CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION
Democracy is said to be an offshoot of the voices associated with dictatorship rule. Under the latter, people were subjected to untold miseries and immeasurable unhappiness due misuse, overuse and abuse of power. Absence of any built in process to check such adverse and aggressive tendency has created an atmosphere conducive to further exploitation of the grave situation. Further, in such an authoritative and hostile atmosphere, people could neither think of any social, economic and political rights or protection of their property and lives, but to remain speechless, maintain a stony silence, and accept unquestionably anything; be it insults humiliation or death. The scope for expressing one’s feelings or dissent was hardly seen and opportunities to ventilate grievances of the aggrieved against the decisions and actions of the ruling class were bleak. In a nutshell, under dictatorship the right to live and the right to property were subject to the mercy of the rulers and justice whether it is social, economic and political could find little scope and expression. Whereas in democracy, contrary to the authoritarian rule the power is vested in the people themselves who elect their representatives by exercising the franchise.

Elections lie at the heart of democratic process, and are an expression of popular will. It is through the instrument of elections that notions of consent and representation are translated into reality by conversion of vote’s seats in legislature. They reveal the state of the national mind, and open up channels between policy and society; between elites and masses, and between the individual and his government. Elections not only sustain democracy, but enliven it as well.

In the past, women and politics were regarded as occupying the exclusively different areas of society. Politics was understood as a public activity dominated by men, while women were identified above all with a private world of family and domesticity. However this male oriented perspective was seriously challenged, particularly, from the beginning of the 20th century contributing to important changes in perspective towards women’s role in politics.

The emergence of this new trend has drastically changed the domain of women politics and relationship in the last five decades. The increasing involvement of women in mainstream politics and the impact of feminist movements all over the world led to an entirely different approach towards the role of women in politics.
Taking as its starting point the politics in the broadest sense as an enterprise dominated by male, the new approach started exploring several new issues connected with the role of women in politics. Subsequently, women’s participation in politics has emerged as a new field of interest as well as research in different social sciences. The focus of this new field is not only pointed towards the women’s participatory trends but also towards the implications of male dominated politics for women. This trend also tried to offer a theoretical framework for the understanding of gender dimension of politics.

The initial research in the newly emerging field projected several adverse trends in the matter of women’s role in politics. Various research studies conducted in the U.S.A. suggested that the limited role of women in political process of the country.

Studies covering the period up to 1972 show that the male participation in politics exceeded that of women. It has been widely observed that women do not vote in the same proportion as men do. Several relevant studies unanimously confirmed this trend. Studies on the women’s participation in the working of political parties project the same situation. Further there was consensus in the studies conducted in this country that women were less interested than men in the matter of exercising their vote in the elections. An important study conducted by the Michigan University pinpoints that the number of men voters over the women voters in the Presidential Verba and Nie provide data on the participation of women in various political organizations in the United States. They find that in several organizations the presence of women is less than in several organizations the presence of women is less than men even though their number is substantial in one or two organizations: several studies have provided a similar picture in Britain also. This applies both to the national and local elections in Britain. Studies conducted by stokes and others on the general elections held in England in 1964 and 1970 have shown that women’s turn out in these elections was less than that of men.

A similar trend is also evident in other Western democracies. Particularly, this trend could be found in France and Germany and also in some Scandinavian Countries like Norway, Sweden and Denmark. However, this trend is reversed in the case of women’s membership of political parties. Studies show that women are
substantially represented in the two major political parties in England. The position is entirely different in other Western Democracies like France, Germany and Italy where the representation of women in political parties is very much low.

In most East European Countries including Russia women’s participation in the political process was low in the past but improved only recently. In the case of Latin America countries women’s participation up to 1970s presents a dismal picture. It was estimated that the extent of participation of women in elections and their representation in the political parties in these Countries was minimum. For example the estimates show that women constituted less than 20 percent of the total membership in various political parties in Peru and Chile.

In the Indian context the involvement of women in politics continuously is far less until recently. In this country, the participation of women in political process has been a logical outcome of their involvement in the freedom struggle. Unlike the West, where women had launched several movements to get political rights, in India, the National Movement\(^2\) helped them to enter into the arena of politics. After Independence, women are more involved in the political process in various capacities as voters, as candidates contesting various elections and as participants in the debates of legislative bodies at different levels. They also hold positions in political organizations at different levels including Cabinets level Minister ship. Yet, it can be noticed that the extent of their involvement in the elections as voters reflects their majority. Their representation in the various legislative bodies present an extremely dismal picture which depicts their near absence from the decision making bodies at all levels. As evidence indicates there has been the considerable increase in the number of women as votes in various elections held to the Parliament and State Assemblies\(^3\), but their representations in these bodies continued to be extremely marginal. It may be stated that women’s low participation in politics in India is a product of their exclusion from the social process at large. Since several centuries it is a fact that women are nearly absent at the higher levels in the industrial, educational cultural institutions, and private establishments as well as in politics and administration. Several explanations were offered for the low participation of women in politics. One important explanation is that men consciously and deliberately seek to keep women away from politics in order to protect their privileged position and
It is widely believed that the traditional social system prevailing in the country is responsible for the suppression of women in several ways. The important feature of the Indian social system is the commonly held belief that women are inferior to men in all aspects and hence they should be kept in the position of subordination inside and outside the family. Culturally and traditionally India is the most patriarchal community where the position of women is neglected and the birth of girl child is regarded as a misfortune. Indeed, it is very difficult to speak the status of women in India, because of the vast difference among them. They were classified into different classes and castes, and with different roles, status, positions and conditions. On the whole, it should be admitted mostly that all women in India suffer from the patriarchal structures and ideologies. They are the victims of gender discrimination, inequalities, and male domination in all walks of life. They lag behind men in all the indicators of social and economic development. India has the most adverse indicators for women in the world. In this country, women’s level in the health, nutritional, educational, employment and other related fields is significantly lower than that of men. They are put mostly in unskilled and underpaid occupations. Their earnings are lower than that of men and they hardly own or control the means of production and property. Their participation in political and social decision-making processes is abysmally low. They have no importance in the formulation of social norms, political and legal rules and regulations, which control their lives. From the beginning women in several countries including India are subjected to neglect, discrimination and harassment, they have to live under the vicious circle of the fear of being aborted, the fear of not getting adequate attention, care and affection. After marriage they face above at the hands of her husband’s and in-laws. They are victims of harassment in houses and eve teasing in buses, offices, educational institutions and even in pious places.

As a result of the policy initiatives of the Government, welfare programmes and women’s movements, there have been some enlightened changes in the lives of the women in different countries. There is increasing gender awareness, as a result of which women’s deplorable and dismal conditions drew the attention of all concerned and the need to change their conditions is admitted by all. All types of violent assaults against them are now protested. Women’s low participation in political decision making bodies at different levels and their poor representations in
the services were taken as challenges and steps are being initiated to enhance their representation in all levels such as legislative bodies and in Government Services. The Government has taken several legal and administrative measures to provide more educational and job opportunities for women. The policy makers and planners are increasingly becoming gender sensitive. In spite of these positive developments the position of women all over the world presents a gloomy picture in all fields, particularly in the field of politics. Unfortunately, the development rhetoric of the state, its policy concerns and the changed attitude of political parties could not make much dent in the direction of providing them equal opportunities in the political field along with men. Research studies carried out by the scholars of various social sciences and feminist activists during the last few decades expose the anti-women bias of the policy makers and planners and the ill effects of the development policies and programmes on them. The latest studies show that even the recent liberalization policies and economic reforms initiated by the Governments of various countries have negative impact on women as producers, consumers, and entrepreneurs. The micro level economic and social policies have adversely affected them, especially those in the lowest level of the society. The changing structure has provided them poor representation and draws them into the unprotected home based production and intensified inequality in different fields initiated by the social system is becoming the reality of the daily life system, which has become the reality of the daily life the new system has increased the poverty among them both in absolute and relative terms and pushed number of women living in gloomy conditions of ignorance further. The above statement sums up the state of women in the contemporary South Asia, which is applicable to India women also.

After Independence, the Government of India took keen interest in the all round development of women in the country, primarily because of its commitment to the twin ideals of democracy and equality. To achieve the goal of development of women along with the weaker sections of the society, the Government adopted several strategies. Firstly, to protect the rights of women and to ensure them equality along with men in all spheres, it implemented a number of special development programmes for the development of women who are living at various stages of socio-economic development. The social and economic empowerment of women has accorded a special place in the Five Year Plans. Every successive Five Year Plan
implemented a variety of schemes for improving the living conditions of women of different strata in the Indian society. Under each five year plan sizable amounts of funds were spent on women welfare programmes and schemes\textsuperscript{11}.

As a result of the protective legislations and welfare programmes undertaken by the Central and State Governments right from the beginning of Independence, a process of transformation has taken place in the socio-economic conditions of Indian women; at least some trends are discernible in the process of this transformation\textsuperscript{12}. First, in the socio-economic sphere, there has been contributing absorption of women into the work force. Second, access to higher education has expended the boundaries of women’s social roles which resulted in an increased sharing of responsibility in the management of family affairs, continuous participation in electoral political activities and greater participation and representation in legislature and political activities.

On the whole it can be stated that during the last fifty years of India’s Independence mainly two types of changes have taken place in the field of women’s participation in politics\textsuperscript{13}. One, the realization and acceptance of the need to eliminate gender bias in order to increase the number of women in the formal political system, and second, the urgency of adopting reservations as a state policy for increasing women’s representation in the political sphere. It is important to state that women’s prominent role in social movements for a long time in the eighties did succeed in making meaningful state interventions and getting some of their demands accepted. For instance, the National Commission for Women (NCW) was formed in 1992 to promote and safeguard the interests of women, and the 73\textsuperscript{rd} Constitutional Amendment, reserving one third seats for women in the local bodies like the Panchayat Raj and Municipal bodies came into effect in 1993. These few efforts resulted in shifting the emphasis of women’s programmes from welfare to development and empowerment perspectives. On the whole there has been significant change in the perceptions of the people towards the issues regarding women. But all this did not help in improving their status radically. In fact, in certain spheres (like the sex ratio) it went down. The lobbying and pressure is support of their legitimate rights is from outside, but within the political system they are lagging behind the men in terms of participation and exercise of power. It is now a largely felt
that the presence of women in large numbers in decision making positions is equally important which is necessary to improve their conditions and also in solving their pressing problems. A reflection of this approach was clearly visible recently when women cut across party lines and came together on the question of reservation of seats for women in the Lok Sabha and the various Legislative Assemblies, “Politics” for women then, is no longer so untouchable and untradeable as in the past. Even if politics is viewed as a sphere of violence and corruption, women no longer shrug from it but feel that they could make their contribution by improving the situation. This change of approach and attitude in women towards politics is clearly visible today as also society’s perception towards them as political leaders.

Thus elections in a democracy offer an opportunity to all eligible adults to participate in the selection of representatives or in rejection of those contestants and the party who do not enjoy popularity. They provide an orderly succession in government by peaceful transfer of authority at regular intervals. The electorate’s role is decisive and no political party can afford to ignore and be indifferent to the wishes of the electorate. While there is no second thought on the role that electorate plays in the selection of the candidates, its behavior has always been a cause of anxiety. For, it differs not only from one individual to another but even from one country to another, and within the country from one region to another and from one place to another and at times even on the issues and problems confronting the country, the region or the place either as a whole or in part. The voter’s behavior is also subject to the influence of a number of other factors like religion, caste, community, money, and the image of supreme leaders. Speeches and visits of charismatic leaders leave a decisive impact on the behavior of the electorate. Such variation on the part of the electorate stems from the fact that no two persons are alike or identical or same. Human nature differs from person to person and from place to place and so also their behavior. Thus, in democratic elections, electorates voting behavior and political culture play a predominant role. The right to suffrage is a basic human right in liberal democracy. Women enjoy this right to equality in voting, and by casting a vote they make a formal expression of their individual choice of political parties, representatives, or of broad policies. The fact that more women are voluntarily exercising their constitutional right of adult suffrage across all states in India is testimony to the rise of self-
empowerment of women to secure their fundamental right to freedom of expression.\textsuperscript{16}

The success or failure of a democratic political system is highly depended on the participation of the people. The international Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, defined the term political participation as “members of the society share the selection of rulers and directly, in the formation of public policy.”\textsuperscript{17} The democratic political system has to discharge its duties or responsibilities with the popular consent of the citizens. Political participation is the basic ingredient of every polity, those who participate in the political process; in a kind of a proxy way are eligible to enjoy the political power to rule the state. Democratic institutions discharge their obligation to rule the state and survive on the consent of the people, and it is accountable and transference should be on majority principle equality and popular sovereignty. The political participation is the principle means by which, consent is granted or withdrawn and rulers are made accountable to the people.

Women’s status in society symbolizes their level of progress and spirit of the society. The spirit of the society can be gauged by the way in which women are treated by the members of that civil society and the society at large. In fact, the status of women comes under the sociological category. The history of human society reveals that in few of the societies of the world, women are competing for equality on par with men. All over the world women are subjected to inequality, discrimination, and exploitation. In a few western societies, the position of women is comparatively better than their counterparts in other societies. Even in the same civil society, the status accorded to women is never the same all through. It has been changing in tune with the changes in the general conditions of the society. A marginal section of the women are enjoying on par with the men-folk.\textsuperscript{18}

Only in a few societies, women’s position has been comparatively better than their counterparts in the societies. The status accorded to women has been the same all through. Women all over the world made tremendous contributions for the growth and development of their societies. In fact, women are playing a pivotal role both in family life and in their immediate surroundings. Which is very much important for the welfare of the family as well as society? Their active participation in family life is laudable. They will create a congenial atmosphere for the betterment of their family
and social life. The position of women in any society is always an index of the greatness of the religion, culture and society.

Now-a-days, women have spread into many fields and the glamour of politics remains alluring to women folk. To translate their dreams into reality, they have chosen Panchayat Raj bodies as their battle field. Although, there is a little scope to lead in the local bodies, they gain experience and knowledge about dynamics of the politics. These vital issues have been dealt various writers.

Women constitute more than half of the human race and play a crucial role in all spheres of life. The reality check for the growth of any nation lies not only in its economic growth, but also crucially in the status and progress of its women. It is well known that the possibility for all citizens to participate in the management of public affairs is at the very heart of democracy. A basic precondition for women’s participation in politics was recognition of her ‘right to vote’.

**Women and Voting History across the World**

Women rarely participated in the establishment of their governments or the creation of judicial systems, state powers or governmental norms and policies. It started when they demand equal treatment at work places. To recall, upspring for women’s suffrage began in France in the 1780’s and 1790’s during the period of the French Revolution 1793 France. The question of women's right to vote is discussed in the parliament; women's right to vote is acknowledged as a principle, but it is still put aside with the view that time is not right to make this a reality and is therefore postponed. By the 1880’s, women were working internationally to win more rights. In 1888, women activists from the United States, Canada, and Europe met in Washington D.C., for the International Council of Women. Most European, Asian and African countries did not pass women’s suffrage until after World War I The very first to take step was New Zealand in 1893 a self-governing British colony, granted adult women the right to vote. Though Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 at the age of 18 and she was queen for 64 years, one of the longest reigns in history, but Europe had a very long struggle before granting the right to vote for women.

The first European country to introduce women's suffrage was Finland in 1906 (first female Members of Parliament). Then part of the Russian Empire, which
elected the world’s first female members of parliament in the 1907 parliamentary elections. Norway followed, granting full women’s suffrage in 1913. Others slowly joined.

On March 19, 1911, IWD (International Women’s Day) was marked for the first time, by over a million people in Austria, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland. Women demanded that they be given the right to vote and to hold public office. Although there were some women-led strikes, marches, and other protests in the years leading up to 1914, none of them happened on March 8. In 1914, International Women’s Day was held on March 8, possibly because that day was a Sunday, now it is always held on March 8 in all countries. Observance of the Day is dedicated to women’s right to vote but now it is known as public holiday or a day to express greetings for women. One of the most recent jurisdictions to acknowledge women’s full right to vote was Bhutan in 2008 (its first national elections).

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, which went into force in 1954, enshrining equal rights of women to vote, hold office, and access public services as set out by national laws. The United Nations theme for International Women’s Day 2014 is “Equality for Women is Progress for all”. First Women's university is founded in United States of America in 1821, 1829 India Sati is banned. 1833 USA The first co-educational university, Oberlin, and open to both sexes is founded in Ohio 1841 Bulgaria The first girl’s school makes education for women available. 1849 Elizabeth Blackwell becomes the first female doctor in USA and in 1858 also in Great Britain

**Women and Voting History in India**

Glancing back to history, when Lord Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for Foreign Policy to India, came here to join the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford to survey the political scene with a view to introduce constitutional reforms Indian women saw an opportunity to demand political rights. This led to the foundation of the Women’s Indian Association\(^{22}\) (WIA) in 1917 by Annie Besant, Margaret Cousins, and Dorothy Jinarajadasa-all three Irish women Theosophists, who had been suffragettes in their own country. A memorandum signed by 23 women from different parts of the country demanding votes for women on the same terms as men which would enable them to have a say in political matters was submitted to Montague and Chelmsford. The
Indian National Congress at its session in Calcutta in 1917, over which Annie Besant presided, supported the demand of votes for women and so did the Muslim League. The Southborough Franchise Committee toured India in 1918 to gather information. It accepted women’s petitions but was initially reluctant to grant the franchise to women as it felt that Indian women were not yet ready for it. The Joint Parliamentary Committee finally agreed to remove the gender disqualification but left it to the provincial legislatures to decide how and when to do so. Travancore-Cochin, a princely state, was the first to give voting rights to women in 1920, followed by Madras and Bombay in 1921. Other states followed. Franchise, was of course, extremely limited. Women could vote only if they possessed qualifications of wifehood, property, and education. The Government of India Act of 1935 increased the number of enfranchised women and removed some of the previous qualifications. All women over 21 could vote provided they fulfilled the qualification of property and education. Women also became legislative councilors. In the elections held in 1926, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya stood for the Madras Legislative Council elections from Mangalore but was defeated by a narrow margin. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was the first woman to become legislative councilor in Madras in 1927. Women had to wait till after independence to get universal adult franchise.

**Women Voters**

Registered women voters in India\(^\text{23}\) have increased from 45% in the 1951 elections to 47.6% in the 2014 elections, that is, by a pitiful 2.7%. The general trend has been an increase in the total number of voters each year, but the percentage of men and women voting has remained almost constant, with men forming more than 52% of the electorate. This means that in 2014, in absolute numbers, there are 38,740,183 more men than women in the electorate. This gap is magnified if we look at the actual percentage of votes polled by women. The trend for all the past years shows that this is less than the percentage of registered women voters. In 2009, 47.7% registered women voters accounted for 45.8% of the total votes polled. Moreover, the electoral data from 2014 shows that the percentage of new women voters in the 18-19 years age category is only 41.4%. 15 states and Union Territories fall below the national average in this age group, with Haryana having the lowest
percentage at 28.3%. Only Nagaland has more female electors than male among the new electorate, at 50.4%.

Voting is considered to be the most important and basic element indispensable to democracy. It is an ultimate activity through which citizens are equipped with the knowledge of politics and learn how to exercise their power\textsuperscript{24}. Elections provide the citizens an opportunity to directly or indirectly participate in the decision-making process for the making and/or unmaking of governments. Elections crowned the public “as the Sovereign voters”. In real sense, in democracy sovereignty lies in the electors. They collectively take decision upon the political elites who would be part of the government. They are responsible for either the success or failure of democracy. They could elect the candidate whom they think best exercise their choice\textsuperscript{25}.

Thus, voting behaviour may be defined as the behaviour that “explicitly reflects voter's choices, preferences, alternatives, ideologies, concerns, agreements, and programmes in respect of various issues, questions pertaining to the society and nations”\textsuperscript{26}. Voting is a special influence, which acts upon the individual to express her “opinion on candidates, parties and issues confronting socio-economic and culture in particular and political system in general”\textsuperscript{27}. Voting seems to be the voluntary act but sometimes it is induced by some factors like influence of fellow-caste men, village notables, family heads or a ‘political broker’ or stimuli generated during the election campaign\textsuperscript{28}.

Voting is the “base of political pyramid” in democracy. The decision made at the base would have “special implication at the apex level too”. Thus, voting is considered a “platform” for the basic decision-making process in a democracy\textsuperscript{29}. It is the most powerful tool used by the electors to elect representatives by casting voters in election. It is a method of registering one’s approval and disapproval or collective consent and disapproval of a person or a proposal. The term “General” refers to the citizens who have sole discretion to elect representatives of their choice for public office and who decide controversial issues which confront the society\textsuperscript{30}. Voting in election can be said as the most obvious and direct way of “mass revolution” in which the whole population can affect the government\textsuperscript{31}. 
In the political process, the parties, associates, and campaigners favouring the candidates use different varieties of techniques to influence the voters. In political activity, the voters are the main actors. However, it so happened that a good number of citizens do not participate in voting for they are neither interested nor have a political bent of mind. Social obligation often to induce personal involvement in the electoral decision.

Voting behaviour may be said to be “basic features of democracy”. Thus, the study voting of behaviour has become an important aspect of contemporary political research. It involves an analysis of individual psychological make-up and their relative corresponding to political action as well as institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on elections. The study of voting behaviour constitutes an important area of political science in which theory can be systematically and qualitatively analyzed and tested. The complex role of elections in the political system is “sidelined by an examination and observation of voting behaviour of the electorate”. Thus, voting is an “individual behaviour”, which indicates the voter’s “inclination, choice, preferences, agreements, ideologies, concerns, alternatives and so on with regards to various questions of issues on which the elections are fought”. Moreover, voting behaviour indicate the dynamic role that one plays in the achievement of collective ends. It implies the essential “assertion of his rights and communication for the society and nations.”

A number of candidates and turnouts of voters determine the most basic aspects of aggregate voting behaviuor. The former is an indicator of the political participation of the populace and the latter is the participation from the party system. An election is, in a sense, a place where both “level of participation meet”. What factors determine the turnout of voters or number of candidate? What is the relationship between the level of electoral participation, that is, the turnouts, and the number of candidates? It is still difficult to answer these questions, not only for India but also for developed countries.

Different factors may lead to the same level of electoral participation in different countries. However, it may be an exaggeration to maintain that each country has a completely different set of factors determining the turnout. It is generally observed in many developing countries/societies that higher socio-economic
development is likely to raise the turnout in the election. Intense electoral competition between major candidates may attract people to the ballot boxes. The factors can be considered to exist in every country, through the magnitude of their effect may vary.

**VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN INDIA**

The voter exercise this right under a constellation of influences including the “advice of a friend, fondness for a particular candidate, feeling about particular issue, his/her personal whims”, etc. There is no single factor which decides voting behaviour of the electorate. Each voter is influenced by several factors before he/she forms his/her opinion about a candidate or the party assesses its performance.

**Party Identification:** The important factors are perhaps party identification. Many people in India decide their voting behaviour taking into consideration the identity of the political party and its programme. Party identification is a long process and very closely related to political socialization, but in some cases in India, people change their preference for political parties.

**Groupism:** In voting behaviour, group also plays an important role. Many families in India as well as abroad vote as a unit and take a joint decision before going to the polling booths in these families for all practical purposes group influences voting behaviour.

**Personality Factor:** Strong and charismatic personality of a candidate plays a decisive role in determining voting behaviour. A positive image of a party’s candidate is a source of popular support for the party.

**Issue Oriented:** Voting behaviour is also influenced by the issues, which directly or indirectly confront the society. Those who have strong party affiliations and one who wish not to change their behaviour, identify themselves with the stands which their parties have taken on such issues.

**Candidate Orientation:** In addition to party, many a time the individual of the candidate is well counted. Many end their political carrier when they leave the party.

**Religion and Community:** Religion plays a vital role in political behaviour not only in India but also in the west. Political leaders at the time of elections visit religious
leaders and get an appeal issued from them for election purpose. In fact, in India each religion has to an extent identified itself with some political party.

**Social Status:** In every country, people belonging to different strata of society offer themselves as candidate at the time of elections. Though it is left to each voter to cast vote in the manner he would like to vote, but while casting vote every voter very much takes into account the social status of the candidate.

**Linguism:** Linguism is also one of the factors that determine voting behaviour. It is because people have emotional attachment for their language.

**Age:** Age of the candidate in many cases considerably counts for determining voting behaviour. The voters prefer to vote in favour of comparatively mature candidates rather than those who are younger or those who are old and weak.\(^4^2\)

**Sex:** Sex also counts in shaping voting behaviour. In developing countries like India, voters often prefer to vote for men than women. It is evident from the fact that usually the number of women candidates who succeed at the polls is much less than the male candidates.

**Education and Income:** Education and income are two other variables. In Western democracies, the better educated and more affluent in the society are most persistent participants.

**Illiteracy:** A major portion of the populace constitute the illiterate in India.

**Money Power:** India, like many other nations of the Third World, is a poor country. Voters seek money or goods from a candidate in return for their votes. A rich party has relatively better chances of electoral success.\(^4^3\)

**Local Issues:** There is enough evidence to prove that local issues have always been important factors influencing the outcome and dimension of the election.

**Factionalism:** Factionalism is a characteristic feature of Indian political life at all levels, from village to State and then to nation; and it plays a dominant role in determining the voting behaviour.

**Election Campaign:** Each political party launches a rigorous election campaign to influence the voters in its favor such campaigns are designed to make the voters
believe that the candidate has a zeal and enthusiasm for the wellbeing of the people...

The conceptualization of political participation has been undergoing drastic changes. Such changes will have a direct impact upon different modes of political participation. Citizens can participate in different and alternative ways to influence the government and the political system. Until recently most survey studies of political participation confined their enquiry to a relatively limited set of political acts. Most of them asked whether a person had voted or not and some went on to ask about such behavior as attendance at political meetings or rallies, working for a party, making a monetary contribution or seeking a public Office.

However, these alternative ways of political participation depend on the types of citizens, who participate, the way in which they act the amount of pressure they can exert and the system's response towards their activities. Thus political participation is more than voting and also more than an activity in the electoral system. Verba and Nie grouped into four broad modes of participation the alternative activities by which citizens can participate in politics, i.e., voting, campaign activity, co-operative activity and citizen-initiated contact. Milbrath and Goel add protest and communication to these modes mentioned by Verba and Nie, which related individuals to the polity. They are also of the view that political acts could be hierarchically organized from the least difficult to the most difficult, if a person performed a more difficult act; he was likely to perform those that are less difficult as well. It is useful to consider political participation in a hierarchical sense, but it should also be borne in mind that some levels of participation may be absent in some political systems. Not all political systems have elections or a form of voting, some systems severely restrict or ban public meetings and demonstrations, while others forbid the formation of political parties and other types of political or quasi-political organizations, and so on. Explaining the extent of political participation Michael Rush and Philip Althoff added that apathy; alienation and the use of violence vary clearly and considerably from system to system, but remain quite important factors in any examination of political participation.

Examining the modes of political participation Schonfeld has mentioned ten types of activities which include (1) running for or holding public or party offices, (2)
belonging to a party or other political organization, (3) working in an election, (4) attending political meetings or rallies, (5) making financial contribution to a party or a candidate, (6) contacting a public official, (7) publicly expressing a political opinion to convince others, (8) partaking in political discussion, (9) voting, and (10) exposing oneself to political stimuli.

Political participation is the mother and politics is the child. The former creates and determines politics and hence it is of utmost importance both for the nation and the individual. The politics of the nation is determined therefore, by political participation in all its processes.

**Psychological Variables**

The psychological variable refers to the degree to which citizens are interested in and concerned about politics and public affairs. The women in India have generally an apathetic attitude towards politics. They are less likely to take interest in politics, to discuss politics, to attend public meetings and to influence discussions. Unfortunately, in India politics has been associated with unhealthy competition, display of physical strength, greed and struggling to exercise authority and dominance. In this perspective, women have been socialized to believe that politics in a ‘male domain’ is a dirty game. They prefer not to associate themselves with this field.

Besides being a ‘dirty game,’ it is also regarded as a coveted male domain. Politics is essentially an art of acquiring and co-exercising power the power to effectively influence the decision making processes, policies and implementing the desired changes. This involvement with power and decision making makes it a protected zone to tow the line made by men. They themselves do not enter the ‘power zone’ and are less politically efficacious and less politically interested compared to men. Qualities such as rationality, self-discipline, competition and universality are considered to be important for political participation. These are considered to be in abundance in males. On the contrary, women are associated with qualities like submissiveness, impulsiveness, indiscipline, and irrationality. It is argued that men should tend to be active in political matters while women should take care of the household’s matters. Stigma associated with the politics is
preventing educated and intelligent women from entering the political arena. Many of them, though interested, never venture to step in to active political affairs.

Indian culture assigns women’ primary responsibilities like parenting and nurturing. They accordingly, develop a psychological make-up and choose the role of care giver and prefer to confine themselves to the private sphere, i.e. home. This private and public dichotomy has resulted in women being marginalized in all spheres of activity that can be social, economic and more specifically political\textsuperscript{55}. Work outside of home has to be done by the women in addition to the household chores for which she has been socialized to believe that she alone is responsible. This results in excessively long working hours\textsuperscript{56} and acts as disincentive for women to take on time-consuming political work. Any individual who is concerned about political matters and is surrounded by political conflicts is more likely to be active in politics than the one who is totally occupied in private life. Stepping out of the women from her household preoccupations would be effective in bringing about a change in her priorities.

**Socio-Economic Variable**

Socio-Economic variables, including age, education, occupation, income, religion, race, family background residence etc., affect the political participation of women. In general, persons with higher education and higher socio economic status have easier access to politics than the educated and also persons belonging to lower status. Further, dominant ethnic and religious groups, people with political family background settled residents and urban dwellers tend to do better in the political sphere\textsuperscript{57}. The women undoubtedly affect her political participation. Family in India is the most important social influence on the life of women, who are confined (mentally, if not physically) to home. Her identity and course of life are normally considered to be determined by her father, brother or husband limited political training and socialization takes place for her within the family and home.

Practices such as female seclusion and sex segregation, the relative rigidity of the division of labor, and notion of the “naturalness” of males and females work, and many subtle aspects of gender relations all contribute to the shaping of and are themselves shaped by the ideology underlying their practices and behavior patterns\textsuperscript{58}. Many studies believed that (I) women are not independent voters, (ii) that
majority of them are illiterate, (iii) that majority of them make their choice on the basis of suggestions from male members of the family (husbands and sons), (iv) that women lack information and political awareness, and (v) women were not political in conscious. However, these studies defined the words political participation very narrowly. Despite these limitations, one may make a general analysis of the voting pattern of women.

Women are discouraged from participating due to social and familial impediments. Men usually do not encourage women to go out and vote, unless they are politically interested in securing votes for a candidate of their choice. On the contrary if they believe that the candidate of their choice can win only by male support they do not find it necessary to take their women along while going to vote. Women themselves are reluctant to go for voting since they have too many households’ chores. A majority of women work in the unorganized sector as contractual labor or in the private or small scale sector. In these services they are not given leave to cast their vote. Further repeated pregnancies, lactation, too many sibling to look after and extremely poor health status also act as disincentiveness. The cast of the elections is a major hindrance to their participation since majority of women lack control on financial resources and families usually shy away from supporting them. Women lack legal control over property and effective control of their income. In case they work within the home their work is regarded as ‘invisible’ or ‘shadow’ work and is not considered significant or remunerable. When they work outside the home and get a salary, the husband, father or brother controls the assets. Her position becomes vulnerable due to increasing unemployment and exploitation, in the form of unequal pay for equal work among males and females, overt or covert barriers to entry or to upward mobility of female labor, unequal access to resources etc. Consequently, she does not have a substantial preserve which she can spend on her campaign.

Apart from these socio-economic problems, women politicians, activists and decision makers are confronted with character-assassination, threats, as well as violence. There are several instances of physical assault, rape, and murder of women who dared to enter the political sphere. Most often they are ridiculed and discouraged. A political leader, Sharad Yadav once referred to the supporters of the Reservation bill as ‘Parkatis’ and told the National Council of Women that, ‘Mahila
vote bhi koi cheez hai? You must be joking. (Is there any such thing as a women vote) 62. In a similar vein a former Chief justice of Supreme Court, Ranghanath Mishra advised women sit at home and not work outside their domestic sphere63. These prejudices, stereotyped thinking and social environmental prevent equality in participation.

**Political Variable**

In the political sphere, a wide gender gap is seen in voting as well as contestation. This is circumscribed by many vital factors in the political environment. The nature of the state, its stage of development, mode of production, overall political situation, types of electoral system, etc., are contextual factors that control the participation of people in politics. Women are most susceptible to this factors64.

It is generally accepted that the implementation of a proportional representational system rather than a plurality-majority systems helps women in achieving success. The system is more responsive and attempts to correlate the number of seats won by a political party with the number of votes cast for that party. This system makes use of multi-member constituencies, unlike the Indian system for the composition of Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies, where there are single member constituencies. If the list system is adopted the parties would feel obliged to include women in their lists in order to balance their tickets across genders65.

Besides the electoral systems, the overall political atmosphere in the country discourages women from participating in politics. In India the ruling elite has undermined the normal functioning of Government and other public institutions. This discourages all citizens, but women are especially affected by it. Women have relatively less ability to use money, muscle power and other forms of influence in the public sphere66. Criminalization of politics and the rising tide of violence have further discouraged women.

The exposure of Indian women to greater insecurity, corruption and criminalization has resulted in their aversion for the politics or political institutions. The politics in India is dominated by political parties, which are the primary organizations through which citizens contest elections. Before the elections parties put forth their principles in their manifestos, indicating their policy perspectives. The
manifestos of all political parties contain promises of taking up programmes for the welfare of women. These have, however not been able to bring about a change in the conditions of women\textsuperscript{67}.

A gender gap is witnessed even in contestation. Political parties have always been reluctant to give tickets to women. They prefer to give tickets to male candidates. Parties are usually against taking a risk of putting up women as candidates because of the social attitudes which disfavor women's entry into politics. Unless it is a reserved seat they prefer that women only support and do not contest. A large number of women try their luck as independent candidates, after being denied a ticket by the dominant parties. They are rarely successful because the entire game of power is operated through parties. An independent candidate stands on a weaker platform\textsuperscript{68}. It needs to be remembered that our political system works through political parties if women want to share power; they have to make a place for themselves within the political parties. The experience of over fifty years shows inability of parties to make a place for the women. Even the presence of women does not result in any significant changes in either the nature of women's functioning or in the parties approach to women and women's issues. It is also possible that at present the number of women politicians is small. Hence they have to toe the line of dominant males to get a greater share of decision-making in the future.

It is noted that in various countries of the world women have not been very successful in the political field. At the world level, only 10% of the Parliamentary positions and 6% of the cabinet ministerial positions are occupied by women\textsuperscript{69}. Only few countries, like Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark have crossed 30% representation of women in the Parliament.

A significant aspect of participation is the casting of one's vote. Voting by the citizens leads to the formation of a Government, which then takes decisions for all the citizens. It is however, noticed that though the percentage of women voters has increased, the figures for female voters have always been less by approximately 6%, as compared with men\textsuperscript{70}. This increase in the number of votes has led various political parties into paying greater attention to organizing women and campaigning among them. In the pasts, such efforts were made only at the time of elections, in the form of certain populist and opportunistic short-term promises. In accordance with the
changed circumstances, the parties have established regular party forums women cell etc, for mobilizing women and seeking their support.71

Thus, women remain at the periphery of the power structure. They lack the political consciousness needed to formulate and implement policies in accordance with the aspirations of women. Their presence is mere ‘symbolism’ rather than real power wielding.72 A successful democracy requires a participant society in which power is shared and authoritative decisions are made by representatives of all citizens. Indian democracy, unfortunately, lacks the effective participation of all its citizens.

To strengthen the position of women in society, equal participation of men and women is required. This is not only a demand of simple justice of democracy, but a necessary condition for human existence. The entry of women into politics and decision making structures of institutions could redefine political priorities and place new items on the political agenda to address gender-specific concerns and provide a new perspective on mainstream political issues.73 Women have long been overlooked in the process of development. Change can only come; development can only take place when women are given decision-making roles. It is also necessary to overcome patriarchal orientations. Patriarchy should not be regarded as an ‘insurmountable ghost’ but something that must be fought back. By strengthening women’s leadership, building up their self confidence and morale and equipping them with information, the apathetic condition of women can be changed.

Review of Literature

For the purpose of gaining a greater insight into the topic of research, a survey of literature on the score touching various issues such as conduct of elections, the role of the electorate, changing trends in the electorate, voting behavior and political culture, impact of various forces on the electorate, role of the political parties and the general trends during every successive elections, has been undertaken. Such a survey would not only provide a suitable background to the thesis but could also highlight the existing gaps in the sphere of elections in India as a whole.
The scope of the survey is largely confined to the general elections held both for State Assemblies and the Parliament. The information has been collected mainly from books, journals and reports


Mackenzie observes that though free elections are not supreme, yet a device of the highest value, because no one has invented a better political contrivance for securing in large societies, yet two conditions are necessary for the maintenance of government in any society. First, elections can create a sentiment of popular consent and participation in public affairs even when government is so complex as to be beyond the direct understanding of the ordinary citizen. Secondly, elections can provide for orderly succession in government by the peaceful transfer of authority to new rulers when the time comes for the old rulers to go, because of mortality or because of failure.

**Maurice Duverger: The Political Role of Women, Paris, 1965, p. 57.**

McClosky also expressed the same view when he said participation benefits the participants as well as the larger community. It enables men by giving them a sense of their own dignity and value, alerts both rulers and the ruled to their duties and responsibilities, and broadens political understanding. According to N.D. Palmer, participation helps the individual to be effective and it associates him or her with the political system. The higher the rate and levels, of participation, the healthier is the democratic system particularly in a society where certain groups are traditionally behind the others.

Where participation and mobilization at higher and higher levels would be necessary for their uplift and that it in turns would be healthier for the democratic system. On the whole, a more developed society is a more participant one. Political participation has also been viewed as the process, through which the citizen can communicate to the Government the goals which they think will maximize their benefit. Political participation is a corollary to democracy. Democratic has no meaning without the involvement of people in the public affairs of the Government. The most important feature of democratic system is involvement of people in the public affair. Democracy has no meaning without the participation of people at least
in certain aspects of political process. In view of the crucial role of participation in
democratic system it has drawn the attention of a number of scholars of political
science; particularly of the West. As a result there has been remarkable number of
studies, which resulted in the formulation of various theoretical models conceptual
frameworks and analytical tools for the proper understanding of political participation.

**Angus Cambell & Others, Elections and the Political order, John Wiley
and Sons, INC, New York, 1966**

Angus Campbell and others endeavored to reflect the character of the
collective vote and strove to expand the understanding of the part played by the
elections in the functioning of the political system.

**M. Pattabhiram, (Ed), General Elections in India, an Exhaustive Study of
Main Political Trends, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1967**

Pattabhiram concludes that elections are central to the functioning of modern
democracy. Democracy today implies not government by the people which is an
impossibility but effective control over Government by the people. Elections constitute
the principal mechanism for exercising such control. They control and determine who
should come into power and carry on the Government of the country. They are held
periodically and those who come to power are as a result of one general election.
This gives an opportunity to the people to decide whether those who were previously
elected to office should be re-elected or whether they should be replaced by another
set of rulers. It is through this power of electoral decision that people exercise control
over Government and the broad lines of policy pursued by it.

**Rajini Kothari, Gopal Krishna and Ramesh Roy, Party System and
Election studies, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967**

Rajini Kothari, Gopal Krishna and Ramesh Ray observe that any study of
political behavior in India must self consciously address itself to the theoretical and
practical problems of a developing or transitional society such as India. Ignoring the
stage of social, economic and political development at which India is, as well as
ignoring the special character of Indian culture, would deprive such a research plan of real meaning.

**Campbells Angus & Others:** *The American Voter*, John Willey & Sons, INC, New York, 1967

Angus Campbell and others opine that the voting behavior of a mass electorate should be observed in the context of a larger political system and that the electoral process serves as a means of decision making, which again reflects the broader political framework. They feel that, casting vote is a means of decision making is a practice of an extra-ordinary wide currency in human society and this type of action has been of growing interest in the study of the social life of men.

**Krishnamani P.N.,** *Elections, Candidates and Voters*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1971

Krishnamani observes that, it is the choice of the voter that will finally determine the government which would perhaps be in power for the next five years at the centre and states. The author states that elections are Democracy’s ceremonial, its feast and its great function; and emphasizes that the law and procedure relating to elections being highly technical, legalistic and complicated for an average voter to comprehend, programmes for broad based civic education and awareness among the voters must be undertaken.

**Suresh K. Tameri:** *The Wonder Elections 1971 (Indira Vs the right)*, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, 1971

Suresh K. Tameri analyzed the causes and consequences of the fateful happening that were a prelude to the 1971 elections. He recorded the crucial developments, the images projected and promise made by parties and individuals and the results thereof.

Ram Reddy and Seshadri assert that in democratic system, elections provide an opportunity to the electorate to take stock of the situation existing before exercising their choice. They attempted to assess the image of the institutions in the minds of people on the achievements and failures of Panchayati Raj bodies and have thrown sufficient light on the factors that influence voters in the choice of their representatives.


Until recently most discussion on people’s participation in politics was mostly confined to voting in elections and in all other connected activities. Historically, people’s struggles for political participation have concentrated mainly on securing the right to vote. For most of the people it is the most important right which enables them to participate in the political process. Political participation can be considered as a set of attitudes, sense of political competence and high levels of interest and information about politics. It can also be referred to as variety of political activities of which voting is one? These scholars had neglected the non-electoral forms of participation because they were un-important and at the same time simple for analysis.


Kini observes that the scale of political awareness which seeks to measure the amount of voters’ political knowledge is related to the voting choice. Kini deals with explanation of the split-vote in terms of conflict of images about parties within the psychological awareness of the voter, explanation of shift in the original voting intention in terms of heavy exposure to propaganda, explanation of the stability of vote intention in terms of high political involvements and the method to find out the proportion of votes that can be attributed to campaign strategies of candidates.

Sheth throws light on the nature and extent of man’s involvement and participation in electoral and day-to-day politics, his sense of political efficacy and the nature of his allegiance to democratic norms. Focus on voting preferences and party identifications of citizens across elections, party affiliations and its implications for the electoral process and the representative system, have also been dealt with.


Jeyaratnam Wilson states that in Ceylon, from 1931 onwards, electors had political education longer than any of the emergent countries and it is reinforced through the exercise of the franchise at two general elections before and after independence. Its literacy rate is the highest among the new states and such a situation makes Ceylon conditions prevalent, social and political, are reproduced in the neighboring states with varying modifications. The study explains how election campaigns have gone through the various phases in Asia’s oldest and most successful democracy.


Bangendu Ganduly and Mira Gangul maintain that voting is undoubtedly the most important institution of political participation in a democratic society and it is one of those focal points of the democratic process when political activities reach a very high peak. Voting is a key mechanism of consensus and at the same time an important means of institutionalizing conflicts among different groups.


David J. Elkins has given a new twist to the study of electoral participation by focusing attention not on individual decisions about voting or running for public office,
but by detailing the major social, economic and political forces which operate at the polls.


Norman D. Palmer observes that elections are particularly conspicuous and reveal the aspects of most contemporary political systems. They highlight and dramatize a political system, bringing its nature into sharp relief, and providing insights into other aspects of the system and the basic nature and actual functioning of the system as a whole. During an election, so to speak, a political system is on display, even though the features that are most obviously on display may only be a small part of the iceberg that lies beneath.

Elections are complex events involving individual and collective decisions which directly affect and are affected by the entire political and social process. They are major agencies of political socialization and political participation.


Iqbal Narain, Pande and Mohanlal commented on how leaders make efforts to influence the voting behavior, the factors that motivate people to participate in electoral politics and the social strata that throws up leadership which can stand up to the pressure and exigencies of competitive politics.


Myron Weiner has touched some of the major issues behind 1977 elections; the background to the emergency, the decision to hold parliamentary elections, how the four major opposition political parties came under one banner, i.e. Janata Party, and avoided split in the opposition voters and finally, explains that people vexed with the Congress Party rule during emergency, preferred Janata Party at the centre.

Indicating the importance of the citizen’s participation in a democracy, several theorists of democracy emphasize the presence of an active participant citizen as an essential condition of the successful working of the democracy. Almond and Verba hold that a successful democracy requires that citizens be involved and active in politics. “Democracy is characterized by the fact that the power of making authoritative decisions in a society is distributing among the population. The ordinary man is expected to take an active part in governmental affairs to be aware of how decisions are made and to make his views know”. Political participation is the hallmark of democracy and modernization. In the traditional society government and politics are converts of narrow elite.

On the contrary, the more advanced nations have accepted the principle of active citizenship. The focus and nature of participation varies widely. Huntington and Nelson defined political participation as an activity to provide citizens designed to influence Government decision-making. A wide spectrum of political activities ranging from mere participation to public office-holding is an available to the citizens of the most of countries. Generally speaking, the more demanding and time consuming a political activity, the fewer people participate. There are a number of factors that influence the degree of an individual’s voluntary political involvements. These sources are personal factors related to the individual attitudes, beliefs and personality traits. Another set of factors influencing involvement related to the political settings which include the amount of exposure to political information accessible through the media or personnel contacts, the political party structure, the relative accessibility of other organized political action groups, the relative importance of elections and the regimes, attitude towards participation.

**Horst Hartmann, Political Parties in India, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1982**

Horst Hartman concludes that in India the democratic idea is threatened by the force of the extreme left, what-ever their practical approach may be. They function at
different levels of the system, eventually to change the system itself. The naxalites even openly disclosed their intention to overthrow democracy in the country.


Susheela Kaushik has given clear account of the electoral results in the past seven elections, the socio-economic development, the structural differentiation and the correlation of the class forces in India. She probed into the rural urban paradigms, national, regional variations and the social structure, sociological configurations, and the way they condense on the elector in capsule exercise of voting. She has thrown a new perspective on the management of election, role of money power, vote banks and ordinance in the outcome of the elections.

Randal Vicky, *Women and Politics*; London; Macmillan, 1982, p.34

Participation in one form or the other existed throughout the history of the state. Interested individuals and group have always made directly or indirectly their wishes and complaints known to authorities at different level of government. But democracy provides for the maximum scope of participation by the citizens. The ancient Greek democracies operated on the principles of direct participation and the modern democracies are operating on the principles of indirect participation through representative institutions.

Direct and indirect participation of citizens in public affairs and their involvement in the conduct of public affairs is the life of participatory democracy. Democracy is characterized by the fact that, power is shared and decentralized and authoritative decisions concerning society are taken by citizens on their representations Participation of citizens act as a check against the sinister interests of the privileged few over the general interest of most of the citizenry. Participation of citizens in the affairs of the state is inevitable in all the modern welfare states.

George Mathew (Ed), *Shift in Indian Politics*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1984
George Mathew, it has been pointed out that in Indian polity unexpected changes do take place in the sphere of politics because the will of the people is not permitted to assert itself in the way it likes as there are several variables that influence the process in our country and they would continue to do so in the future.

C.B. Rae (Ed), *Elections and Politics*, T.N. Chaturvedi Local Government the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1984

C.B. Rao concluded that really no political party brightens or tarnishes its public image by the behavior or performance of its representatives in a municipal body, because no political party as such comes into power in a municipal body in the sense, in which it does at the state or national level.

The authors of the book say that critical elements in the Indian political culture will emerge as we pursue our study of voting behavior, political orientations and attitudes and party activity.


Gupta conclude that though the Indian electorate is largely illiterate, it has the maturity to vote judiciously and independently. Their instinctive understanding of their role, in fact, has developed into a fairly predictable habit of rejecting autocratic or incompetent rulers in favor of those who promise to behave in a more democratic fashion. Its commitment to the ideals of national unity, stability and integrity remains unchanged even in changed political situations.

V. Rajya Lakshmi *The Political Behavior of Women in Tamil Nadu*, Inter India Publication, New Delhi, 1985

Rajya Lakshmi comments that ‘Today, when the Indian society is in a state of transition, when the traditional pattern of male dominance or female subservience has lost its relevance when the size of the women electorate is constantly on the increase, women are very poorly represented among the political elite. She raises a question as to why women despite their formal political equality with men are grossly under represented. She analyzed women’s role as voters and as contestants and also seeks to guage their impact on politics.'
Gopa Kumar, *Regional Political Parties and State Politics*, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1986

Gopa Kumar explains that due to the operation of multivariate groups, emotional importance of caste, region and religion could broadly be focused on the basis of the genetics behind the regional parties and that the dynamics of state politics and further dimension to this canvass.


In a book on General elections in India, Bhaskara Rao deals with important issues like the role of political parties, caste politics in the elections, the flow of money and communalism in politics. Besides explaining the reasons for the victory of congress party at the centre and in various states, except in Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu Desam Party won, could withstand firmly against the sympathy wave of Smt. Indira Gandhi.


Johari has highlighted various issues having a bearing on elections and electoral process to drive home two important aspects that:

I) To ensure free and fair elections, adequate provisions have been made in the constitution as also statutory arrangements to deal with the electoral disputes, and

II) Elections in India have belied all dismal forebodings of the critics, and ascribed to the country the credit of being the biggest democracy in the world.


One of the most important ideological segments of the women movements is the empowerment it aims at the political as well as personnel empowerment of
women in both urban and rural areas. Frequently, it is the educated and middle class urban women who are instrumental in organizing the rural and urban poor women. The largest organizations are headed by educated, urban women with extensive prior experience in politics whose backgrounds are strikingly similar to those of leaders in the right wing. Their leadership has been the most vital resource in the establishment of empowerment groups; poor, illiterate women do engage in spontaneous protest but cannot sustain an organization without the help of educated activists. In the empowerment concept there is also a notion of rights, but the goal is economic and social rights the right to a livelihood and to determine one’s own future. The search for empowerment, from below not the conferring of rights or economic development from above typically the organizations mobilize, poor women to seek expanded economic opportunity. In rural areas, this may involve and urban area, the creation of small cooperatives, sometimes linked together through a parent organization, is a stable of women’s organization.

Shoma, A. Chaterji: *The Indian Woman in Perspective*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1993

This book is an attempt to study the Indian women vis-a-vis her own culture and historical background and also in comparison with her counterparts elsewhere in the world in general and USA in particular the American particularization stems from the fact that this is the country which offers a vast amount of researched work as women’s studies. The author feels that women should not be presented purely from the news value point of view just because hot copy. It is essential to study women because they have both been studied in their visible and invisible contributions to the historical, sociological, economic revolution and evolution to the Indian race. This book presents seven dimensions of the Indian woman to make the study as intensive as possible. It is just one step forward to further understand what the Indian woman is all about it is one step further from those who have earlier laid the foundation of women’s studies in India.


Political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system. Although the political process in some societies is monopolized by only a few
incumbent of political authority, every system is found to be quite keen on ensuring some amount incumbent of political authority, every system is found to be quite keen on ensuring some amount of political participation by the people.

They further observe the participation in politics and in public debate helps to build a better and nobler character in the people. They would be better human beings if they participated. Thus, the role of political participation has been emphasized not only as a means to understand the nature of the political system and the control the functioning of the system, but also as a means to build up the character of the people, relating political participation with the mental makeup of the citizens, Nie and Verba argue that it gives some sort of satisfaction of the citizens- satisfaction with the Government and satisfaction with one’s own role. They further hold that if one does not participate in the decisions that affect one’s own life; one’s self esteem is seriously damaged.

In fact, political participation in public affairs has been a subject of great interest in political science; since the days of Ancient Greek political thinkers like Plato and Aristotle, Aristotle emphasized on the participation of citizens in the public affairs including the administration of justice.


Of late an awareness of the problems of women from all walks of life, their changing roles, their emancipation and the studies on this new status of women has risen. It was realized that equality in all spheres is inseparable from active political participation. This means not just using the right to vote, but to share power and be a part of decision-making at all levels of the government. Though metropolitan cities have drawn considerable attention of the researchers and the academicians, urban government in Karnataka is to attract the attention of political scientists and even less is the apprehension of these people about the role of women in urban bodies. Hence, this study focuses on the working of the Bangalore Municipal Corporation since its inception in 149 and evaluates the role of women councilors in policy-making administration and the extent of which it has met with the requirements of women thereby holding the empowerment of women in proper perspective.

The women folk got it are an identity without the husbands influence or so. Moreover they have provided legal right for women to marry the persons whom she likes and at the same time she has the right to give divorce also. The Chinese constitution clearly indicates that women has equal rights along with men in all aspects like political, economical, cultural, social and in family affairs, prevailing of such type of equality in the constitution is not more important, but it’s more effective if the government implements it in right manner. The reason behind the women’s development in china is that they not only included in constitution but they have been effectively implemented. In government of china and women area 30% in employment, in Parliament more than half are deputies. China stood fourth place among the develop countries and lih in world in providing women in such type of equality. Though the Indian constitution provides equally rights it is an irony that less than 10% women Parliamentarians are not present in Parliament of India.\(^66\)

Bhargava, B.S., & Bhaskar, Manu, *Women in Grassroots Democracy a study of Kerala*, University of Kerala, ICSS, New Delhi 1999

In this book it was improve women’s representation that the policy of reservation was introduced according to them reserving seats for women in the political institutions will provide them an opportunity to raise their grievances and other related social and economic problems in a formal forum, a political process necessary to ensure the improvement for all women in all spheres of life.


In this book she discussed about Andhra Pradesh based on the field study conducted in the Nalgonda districts states that reservation in Panchayt ensures entry for all sections and thus visualize as the harbinger of equality and social justice. Further, it is found that reservation has merely brought in a quantitative change in the gender participation rather than ushering a qualitative developmental effort.
Chhibber, P.K *Democracy without Associations: Transformation of the party system and social changes in India*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 1999

India's party system has undergone a profound transformation over the last decade. The Congress Party, a catch-all party that brought independence in 1947 and governed India for much of the period since then, no longer dominates the electoral scene. Political parties which draw support from particular caste and religious groups are now more powerful than ever before. *Democracy without Associations* explains why religious and caste-based political parties come to dominate the electoral landscape in 1990s India and why catch-all parties have declined. Arguing that political parties and state policy can make some social divisions more salient than others and also determine how these divisions affect the political system, the author offers an explanation for the relationship between electoral competition and the politicization of social differences in India. He notes that the relationship between social cleavages and the party system is not axiomatic and that political parties can influence the links they have to social cleavages. The argument developed for India is also used to account for emergence of class-based parties in Spain and the electoral success of a religious party in Algeria.


The political status of women in any society can be defined not only as equality and freedom with which they share power with men, but also the value society places on the role of women in politics. It is an important indicator of the working and functioning of true democracy in any country. The Constitution of free India promulgated in 1950 promised ‘to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political’ and ‘equality of status and of opportunity’ (Basu 1998:21) and yet women, despite their constituting nearly half of the population, continue to be grossly underrepresented in parliament and the state assemblies. Statistics available show that women’s representation in the Lok Sabha has not yet reached the world average of 10 per cent representation of women in the House of Representatives.
failing thus to acquire the ‘critical mass’ required for influencing decision-making at the top legislative and executive levels. Similarly, women continue to be marginalized in most of the prominent political parties in the country not only in terms of seat allotments in elections, but also within the party structure and hierarchy. This could be attributed to a large extent to India’s democratic process that is fraught with inherent dynamics and contradictions that exclude women from sharing power as equals with men. In contrast to women’s poor participation rates as candidates in the electoral fray and within party ranks and file, women’s participation as voters has seen a remarkable upsurge in the late 1990s as voter turnout figures of General Elections held in this decade clearly reveal.


Why do ethnic parties succeed in obtaining the support of members of their target ethnic group(s)? Ethnic political parties now flourish across the democratic world. Canada, Spain, Northern Ireland, India, the United Kingdom, Israel, Sri Lanka, Macedonia, South Africa, and Russia are only a few examples of the established or emerging democracies in which they have taken root. For social scientists interested in explaining important political phenomena, the question is worth asking for its own sake. At the same time, the answer has broader implications for those with a stake in the survival of democratic regimes. Ethnic parties and the politicization of ethnic differences more generally, are presumed to constitute a major threat to democratic stability’s. An exploration of the processes by which such parties succeed or fail, illuminates also the processes that undermine or preserve democracy.

Drawing on a study of variation in the performance of ethnic parties in India, this book proposes a theory of ethnic party performance in one distinct family of democracies, identified her as “patronage-democracies.” Voters in patronage democracies, I argue, choose between parties by conducting ethnic head counts rather than by comparing policy platforms or ideological positions. They formulate preferences across parties by counting heads across party personnel, preferring that party that provides greatest representation to their co-ethnic elites. They formulate expectations about the likely electoral outcome by counting the heads of co-ethnics.
across the electorate. And they vote for their preferred party only when their co-ethnics are sufficiently numerous to take it to a winning or influential position.


Savitri Goonesekere (2004) felt through violence against women continues to increase in India, the law and the criminal justice system have in many ways failed to respond to or deal effectively with it. Indeed in crimes against women the rate of conviction us reported to be less than four per cent. Very little effort, both in terms of making the law more sensitive to women and in terms of enforcing it has been made in the past few years by the State to actually curb or deal with the violence. Women therefore continue to suffer without adequate legal or other redress. Though some amendments took place in the early eighties, the substantive laws relating to violence against women are inadequate and do not reflect the various kinds of violence women experience.


Tapan Biswal (2006) focused on Gender is a socio-cultural construction of biological organic distinction between male and female. In a complex society of human organization male and female are expected to perform some roles and maintain some patriarchal forms of relationships. In the entire complex process, it is women, who are relegated and placed kin a disadvantaged position than their male counterparts. Therefore, the society has been functioning under male domination or in other words ‘patriarchy’. Patriarchy refers to a system of social structure and practice in which men exploit women over a period of time. It is manifested in society through myriad agencies ranging from the family to state, substantiated by some other mediating institutions. In the entire process of manifestation of patriarchy, the role of women is quite significant, which strengthened the structure by internalizing the very elements of patriarchy. The internalization of patriarchal norms by women has been systematically carried forward throughout the history and culture with the help of an intricate process of socialization. Family has played a significant role in this
regard. Ideology is an important device for the reproduction of patriarch. Which constructs inferiority and superiority in the society between female and male classification of good and bad women through cultural indoctrination has strengthened the ideological apparatus of patriarchy. The feminists consciously and conscientiously desire to dismantle the patriarchal structure and alter the terrain of male domination in the society.


Gender equality is a constituent as well as an instrument of development. No country can be deemed developed if half of its population is severely disadvantaged in terms of basic needs livelihood options access to knowledge and political voice. Gender equality is an instrument of development because without it national goals will be difficult to achieve as, for example, poverty alleviation, population planning, family welfare and environmental sustainability. Over the years, efforts have been made to empower women socially, economically and politically. However, due to lack of synergy and coordination, the outcomes are not satisfactory. It is imperative that an integrated policy and strategy be formulated that addresses economic, social and political empowerment of women along with the requisite programmes and schemes. Though the constitutional commitments to women have been translated through the planning processes, legislation, policies and programmes over the last six decades yet the economic status women reflects less than satisfactory achievements in almost all important human development indicators.

Devesh Kapur: *The middle class in India: a social formation or political actor?* In Julian Go (ed.) *Political Power and Social Theory (Political Power and Social Theory, Volume 21)* Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010

In the past three decades India has been one of the fastest growing countries in the world. Per capita income has increased fourfold, from $229 in 1980 to $318 in 1990 to nearly $900 in 2010 (constant 2000 dollars). Although there is growing evidence of increases in income inequality, standard measures of inequality such as the Gini coefficient are still considerably less in India than in other Brazil, Russia,
India, Chinas (BRICs) (or the United States). Consequently this rapid growth has led to a substantial expansion of India's middle class (and a concomitant decline in poverty).


Shobhana Nelasco (2010) elaborately discussed the Status of women in India has been subject to many great changes over the past. From a largely poorer status of women in ancient times, to the promotion of women rights by many reformers, the history of women in India has been eventful. Gender equality in all fields of life is continuing to be a debatable issue. Women are both revered as well as abused in the Indian society, sometimes even within she own home the tries to explain the status of different categories of Indian women.

The present book contains twenty theoretical and research contributions related to women issue. The book has addressed various aspects of women’s welfare in India like health, economic status, education, governance and political participation. It presents a programmes, projects and experiences from different parts of India.


Gender equality and women’s empowerment are not only human rights; they are also imperative for achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. Women’s political participation is central to these goals, and political parties are among the most important institutions for promoting and nurturing such participation. With less than twenty per cent of the world’s parliamentary seats occupied by women, it is clear that political parties need to do more and should be assisted in those efforts to support women’s political empowerment. Globally, although forty to fifty per cent of party members are women, women hold only about ten percent of the leadership positions within those parties. Ensuring women’s equal participation in the decision-
making structures of parties is essential for promoting gender equality within them and, ultimately, within society as a whole


The internal structure of Indian democracy has seen rapid changes since the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations in 1989. *Who Wants Democracy?* Defines two important shifts in the polity even as the elite are increasingly stepping back from active participation, the less privileged classes are coming forward to engage vitally with democratic processes. Javeed Alam highlights how the poor return in every election to choose their representatives and what the voting patterns reveal about the links between regional voices and national unity, between the politics of community and the ideal of citizenship. This second edition includes a Prologue in which the author takes up certain theoretical issues. Discussing the democratic possibilities that modernity still offers, he says that the presence of critique within modern thought can enable people to deepen their understanding of the idea of freedom.


The term ‘Measuring Voting Behavior and attitudes’ of the electorates immediately brings to mind the numerous election surveys and exit polls that take place whenever elections are held in India. Opinion polls for measuring voting behavior and for making seat forecasts in electronic and print media have now become a regular feature during elections. The swing of votes and early gains and losses for political parties and candidates that are ahead in the electoral fry make newspaper headlines and bytes on television channels throughout the election period.


The traditional focus point for historians interested in female political activity in the 19th century has been the legal and ideological exclusions women faced in local and national politics. Rather than focusing on the restrictions women faced, Richardson actively seeks to chart ‘positive evidence of female agency in a counter-narrative’ (p. 1). This counter-narrative explores how women were able to exchange, negotiate and contribute to established political systems. The majority of the women explored here were part of the developing middle class, whose political ideology was at its zenith for
the chronological period covered by the book (c. 1789–1890). This class identity does not mask or overwhelm the religious and geographical diversity of the women studied, a diversity which is strengthened by the differing ages, life experience and wealth of the individuals considered. To explore the breadth and depth of the political activities these women undertook, Richardson utilises a huge variety of source material. Familiar sources, such as Hansard, poll books, and political papers, as well as less conventional sources, including recipe books and travel literature, are re-read and re-evaluated for evidence of female political participation. These are placed alongside letters, memoirs, autobiographies and diaries to piece together a lost world of female political activity. This activity is divided into four broad (but connecting) sections in the book: home life, local politics, national politics, and international affairs.


This book rethinks women’s pathways to power. Its premise is that there is a need to complement the macro-policy focus on narrowing the gender gap in representation by getting the electoral system right. This necessary complement is a bottom-up approach that examines women’s pathways of political engagement. Conceptually, this approach assumes an understanding that politics is a broader project than winning a seat in a legislature, and challenges the implicit measurement of political empowerment exclusively in terms of reaching political office. Methodologically, its starting point is women’s political trajectories, which are best examined through research methods that allow subjects to define their own concepts and narrate their experiences in their own terms. This represents a departure from some of the more conventional approaches, in which macro-policy is the starting point of analysis (IDEA 2013). The case studies presented here address two critical questions. What undermines women’s ability to transform political informal repertoires of power into formal political leadership? And what enabling factors have we overlooked that could potentially play an influential role?
This analysis, based on the National Election Study 2009 data, supports the contention that Indian women do not always vote as women – as gendered beings independent of social and regional-level political dynamics. It also suggests that the gender advantage the Congress enjoys at the all-India level does not indicate a consistent and decisive support by women for the party or its policies. All this is not very surprising given that the poll campaign ran with no focus on women’s issues and little effort was made by anyone to politically mobilize women voters. The National Election Study (NES) 2009 series provides a unique window to understand the nature of Indian women’s participation in elections during the last two decades by helping us analyze their voting patterns over five Lok Sabha polls. The data have so far yielded three important observations. The first about a participatory upsurge among women, along with other marginalized groups, in the 1990s (Yadav 2000) and the second about a definite bias towards the Congress among women voters (Yadav 2003) The third, which emerged mainly from the 2004 Lok Sabha election data when we examined some assumptions about women’s votes and their politics (Deshpande 2004), pointed to the possibility that gender as an explanatory factor could not be seen in isolation. It suggested that at times caste and class may override gender in deciding the way women vote and that gender operates along with other dimensions of social hierarchy in influencing women’s voting behavior. Taking a cue from these findings, the present study tries to understand the nature of the women’s vote in the 2009 Lok Sabha election and check to what extent gender explains the election outcome.


Relative to developed countries and some parts of the developing world, most notably sub-Saharan Africa, there are far fewer women than men in India and China. It has been argued that as many as a 100 million women could be missing. The
possibility of gender bias at birth and the mistreatment of young girls are widely regarded as key explanations. We provide a decomposition of these missing women by age and cause of death. While we do not dispute the existence of severe gender bias at young ages, our computations yield some striking new findings: (1) the vast majority of missing women in India and a significant proportion of those in China are of adult age; (2) as a proportion of the total female population, the number of missing women is largest in sub-Saharan Africa, and the absolute numbers are comparable to those for India and China; (3) almost all the missing women stem from disease-by-disease comparisons and not from the changing composition of disease, as described by the epidemiological transition. Finally, using historical data, we argue that a comparable proportion of women were missing at the start of the 20th century in the United States, just as they are in India, China, and sub-Saharan Africa today.

Praveen Rai, Economic & Political Weekly EPW January 15, 2011 VOL XLVL NO 3

Women’s participation in formal politics in India reveals that there has been a marked increase in their voting turnout and election campaigning. While there have been significant gains in these two areas, women continue to be under-represented in legislative bodies both at the national and state level and in political parties. An analysis of the factors influencing participation reveals that these differ for women in elections as voters and their involvement as campaigners. All said and done, positive affirmative action in the form of reservation in legislative bodies, greater accommodation of women in decision-making positions in political parties and in government would go a long way in addressing a serious lacuna in politics in the country. The participation of women and their engagement in electoral process is an important marker of the maturity and efficacy of democracy in any country. It can be defined not only in terms of the equality and freedom with which they share political power with men, but also in terms of the liberty and space provided for women in the democratic framework of electoral politics. The Constitution of India promulgated in 1952 promised, “to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political” and “equality of status and of opportunity” (Basu 1998:21). Despite the constitutional promulgation, women in the Indian subcontinent continue to be grossly under-represented in the legislatures, both at the national and the state levels. Female representation in the lower house (Lok Sabha) of the Indian Parliament is still much
less than the world average of 20%, lower than the “critical mass” required introducing gender parity in political decision-making and legislation. Similarly, the number of female representatives in legislative bodies in most of the states in India is also below the 20% mark reflecting a pan Indian gender exclusion from electoral participation and quality representation.


The fact that India’s democracy is federally structured had a profound impact on the development of its party system. This central argument is elaborated in this paper and it itself based on the premise that political actors are aware of the structural possibilities and limitations of their political activity within the federal framework. There is a based scholarly consensus around the fact that three elections to the 11th, 12th and 13th Lok Sabha (1996-99), marked a watershed in the structuring of the national party system in terms of the relative weight of its different components and the relationship between them some analyses have seen this period primarily in terms of fragmentation. Others have analyzed the contours of the post-Congress polity and the emergence of a ‘Third front’. The present study seeks to carry forward the twin these of the federalization of the party system and the emergence of a new bi-nodal party system first put forward in the wake of the 1998 and 1999 Lok Sabha elections (Arora 2000, 2003) and the studies on coalition politics at the central and state levels. These studies sought to capture the federal significance of the transformation in terms of a new form of competitive multi-party system and also drew the implications of this development for government formation.

**Mudit Kapoor, Shamika Ravi, Economic & Political Weekly EPW march 22, 2014 VOL XLIX No 12**

An analysis of the political participation of women by comparing the turnout of women voters to men in all the state elections from 1962 till 2012 reveals a steady and sharp decline in the gender bias in voting over time. This phenomenon is seen across all the states, including the traditionally “backward” states of north India. The
persistence of gender inequality which is embodied in “missing women”, a concept developed by Sen. (1990, 1992), is a common phenomenon in low-income countries and is suspiciously high in countries such as India and China. Through a political context, our study aims to contribute to the broader literature and understanding of gender inequality.

**Limitations of the Study**

1. The respondents being women, identification, location, and to establish contacts with them have taxed not only the patience of the scholar but even his time and purse. The scholar was required to undertake many visits to elicit their views.

2. Non-availability of the respondents in their villages has also posed a number of hardships to the scholar at times even had to make night halts in the villages.

3. Traditionalism still has its firm roots in the countryside that women respondents specially the uneducated did not willingly come forward to answer the interview schedule, perhaps on the assumption? That their men folk may not like their conversation with the researcher, an outsider, and an unknown male.

4. The villages politics, and to some extent directives from the political parties also caused a great anxiety to the researcher, who was compelled to seek the intervention of village elders and village assistants to explain the objectives of the study and to stand by the researcher till he could elicit required information from the respondents.

5. The researchers, to off-set the impact of the limitations to the possible extent, has taken care to enlighten the elders of the villages in general, and the women voter respondents in particular on the importance of their participation in general elections, the need and utility of undertaking such studies, and the value their responses command in building up a dependable body of knowledge on different components of the Democracy such as elections, electorate, voting behavior of the electorate, and the political culture.
Objectives of the Study

In order to understand the nature and meaning of women voters in India, their perceptions and performances are studied.

The present study proceeds with the following objectives

1. To study the role of women electorate in the general elections
2. To study their voting behavior
3. To study their political culture
4. To examine the reasons for shift in their voting behavior
5. To study their status in India

Hypothesis

1. The primary hypothesis of the study is women electorate of Warangal Parliamentary Constituency has played a decisive role in electing the Congress party candidate in the fifteenth General Election in 2009.

2. Changes in voting behavior of women voters in Warangal Parliamentary Constituency between fourteenth and fifteenth general election is mainly due to the issue of separate statehood for Telangana region.

Sample design

For the purpose of the study, Warangal district of Telangana was selected. The Warangal Parliamentary Constituency comprises Seven Assembly Segments, and the sample of the study constitutes a total of 504 women voter’s respondents, 72 chosen from each Assembly segments (Ghanpur, Palakurthi, Parkal, Wardhanapeta, Warangal West, Warangal East, Bhupalpalle) Random sampling method is used in identifying the respondents for eliciting the opinions, preferences and their performance, and attitudes towards various issues, which are useful in the interpretation of collection data.
Methodology

Since the main objective of the study is to discover the reasons, and to get to the root of the political culture which is responsible for a change in the voting behavior of the women electorate, a close ended questionnaire has been administered to women. It is through this method that the primary data has been collected and for the remaining data historical, socio-economic, demographic, and electoral history of the study area secondary sources has been made use of.

Source of Information

For the purpose of the study, all relevant written documents, such as Telangana State District Gazetteers (Warangal) Hand Book of Mandal Statistics (Warangal District) Official note on District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) Warangal, the District Profile from the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad, and articles from Journals and Research Papers have been consulted and perused.

For collection of material, the Central and State Library, Collectrate’s Office and Chief Planning officer at Warangal, the Secretariat Library, American Studies Research Centre, Libraries of Hyderabad Central University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi and University of Madras have been visited, and the data collected thus has been incorporated wherever relevant and necessary.

Apart from the above mentioned the researcher has met the Sarpanchess and Ward Members of the villages, Councilors of the municipality, contested candidates and other active people in politics and recorded their views and opinions on various aspects of the study.

Data Analysis

The data have been analyzed with the help of single variable or multi variable tables. Statistical tools such as averages had also been used to analyze the data.
CHAPTERISATION

1. Introduction, Objectives, Samples, Methodology, Review of Literatures study this chapter.

2. Delineates the study areas to topography, climatically conditions and socio-economic, political and administrative background with theoretical political culture.

3. Throws light on the status of women, the changing trends and the reasons for such transformations in the socio-economic fields in general, and political sphere in particular.


5. The association between socio-economic variables, the voting behavior, political culture and the awareness of the respondents about various programmes has been examined on the basis of the findings of the sample study and analyzed data.

6. Conclusion.

Footnotes:


2. Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Women in Indian Freedom Movement.


9. Madavi Laxmi Kondareddy: *Construction of Gender Deprivation of women from Politics in India*, in Kiran Saxena (Ed) op.cit pp 34.


36. Ibid. pp.129-130.


38. Ibid.

40. Hans Raj, Comparative Politics, Surjeet Publications, 7-K Kolhapur Road, Kamala Nagar, New Delhi-7, p.225.


42. Michael Brecher, n.33, p.440.

43. Ibid.


48. Åsa Karlsson-Sjogren: Mannen, kvinnorna och rostratten: medborgarskap och representation 1723-1866 (Men, women and the vote: citizenship and representation 1723-1866) (Swedish).


57. Robert Lane: *Political Life*, New York, 1959, pp. 94


62. Madavi Laxmi Kondareddy: *Construction of Gender Deprivation of women from Politics in India*, in Kiran Saxena (Ed) op.cit pp 34.


