basanti Devi presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Chittagong in 1922. In Allahbad, Smt. Swarup Rani Nehru women w/o Pt/ Moti lal Nehru participated in the movement. In Maharashtra, smt Kasturba Gandhi was in forefront of the struggle. Women helped Gandhiji in the collection of amount for
Tilak’s Swaraj found. They gave him subscriptions in the form of cash and ornaments. In 1921 Anupama Devi gave her all ornaments to Gandhiji.

Among Muslim ladies the name of Abida Bano Begum popularly known as Bai Aman, mother of Ali brother stand foremost. She toured extensively and preached the message of Khadi and Hindu Muslim unity which had become an article of faith with her. She also worked in the Khilafat movement. At the same time, Mrs. Abdul Quadric was active at Lucknow.

In the district of Ganjam, the sister of Sri V.V.Giri had courted arrest along with other members of the family. Caption Parin, granddaughter of Dada Bhai Naroji, Mani Behn Patel, Daughter of Ballabh Bhai Patel, Nandu Behn Kanuga and Smt. Sarojini Naidu also participated in the movement.

The member of women participating in the first non-cooperation movement was not very much but their spirit of service and sacrifices was very much appreciable. Gandhiji was satisfied and he observed on 14th June 1921 “No other class of people in the country has shown evidence of as much awakening as the women”.

Women also joined the no tax campaign started at Bardoli in 1928. The name of Miss Behn Patil, Smt. Bhakti Behn Desai, Mani Behn Patil and Mrs. Sharda Metha were associated with this movement. Miss Patil, the daughter of a respectable Bombay Parsi millionaire gave effective leadership to the women of Bardoli.

Indeed women created an epic. They took part in almost every sphere of activity. They made and sold salt to all section of the peoples. They composed and sang songs took parbhat pheris, held banners, unfurled flags and raised slogans. They
also organized classes to train women for the national cause. They defied section 144, held meetings and demonstrations. They started and led processions and when interrupted, they faced the Police and their weapons and courted and filled the jails.

Pt. Nehru’s whole family plunged into the Satyagraha movement. Kamla Nehru’s w/o Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Krishna his sister had joined the rank of volunteers. They along with Vijay Lakshami, another sister of Pt. Nehru and other male members, joined the movement and suffered penalties. Both the sister, Krishna and Vijaya Lakshmi were sentenced to imprisonment for an year.

The women of Delhi achieved great success in getting many shop of liquor and foreign clothes closed. Satyavati made a great name by taking part in procession, picketing and distributed revolutionary literature. In course of her trail, she is said to have spoken “We have abandoned our homes and children to redeem our motherland from foreign bondage and neither the threat of Qungenas nor of bullets and merciless beatings can deter us from the duty we owe to ourselves and coming generation in wining India’s freedom”. In Delhi Jail, Mr. and Mrs. J.M. Sen. Gupta had to go on hunger strike in sympathy with other prisoners whose food was uneatable.

In Bengal, Nari Satyagrah Committee, Mahila Rashtriya sangh and Ladies picketing board had established to intensify the various activities connected with the movement. Smt. Urmila Devi, Sister of Desh Bandhu was the president of Satya-Graha committee and revered mother of Subhash Chandra Bosh was the President of Rashtriya Sangh.
During 1930s, ladies took out their own procession in Calcutta and also led them and addressed meetings. In Bengal, among the women revolutionary leaders the name of Sunita Choudhary, Shanti Ghose, Miss Beena Das Preeti Lel Waddeker, Smt. Leelalati Jathi, Kalpana Dutta and Miss Benna Lata Das Gupta are worth mentioning.

Punjab was also not behind in the movement. Mrs Lado Rani Zushi was the leading figure in the movement. She was an active member of the Congress and took keen interest in politics since 1919. During the salt Satyagrah of 1930. She threw herself with heart and soul in the movement. The daughter of Mrs Zushi Janak Kumari, Swadesh Kumari and Mohan Kumari followed their mother. Parvati Devi, the daughter of Lala Lajpat Rai was another famous figure in the movement. She had refused to execute any bond and welcome fine and jail.

In south India also women took part in the movement. In Madras Smt Rukmani Lakshmipati was in the forefront of the movement. She was the president of the Provincial Congress Committee. She was arrested in the salt campaign. Another lady was Durga Bai Deshmukh who was appointed the director of the War Council and she played her role quite well.

The women of Madras also played a prominent Role in organizing the young people. Indra Gandhi at the tender age of 12 had organized 6000 children in Allahabad. On 8th January 1932 Women’s India Association ventilated its protest against the arrest of Gandhiji and also against the role by ordinance regulation. Annie Besant also continued her activates in the interest of India until her death in 1933. She had opposed Simon Commission and favored Nehru report.
In the Indian National Congress, Women also had joined the rank of volunteers in Bombay. The Nari Satyagraha Sangh of Bengal, Stri Swaraj Sangh of Gujarat, Sevika Sangh of Allahabad and Swayam Sevika Sangh of Kerala also were important organizations to serve the country. Addressing a women volunteer training camp at Bombay in 1931, Jawahar Lal Nehru had emphatically said that man or women born in India should be soldier irrespective of sex or community. Women came upon the scene not merely as privates in the Congress army but as Lieutenants and Generals and one Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as Commander-in-Chief. The Women of India underwent all sorts of sufferings and made various sacrifices. About 2000 Women from 18-70 year of age went to prison during the period of 1930-32. Some were of them were with their babies in the arms were expecting babies and some quite young girls some of them had left their near and dears ones at home. Thus, women served the country in various capacities. Gandhiji was very much impressed by the activities and sacrifices of Indian women and is said to have remarked, “The part of women of India played will be written in the letters of gold”.

The Congress Working Committee had met at Allahbad on 27 June 1930 and passed the following resolution. “The committee notes with grateful appreciation that women of India are continuing to take part in the national movement and bravely suffering to take part in the national movement and bravely suffering assaults, ill treatment and imprisonment.”

Kunwar Rani Ganvanti, Maharaj Singh, w/o the then home member of U.P. Government was of opinion that if the women of India had not joined, Gandhi’s
political movement would not have been so successful. In fact the credit of the success of the boycott movement went more to the women who decided not to wear or use soft foreign clothes and who also did not put any obstacle in the path of their man folk.

2.1-5 The Role of Indian Women under the Act of 1935 and After:

The Government of India Act 1935 was passed by British Parliament, which gave a new constitution to India. Under this act provincial autonomy was introduced which provided an opportunity to Indian women to get elected to the State Legislatures and also to act as administrators. In the elections held in 1937, 8 women were elected from general constituencies and 42 from the reserved constituencies. Five were nominated to the upper house. When ministries were formed 6 women took office, one as minister and others as Dr. Speakers and Parliamentary Secretaries,‘”.

In the field of actual administration, Vijay Lakshami Pandit played a significant role. In 1929 when the Congress Party passed the resolution for complete Swaraj, Vijay Laxmi Pandir was a witness. She took active part in civil-Disobedience movement and was arrested on 27th January 1932 and was put behind the bars for one year. She got elected to the Allahabad municipal Board in 1935 and served as Vice-President of women’s League for peace and Freedom. On 29th July 1937 she was minister for Local self Government in U.P. In 1939, Mrs. Vijay Laxmi Pandit reigned but she continued the political activities.

In Assam, Kanak Lata Barus and Bhageshwari sacrificed their lives and Mrs Anuprya Barua and Sudha Lata Dutta had to under go in-human treatment at the
hands of Police. In Bengal, the women organised Khadi Centers and setup a Bhagini Seva Sangha with the object of protecting the honour of the women. Kalpana Dutta played a prominent role in this movement. In U.P. The women students of Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow suffered heavily at the hands of Police. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur led the movement in Punjab. In Madhya Pradesh Anusuia bai Kale organized Bhagini Mandal and spread the movement there. Sarojnini Naidu, Kamla Devi, Mira Behn, Khurshed Behn and Usha Metha worked in India and out side in the support of this movement. Miss Usha Metha was involved in the Radio Company case. In Mysore three women were sentenced to transportation for life. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalari and Mrs. Aruna Asif Ali worked at the national level and coordinating the movement going on in different provinces.

The political participation of Indian women was confined not only to India but some of them even went outside. The women are spread over Singapore, Malaya, Thailand and Burma. Several women joined the Indian National Army. Rani Jhansi regiment of the India National Army was having women soldiers only. Dr. Lakshami Swami Nathan was the most important woman of Indian National Army. She was the Commander of Rani Jhansi regiment and also the Minister of social Welfare and Medicine in the Azad Hind cabinet.

2.1-6 Women Participation in Political Parties in Post – Independent India:

After independence Mrs. Indira Gandhi In1950 led women department of India national congress. She addressed the presidents of pradesh congress committees and impressed upon them the need to extend proper cooperation for the organizational work among women. Emphasis was laid on the need to organize women’s department in vigorous manner. The call of Mrs Gandhi helped to galvanize the women’s movement with in the congress. Women’s clubs were started in every pradesh and monthly journal under the title “women on the march” was launched.

Apart from Mrs Gandhi, the congress party had a good harvest of women leaders. Notable among them were sarojini Nadiu, Mrs Vijay Lakshami Menon and Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali etc. Mrs Pandit was the first woman Ambassador from our country to Russia and then USA. She later become the President of United National General Assembly which was the highest office ever held by any women. Mrs. Lakshami menon served as State for External Affairs in the union Government.

In the first general election of 1952, nineteen women were elected and nominated to the Lok Sabha. In the state government also, women holding the office of minister and Dr. Minister. The general elections of 1957 and 1962 further increased their number as legislators both at the State and the central level. The bulk of women legislators to the congress party. The number of Congress women member in the first Lok Sabha was 14, in second Lok Sabha 22, in 3rd 28, in 4th 21, in 5th 15, in6th 6 and after the election of 1980 there were 20 women members in Lok Sabha. In the general election 2004, 44 women elected for Lok Sabha out of in Lok
Sabha 539. It determine a continuous women involvement in active Political participation.

2.1-7 Historical overview of panchayati Raj:

This part presents a panoramic view of Panchayati Raj ever since its inception up to its present stage. This will involve an attempt to describe the pattern of political organization in village in India. The pattern be reviewed during different historical periods such as ancient. Medieval British Raj and post independence.

(A)- The Ancient and Medieval Period:

Vedic India was predominantly rural agricultural and there are many Vedic hymns praying for the prosperity of villages but rarely for town cities. The village and administration, therefore, developed in the early. The Village headman and the Village assembly developed as the core of administrative set up Sabha and Samiti of the Vedic period were popular assembled at the central level and enough authentic evidence has been made available, by now, to prove the existence of republics (gansa) in ancient India.

Prof Diksha (1932) describes that the provincial administration under the Maurayas was fairly well developed and the district and Villages were accepted as units of administration. The autonomy of the Village was more or less full. The central administration did not interference with the rural administration that was in the hands of Villages communities, in to be economically self sufficient and enjoyed complete autonomy.
The extent of local government in ancient India is stressed through references to Gramini, the head of the village who could revenues and act on the advice of the council of elders. In Mahabharata the term Gran Sabha (village union) and in the Jatakas mentioned Gram Sabha (Village Assembly).

Charles Matcalf says, “The old Panchayats were a spontaneous growth from the people and did not depend on say statutory regulations. They served society based on Verna Ashram, Dharm. The gramini village headman of the Vedic India was definitely a hereditary functionary and even other members were chosen through informal procedure. The domination of higher caste in the old Panchayat indicated the emphasis on traditional leadership in the village. The Panchayat of the old time were also conspicuous by the totality of there function. They were basic units of Government of village. Protection against external attack, theft, of internal quarrels and agencies of revenue collection were most important functions and judicial medieval India.

The Mughals interfered a very little with the ancient customs of village government, but they were interested in it only for revenue or law and order. Village was incorporated in their administrative set as a unit of revenue and policy only. The judiciae powers of the Panchayat were curtailed. Gradually, it came under the spell of the feudal lords and become an oligarchic body based on hereditary title of ascriptive base.

J.H. Drummond find them (Panchayats) as conservative bodies, often “dilatory unenterprising and far Impartial” these Panchayat were not democratic bodies, but Tinker argues that they had certain democratic elements in their operation. The
entire village population nourished a sense of participation in its proceedings. Since its sessions were open to public and permitted active association of the onlookers.

By 1850’s the deceive of the old tradition was almost completed, although scattered oases could still be found in a vast desert. The following extract explains this situation “Though there may have been between the sixth and ninth Century A.D. some period when the Panchayat was a live institution with a deficit function, this applied only to certain areas, and through of rest of India, the Panchayat was little more than a committee of village elders whose function varied widely in proportion with status of village concerned.

(B) The British Periods:

After seizing an administrative foothold in Bengal during 1765 as the result of victory over combined forces of the Mughal Emperor and Nawab of Bengal, the East India Company started on territorial conquest in various parts of India. By about the mid-forties of the next century it had become the ruling power all over the country. A highly centralized system of administration was built up in the country. The descendant traditional Panchayat along with several other native institutions began to fade out in the context of political administrative change in the country. New institution begins to be set up. One of these was municipal body.

In 1888 the East India cased to be the ruling power in India the British government took its place formally.

The government of Governor General may pass a resolution and mentioned a need for development, particularly municipal institution. This resolution also
mentioned a provision to gradual formation of statutory rural board with civic function.

Twelve year later a liberal minded Governor General Loard Ripan council passed another resolution in council. It declared the primary aim of local- self government set up as political education of people. For rural areas the resolution recommended that district and sub-district boards with two-third elected members and non-official chairpersons should be set up to perform basic civic functions Control of government over these bodies should be from outside rather than in side.

The provinces were asked to implement the resolution in context of prevailing condition there fresh laws were passed in provinces in term of this resolution however were variation in their contents as in same provinces official chairman and majority of non-elected members continued. Elections to sub-district board membership was on the basis of very narrow over the board was quite strong and the comprehensive. Franchise and power of boards were very limited. However, the revolution does country. Madras and Bombay provinces had actively functioning boards.

In 1907, Royal Commission inquired in to structure and working of local self-government. As regards rural-self local self-government in particular. It recommended revamping of sub-district and district boards and also setting up of a network of village Panchayats with informally elected members and with village headman as its chairperson. The Panchayat was to be empowered not one to provide elementary civic service but also to perform minor judicial function. The commission thus recommended a three- tire rural bodies system by additions of
village Panchayat to the sub district and district board already in existence in most of the rural areas in provinces.

So, British Government was interested in Panchayati Raj, but the Panchayati Raj bodies or so-called rural local self-government note actively and appropriately performed their duties. Leader use to these bodies in their own interests. Village elite domination captured to these bodies and depressed class remains depressed from political participation in rural politics.

Dr. B.R. Ambedker, thus opposed to Panchayat Raj, because of upper caste person will capture to Panchayat leadership and exploitation of lower caste persons will increase.

(C) Post- Independent Period:

(I) View of Policy makers:

During the first decade in Independent India. Union Government adopt certain legislative and administrative measures with a view to expanding and developing ruler local-self government. In this connection three main influence to make an impact upon policy makers. These were-

(a) View point of Mahatma Gandhi: A very significant influence over the public leaders in regard to development of rural local self-government has been of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the India. In his writings and statement he drew attention of the people and government to the urgent need of rebuilding of the village as self –deficient and self –reliant with the village Panchayat playing the
central role in encouraging and supporting productive and creative activities among the people. According to him “ greater power of the Panchayat better for the people as true democracy has to be worked from below by the people ever village.”

(b) Provision of Constitution: The constitution of India promulgated in January 1950 for setting up a democratic and semi-federal political system, includes a provision of relating to the Panchayat. Though the draft constitution did not include and mention about Panchayats, some prominent member of the constituent assembly, include Gandhian philosophy regarding self-government village, succeeded in getting it included in the final draft. The Article 40 in the chapter, on Directive Principles of State Policy states that “The state should take steps to organize village Panchayat and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable then to function as units of self-Government.” This constitution directive has tended to motivate the union Government and State Government, to think about adoption of measures for development of the panchayat in the century. During first decade in independent India fresh laws were passed in many States to democratize the structure develop more and expand the spatial coverage of the Panchayat.

(c) Five year Plan: The area of planned development started in the decade of fifties with launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951-52. Since Development Plans have been growing in domination, scope, diversity and complexity. This includes also strengthening of local self-government to play a role in local development processes. People’s participation through representative local bodies
Political Participation of Women in India Politics

is envisaged to energize these processes and also make these more relevant and responsive to people's needs and expectations.

So, these influences make a strong plan for organizing local self-government bodies at the village level. Various state government, followed the directive of union constitution and build network of local self-government in rural areas, by local persons take participation in their development.

(II) Community Development Programme (1952):

As a part of planned development initiated in the country, the first national rural development programme, named Community Development Programme (CDP), was launched by the State Government at some place in 1952 and later began to be extended to many parts of the country in a phased manner.

The basic premise on which CDP rests is to motivate the rural to undertake self-reliantly community-based approach to improvement of economic and social conditions of their life and environment. The Government is to provide general guidance and technical-cum-financial assistance for reinforcing the community promoted programme, of activities as need be. A few year later a development programme with limited scope and funding named as National Extension Service (NES) was introduced as produce to the launching of (CDP) in the remaining rural areas of country.

At the village level Panchayat began to be given responsibility for motivating rural people for community-based developmental activates and also for implementation of minor developmental schemes under these programmes.

Mehta Team Recommendation: The Community Development Programme began to get increasingly bureaucratized and elite dominated and excessively politicized. Corruption, malpractices, favoritism and wastages of funds began more its efficacy and its public image.

So, the National Development council appointed a committee on Plan Projects to look in to this problem. This committee appointed a study Team in 1956 under the chairmanship of a senior legislator, Balwant Rai Mehta, to review critically community Development Project and National Extension Service and suggest for effecting economy and improving efficiency in their implementation.

The team was also asked to examine, “ The extent to which Community Development Movement has succeeded in utilizing local initiatives and creating institution to ensure community in the process of improving economic and social condition in rural areas.”

The planning commission had already been advocating the village Panchayat should be strengthened and linked with democratize organization in higher level and that this new democratic set up should gradually be given responsibility for taking over development, administration and even same aspect of general administration with in a district.

The team found that “on of the least successful attempts of the Community Development and National Extension Service work is its attempt to evoke popular initiative.”
The Mehta team suggested that:

- The concept of democratic decentralization should from basis for planning and implementation of the community Development Programme.
- National Extension Service should be merged.
- A three-tier rural local bodies should be organized at the village level, Block level and District level, i.e. Village panchayat, panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad. The new Three-tiered local bodies system was named as Panchayati Raj on the suggestion of the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.
- Composition of the Panchayati Raj bodies should be suitably representative of all sections of the society, by and large. For getting optimum result from the Panchayati Raj its three bodies should be in operation simultaneously. District collector/Deputy commissioner being the chairman of Zila Parishad.

In 1958, the standing committee of the National Council agreed broadly with recommendation of the Team. It however recognized that since conditions varied in different parts of the country, the State Government concerned should be free to decide about the exact application of the concept of Democratic Decentralization and its institutional set up.

(IV) Growth of Panchayati Raj (1959-60-1964-65):

Since the end of 1959 a network of Panchayati Raj Institutions began to be built by most of the state Government guided and supported by the Union government as
well motivated by the Planning commission. The three-tiered Panchayati Raj system with power largely devolved upon the Panchayat Sammiti (The intermediate level body) with some adjustment become popular, by and large, with many State Government.

Most of the states did not accept the Metha Team recommendation about Deputy commissioner/District Collector being the chairman of zaila Parishad By 1964-65 the Panchayat Raj began too function in rural areas of 12 out 15 states in India. Hardy any headway was made in then existing union Territories, expect in one (Himachal Pardesh).

Thus till mid-sixties three-tiered panchayat Raj system become matured in all over India except one state and 6 Union Territories.

(V) All India Panchayat Parishad:

In 1958, all India Panchayat parishad was set-up as a non-official and non-party organization by Balwant Rai Metha and others. It begins to establish state level Panchayat Parshad as well. The Parishad has proved a forum to member of Panchayati Raj institutions to meet thought for discussions of issues of common interest and exchange of their experience. It has also sponsored non-official research studies in regard to organization and working of Panchayati Raj .It has organized a number of seminars to focus attention on problem and achievements to Panchayati Raj to focus attention on problem and achievements to Panchayati Raj and the need to improve the working of the existing Panchayati Raj Institutions.
However, it began to realize by be Government and Panchayati Raj Leadership that creation internal actors and environment factors were constraining qualitative standards and tempo of Panchayati Raj in legally in egalitarian and traditional rural society. Cooperation between Panchayati Raj institution District Administration, Municipal Institution Cooperative and Voluntary Agencies concerned with local development processes, was not yet appropriately strong, in short the result achieved during the period of five years were modest of the states of the states and poor in other states. Only in few states, as Gujarat, Maharashtra, these were very satisfactory.

(VI) Stagnation and Decline Period of Panchayati Raj (1965-85):

During the next two decades Panchayati Raj began to stagnate in first tiw year (1965-70) and than started declining in efficacy of its role for promotion and management of development processes in the rural areas in various states except a few. This trend continued till 1985. Its public image and credibility began to suffer a set back. Its powers and function were reduced by executive orders of State Government on ground of inefficiency, corruption, and political functionalism prevailing with in it many states.

During this period neither in the oral sect development programmes nor in the new special anti-poverty programmes the Panchayat Raj Institution were given any substantial participation. Very many States Government began to postponed elections to Panchayati Raj Institution and some eve dissolved or superseded a large number of these Institutions.
Another factor for this decline was growing resentment among common people against rural elite domination of Panchayati Raj by and large, benefits according from its working. As political awareness began to grow among these people, an account of democratic process at work over the year, they began to recent this domination and touted to be apathetic of rural people in many states. Even in Maharashtra and Gujrat in which Panchayati Raj had built image and credibility, it started losing ground to some extent.

(VII) Ashok Metha Committee (1977-78):

A committee headed by an eminent leader was appointed by Janta Party led Union Government in 1977 to inquire into working of Panchayati Raj Institutions and suggest measures to strengthen them, “so as to enable a decentralized system of planning and development to by effective.”

The committee submitted its report next year. It mentioned that Panchayati Raj had been weakened due to adverse factors. Its structure was inadequate and Government support meager to enable it to perform developmental role effectively in a changing socioeconomic environment. In Maharashtra and Gujrat however Panchayati Raj Institution were found to perform their role well on account of structural adequacy and appropriate State Government support. Else were political functionalism, domination graphic olio corruption inefficiency, parochial legalities, power misuse and governmental indifferences and administrative apathy had weekend its performance efficacy and ethics and public credibility.
The committee made recommendation for reform and revitalization of Panchayati Raj based upon the main Premise of “linking institutions of democratize decentralization with socially motivated economic development”. The Panchayati Raj structure, power and function and also its relationship with government as well as with various relevant role effectively in improving social and economic conditions. The committee’s main recommendation for present were as follows:

- Panchayati Raj should be viewed as local government and general effective devolution of powers it should take place.

- Primary unit in Panchayati Raj system should be Zila Parishad and not the Panchayati Samiti, as the Parishad had better leadership and resources (administrative and financial) to play a substantial development role.

- The Mandal with appropriate powers and resources and covering a smaller area than development block and larger one than that of village Panchayat as it would be more effective in management of civic services and development schemes.

- Administrative using of Zila Parisad in particular and also that of the Mandal Panchayat should be suitably staffed and appropriately headed by well-qualified civil servants.

- Below the Mandal Panchayat there should be village committee, including substantially weak section of peoples to perform function allocated to it by the Mandal Panchayt.
Political Participation of Women in India Politics

- There should be direct election of member of the Zila Parishad and the Mandal panchayat with provisions for reservation of seats for scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population as well as reservation of two sets for women.

- In order to provide appropriate coordination between rural development and urban development municipal bodies should have representation in the Zila Parishad and the Mandal Panchayat.

- Political parties should be free to take part in election to Panchayati Raj and participation in its working as this would energies it and make its working cogent and coherent.

- For improving capabilities and reorienting attitudes of people’s representatives and of bureaucracy with in Panchayati Raj a massive programme of education did training should be set up in place of existing limited one.

Though the union Government due to did not accept the recommendations of the committee change of the ruling party with in it, some of these did exercise varying influence upon the Panchyati Raj in a few states. For instance, some years later (1983-85) Karnataka and Andra Pardesh remodeled their respective Panchyati Raj system under these influence.

In west Bengal too after 1978 its viewpoints about participation of political parts in the Panchyati Raj was followed by the State Government.
(VIII) Dr.G.V.K. Rao Committee (1985):

Recognizing the fact that an integrated concept for growth and poverty alleviation would continue to be one of the principal areas of emphasis in the seventh plan, the Government appointed a 12 member Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. G.V.K. Rao in 1985 to review the administrative arrangement for rural development and poverty alleviation programmes. The committee recommended the district should be the basic unit for policy planning and programme implementation.

(IX) Dr.L.M.Singhvi Committee (1987):

To review the functioning of Panchayati Raj Institution and to suggest measures for their revitalization, a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr.L.M. Singhvi was formed in 1987. It recommended reorganization of village Panchayat more viable and suggested more financial for these institutions.

(X) The Constitution (Sixty Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1989:

The bill provided for constitution of Panchayats in every state at the village, intermediate and district levels with the exception of states, which have a population not exceeding 20 lakhs, where states may not constitute the intermediate level. It also proposed that legislature of a state may, by law, endow, the Panchayat with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions to review financial position and vested in the election development Sri P.V.Narashima Rao, decided to draw up a fresh constitution Amendment Bill for Panchayat Raj Institution. The constitution (Seventy Second Amendment) Bill, 1991. The joint Committee, after detailed
deliberations, present its report to Parliament in July, 1992. Taking into consideration the consensus evolved raised by the various leaders of different political parties during the debate held in December, 1992 necessary amendment were brought in by the Government and the Constitution (Seventy Second Amendment) Bill was passed with near unanimity by the Lok Sabha on 22nd December, 1992 and by the Rajya Sabha on 23rd December, 1992 with its ratification by 17 State Assemblies, it has emerged as the constitution (Seventy-third Amendment ) Act, 1993 and come into force April 24, 1993.

(XI) **The Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992 on the Panchayats:**

The constitution (73rd Amendment) Act was passed for the purpose of providing constitutional status to Panchayats, by the Parliament of India in December 1992 and has come in to force April 1993. For the first time a national framework for the Panchayat system has stipulated in the Indian constitution.

The act enshrines in the new part IX of the Indian constitution certain basic feature of the Panchayat system “to important, certainly continuo by and strength tie them.” A list of specified subject for which the panchayat may be empowered the new Eleventh Schedule of the constitution. The main provisions of the act are summarized here.

- The Gram Sabha (Village assembly) shall be set up in every state, compression person registered in the electoral role to the village lying with in the area of the village panchayat. It shall exercise such powers and perform such function as the state legislature legally provides.
A three-tier panchayat system shall be constituted in state. It shall comprise panchayat at the village, intermediate and district level, however a state with intermediate level panchayat.

Membership sets in the panchayat at all level shall be filled by direct selection from territorial constituency.

The state legislative may provide for representation of chairperson of village panchayat in membership of the intermediate panchayat and of chairperson of intermediate panchayat in membership of district level.

The state legislative may provide for inclusion of membership of parliament (MPs) and member of state legislature (MLAs/MLCs) in the membership of the intermediate and district panchayats.

In all panchayat directly elected membership seats shall be reserved for (i) scheduled castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in proportion to their respective population in total population in a panchayat area one-third of these reserved membership shall be for SC and ST women (ii) Women not less than one third of such seats, including the seats reserved for SC and ST women.

Office of chairperson of panchayat at all shall be reserved for SCs and STs in proportion to their respective population in a state not less than one-third of the chairperson office shall be reserved for women.
The state legislative may provide for reservation of membership seat and chairperson offices in the panchayat for backward class citizens.

The normal term of every panchayat shall be five years, if dissolved earlier; fresh election shall be complete with in six month of the expiry date dissolution.

A person disqualified under any law election to the legislature of states or under any law of the state shall be disqualified for being chosen as a member of Panchayat.

A states election commission shall be appointed by the states government and shall visited with authority for supervising. Directly and controlling preparation of electoral role and conduct of all elections.

The state legislature many legal endow the Panchayat with such powers an authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government legal devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayat at the appropriate level by the legislature may enable Panchayat to prepare plans for economic development and social justice as well implement schemes concerning these plans as well as entrusted to them including matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

The state legislature nay authorize a Panchayat to levy and collect taxes duties tools and fees as well as may assign to a Panchayat taxes, duties, tolls and fees divided by the state government and also provide for grants-in-aid from the state government to the Panchayat.
The state governor shall appoint a finance commission with in one year of the commencement of the constitution seventy-third Amendment Act and than after every five years to review financial position of the Panchayats and make recommendation for its improvement and for principles which recommendation for its improvement and for principles which would grown distribution between the state and the Panchayat taxes etc. Livable by the state and for grants-in –aid to Panchayat and determination of taxes, etc. Which the panchyat be authorized to levy and collect.

The Amendment Act applies to all Union territories (Uts). The act shall not apply to the states of Meghalaya. Mizoram and Nagaland. The legislature of any of the states may by passing a resolution by two-third majority extend the act to the state.

The act shall to the scheduled areas and the tribal areas mentioned in Article 244 of Indian Constitution. The Parliament may however extend provision of the subject to any exceptions or modification to these areas.

The act shall not apply also to hill areas in the state of Manipur and hill areas of the district of Darjeeling in the state of West Bengal.

(XII) Implementation of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act:

In three states Panchayat election held in 1994, under direction of 73rd Amendment Act, in eight states held in 1995 and belated in one states in 1996. Other states held Panchayat election after this. Now some states as U.P. Rajasthan etc. Constituted Panchayat second time.
Political Participation of Women in India Politics

**Number and size of Panchayat:** The number of the Panchayat has increased in very recent years. According to an estimate Gram, Panchayat have increased from 217300 to 225000, Panchayat Samities from 4256 to 5100 and Zila Paris had from 375 to 475. These numbers may go up further as very large districts in some states are beginning to be divides into medium ones.

The population covered by the different levels of Panchayat various with in a state and more so across the states. An average population covered by the Gram Panchayat in 700 to 21601. Average population covered by Panchayat Samiti in 2800 to 2.9 million.

**Composition of Panchayat:** A candidate to be elected is to be of minimum age of 21 years. He should not have been disqualified under a law. A few states have imposed also a condition that he should not have more than two children: A.P. Harayana Rajasthan.

Direct election of Panchayat member is obligatory, constitutional discretion has been used in most of the states to include ex-offices and indirectly elected members.

As regarded chairperson while 73rd Amendment Act has allowed discretion for choosing the alternative of direct or indirect election in the Gram Panchayat, it has stipulated their indirect election only in the Panchayat Smiti and Zila Panchayat.

**Reservation for Scheduled Castes:** For these castes of people reservation quotas in states and Union Territories are in proportion to his respective population in total population of Panchayat area in case of directly elected membership and in
proportion to their population to total population of state or U.T. in case of Chairmen office. *One-third of the seats reserved for them is meant for women.* Since the population of SCs varies across the states, the minimum quota for these classes of people differs.

2.1 -8 Panchayati Raj in Uttar Pradesh:

(A) Panchayat Raj System:

U.P. Panchayat Raj Act 1947 was signed by Governor General of 7th December 1947 and Panchayat established from 15th August 1947. In the constitution of the independent India suitable provisions were made for Panchayati Raj in the article 40, for the first time 35000 Panchayat representing 5.40 crores people started functioning in U.P. on August 15, 1949 and about 8000 Panchayati were formed which were later (1955) known as Nyaya Panchayats.

The year 1960-61 was a prominent year for the progress of Panchayats. In this year as per directive of the government of India, the U.P. Kshetra Smiti and Zila Parishad Act 1961 was enforced and Gaon Sabhas, Kshetra Samitis and Zila Parishad were tied as single unit. Election procedure of election of the chief of Gram Sabha and Nyaya Panchayats was changed a secret balloting method was decided for the Pradhan. According to the 73rd amendment Act 1994 of the Indian constitution, U.P. Panchayat Law (Amendment) Bill 1994 was passed. According to the constitution amendment three tier Panchayats i.e. Gram Panchayat, Kshetra Panchayat and Zila Panchayats were accorded statutory status.
(I) Structure of Panchayati Raj System in the State:

According to the three-tiered Panchayati Raj System, Panchayats are constituted at the district level, block level, and village level. At the village level, three types of institutions are presented namely—Gaon Sabha, Gram Panchayat, Nayaya Panchayat.

**Gaon Sabha:** According to the Panchayati Raj Act, article-3 for each of the village of village community (which minimum population is 250) a Gaon Sabha should be established. All the adults and permanent inhabitants are members of the particular Gaon Sabha.

**Gram Panchayat:** According to Article-12 of the Panchayati Raj Act, there is a working committee in each of the village which is called Gram Panchayat. In each of the village except Pradhan and Up-pradhan 7 to 15 members elects on the basis of population. According to Article 11 Pradhan and Up-pradhan of a Gram Panchayat are elected by secret balloting and the are also be the president and vice-president of Gaon Sabha.

In U.P. there is a provision of reservation of seats of the Pradhan and members of the Panchayats for SC/ST and OBC and women which is determined on the basis of population of cast in the area.

According to the article 14 the Pradhan and up-pradhan can be depend by no confidence motion passed by two third majority of members, of Gram Panchayat.
According to Article-38 organize the meeting of Panchayat members is necessary once in a month.

**Function of the Panchayats:** According to Article-15 function of Panchayats are as follows:

Making roads, maintenance, lighting, registration of death birth and marriage, assistance in agricultural development, village level punishment and justice, market, plantation, library and reading rooms and other developments and define related works. In the act there is a provision of constituting three types of committee on the village level.

- According to Article-26 land organizing committee.
- According to Article-29 Panchayat can be constitute a committee for their other planned works.
- According to Article-30, a committee can be constituted for any major works of one or more village.

**Taxation:** There is a right for taxation to Panchayat in Article-34 of Panchayati Raj Act.

**Nyaya Panchayat** : According to Article 42 of Panchayati Raj Act. Nyaya Panchayats are organized in various parts of the state, which includes five to fifteen villages. Nyaya Panchayat solved local distress and some other matters, but since last some time these bodies are not funding properly and now government has made an effort to reconstruct to these bodies with some more power.
Kshetra Panchayat: This is the mid poll of three tiers Panchayati Raj System. A development block includes 10 or more Nayaa Panchayat. Each block have a Chair person of Kshetra Samiti which is called Pramuk and 2 Deputy Chairperson called Up-Pramukh can detected by no confidence motion, passed by two third majority of B.D.C member. According to U.P. Kshetra Samiti and Zila Parshad Act 1961, Article 87(1) each of Kshetra include following committees.

- Working Committee
- Production Committee
- Welfare Committee

Function of Block Development Committee: Block Development Committee has following function to perform,

Work for agricultural development, assistance in corporative movement, canals for irrigation, cooperate to the veterinary hospital, progress in cottage industry, arrangement of drinking water, plans for Scheduled Caste’s development, roads bridges, building constructions planning.

Block Development Committee has not the right of taxation in any form. The budget of Development Block is the budget of Kshetra Samiti. The main source of income of the Kshetra is the received form government.

Zila Parishad: According to U.P. Kshetra and Zila Parshad Act-1961, Article-17, in every district of the state a District Board is established and that whole rural area which is under the kshetra samiti is the working areas of the district. Article-17, of the act provides the provisions of election of Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson
of the District Board. The election of Chairperson will be on the basis of secret balloting, by the members of zila Parishad.

**Works:** Major works of the District Board are following:

- Control on Market and fairs.
- Family Planing Programmes.
- Arrangements of post-primary and higher education.
- Development of means of communication, construction of roads, bridges etc.
- Plantation on the sides of roads.
- Drafting of districts Planning.
- Equal distribution of aids giving by government and all India or state borders and commissions.
- Make a plan for district
- Work of sale and licensing to Board’s Ghats.
- Auction of bones and leather of dead animals.

**Taxation:**

- License Tax
- Tax on markets and shops
- Auction of boat Ghats.
- Taxation on Kazi Haush
- Tax on exhibition and Cinema

There are five types of sub committee of zila Parishad
Political Participation of Women in India Politics

- Working committee
- Finance committee
- Educational committee
- Public works committee
- Public Health committee

As per the UP Panchayat law amendment act 1994 total number of 52125 gram sabhas in Plain district and 6495 in Uttara Khand 58620 in all have been reconstituted. As per seventy third constitutions amended to ensure participation of all the section of society, 12458 posts of village chief are reserved for SC/ST, 15827 for background classes and 19345 for women of all sections.

(B) Program and Achievements:

**Rural Sanitation Program:** Central Rural Sanitation Program is under implementation in the state since 1990-91 improve rural environment and maintain the dignity of women. The important features of his program are as follows:

Toilets costing Rs.2500 including roof and door are constructed for the families. Consisting below the poverty line. The families to the general category are given a grant of Rs.2250 and those belonging to the Scheduled Castes/ Tribes Rs.2375. Remaining portion of the costs it beared by the beneficiaries themselves.

- The villages are selected by Kshetra Panchyats.
- The Gram Sabha has been made responsible for selection of Beneficiates in the village selection by Kshetra Panchayat.
Wide publicity of the programme is made in the selected villages to selection of beneficiaries.

So far 8,90,000 individual toilets, 465 community toilets and 4250 women complex have been constructed in the state.

**Women Toilets Complexes:** 35% cost of women toilets is born by central Government 35% by the state government and 30% by the concerning Gram Panchayat or beneficiary himself. During the year 1996-97 as many as 745 women toilet complexes were constructed in the selected Ambedkar villages.

**Rural Sanitation Center:** Rural Sanitation Service Center is a sale depot to selling sanitary items at reasonable rates. The centers are set up with the help of UNICEF. At present 68 rural sanitation center are functioning in the state.

**Kharanja/Drain Construction in Ambedkar Village:**

Brick-paved roads and drain are constructed in Ambedkar village by the Panchayti Raj department, Under the scheme a maximum amount of Rs.60,000 is made available for construction of 500 meter long brick paved road and drain to the Gram Sabha. Of this amount Rs.54000 is given in the shape of the government grant.

Rs 6000 is borne by the concerning Gram Sabha, during the year brick paved roads and drain were constructed in 3990 Ambedkar Villages.
Construction of Panchayt Bhavan:

- The scheme of constructing Panchayat Bhavan is being implemented by the Panchayat bhavan is constructed at a court of Rs.80,000 out of which Rs 45,000 is made available by concerning Gram Sabha under the Jawahar Rajgar Yojana and Rs. 8,000 is cash or in shape of labour by the Gram Sabha itself.

- During the year (1996), 2047 Panchayat Bhawan were constructed if them, 1474, were constructed in Ambedkar Village 67 in Gandhi Grams and 526 in other Village.

Gram Panchayat Industries: The schemes is under implementations with the view to improving the economy of the gram panchayat and equip them with additional income generating sources. This scheme was started in 1961 with the seething up of Chinhat Panchayat industry in Lucknow. At present 914 Panchayat industries are functioning in the state. Besides, 50 printing presses are also run by these industries.

These industries manufacture chair, table, almirahs, books-cases towel stand-plaques, desks, cots, chakla-belens, windows farmers, cotlegs, sofa-sets, boats, bullock-carts, newar-basins, cement blocks, axes and other from implements, bulkets, power thresher, grain-bile’s, water-tanks, tubs etc. They also manufacture blandest, thumps, bags, dourest, tat-patties, packing sets, flour-mill, baskets, herbal items, slates, woolen sweaters, oil-crushers, shoes, buggies, soap, file-cover, wooden toys, furnishing item for basic school, handloom clothes etc.
2.2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.2 -1 Studies on Political Participation of Women:

The first parts of this chapter reveal that the political participation and political awareness of women are increasing. In 1978, held a seminar in New Delhi on the topic “Development of women and some political issues”, discussed the political awareness and political participation of women and resulted that the political awareness is more than political participation of women. It is recommended to central Governments that women have been provided more seats in MP, MLA, City Municipalities, Zila Parishad and Goan Sabha.

It would be relevant to define of studies made by classical as well as contemporary sociologist related to the political participation of women required as follows:

Smt. Kaur(1947) studied on political awareness of women the in freedom struggle and resulted that the political awareness of women inceate in freedom struggle by the motivation of M.K. Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar.

Santosh (1956) presented theses on the topic of social suction and social legislation related to the women and highlighted the political participation and legal position. She resulted that although the social structure of India is antagonist get the cattiness and participation of women one required according the result of first Lok Sabha election held in 1952.

Vina Mazumder (1979) in the editorial of her book "Symbols of Power " writes that," A large number of politically women told the committee on the status of women in
India that increasing violence character assassination and unscrupulous compaction for positions had becomes participation in any effective manner.

S.D. Muni (1978) Submit that Indian women have largely remained inactive and indifferent forwards politics. "This is accreted for by the absence of such traditions that encourage women in politics, the social pack ward ness of women and above all heavy demands that home and family make on a women time, attraction.

Neera Desai and Bhagwati (1975) conducted a study on political citation of women and told that although women are the member of Lok Sabha, and Randya Sabha, Minister, Governor, Ambassador and on higher post of import at political parties yet the men are dominant in all the level than women.

In India, in sixth five year plan (1980-85) which can be considered as a landmark of women's empowerment. It was realized that women's educational advancement and economic independent is a necessary pre-requisite for empowering women (Chandra1977). In grass root programmes and policy debates alike, empowerment has virtually replaced term such as welfare, enlistment, community to describe the good of development (Batliwala, 1995).

Dr.Vinita Kaul (2000) has articulated the following short comings in the political participation of women (i) Women are not independent voters (ii) that a majority of them are illiterate (iii) that a majority of then make their choke on the basis of suggestions from the made members of the family like their husband and son (iv) that women Lock information's and political awareness so crucial in making on
informed and enlighten choice and (v) Women are not politically consociates.” pp 326-327.)

2.2-2 Studies on Panchayati Raj:

Panchayats have been the backbone of India village since the beginning of the recorded his story. This idea of village republic of M.K. Gandhi has been translated in to reality with the introduction of tree-tier Panchayati Raj system to enlist the people’s participation in rural reconstruction.

Involution of Panchayati Raj was hailed as one of the most important innovation in independent India. It was considered as revolutionary step. It is a step towards decentralization of power.

Caste system is a major characteristic of Indian societies, Authors have try to understand and explain the relationship of castes and polities some specific studies of different levels are briefly reviled.

H.S.Dillon (1955) brought to light on leadership and groups in seven Indian village. He found that leadership is diffused and bases of leader are high social status of the family high economic status and individual traits like interest in village activities, spare time, advanced age, speaking ability and hospitality.

Oscar Lawies(1958) studied dynamics of power in a village near Delhi. He found that wealth is an important criterion for leadership in he village.

John T. Hitchcock (1960) analyzed and compared the use of power and means of securing power of the two leader in a north village of Khalapur and found that both
the Mukhiya and the Principal were yours men from economically well to do Rajput families. Therefore, both caste and economic status are basis of power.

Ratzlaff (1962) presented a case study of the statutory village Panchayat of village Khalapur, Saharanpur District in western U.P. He found that caste, status land ownership and size of joint family are basis of leadership in the village.

Yogendra Singh (1963) sought departure from the earlier pattern of leadership status and conducted a study in six villages of eastern U.P. the found that upper costs in villages increased competition for power term the section of lower costs and class group on organized basis.

Adrian C. Mayer (1963) found it to be true that caste ties help lead to gain power in rural committee system.

In 1964, Pauleegar studied the role of women present in Panchayats and told the role of women is not commendable then men.

Iqbal Naryan (1964) evaluated the impact of election on local leadership in two phases and concluded that new leader use caste, kinship and clear grouping higher social states and family pre-eminence as bases or leadership.

G. Ram Reddy (1967) examined that the social characteristics of Political executives of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Andhra. The study reveals that locking of membership of the upper castes and sound financial help aspirants are hundred in the rise on the leader of rural leadership.
B.R. Chauhan (1968) explained that within a village in any arrangement of a social organization, the caste hierarchy would play a significant role.

Andre Beterille (1969) found in his study in Sripuram village of Tanjore District in South India. He analyzed the radical changes in distribution of power. In addition to caste, the new leaders of villager depend for their power on many factors. These are contacts with Politicians and parts basis outside the village and numerical support with in the village.

T.K. Oommen (1970) examined the structure in four village of Rajasthan state and concluded that the castes which are numerically superior as well as economically dominant are politically the most powerful.

K.L. Sharma (1973) found that Jagridars have downwards mobility in village polities but not in economic position and there is no relation between economy and political power.

In 1974, Dept of social welfare of the Govt. of India appointed a committee to look in to the states of women in India. The report in to the status of India. The report of this committee entitled "Towards equality 1947" is this committee attempt to review the status of women in major attempt to review the status of women in India. The report spatial that it is only through reservation of certain percentage of sects in Panchayati Raj leadership that woman’s effective party captives can be achieved.

Rangnath (1974) studied the changing pattern of rural leadership in 50 village of U.P. He found that the traditional determinants of leadership have not totally
jettisoned like high caste are still powerful but he reveals that education status has gradually come to occupy Prominent Role in the selections of leadership.

Abraham Francis (1974) clarified that what type of community actors are likely to emerge as leader in modern Indian village. He concluded that power under new conditions of change tend to gratitude into the hands of those who operate large farms and maintain connection with government offices, are educated, change prove and active in local community organization.

Sachildananda (1977) presented his study on Harijan elite in Bihar and found that the growth of educational led to the rise of a new middle class in the Harjians. Thus, education is the basis of leadership among Harijans.

The Ashok Mehta committee (1978) maintains that the involvement of women in the development process has always been regarded as an integral part of the development of the village committee.

S.S. Sharma (1979) Studied the identification of leadership of new Panchayati Raj Institution in 66 villages of community development block Bisrakh in Bulandshahar district of U.P. the family in his sturdy that traditional power holders continual to capture power in the new setup. Although the lower sector society also show a tendency to wrest influential position. The basis of power seems to be the problem solving capacity of the leaders and his contacts with officiates and politicians.

B.S. Bharagva, (1979) analyzed the socio-cultural and Political factors like age, caste, occupation, income, education etc., in relation to leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions implies that some of these factors ate important for leadership.
S.N. Mishra (1980) shown in his study of a village of is man district in Bihar that the elite for their own advantage exploits authorities. The widespread control on Panchayats from being agents of social changes through political participation. He turned in his study that chamars, Domes and other scheduled caste are politically unwired and they generally depend on the higher cast for their political guidance.

Pundir (1980) find out in a western U.P. village that the village community consists of member of higher, middle and lower caste, is showing the tendency towards, purisms in sharing the power local level in statutory in sharing the power to local level in statutory Panchayat and other voluntary organizations. The participation of scheduled caste increasing in all these organization. The leadership among the scheduled caste in emerging and caused achieves the position of U.P. problem of the village panchayat and secretary of the voluntary organization.

In 1983, H.D. Lima studied the role of women in Maharastra. She focused her attention on the social background and social awareness of women members.

Singh Sumdran (1987) explain in his study that the scheduled caste people are gradually becoming more conscious about the situation, they don't want status they want prefer to bring about change in the existing structure and want to establish intimate relationship with those who belong to higher caste.

In 1988, the Dept of women and child development conducted a study which was published in the from of a report entitled “National perspectives plan for women 1988 to 2000 A.D. The report submits that there is a continual inequality and vulnerability of seats of seats for women at all levels of Panchayati Raj Institutions.”
Manikaymba (1989) examined the working of PRI and the role of women as beneficiaries and benefactor in the socio-comic and political process of development. She revealed that education and economic status are the two important factors in encouraging women’s participation.

Vinay kumar (1989) shown in his study of four village of western UP. That rural community powers get transferred from “Dominant caste to land less caste” such as scheduled caste.

Ajit kr Danda (1993) tend in his study that so for as panchayat representation in concerned, the higher groups namely Brahmins, Kshetrya and Yadav are very much conscious. Scheduled caste members though represent the panchayat have little role to play in it discern making.

Y. Singh (1993) found in his study that bases of seeking power in panchayats are landownership, honesty, polite behavior of the candidate and his family member played a vital role in winning the election in rural setting.

Chakrabarty and Bhattacharya (1993) described that informal leaders mostly come from the families of the traditional leaders while the formal leadership positions are also shared by the members of these families of the traditional leaders along the others, who too most often come from the relatively well off in the village. Poor of the village are far from power. Decision making power is still in the hand of those who belonging to dominant lineage which have been dominating the village over the years.
Batliwala (1996) analyzing the scenario of Karnataka highlights certain unique and laudable features of women’s experience in PRIs. Karnataka not only introduced women’s reservation in PRIs as early as 1987 but also provided 1/3 reservation for women within each of the OBC, SC and ST categories. Consequently the proportion of women educated to PRIs increased from 25 percent in 1987 to 43.6 percent in 1993. They have not only been elected from women’s constituencies but also from other reserved and “non-reserved” constituencies.

Snehalata Panda (1996) studied a survey of 81 elected women functionaries of Panchyati Raj Institutions in Chatrapur Block of Ganjam District of Orissa explores the emerging pattern of women leadership in rural area. She discovers a positing emerging pattern of women’s leadership role. She observed, traditional social structure and culture milieu have little influence on the perception of the rural people to choose women as Panchayat representatives. Personal merit contributed significantly in the choice of women representatives. Age relative freedom from family responsibilities and communication skills were major determinants for their selection. They have traits of leadership and capability to arrive at a decision, choosing from several alternatives. Guidance from their male colleagues, family members and the villagers help them in developing their participation skills. Their non party background, responsibilities which they shared as change agents and, above all, the class from which they have come, indicate positive directions of change in rural leadership.

Hoshiyar Singh (1997) criticized the 73rd amendment act. He says that there are some lacunas in the act (73rd). This will ensure that even in the upper caste
dominated panchayat, the SC, ST candidates would come to enquire the post of chairperson. This will create social tension in caste ridden and male dominant Indian society.

Arabinda Ghosh (1997) studied that women’s representation as leaders of standing committee are very poor. More women members should be allowed to work as functional leaders of this important institution. On the other hand, women should be allowed to work equally both in development and welfare oriented work. Until panchayats can come out of the so-called inside/out side dichotomy which is now actively prevailing its effectiveness as the vehicle for social change and the institution for social justice and development.

S.Govinda and M.S. Dhadave (1999) analysed the socio-economic background of women leaders reveals that most of the women leaders were Hindus; belonged to younger age groups, had some education and married. A large percentage of women leaders also belonged to the numerically dominant intermediate castes, small and nuclear families. The majority of women leaders came from families having middle or low incomes and cultivating their own lands. The organizational participation of women leaders and members of their families was quite low. A majority of the leaders owned house and possessed one asset or the other. The socio economic background of other women leaders of the developed taluk was relatively better than those in the backward taluks. There was a gradual change being noticed in the composition of grass root level leadership, a factor that can be attributed to the force of modernization and the reservation policy of the government.
Gupta S.K. (2000) find out in his study on women organization in India that the selected women organization in India have played a vital role in some areas of women’s development, especially in the areas of adults education, family planning awareness about various women’s issues/ problems and socio-economic upliftment and income generating programmes.

Awadh Kishor Prasad (2000) analyzed the Indian society which has not been able to completely shake of the feudal mentality and its accompanying complexes, is passing through a transition. Social and religious taboos continue to play a significant role in the Indian society, especially in male-dominated rural area. Free mixing between men and women as restricted especially in case of daughter in law. so women suited to the normal duties of leadership, viz. supervising contacting, canvassing, initiating and debating etc.

G. Palanithurai (2001) observed that women have come to position in the local bodies as provision has been made in the constitution. The outlook of the society towards the women has started changing. But these are hurdles in the process of empowering of women. Steps are being taken by the women on their own to ever come the hurdles. It is along drawn process. A structure which had been created over centuries to work against the interest of women can not be altered overnight. To fight against the existing structure, an organized movement involving masses is imperative.

There are some studies which have been emphasized impact of political participation upon status of scheduled castes as I have previously quoted e.g. Sachehidannad (1977) found that the role of Harijan elite is very crucial in the
modernization and social reconstruction because elites constitute the mirror of change in Indian society. Cohan (1955) in sphere of polities found that the dominance of Thakur’s Panchayat lost its way, but chamar tried to learn how to exercise power at new and higher level casts organization among the Chamars grew stronger. This was due to weakening of pattern-client and landlord-tenancies. Chamars have become more conscious about their collective good name and their rights. Issacs (1965) observed that due to government measures that social mobility has increase among the untouchable. The government officials were having information about the status and problems of scheduled castes and policies were formed accordingly to tackle the problems. But due to lack of upper caste officers till the implementation of the polities could not be done successfully. Further, the benefits were canalized only to privileged section of society. There had been no information with the government about the consequence of its policies. Singh (1980) in his study of village Panchayts of Narainpur block in Mirjapur district observed that the nature of emerging leadership among scheduled castes members to the village Panchayt as scheduled casts leaders. He came to conclusion that the most of the village leaders of scheduled castes were new youth and well to due families amongst their own caste group. Vidharthi (1977) found that through scheduled caste people are politically more conscious now and are aware of their rights, but there are also prevailing some internal factions among scheduled castes because they are affiliated with various political parties and leaders because they are affiliated with various political parties and leaders when they know, cal help them. Parvathmma (1981) also realized that political reservation could not yield good results because of faction within the scheduled caste developed as a
consequence of competition among the scheduled castes developed as a consequence of competition among the schedules caste leader themselves. Sharma (1991) observed that the scheduled caste participation into politics as genuine and effective has been doubtful due to two situations exploitive caste system and incompetent administration. He suggested to his view to achieve the goal an equalitarian and democratic society. More and more educational facilities should be provided to the scheduled caste student to enable them to complete for the administration have to be made responsible to people’s need and accountable for the achievement of goals set up by the political elite. The administrators have to be committed to social transformation on new social order characterized by equality, Liberty and fraternity.

The review of above literature reveals that higher caste plays a key role in decision making in Panchayat Raj Institutions. Persons of deprived class are less aware then upper cast people about Politics. And after independence persons belong to scheduled caste are participating more or less in the Panchayati Raj Institutions.

There has been any in-depth study of the political participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions. We try to know the factors (age, Marital status, religion, occupation, income, family income, membership of political parties, family political background etc.) which effects on the political participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions. In the present study an effort would be made to identify the changing situation of women in rural society through the Panchayati Raj Institutions.
In brief we can say that the role of women and their participation in politics are not studied in depth. Further their role after change in amendment is also not studied well. Thus socio economic background of women leadership, causes of participation roles and relationship with officials in Panchayati raj Institution’s etc. are important to study.