

Women's Participation in Politics and Local Governance

A Dissertation submitted to the Central University of Punjab

For the award of

Master of Philosophy

In

Centre for South and Central Asian Studies

BY

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November, 2013

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Women's Participation in Politics and Local Governance

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Key words: *Woman, Political Participation, Representation, Awareness, Local Governance.*

'Where women are honoured there reside the gods' was said by Manu. In India, women have made a considerable progress and have proved themselves by conducting the worldly affairs efficiently and effectively over the periods, but still they are deprived of their rights of equality with men. Their status has deteriorated due to various social, economic, cultural and religious factors. This status of women continued for quite a long time, until some social reformers like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Raja Rammohan Roy and Swami Dayanand Saraswati of Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj stood against the brutality and the grave injustice which was being done against the women. Child Marriage, Sati Pratha, Pardah, Confinement to home and non-inclusion of females in day to day affairs were the examples of women suppression. Women have not been able to achieve an equal status and equal opportunity for themselves due to various reasons. Their representation in politics and various public offices has remained nominal. Women have contributed equally in the Struggle for Independence. At the advent of Independence, provisions were made for equal status of women in Indian Constitution. On the same lines, the provisions of women reservation in local bodies were made, so that women make their presence felt in local bodies in India and are a part of decision making process at the grass root level. Studies have shown that even after having reservation in local bodies, women are still not active and their husbands or other male relatives are actively involved in using their positions and they are only rubber stamps. The present study strives to find out the reasons behind the meagre representation of woman in political arena. The study has tried to find out the representation of women, their educational background, reason for coming to the public life and avenues wherein they could do better to serve the people of their constituency in a better way. For the present study, Bathinda City has been selected and Bathinda Municipal Corporation (BMC), which is a local governance body, has been chosen. For this purpose, a

detailed schedule has been prepared to understand the above given aspects from the municipal councillors of BMC. The data collected through the schedules have been analysed and the results have been interpreted. It was observed that women are coming in local governance due to the reservations but are more dependent upon their family members to perform the election and governance related activities.

(Name and signature of student)

(Name and signature supervisor)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who gave me the opportunity to complete this dissertation and make my life's very precious memorable experience. First I would like to thank to the Almighty and my Parents who encouraged me for this study.

I personally pay my deep gratitude to my guide Dr. Kiran K. Singh, Assistant Professor Centre for South & Central Asian Studies, Central University of Punjab who every minute supported me for research work and without her help; I could not be able to complete this work. I also acknowledge the support of all friends (Waseem, Aman, Gurvinder, Mandakini, Mudasir, Arif, Swaity and Lokesh) who continuously encouraged me during my work. I wish good future for my classmates and friends of CUP. Finally, I would like to thank to all who blessed me for this study and say sorry not to mention them personally.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Sr .No.	Full Form	Abbreviations
1	Bharatiya Janta Party	BJP
2	Bathinda Municipal Corporation	BMC
3	Beijing Platform for Action	BPA
4	Central Finance Commission	CFC
5	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	CEDAW
6	Committee on the Status of Women in India	CSWI
7	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women	DAW
8	Development Planning Committees	DPCs
9	Elected Women Representatives	EWRs
10	First Punjab State Finance Commission	FPFC
11	Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation	IDFC
12	Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation	IDFC
13	Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services	IL&FS
14	Life Insurance Corporation	LIC
15	Life Insurance Corporation	LIC
16	Members of Parliament	MPs
17	Members of State Legislative Assemblies	MLAs
18	Members of State Legislative Councils	MLCs
19	Municipal Corporations	MCs
20	National Federation of Indian Women	NFIW
21	Panchayti Raj Institutions	PRIs
22	Punjab Municipal Act 1911	PMA-1911
23	Punjab Municipal Act 1976	PMA-1976
24	Representation of People Act -1950	RPA
25	Rural Local Bodies	RLBS
26	Second Punjab State Finance Commission	SPFC
27	Shromani Akali Dal	SAD
28	Urban Local Bodies	ULBs

Chapter 1

Introduction

*“Ede, ranthe kaamye chandre jyothyedathe Saraswathi mahee vishruththih|
Ethathe Agne namaani devebhyomaah sukruatham bruyaath”*

“Possessing all praiseworthy qualities, giver of happiness, lighter of home, a scholar who is away from being helpless, weak and pathetic, having noble thoughts and lofty behaviour and well known, never to be beaten and rejected, are the qualities with which you Devi are named. Having possessed of these qualities, O Devi! Advise me too the noble thoughts and deeds.”

-Yajurveda 8.43

Indian Vedic literatures are full of lofty thoughts on women which accord total equality between men and women in their respective fields. Women were considered the veritable treasure of the Earth but she became subordinate of men. In a country like India, where social orientation is based on class, caste and gender, the picture of deprivation and inequality is appalling. So long the women were not considered as a social group in their own right; rather they were either included with men or totally ignored. In British India, social reformers like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Raja Rammohon Roy, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati etc. first raised their voices for oppressed and suppressed women. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar espoused the cause of women-education and widow remarriage, Raja Rammohan Roy championed for the abolition of Sati and Dayananda Saraswati, resolutely opposed the child marriage. Behram Malabari and Ranade had given a new dimension to the struggle of women in India. In post-independent India, Sarada Act provided an impetus to the battle for rights of Women. The passing of the Hindu Code Bill, 1955 and the provision of equal rights for women in the Constitution of India improved the status of women. In June 1954, the first post-war all-India organization of women ‘National Federation of Indian Women’ (NFIW) was formed in view of impending socio-political issues. In 1992, the National Women’s Commission and the State Women’s Commission were formed.

Like men, women are the essential part of society because they constitute approximately fifty percent of the population. But the situation of women in India is not very glowing. Their socio economic status is low and discrimination in all walks

of life is a common scene throughout the country. For centuries, women have been confined to home and deprived of their rights to get a fair treatment in the male dominated society. With the advancement of time, it has now been recognized that without ensuring women development and their participation in governance, the national development and the principle of equality (Article-14 and Article-15) cannot be achieved (Fardaus Ara, 2006). In a nutshell, the development of the nation cannot be achieved until due attention is given to the gender equality and women participation in political life of the country because women contribution, like men, in the development of the social and economic sphere of the society is very important. Women participation in formal political process and its institutions, where the decisions regarding the use of societal resources are taken, needs to be enhanced (Bari, 2005). To ensure women participation in public life, Indian Government amended the laws of the local bodies through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, wherein 33 percent of the seats were reserved for women candidates in local bodies. These local bodies have the potential to achieve the principle of gender equality and bring the transformative change in the society. In other words, local governance may be considered as an effective governance because it not only provide the political participation to the women but it also assures their required representation in the decision making process through the legitimate institutions to understand their intentions, ideas and interest without any discrimination. The increased representation of women in the local bodies can be seen as a positive trend towards the gender equality (Shamim and Kumari, 2002).

1.1 Structure of Governance in India

India, the largest democracy in the world, is a union of 28 states and 7 centrally administered Union Territories. The country attained its independence on 15th August 1947 and adopted its own written constitution on 26th January 1950. The Indian constitution provides for single citizenship for all the citizens and also grants the right to vote to every person who has attained an age of 18 years. By using this right to vote, citizens elect and send their representatives to Lok Sabha, State Assemblies and Local Bodies. Local governance through local bodies is an effective method of governance through which the constitutional laws are implemented and exercised at the grass root level by the representatives, who

have collective authority to take decisions for public welfare. Any political structure, whether it is federal system or unitary system, cannot be considered complete and democratic if it does not have a local governance system. Actually, in any system local governments are created to lessen the burden of central governments and to provide services that are local in character (Asaju, 1999).

In India, the local governments are under the control of the State Governments. In the rural areas a three-tier structure has been adopted. They are Grama Panchayat consisting of a village or group of villages, Taluk or Block Panchayat for every taluk or every block and Zilla Panchayat for every district. In the urban areas there are the Municipal bodies namely Nagara Palika i.e., Nagara Panchayats (transitional area - an area in transition from a rural area to an urban area). There are also the Municipal Councils for smaller urban areas and Municipal Corporations for larger urban areas, based on the size of population (NIAS, 2001).

After independence, Articles 325 and Article 326 were enacted to ensure women's political rights and their participation in government's decision-making policies. This participation has started from the grass-root level i.e. Panchayats at village level and municipal bodies at urban level which is known as local level governance. In other words to ensure the functions of democracy and participation in decision makings on the basis of equality our Indian government has amended the constitutional laws and introduced the concept of local governance through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (Rout, 2012). Therefore, Local governance is that governance which provides the political space to the disadvantage section of the society like scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and specially the women. So, the strengthening of the local governance can be seen as a positive trend towards both the gender equality and good & effective governance (Shamim and Kumari, 2002).

1.2 Women in Governance

The subject of women's participation in governance, decision making and development has gained global attention. The World Bank Report, 2005 indicates that gender inequality adversely affects women throughout their lives and stifles the development prospect of their society. In spite of the significant roles played by women in development processes, they are still ignored, especially in public and

political decision making. According to the HDR, 1995 “Development, if not *engendered is endangered.*” In India women constitute 48 percent of the total population (Census of India, 2011). In spite of their large proportion, women are not well represented when it comes to the matter of governance. According to Subermaniam, 2002 “Less than 8% of Parliamentary seats, less than 6% Cabinet positions, less than 4% of seats in High Court and the Supreme Court have been occupied by women, less than 3% of the Administration and Managers are women. The average percentage of women’s representation in the Parliament, State Assemblies and Council of Ministers taken together has been around 10%. One of the important reasons why women have not received adequate benefits from years of planning and development was their inadequate representation, non-participation and non-involvement in the preparation and execution of plans for their economic development and social justice through centralized institutions.

Indian constitution has adopted an affirmative action to ensure the women’s participation in politics through the provision of one-third reservation in all institutions of local self-government. It also provides the reservation of posts for chairperson and deputy chairperson in the panchayats and the committees in the Nagar Pallikas. The reservation constituencies vary in each election because of the adoption of the policy of rotation. The term of the elected persons is for a five years.

1.3 Women's Political Participation

Political participation means the functioning of all the public institutions and forces which are involved in influencing the lives of the people by way of decisions and policies that affect their relations with one another. Participation of women in politics and governance would include:

- Women as voters
- Women as members of political parties
- Women as candidates
- Women as elected members of local government bodies taking part in decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation
- Women as members of women’s organizations, their association with voluntary organizations

- Women in developmental works and dealing of priority issues in the village level.

Gender empowerment is determined by the degree to which women and men participate actively in economic, professional and political activity and take part in decision-making. A typical system of social relations in the male-dominated society was the major hindrance to women's political participation, reflecting the orthodox male-centric mentality (Kaushik, 1996).

1.4 Statement of Concern

Discrimination is a well-known fact and inclusion of marginalised people of society (women being the one) in governance process is constitutional provision. Participation is a development approach, which recognizes the need to involve disadvantaged segments of the population in the design and implementation of policies concerning their wellbeing. The strengthening of women's participation in all spheres of life has become a major issue in the development discourse. Socio-economic development cannot be fully achieved without the active participation of women at the decision making level in society. Despite the government efforts the participation of women in politics and governance is very low. According to DAW report (2005), women's participation and representation in decision-making bodies involves their enhanced presence as well as their empowerment through such participation. Women's political leadership and accountability are key cross-cutting issues. On the one hand, women's political leadership allows them to set agendas and, on the other hand, it is in such roles that they are made responsive to constituencies and publics. This accountability becomes the cornerstone for not only numerical enhancement of women's presence but also their ability to transform outcomes, the content and the ways in which policy actors make public policy. The present study tries to analyse the women's participation in politics and governance by examining their representation in politics and participation in governance process by taking a case study of Bathinda Municipal Corporation. Main objective of this study is to find out the participation of women in governance process and since representation in election is one aspect of participation so highlighting representation in politics also becomes important.

Table 1.1 reflects the summary of electoral participation in the fourteenth Punjab Legislative Assembly Election that was held in year 2012. It is clear from the table

that number of female electorate is less than that of male in the same year but the female turn out (79.1%) exceeded the male turnout (78.1%) by 1 percent. The increasing number of women turnout shows that women are becoming aware of the right of their adult franchise and actively participating in the election process but when it comes to the matter of their involvement in process of governance and policy making they fail to represent the women community.

Table 1.1 Summary of Electoral Participation: Electorate, Turnout and Number of Candidates Compared to the Assembly Election (2007-2012)

	Assembly elections 2012	change from 2007 %
Total electorate	1,76,82,363	+4.5
Male electorate	93,20,878	+6.3
Female electorate	83,61,485	+2.6
Total voters	1,38,92,638	+9.0
Total turnout	78.6%	+3.2
Male turn out	78.1%	+2.7
Female turnout	79.1%	+3.5
No. of candidates	1,078	+3.2

Source: Economic and Political Weekly-fourteenth Assembly Election in Punjab, 2012.

The picture of women participation and their representation in the election process is also not different in Bathinda from the rest of the Punjab. Table 1.2 shows that in the 2007 State Assembly Election of Punjab the number of women who filed their nomination were 3 while that of the men were 21. Out of these three, 2 withdrew their nomination and the nomination of the remaining one was rejected. Hence no women candidate contested the election in 2007.

Table 1.2 Constituency Summary, 2007 (Bathinda)

Candidates	Male	Female	Total
Nominated	21	3	24
Rejected	1	1	2
Withdrawn	6	2	8
Contested	14	0	14
Winner	Male (Harminder Singh Jassi)		

Source: Election Commission of India State Election, 2012
(Legislative Assembly of Punjab)

Table 1.3 Constituency Summary, 2012 (Bathinda)

Bathinda Urban			
Candidates	Male	Female	Total
Nominated	13	5	18
Rejected	0	5	5
Withdrawn	0	0	0
Contested	13	0	13
Winner	Male (Sarup Singla (SAD))		
Bathinda Rural			
Candidates	Male	Female	Total
Nominated	9	1	10
Rejected	2	0	2
Withdrawn	1	0	1
Contested	6	1	7
Winner	Male (Darshan Singh (SAD))		

Source: Election Commission of India State Election, 2012
(Legislative Assembly of Punjab)

Table 1.3 shows that 5 women candidates in Bathinda Urban and 1 women candidate in Bathinda Rural filed their nominations, but only one woman candidate was left in the fray and that was from Bathinda Rural constituency, whereas the nomination for 5 female candidates from Bathinda Urban were rejected. It corroborates the fact that female representation in Bathinda district is not very encouraging.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The inadequate representation of women in decision-making bodies is one of the major factors that have contributed to their low status. Political participation of women is essential to ensure women's involvement in decision making process. The discrimination and injustice toward women can't be controlled until women have their own voice and own will against them. The affirmative action adopted by the government of India providing for reservation of not less than one-third seats in local self-governing bodies has facilitated more number of women to participate in the decision-making arena equally with men in these institutions. Further, these women are now in a position to access resources and utilise the powers vested in them as elected members. This is a significant step towards achieving the constitutional goal of equality. However, much more needs to be done to provide

an enabling and conducive environment in the political institutions to enable women to participate effectively.

The political domain continues to be perceived as best suited for men and therefore remains very male dominated. Today, the political environment is deeply entrenched with corruption and criminalisation. This situation needs to be changed as women have the potential to defuse and transform the mainstream political culture, by making it more transparent, accountable and participative. They can also positively contribute to the process of de-criminalising politics, which in turn would provide a conducive environment for their entry and effective participation in politics, thus facilitating the achievement of substantive equality for women.

This dissertation is an effort in highlighting the fact that women can work as effectively as they work in the house. Women are sensible and responsible and if they enter in politics and decision making process, several social, political and economic changes may occur. This is a small effort to examine the way women is operational (in BMC), the obstacles they are facing and the rights they are aware of.

This brief review of existing literature portrays that all these works done by the eminent researchers have elevated our understanding about the background and strength and weaknesses of the women members but also reveals that there is a scope of in-depth study regarding the women participation in politics and development. Inspire of valuable contribution by researchers and scholars in this field, still there are some gaps as follows:

A. Active political participation means not only using the voting rights or contesting the vote but also performing duties and responsibilities towards people. Researches are required to be carried out on how far the members are imparting their roles or responsibilities.

B. After reservation women participation in governance has increased .But whether they (women) are properly groomed or not or whether they (women) have their role clarity or not, may be assessed.

1.6 Objective

Merely having women in politics does not automatically mean that the interests of women in the community are represented. Without women's needs and interest being taken into account, without giving opportunity for them to participate in and

influence decision-making, development involvements and planning justifiable results will not come. The objective of this study is to find out the representation and participation of women in politics and governance process. It becomes important to define what is governance? Governance is the act of governing. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. In political and development contexts "governance" means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). To see the participation, the first step is to find out the representation because women can't participate in governance until they represent. It has been tried to find out women's representation in various elections (Lok sabha and Rajya sabha) by analysing different election data. Such analysis has been followed by field study of Bathinda Municipal Corporation as a case study to know about women's real participation in local governance process. Keeping these concepts in mind few objectives have been set which will guide the whole process of this work.

1. What is the status of women's representation/participation in Indian politics;
2. What is the status of women's representation/participation in Punjab politics;
3. How women are participating in governance process of Bathinda Municipal Corporation?

Few research questions were also set to achieve the objectives of this research. Answer of these research questions were tried to obtain during the field survey. The response on these questions is particularly based on the opinion collected from the ward councillors of Bathinda Municipal Corporation. These questions are as follows:

1.7 Research Questions

1. Do women like joining politics?
2. Are they aware of the local governance process?
3. Do women actively participate in governance?
4. What are the obstacles being faced by women working in Bathinda Municipal Corporation?

1.8 Methodology

The definition of women's participation in local governance encompasses a large arena comprising a wide range of activities. However, the scope of this study is very limited as it is an effort to bring out the women in governance process. The participation itself has a wide definition but here it is restricted to the political participation or representation at Central level (State Legislatures and Parliament) and participation in the governance process at local (grassroots) level. The representation of women at Central level has been studied by analysing the data of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections while at the grassroots level of local self-governance, the study has attempted to provide an analysis based on a case study approach. The Bathinda Municipal Corporation (BMC) has been selected as a study area and the councillors of all the wards of BMC form the basis of this study. In order to know about the participation in local governance the councillors have been interviewed.

1.8.1 Sources of Information

The information for this dissertation has been primarily collected from secondary as well as primary sources. They range from statistics regarding women's political participation at all levels of governance from published books, reports, research works, journals and newspapers and internet browsing to qualitative information that includes individual case studies collected by taking interviews. Adequate information on election data at Centre and State level are available but data on local governance is scarce and inadequate thus posed limitations in collecting more data only on local governance in a state like Punjab. At this point it has become a need for generating a database through micro studies and compile document to enable further analysis of issues. The material collated in relation to women's participation in politics has been analysed using the framework of substantive equality.

1.9 Organisation of Work

This dissertation is organised into five chapters. First chapter, Introduction, gives the idea about the work and covers objectives, research questions and methodology used in the work. The second chapter, Local self-governance, its evolution and growth, gives the detailed idea of evolution and growth of concept of

Local governance. The third chapter, *Women's Participation in Indian Politics*, examines the representation of women in Indian politics by analysing data of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections. Likewise the fourth chapter, *Women's Participation in Punjab Politics*, analyses the same situation but at state level. Fifth and final chapter, *Women in Urban Local Governance: Glimpse of a Real Picture through a Case Study*, has been compiled after carrying out a field survey. This chapter explores the participation of women in urban local governance.

Chapter 2

Local Governance: Evolution and Growth

Indian constitution has declared India a Semi- Federal state. According to the Article (1) of the constitution “India that is Bharat shall be a union of state”. So our constitution ensures the tenets of the federal structure by making the provision of Central government at the centre level and State governments at the state level. Now the local self-government, which is the third level of governance, is the integral part of the federal structure. This chapter describes the evolution and growth of both rural and urban local governance in the history of the Indian constitution and situation of women’s reservation in local governance

2.1 Evolution of Rural Local Governance and its Growth

The concept of local self-government is not new to our country; its roots can be traced back to the Vedic periods. Around 600 BC the territory north of river Ganga (modern north Bihar and eastern UP) under small republic were known as Janapadas. Among these Janapadas, Lichhavis was the most powerful. In these Japandas, the affairs of the state were conducted by the assembly consisting of local chieftains. In the Post Mauraya times, there existed republics of Malvas and Kshudrakas where decisions were taken by ‘Sabhas’. In Chola kingdom, the village councils, with its sub-committee and wards, played an important role in administration. They were responsible for revenue collections, irrigation, road buildings and others necessary work. They also managed social affairs and solved the different disputes. Their transaction, recorded on the walls of village temples, shows a vigorous community life and was a permanent memorial to the best practices in early Indian polity (Singh, 1996). The present structure of local government took its shape in 1688 when the British established a municipal corporation at Madras which was followed by the creation of the similar structure or bodies at Bombay and Calcutta in 1726. These corporations were units of administration enjoying considerable judicial powers. A corresponding effective structure for rural areas came up with the enactment of the Bengal Local Self Government Act, 1885 which led to establishment of district local boards across the entire territory of Bengal province. Within five years, a large number of district boards came into existence in other parts of the country: Bihar, Orissa, Assam and

North-West Province. When local self-government became a transferred subject, the Minto-Morley reforms (1909) and the Montague Chelmsford reforms (1919) widened the participation of people in the local governing process. This arrangement continued till the country achieved independence in 1947 and thereafter till the late 1950s (Sixth Report, 2007).

The long debate in the constitution assembly reveals that the leaders at that time were hesitant to bring changes in the prevailing administrative system. As a compromise by framers of the constitution, Panchayati Raj Institutions get the place in the Directive Principles of State Policy- Part-IV, Article-40 "State shall take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority to enable them to functions of as unit of Self Government" (Alok, 2011). Following the Directive Principles, the various state government organized village Panchayat as units of Rural Self Government. Greater importance was given to the Panchayat system after the adoption of the Five Year Plan and Community Development programmes. In 1956 when the Second Five Year Plan was launched, it recommended that the Village Panchayat should be linked with the popular organization at higher level. To operationalize this initiative, Government of India appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Balwant Rai G. Mehta in 1957. The recommendations given by Balwant Rai Mehta committee were approved by the National Development Council in January, 1958. This set the stage for launching Panchayat Raj Institutions throughout the country. The three-tier system of Panchayat Raj was first adopted by Rajasthan in Oct 2, 1959 and was followed by Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Gradually the Panchayat Raj System was adopted by most of the states even though the system differed in terms of their way of functioning. Though the Panchayat Raj institutions have been working in different parts of the country for over four decades, certain shortcomings were noted which impeded their operation, for example, they lacked adequate financial resources, clear distribution of function at the various level, the dominance of higher structure over sub-ordinate structure (Bandi, 2011). Therefore, in December, 1977 the Janata Party Government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta to review the working of PRIs and to make necessary recommendation for its improvement. These

recommendations were designed to revitalize PRIs and to accord them constitutional status. However these did not find favour and as a result not implemented. During the period of 1978 and 1986 number of committees were formed to look into aspect to strengthen the Local Self Government institutions (Sharma, 2009). In July 1989, Congress Government under Sh. Rajiv Gandhi introduced 64th and 65th Amendment Bill. The basic provisions of the bill were;

- It should be mandatory for all States to set up PRIs/ULBs;
- The elections to be conducted by the Election Commission;
- Tenure of Panchayats/ULBs to be of five years and, if dissolved before time, fresh elections should be held within six months;
- Reservation of seats to be made for SC/ST/Women;
- Local Bodies to be entrusted with more functions e.g. minor irrigation, soil conservation, bio-gas, health, benefits to SC/ST;
- Planning and budgeting systems be introduced at the Panchayat level;
- The State Legislature to authorize Panchayats/ULBs to levy taxes/tolls and fees;
- A separate commission to review the Local Body finances, and PRI/ULB accounts to be audited by the CAG.

The Bill could however not be passed in the Rajya Sabha. After that in 1990, a combined constitution bill covering both PRIs and ULBs was brought in Parliament, but the dissolution of the government, this bill was lapsed again. Finally in 1992, after synthesizing important features on this subject (PRI) Government drafted and introduced the 73th and 74th amendment bill in parliament which were passed in 1993 and these introduced new parts IX and IXA in the Indian Constitution containing Articles 243 and 243 ZG. The 73rd and 74th amendments to the constitution constitute a new chapter in the process of democratic decentralization in the country. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts came into force on 24th April, 1993 (Sixth Report, 2007).

2.2 Evolution of Urban Governance and its Growth

As already discussed, like rural governance, the evolution of urban governance also dates back to the period of Vedas and has passed through many stages. The first municipal corporation was set up in Madras in 1688 which was followed by the creation of the similar structure or bodies at Bombay and Calcutta in 1726. The real attempts were made to strengthen the municipal function through resolutions by Lord Mayo, the Governor-General of India in 1870 and then by Lord Ripon in 1882, Lord Ripon's Resolution (Lord Ripon's resolution is regarded as Magna Carta of local government in India) introduced the system of election with a limited franchise and also approved non-official majorities in all municipalities and replaced even the district collector by a non-official chairman. After that the subject of local self-government was considered to the Royal Commission on Decentralization (1907) because Lord Curzon the descendant of Lord Ripon was in favour of centralization. But the recommendations of Royal Commission were implemented at the time of Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919. The Government of India Act, 1919, enlarged the scope of taxation by local self-government and introduced a dual system of governance for empowering the provincial governments to control the local institutions. Local self-governments continued to function under the control of provincial governments or the district administration (Gupta et. al, 2006). After the Government Act of India, 1919, the Simon Commission Report, also observed that "efficiency of local self-government depends upon the control or pressure which is exercised by the provincial government". The Government of India Act, 1935 was very important event during the British rule which introduced the autonomy of local provincial government and enlarged the function of local self-government aiming at empowerment of local self-governments in India. The task force on planning and development of Small and Medium Town and Cities (1975), the Study Group on Strategy of Urban Development (1983) and others has made useful recommendations for the smoothness of urban development in India. In August 1988, the Government set up the National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU), under the chairmanship of C.M. Correa, to review and analyse the urbanisation process like urban management, urban housing, and urban poverty and also to formulate the policies like resources allocation, legal framework, information system. This commission

recommended the establishment of a National Urbanization Council (NUC), an Indian Council for Citizens' Action (ICCA) and recommended that every town with a population of more than 50,000 be provided with an urban community development department through which development programmes are implemented (Bhattacharya,2009). The year 1985 proved to be a landmark year because the Ministry of Urban Development was set up at the union level. After that an effort was made in the form of 65th amendment bill by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to ensure municipal bodies being vested with necessary powers and removed their financial constraints so that they become able to perform function effectively as units of local government but this bill was not passed in the Rajya Sabha in 1989. In December, 1989 the National Front Government reviewed the provisions of the 65th amendment bill and it was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1990 but this bill was again defeated

Twelfth –Schedule of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (Box-1)

1. Urban planning, including town planning
2. Regulation of land use and construction of buildings
3. Planning for economic and social development
4. Roads and bridges
5. Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes
6. Public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management
7. Fire service
8. Urban forestry, protection of environment and promotion of ecological aspects
9. Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the disabled and mentally retarded
10. Slum improvement and upgrading
11. Urban poverty alleviation
12. Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens playgrounds
13. Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects
14. Bunials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums
15. Cattle pounds, prevention of cruelty to animals
16. Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths
17. Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences
18. Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries.

with the dissolution of Lok Sabha. In 1991, Narasahima Rao government took charge and introduced the same bill in the Lok Sabha with a few modifications. Finally, it was passed by both the houses. It received the assent of the president of India on 20 April, 1992 and was published in the gazette as the Constitution Amendment Act, 1992. It came into force on 1st June 1993). The Act introduced a new part in the Constitution namely part IX-A covering Articles from 243P to 243 ZG. It also introduced schedule 12th in the Constitution, which lists 18 subjects (Box-1) coming under the jurisdiction of municipalities. The main provisions of this Act have given in the Appendix Part (A) (Sharma, 2011).

2.3 Structure and Composition of the Urban Local Governance

Before 1992, state governments were given power to constitute four different types of Municipalities namely Municipal corporations, Municipal committees/councils, Notified area committee and Town area committee. But in 1992 the 74th amendment act was passed and it made the provision of three types of municipalities instead of four namely Municipal corporations, Municipal committees/councils and Notified area committee & Town area committee has been changed into Nagar panchayats. The attempt made by the central government is only to bring the uniformity throughout the country which is based on the principle of the democracy. The structure of municipalities is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Structure of Municipalities

Types of Municipalities	Before 1992	After 1992
Municipal corporation	Established in metropolitan areas or big cities; Wider functions and larger powers than councils, enjoy more autonomy and have larger revenue resources; Separation of deliberative from executive functions and vesting of all executive powers in an appointed authority that is independent of the elected body.	Constituted in "large urban areas"
Municipal committee/council	Most popular form of local government in urban areas; Set up in cities and large towns; Extent of State control is relatively larger than corporations.	Constituted in "small urban areas"
Nagar Panchayat	Constituted after 1992	Constituted in "areas in transition from rural to Urban"
Notified area committee	Set up by State government in medium and small towns; Created for areas which do not fulfil conditions for constitution of councils but are otherwise important; Also created for newly developing towns or areas where industries are being established; All members including chairman are nominated by State government and not elected.	Abolished
Notified town committee	Semi-municipal authority constituted for small towns; Members are either wholly nominated or wholly elected, or partly nominated and partly elected.	Abolished

Source: Challenges for Urban Local Government in India, (2006)
www2.lse.ac.uk/asiaResearchCentre/

2.4 Composition of Municipalities

According to the 74th amendment act municipal area is divided into several wards on the basis of population and the elections are conducted every five year by the departments of State government for the post of councillors and one person is get elected as councillor from each ward. There is also the provision of the elections for the post of a Mayor in Municipal corporations and a Chairperson (also known as a president/chairman) in Municipal Councils and Nagar panchayats. Besides, the state government also appoints the staffs which are viewed as the most important part of the municipality. The appointed staffs are trained to handle duties and are made aware about the quality of life at the ward level. To enable wider participation in municipal affairs, seats in local governments are reserved for some sections of the society. In addition to the appointed, nominated and the elected functionaries, ex-officio persons are also affiliated to the local government. A typical composition of an urban local government is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Composition of Municipalities

Category	Municipal Corporation	Municipal Council/Nagar Panchayat
Elected Members	Mayor; Deputy Mayor Councillors/Elected Ward Representatives	Chairperson/President; Vice- President, Councillors/Elected Ward Representatives
Appointed Staff	Municipal Commissioner Subordinate Staff	Executive Officer Subordinate Staff
Nominated Members	Selected Staff	Selected Staff
Ex-officio Members	MPs, MLAs, MLCs	MPs, MLAs, MLCs

Source: Challenges for Urban Local Government in India, 2006

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2.5 Functions of Urban Local Government

The 74th constitutional amendment act has placed the important responsibilities on the urban local bodies. These bodies are responsible for the improvement of the efficiency of programmes and services, to mobilize local resources and to provide

coherent planning and delivery of the services at the local level. In fact the state government provide an exhaustive list of functions, which are classified into obligatory (Compulsory) and discretionary (Optional) functions. The obligatory functions are necessary to be performed by the local government. To perform these obligatory functions there is the provision of the sufficient budget in the form of income from the taxes, non-taxes and grants by the state and central government. Failure to perform any of these functions may force the State government to supersede a municipality. Discretionary functions are not compulsory but it depends upon the availability of the funds. Municipal functions listed in the State Municipal Acts (According to the schedule 12th of the Constitution, which lists 18 subjects Box-1) can be seen through the Table 2.3 which is divided in two categories obligatory or discretionary. Primary Education is the responsibility of the local bodies in a large number of states.

Table 2.3 Functions of Urban Local Government

Obligatory Functions	Discretionary Functions
Supply of pure and drinkable water;	Laying out of area
Construction and maintenance of public streets	Securing or removing dangerous buildings or places
Lighting and watering public streets	Construction and maintenance of public parks, gardens, libraries, museums, rest houses, leper homes, orphanages and rescue homes for women, etc.
Regulations of offensive, dangerous or obnoxious trades and callings or practices	Planting and maintenance of roadside and other trees
Cleansing public streets, places and sewers	Housing for low income groups
Maintenance or support of public hospitals	Making a survey
Establishment and maintenance of primary schools	Organizing public receptions, public exhibitions, public entertainment, etc.
Registration of births and deaths	Provision of transport facilities with the municipality
Removing obstructions and protections in public streets, bridges and other places	Promotion of welfare of municipal employees
Naming streets and numbering house	Providing music for the people

Source: Local government in Asia and Pacific: A comparative study, India

www.unescap.org/huset/lgstudy

2.6 Sources of Income

The Municipal Bodies of every state have to perform a vast array of functions for which they require a substantial amount of financial resources to execute their functions and they generate the financial resources from the various external and internal resources. Internal sources comprise income generated from various taxes and non-taxes levied by the municipality. External sources include funds obtained (in the form of grants, loans, etc.) from the Central government, State government, domestic institutions, financial intermediaries and capital markets. Table 2.4 describes the sources of Income of the Municipal Bodies.

Table 2.4 Sources of Income for Urban Local Government

Internal Sources	Description	External Sources	Description
Taxes	Property-Tax, Advertisement-Tax and Vehicle-Tax. Tax on Consumption and sale of electricity. Betterment tax on increase in urban land values caused by the execution of any development or improvement work. Tax on deeds of transfer of immovable property is collected by the State Government and the amount collected within the area under the jurisdiction of a corporation is transferred to it etc.	Central Government	Budgetary allocations Central Finance Commission, etc.
Non-Taxes	License and other fees, Duties and Tolls. Rent from properties. Receipts from markets, Slaughter houses, fairs and Renting of road-sides, etc.	State Government	Budgetary allocations State Finance Commission. Shared taxes with Local-Govt.– Entertainment tax, Motor vehicle tax, etc.
		Domestic Institutions	LIC, ILFS, IDFC, etc.

Source: Challenges for Urban Local Government in India, 2006

www2.lse.ac.uk/asiaResearchCentre.

2.7 Constitution and Composition of the Municipal Bodies (Article 243Q) in Punjab

In Punjab, the municipal bodies are also divided into three categories namely Municipal corporations for the larger urban areas with a population of three lakh or more. Municipal councils for smaller urban areas (further classified in to class A, class B, and class C municipalities on the basis of their population and revenue generation capacity) and the last third category of the Municipal bodies is the Nagar Panchayats, Nagar Panchayats for transitional areas from rural to urban areas. These bodies are governed according to the Punjab Municipal Act 1911 and the Punjab Municipal Corporation Act 1976 was amended in 1994 after the 74th amendment (1992).

The parameters of population and income for the larger urban area as 'Municipal corporations', smaller urban areas as 'Municipal councils' and transitional urban areas as 'Nagar panchayats' have been decided according to the changed criteria that is described in the Punjab Municipal Bill,1999. Table 2.5 presents the specified parameters of Population and income used to designate a city with different urban local body.

Table 2.5 Parameters for the Urban Population and Income

Sr. No.	Class or urban local bodies	Population	Revenue Generated
1	Municipal Corporation	3 lakh or above	2 crore or above
2	Municipal Council Class I	50,000 to 3 Lakh	50 Lakh to 2 crore
3	Municipal Council Class II	10,000 to 50,000	15 Lakh to 50 Lakh
4	Municipal Council Class III	Up to 10,000	Up to 15 Lakh
5	Nagar Panchayats	5,000 and above	More than 150 per head

Source: Key Paper On Urban Local Self Government Institution in Punjab: History Structure, Capacity and Emergency Challenges

2.8 Area and Population of Punjab Municipal Corporation and Council

In Punjab there are Five Municipal Corporation namely Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala and Bathinda. Population ranking shows that Ludhiana (1398467) is at number one, Amritsar (1003917) is at second place, Jalandhar is at third (714077) followed by the Patiala (323884) and Bathinda (217256) at fourth and fifth respectively. Out of total 50,362 sq. km area of state, the area of

Municipal Corporation is 1885.04 (3.74 percent) sq. km. In Municipal corporations 6308 persons are living in one sq. km. while in Municipal councils population per sq. km. is only 3705 and overall 4506 people reside in per sq. km. in municipal area of the State. Table 2.6 shows the area, population and density of Municipal corporations and councils.

Table 2.6 Area, Population and Density of Urban Governance Bodies

Sr. No.	Name	No.	Area (Sq. Km)	% age of Total Area	Population (Census 2001)	% age of Total population	Density of population
1	Municipal Corporation	5	579.80	1.15	3657601	15.05	6308
2	Municipal Council	129	1305.24	2.59	4835754	19.90	3705
Total		134	1885.04	3.74	8493355	34.95	4506

Source: Government of Punjab (India) Municipal Statistics – Punjab, 2008-09

2.9 Women’s Participation in Politics through Constitutional Provisions

After independence it was realize that India’s potentials cannot be realized unless women become equal partner in development and governance of state affairs. To ensure the women’s participation as representatives and voters as well the constitution has made many provisions. These provisions can be found in the following Articles.

- Article-14 of the constitution guarantees equality before law or equal protection under the law to all persons.
- Article-15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the ground of sex, religion, caste, place of birth or any of them.
- Article-15(3) provides for State the right to make special provision for Women and Children.
- Article-16 guarantees for all citizens’ equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

- Article- 325 of the constitution guarantees political equality to women and prohibits exclusion from the electoral rolls on the basis of sex, caste, religion etc.
- Article 326 of the constitution guarantees equal political status to every citizen of India including women

The Directive Principles of State Policy articulate the key policy goals of Indian welfare state. The duty of the state is to provide an appropriate policy, enabling condition and environment to fulfil the Fundamental Right through the Directive Principles: Article 38, Article 39 (a), Article 39 (d), Article 39(e), Article 41, Article 42 and Article 51(1) are exclusively dealt with welfare of women (Basu, 2012).

Besides these articles many other important initiatives have also been undertaken by the Government. The committee on the status of women in India (CSWI) was set up in the year 1971 to look into different aspects of status of women in India including their political participation which released its report in 1974. The report of the committee noted the ineffectiveness of the representation of women in Panchayat Governance System. It started taking initiatives and efforts to encourage participation of women in the rural local governance as well as urban governance system. This committee also recommended for the reservation for women in the legislation bodies which were opposed by some members of the committee. The National Education Policy, 1986 and the 'Report of the National Commission on self-employed women' and 'Women in the Informal Sector and the 'National Policy' for women 2001' etc. have also made significant contribution to understanding the issues related to women participation in the local governance of India (Rout, 2012).

2.9.1 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts: Instrument for Women's Participation

The historic 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment acts were passed and came into force in 24th April, 1993. The most significant features of these Acts are the provision of reservation of 1/3 of seats for women (Article 243 D) in all the 3-tier of Rural Local Governance system. It ensures that not less than one third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct elections in every Panchayat shall be

reserved for women and those seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat (NIAS, 2001).

- Article- 243(D) provides that the office of the chairperson in the Panchayats at the village or any other level shall also be reserved for women and such reservation shall not be less than one third of total number of offices. If there is no Women Chairperson then the post of Vice-chairman shall be reserved for women at all levels of rural local governance.
- Article-243(T) of the Constitution provides for the reservation of seats in favour of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in proportion according to their population in the municipal area. It also makes the provision for the reservation of one-third seats in favour of women candidates. There is parallel reservation for the women of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes though, the Act does not provide for the reservation in favour of other backward classes, the State Legislature may, by law make such reservation in their favour. It should be further noted that the reservation in favour of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women is applicable in offices of members as well as Chairman of the Municipalities (Basu, 2012).

The provisions of reservation under the Constitutional 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts-1993 were made to ensure that women play a major role in rural local self-governance system. It provided women an opportunity to demonstrate their potential and to prove their capability as partners in the process of rural development. The reservation has also given many women a greater understanding of the functioning of politics, in particular the importance of political parties, although it is at local level after this Constitutional Amendment a large number of women have been elected to the PRIs (Jain, 1996).

Chapter 3

Women's Participation in Indian Politics

“Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is need in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioningWithout the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved”

-Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995: Article 181

Political participation may be defined as voluntary participation in political affairs through membership, voting and taking part in the activities of the political parties, legislative bodies and or politically motivated movements (Matthai, 2006). Political participation means not only exercising the right to vote, but also power sharing, co-decision is making, co-policy making at all levels of governance of the state (Singh, 2000). Political participation is broadly defined as being a process through which individual plays a role in political life of his society, has the opportunity to take part in deciding what the common goals of that society are and the best way of achieving these goals. Political participation refers to actual participation in these voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of rules and directly or indirectly in the formulation of public policy (Rashmi, 2000).

In other words, Political participation is a process by which people take part in political activities like: to get the membership of political parties, to hold the election campaigning, attending party meetings, demonstrations, communication with political leaders, to contest the elections, membership in representative bodies, influencing decision-making bodies and other related activities.

Indian constitution, which came into existence in the year 1950, gives the right to take part in all political activities through the Article 325 which guarantees political equality to women and prohibits exclusion from the electoral rolls on the basis of sex, caste, religion and Article 326 of the constitution guarantees equal political status to every citizen of India including women. The constitution also granted the universal adult franchise to all its citizens. In addition to this, India is also a

signatory to a number of international agreements like CEDAW, BPFA (Mir, 2008). In other words, under the constitution and national and international commitments, the state is obliged to promote the rights of women including the political equality without any discrimination on the basis of sex. However, due to these constitutional and legal provisions, although the percentage of female voters have increased from 37.1 percent in the first general elections held in 1952 to 48.10 percent in 2009 Lok Sabha elections (ECI, 2011-12) but women have not achieved the adequate and proper representation in the legislative and other decision making bodies. Report given by the IPU, 2013 reveals that India has only 60 women lawmakers in the current 543 members of Lok Sabha while there are 24 women MPs out of 240 members in Rajya Sabha at present. Two seats in Lok Sabha and five in the Upper House have been lying vacant. This report also reveals that India has only 11 percent representation of women in Lok Sabha and 10.7 percent in Rajya Sabha.

It may be because that the political domain continues to be perceived as male centred and it is, therefore, not conducive for women. Women have been treated by formal political institutions as a mean to fulfil their own interest. Women lack access and control over apex bodies where decisions and policies are discussed and formulated. Women's participation in political process and chances to exercise their political right is hindered due to the absence of stringent mechanisms, policies and laws. In the absence of such laws and policies women lack the self-confidence and skills needed to function effectively in the public sphere. The under representation of women and absence of women from position power strengthen their exploitation and deprivation (Narzary, 2013). In this context the women's greater participation in political domain becomes more necessary. The Indian government therefore, passed the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts to empower the women politically. These affirmative steps, although, has created the space for women in local governments, yet failed to guarantee the non-discriminative and conducive environment for the women and for their political equality, but this legal intervention in higher bodies i.e. Parliament and State Legislative is still absent. Therefore, the issue of women's participation gained more importance (Pujari, 2012).

It is interesting to note that our neighbouring countries Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh have provided the reservation of seats for women in their parliaments. As Article 114 of 1991 of the constitution of Nepal has reserved the 5 percent seats in the lower house and 3 seats in the upper house for Nepalese women. Pakistan made provision for 33 percent reservation of women in the national assembly and 36 out of 342 seats (i.e. 17%) in the senate as per Election Law Quota in 2002. Bangladesh has assured 15% reserved seats for women in its parliament as per 14th constitutional amended introduced in 2004 (Patel, 2010). But the history of the Indian democracy reveals that the Indian government fails to pass the reservation bill which makes the provision of the 33 percent for women in Parliament and State Legislative Assembly. Lapse of the 'Women Reservation Bill' and no amendments in the 'Peoples Representation Act' that enjoins the political parties to allocate the 33 percent tickets to the women candidates, reveals that the women in Indian politics continues to be under represented, unheard and excluded from the decision making process (Subermanian, 2002).

Their actual participation in government and government institutions is not possible unless they provide their adequate share in the political system of the country. Different scholars and writers keep on lamenting on the issue of low women's participation. However, the actual position of the women participation in the political affairs of the country can be gauged through the assessment and analysis of the data available from different sources. It has been tried to highlight the picture of women's representation in politics by analysing different election results.

3.1 Number of Women Elected Representatives

According to the provisional population totals of census 2011, out of total population i.e. 1,210,193,422, 623,724,248 are males and they constitute 51.53 percent whereas 586,469,174 are females and they form approximately half of the population i.e. 48.46 percent. And as per the statistical report given by the election commission of India, 2011-12, in 2004 elections there were 321997066 women electors i.e. 48.26 percent while male electors were 34940864 i.e. 51.74 percent in 2004. In 2009 elections also female electors constituted 48.10 percent and male electors constituted 51.90 percent.

From the above figure it is clear that women's percentage as electors and their population is not very less as compare to that of men but still women are not been able to get an equal status and share in the political sphere because there are only 59 women in Lok Sabha out of 545 and 21 in Rajya Sabha out of 245 got elected as member of Parliament even after the adoption of constitution which heralded a new era for the equality of women in India. Despite the fact that women's participation in the political arena and in the decision making bodies is not in proportion to their population, except in the local bodies. Their effective participation, even in these bodies, leaves much to be desired (Narain et. al, 2005). To study the number of elected representatives in India, it has been tried to analyze the women's representation in elections and their participation in Indian Legislatures over the last few years.

3.2 Participation of Women in the Parliament – Lok Sabha (Lower House) and Rajya Sabha (Upper House)

Data collected on the extent of women's participation in government at both local and central levels shows that, despite efforts of some improvements in the social and economic condition of women in India in the last few decades, women are still profoundly underrepresented. In all the elections held since independence, women had had the voting rights. Women's representation in all the elections held since 1952 may be seen in the Table 3.1. The number of women contestants in Parliamentary elections has not increased significantly over the years. Female representation in the lower house of the Indian Parliament is much less than the world average of 20 percent, lower than the "critical mass" required to introduce gender parity in political decision making and legislation (Sivan, 2010). Political parties are still reluctant to bring women candidates at national level governance process. In the second Lok Sabha election, the number of women representatives was merely 22, which was only 4.4% of the total seats in the Lok Sabha. The sixth Lok sabha in the year 1977 saw an all-time low of just 19 women representatives. The fourteenth Lok Sabha had 45 women i.e. 8.29% of the total seats represented by women candidates. It increased marginally over the years.

Table 3.1 Participation of Women in Lok Sabha Elections

Lok Sabha Election	Total no of seats	Total seats contested by women	Seats won by women	Percentage of seats won of contested seats	Percentage of seats won of total seats (women members)
First-1952	489	-	-	-	-
Second -1957	494	45	22	48.89	4.45
Third-1962	494	66	31	46.97	6.27
Fourth-1967	520	67	29	43.28	5.57
Fifth- 1971	518	86	21	24.41	4.05
Sixth-1977	542	70	19	27.14	3.50
Seventh-1980	542	143	28	19.58	5.16
Eight-1984	543	162	42	25.93	7.74
Ninth-1989	543	198	29	14.64	5.34
Tenth-1991	543	326	37	11.35	7.10
Eleventh-1996	543	599	40	6.68	7.36
Twelfth-1998	543	274	43	15.69	7.91
Thirteenth-1999	543	284	49	17.25	9.02
Fourteenth-2004	545	355	45	12.67	8.29
Fifteenth-2009	545	556	59	10.61	10.8

Source: Election Commission of India.

http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx.

Analysis of trends of women's' participation to contest elections in Rajya Sabha Table 3.2 indicates that there has been a poor representation of women in the Rajya Sabha also. In 1952 there were only 16 women members in the Rajya Sabha which was 7.3 percent of the total seat which increased to 15.5 percent in 1991 but again in 1998 the percentage reached to the level of 1952 that was 7.3 %. In year 2004 there was a slight increase (11.4%) in the percentage of women representative but again dropped to 8.6 percent in 2009.

Table 3.2 Women Representation in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House)

Year	Total seats (No.)	No. of women members	Percentage of women members to total
1952	219	16	7.3
1957	237	18	7.6
1962	238	18	7.6
1967	240	20	8.3
1971	243	17	7.0
1977	244	25	10.2
1980	244	24	9.8
1985	244	28	11.4
1990	245	24	9.7
1991	245	38	15.5
1992	245	17	6.9
1994	245	20	8.1
1996	223	20	9.0
1997	245	18	7.3
1998	245	15	6.1
1999	245	19	7.8
2004	245	28	11.4
2009	245	21	8.6

Source: Election Commission of India.
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

3.2 Representation of Women in State Legislatures

Another Table 3.3 depicts the performance of women as contested and elected candidates during the last three elections in all State Legislative Assembly. From this table one can examine that women's political representation at the state level as gauged by their membership in State Legislatures is abysmally low and the number of female representatives in Legislative Assemblies in most of the states of India is also below the 20 percent mark reflecting a pan Indian gender exclusion from electoral participation and quality representation (Rai, 2011). The latest data from the States show that the percentage of elected women in Jammu & Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Gujarat, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Haryana have observed more than 10 percent but in Bihar the percentage of contested and elected women increased significantly from 5.86 percent in 2000 and 10.29 percent in 2005 to 13.99 in last elections held in 2010.

In other states like Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh also the percentage of elected women members has increased in their respective Legislative Assembly elections but their representation as a whole is not very encouraging. Pondicherry, Nagaland and Mizoram are the three states where no women got elected during the last three elections. In these states the performance of women is nil. In the National Capital Territory Delhi the percentage has declined from 12.86 (1998) to 4.29 (2008). In a big state like Uttar Pradesh also only 35 women were elected against total 403 seats. After examining this table 3.3 it can be said that despite the increase in electoral participation of women, their representation in the formal political structures has not changed much.

Table 3.3 Participation of Women in State Legislative Assemblies

States/UT	Years of elections	No. of seats	No. of women contestants	No. of women elected	Percentage of successful candidate	Percentage of representation for women
Andhra Pradesh	2009	294	300	34	11.33	11.56
	2004	294	161	26	16.15	8.84
	1999	294	157	28	17.83	9.52
Arunachal Pradesh	2009	60	9	2	22.22	3.33
	2004	60	9	0	0.00	0.00
	1999	60	4	1	25.00	1.67
Assam	2011	126	85	14	16.47	11.11
	2006	126	70	13	18.57	10.32
	2001	126	55	10	18.18	7.94
Bihar	2010	243	307	34	11.07	13.99
	2005 Oct	243	138	25	18.12	10.29
	2005Feb	243	234	3	1.28	1.23
	2000	324	189	19	10.05	5.86
Chhattisgarh	2008	90	94	11	11.70	12.22
	2003	90	62	5	8.06	5.56
Delhi	2008	70	81	3	3.70	4.29
	2003	70	78	7	8.97	10.00
	1998	70	57	9	15.79	12.86
Goa	2012	40	10	1	10.00	2.50
	2007	40	14	1	7.14	2.50
	2002	40	11	1	9.09	2.50

Contd....

States/UT	Years of elections	No. of seats	No. of women contestants	No. of women elected	Percentage of successful candidate	Percentage of representation for women
Gujarat	2007	182	88	16	18.18	8.79
	2002	182	37	12	32.43	6.59
	1998	182	49	4	8.16	2.20
Haryana	2009	90	69	9	13.04	10.00
	2005	90	60	11	18.33	12.22
	2000	90	49	4	8.16	4.44
Himachal Pradesh	2007	68	25	5	20.00	7.35
	2003	68	31	4	12.90	5.88
	1998	68	25	6	24.00	8.82
Jammu & Kashmir	2008	87	67	3	4.48	3.45
	2002	87	30	2	6.67	2.30
	1996	87	17	2	11.76	2.30
Jharkhand	2009	81	107	8	7.48	9.88
	2005	81	94	3	3.19	3.70
Karnataka	2008	224	107	3	2.80	1.34
	2004	224	101	6	5.94	2.68
	1999	224	62	6	9.68	2.68
Kerala	2011	140	83	7	8.43	5.00
	2006	140	70	7	10.00	5.00
	2001	140	54	8	14.81	5.71
Madhya Pradesh	2008	230	226	25	11.06	10.87
	2003	230	199	19	9.55	8.26
	1998	320	181	26	14.36	8.13
Maharashtra	2009	288	211	11	5.21	3.82
	2004	288	157	12	7.64	4.17
	1999	288	86	12	13.95	4.17
Manipur	2012	60	15	3	20.00	5.00
	2007	60	12	0	0.00	0.00
	2002	60	7	1	14.29	1.67
Meghalaya	2008	60	21	1	4.76	1.67
	2003	60	14	2	14.29	3.33
	1998	60	15	3	20.00	5.00
Mizoram	2008	40	9	0	0.00	0.00
	2003	40	7	0	0.00	0.00
	1998	40	10	0	0.00	0.00

Contd....

States/UT	Years of elections	No. of seats	No. of women contestants	No. of women Elected	Percentage of successful candidate	Percentage of representation for women
Nagaland	2008	60	4	0	0.00	0.00
	2003	60	3	0	0.00	0.00
	1998	60	0	0	0.00	0.00
Orissa	2009	147	129	7	5.43	4.76
	2004	147	55	11	20.00	7.48
	2000	147	59	13	22.03	8.84
Punjab	2012	117	93	14	15.05	11.97
	2007	116	56	7	12.50	6.03
	2002	117	71	8	11.27	6.84
Pondicherry	2011	30	6	0	0.00	0.00
	2006	30	12	0	0.00	0.00
	2001	30	9	0	0.00	0.00
Rajasthan	2008	200	154	28	18.18	14.00
	2003	200	118	12	10.17	6.00
	1998	200	69	14	20.29	7.00
Sikkim	2009	32	15	4	26.67	12.50
	2004	32	6	3	50.00	9.38
	1999	32	6	1	16.67	3.13
Tamilnadu	2011	234	143	17	11.89	7.26
	2006	234	156	22	14.10	9.40
	2001	234	112	25	22.32	10.68
Tripura	2008	60	31	3	9.68	5.00
	2003	60	19	2	10.53	3.33
	1998	60	21	2	9.52	3.33
Uttar Pradesh	2012	403	583	35	6.00	8.68
	2007	403	370	23	6.22	5.71
	2002	403	344	26	7.56	6.45
Uttarakhand	2012	70	63	5	7.94	7.14
	2007	69	56	4	7.14	5.80
	2002	70	72	4	5.56	5.71
West Bengal	2001	294	174	34	19.54	11.56
	2006	294	139	37	26.62	12.59
	2001	294	114	28	24.56	9.52

Source: Statistical Report of Assembly Elections-Election Commission of India
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

From the above analysis it becomes clear that their representation as members of Legislative Assembly has not changed much even after the constitutional assurance. Today women are facing difficulty to get their foot into the politics without having any strong political background or strong political relations with the political parties. The presence of few women in leadership positions cannot encourage the entry of more numbers of women in political arena. The analysis of the above data clearly depicts that women's participation and representation needs considerable attention (Narayan, 2005).

3.3 Women Contesting Elections

Elections have been considered the pillar of the democracy. Elections create a sense of involvement and participation among the citizens and increased the interest in the political affairs of the country. In India elections are conducted after every five years and modes of conduct are based on the Representation of People Act-1951. India being the largest democracy in the world is also a land of diversities has ensured the adequate representation of all majority and minority communities through the electoral processes. Electoral process works as an agent of social change by electing the representatives, periodically. It is an integrating factor within the political system and a mechanism of social change at the three main levels i.e. Village, the state and the centre (Forrester, 1968).

3.4 Women as Electors

The right to vote provides the citizens a mean to participate in the process of governance. Voting has been the most universal and regularized political activity, and in terms of the overall impact of the citizen on governmental performance, it may be the single most important act. Voting represents a mass involvement of most citizens at scheduled times. As a part of the electoral process it exerts a great pressure upon the leaders and hence it is called a blunt but powerful instrument of control upon the government and decision makers (Verba and Nie, 1972). Political participation means to participate as electors, as voters, as contestant candidate and as elected candidates. Though voting is an important indicator of political participation and mobilization, but it is not necessarily indicator of representation. Voting is a tool of political equality and it mobilizes women but

voting by itself does not result in the desired end of equality (Subermanian, 2002). Their current participation as voter, as electors can be analysed through the following Figures 3.1 and 3.2 and through the Tables B(1) and B(2) given in Appendix Part (B) in Politics during the last two elections.

From the analysis of results of last two parliamentary elections held in 2004 (14th) and 2009 (15th), it is clear that the numbers of women electors were 321997066 and they constitute 48.26 percent while male electors were 34940864 and they constitute up 51.74 percent in 2004 elections. In 2009 elections, female electors constituted 48.10 percent and male electors constituted 51.90 percent. From the Figures 3.1 and 3.2 it can be concluded that the percentage of women electors is almost similar to the men electors. The exercise of franchise by a citizen is the most obvious manifestation of political participation.

Table B (3) and Table B (4) given in Appendix Part (B) portrays the percentage of female voters who used their right of vote during the elections 2004 and 2009. During the elections 2004 the percentage of female and male voters was 45.97 percent and 53.85 per cent respectively but there were few states such as Kerala, Meghalaya, Daman & Diu Lakshadweep and Pondicherry where the percentage of female voters was observed high. In 2009 Lok Sabha elections female and male voters share was observed 46.88 percent and 52.97 per cent respectively.

From the above analysis (show the percentage of voter turnout) we find that Indian women have been becoming more aware about the right of their adult franchise. The percentage of women's voter turnout had increased from 37.1% in the 1951-1952 first general elections to 46.88 percent in 2009 general elections. The gap between male and female voter turnout was 15.9 percent in 1951-1952 first general elections and it decreased slowly over the years which came down to 7.88 percent in 2009 general elections but this narrowing gap does not show the women participation as elective candidates, but as voters only. So the increment in the percentage of voter turnout has not led to the path of more representation of women in the Legislative bodies.

Fig. 3.1 State Wise Percentage of Electors (General Elections, 2004)

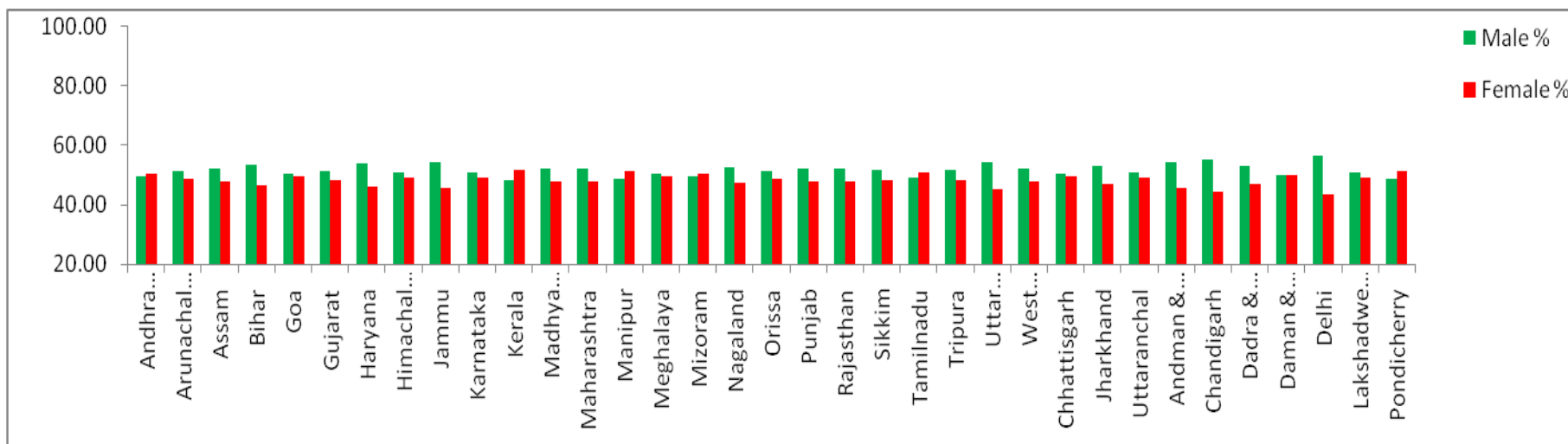


Fig. 3.2 State Wise Percentage of Electors (General Elections, 2009)

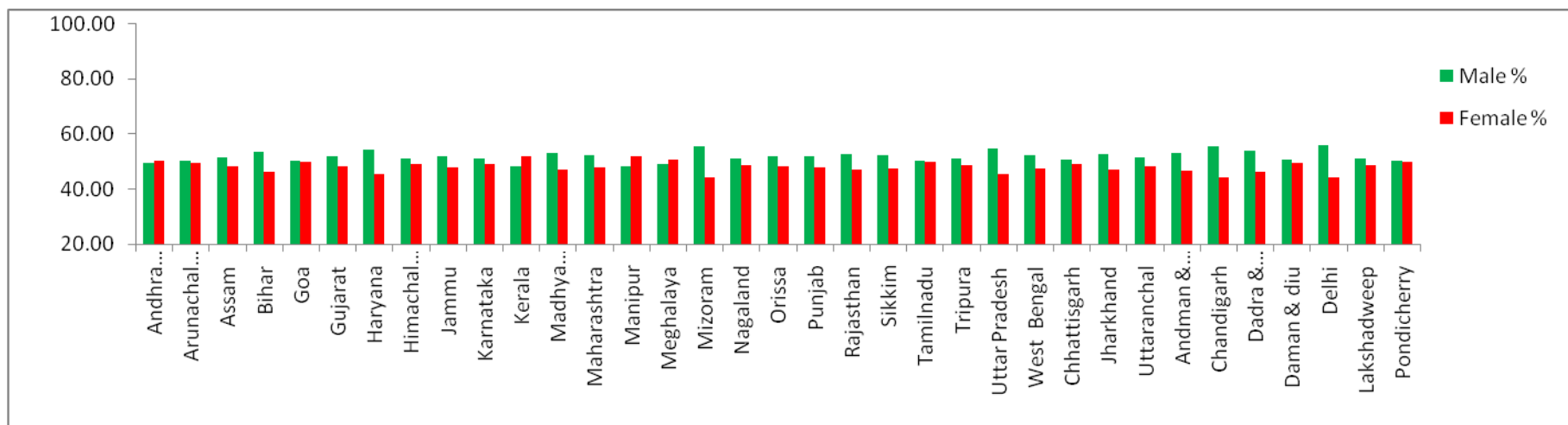


Fig.3.3 State Wise Percentage of Voters (General Elections, 2004)

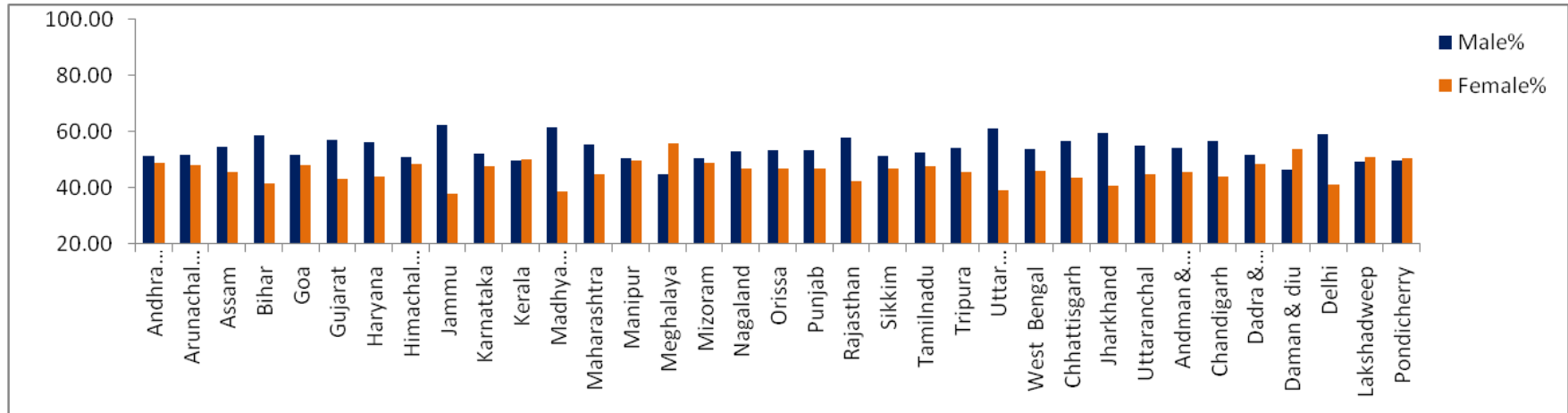
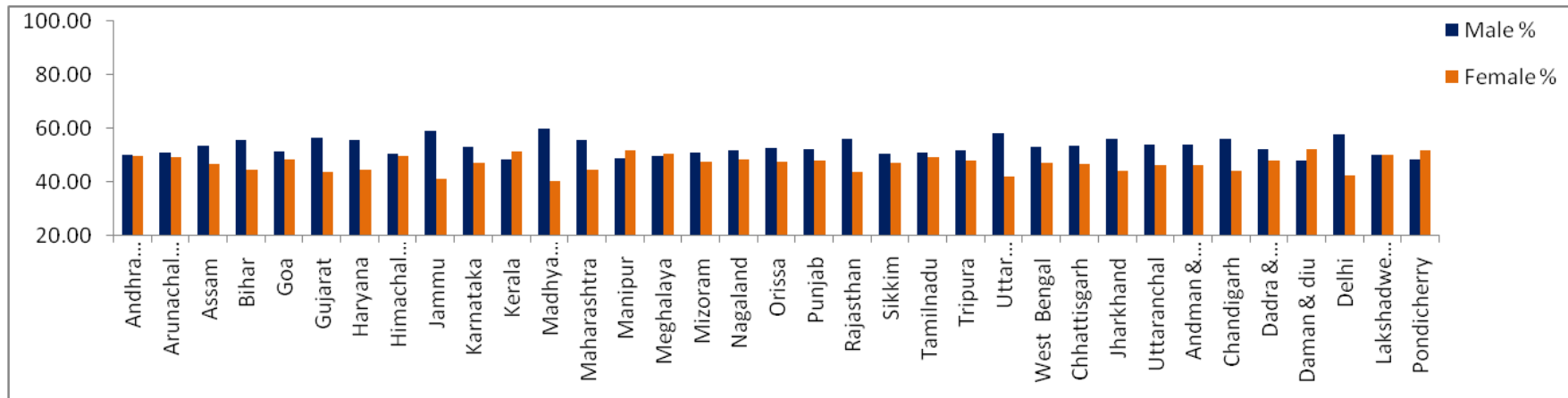


Fig. 3.4 State Wise Percentage of Voters (General Elections, 2009)



3.5 Women as Contesting Candidates

The democratic system in India is based on the principle of universal adult suffrage, and any Indian citizen who is registered as a voter and is over 25 years of age is allowed to contest elections to the Lok Sabha or State Legislative Assemblies (Figueras, 2011). But Women's political participation was very negligible immediately after the independence though they had played a vital role for getting independence for the country. The statistics clearly indicate that during the 1952 elections the percentage of women contestants were as low as 2.29 per cent. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was quite appalled at the low representation of women in Parliament at that time and expressing his anguish over the issue he wrote thus on the matter in his letter to the Chief Ministers:

“There are over 700 of them as between the two Houses. I have noticed with great regret how few women have been elected. I suppose this is so in the State Assemblies and Councils also. I think we are very much to be blamed. It is not a matter of showing favour to any one or even of injustice, but rather of doing something, which is not conducive to the future growth of our country. I am quite sure that our real and basic growth will only come when women have a full chance to play their part in public life. Our laws are man-made, our society dominated by man, and so most of us naturally take a very lopsided view of the matter. We cannot be objective, because we have grown up in certain grooves of thought and action. But the future of India will probably depend ultimately more upon the women than the men”

Jawahar Lal Nehru, Letters to the Chief Ministers, Voll-I, p.615

In the later years the number of women contesting elections increased at a very low pace. The two elections where there has been a noticeable increase in the number of women contestants are those held in 1980 and 1998. They occurred at the time when the Committee for the Status of Women, 1974 made their recommendations and the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments were passed. In 2004 and 2009 elections also the percentage of women contestants grew but as compared to men contestant the share of women is very low. According to Haider. (1998, p.386), “One encouraging fact that emerges from the data available for the

Lok Sabha elections from the year 1952 to 1996 is that the total number of women who contested the elections has been consistently going up.”

Table 3.4 Women as Contestants

Year	Males	Females	Males Percentage	Females Percentage	Total
1952	1831	43	97.71	2.29	1874
1980	4478	142	96.93	3.07	4620
1984	5149	164	96.91	3.09	5313
1991	8374	325	96.26	3.74	8699
1996	13353	599	95.71	4.29	13952
1998	4708	271	94.56	5.44	4979
2004	5080	355	94.28	5.72	5435
2009	7514	556	93.58	6.42	8070

Source: i) Women in India - A Statistical Profile, 1997, Department of Women and Child Development, New Delhi.

ii) Election Commission of India

http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 show the participation of women as contestants in different states of India during 2004 and 2009 elections. In both the elections 2004 and 2009, there was no state in which the percentage of female candidates was observed high as compare to their male counterparts. Moreover there were few states like Arunachal Pradesh Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Daman & Diu where no female even contested the elections.

Fig. 3.5 Percentage of State Wise Contesting Candidates (General Elections 2004)

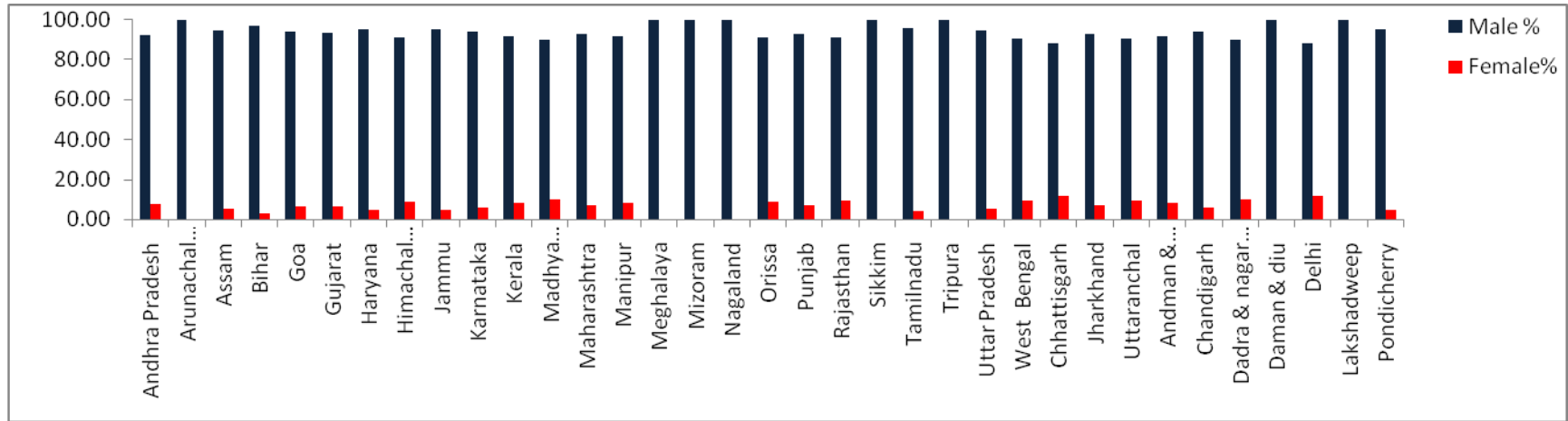
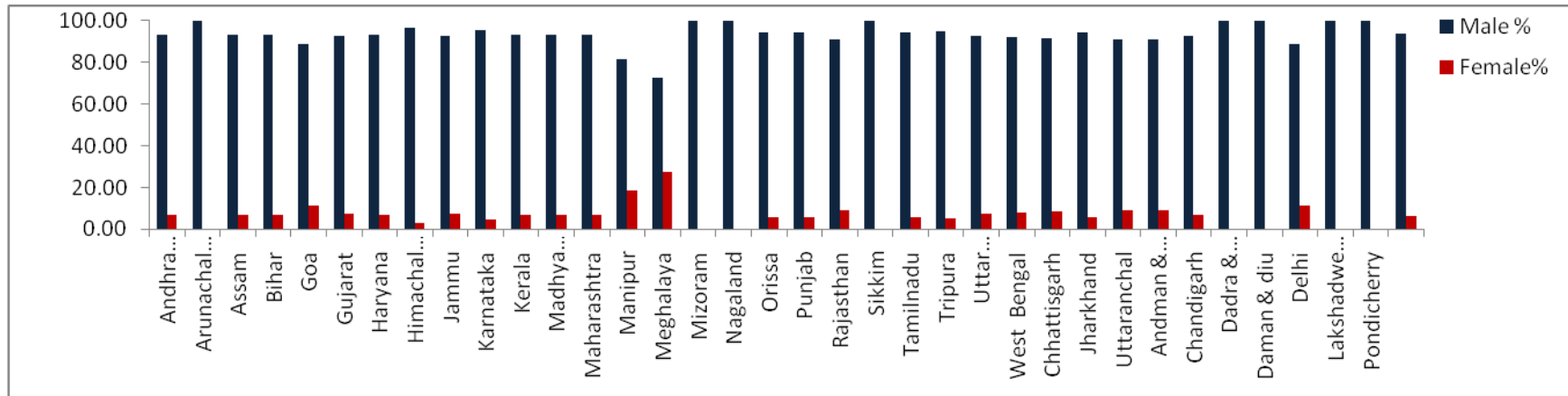


Fig.3.6 Percentage of State Wise Contesting Candidates (General Elections 2009)



3.6 Women as Winners

“It is very difficult for women to make up her mind to enter Politics. Once she makes up her own mind, and then she has to prepare her husband and her children and her family. Once she has overcome all these obstacles and applies for the ticket, then the male aspirant against whom she is applying make up all sorts of stories about her and after all these, when her name goes to the party bosses, they do not select her name because they fear losing that seats”

Sushma Sawaraz, MP of India

It is true that women contestants have to face a lot of opposition from family, community and political leaders if women decide to enter into politics. Political parties also do not provide the candidature, and do not make the fund available to women candidates easily during the elections. If the members of political party provide the fund then they start to underestimate women candidates after achieving the success in the elections. Ground reality is that the process of selection and nomination for candidature is biased because the party gives the ticket only to those members who have more chances to win the elections. It is therefore at the party level that the principle of equality must be put into practice. Moreover, political parties, which are traditionally male bastions, need to be further encouraged to revise their status, admit more women into their internal structures and include them as candidates in elections (Dahlerup, 2005).

In 2009, the number of women who contested the elections for 543 Lok Sabha seats was 556 of which 59 won (7.5 per cent of total) which is 10.6 percent of the total women contested. Out of total 7514 men contested in 2009, 484 (92.49 per cent of total) won the elections which is 6.44 percent of the total men contested. This clearly shows that the chances of winning of women are high (almost double) as compared to men Table 3.5. In 2004 election 494 men out of total 5080 contested men (9.8 percent) while 45 women out of total 355 women contested (12.67 percent) won the seats, thus all the time women success rate is very high.

Table 3.5 Women's Representation

Year	Electors		Voters		Contested		Elected	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male (number)	Female (number)	Male	Female
2004	51.74	48.26	53.85	45.97	94.28 (5080)	5.72 (355)	94.38 (498)	5.62 (45)
2009	51.90	48.10	52.97	46.88	93.58 (7514)	6.42 (556)	92.49 (484)	7.51 (59)

Source: Election Commission of India.

http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

If we look at the state wise number of elected women in Parliament only from the Punjab through the Table B(7) given in Appendix Part B and Figures 3.7 and 3.8 depicts that only 2 women namely Preneet Kaur and Paramjit Kaur Gulshan got elected out of the total Punjab Parliament Constituencies seats i.e. Eleven (11) Candidates. And, in 2009 elections, Table B (8) had given in Appendix Part B and from the Fig.3.8, four females from the Punjab state who won the parliament seats or constituencies. The names of four Member of Parliament are Harsimrat Kaur Badal from Bathinda, Santosh Chowdhary from Hoshiarpur, Paramjit Kaur Gulshan Faridkot and Preneet Kaur from Patiala. In Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Meghalaya elected women percentage was more than 20 in 2009 election. In short their participation as elected candidates has been abysmally poor in Politics. Besides this there were some states where there was no female who contested the elections, while winning the election is far-fetched dream in respective states.

Fig. 3.7 Percentage of State Wise Elected Candidates in Parliament (General Elections 2007)

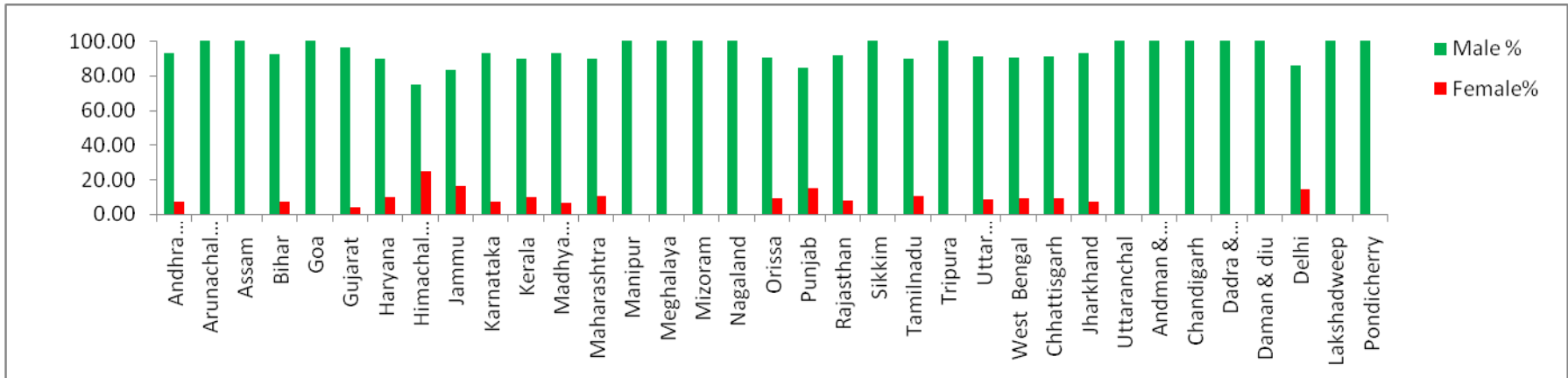
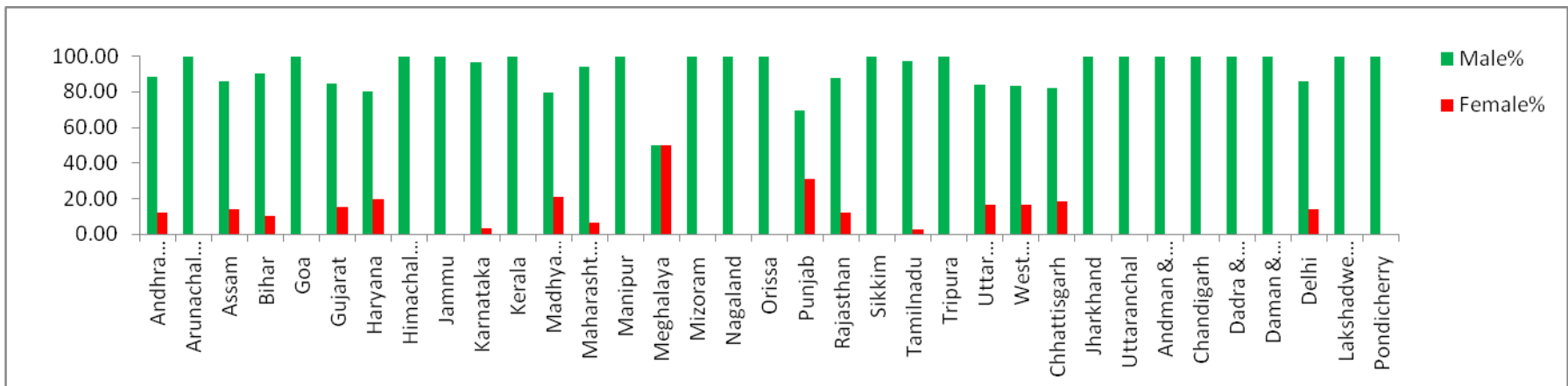


Fig. 3.8 Percentage of State Wise Elected Candidates in Parliament (General Elections 2009)



The above analyses clearly indicates that there are very few women present in Parliament and legislative bodies in the Indian states and the proportion of women in the legislature remains low even in those states where women have a better quality of life in terms of access to education and life expectancy such as Kerala (Chhibber, 2002). There is no doubt that due to the right to vote and to participate in the electoral process on the ground of equality women are becoming aware and participating in the elections but still they are not actively participating in the Political life. Women's participation in the political process is very crucial to strengthen the democratic institutions or traditions and to struggle against subjugation. The struggle for women's reservation at the higher levels of political institutions is still going on. In other words the enactment of the 85th constitutional amendment act is still seems to be a distant dream. The struggle for equality in economic, social and political spheres will continue until they are achieved. Only then can women charter their political agenda to build a gender just society (Shamim and Kumari, 2002).

Chapter 4

Women's Participation in Punjab Politics

Punjab is one of the states in northern India that is known for its rich history and deep cultural heritage. In 1947, the Punjab Province of British India was divided into two parts i.e. Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab. The Indian Punjab, again, was divided in 1966 and three states namely Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and the present Punjab came into existence. The state is sub-divided into three parts namely Malwa, Majha and Doaba. Malwa region covers the southern part of the Punjab and it comprises the cities like Ludhiana, Patiala, Bathinda and Mohali, whereas Majha embraces modern districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Tarn Taran and Doaba is one of the most fertile regions which includes bigger cities such as Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Adampur, Nawansher and Phagwara. A political boundary map has been shown in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, which show twenty districts (Fazilka and Pathankot were formed in the year 2011). The present form of the Punjab Legislative Assembly is unicameral and it consists of 117 members, directly elected from 117 single -seat constituencies with the tenure of five years. The state of Punjab is divided into twenty two districts (Chamber, 2011).

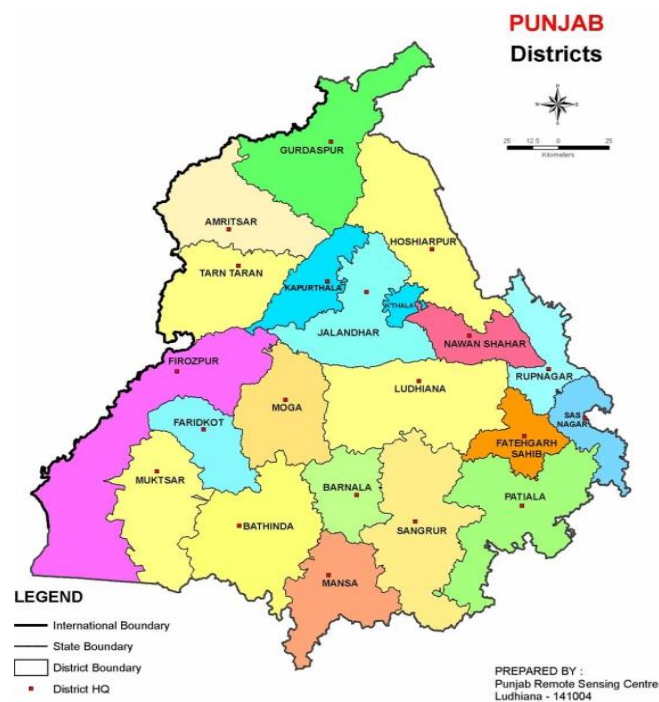


Fig 4.1 Map of Punjab (Source: PRSC, Ludhiana)

Assembly constituencies - Post delimitation
State : Punjab

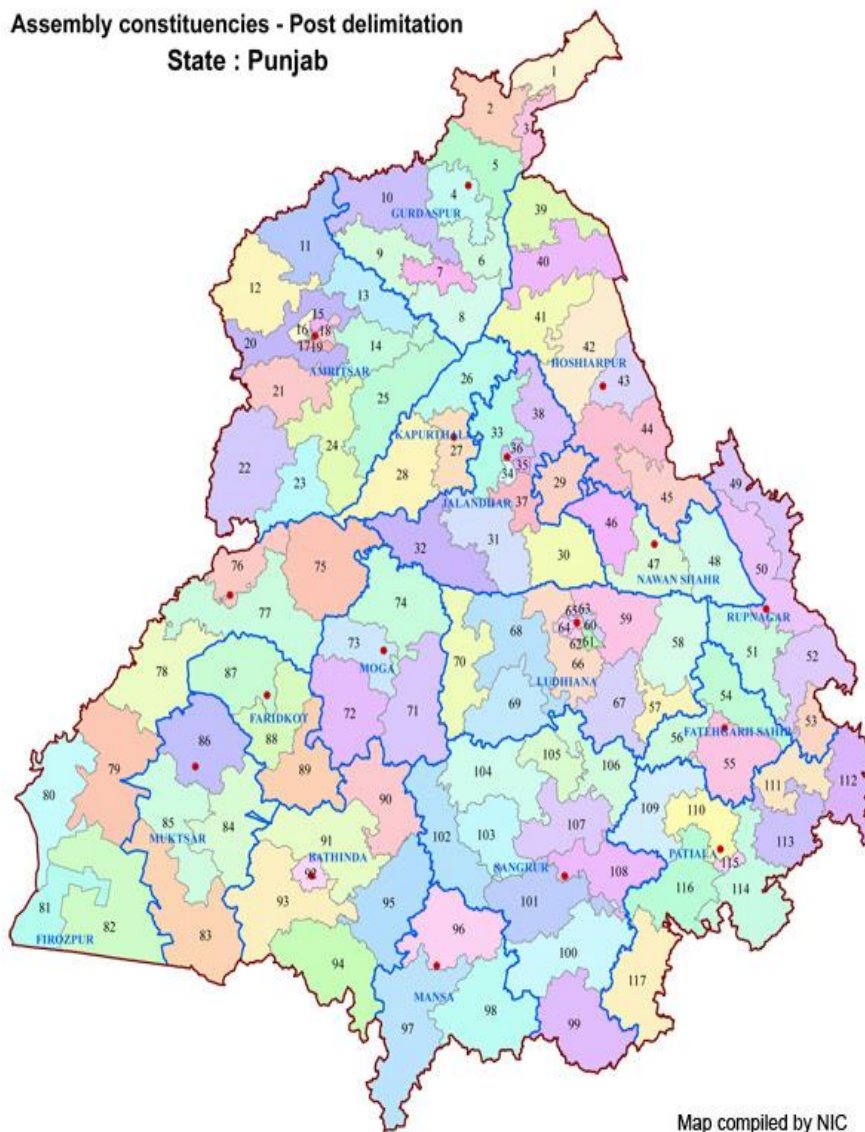


Fig 4.2 Assembly Constituencies of Punjab (Source: NIC)

Table: 4.1 Area, Population and Headquarter of Each District of Punjab

Sr. No.	District	Area in 000' sq. Km	Population	Headquarters
			2011 Census (Provisional Data)	
1	Amritsar	5,094	24,90,891	Amritsar
2	Bathinda	3,382	13,88,859	Bathinda
3	Faridkot	1,469	6,18,008	Faridkot
4	Fatehgarh Sahib	1,180	5,99,814	Fatehgarh Sahib
5	Ferozepur	5,300	20,26,831	Ferozepur
6	Gurdaspur	3,569	22,99,026	Gurdaspur
7	Hoshiarpur	3,364	15,82,793	Hoshiarpur
8	Jalandhar	2,634	21,81,753	Jalandhar
9	Kapurthala	1,633	8,17,668	Kapurthala
10	Ludhiana	3,767	34,87,882	Ludhiana
11	Mansa	2,169	7,68,808	Mansa
12	Moga	2,216	9,92,289	Moga
13	Mukthsar	2,615	9,02,702	Muktsar
14	Nawanshahr	1,266	6,14,362	Nawanshehar
15	Patiala	3,627	18,92,282	Patiala
16	Rupnagar	2,056	6,83,349	Rupnagar
17	Sangrur	5,021	16,54,408	Sangrur
18	Barnala*	1,410	5,96,294	Barnala
19	Mohali*	1,098	9,86,147	Mohali
20	Tarn Taran*	2,449	11,20,070	Tarn Taran
21	Pathankot	0	0	Pathankot
22	Fazilka	0	0	Fazilka
Punjab		50,362 sq.Km	2,77,04,236	

Source: Census of India, 2011,

<http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/>

4.1 Political History of Punjab

Before Independence, there were four main parties namely Akali Dal, Indian National Congress, Muslim League and the Unionist party. The Unionist party dominated the political scene of Punjab under the leadership of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan from the World War-I to 1946 Punjab Assembly elections. After the death of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, the Muslim League emerged as the largest party and during the elections of 1946 declared to form the government in the province but this party failed to achieve an absolute majority. As a result, the coalition government was formed by three parties; the Congress, the Unionist party and the

Akali Dal. From 1947-1966 the Punjab politics was mainly dominated by largest party of India i.e. Indian National Congress. In 1966, Punjab was divided into Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab under the State Reorganization Bill, 1966. Afterwards, under the leadership of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Akali Dal started gaining importance in Punjab. After the death of Bhindranwale in the Operation Bluestar, Akali Dal lost its Political importance and also power in Punjab politics and Indian National Congress again came into power in 1992. In 1997 Akali Dal was voted to power and in 2002, Congress again marked the victory (Khan, 2005). In both the 2007 and 2012 elections of Punjab Legislative Assembly, SAD-BJP coalition formed the government in Punjab.

4.2 Women in Punjab Politics

In 1962, when Punjab was not divided, it had 154 assembly constituencies. In the state assembly elections held in the same year, 742 male and 14 female candidates were in the fray, out of which 146 males and 8 females (5 percent) won their respective seats. The number of male electors in that year was 5874037 (54 percent) and number of female electors was 4871615 (46 percent). After 50 years, in the assembly election of 2012, there were 117 seats for which 985 male and 103 females contested the elections out of which 93 males (88 percent) and 14 females (11.96 percent) were able to get success. The number of male and female electors in 2012 was 9381331(54.18 percent) and 8384356 (48.37 percent) respectively. The above data shows that despite the percentage of female electors being 46 percent and 48 percent in 1962 and 2012 respectively, their representation in state assembly is not proportionate and was only 5 percent and 12.82 percent two elections (ECI, Punjab, 2011-12).

The above data clearly depicts their participation has increased as voters but their representation in legislative assembly remains low i.e.12.82 percent. Political participation is quite different from the political representation because in Political participation one can involve the use of right to vote during the elections, to contest the elections for the public offices but the political representation is to have hold on the decision making process and to act as an representative of the people. For instance, the increase of votes cast by women in elections from 10 to 40% of total votes casted in eight years signifies a form of increase in participation.

But when the number of women holding public offices, when compared to men, is relatively low, there is under representation (Agbalajobi, 2010).

There are many social, cultural and familial reasons due to which women are not able to come in the front and take part actively. There is also absence of strong economic base as they are mainly dependant on their families and do not have their direct source of income. Besides, they are expected to take up household chores, due to which they are most of the time remain inside their houses. Male dominance is so prominent in case of women representatives in local bodies that their male relatives are active and dispose their (Banarjee,1984).

4.3 Women as Elector and Voter

The right to vote provides the citizens a mean to participate in the decision making process through the elected representatives. In a country like India most of the citizens participate in governmental affairs only through voting. Voting, therefore, has been considered the most universal and regularized political activity. In the case of women, voting is the most important mode of political participation because it broadens the base of women's political participation and helps to strengthen women's faith in the political process which is otherwise dominated by men (Patel, 2010).

The result of 2007 Punjab Assembly Elections Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 indicates that out of the total electors i.e. 16918355, male electors were 8764790 and they constituted 51.74% while female electors were 7668535 and they constituted 48.26% which was slightly less as compare to that of male voters. In 2012, the total voters of all twenty districts were 17754814 and male & female numbers were 9381331 and 8384356 respectively. But in these two elections (2007 & 2012) the situation of male electors is quite different because their percentage increased from 51.74 in 2007 elections to 54.18 in 2012 elections whereas the percentage of female electors has been observed almost the same during the 2012 elections i.e. 48.37 percent as it observed in 2007 i.e. 48.26. From the below two tables it becomes clear that there was no district in Punjab, during both the State Assembly Elections, where the percentage of Female voters was observed higher than that of male voters.

Table 4.2 Percentage of Male and Female Electors in Punjab Assembly Election, 2007

Parliamentary Constituencies (District Names)	Electors (%)		
	Total	Male %	Female %
Gurdaspur	1445269	51.16	48.84
Amritsar	2218746	51.83	48.17
Jalandhar	1356812	51.01	48.99
Kapurthala	499312	50.23	49.77
Hoshiarpur	1024688	50.13	49.87
Nawanshahr	379150	50.31	49.69
Ludhiana	2062304	52.29	47.71
Ropar	798123	52.36	47.64
Patiala	1322027	52.07	47.93
Fatehgarh	309681	52.07	47.93
Sangrur	1403285	52.56	47.44
Ferozepur	1203181	51.80	48.20
Moga	558433	52.25	47.75
Faridkot (SC)	467475	52.04	47.96
Mukthsar	553016	51.96	48.04
Bathinda	769240	52.72	47.28
Mansa	547613	52.76	47.24
Total	16918355	51.74	48.26

Source: Statistical Report on Legislative Elections of Punjab, 2007. Election Commission of India

Table 4.2 Percentage of Male and Female Electors in Punjab Assembly Election, 2012

Parliamentary Constituencies/ District No. & Name	Electors (%)		
	Total	Male (%)	Female (%)
01-Gurdaspur	1519854	52.26	47.74
02-Amaritsar	1651717	52.70	47.30
03-Tarn-Taran	682791	52.21	47.79
04-Kapurthala	514829	51.73	48.27
05-Jalandhar (SC)	1393747	52.03	47.97
06-Hoshiarpur(SC)	1073470	51.50	48.5
07-Nawan Shahr	420167	51.68	48.32
08-Rupnagar	487786	53.18	46.82
09-SAS Nagar	529519	53.30	46.69
10-Fatehgarh Sahib	375522	53.21	46.79
11-Ludhiana	2138829	53.47	46.53
12-Moga	665279	53.13	46.87
13-Ferozepur	1242523	52.99	47.01
14-Muktsar	586062	52.72	47.28
15- Faridkot (SC)	398845	52.93	47.07
16-Bathinda	904702	53.62	46.38
17-Mansa	502711	53.60	46.40
18-Sangrur	1021069	53.66	46.33
19-Barnala	420866	53.43	46.57
20-Patiala	1224526	53.58	47.36
Total	17754814	54.18	48.37

Source: Chief Electoral Officer, Punjab

Fig. 4.3 Male and Female Electors (Punjab Assembly Election, 2007)

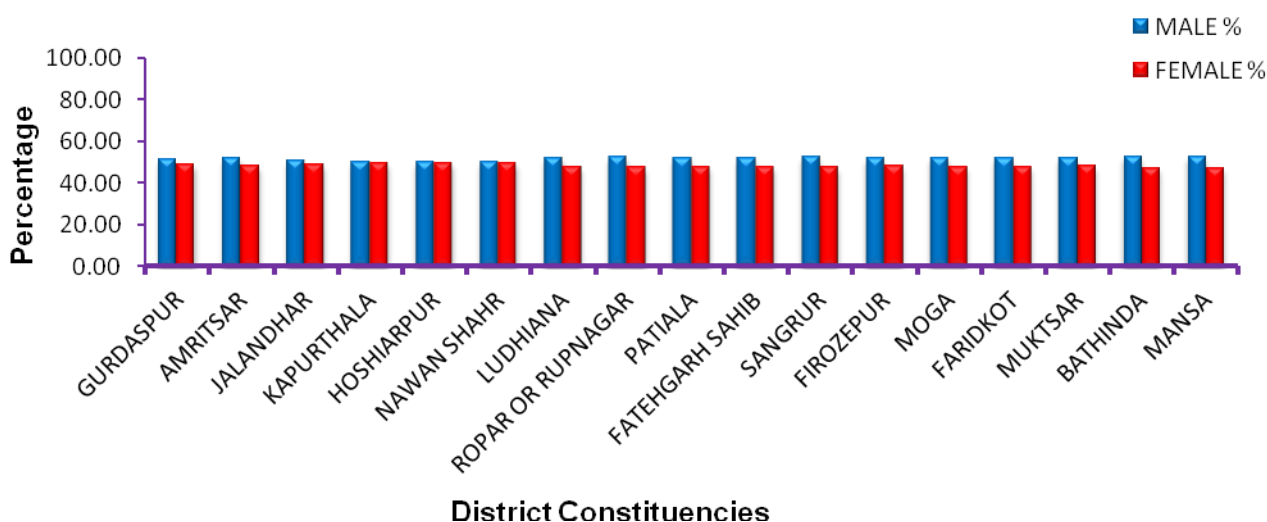
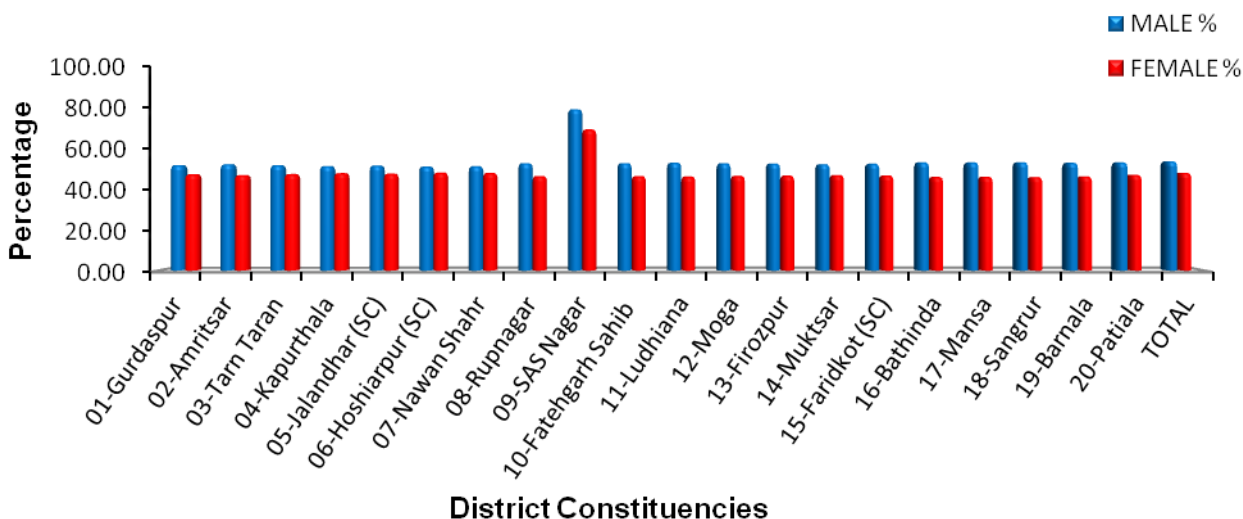


Fig. 4.4 Male and Female Electors (Punjab Assembly Election, 2012)



In 2007 State Assembly Election the percentage of votes polled by male and female voters was 51.59 and 48.41 respectively (Table 4.4) whereas in 2012 elections, it was 52.38 and 47.62 respectively (Table 4.5). The analysis of both the Assembly Elections (2007 & 2012) depicts that there were three districts namely Kapurthala, Hosiarpur (Sc) and Nawanshahr where the percentage of votes polled by female voters is more than that of male voters.

Table 4.4 Percentage of Votes Polled By Male and Female Electors in Punjab Assembly Election, 2007				Table 4.5 Percentage of Votes Polled By Male and Female Electors in Punjab Assembly Election, 2012			
Parliamentary Constituencies/District Name	Details of Votes Polled by Males and Females			Parliamentary constituencies (district no. & name)	Details of votes polled by male and female		
	Total	Male %	Female %		Total	Male (%)	Female (%)
Gurdaspur	1094300	50.14	49.83	01-Gurdaspur	1146379	50.71	49.29
Amritsar	1532719	52.41	47.59	02-Amaritsar	1179745	52.69	47.31
Jalandhar	997294	50.21	49.79	03-Tarn-Taran	539625	51.71	48.29
Kapurthala	378633	49.13	50.87	04-Kapurthala	405627	49.95	50.05
Hoshiarpur	721589	48.59	51.41	05-Jalandhar (Sc)	1051122	50.96	49.04
Nawanshahr	293045	49.32	50.68	06-Hoshiarpur(Sc)	801254	49.08	50.92
Ludhiana	1427060	52.96	47.04	07-Nawan Shahr	332480	49.31	50.69
Ropar	573886	51.27	48.73	08-Rupnagar	374283	51.31	48.69
Patiala	996100	52.55	47.45	09-Sas Nagar	399809	53.44	46.56
Fatehgarh	244646	52.46	47.54	10-Fatehgarh Sahib	305946	53.24	46.76
Sangrur	1154328	52.87	47.13	11-Ludhiana	1622990	53.73	46.27
Ferozepur	972924	52.4	47.6	12-Moga	533974	53.22	46.78
Moga	429004	52.25	47.75	13-Ferozepur	1033660	53.12	46.88
Faridkot (Sc)	388269	52.36	47.64	14-Mukthsar	498225	53.29	46.71
Mukthsar	470288	52.41	47.59	15-Faridkot (Sc)	334337	53.27	46.73
Bathinda	620205	52.66	47.34	16-Bathinda	744472	53.74	46.26
Mansa	465514	53.01	46.99	17-Mansa	422383	53.95	46.05
Total	12759804	51.59	48.41	18-Sangrur	859342	53.83	46.17
Source: Statistical report on legislative elections of Punjab, 2007 & 2012. Election commission of India.				19-Barnala	342774	53.75	46.25
				20-Patiala	964357	53.36	46.64
				Total-	13892784	52.38	47.62

Fig. 4.5 Votes Polled by Male and Female Voters (Punjab Assembly Election, 2007)

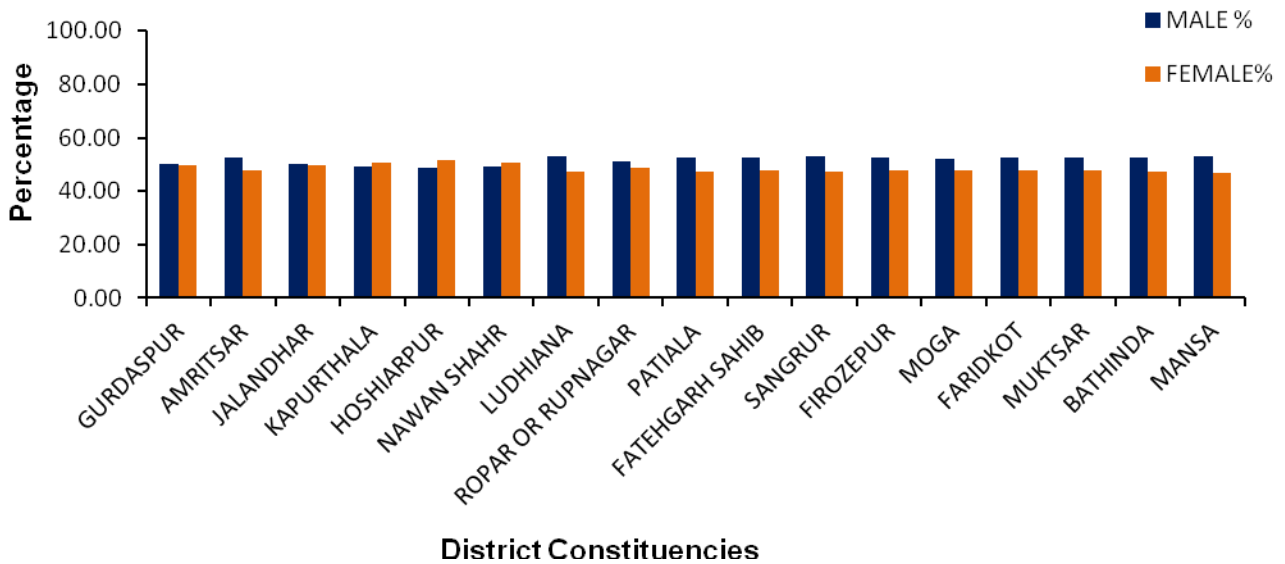
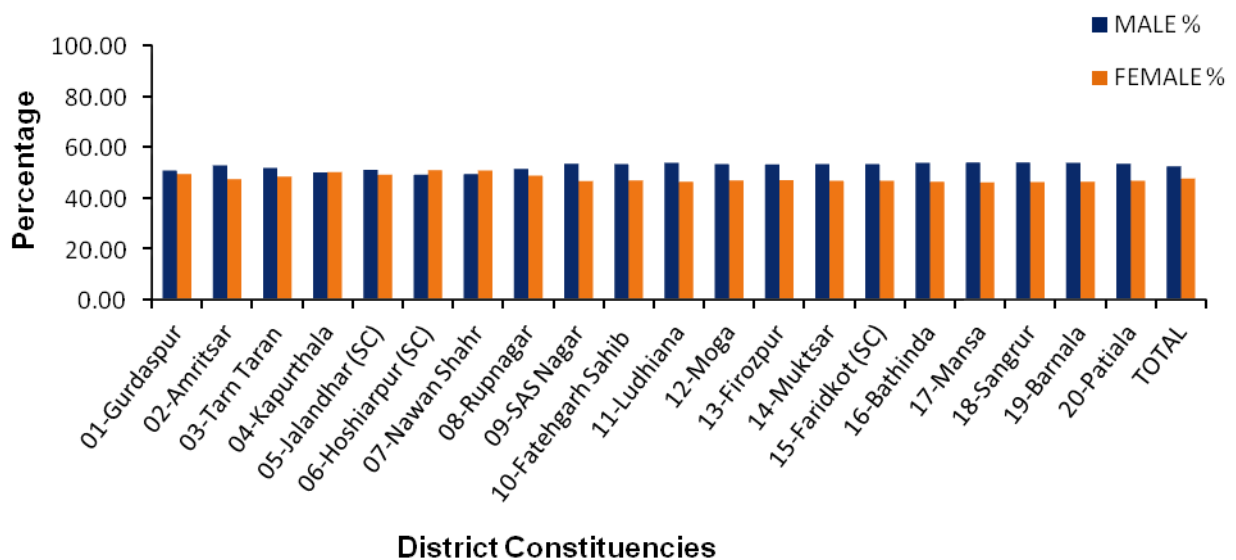


Fig.4.6 Votes Polled by Male and Female Voters (Punjab Assembly Election, 2012)



4.4 Women as Contestant

In 2007 elections (Tables 4.6) there were total 1024 candidates who contested the elections, out of which male candidate were 992 or 94.42%, which was far greater than female candidates because there were only Fifty –five i.e. 5.55% female candidates who contested the elections. A mere 5% of the tickets were given to women candidates during the 2007 elections. This was even lower than in 2002, when 8% of the tickets went to women (Sharma, 2011). In 2012 Legislative Assembly elections of Punjab (Table 4.7) there were 1172 candidates out of which 980 male candidates and only 92 female candidates contested the elections. It clearly indicates that the percentage of male candidates was 90.05% which was very high as compare to their female counterparts i.e. only 9.45%. From these tables it becomes quite clear that although their percentage as contested candidates is not proportionate to their population but it has increased a little from 5.55 percent in 2007 elections to 9.45 in 2012 elections.

From the above interpretation it is clear that the women who contested the elections were not in a large number as compared to the male candidates. Political parties during the elections are driven by the principle of 'Winnability' of the candidates from the angel of prospect of government formation. As a result the concept of the 'Winnability and the quest for the formation of government compel the parties to deny tickets to women unless they are sure to win. Political parties consider that women have less chances of winning the elections and also assert that it is difficult to get sufficient number of qualified women, which is not necessarily true in reality. Women have been active and vocal both in times of peace and crisis. They have been active in movements of peace, women and child welfare, trade unionism, food adulteration, price rise and deforestation and many other issues candidates. Moreover in India, the structure and pattern of the political parties are still patriarchy and reluctant to support the women while giving the tickets to contest the elections (Subermanian, 2002).

Table 4.6 Percentage of Male and Female Contested Candidates in 2007-Punjab Assembly Elections

Parliamentary constituencies (district name)	Candidates				
	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
Gurdaspur	87	83	6	98.63	7.44
Amritsar	121	115	6	95.02	4.98
Jalandhar	94	90	4	96.79	3.21
Kapurthala	31	28	3	89.16	7.79
Hoshiarpur	51	47	4	91.25	8.75
Nawanshahr	30	28	2	93.33	6.67
Ludhiana	132	129	3	98.42	1.58
Ropar	43	39	4	91.67	8.33
Patiala	86	83	3	97.05	2.95
Fatehgarh	0	20	3	87.31	12.69
Sangrur	87	79	8	90.34	10
Ferozepur	73	70	3	94.94	5.06
Moga	28	28	0	100	0
Faridkot (Sc)	27	27	0	100	0
Mukthsar	46	42	2	92.15	4.01
Bathinda	54	52	2	95.83	4.17
Mansa	34	32	2	93.3	6.7
Total	1024	992	55	94.42	5.55

Source: Statistical report on legislative elections of Punjab, 2007 & 2012. Election commission of India.

Table 4.7 Percentage of Male and Female Contested Candidates in 2012-Punjab Assembly Elections

Parliamentary Constituencies (District No. & Name)	Candidates				
	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
01-Gurdaspur	70	61	9	88.1	11.9
02-Amaritsar	98	92	6	93.91	6.09
03-Tarn-Taran	32	29	3	89.29	10.71
04-Kapurthala	37	34	3	91.48	8.52
05-Jalandhar (Sc)	179	72	7	83.21	6.78
06-Hoshiarpur(Sc)	55	52	3	94.62	5.38
07-Nawan Shahr	27	25	2	93.94	6.06
08-Rupnagar	26	22	4	84.17	15.83
09-Sas Nagar	30	28	2	92.96	7.04
10-Fatehgarh Sahib	28	26	2	90.74	9.26
11-Ludhiana	137	134	3	97.82	2.18
12-Moga	32	30	2	92.86	7.14
13-Ferozepur	80	72	8	90	10
14-Mukthsar	42	37	5	87.63	12.37
15-Faridkot (Sc)	33	27	6	79.59	20.41
16-Bathinda	60	57	3	94.58	5.42
17-Mansa	21	19	2	89.68	10.32
18-Sangrur	70	64	6	91.4	8.6
19-Barnala	30	27	3	89.18	10.82
20-Patiala	85	72	13	85.92	14.08
Total	1172	980	92	90.05	9.45

Fig. 4.7 Male and Female Contested Candidates (Punjab Assembly Election, 2007)

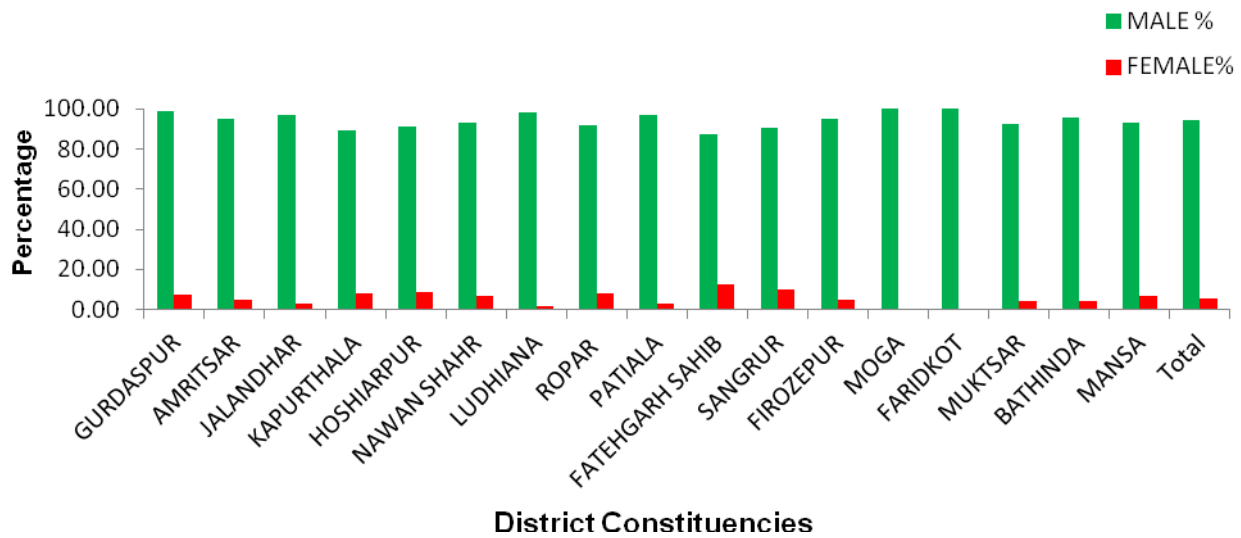


Fig. 4.8 Male and Female Contested Candidates (Punjab Assembly Election, 2012)

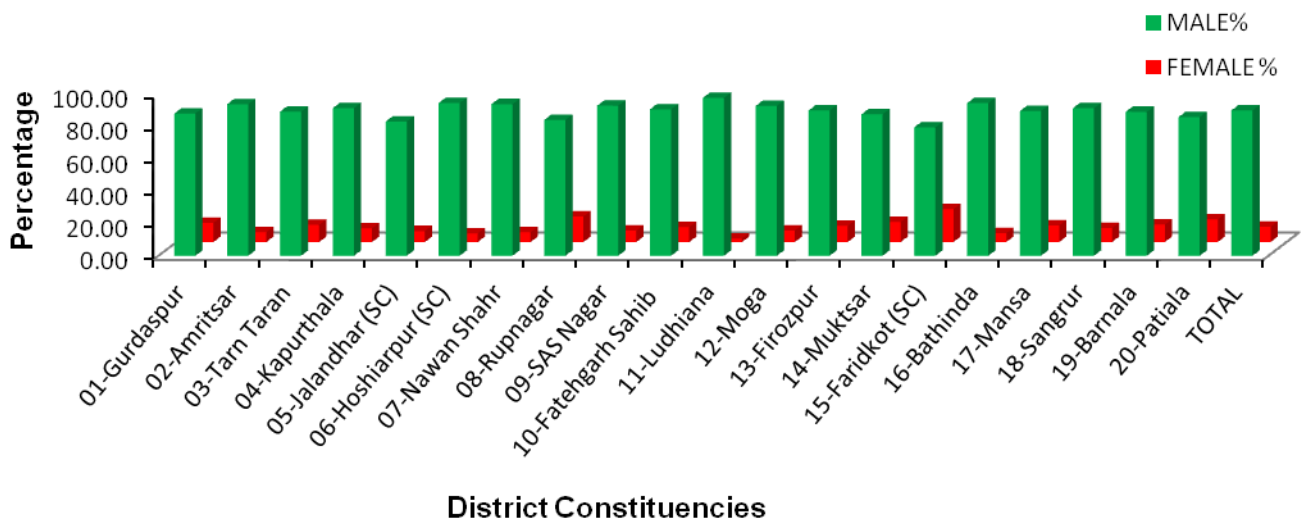


Table 4.8 depicts the percentage of votes polled to male and female candidates who contested the elections. In 2007, the result of the general elections to the Legislative Assembly of the Punjab shows that total votes polled on Electronic Voting Machine were 12750203 out of which male candidates obtained 11998472 votes and female candidates obtained 643234 votes i.e., 93.22% and female got only 6.78% votes. The result of 2012 elections also depicts exactly the same situation of female candidates because in the elections, percentage of votes polled to female candidates was 10.21 percent which is negligible as compared to the male candidates who obtained 89.56% votes. Although the percentage of votes polled to female candidates increased from 6.78% in 2007 to 10.21% in 2012 but still it is very low and highlights their miserable conditions in elections as well as in politics. Table 4.8 given below explains the average percentage of votes polled to male and female candidates in the districts of Punjab. Though the percentage of votes polled to female candidates is quite low, yet in all these constituencies, females also emerged as winners. The reason of low percentage is due to the totality of votes polled to different candidates. This fact is being supported by Table no. 4.9. This table gives the exact number of candidates who were winners in the assembly elections of 2007 and 2012. This table proves that though the average number of votes polled to female candidate is low yet they emerged winners. Moreover, the performance of female candidates has improved significant in 2012 elections as compared to the elections of 2007.

Table 4.8 Percentage of Votes Polled to Male and Female Candidates (Elections 2007 & 2012)

2007 Punjab Assembly Elections			2012 Punjab Assembly Elections		
Parliamentary Constituencies (District No. & Name)	Male %	Female %	Parliamentary Constituencies (District No. & Name)	Male%	Female %
Amritsar	95.25	4.75	01-Gurdaspur	84.67	15.33
Jalandhar	96.44	3.56	02-Amaritsar	93.95	6.05
Kapurthala	63.05	36.95	03-Tarn-Taran	99.34	0.66
Hoshiarpur	100	0	04-Kapurthala	75.99	24.01
Nawanshahr	85.85	14.15	05-Jalandhar (Sc)	94.10	5.90
Ludhiana	99.91	0.09	06-Hoshiarpur(Sc)	94.31	5.69
Ropar	91.78	8.22	07-Nawan Shahr	80.07	19.93
Patiala	99.92	0.08	08-Rupnagar	86.60	13.4
Fatehgarh	79.26	20.74	09-Sas Nagar	98.18	1.82
Sangrur	77.91	22.09	10-Fatehgarh Sahib	88.71	11.28
Ferozepur	99.80	0.20	11-Ludhiana	99.94	0.06
Moga	100	0	12-Moga	89.26	10.74
Faridkot (Sc)	100	0	13-Ferozepur	92.86	7.14
Mukthsar	99.91	0.09	14-Mukthsar	88.27	11.73
Bathinda	99.25	0.75	15-Faridkot (Sc)	95.44	4.56
Mansa	99.67	0.33	16-Bathinda	99.74	0.26
Total	93.22	6.78	17-Mansa	80.63	19.37
			18-Sangrur	80.49	14.95
			19-Barnala	83.57	16.43
Source: Statistical Report on Legislative Elections of Punjab, 2007.Election Commission of India.			20-Patiala	85	15.00
			Total	89.56	10.21
			Source: Chief Electoral Officer of Punjab,		

Fig. 4.9 Votes Polled to Male and Female Candidates (Punjab Assembly Election, 2007)

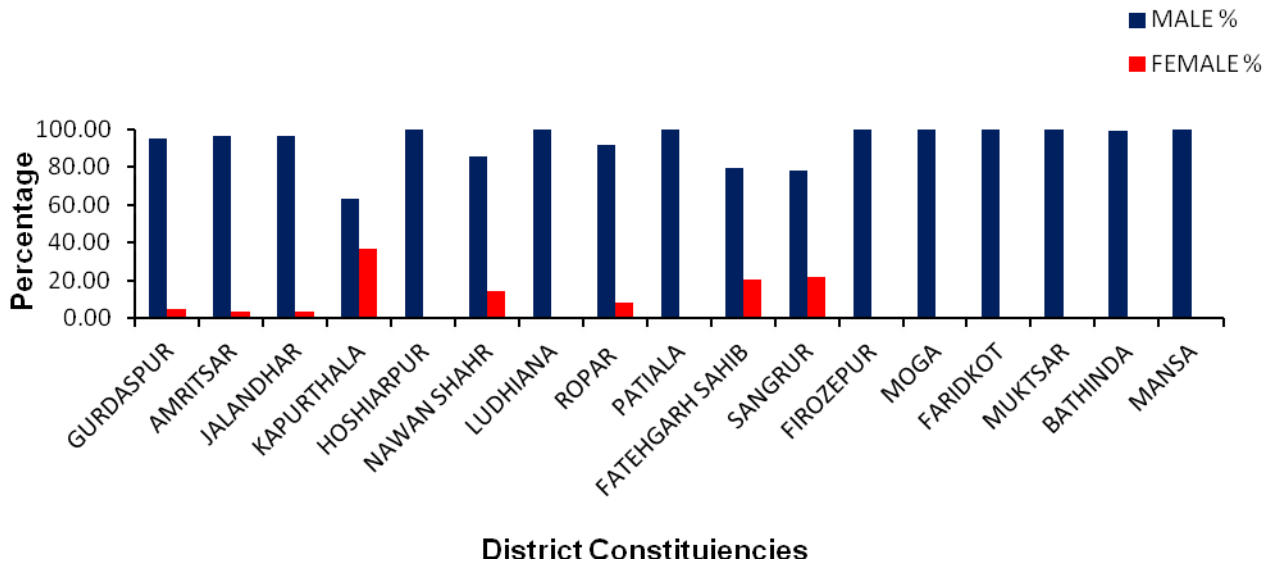
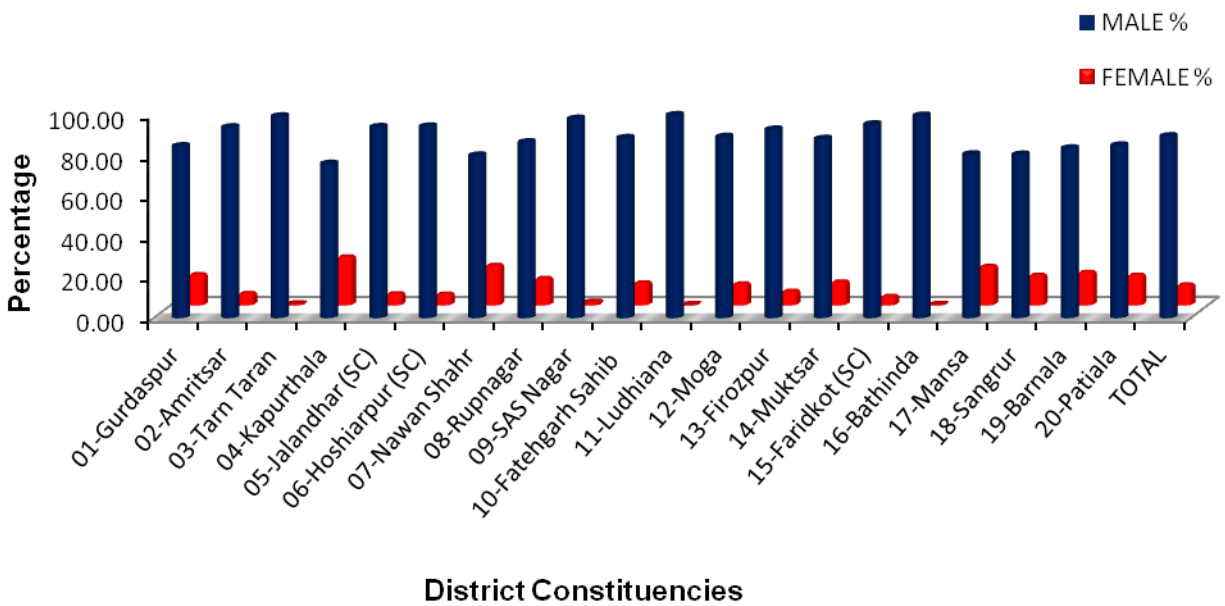


Fig.4.10 Votes Polled to Male and Female Candidates (Punjab Assembly Election, 2012)



4.5 Women as Winner

Table 4.9 depicts the condition of women in politics is very depressing. In 2007 out of 116 winners 109 were males and seven were the females who achieved the success during the 2007 elections. In the next elections, 2012 the number of female candidates although increased from seven (7) in 2007 to fifteen (15) but it was very low as compare to male winner because there were 102 male winners out of 117. From this table it is clear that during the 2007 elections in Amritsar out of the total 15 seats, 14 were male and only 1 was female candidate who won the elections. In Kapurthala there were four seats out of which 2 seats were won by male candidates and 2 by female candidates. In Hoshiarpur, elections were contested for the 7 seats out of which 6 seats were won by the male candidates and 1 by the female candidate. In Sangrur district out of the 10 seats 7 seats were won by the male candidates and three by the female candidates. In the rest of the districts all winners were the male candidates. This table also depicts that Women entered in the state politics from ten districts (Gurdaspur-3, Amritsar-1, Kapurthala-1, Hoshiarpur-1, NawanShahr-1, Barnala-1, Moga-2, Muktsar, Sangrur-2, and Patiala-2) in 2012 election. It can be concluded that their representation in State Assembly is not proportionate and was only 5 percent and 12.82 percent in 2007 and 2012 elections respectively.

Table 4.9 Numbers of Male and Female Winners (Elections 2007 & 2012)

2007 Punjab Assembly Elections				2012 Punjab Assembly Elections			
Parliamentary Constituencies (District Name)	Total	Male Winner	Female Winner	Parliamentary Constituencies (District No. & name)	Total	Male Winner	Female Winner
Gurdaspur	11	11	0	01-Gurdaspur	10	7	3
Amritsar	15	14	1	02-Amaritsar	11	10	1
Jalandhar	10	10	0	03-Tarn-Taran	4	4	0
Kapurthala	4	2	2	04-Kapurthala	4	3	1
Hoshiarpur	8	7	1	05-Jalandhar (Sc)	9	9	0
Nawanshahr	3	3	0	06-Hoshiarpur(Sc)	7	6	1
Ludhiana	12	12	0	07-Nawan Shahr	3	2	1
Ropar	5	5	0	08-Rupnagar	3	3	0
Patiala	8	8	0	09-Sas Nagar	3	3	0
Fatehgarh	2	2	0	10-Fatehgarh Sahib	3	3	0
Sangrur	10	7	3	11-Ludhiana	14	14	0
Ferozepur	8	8	0	12-Moga	4	2	2
Moga	4	4	0	13-Ferozepur	8	8	0
Faridkot (Sc)	3	3	0	14-Mukthsar	4	3	1
Mukthsar	4	4	0	15-Faridkot (Sc)	3	3	0
Bathinda	5	5	0	16-Bathinda	6	6	0
Mansa	4	4	0	17-Mansa	3	3	0
Total	116	109	7	18-Sangrur	7	5	2
				19-Barnala	3	2	1
				20-Patiala	8	6	2
				Total	117	102	15

Source: 1. Statistical Report on Legislative Elections of Punjab, 2007, Election Commission of India.
2. Chief Electoral Officer of Punjab.

Fig. 4.11 Number of Male and Female Winners (Punjab Assembly Election, 2007)

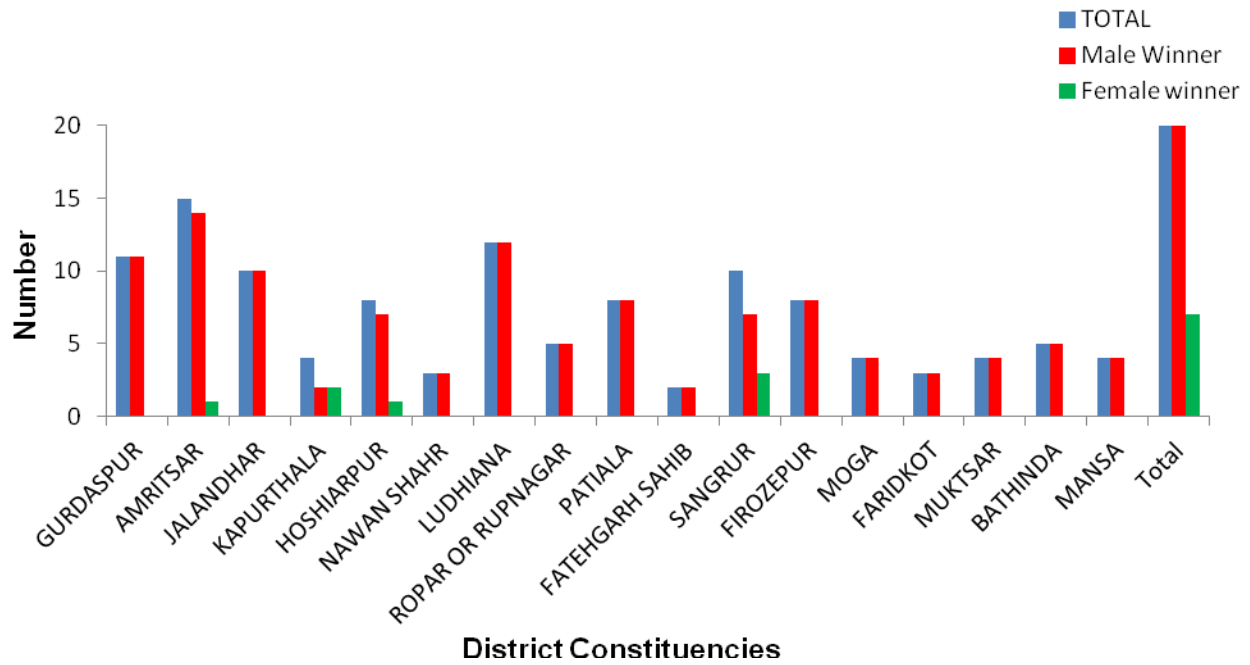
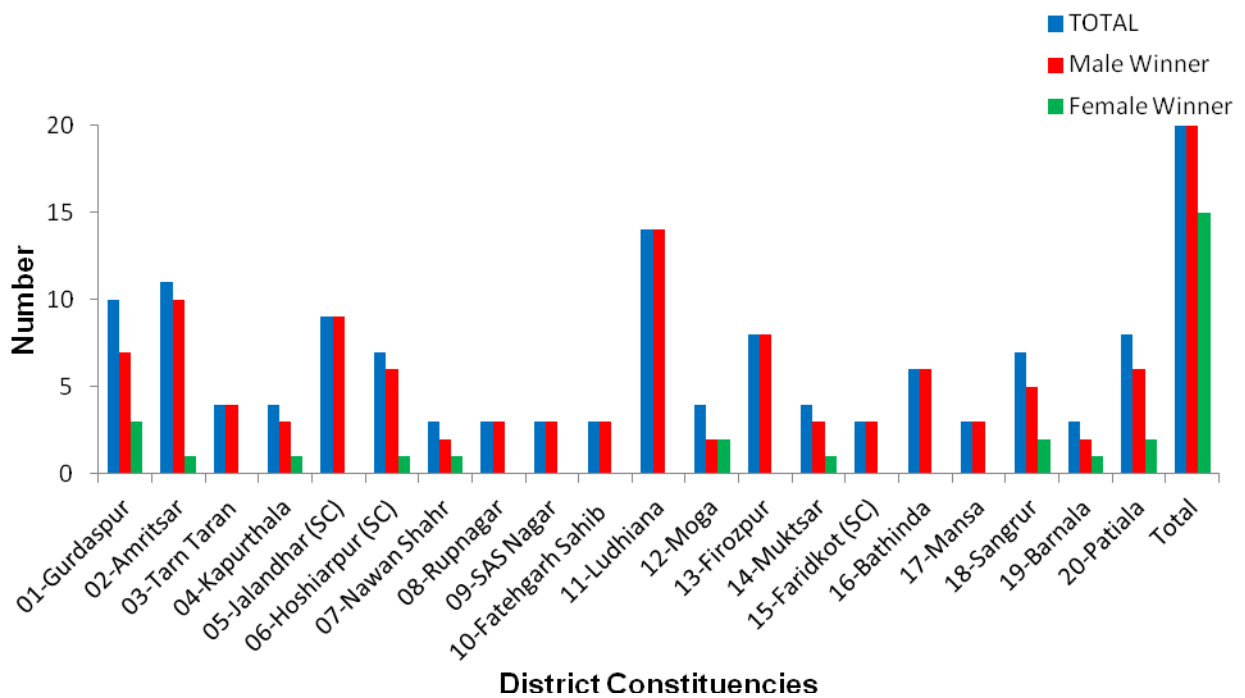


Fig. 4.12 Number of Male and Female Winners (Punjab Assembly Election, 2012)



At last, after observing the whole scenario we find that women's representation is abysmal. Actually, our prevailing values that are based on cultural, traditional and patriarchal practices and male dominance on political institutions prevent women from exercising and enjoying their political rights. The absence of stringent affirmative action in the form of reservation bill also impedes the women's entry at the centre and the state level. The absence of reservation makes the entry only of those women who are connected with political families and those belonging to the upper economics class. There is no doubt 'reservation is a tool that begins to repair the damage cost by centuries of the discrimination that exists ubiquitously across political parties, social classes and community division, but solely reservation cannot bring more women into political arena because the reservation bill introduced only limited number of women in political fields against their population-

In other words the results of the Punjab assembly elections depicts that even after so many constitutional assurance, they are still left outside the system. The absence of women with sufficient representation in the legislative assemblies or in the decision making positions impoverishes the development of democratic principle and inhibits the development of the society. Male-dominated political institutions of government do not promote women or women's issues. Thus it remains imperative to emphasize that women themselves must organize and mobilize their networks, learn to communicate their interests with different organizations and push for mechanisms to enhance their own representation. The electoral system and the electoral laws must be reformed adequately for a more free and fair representation (Shvedova, 2002).

4.6 Elected Women Representatives in Panchayati Raj

The 73rd Constitution Amendment, by making the provision of reservation of one-third of the seats for females all over the country, has created space for women in political participation and decision-making at the grass root level. Apart from one-third reservation of women in PRIs, the Act has also given powers and responsibilities including resource management, family planning, education and health. The creation of such quota system at the grass root level for the vast majority of local women, being illiterate and poor, has come to occupy as much as 43% of the seats, spurring the

election of increasing numbers of women at district, provincial and national levels. Since the advent of PRI, the percentages of women in various levels of political activity have increased from 4-5% to 25-40% (Aslatha, 2010). This landmark legislation gave India the unique distinction of having more number of elected women representatives than the rest of the world together. The presence of more than 1 million elected women representatives in the institutions of local governance in rural India has rightly been termed as a 'silent revolution' within the process of democratic decentralization ushered in by the 73rd amendment. Out of the total 28 lakh elected Panchayat representatives, around 10 lakh are estimated to be women (Ministry of Panchayati Raj, 2011) With the amendment in Article 243(D) of the Constitution of India in 2009, which provide 50% reservation for women in seats and also offices of Chairpersons in all three tiers of Panchayats, the number of elected women representatives (EWRs) is expected to rise to more than 14 lakhs (Singh, 2012). The representation of women as elected representatives in the three tiers of Panchayats can be analysed through the following tables.

4.7 Women in Local Governance of Punjab

The 'panchayat' in rural India and 'municipalities' in urban India are defined in the constitution as institutions of local-governance. The local governa or Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) are under the control of the State Governments. In the rural areas a three-tier structure has been adopted. They are: Gram Panchayat (b) Taluk Panchayat (c) Zilla Panchayat for every district. In the urban areas there are the Municipal bodies called the NagaraPalike i.e., Nagara Panchayats, Municipal Councils (for smaller urban areas) and Municipal Corporations (for larger urban areas). Table 4.10 shows the number of rural local bodies in Punjab. Punjab is divided into three regions Malwa, Majha and Doaba and these three regions comprise 21 districts. In 21 districts there are 20 District Panchayat (ZilaParishad), 142 Block Panchayts (Panchayat Samiti) and 12800 Gram Panchayats.

Table 4.10 Numbers of Rural Local Bodies in Punjab State (As on 31st March 2012)

State	Districts	District Panchayat (Zila Parishad)	Blocks	Block Panchayats (Panchayat Samiti)	Village/Gram Panchayats
Punjab	21	20	142	142	12800
Total of India	651	585	6612	6317	240355

Source: Rural Development Statistics, Section-9: Panchayati Raj, www.panchayat.gov

In order to improve the working of the panchayati raj system, Punjab government appointed several study teams such as Rajinder Singh study team, Badal study team, Harcharan Singh Committee and Departmental Officers Committee. An observation made by the Badal Committee is given here.

Table 4. 11 Women in PRIs (Gram Panchayats) in Punjab Region, (2002/2003)

Region	Districts	Gram Panchayats			
		Numbers	Elected members	Number of women	Percentage of women in Gram Panchayat
Majha	Amritsar	1287	9397	991	10.55
	Gurdaspur	1592	10734	853	7.95
Doaba	Hoshiapur	1317	8700	3189	36.66
	Jullandhar	886	6260	2133	34.07
	Kapurthala	535	3570	1279	35.83
	Nawaanshahr	445	3132	164	5.24
Malwa	Bathinda	306	2667	818	30.67
	Faridkot	181	1428	487	34.10
	Fatehgarh sahib	430	2814	989	35.15
	Ferozpur	1089	7553	2200	29.13
	Ludhiana	876	6504	2213	34.03
	Mansa	242	2016	661	32.79
	Moga	326	2814	964	34.26
	Muktsar	265	2181	440	20.17
	Patiala	1079	7206	1969	27.32
	Roopnagar	852	5564	1937	34.81
	Sangrur	735	5818	2232	38.36
Total	12443	88358	23519	26.62	

Source: Key Paper on Rural Local Self-Government in Punjab: It's Evolution, Functioning and Functional Deficiencies

Table 4.11 shows that the percentage of elected women in Gram Panchayat election is very low in Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Nawamshahr districts i.e. 10.55 %, 7.95 %, 5.24 % respectively and women did not able to occupy the mandatory seats. The Sangrur is the only district of Malwa region where the performance of women is impressive i.e.38.36 % followed by the Hoisharpur district (36.66 percent) of the Doaba region. And except these two districts the percentage of elected female in some districts like Ferozpur is 29.13 %, Muktsar is 20.17 % and Patiala is 27.32 % which is less than thirty three percent compare to the parliament and Punjab state legislative Assembly.. In Fatehgarh Sahib and Jalandhar their percentage is slightly higher i.e. 34.07 % and 35.83 % respectively. There is no doubt that women's participation has been made possible due to the reservation policy and this very kind of participation can set an example for the other women to come and take part in the politics and political activities.

Table 4.12 Women in PRIs (PanchyatSamitis) in Punjab Region, (2002/2003)

Region	Districts	PanchyatSamitis			
		Numbers	Elected Members	Number of Women	Percentage of Women in Panchayat Samitis
Majha	Amritsar	16	283	107	37.81
	Gurdaspur	15	259	77	29.73
Doaba	Hoshiapur	10	185	60	32.43
	Jullandhar	10	173	57	32.95
	Kapurthala	5	81	27	33.33
	Nawaanshahr	5	83	27	32.53
Malwa	Bathinda	8	134	43	32.09
	Faridkot	2	46	13	28.26
	Fatehgarh sahib	5	75	25	33.33
	Ferozpur	10	187	60	32.09
	Ludhiana	12	204	65	31.86
	Mansa	5	85	26	30.59
	Moga	5	105	35	33.33
	Muktsar	4	82	26	31.71
	Patiala	9	172	55	31.98
	Roopnagar	7	122	40	32.79
	Sangrur	12	210	63	30.00
Total	140	2486	806	32.42	

Source: Key Paper on Rural Local Self-Government in Punjab: It's Evolution, Functioning and Functional Deficiencies

Table 4.12 depicts that in Panchayat Samiti elections, women representation is approximately one third due to reservation but Amritsar was the only district where the percentage of elected women in Panchayat Samiti was more than the mandatory seats i.e. 37.81% as compared to the other districts of Punjab. Whereas Faridkot and Gurdaspur were the two districts where the percentage of elected women in Panchayat Samitis was low than the 33 percent i.e. 28.26 % and 29.73 % respectively. The percentage of women in the rest of the districts was slightly less than 33 percent. But overall performance of elected women in Pabnchayat Samitis is far better than the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies.

Table 4.13 Women in PRIs (ZilaParishad) in Punjab Region, (2002/2003)

Region	Districts	ZilaParishad			
		Numbers	Elected members	Number of women	Percentage of women in ZilaParishad
Majha	Amritsar	1	25	6	24
	Gurdaspur	1	25	8	32
Doaba	Hoshiapur	1	21	7	33
	Jullandhar	1	19	7	37
	Kapurthala	1	10	3	30
	Nawaanshahar	1	10	3	30
Malwa	Bathinda	1	14	-	-
	Faridkot	1	10	3	30
	Fatehgarh sahib	1	10	3	30
	Ferozpur	1	22	7	32
	Ludhiaa	1	23	7	30
	Mansa	1	10	3	30
	Moga	1	13	4	31
	Muktsar	1	10	3	30
	Patiala	1	21	7	33
	Roopnagar	1	13	4	31
	Sangrur	1	25	8	32
	Total	17	281	83	30

Source: Key Paper on Rural Local Self-Government in Punjab: It's Evolution, Functioning and Functional Deficiencies

Table 4.13 shows that the overall percentage of elected women in Zilla Parishad was although less than the reserved seats i.e. 33 percent yet from this table it can be said that their conditions is far better if we compare it with the elections held at the centre

and the state level. In Majha region there was no district where the percentage of women was observed more than the 33 percent. But in Doaba region there was the Jullandhar district where the percentage of women was quite high i.e.37 percent and was followed by the Hoisharpur- 33 percent, Kapurthala-30 percent and Nawaanshahar-30 percent. This table also depicts that the percentage of elected women in all the districts of the Malwa region was little less than the 33 percent. In short it can be said that their participation in Politics is not negligible yet it has been increasing due to the reservation of one- third seats for the women in the local governance.

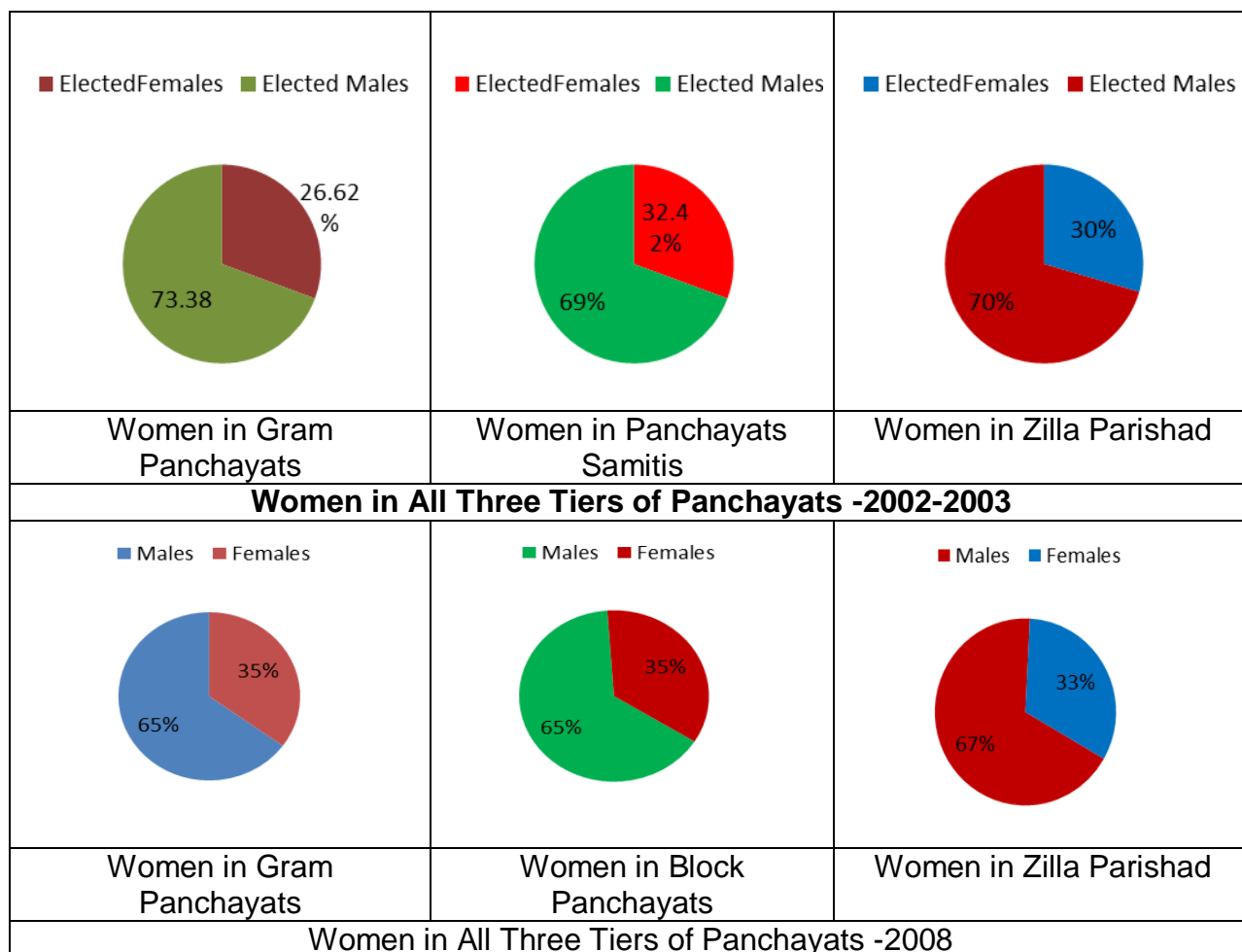
Table 4.14 PRI Election Data (2008)

Number of Elected Representatives in all Panchayats								
No. of Panchayats	General	SC		Total	Women		Men	
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%
12604	62614	28349	31.2	90963	31809	35	59154	65.03
Number of Women in Village Panchayats								
No. of Gram Panchayats	General	SC		Total	Women		Men	
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%
12443	60692	27440	31.1	88132	30875	35	57257	64.96
Number of Women in Block Panchayats (Panchayat Samiti)								
No. of Block Panchayats	General	SC		Total	Women		Men	
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%
141	1782	840	32.04	2622	866	33	1756	66.97
Number of Women in District Panchayat (ZillaParishad)								
No. of ZillaParishad	General	SC		Total	Women		Men	
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%
20	140	69	33	209	68	32.5	141	67.46

Source: GOI, Ministry of Panchayat Raj, Annual Report, 2007-08, Rural Development Statistics www.panchayat.gov

Table 4.14 shows the performance of total elected women in all three tiers of Panchayats namely Village, Block and District during the elections held in 2008. From this table 4.13 it becomes clear that overall percentage of women was 35 % which is not only encouraging but more than the mandatory seats. From this table it becomes clear that the percentage of elected women at the village level was also more than the 33 percent i.e.35 % whereas the male percentage was 64.96 percent, at the Block level female percentage was 33 percent and male percentage was 66.97 percent and the district level the percentage of elected women was slightly less than the stipulates seats i.e. 32.5 % while the male percentage was 67.46 percent. In short we can say that their participation as elected representative in the local governance increased significantly from 29.67 percent in 2002-03 to 35 percent in 2008 elections. Fig 4.13 reveals a comparative picture of two different year data.

Fig. 4.13 Women in All Three Tiers of Panchayats (2002-2003 and 2008)



The above figures shows that the quota system has brought the considerably number of women in all three level panchayats. Women's entrance into grass root level in such a large number shattered the myth that women are not interested in Politics and have no time to go to meetings or to undertake the work that is required in political party processes. Their entry in to political field, due to the reservation policy, make them feel a sense of empowerment by attaining the responsibilities and duties as equal to men. The reservation policy has also brought the women straight from the kitchen into the fray of politics & administration with no training or experience whatsoever in public life (Sekhon, 2006). Due to the reservation women are becoming capable to do work and perform their duties in the political sphere. They have started coming forward to participate in the local governance and have started raising their voices and making their perspective felt in decision making. The 73rd amendment act has brought the considerable changes in the condition of rural women by providing the adequate representation at different levels of local governance. As a result elected women are attaining the success by making a place in panchayats all over the India. The situation of women can become better over a period of time with men changing their mind set and accepting women in their new roles (Singh, 2008).

4.7 Women in Urban Local Governance in Punjab

Women's involvement in local governance through the reservation policy has confirmed their share by allotting the one third seats for women which is affirmative step to enhance the woman's share in the political arena. In Punjab there are nine Municipal Corporations namely Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala, Mohali, Bathinda, Moga, Phagwara and Pathankot and 129 Municipal Councils. In the Municipal Corporation Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Patiala and Bathinda women have occupied 35 to 40 percent of the total seats. Since no data is available regarding the newly formed three Municipal Corporations namely Moga, Phagwara and Pathankot only six MCs have been highlighted below. This is because of the reservation policy women have entered in the governance process but in no single Corporation the post of Mayor is held by any woman. In Jalandhar and Chandigarh Senior Deputy Mayor is a lady while in Bathinda and Ludhiana women are the Deputy Mayors.

Table 4.15 Number of Female Councillors in Municipal Corporations

Sr.No	Municipal Corporation	Last Year of election held	No of Councillors	No of female Councillors	Percentage of Female Councillors	Mayor	Sr.Deputy Mayor	Deputy Mayor
1	Bathinda Municipal Corporation	2008	50	19	38	Male	Male	Female
2	Amritsar Municipal Corporation	2007	60	23	38	Male	Male	Male
3	Jalandhar Municipal Corporation	2012	60	25	42	Male	Female	Male
4	Patiala Municipal Corporation	2012	50	18	36	-	-	-
5	Ludhiana municipal corporation	2012	75	30	40	Male	Male	Female
6	Chandigarh Municipal Corporation	2011	35	13	37	Male	Female	Male

Source: Official website of Bathinda, Ludhiana, Patiala ,Jullandhar, Amritsar

<http://mcludhiana.com/www.mcjalandhar.in/http://mcbathinda.com/www.amritsarcorp.com/atiala.gov.in/html/corporation.html/>
<http://mcchandigarh.gov.in/maillist1.htm>

Chapter 5

Women in Urban Local Governance: Glimpse of a Real Picture through a Case Study

The previous chapters on women's representation in politics have come out with a conclusion that women representation is abysmal in politics and reservation has changed the figure in local governance system. It has become important to find out the actual participation and performance of women in governance process. Keeping few objectives in the mind (mentioned in the first chapter) a case study has been undertaken. A field study has been conducted in Bathinda Municipal Corporation. The present study includes male and female ward councillors of BMC. Due to some field difficulty 40 out of 50 ward councillors were selected purposively to collect in-depth information for this case study.

BMC with 50 wards was formed in 2003 (Fig. 5.1 and Table 5.1) and the first election was held in year 2008. To understand the participation of women in local governance process an interview schedule was prepared and the ward councillors, male and female, were interviewed. The schedule was prepared under some heads like; personal profile, awareness about local governance, participation in election and governance, participation in decision making process, transparency and accountability maintained by them. It was tried to

interact more and more with male and female councillors so that the active participation of women can be understood. The questions were qualitative in nature and the answers have been interpreted and analysed to achieve the objective.

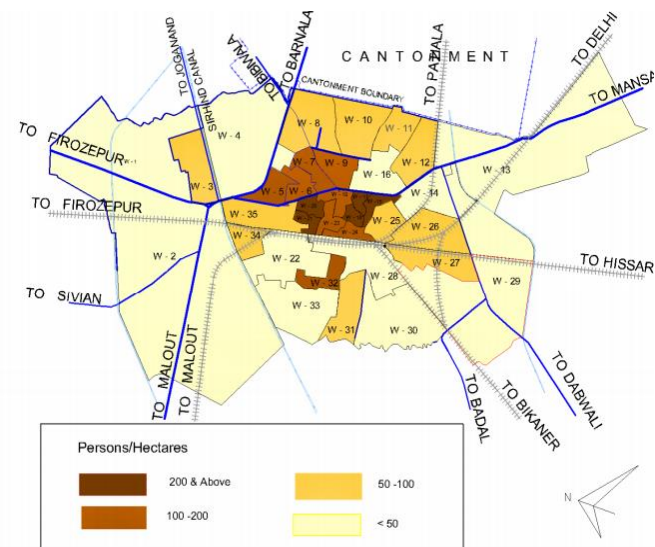


Fig. 5.1 Ward map of Bathinda (Source: PUDA)

Table 5.1 General Information about the BMC

City	Bathinda
Status	Municipal Corporation
Formation	2003
Ward	50
Councillors	50
Male	31
Female	19
Source: Bathinda Municipal Corporation.	

5.1 Personal and Socio-Economic Profile of Councillors

Personal and socio-economic profile of the councillors provides the background they have come from and also provide substantial information to analyse them as political leaders and the impact of their leadership in the society. While studying the socio-economic profile of the respondents' age, cast, education qualification, religion and occupation are taken into consideration as important factors.

Table 5.2 Age wise Distribution of Councillors

Sr. No	Age Group	Male	Female	Total
1	Young Age (below 35)	0	2	2
2	Middle Age (36-50)	16	10	26
3	Aged (51-65)	6	5	11
4	Above 65	0	1	1
	Total	22	18	40

Table 5.3 Educational Qualification of the Councillors (BMC Members)

Sr. No	Education Qualification	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Uneducated	0	2	0	11
2	Under Metric	2	5	9	27
3	Metric	7	8	31	44
4	High School	3	0	13	0
5	Graduate	2	1	9	5
6	Post-Graduation	7	2	31	11
	Total	22	18	100	100

Majority of the ward councillors belong to 36-50 age groups (Table 5.2) and no significant difference has been observed in the age of male and female councillors. It has been observed that men rules in the politics for longer ages but women usually

leaves politics at higher age but in BMC the number of women from aged group (51-65) is same as that of men. It shows that higher age group women are also participating in governance.

Higher educational level of citizen is an important prerequisite for greater role in political process because one cannot act rationally and very effectively without education. If education and literacy rate will be high, the representatives of the people will not only be aware of their duties but also be able to formulate rational policies and bring change in the society. A state is known by its leaders; therefore the political system of the leader should be in the hand of the educated people and education is very important for the growth of a nation. In India, women have lesser education than men and since they are also less likely to be in the workforce women may be less politically active than men (Azy, 2012). Table 5.3 depicts that 11 percent female councillors are uneducated while no male member is found uneducated. This table 5.3 also depicts that the majority of the women are educated up to the metric level i.e. 44 percent. However there are only two female councillors (11%) who are master degree holders and one (5%) is found only up to the graduate level. On the other hand 31 percent male councillors are educated up to the post graduate level and 37 percent male councillors are metric passed. In short it can be said that majority of the males have secondary as well as the higher education. Education has been perceived as an important asset by the 63 percent of the people that influence the effectiveness of an elected representatives while the rest of the people perceived personal qualities such as good analytical understanding, fairness, and ability to speak before the people not the education as an important factor to win the elections and participate actively winning the elections (Alsop et.al, 2004).

Table 5.4 Cast Wise Distribution of the Councillors

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	General Category	20	13	91	72
2	Reserved category	2	5	09	27
	Total	22	18	100	100

From the data, collected during the field survey, it is found that 72 percent female and 91 percent male councillors belong to the general category. In Bathinda Municipal

Corporation out of the total 50 councilors two seats are reserved (SC and BC) for the male members and five for the female members. Although the percentage of female councilors who belong to the SC category is not high but such type of participation of women from the reserved category may bring the change in the male biased society (Panda, 1996). The CPI (M) leader and State Minister Binoy Chowdhury, stated that the inclusion of women from the scheduled castes and backward classes in the panchayats would reduce the inequalities and flaws in the existing system (Ghosh, 2012).

Table 5.5 Religious Status of Councilors

Sr. No	Religion	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Hindu	9	6	40	33
2	Sikh	13	12	59	66
3	Muslim	0	0	0	0
4	Christian	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

This table shows that out of the 22 male councilors 9 are Hindu and 13 are the Sikh. There is no male member who is from the Muslim or belongs to any other religion. It also depicts that 6 females i.e. the one third of the total belongs to the Hindu religion and 12 are from the Sikh religion. In other words, in BMC majority of the members are from the Sikh religion.

Table 5.6 Occupation Pattern of BMC Councilors

Sr. No	Income Sources	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Own Business	12	1	55	6
2	Household work/House wives (in case of women)	0	14	0	78
3	Agriculture	2	1	9	6
4	Professional	8	0	36	0
5	Pensioner	0	2	0	10
6	Other	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

Above data (Table 5.6) shows that among the 18 female councillors 14 (78 %) of the women leaders are the housewives and dependent upon their husband. Only four women are economically independent and one out of them has her own business and one is the owner of agricultural land and two are retired principle of government school and are getting pension. During the interview they revealed that they could not have won the election if their husband had not provided any financial support during the election process. On the other hand, all the male members are economically independent; 12 male members (55%) have their own business, 2 male members (9%) get the income from the agriculture land and 8 male members (36%) are professionals. “Without the financially independence, political participation will remain a myth” (Pujari, 2012).

5.2 Participation of Councillors in Election Related Activities

Table 5.7 Political Affiliation of the Councillors

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Congress	4	2	18	11
2	BJP	4	5	18	28
3	Akali Dal	13	8	59	44
4	CPI/CPM	0	0	0	0
5	Independent	1	3	5	17
6	Others	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

Although most of the women ward councillors entered in politics first time but they possessed a history of family involvement in politics. And all the reserved seated women councillors except three are found to be directly or indirectly affiliated with the major political parties of Centre and State. From the above data (Table 5.7) shows that in BMC 8 female (44%) and 13 male (59%) councillors belong to the Akali Dal Party. This data (Table 5.7) also shows that there are 2 females (18%) and 4 males (18%) who belong to the congress party and 5 females (28%) and 4 males (18%) come from the BJP party but these two parties were unable to make majority in the elections. There are also 3 women councillors (17%) and 1 male councillor (5%) who fought the election independently. Majority of councillors are from the Akali Dal party.

Table 5.8 Participation of Councillors in Election Related Activities during Elections

Sr. No	Activities	Male	Female
1.	Filling the Nomination Paper	22	18
2.	Door to Door Campaign	22	18
3.	Participation in rallies and election meetings	20	06
4.	Distribution of Pamphlets and Posters	22	06
	Total	22	18

The councillors were asked about their activities done during the election. All the female councillors had filed the nomination paper but 6 of them had just signed it and the other formalities were done by their husband while all the councillors had gone for door to door campaigning but all of them were accompanied either by their husband or other family members. The table 5.8 reveals that their participation in election as compare to the male colleague has not been very enthusiastic. During the election 2008, all female councillors said that they took part in door to door campaign out of them 6 admitted that the nomination paper was filed by their husband and they just signed it. It also became clear that male councillors were more active during the election campaign because 20 male councillors took part in all the activities.

Politics is not considered a good place for women but their presence is required for their own empowerment and to bring change in the attitude of society. Women can bring positive change in the condition of women. Politics has yet not become an attracting sphere for them. If they join politics there are certain reasons. It was tried to know the motivational or inspirational factors behind their joining politics. With changing time are they coming voluntarily in the politics or somebody is pushing them or they have some political backgrounds?

Table 5.9 Inspiration behind Joining the Elections

Sr. No	Factors	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Family Members / Husband	1	11	4	61
2	Political party/ Political Background	9	7	40	38
4	Self-Inspiration	19	1	86	11
5	Social Service	22	18	100	100
6	Others	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

The Table 5.9 depicts those factors or reasons due to which the women as well as men join the politics. During the survey 61 percent female councillors made it clear that they have joined the politics due to their husband because the ward was reserved for the females only and their husband couldn't contest the election in 2008 from the respective wards and they wanted to be in the politics at any cost and so their husband inspired or forced them to join the politics whereas these 61 percent female councillors also replied that they are not interested in politics and have no experience to handle the political institutions. Moreover 7 female councilors (38%) were inspired by political party and joined the politics due to their intimate relations with the political leaders or due to the political background. Out of the total, 1 female (11%) contested the elections due to their own willingness to join the politics. On the other hand 19 (86 percent) male councillors stated that they joined or contested the elections due to their self-interest out of which some male members made it clear that they had already contested the election three and two time due to which they are not only interested but also due to previous experience they joined the politics.

Table 5.10 Number of Elections Contested by the Councilors

Sr. No	Numbers	Male	Female	Male%	Female %
1	One	13	13	59	72
2	Two	6	4	27	22
3	Three	3	1	14	5
4	Four	0	0	0	0
5	More than Four	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

It is found from this table that majority of the women i.e. 72 percent came in the local governance first time and that is mainly due to the reservation policy. Moreover it is interesting to note that these 72 percent female members contested the elections first time. There are 4 female members (22%) who have fought the elections twice and only 1 female councilor (5%) contested the elections for the three times. Frequency of contesting election is more with the male councillors while less with female members.

When women enter politics within this patriarchal context of modern democracies, they are unable to play a role to radically change the sexual politics rather they largely play political roles on male's terms. The fundamental assumption in liberal democracies needs to be changed in order to create genuine political space for women within. Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein, 1984). It was tried to find out the problems faced by women during election.

Table 5.11 Problems Faced During the Elections

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male%	Female %
1	Yes	6	11	27	61
2	No	14	8	64	39
3	No Response	2	0	9	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

Form this table 5.11 it becomes clear that 61 percent female faced the problems during the elections yet they contested the elections from those seats which are reserved for them. Violence during the election from the opposition, lack of economic resources (because most of the female councillors are not very well off and do not belong to the rich families and had to look after the funds which had provided by their cast, community and political parties as a result they are dependent upon them to play their roles) are few problems which women face. Apart from this, women have to finish lots of household chores and their responsibilities as wife and mother is not compensated by their involvement in outside-home activities. They remained mentally very disturbed during the whole phase of election as their responsibilities had increased and her work was not shared by other family members. Out of total councilors, 11female councilors i.e. 61 percent who had to face the problems during the elections out of these 11female councilors there are 2 female councilors who said that they were forced by the political parties to withdraw their nomination because they fought the elections independently. This table 5.11 also shows that 8 women candidates (39%) clarified that they did not face any sort of the problem due to strong backup from the political party and financial

support from the elder members of their family. Whereas the majority of the male members (64%) clarified that they did not face any sort of problem because of having intimate relations with the political parties and they have capability to fight and win in elections.

When the male and female councillors were asked (Table 5.12) whether politics and political parties are organized to favor men, the answer of all female councillors were vague, it may be because of fear or lack of self-confidence etc. But there were 33 percent female councillors stated firmly that politics and political parties are organized to favor men because they are not informed about several decisions taken during the party meetings or scheduling of party meetings. Even if they are informed about the meetings they are not treated well and their views and opinions are usually ignored in the meetings. They expressed that they are also unable to protest their decision because their voice is not strengthened by other people and sometimes even women do not support women. Most of the decisions are taken without their consent in the meeting whereas their male councillors replied that women are heard and responded properly and no discrimination is made anywhere with women.

Table 5.12 Politics and Political Parties are organized to favor of Men

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male%	Female %
1	Yes	1	6	5	33
2	No	17	6	77	33
3	No response	4	6	18	33
	Total	22	18	100	100

From this table it also becomes clear that out of the 22 male councillors 17 male councillors (77%) that there is no discrimination against the female members, 4 male members (28%) gave no response and only 1 male councilor (5%) said yes and said that the representation of female is low and they will not come again in the ward but men has chances to come again so men decisions are preferred.

Table 5.13 Willingness of the Present Councillors to participate in the next Elections

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male%	Female %
1	Yes	21	10	95	55
2	No	1	8	5	44
3	No Response	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	18	100	100

From this table it becomes clear that out of the total councillors 21 male councillors (95%) want to contest the coming elections and 1 (5%) deny due to his old age to contest the next election and 10 female members (55%) also stated they wanted to contest the next elections but due to the rotation policy they will not contest the elections from the reserved seats yet they will contest from the general seats. While the 8 female councillors (44%) denied contesting the election due to various difficulties faced by them and also due to illness and old age problem of few women.

5.3 Awareness about local governance

The lack of knowledge and awareness of elections and electoral processes among women is a major barrier in participating in elections. Also, the low level of literacy among the majority of the women prevent them from accessing information about the various political candidates, parties, party manifestos and the debates that precede elections that are critical for making an informed choice of the most appropriate candidate. Most of the information is in print media and hence a serious handicap for a large majority of women, who are illiterates. For the elected women representatives who are relatively new in the political field, the lack of knowledge of the roles and responsibilities associated with political institutions impedes their effective participation in decision-making processes of governance including that of financial management. One pilot study on GP Members in Kerala, found that women political leaders were still not clear about the exact roles they were expected to play in this new system or why a reservation bill had been set for women representatives. (Swain and Mahapatra, 1994) in their study found that 49 per cent of women leaders were not aware of the role of

PRIs. A number of questions were asked regarding the local governance to know their level of political awareness. The results indicate (from the below table 5.14) that majority of women are not much aware about the local governance and its procedure but there are the some female who have moderate knowledge.

Whenever above mentioned questions were asked from male councillors the answers were explained explicitly while female councillors could not even explain the requirement of local governance. They knew about their duties and role because they have been trained about their responsibilities but were unable to explain how the funds are allocated to BMC. In fact many of them do not know about different committees of the BMC. Women in the governance process are not well informed due to variety of reasons. For house wives house governance is more important than the governance of their locality.

Table 5.14 Major Indicators of Awareness

Sr. No.	Indicators of Awareness	Male				Female			
		Yes	No	Up to Some extent	No response	Yes	No	Up to Some extent	No response
1.	Meaning and importance of local governance	15	5	2	0	3	8	2	5
2.	Formation of BMC, tenure and Year of its first election	15	0	7	0	5	7	6	0
3.	Seats reserved in BMC	10	7	5	0	6	8	0	4
4.	Administrative hierarchy	14	0	8	0	5	2	11	0
5.	Function BMC	22	0	0	0	10	2	6	0

From this table it is clear that the awareness about local governance and BMC is better in the case of male councillors. But out of the total councillors there were only 3 female and 15 male members who knew about the local governance and its structure, they clearly stated that the corporation is formed in the big cities with the population of three lakh or more than three lakh and committees in the towns. Nagar Panchayat is constituted at village level (transition from rural to urban). This table 5.14 also depicts that 5 male and 8 female members are not aware about the meaning of local governance. There are also 2 male and 2 female councillors who have moderate knowledge while 5 female councillors did not give any sort of response.

This table also depicts that 15 male councillors are fully aware and 7 male councillors are aware only up to some extent about the formation of BMC, its tenure and its first election. On the other hand their female counterparts only 5 female members know about the BMC, its election and its tenure whereas 6 female members have a little knowledge and 7 are not aware about the formation of BMC.

Majority of the female members although gave the answers about the reservation of seats but ground reality is that they do not know the exact number of seats are reserved for them. This simply indicates that they came in the politics because their ward was reserved and their husband inspired them to contest the elections. On the other hand there are 10 male councillors who are fully aware about the reservation for the women, SC and BC, 7 male members do not know the number of seats reserved for the women and 5 are aware up to some extent. One more thing is worth highlighting that most of the councillors know about the function of BMC. This is because training about the functioning is given time to time to the councillors.

The BMC consists of elected members from the ward and the Mayor and Deputy Mayor are elected by the members among themselves and also there is the provision of the commissioner and sub commissioner (From the Indian administrative service, Information given by the BMC corporation) to head the administrative staff and to implement the decision and prepare its annual budget. From this table 5.14 it is also clear that only 5 female members are fully aware about the administrative hierarchy but 11 female members have the partial knowledge and the rest of the female councillors

neither gave the right answer nor gave any response. In the case of male councillors there is totally opposite situation that has been observed. In other words 14 male councillors know about the elected and appointed staff whereas the 8 male councillors did not give the right answer.

Another question was asked about the working efficiency of male and female councillors. The table 5.15 given below clearly depicts that five male and ten female councillors agreed that women can work effectively in local governance bodies. But ten male and three female respondents said that women cannot contribute effectively because they are female and our society is not developed or secure for the female members. They are also completely dependent upon their husband. Female councillors argued that women are ready to serve the society but opportunities are not given to prove their capabilities. Even if they have got the opportunity in the BMC their opinions are not considered important because they are not in majority.

Table 5.15 Women can contribute in local governance effectively

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male%	Female%
1	Yes	5	10	23	56
2	No	10	3	45	16
3	No response	3	5	14	28
4	Total	22	18	100	100

5.4 Participation of Councilors in Meetings and Decision Making Process of BMC

Regarding the extent of women’s participation in the BMC meetings, it became clear that women’s participation in the political realm has many facets. One of these is that since BMC meetings approve policies that will be subsequently implemented, if the ward councilors don’t participate in the meetings they will not be able to bring the problem of their localities to the attention of BMC and such problem will remain unresolved. Attendance of meetings is not only an important indicator for active participation but also a forum to discuss development activities and decision-making. Moreover, active participation of members and the level of their participation at

meetings are the important indicators from which we can draw their involvement in decision- making and development activities at local level.

Table 5.16 Details of the BMC Meetings

Details of the BMC Meetings*			Meetings Attended by the Councilors during the last Four year (2008-2012)				
Meetings Of BMC	Years	Numbers	Category	Male	Female	Male%	Female%
General House	2008	5	Regular	19	13	86	72
General House	2009	6	Irregular	3	5	14	28
General House	2010	7	Total	22	18	100	100
General House	2011	8					
General House	2012	7					

*Source: Bathinda Municipal Corporation.

First meeting of the General House was held in 2008. Right from the 2008 to 2012 only thirty three meetings have been conducted whereas it was revealed by the staffs of BMC that 72 meetings should have been held during that period to run the administration properly. The data could not be obtained about the number of councillors, male and female, who attended the meeting irregularly or regular during the period from the BMC office record. One staff member gave a rough figure about their attendance. From the above table it is clear that most of the male and female councillors stated that they attend the meeting regularly, only 3 male members (14%) were irregular in the meeting due to their business or job. There is no doubt that 72 percent female councillors attended the meeting regularly but they are not playing any effective role except giving support to their male counterparts. Five female councillors (28 %) due to the sickness, family and they have to look after their family and they do not attend the meeting sometimes.

Table 5.17 Number of councillors who is accompanied in meetings of BMC

Sr. No	Category	Male	Male%	Female	Female%
1	Always/Yes	0	0	10	56
2	Often/No	22	100	8	44
3	Never/No Response	0	0	0	0
	Total	22	100	18	100

From this table it becomes clear that more than 56 percent women like to be accompanied while going to attend the meetings. It is because of the distance from their house and secondly their husband does not allow them to go alone because of the unsafe social environment. Along with these reasons some female councillors are unable to cover the long distance due to their old age. On the other side there is no male councillor who takes company because they said that they have their personnel vehicles and they do not feel any fear while going.

Table 5.18 Dependence of the Councillors to Play their Roles

Sr. No	Category	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Husband	0	16	0	89
2	Family Members	0	0	0	0
3	Political Party	0	0	0	0
4	Others	0	0	0	0
5	No	22	02	100	11
	Total	22	18	100	100

Only to be member of local governance cannot ensures the women participation. Women contribute in politics only when they perform their duty actively and independently. But during the interview we come to know that most of the female members (89 %) are dependent upon their spouse to play their role. They stated that they cannot do anything without their husband's support because their husband knows better than them and have much knowledge of the locality and development activities. On the other hand there was no male councillors who has been observed to be dependent on their family members.

The studies show, inter alia, that there has been an increase in the number of elected women in unreserved wards in successive municipal elections. Field experiences also reveal that women have not been able to participate effectively due to a number of

constraints. It has been suggested that artificial measures like reservation may only ensure quantitative participation of women. Reservation per se does not guarantee empowerment. Along with a favourable political will, a number of complementary interventions need to be initiated to overhaul the patriarchal social structure. This calls for an organised and sustained mass movement to adequately represent women's interests. The ongoing experiments and experiences suggest that periodic training, orientation and sensitisation can help women representatives perform their assigned functions in a better way. In this regard, they are to be supported by institutions like the Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), women's organisations and above all the political parties which may politically enlighten the masses especially on the issues like gender sensitisation.

5.5 Transparency

Transparency is the factors that contribute to make the local governance works smoother through their elected representative; transparency means the citizens 'right to know' and accountability, on the other hand, means 'responsibility of the administration' (Mahajan and Mahajan, 2005).

The local governance is considered the main platform for the transparency and accountability. Its central function is to take stock of past developments, review expenditures, and to decide which new activities are possible within the sanctioned budget. The local governance is that forum which provides an opportunity to local citizens to obtain clarification about the all aspects and activities of the local governance (Alsop et.al, 2004). In real sense accountability means that local people can monitor, control and evaluate the performance of local bodies and the bodies can monitor and control local officials particularly in relation to quality and efficiency. In this work it was not possible to collect opinion of people of different wards regarding working quality of the councilors. So the result which has been presented below may not be true to the reality. Everyone usually exaggerate his/her performances and so was observed here also. Everyone said at length about the work done by him/her.

Table 5.19 Major Indicators of Transparency

Sr. No	Indicators	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Sharing plan with people of ward and taking peoples opinion	18	8	81	44
2	Accessibility of information to electorate	0	0	0	0
3	free right to take part in discussion	12	4	54	18
4	display/submission of documentation	0	0	0	0

It was observed that the level of transparency was higher among males and in the case of female less transparency was maintained. It was observed that councillors do not followed any of the mechanisms due to political influence of ruling party apparently for the fear that if it was done so, people would seek to know about many issues regarding budget, expenditure, beneficiary list etc. Many respondents said that information can be obtained through RTI so nothing is hidden but they don't display the documents in front of anyone.

In the questionnaire few questions were kept only for female respondents. When it was asked that 'Do you feel any improvement in your life after becoming a councillor?' They recognized the improvement of educational achievement and also about their liberty and free movement and access with the people after being elected.

In another question regarding primary constraints towards their proper functioning they expressed that lack of education, lack of awareness and information, traditional system etc were the primary constraints towards their proper functioning. Women respondents also confessed that non-co-operation of men folk outside the family and inside the family and their household responsibilities made them incapable of performing their roles in Municipal Corporation.

According to general public women members were better from the view point of time management, capability, understanding, leadership but they were the prey of gender sensitivity. The interview also portrays that the women members were very active in

identification of problems in their locality and capable enough to pursue any programme.

Question was also asked about the importance of training given to them about functioning of BMC, they said that such trainings are very important to empower the women with information. Due to exposure to the working environment and empowerment the potentials of women functionaries are accelerated. Their ignorance made them dependent on the other people but if they know about their duties and also how to prepare and execute the plans it becomes easy to work for the ward. This report showed that women participation in politics had elevated the status of women inside and outside the family. Elected women representatives got weightage in the community.

Conclusion

- Through the analysis of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections it is clear that women's percentage as electors is approximately equal to men i.e. 48.26 percent. It is also worth mentioning that their percentage as voters has increased from first elections from 37.1 percent in 1951-52 to 46.88 percent in 2009 elections which is quite significant. This picture reveals that they are not only becoming aware about the right of vote but also contributing in electing the representatives of the people in the parliament where the decisions and policies are formulated and implemented. However, when it comes to the matter of their representation as elected representative of the people they get fail to achieve the status of the decision makers even after the constitution has given the right of political equality via a number of articles to its each citizen. In Parliament only a handful of women got elected over the 545 seats i.e.55 and they constitute 10.8 percent. Moreover it is also very distressing that the percentage of elected women in Parliament from 4.45 to 10.8 in 2009 has increased but marginally. Such inadequate representation has also been observed in the Rajya Sabha, in 1952 there were only 16 women members in the Rajya Sabha which was 7.3 percent of the total seat which increased to 15.5 percent in 1991 but again in 1998 the percentage reached to the level of 1952 that was 7.3 %. In year 2004 there was a slight increase (11.4%) in the percentage of women representative but again dropped to 8.6 percent in 2009. This worrisome scenario has been noticed at the State Legislative Assemblies also where the percentage of women has not exceeded more than 15 percent even in a states single state. Moreover there were few states like Arunachal Pradesh Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Daman & Diu where no female contested the elections and winning factor is far-fetched dream.
- Analysis of trends of women's participation in Punjab politics also indicates the verbatim picture as analysis of elections in Parliament indicates. At state level women's participation as electors is quite different from the national level since here the percentage of women electors although increased from 46 percent in 1962 to 47.36 percent in 2012 but difference is not more. It is also interesting to note that the

analysis of both the Assembly Elections (2007 & 2012) depicts that there were three districts namely Kapurthala, Hosiarpur (SC) and Nawanshahr where the percentage of votes polled by female Voters has been noticed more than that of men voters. However their representation in Punjab Legislative Assembly is not up to the mark. During the elections of 1962 only 5 percent female and 11.96 percent women got elected in Punjab assembly. This sordid picture indicates that women representation is very poor in General elections and State Assembly elections.

- In BMC representation of women has risen from 4-5% to 25-40% because of reservation and they begin to feel a sense of empowerment by attaining the responsibilities and duties as equal to men. Their entrance into the governance process have also shattered the myth that they are not able to come and handle the male centred politics. Such type of mechanism in the form reservation should be introduced at the centre and the state level also.
- Reservation has been proved a strong mechanism for the marginalized section of the society i.e. women especially the women from the scheduled cast and backward class. Due to the reservation women, women are coming forward more than expectation which have ever been seen. It is strong weapon to empower the women.
- In BMC the education level has been observed more among the male councillors but according to the women councillors they are trying to learn the things from the number of sources like from their husband's experience and also through the training programs and personal experiences. Therefore, we should not analyse the education as solely factor for the active political participation. Along with the education personal qualities such as good analytical understanding, fairness, quality to speak before the people etc are the factors which should be considered as important factors for the active participation. Because there are a number of examples which was observed during the field survey reveals that even the educated male members are not participating actively.
- During the field survey it has been also observed that the most of the women are dependent upon their husband's income. But after becoming the councillor they are

getting the salary from the corporation which make them, to some extent, economically independent and they have also started taking their own decision. They have started to feel the value of economic independency since.

- During the field survey it has been found that women have entered in governance process but they are not very much aware about the concept of local governance. But the ground reality is that there are number of female councillors who did not give the exact response of any of the questions which had been asked to them. But they said that they are trying to learn as they are new to such type of environment.
- Political party is an important factor to promote the women's participation in elections because of the reservation political parties are allotting the tickets without taking the win ability factor into consideration. Before the reservation it's all up to the party to whom they would like to allot the ticket but after the reservation it becomes mandatory to give the tickets at least one third to the women.
- From the case study of BMC we come to know that male councillors were more active during the election campaign and female councillors only preferred the door to door campaign although from their door to door campaign we cannot draw their active participation but their participation, at least, has begun. In short it can be said that due to reservation they have started to learn and participate in election relate activities like how to file the nomination paper etc.
- It can be concluded that women are coming in governance due to the reservations but are more dependent upon their husband to perform the election related activities; even some are not capable to file their nomination paper due to their ignorance and perform all the activities with the support of their husband. In other words they are dependent upon their husband for the election campaign. Likewise men women are also becoming aware about the public sphere.
- There is no second opinion that all the women have come for the first time in the politics due to the reservation but there are few women who contested the elections due to their own will and only one female who contested the election against the reservation seat. Apart from the reservation all the female candidates came into the

fray of politics due to their husband's inspiration because they want to remain in the politics through their wives.

- All the female councillors have been found to be more serious regarding the attendance of the training programme. All the female said that they attend the training program regularly while male councillors are not very serious about the attendance of the training programme. Some said that due to their busy scheduled they are not able to attend the training program and few said that they do not consider it as compulsory or usefully.
- Except the few female members all are wanted to contest the elections but due to the rotation policy they can't. Apart from the rotation policy, the policy of 33 percent reservation for women has been interpreted in such a manner that it restricts the scope for women to contest the elections. Male members of the political parties assert that women can contest only against the "reserved constituencies" only not against the constituencies categorized as "general" seats. This implies that the general seats are exclusively meant for men. Such interpretation deprives the women of opportunities to contest against the general or male category.
- It was observed that the level of transparency was higher among males and in the case of female less transparency was maintained. It was observed that councillors do not followed any of the mechanisms due to political influence of ruling party apparently for the fear that if it was done so, people would seek to know about many issues regarding budget, expenditure, beneficiary list etc. Many respondents said that information can be obtained through RTI so nothing is hidden but they don't display the documents in front of anyone.
- In the questionnaire few questions were kept only for female respondents. When it was asked that 'Do you feel any improvement in your life after becoming a councillor?' They recognized the improvement of educational achievement and also about their liberty and free movement and access with the people after being elected.

- In another question regarding primary constraints towards their proper functioning they expressed that lack of education, lack of awareness and information, traditional system etc were the primary constraints towards their proper functioning. Women respondents also confessed that non-co-operation of men folk outside the family and inside the family and their household responsibilities made them incapable of performing their roles in Municipal Corporation.
- According to general public women members were better from the view point of time management, capability, understanding, leadership but they were the prey of gender sensitivity. The interview also portrays that the women members were very active in identification of problems in their locality and capable enough to pursue any programme.
- Question was also asked about the importance of training given to them about functioning of BMC, they said that such trainings are very important to empower the women with information. Due to exposure to the working environment and empowerment the potentials of women functionaries are accelerated. Their ignorance made them dependent on the other people but if they know about their duties and also how to prepare and execute the plans it becomes easy to work for the ward. This report showed that women participation in politics had elevated the status of women inside and outside the family. Elected women representatives got weightage in the community.

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Appendices
Appendix- Part (A)
Articles from 243(P) to 243(ZG)

Articles	Provisions of the Articles
Article-243(P)	It gives definitions of various terms used in the Act. Inter alia, it defines 'metropolitan' area which has a population of 10 lakh or more. It may consist of one or more districts, municipalities or panchayats
Article-243(Q)	It makes the provision in the constitution about the various types of urban local bodies. A Municipal Corporation has to be set-up in larger urban area, Municipal Council in a smaller urban area and Nagar Panchayat in a transitional area which is in transition from rural areas to urban areas. A municipality may not be setup in an industrial township, if so designated by the Governor of the State. The respective areas of these urban local bodies are to be designated and demarcated by the state government.
Article-243(R)	It deals with the composition of municipalities. All the seats in the municipalities are to be filled by direct election from municipal constituencies known as wards. However, the Legislature of the state may provide for the representation of persons having special knowledge of municipal administration, members of the Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly whose area falls under the municipal area and members of the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Council, if such members are registered as electors in the municipal area. The Chairpersons of the ward committee may also be given such representation
Article-243(S)	It makes the provision for the establishment of ward committees in municipalities having a population of three lakh or more. The State Legislatures have been empowered to make provision for the composition of ward committee and the manner by which seats in the ward committee shall be filled up.
Article-243(T)	It provides for the reservation of seats in favour of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in proportion according to their population in the municipal area. It also makes the provision for the reservation of one-third seats in favour of women candidates. There is paralleled reservation for the women of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes though, the Act does not provide for the reservation in favour of other Backward Classes, the State Legislature may, by law make such reservation in their favour. It should be further noted that the reservation in favour of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women is applicable in offices of members as well as Chairman of the Municipalities.
Article-243(V)	It provides for the disqualifications for being a member of municipality. Accordingly, if a person becomes disqualified to become a member of State Legislature, he shall also be disqualified to become member of a municipality. However, the minimum age required to become a member of municipality shall be 21 years.

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Articles	Provisions of the Articles
Article 243(W)	Power, Authority and Responsibilities- provides that the Legislature of a State by law may provide the following powers and authority: (1) to the municipalities as to enable them to function as the institutions of self-government and responsibilities for (a) the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice and (b) the implementation of schemes entrusted to them including schemes with respect to the subject listed in the 12th schedule. (2) to the committees (ward committees) as to enable them to carry out responsibilities conferred upon them.
Article- 243(X)	Power to Impose Taxes- makes the provision that the State Legislature may by law: (a) authorize a municipality to levy and collect taxes. (b) Assign to municipality such taxes and duties as levied and collected by the state government. (c) Provide for making grants in-aid to the municipalities from the Consolidated Fund of the State. (d) Provide for the establishment of special funds for the municipalities.
Article 243-1	Finance Commission-The State Finance Commission is to be constituted under Article 243-1 which shall make recommendations with respect to both the panchayats and municipalities. According to Article-243(Y) the State Finance Commission, constituted in each state by the Governor, shall make recommendation to the Governor with respect to the principles which should govern: (a) the distribution of proceeds of the taxes between the state and municipalities; (b) the determination of taxes which may be assigned to or appropriated by the municipalities; and (c) grants-in-aid to the municipalities from the Consolidated Fund of State. The Finance Commission shall also recommend the measures to improve the financial position of municipalities and measures in their sound finances. The Commission shall submit its report to the Governor, who shall lay down the same before the Legislature of the State.
Article-243(ZD)	District Planning Committee- It provides for the establishment of a District Planning Committee in each district to consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan for the entire district. The State Legislature shall make law with respect to the composition of the committee, provided not less than four-fifth members of the council shall be elected by the elected members of Panchayats and municipalities of the district from among themselves. While preparing the development plan for the district, the committee shall take into consideration the following factors: (a) matters of common interest between the panchayats and municipalities; (b) spatial planning, sharing of water and other resources between the panchayats and municipalities and the integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation; (c) the extent and type of available financial and other resources; and (d) consult such persons while making plans, as the Governor may specify. The development plan prepared by the District Planning Committee shall be forwarded by the Chairman to the state government.

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Articles	Provisions of the Articles
Article-243(ZD)	<p>District Planning Committee- It provides for the establishment of a District Planning Committee in each district to consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan for the entire district. The State Legislature shall make law with respect to the composition of the committee, provided not less than four-fifth members of the council shall be elected by the elected members of Panchayats and municipalities of the district from among themselves. While preparing the development plan for the district, the committee shall take into consideration the following factors: (a) matters of common interest between the panchayats and municipalities; (b) spatial planning, sharing of water and other resources between the panchayats and municipalities and the integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation; (c) the extent and type of available financial and other resources; and (d) consult such persons while making plans, as the Governor may specify. The development plan prepared by the District Planning Committee shall be forwarded by the Chairman to the state government.</p>
Metropolitan Planning Committee-Article-243(ZE)and Article-(ZF)	<p>In each metropolitan area, a metropolitan planning committee shall be established to prepare a draft development plan for the entire metropolitan area. The State Legislature shall make rules for the composition of the metropolitan committee, provided not less than two thirds of its members shall be elected by the elected members of municipalities and Chairpersons of the panchayat of the metropolitan area, from amongst themselves.</p>
Article- ZG	<p>The State Legislature may also provide for the representation of the state or the Government of India or such other associations as it may believe necessary.</p>

Appendix Part (B)

Table B (1) State Wise Number and Percentage of Electors General Elections, 2004 (Lok Sabha)

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	51146342	25355118	25791224	49.57	50.43
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	684034	351564	332470	51.4	48.6
3	Assam	14	15014874	7821591	7193283	52.09	47.91
4	Bihar	40	50559672	27053408	23506264	53.51	46.49
5	Goa	2	941167	475847	465320	50.56	49.44
6	Gujarat	26	33675062	17341760	16333302	51.5	48.5
7	Haryana	10	12320557	6660631	5659926	54.06	45.94
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	4181995	2128828	2053167	50.9	49.1
9	Jammu	6	6368115	3468235	2899880	54.46	45.54
10	Karnataka	28	38592095	19605257	18986838	50.8	49.2
11	Kerala	20	21125473	10168428	10957045	48.13	51.87
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	38390101	20028161	18361940	52.17	47.83
13	Maharashtra	48	63012208	32788476	30223732	52.04	47.96
14	Manipur	2	1536510	746054	790456	48.56	51.44
15	Meghalaya	2	1289374	648654	640720	50.31	49.69
16	Mizoram	1	549959	273454	276505	49.72	50.28
17	Nagaland	1	1041433	547114	494319	52.53	47.47
18	Orissa	21	25651989	13191691	12460298	51.43	48.57
19	Punjab	13	16615399	8652294	7963105	52.07	47.93
20	Rajasthan	25	34712385	18149028	16563357	52.28	47.72
21	Sikkim	1	281937	145738	136199	51.69	48.31

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Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
22	Tamilnadu	39	47252271	23269301	23982970	49.24	50.76
23	Tripura	2	1978222	1023368	954854	51.73	48.27
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	110624490	60328608	50295882	54.53	45.47
25	West Bengal	42	47437431	24798089	22639342	52.28	47.72
26	Chhattisgarh	11	13719442	6904742	6814700	50.33	49.67
27	Jharkhand	14	16812339	8914164	7898175	53.02	46.98
28	Uttaranchal	5	5562637	2838204	2724433	51.02	48.98
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	241645	131502	110143	54.42	45.58
30	Chandigarh	1	527684	292438	235246	55.42	44.58
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	122681	65059	57622	53.03	46.97
32	Daman & Diu	1	79232	39595	39637	49.97	50.03
33	Delhi	7	8763475	4953925	3809550	56.53	43.47
34	Lakshadweep	1	39033	19880	19153	50.93	49.07
35	Pondicherry	1	636667	310658	326009	48.79	51.21
	Total	543	671487930	34940864	321997066	51.74	48.26

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I, Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (2) State Wise Number and Percentage of Electors General Elections, 2009 (Lok Sabha)

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	57892259	28684841	29207418	49.55	50.45
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	734541	369664	364877	50.33	49.67
3	Assam	14	17470329	9031095	8439234	51.69	48.31
4	Bihar	40	54505246	29220807	25284439	53.61	46.39
5	Goa	2	1020794	512475	508319	50.2	49.8
6	Gujarat	26	36484281	18898387	17585894	51.8	48.2
7	Haryana	10	12087710	6590954	5496756	54.53	45.47
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	4606674	2348721	2257953	50.99	49.01
9	Jammu	6	6572896	3421708	3151188	52.06	47.94
10	Karnataka	28	41790939	21316482	20474457	51.01	48.99
11	Kerala	20	21859536	10528581	11330955	48.16	51.84
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	38085179	20183099	17902080	52.99	47.01
13	Maharashtra	48	72954058	38160162	34793896	52.31	47.69
14	Manipur	2	1736251	836499	899752	48.18	51.82
15	Meghalaya	2	1277739	629436	648303	49.26	50.74
16	Mizoram	1	524444	291666	232778	55.61	44.39
17	Nagaland	1	1321878	676722	645156	51.19	48.81
18	Orissa	21	27194864	14075854	13119010	51.76	48.24
19	Punjab	13	16958380	8828996	8129384	52.06	47.94
20	Rajasthan	25	37060011	19539361	17520650	52.72	47.28
21	Sikkim	1	300584	157362	143222	52.35	47.65
22	Tamilnadu	39	41620460	20895322	20725138	50.2	49.8
23	Tripura	2	2082265	1065706	1016559	51.18	48.82
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	116006374	63394500	52611874	54.65	45.35
25	West Bengal	42	52493168	27567740	24925428	52.52	47.48

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Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
26	Chhattisgarh	11	15476577	7849788	7626789	50.72	49.28
27	Jharkhand	14	17934095	9484167	8449928	52.88	47.12
28	Uttaranchal	5	5887724	3037542	2850182	51.59	48.41
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	265108	141149	123959	53.24	46.76
30	Chandigarh	1	524444	291666	232778	55.61	44.39
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	150704	81061	69643	53.79	46.21
32	Daman & Diu	1	95382	48357	47025	50.7	49.3
33	Delhi	7	11096854	6188875	4907979	55.77	44.23
34	Lakshadweep	1	45983	23502	22481	51.11	48.89
35	Pondicherry	1	1020794	512475	508319	50.2	49.8
		543	717138525	374884722	342253803	51.90	48.10

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I,
Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (3) State Wise Number and Percentage of Voters in General Elections, 2004 (Lok Sabha)

Sr. no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male%	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	35762670	18320019	17384444	51.23	48.61
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	384928	199413	183909	51.81	47.78
3	Assam	14	10372089	5671454	4701710	54.68	45.33
4	Bihar	40	29329444	17195139	12134913	58.63	41.37
5	Goa	2	552497	286156	264934	51.79	47.95
6	Gujarat	26	15210904	8664929	6543424	56.97	43.02
7	Haryana	10	8093378	4536234	3554361	56.05	43.92
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	2495486	1269539	1211994	50.87	48.57
9	Jammu	6	2239342	1391263	841489	62.13	37.58
10	Karnataka	28	25114659	13119442	11962519	52.24	47.63
11	Kerala	20	15086428	7480351	7567329	49.58	50.16
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	18459240	11322391	7124280	61.34	38.59
13	Maharashtra	48	34253278	18957642	15263748	55.35	44.56
14	Manipur	2	1035557	522526	512834	50.46	49.52
15	Meghalaya	2	678893	302113	377125	44.5	55.55
16	Mizoram	1	348546	175372	170000	50.32	48.77
17	Nagaland	1	954719	505682	446002	52.97	46.72
18	Orissa	21	16934324	9010592	7929405	53.21	46.82
19	Punjab	13	10229072	5437861	4794658	53.16	46.87
20	Rajasthan	25	17332448	10009085	7290569	57.75	42.06
21	Sikkim	1	219648	112404	102890	51.17	46.84

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Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male%	Female %
22	Tamilnadu	39	28714515	15006523	13642797	52.26	47.51
23	Tripura	2	1324253	714491	604452	53.95	45.64
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	53269616	32552479	20720447	61.11	38.9
25	West Bengal	42	37000233	19804552	17066370	53.53	46.13
26	Chhattisgarh	11	7145176	4039747	3100827	56.54	43.4
27	Jharkhand	14	9361313	5561056	3801786	59.4	40.61
28	Uttaranchal	5	2672871	1470496	1197917	55.02	44.82
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	153825	83520	70284	54.3	45.69
30	Chandigarh	1	268670	151932	117886	56.55	43.88
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	84703	43795	40904	51.7	48.29
32	Daman & Diu	1	55591	25839	29751	46.48	53.52
33	Delhi	7	4125832	2428289	1697944	58.86	41.15
34	Lakshadweep	1	31820	15698	16122	49.33	50.67
35	Pondicherry	1	483816	240114	244202	49.63	50.47
	Total	543	389779784	216628138	172714226	53.85	45.97

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I,
Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (4) State Wise Number and Percentage of Voters in General Elections, 2009 (Lok Sabha)

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	42009025	21052314	20845852	50.11	49.62
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	500583	255345	245284	51.01	49
3	Assam	14	12138945	6507097	5632823	53.61	46.4
4	Bihar	40	24230877	13458166	10775241	55.54	44.47
5	Goa	2	564071	290278	273482	51.46	48.48
6	Gujarat	26	17472323	9849339	7624781	56.37	43.64
7	Haryana	10	8154018	4535822	3619042	55.63	44.38
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	2689567	1353662	1334297	50.33	49.61
9	Jammu	6	2605966	1539539	1065887	59.08	40.9
10	Karnataka	28	24567178	12972420	11592518	52.8	47.19
11	Kerala	20	16030249	7773572	8220848	48.49	51.28
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	19482195	11620081	7852392	59.64	40.31
13	Maharashtra	48	36978848	20478932	16487190	55.38	44.59
14	Manipur	2	1336489	648533	690644	48.53	51.68
15	Meghalaya	2	822518	406532	415923	49.43	50.57
16	Mizoram	1	325558	164910	154086	50.65	47.33
17	Nagaland	1	1189460	613756	575635	51.6	48.39
18	Orissa	21	17757104	9304441	8452619	52.4	47.6
19	Punjab	13	11827727	6185757	5645170	52.3	47.73

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Sr. no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female %
20	Rajasthan	25	17924439	10069744	7844124	56.18	43.76
21	Sikkim	1	251253	127201	118668	50.63	47.23
22	Tamilnadu	39	30383034	15453080	14903459	50.86	49.05
23	Tripura	2	1756517	910390	838874	51.83	47.76
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	55402134	32139774	23271819	58.01	42.01
25	West Bengal	42	42721172	22684694	20003460	53.1	46.82
26	Chhattisgarh	11	8553561	4569595	3983764	53.42	46.57
27	Jharkhand	14	9135434	5107910	4033059	55.91	44.15
28	Uttaranchal	5	3134926	1685060	1441326	53.75	45.98
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	170103	91740	78359	53.93	46.07
30	Chandigarh	1	343556	192358	151176	55.99	44
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	110363	57746	52617	52.32	47.68
32	Daman & Diu	1	68023	32502	35522	47.78	52.22
33	Delhi	7	5752950	3319925	2433896	57.71	42.31
34	Lakshadweep	1	39498	19721	19777	49.93	50.07
35	Pondicherry	1	607942	293090	315383	48.21	51.88
		543	417037606	225765026	191028997	52.97	46.88

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2009 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I, Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (5) State Wise Contesting Candidates Number and percentage General Election, 2004

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	279	258	21	92.47	7.53
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	13	13	0	100.00	0.00
3	Assam	14	116	110	6	94.83	5.17
4	Bihar	40	462	448	14	96.97	3.03
5	Goa	2	16	15	1	93.75	6.25
6	Gujarat	26	162	151	11	93.21	6.79
7	Haryana	10	160	152	8	95.00	5.00
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	23	21	2	91.30	8.70
9	Jammu	6	83	79	4	95.18	4.82
10	Karnataka	28	172	162	10	94.19	5.81
11	Kerala	20	177	162	15	91.53	8.47
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	294	264	30	89.80	10.20
13	Maharashtra	48	412	383	29	92.96	7.04
14	Manipur	2	12	11	1	91.67	8.33
15	Meghalaya	2	5	5	0	100.00	0.00
16	Mizoram	1	3	3	0	100.00	0.00
17	Nagaland	1	5	5	0	100.00	0.00
18	Orissa	21	100	91	9	91.00	9.00
19	Punjab	13	142	132	10	92.96	7.04
20	Rajasthan	25	185	168	17	90.81	9.19
21	Sikkim	1	4	4	0	100.00	0.00
22	Tamilnadu	39	571	548	23	95.97	4.03

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Sr. no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies'	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
23	Tripura	2	12	12	0	100.00	0.00
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	1138	1077	61	94.64	5.36
25	West Bengal	42	355	321	34	90.42	9.58
26	Chhattisgarh	11	102	90	12	88.24	11.76
27	Jharkhand	14	182	169	13	92.86	7.14
28	Uttaranchal	5	54	49	5	90.74	9.26
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	12	11	1	91.67	8.33
30	Chandigarh	1	17	16	1	94.12	5.88
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	10	9	1	90.00	10.00
32	Daman & Diu	1	3	3	0	100.00	0.00
33	Delhi	7	129	114	15	88.37	11.63
34	Lakshadweep	1	4	4	0	100.00	0.00
35	Pondicherry	1	21	20	1	95.24	4.76
	Total	543	5435	5080	355	94.28	5.72

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I,
Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (6) State Wise Contesting Candidates Number and percentage General Elections 2009

Sr .no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies'	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	569	530	39	93.15	6.85
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	8	8	0	100.00	0.00
3	Assam	14	158	147	11	93.04	6.96
4	Bihar	40	672	626	46	93.15	6.85
5	Goa	2	18	16	2	88.89	11.11
6	Gujarat	26	359	333	26	92.76	7.24
7	Haryana	10	210	196	14	93.33	6.67
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	31	30	1	96.77	3.23
9	Jammu	6	81	75	6	92.59	7.41
10	Karnataka	28	427	408	19	95.55	4.45
11	Kerala	20	217	202	15	93.09	6.91
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	429	400	29	93.24	6.76
13	Maharashtra	48	819	764	55	93.28	6.72
14	Manipur	2	16	13	3	81.25	18.75
15	Meghalaya	2	11	8	3	72.73	27.27
16	Mizoram	1	4	4	0	100.00	0.00
17	Nagaland	1	3	3	0	100.00	0.00
18	Orissa	21	157	148	9	94.27	5.73
19	Punjab	13	218	205	13	94.04	5.96
20	Rajasthan	25	346	315	31	91.04	8.96
21	Sikkim	1	7	7	0	100.00	0.00
22	Tamilnadu	39	823	775	48	94.17	5.83

Contd....

Sr. no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies'	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
23	Tripura	2	19	18	1	94.74	5.26
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	1368	1268	100	92.69	7.31
25	West Bengal	42	368	339	29	92.12	7.88
26	Chhattisgarh	11	178	163	15	91.57	8.43
27	Jharkhand	14	249	235	14	94.38	5.62
28	Uttaranchal	5	76	69	7	90.79	9.21
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	11	10	1	90.91	9.09
30	Chandigarh	1	14	13	1	92.86	7.14
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	5	5	0	100.00	0.00
32	Daman & Diu	1	7	7	0	100.00	0.00
33	Delhi	7	160	142	18	88.75	11.25
34	Lakshadweep	1	4	4	0	100.00	0.00
35	Pondicherry	1	28	28	0	100.00	0.00
		543	8070	7514	556	93.58	6.42

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I, Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (7) State Wise Elected Candidates in Parliament, General elections, 2004

Sr. no	States/UT	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	39	3	92.86	7.14
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	2	0	100	0
3	Assam	14	14	0	100	0
4	Bihar	40	37	3	92.5	7.5
5	Goa	2	2	0	100	0
6	Gujarat	26	25	1	96.15	3.85
7	Haryana	10	9	1	90	10
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	3	1	75	25
9	Jammu	6	5	1	83.33	16.67
10	Karnataka	28	26	2	92.86	7.14
11	Kerala	20	18	2	90	10
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	27	2	93.1	6.9
13	Maharashtra	48	43	5	89.58	10.42
14	Manipur	2	2	0	100	0
15	Meghalaya	2	2	0	100	0
16	Mizoram	1	1	0	100	0
17	Nagaland	1	1	0	100	0
18	Orissa	21	19	2	90.48	9.52
19	Punjab	13	11	2	84.62	15.38
20	Rajasthan	25	23	2	92	8
21	Sikkim	1	1	0	100	0
22	Tamilnadu	39	35	4	89.74	10.26
23	Tripura	2	2	0	100	0
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	73	7	91.25	8.75
25	West Bengal	42	38	4	90.48	9.52

Contd....

Sr.no	States/UT	Total	Male	Female	Male %	Female%
26	Chhattisgarh	11	10	1	90.91	9.09
27	Jharkhand	14	13	1	92.86	7.14
28	Uttaranchal	5	5	0	100	0
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	0	100	0
30	Chandigarh	1	1	0	100	0
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	0	100	0
32	Daman & Diu	1	1	0	100	0
33	Delhi	7	6	1	85.71	14.29
34	Lakshadweep	1	1	0	100	0
35	Pondicherry	1	1	0	100	0
	Total	543	498	45	94.38	5.62

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I,
Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx

Table B (8) State Wise Elected Candidates in Parliament, General Elections, 2009 (Lok Sabha)

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male%	Female%
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	42	37	5	88.10	11.90
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2	2	2	0	100.00	0.00
3	Assam	14	14	12	2	85.71	14.29
4	Bihar	40	40	36	4	90.00	10.00
5	Goa	2	2	2	0	100.00	0.00
6	Gujarat	26	26	22	4	84.62	15.38
7	Haryana	10	10	8	2	80.00	20.00
8	Himachal Pradesh	4	4	4	0	100.00	0.00
9	Jammu	6	6	6	0	100.00	0.00
10	Karnataka	28	28	27	1	96.43	3.57
11	Kerala	20	20	20	0	100.00	0.00
12	Madhya Pradesh	29	29	23	6	79.31	20.69
13	Maharashtra	48	48	45	3	93.75	6.25
14	Manipur	2	2	2	0	100.00	0.00
15	Meghalaya	2	2	1	1	50.00	50.00
16	Mizoram	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
17	Nagaland	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
18	Orissa	21	21	21	0	100.00	0.00
19	Punjab	13	13	9	4	69.23	30.77
20	Rajasthan	25	25	22	3	88.00	12.00
21	Sikkim	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
22	Tamilnadu	39	39	38	1	97.44	2.56
23	Tripura	2	2	2	0	100.00	0.00
24	Uttar Pradesh	80	80	67	13	83.75	16.25

Contd....

Sr.no	States/UT	No. of Parliament constituencies	Total	Male	Female	Male%	Female%
25	West Bengal	42	42	35	7	83.33	16.67
26	Chhattisgarh	11	11	9	2	81.82	18.18
27	Jharkhand	14	14	14	0	100.00	0.00
28	Uttaranchal	5	5	5	0	100.00	0.00
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
30	Chandigarh	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
32	Daman & Diu	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
33	Delhi	7	7	6	1	85.71	14.29
34	Lakshadweep	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
35	Pondicherry	1	1	1	0	100.00	0.00
		543	543	484	59	92.49	7.51

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections, 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I, Election Commission of India, New Delhi
http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/ElectionStatistics.aspx