

WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN PRIs
A CASE STUDY OF REWARI DISTRICT IN HARYANA (2015-16)

A Dissertation submitted to the department of political science
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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Women Representation in PRIs: A Case Study of Rewari District in Haryana (2015-16)**” submitted by me for the partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.)** in central university of Haryana is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for another degree of this or any other university.

Neetu

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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I would like to dedicate this work to my daughter whose time I stole to write this one.

Neetu

Date:

Place: Mahendergarh

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Democracy is the structure of political system in which its citizens attain equal status and participate actively in the process of governance. A democratic system of administration is run by the chosen representatives of the society. Hence, public view and opinion is the spirit of democracy. Such type of government confirms virtuous occasion for the total growth and welfare of its citizens. A very famous quote of Abraham Lincoln “Democracy is to the people for the people and by the people”. Democracy is measured best form of government because it guarantees freedom of thought, credence, belief and worship, equality of opportunity and status, expression, fraternity as well as the right to take part in political policy making process. Involvement and control of power by the persons of the nation is the spirit of democracy. PRIs is one of the significant political modernizations of India, which assistances in set up of grass-roots democracy and guarantee the better participations of political structure of the nation. PRIs that work as grass root components of devolved democratic self-rules have been measured as a tool of socio-economic change in countryside India. Participation of people at the local level is the most significant means of carrying about social and economic progress. Decentralization of power is seen as a means of empowering persons and including them in executive process in Panchayati Raj. The democratic structure in a nation can be only confirmed if there is mass contribution and involvement in the governance. Therefore, to attain this goal, in India a scheme of Democratic Decentralization generally known as Panchayati Raj has been introduced.

India is one of the most significant and biggest democratic nation in the world. Indian democracy has continued despite many nations have produced to tyranny and military rule. The victory or unsuccessfulness of democracy matter a lot for the future of democracy not just in India but also in other nations. Indian democracy is considered by pacific existence of dissimilar concepts, notion and principles. There is strong collaboration and competition among prevailing political parties. In 1947 India had preferred for Parliamentary democracy after acquisition independence. In reality, India had no choice than to elect it because of independence movements and social and political consciousness during the all over the world.

Dr. Ambedkar (1979), while speaking on democracy, mentions, for the establishment of popular democracy, two pre-requisites are essential, first, the ‘representation of opinion’ and second, ‘representation of persons’. He further states, the Government in democracy is an important space for the exercise of individual capacities. It is in the interest of the people that no person should be denied the political representation and participation in the process of the Government. The early scholars working on women in politics emphasized participation over representation. The noted American political scientist Sidney Verba points, politics as an engagement of citizens in public institutions has three modes: voting, election campaigning, and influencing through pressure. However, Dr. Ambedkar identifies these modes as representation of opinion, and goes further to argue for representation of persons in the legislative process. The role of individual in politics is a two-level process, first, participation and second, representation. Several contemporary scholars have emphasized on representation as a crucial step towards achieving gender equal society.¹

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION

A democratic decentralization includes the devolution of power through which the matters of the indigenous persons are managed by means of their optimistic involvement. It indicates the continuance of democracy at the local level. It indicates noticeable transference of power from the advanced to the lower levels in a mode that the elements of Local Level Government exercise their power with the involvement of the people of that field with infrequent rheostat and supervision of the central and district governments.

Democratic decentralisation is that procedure of devolution which conforms to the elementary canons of democracy. It points toward an assembly of chosen representatives at the decentralized stage of government which would be responsible to its voters. Elections of these councils can be indirect or direct. Democratic Decentralisation seeks out to broaden the regions of people’s involvement, autonomy and authority via diffusion of authorities. This is the actual sordid of the growth of the persons at the local level. In order to participates in the process of decision-making process democratic decentralization proposals chances to the people at grass root level.

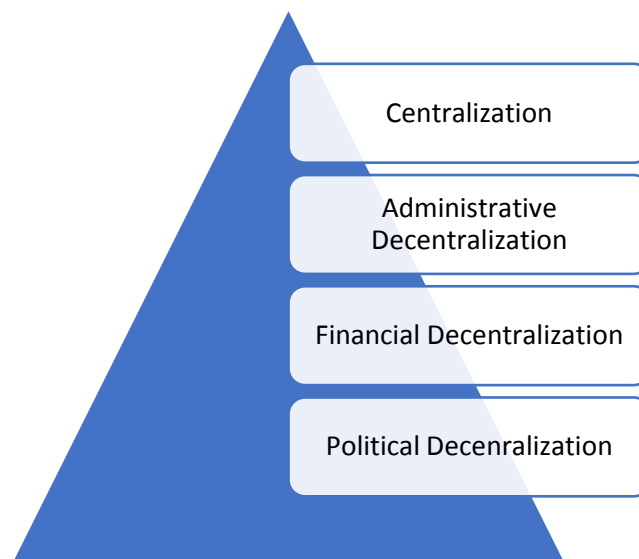
Decentralization

Decentralization is the transfer of authority, responsibility, and accountability from central to local governments. Decentralization can take various forms, commonly described in public administration terms as de concentration, devolution, and delegation. Decentralization also has several dimensions that reflect, in general terms, increasing and often sequential stages of progress in achieving the governance objectives of decentralization. These stages are:

- Administrative decentralization (functional responsibility)
- Financial decentralization (access to resources)
- Political decentralization (accountability).

These are illustrated in the pyramid shown below

Stages of Decentralization



The political dimension is especially critical for democratic decentralization because it reconstitutes the state in a democratic way. It provides a process at the local level through which diverse interests can be heard and negotiated and resource allocation decisions can be made based on public discussions. Democratic local governance does not exist in a vacuum. Authorities beyond the local level must be persuaded or influenced to support the legitimization and empowerment of local governments. Genuine political power sharing is a key element often missing in the political dimension of decentralization.²

The idea of local self-governance is familiarly related with the notion of democratic decentralization. The organization of Local Self- Government comprises both local and urban bodies. Panchayati Raj Institutions and municipals corporations in India, offers the organized agendas for the democratic decentralisation. Constitution of India offers a strong mandate for democratic decentralisation not only by means of the Directive Principles of State Policy which stimulates the State to support Panchayati Raj Institutions but further specifically now through the 73rd and 74th constitutional Amendments.

In India, various provisions have been made by the government to attain gender equality. Since ancient times women are on secondary position, that's why Government has made several provisions which are essential for the development of women. But one of the main significant provision for the women is the reservation of seat for them at the local level which has been given to them by the 73rd amendment. It reserved 33 % seats for women at grass root level. Reservation is essential for women because women are struggling to get some fundamentals rights since prehistoric days. Despite of various provisions they are not getting equality. Thus, reservation is necessary to empower them and to give them basic rights which are necessary for their complete development. Women are underrepresented in almost every country.

The under representation of women in top level political policy making system is a general phenomenon. Their presence is considered vital for strengthening democracy and for their fight against marginalization, trivialization and domination of men. Their presence can be ensured in politics just by giving them reservation otherwise they will be kept away from politics by their male counter member. Reservation is working very effectively not in all the states but in some of states of the country. In some states men are working as a proxy. But gradually the problem of proxy will be eradicated by the education system. So, educations as well as reservation both are necessary for the empowerment of women.

In India, the institution of rural local governance is known as Panchayati raj. The word Panchayat means 'assembly' and raj means 'rule'. Traditionally Panchayats consisted of wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the local community, they were responsible for deciding and solving conflicts. Panchayat raj is not a new perception in India. It has its roots in prehistoric India. Panchayat in ancient India, were usually

selected councils with executive and judiciary powers. We find that since prehistoric time to the modern time in India Panchayat have been working for the development of rural areas and trying to solve various problems which are faced by the rural people at local level organization.

Lord Rippon called the father of local self- governance. He brought the important meaning of local self-government forward in the end of nineteenth century.

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation considers villages as the right centre of knowledge. His dream was, "Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or Panchayat having full powers...In this structure composed of innumerable villages; there will be ever widening never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by its bottom...the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it". April 23, 1993 is a landmark day in the history of Panchayati Raj in India as on this day, the institution of Panchayati Raj was accorded constitutional status through the Constitution (Seventy-Third Amendment) Act, 1992, thereby seeking to transform Mahatma Gandhi's dream of Gram Swaraj into reality.³

It (panchayat) deals with the governance of rural villages. India is the country of villages. More than 60 percent of its total population lives in rural areas. Once Jawahar Lal Nehru said. "India is poor because villages of India are poor. India will be rich if the villages of India are rich. Panchayat should be given greater powers, for we want the villagers to have a greater measure of swaraj (self-government) in their own villages."⁴ For this men and women should equally participate in the decision-making process. But in Our country women are neglected and discriminated since birth. Women play no role in decision-making process.

India is recognized as the land of villages and even most of the people of the total population lives in the villages. Women have been underprivileged of several kinds of opportunities and benefits by our old-style society for the past several centuries in India. In providing chances of socio-economic growth, development programmes, involvement in different activities and taking the benefit of opportunities of various amenities, Discrimination against women is commonly noticed which is directly or tortuously connected with bringing enhancements in the life style because of predominant several cultural and social backwardness.

After the October Revolution, the question of involvement of women in policymaking started to accept reputation only in the twentieth century. The universal concern for women's participation in politics, was observed in 1975 when the UN stated the decade as the women development decade. This was tracked in 1985 by the Nairobi Conference which called the involving countries to take steps for the participation of women in politics through arrangement of 35 % seats in all the elections. It is impossible to guarantee actual representation and involvement of women in an unequal society. In an outdated or capitalist society with the inheritances of feudalism there is also the nonattendance of subjective condition. Male members are neither interested in the participation of women in politics nor women members are prepared to participate in the politics.

73rd amendment of Indian constitution provides 33 per cent reservation to women at local level in 1992. In India Panchayati raj system had passed through various phases. For this several committees were formulated. These are Balwant Rai Mehta committee then Ashok Mehta committee, G.V.K Rao committee, L.M. Singhvi, and P.K. Thangun committee.

Balwant rai Mehta committee was one of the first committee which was established by Government of India in January 1957 to explore the working of the national extension service and community development program and to suggest measure for their well working. This committee was headed by Balwant Rai Mehta. It submitted its report in 1957. Some major recommendation of this committee was: There should be a three-tier set up of local self- rule from the village to the district with the village at the lowest and the district at the top with its midway link of organizations all spontaneously related to one another; All programmes of societal and economic progress formulated through the system of planning should be channelled through those institutes, There should be sincere distribution of power and accountability to these organizations of local administration, The entire system of Panchayati Raj should enable further decentralization and spreading of power, responsibilities and resources in the future. National development council and various states of India acknowledged the recommendation in 1958 and started the implementation of the scheme of panchayati raj. Rajasthan in 2nd October ,1959 was the first state to start panchayati raj in Nagaur district. Andhra Pradesh also accepted this system in 1959 itself. By mid 1960s most of the state formed PRIs with tier

differences. Another top-level committee on panchayati raj including fourteen members belonging to different parties under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta was appointed in December 1977 by Janata party government, and submitted its report in August 1978 about solidification of the waning Panchayati raj system. 132 recommendations made by this committee such as PRIs should have obligatory power of taxation to organize their own resources, there should be a systematic social audit by a district level agency and by a team of legislators to check whether the funds allotted to any group are actually spent on them and seats of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe should be reserved according to their population. And three tier structures of PRIs should be replaced by the two-tier structure. Zilla panchayat at district level and Mandal Panchayat at block level. After the Ashok Mehta committee, another committee was set up. This committee was established under the chairmanship of G.V. K Rao in 1985. It was managerial planning for rural development and poverty alleviation program selected by the planning commission. Committee suggested that planning function should be transferred to district level planning at the state level and Zilla parishad at district level should be crucial in the scheme of democratic decentralisation. And suggest that elections to the PRIs should be held regularly. After this L.M. Singhvi committee was appointed in 1986 by the Rajiv Gandhi government on revival of Panchayati Raj Institution for democracy and development. The committee was supervised by L. M. Singhvi and suggest that PRIs should be legally recognized and well-preserved. For this a new part should be added in the Indian constitution. And constitutional provision to safeguard systematic, free and fair election to PRIs. To make Gram Panchayat more feasible villages should be reorganised. It highlighted the importance of the Gram-Sabha, the village Panchayat should have more monetary resources, and Nyaya Panchayat should be established. Finally, it (panchayati raj) was announced in 1992 by the Indian constitution through the 73rd constitutional amendment act. It has been set up in all the states of India by the acts of the state governments because "Local Government" is stated in the state list in 7th schedules of the constitution of India. 33 percent reservation has been provided to women at local level government by the 73rd constitutional amendment which was passed in 1992, which came into effect from April 24, 1993.

Usually India is male-controlled society where the position of women is very dreadful. Mostly all of the women in our India are suffering from the patriarchal nature of the society. Girls and women face discrimination at every sphere of life. They live under the

subjugation of men. Status of women in India is not equal to men. At the birth of a boy child everybody in the family make celebration. And the birth of a girl child is viewed as a misfortune. The traditional social system of society is responsible for the suppression of women. Mostly women in rural area are uneducated, they do not know about their rights and duties provided by the constitution. This is main reason of their bad condition. Even at the time of election, they have no choice, to give vote to the candidate whom they want to give in the Panchayat election or other elections. They are guided by the choice of their male members of the family because they have no knowledge about the candidate. This is because they always remain in the boundaries of four walls inside the home. They are totally unaware about their rights.

Men knowingly and intentionally keep women away from politics so that their domination over the society remain continue. Only two types of great and somewhat effective changes have occurred in India for women since independence. The first one is 73rd amendment which provides reservation to women at grass root level so that they can freely participate in the politics at grass root level and second is the need felt for elimination of gender biasness. Government of India has taken many steps to improve the condition of women for instance, the National commission for women was formed in 1992 to promote and safeguard the interest of women. But despite of these efforts the condition of women is still not much improved.

Our society is patriarchal society where women's role is limited to household duties only. They even can't come out from their homes. So, nation can't make progress without the equal participation of women because both men and women are the two pillars of the society. And women in our country kept out from decision making process since ancient times. They are not measured as a group. They are either intricate with men or totally unnoticed. But the condition of women is changing but their condition is still not much good at present time they are also suffering from many of the problems. So, there's a need of wider participation of women in politics. Because politics is the area where women can actively and efficiently participate in the decision-making process and where they can make laws, rules and regulation and formulate them for their better present and future.

At present Indian women are demanding for 33 percent reservation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies. In this demand of reservation, they are also raising their voice against the system which has make them marginalised. Women constitute half of the population

and their representation is very small as compared to their population. When women will have equal access to political right many things will automatically change accordingly. We must understand that both men and women have equal potential power. Women and men should equally participate in the politics so that nation can take benefit of women's intelligence and potential.

Women's access into PRIs both as associate as well as heads of panchayats, has pushed them into the executive procedure in a very big manner. Whether any of the member of their family forced them to take up these roles or whether they supposed these role as false officials, one thing is sure that they have crossed the rigid boundaries drawn through their household by the same male relatives. They always lived behind the four boundaries of house. They were not allowed to go outside the home. They were considered as a maid in home, or like a 'aaya' who would take care of children at home. They never enjoyed freedom which was provided by constitution of India even after independence. But now their condition has somewhat changed. This is just because of 73rd constitutional amendment. This amendment provides 33 percent compulsory reservation to women at grass root level. This reservation has been given to women so that they can represent themselves in politics. And their condition can be improved. But despite of this reservation elected women has no real decision -making power.

Women face different types of problem in her way of empowerment through politics. The first one is that women file her candidature for election to PRIs not for their own will; she files it due to the pressure of their family member. And when elected she does not work actually, their husband, father, and other member of family works in behalf of her. Just like president and prime minister of India. As executive power of constitution remains in president and actual work is done by the prime minister of India and his councils of ministers. But there is a difference and this is that prime minister of India does all work after take suggestion of president but in PRIs men uses actual power without consulting to women or without taking her suggestion into account. Her work is limited to sign on papers only.

A nation can make progress if both male and female will equally participate in the process of decision making. In order to achieve greater success, we have to start participation of women from grass root level. Participation is a necessary element of every political system. The term participation suggests redistribution of power in a

powerless society. The central issue of popular participation has to do with power exercised by some people against other people and by some classes against other classes.

The kind of constitutional provision (73rd amendment) has created a scope for accomplishing development with social justice, which is the mandate of the new Panchayati Raj system. There can be no real progress of women of a country are not made partners in the process of development. M.K. Gandhi also believe that full and balanced development of the nation and establishment of a just society is possible only when women participate actively and fully in the political deliberation of the nation and establishment of a just society is possible when women participate actively and fully in the political deliberations of the nation. The Balwant rai Mehta committee on Panchayati raj system emphasised that rural women should not become beneficiaries of development but should be made equal partners in its affairs as contributors.⁵

73rd constitutional amendment created a space for women so that they can actively participate in the process of decision-making process at grass root level. Reservation provided to women at grassroots level can be viewed as an artistic method leading towards empowerment of women. But even after the reservation of seats women do not play their role actually. The women reserved seat is hold by the male member of their family.

It is assumed that politics is the area of men and women are not allowed into this field. Women's role is confined only to domestic work. Due to patriarchal nature of society this assumption has been strong that women should keep away from politics and they should not take part in it. Men think that women's work is to give order and women's work is to obey that order. They should live at home and cook food for them and children. Also, women find it difficult to participate in politics due to dual burden of household duties.

Women and men both are the two pillars of society. The cooperation of both is very necessary for the development of a nation. No society or country can make progress if half of its population is kept out from the decision-making processes. There can be no true democracy without the equal contribution of women in politics. The condition of women is not good. Due to various constraints like illiteracy, poverty, lack of education, lack of financial resources etc. they could not occupy the position of power.

To study the actual insinuation that the strategy of reservation of seats for women in PRIs as enumerated through the 73rd constitutional amendment act, has in empowering women in political decision-making. The Haryana state legislature enacted the "New Haryana

Panchayati Raj Act 1994.” in the pursuance of 73rd constitutional amendment acts 1992, the act has granted whole power and scheme of local self-government.

The execution of the 73rd amendment act has carried some confidence to women and persons belonging to SCs and STs, who have so far persisted relegated. Women have 1/3rd representation in the Panchayati Raj Institutions but there has been no actual change in the outline of women leadership, as the ancient social, political, cultural, and economic structure have remained unaffected.

The prescription of educational qualifications by the government of Haryana in 2016 elections for contesting to the PRIs has been reported to be a game changer. (kundu 2016) Only 33% seats have been reserved for women, as many as 41.46% of them were able to become sarpanches in the 2016 Haryana panchayat elections among them the representation of general caste was 50.79 % of BCs and OBCs 25.80% and that of SCs 23.39 % (sangwan 2016). Hegemony of the sarpanches has been further strengthened by the persistence of Gram Sabha in the state. The 73rd amendment act reserve 33% seats to woman so as to involve them actively in the decision-making process. In India, we call this new system the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The constitutional reservation of seats for women in Panchayati raj bodies has provided an opportunity for their formal involvement in the development and political processes at the grass root level thereby enabling them to influence the decision-making process in the local government. The PRIs should be able to change governance in India. The percentage of women at various level of political activity has shifted dramatically as a result of this constitutional change. Some of the ways in which women, through PRIs can change governance are evident in the issue they would choose to take. e.g. water, alcohol abuse, education, health, domestic violence, women also express different value. But in our society, it is assumed that only men can participate in decision making process only they can hold power. They want that women should not participate in decision-making processes. When it comes to participation in political process or community welfare was more often than not decided in consultation with male members. Husband/father are considered primary decision makers. Women’s position in our society or political field as considered on secondary position.⁶

An emerging democracy like India requires the broader involvement of people regardless of gender, caste, sex and colour. In order to offer this chance, the system of democratic

decentralization through Panchayati Raj was presented. As women establish a considerable percentage of the total population, their involvement in local level politics is very significant to make democratic governance efficacious. The question of their involvement rises because of their long standing ignored social status in male-controlled Indian society. Women constitute little less than 50 per cent of the state's total population. Their social and economic status is, however, relatively small and they are discriminated against in all spheres of the life. For centuries, women have been limited to the home, suppressed and destitute of their right to get fair behaviour from the male-dominated society.

The election of 2015-16 is also very important because the educational criteria have been selected in order to make the Panchayat educated. Uneducated politicians spoil the economic growth of a country. Only elected people should be there to run the Panchayats and government. "It is only education which gives a human being the power to discriminate between right and wrong, good and bad. Therefore, prescription of an educational qualification is not irrelevant for better administration of the panchayats," the bench said. The Haryana law mandates that the minimum education qualification that to contest in the panchayat polls is class 10th pass for men, 8th pass for women and class 5th for Dalits. "If people still do not have a toilet, it is not because of their poverty but because of their lacking the requisite will. One of the primary duties of any civic body is to maintain sanitation within its jurisdiction. Those who aspire to get elected to those civic bodies and administer them must set an example for others," it said.⁷

Many point out that educational qualification has an important role in deciding a person's standing in society and his/her suitability for various responsibilities. This is because a basic knowledge is necessary to work and build more proficiency. They also point out that more education increases exposure to the world and improves the ability to comprehend and envisage things in a much broader way. The 73rd amendment act is a major step towards political empowerment of women through Panchayati Raj Institution (PRIs). This has resulted in the entry of large number of women into decision-making bodies in the rural areas. Who were otherwise housewives.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM:

Status of women in politics can be explained as the mark of impartiality, freedom and equality enjoyed by women in the influencing and sharing of power and in the worth

given by society to the role of women. At every socio-political stage women around the world find themselves under represented in state and national politics and at local level politics and women are kept away from policymaking process. Women are under-represented in politics despite of international and national summit. Women face different type of problems in articulating and shaping their own destiny. Due to masculine model of politics. Men dominate in the politics; only they formulate the rules of politics. There are limited financial support for women and due to lack of financial resources, lack of awareness and dual burden of domestic/household work on women's shoulder they are unable to participate in the decision-making process. Women are the half of the population but their representation in the Lok Sabha is only 12 % of the total seats. And in the Haryana legislature there are only 12 women who are representing their self out of 90 seats, which is very less. Women are underrepresented due to lack of participation in decision making process.

Review of literature

Baruah (2002)⁸ in his article "*Women: Vital Resource*" states that women should feel their concealed dimensions and should take part actively in policy devising and implementation, which help them to contribute their supreme in the development process. He classifies four factors which are: individual, societal, organizational and cultural. That hinders the development of women.

Shyamla Devi and G. Laxmi (2005)⁹ "*Political empowerment of women in Indian legislature: a study*"-In their study explained that despite of constitutional provision women has not been able to make a room for themselves in the Indian legislature assembly. They identify numbers of women representatives in Lok Sabha from first Lok Sabha to fourteenth Lok Sabha. Also, they suggest various strategies to improve the women's opportunities in the area of decision-making.

Marnie. s, Shaul (1982)¹⁰ in her article "*The status of women in local governments: an internal assessment*" describes that when women achieve equal share of political power many things besides political have automatically changed profoundly. She described status of women, government policies and changing status of women, progress of women in gaining equal participation, barriers to equal participation by women and recommendation for increasing women's participation in politics. She also describes in her study that existence of quotas may lead to the belief that a woman is included only to satisfy the quota not because she has ability.

Ranbir Singh(2013)¹¹“*Empowerment of women in PRIs: issues and challenges*” - present study explains the empowerment of women through panchayati raj institution. In his study, he explains that reservation of seats for women is not actually empowering women but it is empowering the male member of the women representative. Women are only able to get status not power. Also, he explained the various recommendation of Tirupati declaration on women political empowerment (dec,2008). And work done by Panchayats of various states.

A Thanikodi and M Sugirtha (July-Sept 2007)¹²in their article “*Status of women in politics*” that women around the world at every socio-political level finds themselves underrepresented in parliament and far removed from decision-making levels. She describes the representation of women at cabinet level and sub-ministerial level. The proportion of women in parliament and state legislature is very insignificant. She explained various obstacles faced by women and representation of women in politics in south Asia countries.

Sujit and Ghosh (2002)¹³ in their study “*Empowering rural women*”states that even after introduction of massive poverty eradication programmes like IRDP, the conditions of the female headed households did not improve much. Further, only economic measures alone can't eliminate all the evils; they should be supplemented by social actions also for alleviating deprivation of female headed households.

Sujata. D, Hajarika(2006)¹⁴“*Political participation of women and the dialectics of 73rd amendment*”this paper is based on a study conducted from Feb 2004 to Dec 2004 in three districts of Assam. The study highlights gross unawareness and misconceptions regarding the Panchayati Raj Institution and 73rd amendment. She describes that primary objective to delineate political participation of women through democratic institution can be contained within the following issues such as awareness, decision-making, empowerment, participation and aspirations.

Jeemol unni (1994)¹⁵“*Labour participation decisions of married women in rural India*”- present study describes the job choice decision of married women in rural India as a joint decision between spouses in a household. In this study two model of labour participation

is estimated: first defines work only as market wage labour and second defines work broadly to include wage and self-employment.

Jugal Kishore Mishra (2006)¹⁶ "*Empowerment of women in India*" - present study describes that despite the best efforts of the exponent of social movement theory. The dynamics of empowerment of women in India has not been (re) visited to lend specificity to the Indian gender mainstreaming strategies. He describes the social and economic empowerment of women in India. He also describes the women power in India, theories on women and state.

Raashida gull and Aneesa Shafi (2014)¹⁷ "*Indian Women's Movement after Independence*" in the present study they express that the Indian women's movement building on the nineteenth century social reform movement progressed through the period of nationalism and freedom struggle towards the milieu of democracy which was established in India with the achievement of independence. The achievement of the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for women could not fully realize the feminist aims in India providing a new momentum to the Indian women's movement. The paper makes an attempt to present a picture of how these debates and issues are shaping women's question in India. She describes various women's groups and organisations after independence and they also said that there have been many debates going on around important questions and issues characterizing the feminist movement. Debates on the role of law have been central to feminist activism and discourse in India. Although feminist interventions relating to law have resulted in passing of many laws (Domestic Violence Act in 2005, a law on sexual harassment in work place and so on) but feminists have recognized the inefficiency of the laws passed.

HYPOTHESIS

- Higher the socio-economic status of women higher will be their participation.
- Reservation of seats for women in PRIs has a trickle-down effect.
- Patriarchal nature of socio-political order still poses a serious challenge to emancipation of women.

OBJECTIVES:

The objectives of the study are:

- To know how far and to what extent rural women participate in decision-making process.
- To examine the factors which are affecting participation of women in PRIs.
- To study and find out the obstacles which women are facing in political participation.

Research design

The present study is descriptive cum analytical in nature. An enquiry on the participatory role of women in Panchayat in Haryana with reference to Rewari district has been made. The purpose is to identify the problems in the area of women participation especially in its socio-cultural context.

UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY:

For the present study Rewari district is selected as an area of study. Rewari is one of the district of Haryana, in India. It is located in south of Haryana around 80 kilometres from the capital of India, New Delhi. Rewari attain the position of a district on 1 November 1989. According to the census of 2011 it was the second lowest populous district of Haryana state, out of 21, after Panchkula district.

In 2011, Rewari had population of 900,332 of which male and female were 474,335 and 425,997 respectively. In 2001 census, Rewari had a population of 765,351 of which males were 403,034 and remaining 362,317 were females.¹⁸Number of females on 1000 males are 899. Female Literacy rate of Rewari is 69.57 and male literacy rate is 91.44. There are

total 358 Panchayats in Rewari. out of 358 there are 139 women are sarpanches and 219 are male sarpanches. It has five blocks, Nahar, Bawal, Rewari, Jatusana and Khol.

METHODOLOGY:

The present study is based on the empirical evidences collected from the field study. Interviews and questionnaire is used for data collection. Besides, questionnaire information is also collected through non-participatory observation method. Questions in the questionnaire related to the impact of 73rd amendment on the status of women and their participation in PRIs. Data is collected from secondary sources like government document, published literature, websites, various articles and books. A questionnaire was prepared for the interview of women sarpanches, and collected data is organised in tabulation form.

Chapter plan:

Chapter 1- Introduction

Chapter2- Representation of women in India and the problem of marginalization

Chapter 3-Panchayati Raj Institutions in India

Chapter 4-Field study

Chapter 5-Findings and suggestions

Endnotes

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CHAPTER -II

WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN INDIA AND THE PROBLEM OF

MARGINALIZATION

The roots of women's involvement in Indian politics can be traced back to the reform movement in nineteenth century. The 19th century could be termed as an era of women, for all over the world their good and bad, their potential and capacity were the topics of heating conversation. Feminist awareness began dispersal during and after the French revolution in Europe, and by the termination of century feminist notions were being articulated by radicals in England, while India the crimes of women began to be criticized by social improvers mainly in Maharashtra and Bengal. It is usually agreed that the Indian social reforms campaign of the nineteenth century grew out of this come across.¹

This campaign occurred as an outcome of conflict within the Indian bourgeoisies, trying to seize control from the British. This sector made efforts to improve it, chiefly by agitation against caste, purdah, child marriage, and sati pantheism, worship, animism etc., professed as rudiments of primeval identity. Raja Ram Mohan Roy engrossed on two main issues, namely education of women and eradication of sati. In the initial 1850, a movement on widow remarriage was launched result into the Bill in 1856, which permit widow remarriage. This Bill helped in the circumstances of widows, several famous women reformers joined in this movement as well as spiritual reform campaign of this era. For the education of women, Pandit Ramabai, Manorama Majumdar, Sarala Debi Goshal who commenced Bharata Stree Mahamandal. Swarna Kumari Debi who commenced the women's Institution Sakhi Samiti in 1886 for widow are few instances. These events gave impetus to women's involvement in public places, which paved the mode for their entrance into the liberation struggle. Swarna Kumari Debi, one of the two representatives chosen from Bengal to signify the State at the 1890 Congress session is occasion in point.²

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND WOMEN

Independence movement's complete history is full with the story of boldness, sacrifice and bravery of thousands of women of our nation. Their involvement in the fight for struggle commenced as early as 1817 when Bhima Bai Holkar struggled against the British Colonel Malcolm and defeated him. In Indian history, no other woman combatant

has made such an influential effect on the minds of the people of India as the Lakshmi Bai, Rani of Jhansi, who remonstrated against the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. She rebuffed to surrender Jhansi and bravely fought during the Revolt of 1857 and died in the battle field fighting with the British militaries. Her bravery encouraged many Indians to fight against the alien rule.

Another woman, Hazrat Mahal Begum, who enthusiastically participated in the revolution of 1857 against the Doctrine of Lapse under which Dalhousie desired her to capitulation Lucknow. Kasturba, was one of the leading followers of the Gandhi's programmes. The first women to be captive in Transvaal, she participated in the Quit India Movement (1942) and was arrested. Women of Nehru family participated in the independence movement. Swaroop Rani Nehru, Kamala Nehru and Vijay Laxmi Pandit participated in various movements. Vijay Laxmi Pandit was imprisoned in 1932, 1941, 1942 due to the Civil Disobedience Movement. She was the first woman to become the President of the United Nations General Assembly.

Women who were strong leaders in the Independence movement were Sarojini Naidu, Anni Besant, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay, Aruna Asaf Ali, Basanti Devi, Sucheta Kriplani, Kalpana Dutta, Rani Gaidinliu, and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur etc. Among women freedom fighter of India Sarojini Naidu holds pride of place. She was accountable for arising the women of India. She was the first woman President of the Indian National Congress. In 1932, she was the acting President of the Congress and was popularly known as the Nightingale of India. After independence, she became the first woman Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Aruna Asaf Ali played a foremost role in the Quit Indian Movement. She unfurled the National Flag at the Gowalia Tank maidan in Bombay to show the inauguration of the Quit India Movement and became a fable for thousands of youth. She was full time activist in the Quit India Movement. She edited 'Inqilab' a monthly magazine of the Indian National Congress. She was awarded Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award.

Women's participation in politics is still not much impressive. Women politicians are very small as compared to men. The majority of women are unresponsive to politics. Article 14 of Indian constitution provides (article 14) equality before law and equal protection to all its peoples. It not only provides the fundamental rights and freedoms but also prohibits various types of discrimination on the basis of creed, caste, sex, colour and

religion. Women and men both are equal but in our society women are considered inferior than men. Participation of women in politics is very low.

Participation in politics is a method through which individuals can actively take part in political actions and Exercise their voting rights throughout the elections. Political involvement can be explained in many ways. Meaning of political participation is not only exercise the voting right but also allocation of co-policy making, co-decision making, at all the stages of politics and administration of the state. Political participation is generally delineated as the method by which one can play a character in political life in his culture.

Participation of women in politics relates to the nature of politics in common and specific in liberal democracy. Factually men have been better served than women in democracy. From the ancient Greece to the present time in 21st century as a political structure, it has constructed on the dichotomy of private-public and omitted females from the citizenship. Most of the political philosophers and thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, lock, Hegel and Hobbes Rousseau assumed that females are fit mere for household characters in the personal domain and claimed that women are suitable only in carrying their responsibilities as mother, sister and wives so, there is no place for females in politics.

Normative political perception did not try to sightsee the political nature of the private life and this is one of the main reason that normative concept assumed private area as non-political. Women were not recognised as citizens in ancient and modern democracies. They suspended them and their anxiety in public life. But in 19th century liberal political thinkers sponsored that women also have right to vote. They are also citizens of the country. In liberal theory, feminist philosophers also defied the concept of nonconcrete individual and claimed that it is not a gender-neutral class. That's why they were not able to influence communal strategy and could not carry private scope in the preview of the public even females had the right to vote. Despite of this western democracies also left them disrupted on various fronts. Women are unable to perform a role to basically alter the sexual politics rather they mainly play political roles on terms of males when they enter politics within this patriarchal framework of contemporary democracies. In liberal democracies, the central statements need to be changed in order to generate honest political space for women within.

Representation of women and their existence in lively government are seen as a budding to certify political involvement of women. Apart from an increase in political awareness amongst women, presence of large number of women in legislatures will guarantee that women's proposal subjects are more expected to reach program schedule. It will also guarantee that extra women-friendly strategies are approved in the assembly.

Representation of women is an important issue all over the world. Most of the country whether developed or developing are facing the problem of how to increase women's participation in politics. Despite several obstacles some countries like Netherland, Costa Rica and Germany have achieved more representation of women in parliament as well in state assemblies by adopting techniques like Reservation of seats in parliament and political parties. Mainly the patriarchal structure is responsible for women's low participation.

Women around the world at every socio-political level find themselves under represented in parliament and far removed from decision-making process. Status of women in politics can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in shaping and sharing of power and in the value given by society to this role of women.³ The constitution of India considers men and women equally. In India, women constitute half or little less than half of the population but they get only small representation in politics.

The requirement to look into the prevailing official method to guarantee women's empowerment is a requirement for male-controlled cultures. In nations alike India, women are methodical kept absent from majority. Gendered places repeatedly have a habit of to shove women back to secluded places where their discernment and mistreatment is ignored. Sexual fierceness, domestic fierceness, death because of absence of dowry etc. remains in spite of having a huge numeral of laws to eradicate them. Hence having females in influential political place would support an emblematic determination to do away with mythologies like politics is the area of men. It would place women in responsibility of matters which affect them.

Indian civilization remains to characterize opposing tendencies. India has only 11 per cent women in the Legislature, UAE has 22.5 per cent and the depiction of women elites in local levels has touched nearly 50 per cent. Panchayats have been the substratum of prefiguring extra women in politics. Starving, restricted, untaught, dishonoured and

separated in contradiction of, the Indian women have the chances stacked in contradiction of them. They have come out and joined policymaking in huge numeral in the elections.

There was a universal consent that women required to get into policymaking process. The Beijing declaration (1995) says: we are convinced that women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society including participation in the decision-making processes and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. Quotas for women are obviously one of the most effective device for refining representation of women in political executive provided such a system that can be accurately and cleverly applied.⁴

The first ever world conference on women was held in Mexico in 1975 to address the issue of gender inequality. It was followed by a second world conference on women at Copenhagen in 1980 and a third in Nairobi in 1985. At the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (1992), world leaders accepted women's vital role in achieving sustainable development. At the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993), governments acknowledged that women's rights are human and headed the evidence of widespread violence against women. At the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), women's empowerment was recognized as a cornerstone for effective population policies. At the World Conference for Social Development in Copenhagen (1995), gender equality was recognized as a prerequisite for the achievement of productive employment, social integration and poverty eradication. The fourth world conference on women took place in Beijing in September 1995 followed by Beijing + 5 held in Geneva in 2000.⁵

Women in all around the world poorly represented in national and state legislature. Women constitute nearly half of the population. But their representation in both the houses of Parliament, has always been very insignificant. The operative empowerment of women in India is still very marginal. In all the election, the representation of women in both the houses of Parliament is found between 3.4 percent to 11.5 percent of the total seats. However, in comparison to 1952, the percentage of women in 2014 has been upsurge but is still inconsequential. The representation of women at both the level is very low.

At the world level average for women in parliament stood at 19.5% in 2011, 0.5 percentage point increase from the previous year. Though we have witnessed the rise of great women leaders like Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, Chandrika Kumaratunga and Khalida Zia etc. who have ruled their respective countries as successfully as any men leaders would, yet the world has always had a hard time dealing with these women in politics. According to the millennium development Goals Report 2012, released by the United Nations, the percentage of women ministers worldwide also improved only slightly, from 14.2% in 2005 to 16.75 in 2012. Thus, the ideal of parity between men and women in national legislatures still remains distant. According to the UN's 2008 survey of women in politics, India falls in the lowest quartile with respect to the representation of women in parliament (9.1%, 14th Lok Sabha). Even Rwanda (56.7%), South Africa (44.5%), Mozambique (34.8%) and many others have much more women representatives. An article of The Times of India (2012) said that, on November, 2011, India, the world's largest democracy, has only 60 women representatives out of 544 members in Lok Sabha while there are 26 female MPs in the 241 members Rajya Sabha. According to data released by Inter parliamentary Union (IPU), India ranks 96 in the world for proportion of parliament seats held by women. After Indira Gandhi's demise, there was no big woman's name in the Indian Political arena for almost a decade. But now-a-day's Indian politics is defined and governed by quite a good number of women politicians. The current parliament has seen the highest number of female candidates in its history.⁶

All the major parties have strong 'women wings' which allures women to join the political parties. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi is now an inspiration for millions of Indian women leading the Indian National Congress successfully. It is by her sheer hard work and dedication that she manages the Congress party to such perfection that today she is the epitome of Indian Politics. Other women who have made their name in politics of India are Sheila Dixit, Uma Bharti, Jayalalitha, Vasundhara Raje and Mamta Banerjee. J. Jayalalitha, the Chief Minister of the state of Tamil Nadu, is called Amma ('Mother') and Puratchi Thalaivi ('Revolutionary Leader') by her followers. She is the incumbent general secretary of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) and was a member of the Rajya Sabha elected from Tamil Nadu during the period of 1984–89. Soon after the death of Ramachandran, Jayalalitha proclaimed herself as his political heir. In the 1991 Assembly Elections of Tamil Nadu, Jaya Lalitha came to power with a thumping

majority. She is the first elected female Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. Smt. Sushma Swaraj is another big name in the Indian Politics who influentially holds the key position in Bhartiya Janata Party. Smt. Pratibha Devi Singh Patil the first women President of India and is actively worked for the upliftment of Indian women. The year 2009 witnessed the History written moments when Smt. Mira Kumar became the first Indian women to hold the office of the Lok Sabha Speaker. Indian Women are also now actively handling big portfolios in the Indian cabinet.⁷

All over the world India is the biggest democratic nation it has very slight representation of women in the politics. In key holding position and policymaking position lesser women are visible in the political ground. Indian Women's marginalization in political field is as old as the Indian civilization. One of the main reasons for the elimination of the curiosity of women in governance and advance paradigms is their low representation in political sphere. Since their infantile they have been kept aside from the field of politics. Towards the development of nation both Men and women have always equally contributed their devotion. Before independence as well as post-independence Indian women have worked shoulder to shoulder with their male counter parts. But their work was never observed.

For gender equality supporters, it is compulsory to focus on the gendered nature of growth and challenge the commercial model of global development which generates gender inequalities, while at the mean time working in the direction of generating a permitting atmosphere for the involvement of women in development. Only involvement of women in mainstream progress cannot mechanically lead to gender equality and their development unless the illogicality in the progress privilege for justice and equality and the practice is eradicated. The type and stage of involvement is very essential to regulate whether women are talented to share progress advantages.

Various Constitutional Provisions:

The constitution of India came into existence in the year 1950. This provides assurances of equality, liberty and justice to all its peoples. The preamble of the constitution also dedicated to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, equality of status and the unity of nation. To achieve

this, constitutions fundamental rights under part three of the constitution. Special articles and provision have been made by the constitution of India. All over the world constitution of India which has taken maintenance of the deprived and the minorities classes. All the acts and laws in India get their authorization from this constitution and any law which interrupts a constitutional provision is stated illegal. The following are the various provisions in the constitution which ensures equality to both women and men.

Article 14: “It provides equality before the law and equal protection within the territory of India and prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth”.

Article 15: “It states that state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.”

article 15(3): “It makes special provisions only for women and children for safeguarding their interest.”

Article 16: “It states equality of opportunity for all citizens in matter of employment.”

Article 39(a): “Deals with equal justice and free legal aid. The state should promote justice on a basis of equal opportunity and provide free legal and by suitable legislation or scheme or any other way to ensure that opportunity for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.”

Article 39(d): “Equal pay for equal work both men and women.”

Article 42: “The state to make provisions for securing just and humane condition of work and maternity relief.”

Article 51(a) e: “To promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India and to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women”

Article 243(d)3: “Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat to be reserved for women and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.”

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

It is assumed that women are inferior to men in every sphere of life. They are not considered as equal to men in India. Women constitute half of the total population of the country, but they are not visible in political and economic realm. Women's representation in state assemblies and in parliament shows the very low political participation. Women members occupy only 66 seats in the present Lok Sabha. The statistics shows, that the political participation of women till today has never crossed 11.5 percent of the total member in Lok Sabha. Representation of women in both houses of parliament is shown in table 1 and table2.

Those women who want to join politics they find that political environment is unfavourable and not suited them. Though it is notable that we have seen women as prime minister, president, speaker of Lok Sabha, member of the constitute assembly and on other administrative posts. Besides this, women do not actively and optimistically come frontward in the course of decision-making process in the factual and right sense.

The existence of women in the Rajya Sabha has been only somewhat advanced overall, perhaps due to nomination and indirect elections of few women members. In 1990, it was maximum at 15.5 % and displays a decreasing trend afterwards. However, this representation does not even come near to the 33 %. It is important to note that the Deputy Chairperson of the upper house of parliament has been a woman at least for more than 25 years, yet women face upsurge competition from male representatives for nomination. The numeral of women contesting election has continuously been very small, which can be seen from Table 1.

Table 1: Percentage of women members in and Rajya Sabha ⁸

Rajya Sabha Election	Year	Percentage of women Members %
1	1952	6.94
2	1954	7.83
3	1956	8.62
4	1958	9.52
5	1960	10.25

6	1962	7.62
7	1964	8.97
8	1966	9.82
9	1968	9.64
10	1970	5.85
11	1972	7.40
12	1974	7.53
13	1976	10.16
14	1978	10.24
15	1980	11.98
16	1982	10.16
17	1984	10.30
18	1986	11.52
19	1988	10.59
20	1990	15.05
21	1992	7.29
22	1994	8.36
23	1996	7.98
24	1998	7.75
25	2000	8.97
26	2002	10.2
27	2004	11.47
28	2006	10.37
29	2008	9.79
30	2010	11.15
31	2012	10.65
32	2013	11.52
33	2014	11.83

In order to increase more participation of women in parliament women reservation bill was first proposed in September 1996 by Dev Gowda led national front, as the 81st amendment bill. But this bill does not offer sub-quota for the minority and backward class so, various political parties opposed the bill. Due to opposition of various political parties bill was sent to the joint session of parliament, but this was not passed due to request of sub quotas. This bill has been introduced thrice but failed always. 84th amendment bill was presented in Lok Sabha in 1998 by Atal Bihari Vajpayee's government for the reservation of 33 per cent for women. Also in 1999, it was again presented in lower house of parliament but rejected due to lack of consent of different political parties. No political party seriously want to give reservation to women because they know that if 33 per cent seat will be reserved for women then only women representatives will work on that post and male seat would be less than the present. Participation of women in politics is necessary to strengthen the democratic practices. From beginning, Women representatives at minister level were also very less in number. Only few women were present on the post of minister in various cabinet in all over India since 1952 to 2014 election.

In 2014, the maximum number of women participants has been only 636. Whereas the numeral of men participants has continuously been in 1000, the maximum being 13,353 in the year 1996. Yet it is inspiring to note that the proportion of winners among females has consistently been extra than that of the male. Anyhow the element that more frequently than not, the losing chairs are presented to women aspirants by the particular political parties. For instance, only 3.8 % of male contenders won, in contrast to 6.7 % of women candidates in 1996. Similarly, in 1998 the proportion of winners was 11.2 % for male and 15.7 per cent for women, in 1999 12.3 per cent and 17.3 per cent, 6.44 per cent and 10.61% in 2009 and 6.39 per cent and 9.74 per cent, correspondingly in 16th Lok Sabha election in 2014. This situation is also distinctive at the state level. There are just a few examples of women holding groups of finance, engineering, etc., and are chiefly downgraded to what are measured as women specific divisions.

Table 2 percentage of women members in Lok Sabha ⁹

Lok Sabha elections	Year	Percentage of women Members
1	1952	4.4%
2	1957	4.5%
3	1962	6.7%
4	1967	5.8%
5	1971	4.9%
6	1977	3.8%
7	1980	5.7%
8	1985	7.9%
9	1989	5.2%
10	1991	7.6%
11	1996	7.4%
12	1998	8.1%
13	1999	9.2%
14	2004	8.7%
15	2009	10.7%
16	2014	12.15%

2014 general elections have seen the top growth in the elective percentage of females in comparison of men. In the last two general elections voting percentage of women has increased from 55.8 per cent to 65.71 per cent, increased voting percentage of women over dissimilar elections specify the increasing interest and confidence of women in the voting. Better participation of women in voting does not advise enhancement in the candidature of women in Lok Sabha. In the previous election of Lok Sabha the proportion of women aspirant never cross 12 % of the total applicants. The total women applicants remained only 3 to 4% of the total candidates from 1952 to 1989. One main outcome is there was supplementary numeral of men applicants in 2014 elections alone than the total number of women candidates to Lok Sabha from 1957 to 2014. In the 2014 election there were 7590 men applicants which is approximately dual of total women applicants composed in all general elections.

Table 1 and table 2 shows the very low representation of women in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Low representation of women in parliament and state assemblies has been the significant area of anxiety of various government and non-government agency. No practical effort has been taken by government to give more participation to women even after 70 years of independence. Reservation for females in politics is the decisive key of triumph. Without the provision of reservation access of women to politics is very threatening. Therefore, request for reserved seat in national and state assemblies has become a most important demand of various women's organization.

Table 3 Women as participant during various Lok Sabha elections¹⁰

Years	Males winning %	Females	Total	Female %	Males winning %	Females winning %
1952	1831	43	1874	2.30	26.08	51.16
1957	1473	45	1518	3	31.7	60
1962	1915	70	1985	3.50	24	50
1967	2302	67	2369	2.80	21.3	44.8
1971	2698	86	2784	3	18.5	24.4
1977	2369	70	2439	2.8	22.1	27.1
1980	4478	142	4620	3	11.5	19.7
1984	5406	164	5574	2.9	9.2	25.6
1989	5962	198	6160	3.2	8.5	13.6
1991	8374	325	8699	3.7	5.9	12
1996	13353	599	13952	4.2	3.8	6.7
1998	4476	274	4750	5.7	11.2	15.7
1999	3976	278	4254	5.8	12.3	17.3
2004	5050	355	5405	6.5	9.8	12.6
2009	7514	556	8070	6.8	6.4	10.7
2014	7851	402	8251	4.8	6.2	15.2

Table 3 shows the women contestant during various election of Lok Sabha. Since 1952 percentage of women contestants is very low. From the first general election to tenth general election the percentage of women contestants never cross 5 percentage. In the 14th general election of Lok Sabha 12.6 per cent woman participants won the elections. Total percentage of women contestants in 15th Lok Sabha was 10.6 per cent and 15.17 per cent in the 16th Lok Sabha elections. Political parties refuse to give tickets to female applicants and assume that women candidates are not talented to win elections. These outcomes demonstrate that the proportion of females winning elections is supplementary than the percentage of males winning.

The numeral of women participant has mainly shown growing tendency, as compared to the total participant the ratio of women participants has improved marginally. 556 female participants (about 6.9 per cent) contested for the Lok Sabha election in 2009, this is a marginal upsurge from the 6.5% who was stood in 2004 election of Lok Sabha. Total voters have increased from 9.6 crore in 1952 to 43.6 crore in 2014 election, on another hand women voters also enlarged from 7.7 crore in 1952 to 39.6 crore in 2014 election. Conventionally the involvement of women in the election was less compared to men due to dissimilar socio-cultural matters highlighted by masculinity despite of better women voters. There's a stable growth in the voting percentage of women. In the present election women have increased their voting percentage as compared to the general election of 1957. Previous election witnessed the rise in the women's elective fraction.

Table 4: Number of women ministers in various cabinets of the government of India¹¹

Numbers	Year	Number of women ministers
1	1952	3
2	1957	3
3	1962	5
4	1967	5
5	1971	3

6	1977	2
7	1980	8
8	1984	5
9	1989	1
10	1991	5
11	1996	5
12	1998	4
13	1999	9
14	2004	10
15	2009	9
16	2014	7

The table 4 displays the representation of women representatives in the various cabinet ministers, since 1952. In the ministries women's representation is very low that were formed by government of India. Less significant work or department is assigned to women like welfare, health, education etc. The same situation is found in the state governments as well.

It was observed that the females who remained active in politics belonged to prosperous and reformist families. Husbands or other family members who were active in Congress support the female of their family to join the politics. This practice is still existing even after independence. But huge number of unfamiliar women who participated in the freedom struggle were there. An opportunity was provided by this to huge number of women to come into lively politics which was not visible prior. They were ready to join parades, and to go to jails. Women amalgamated with innovative groups, and helped them in apportioning newspapers and also helped in bombs manufacturing. Countless number of women helped freedom fighters by looking after their relatives and families.

73rd Amendment:

The query of reserved seat was left to the National Perspective Plan for females to take up. It accepted that political contribution of females is strictly limited and advised that a

30 per cent quota for women be announced at all stages of elective bodies. The procedure of reservation was introduced throughout the prime minister ship of Rajiv Gandhi. The whole issue took on a political kind as it became a debatable point whether the starter of reservation at the stage of rural local level and urban local level was actually inevitable to give enlarged representation to females or was a general measure pointing to generate a women's electorate at a period when the Congress Party required to revive its image. These qualms nevertheless, the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution in 1992 and 1993, which granted for 33 % reserved seat for women in rural level and urban local bodies. These amendments, as a policy of favourable action, helped as a major innovation towards guaranteeing women's equal admittance and enlarged participation in political power system.

73rd amendment ensures 33 percent reservation for women at local level. This was a great and effective step taken by the government of India. But these constitutional provisions had not much helped the Indian women to play a direct role in political area. In India, the old discerning of people towards women accepts that the place of women is mainly attentive to the household activities and upbringing of their children. 73rd amendment act has provided an opportunity to women in the politics at local level with 33 percent seat reservation. It is a correct step towards gender equality. This amendment act allows such conditions for women which assist to empower them. After the advent of 73rd amendment a great variation has been occurred at grass root level, by this a huge number of women have entered into politics first time. About 40 percent of women got elected and also got the chance to represent the marginalized part of the society. But still they are facing a number of obstacles. Various social restrictions and problems are still present in our society before women.

The contribution of women in political field is very vital for the growth of a nation but numerous problems like lack of education, gender bias, inequality and sexual exploitation produces many problems in the way of women's empowerment. Empowerment is a procedure which permits women to gain entry to and control of physical and human possessions. In actual sense of the term political participation is a main route to empowerment and participation of women in decision making process and will lead to women's empowerment. In other opinion, increased policymaking power provides superior capability to impact issues that affect our lives in the society and community at large.

The term of women empowerment has mainly become an emphasis on political involvement. The last in turn in the situation of the argument on the 81st Legal Amendment Bill about women reservation in Parliament, has develop a controlled discourse on the role of woman in official representative organizations of policymaking, whether it is Parliament or PRIs. In the course, empowerment of women occurs as a really restricted concept. The fact that empowerment should indicate a power to take part in the policymaking in all domains of society, with no parting of the public and private and in entirely political, economic, social and cultural procedures in society is entirely obfuscated. The capacity of females remains mainly unnoticed and their helps and contributions are often ignored. Numerous factors are accountable for low participation of women. The most significant ones are illiteracy, conventionalism, prejudices, economic dependency and the unfavourable political system, with its high amount of chiefly male tenure and slow incomings. The terrible need nowadays is to eliminate the inequality between women's official political parity and their expressive exercise of political power. In all over the world 2001 year was the year of "Empowerment of Women" and was celebrated everywhere. We are now into the advanced century. Before us the challenge is now not to mere talk about the "gender parity" and consciousness, but to recruit the process of altering societies to turn away from "gender discrimination". "Empowerment" includes complete progress in relations of education, employment, legislative powers, executive power, health and consciousness.¹²

Women empowerment states to the procedure of solidification the hands of females who have been anguish from various infirmities, disparities and gender discrimination. It is a procedure in which females gain switch over their own lives by knowing and demanding their privileges at all levels like: domestic, local, national and international. It is nil but a cultural, religious, and authorized struggle against domination, unfairness and discrimination. In short, it is the capability to establish and mobilize for transformation and enable the specific group to direct their particular life and reach a level where they are additional likely to prosper in whatever they attempt to do. It is a continuing process and not a termination by itself. The concentration of women empowerment is preparing women to be parsimoniously independent, self-reliant, have an optimistic self-confidence to enable them to face any tough condition and they should be able to take part in the process of policy making.

Women's entry into political institution is a subject of equality. For a strong political structure, it is very important that women must come forward and play an important role in political actions. Since, at all level of governance women are globally underrepresented. Thus, in order to strengthening the democratic institution, participation of women is very important in the political process. Constitution of India provides women a life with full honour and self-respect. But the patriarchal structure of society and norms of society always treats women as inferior to men. Indian society does not allow women to come out their homes and participate in politics. They are generally barred from working outside the homes. Policies which are made are generally gender blind because of male dominance over policy framing. So, there's a wide need to spread awareness among women who are marginalized since many years. And make women conscious about their rights so that she also can enjoy their rights provided by the constitution. Women are deprived from every rights and facilities which men are getting.

In India, women have made main inroads in several male conquered occupations. In the arena of commercial, art, medicine, manufacturing, law and culture, women are given chance to demonstrate their skills. But they have unsuccessful to obtain field in the ground of politics. All these tendencies specify that representation of women in politics needs distinct attention. These days, even best women politicians feel suspended and incapable inside their parties excluding a few. Male party élites have revealed slight will to comprise women in party policymaking frames or assistance to produce a favourable atmosphere for women's involvement in their personal administrations. So, distinct procedures are essential. Otherwise our democracy will continue extremely defective if it flops to provide suitable place for females. Political parties and additional administrations should inspire women's participation in policymaking and in the workout of political tasks. The policy should be to encourage a still larger numeral of women in policymaking authority. In this contextual the claim for 33% reservation for women in assembly becomes significant.

It is stupidity to think that only reservation can solve the entire problems which are faced by women. Increase the number of women in legislature cannot bring instant change in the status of women. Reservation and awareness both are very essential to increase the status of women. Few women are very strong leaders in our politics but

they are also unsuccessful to do much to the females in India. The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India provides 33.33% reservation to women. A large number of women who were socially marginalized enter into the local organisation. This is just because of the reservation which has been given to them by the 73rd amendment. This gives a route to convey a sense of equality in gender.

Ranking of India in the percentage of women MP is 110th. Only 12% women are in parliament. This is not a good picture of women. The number of women contestant increased but their participation is still very small in parliament and state assemblies. Reservation for women has been pending in parliament. After passing this reservation it would lead to gender equality in legislature, resulting in the empowerment of women as a whole. Thus, women reservation will fight against discrimination, inequality and other problems which they suffer. Reservation is necessary for the better future of nation. Reservation provided at local level is not enough for the upliftment of a nation. Reservation should be at all the levels of government.

MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN

Women's marginalization is an ancient tradition. Women have been regarded as obedient to men since ancient time. Even great thinkers and philosophers have observed that women are inferior to men. Aristotle who was the great philosophers also believed that women are defective by nature and incomplete in comparison to men. He said that women are mentally and physically weaker than men. Even Aristotle who was great political philosopher does not provide citizenship to women or slaves. According to him women does not have political virtues so, women should acquiescently allow men to dominate.

Since ancient times gender prejudice was not limited to hypothetical level, rather in every sphere of community women were considered under the subjugation to men. The place of women in family and society was considered secondary and marginalized. Men play the role of head of family and women play the roles only of house-keeping and child rearing, which is still exist. Thus, marginalization of women begins from family or private field and spread across the public sphere. Hence, women were confined to the domestic spheres and fulfil the duties like mother, sister, wives. They were not allowed to go outside the home. They lived inside the four walls of houses. They are not allowed to the

work of their own choice. Women since ancient time were fully dependent on men whether economic or socially.

Only few women are in the forefront of politics in India like Sonia Gandhi, Jay Lalita, Mayavati, and Mamta Banerjee. The presence of women in governance is very small. Their participation is also very less. The gender equality is preserved in the constitution. But women are not getting equal participation in politics or other field of life. Women are facing number of obstacles in the way of their participation. A number of obstacles like poverty, dependency on men and illiteracy have limited their involvement in politics. Various constitutional articles have been made for the women's equal participation by the government of India

Equal Participation of women in India is a need of the day. Without the equivalent involvement of men and women in politics no nation or society can progress. After 70 years of independence women perform very slight role in policymaking process. There are many obstacles in the way of women's political participation. Women plays different-different roles during various stages of their life. They are having unique position in the society. In spite of their best contribution in the life of every human being they live in very bad position in the society. Sometimes they are worshiped like goddess Devi 'LAXMI'. While on the other side, they are oppressed and discriminated in every sphere of life. Women continue to be subjected under the control of her father from birth to before marriage, under husband in her marriage life and under son after demise of her husband. She always discriminated since she opens her eyes in the world.

In most of the developing countries, women have the right to vote, as well as other rights but they are not aware about their rights because of low level of education. Women spend most of her time in child care or another household work. All around the world the under representation of women in legislation bodies including India is reality. The gap between the men and women percentage of representation is very wide, strong measure should be adopted to remove this gap. In Indian background, since the society is male-controlled with low literacy rate and even lower female literacy rates. Women are equal to men but in our society women are considered inferior to men. Women plays a significant role in every field of life. But they are totally neglected. But the government has made various types of provision to confiscate the gender imbalances which is still exist in the society.

73rd amendment of the constitution of India provides 1/3rd reservation to women at local level.

But it must be comprehended that only quota system does not assurance effective involvement of women. In addition to electoral quotas of women, approximately other supportive measures must be introduced to make sustainable representation for women. Also, the empowerment of women is not increased just by extending number of women in legislative bodies. They have to be inspired to make an applicable strategy difference whether through parliamentary arrangements or prompting the policy method behind the scenes.

The issue that increasing the numerals of women will carry qualitative variation, or that expressive representation will mechanically lead to practical representation, depends upon the presence of underlying variances in the values and attitudes of the clusters concerned. Even though the communal face of politics becomes feminised, but the political values and the substantive strategy agenda remains unaffected, growing numbers will have no effect. Quantitative variation will follow qualitative variation only if female representatives vary meaningfully from men, for instance if they give more importance to public expenditure on education rather than defence, or if they raise additional parliamentary queries about child labour, violence against women and equal chances and pay at workplaces. To summarise, it is essential to guarantee that women's welfares are sufficiently characterized in the representative bodies not just in figures but in thought and action. To attain this purpose confirmatory action is obligatory at all levels of polity, including representation in legislature; therefore, the planned bill of women reservation may be used as an instrument for future women empowerment. It will also offer new extents to the notions of democracy and progress.

It has been stated that the personality traits and the socio economic and cultural environment is to a great extent responsible for women's marginal participation in politics. The culture which puts maximum premium on the males, the political environment of instability, criminalization and absence of political ideology are factors which influence the extent of political participation. Socio-political environment determines the participation and involvement of women in politics.¹³

Endnotes

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Chapter - III

PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA

Panchayati Raj in India is not a new idea. The word 'Panchayat' conventionally obfuscates a body of five elders in a village. They were responsible for resolving conflicts of villagers. In this conventional concept of a 'Panchayat', females and lower classes were not permissible. Decentralisation of financial, political, managerial power is crucial in a democracy because few places of authority cannot realise or achieve the desires of the huge multitude of individuals. It means that individuals share the accountability to quicken the procedure of development. The main goal of Panchayati Raj is to support and strengthen the base of democracy at the local level. And to allow people to manage their matters and issues in the best possible manner. The main philosophy behind the Panchayati Raj was to guarantee people's involvement in development programmes.

Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) has been measured as a device of social and economic change in rural India. Participation of people at the local level is the most significant means of carrying socio-economic development. In India PRIs is recognized as official expression of democratic decentralization. Decentralization of power is understood as a means of empowering people and including them in policy making process. Governments at grass root level being nearer to the people of local level can be more responsive to local requirements and can make improved use of resources. In a nation, the democratic system can be guaranteed only if there is mass involvement in the governance. Therefore, the system of democratic decentralization commonly recognized as Panchayati Raj is assumed as a tool to guarantee democracy and socio-economic change.

Historical Background:

Panchayat In Ancient India:

Panchayats or village self-governance is not a current development in India. It has its roots in prehistoric India. The tradition of local self- government in India, in fact, it is old as the Aryan civilization. Panchayati Raj in India have a glorious history since the Vedic period. Almost every village in the nation had a self-governing body beginning from the Vedic phase to the termination of the British rule. The Rig Veda indicates the role of chosen bodies like Sabha, which was allotted with the work of legislating as well as

repaying justice. Panchayats, in prehistoric India, were classically selected assemblies with policymaking and legal powers. The Panchayat structure of prehistoric India was far more extensive and effective than in the British period or even present-day.

A description of these village councils is also found in Arthashastra of Kautilya who lived in 400 B.C. Arthashastra gives a comprehensive account of the system of village administration prevailing in his time. During this period, the village administration was carried under the supervision and control of Adyaksha or headman. There were other officials such as Samkhyaka [accountant], Anikitsaka [veterinary doctor], Jamgh karmika [village couriers], Chikitsaka [physician]. The village headman was responsible for ensuring the collection of state dues and controlling the activities of the offenders. In Ramayana of Valmiki, there are references to the Ganapada (village federation) which was perhaps a kind of federation of village republics.¹

Administration of village throughout the Vedic period was run under the administration of the village headman which was called 'Gramani'. The Gramani was guided in the supervision by the view of the villagers. In later times, the decision-making committee and village assembly formed by the community elders was known as village panchayats. The village administration was run by the community or village elder assemblies called Panchamandali or Panchayat. Ancient India discloses that there was the facility of village assembly and decision-making in ancient India. The village Assembly was known by dissimilar names in dissimilar places in India. They were known as Sabha, Mandalam and Nagaram.

The most significant effort of the Assembly was to select the executive of village. And other work of village Assembly was to select the members of several sub-committees. The conferences of the village Assembly or councils were also organized sometimes when issues of unfamiliar significance like the sale of community property to ease the miseries of scarcity were to be considered. The village Assembly was known in later times as Panchayat.

Self-governing village communities characterized by agrarian economies existed in India from the earliest times. It is mentioned in Rigveda that dates from approximately 200 B.C. The village was the basic unit of administration in the Vedic period. The most remarkable feature of the early Vedic polity consisted in the institution of popular assemblies of which two namely 'Sabha', and the 'Samiti' deserve special mention. A

Samiti was the Vedic Folk Assembly that in some cases enjoyed the right of electing a king while the Sabha exercised some judicial functions. Both the Samiti and Sabha enjoyed the rights to debate, a privilege unknown to the popular assemblies of other ancient people. The office of the village head man (Gramani) indicates the emergence of the village as a unit of administration. In the later Vedic period, the Samiti disappeared as a popular assembly while the Sabha sank into a narrow body corresponding to the king's Privy Council.²

During the early Mourya period there was no substantial progress in the state of village councils. As Kautilya's Arthashastra (300 B.C.) throughout this period states that, village used to organise works of public helpfulness and reformation, settle the disagreements between the peoples and act as 'Trustees' for the possessions of minors.

The village assembly, was not a systematic body till the Gupta time. At least in some part of India the village assembly seems to have advanced into regular bodies in the Gupta period. In Central India, they were recognized as Panchamandali and Gram Janapada in Bihar. Various inscriptions disclosed the existence of village Council or Executive but it is tough to determine whether it was a regular administrative or not. In 600 A.D. inscription from Gujarat and Deccan show that village seniors used to select an official administrative team of their own. Inscriptions in modern Rajputana the village council was recognized as Panchakula, and it operated under the supervision of a headman recognized as Mahanta.

With respects to the ancient Indian village supervisions different inscriptions and literature are quiet on the involvement of females in the administration of village. Women did not take part in politics in India during ancient times, according to evidence presented in literature though they had joined in the socio-economic events. Women were not permissible to join the political Meetings.

Panchayat in Medieval India:

Village Panchayats continued to be autonomous as in the past in the periods of initial Muslim rule. In medieval India, the authority of the government as recognized by Muslims leaders was only in convinced domain while the other domain was left to be controlled by other organizations.

Indian Historians entitled that the Panchayat structure continued to go on Mughal ages well. They accredited the Muslim leaders with a strategy of non-interference in the organizations of Indian administration. Village Panchayats have understanding of all matters and issues of public and marital clashes, property quarrels, clashes arising from sharing irrigational services and all types of quarrels arising in social and economic life of individuals. Village temple or near a tank was the place of holding Panchayat conference. The consent behind the conclusions of the Panchayats was a joyful mixture of old-style purity, a common sense of subordinating individual to public interests, together with a distress of public exclusion that destined denial of all the benefits of public life. Village Panchayat of medieval age acted as the guardian of the rural good and welfare.

During the medieval and Moghal periods, village bodies were the pivot of administration. In the Moghal period, particularly in the regime of Sher Shah, the villages were governed by their own Panchyats. Each Panchayat comprised of village elders who looked after the interest of the people and administered justice and imposed punishment on defaulters. The head man of the village, a semi government official, acted as a coordinator between the village Panchayat and the higher administrative hierarchy. Akbar accepted this system and made it an indispensable part of civil administration. In this period, each village had its own Panchayat of elders. It was autonomous in its own sphere and exercised powers of local taxation, administrative control, justice and punishment.³

Panchayat During the British period:

In India, the story of local self-governance under the British rule can be suitably classified into four stages. The first phase may be assumed to have ended in 1882, when Lord Ripon issued his well-known resolution on local self-government. The second phase covers developments from 1882 to 1919, when more powers were transferred from the centre to the provinces, and the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission of 1907, besides discussing other matters, suggested some changes in local self-government. The third phase extended upto 1935, during which the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee (1925) considered the problems of local taxation, along with central and provincial finances. The Simon Commission of 1930, reversed the process of decentralisation, by recommending strict control of the state over local bodies. The fourth phase covers developments up to 1947. During this phase, the struggle for independence was intensified and with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1937, and coming into

power of congress ministries in many provinces, local bodies, particularly village Panchayats, received a great stimulus and there was democratisation of local bodies. But “local self-government became a mere annexe to the national political stadium, where the struggle for independence was moving towards its climax.”⁴

A strident break arose when India was colonised, from the practice. The state scheme, after the arrival of the Britishers occurred as an extremely centralised set up. During the British period, local institutions were more a formation of the administration from whom they derived their self-government rather than a procedure of impulsive progress. No efforts were completed to build up the scheme on native foundations, although amoral agreement of native taxation was taken in local finance.

In India, it is relevant to describe that Britishers were in favour of extremely unified imperial system for decentralized administration which provided slight opportunity. However, in India British officers who were concerned in the formation of decentralized institutions based on local self-government were liberal democrats. British rule in the later period in 1958 more chiefly after the seizure of administration by British Empire from the East India Company Lord Rippon presented the local self-government in India for attaining co-operation of Indian people and for devolving financial administration. The strategy of financial administration was introduced by Lord Mayo in 1870, which highlighted on the necessity for associating Indians in municipal supervision, solidification of municipal administrations and decentralization of resources to provinces.

Lord Rippon announced reforms in local government via a resolution recognized as the 'Lord Rippon's Resolution' in 1882. The resolution highlighted the necessity for connecting Indian people in administration, classifying methods and means to make these bodies work more effectively and capably and endowing local levels both in cities and villages with source of income.

In 1907, Viceroy Viscount Morley appointed a Royal Commission on Decentralization headed by Charles Hobhouse. It is notable that the first ever reference in a document of constitutional significance to village Panchayats as local self-government was made in the report of the Royal Commission on Decentralization in 1909. In 1917, Mr. Montague, the then secretary of state for India, enunciating the future policy of the British Government promised the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India.⁵

Panchayat After independence:

In order to strengthen the Panchayati raj structure fell on the government of India which was formed after the independence. India a nation of villages had to strengthen Panchayats in order to strengthen democracy, and the progress of villages are related to the progress of the people who are living in countryside. About 70 percent people lives in villages. Villages of India are very poor. India can progress only when its village will be independent.

Mahatma Gandhi believed in Gram Swaraj beseeched for the transmission of power to the rural peoples. But amazingly, in 1948 the draft Constitution which was organized had no space for Panchayati Raj Institutions. Gandhi strictly disapproved this and called for fast consideration. after this Panchayati raj finds a place in the constitution. When constitution of India was adopted in 26th January 1950. The idea of village self-administration finally got amalgamated in the Part IV article 40 of the Indian constitution which is known as the Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 40, of the Constitution says, "The State should take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". However, Part IV of the Constitution is solitary in the nature of guidelines to the government and cannot enforceable by the law of court. Though it is not compulsory for the state governments to apply its provisions and set up Panchayati Raj in states.

With the passing of 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Indian federal system has become a three-tier federal structure: the union government at the top and local self-governments at the lowest levels and the States government are placed at the middle. It provides new chance at local level, for effective implementation of various societal and economic development program. A Panchayat comprising of a village or a group of villages having a population of not less than 5000 and not more than 7000 or the topographical distance of an area within a region of five kilometres from the centre. It is generally supposed that self-governing association at the local level is very indispensable for the growth of a nation. People can actively participate in this level of decision-making. The Constitution of India is based on the principles of equality. Panchayat Raj institutions (PRIs) at rural level is an important step in the way of empowerment of

female. It is known that the local self-government is an active and efficient process of governing the progress schemes and system at the grassroot level

The level of Panchayati Raj has been a level of ups and downs. It appears to have approved through four different phases in its short extent of life: the stage of dominance (1959-1954), the stage of inactivity (1965-1969), the stage of deterioration (1969-1983) and the stage of restoration (1983-onwards). Some may even suggest the commencement of restoration to the launching of the trial of Panchayati Raj by the west Bengal government even prior. Still it cannot be denied that the Karnataka Zilla parishads, taluka panchayat samitis, Mandal panchayat and Nayaya panchayats act ,1983 did commence the movement for the restoration of panchayati raj in the nation. In 1985, at the centre Rajiv Gandhi's government also constituted L.M. Singhvi committee to write a concept paper on Panchayati Raj.

Development of village is very necessary for the progress of nation. Rural development has been receiving increasing attention of the government across the world. In the Indian context, rural development assumes special significance for two important reasons. First about two thirds of the population still lives in villages and there cannot be any progress so long as rural areas remain backward. Second, the backwardness of the rural sector would be a major impediment to the overall progress of the economy. India is predominately an agricultural country and farming is their main occupation. In terms of methods of production, social organization and political mobilization, rural sector is extremely backward and weak. Moreover, technical developments in field of agriculture have increased the gap between the rich and poor, as the better off farmers adopted modern farm technology to a greater extent than the smaller ones. The all India Rural Credit Review Committee in its report warned "If the fruits of development continue to be denied to the large sections of rural community, while prosperity accrues to some, the tensions social and economic may not only upset the process of orderly and peaceful change in the rural economy but even frustrate the national affords to set up agricultural production."⁶

There is no single explanation of the concept of rural development. Rural development is a vital term which is related to local interest and it is widely used in both developing or developed nations in the world. This term is used in different framework and in different situation. This concept is used to define the universal development of rural areas with a

sight to improve the superiority of life of rural people. Rural development is a term of multi dimensions because it can be used as a strategy, as a discipline, as a phenomenon as a concept which includes the progress of agriculture, cottage industries and linked village activities, community services and various other facilities. The phenomenon of rural development is the result of interface between various social-cultural, institutional, physical, technological, economic factor. While used as a strategy, it is designed to recover the economic and social well-being of a definite group of people. As a discipline, it is multidisciplinary in nature which represents a connection of agriculture social behavioural, engineering and management sciences. According to Robert chamber rural development is a strategy which enables specific group of poor rural women and men to gain more what they want and need for themselves and their children.

Various committees:

Constitution of India did not offer direction on how to develop the Panchayati raj institutions. This accountability fell to a sequence of national Committees that lectured subjects of execution of the Constitutional Mandate. In India Panchayati raj system had passed through various stages. For this various committees were set up. These are:

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee

In order to look into the matter of democratic decentralization in India the first committee Balwant rai Mehta was set up in 1957. The committee was set up to report on community development program. This committee pointed out that community development program was unsuccessful because it was failed to induce local creativities and that in the nonappearance of local creativity and local awareness development work would not be possible.

The committee laid down five fundamental principles.

1. There should be three tier structures of local self-government bodies from village to the district level and these bodies should be linked together.
2. There should be genuine transfer of power and responsibility to these bodies to enable them to discharge their responsibility.
3. Adequate resources should be transferred to these bodies to enable them to discharge their responsibilities.

4. All welfare and developmental schemes and programs at all three levels should be channelled through these bodies, and
- 5 The three-tier system should facilitate further devolution and disposal of power and responsibility in future. The committee envisaged three tier systems of panchayats known as Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat and recommended encouragement of peoples' participation in community work, promotion of agriculture and animal husbandry, promoting the welfare of the weaker sections and women through the Panchayats.⁷

Balwant rai Mehta Committee' recommendations came into effect on 1st April 1958. The first state was Rajasthan to apply it on 2nd October 1959. Till mid-1960s, Panchayat had touched all parts of the nation. There was eagerness in rural India and people realised that they had a say in the matters moving their day-to-day life. These were considered as the auspicious days of PRIs in India.

K. Santhanam Committee:

In 1963 K. Santhanam Committee was appointed to look exclusively at the matter of Panchayati Raj Institutions finances. Its suggestions have influenced the discerning and the discussion to date on this matter:

- The Panchayats should have distinct powers to charge distinct tax on land incomes, home tax, etc;
- All allowances and subsidies at the state level should be merged and not tied up; and
- Finance Corporation should be set up which would look into the economic resources of Panchayati Raj Institutions at all three levels at grassroots level governments.

The Committee on Status of Women in India, 1974:

In 1974 the Committee on the status of Women in India (CSWI) was selected by the Indian Government. Main work of the committee was:

- To estimate the transformation that had taken place in the position of women as a result of the constitutional and administrative measures which were accepted since freedom.
- To observe the influence of the composite processes of social transformation on several unit of women of India.
- To recommend measures that could allow women to play with their complete and adequate role in making the nation.

In 1974 the committee on Status of Women in India measured the political troubles of women and made some courageous recommendations with regards to the participation of women in Panchayati Raj. This committee made a report “Towards Equality” where questions raised by it on the dominant mode of co-optation in Panchayati Raj institutions and considered it as mere ‘tokenism’. The committee apprehended that the conventional attitude in rural society inhibited female from enunciating their problem and it essential to be rooted out.

Ashok Mehta committee:

The Janata government selected a Committee in 1977 under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta and was assigned with the duty of questioning into the reasons accountable for the poor presentation of PRIs. It was also asked to advise events to strengthen PRIs. The committee recommended two tier structures of Panchayati Raj comprising of Zilla Parishads at district level and Mandal Panchayats at the block level against three tier structures recommended by the committee of Balwant rai Mehta. The committee suggested legal safety to the PRIs and more devolution of power at all stages. A remarkable feature of the report is that it suggested systematic and regular elections to these bodies.

The question of women's participation in rural development process merited attention of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1974). It considered the question of establishment of statutory all-women Panchayats at the village level with autonomy and resources of their own for the management and administration of women and children development programs. It was conceived as a transitional measure to break through the traditional attitudes that inhibited- most women from articulating their problems of

participating actively in the local bodies. Like the Panchayats women would be directly elected to these bodies, and should have the right to send their representatives to the Panchayat samitis and Zilla Parishads. To ensure a viable relationship between existing gram Panchayats and the proposed women's Panchayats the chairman and secretary of both these bodies should be ex-officio members. (1) The Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions headed by Asoka Mehta (1978) laid stress on the need for recognizing and strengthening women's role in the decision-making processes of the panchayati raj. To quote, "Greater representation of women in the Panchayati Raj bodies and participation in the elective process are in a way related." This measure is likely to influence both the directional and the implementation level. The Committee recommended the reservation of two seats for women in Panchayats and to co-opt women, in case they did not come through elections. With regard to women's participation in elections the Committee felt that part of the idea in the Punjab Panchayat committees and Zilla Parishads Act, 1961 would be relevant. The Act provides that two women securing the highest number of votes amongst the women candidates in the election, will take the seats reserved for them. This is a method of co-option by election. The Committee suggested that these seats would be in addition to the seats which they might win" by a majority in the normal course. The Committee had also "felt the need for an institutional arrangement in the form of a committee with all women members of the Mandal panchayat represented on it. (2) It would ensure that decisions were taken by "women themselves on priorities and choices in welfare and development. Programs specifically meant for women and children." The Asoka Mehta Committee had felt the need for associating women with the process of decision-making, but could not give a clear direction as some sort of ambivalence was there. This resulted in a cumbersome proposal about the participation of women in Panchayats. But the fact remains that it set the ball rolling.⁸

The Ashok Mehta Committee Suggested:

- PRIs should have obligatory power of taxation to organize their own resources.
- There should be a systematic social audit by a district level agency and by a team of legislators to check whether the funds allotted to any group are actually spent on them.
- Seats of schedules caste and schedule tribe should be reserved according to their population.

- A district should be the initial point for devolution under general supervision below the state level.
- Three tier structures of PRIs should be replaced by the two-tier structure. Zilla panchayat at district level and Mandal panchayat at block level.
- A minister should be appointed by the for Panchayati Raj in the state council of minister to manage the affairs of panchayati raj institutions.

Due to breakdown of Janata party government before the completion of its tenure no action could be taken on the recommendation on the Ashok Mehta committee at center level. Only some states like West Bengal, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have accepted some of its recommendations. And took step to rejuvenate the panchayati raj system.

G.V.K. Rao Committee:

This committee was administrative arrangement for rural development and poverty alleviation program appointed by the planning commission in 1985 under the chairmanship of G.V. K Rao. The committee came to conclusion bureaucratization of development administration as against the democratization weaken PRIs. Committee made the following recommendation:

- Zilla parishad (at district level) should be pivotal in the system of democratic decentralisation.
- Elections to the PRIs should be held regularly.

L.M. Singhvi Committee:

Rajiv Gandhi government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of L.M. Singhvi to made a concept paper on renewal of PRIs for development and democracy. It suggested some recommendations which were:

- PRIs should be constitutionally known and protected.
- New part in the constitution should be provided to describe their powers and roles
- Committee suggested that there should be free and impartial election to be conducted by the election commission

- Committee suggested for the selection of finance commission
- Nyaya panchayat should be set up for a cluster of villages
- and all the rural development programmes are assigned to the PRIs by amending 7th schedule of the constitution.⁹

This committee provides the integrated vision of democracy. The national parliament and the Central Government, the State Legislatures and the State Governments and the whole pyramid of our judicial system are important to the working of democracy and the maintenance of the rule of law to the common Indian villager, however, they do not represent a preoccupying part of his daily life. There are gaps and anomalies in the democratic experience of the Indian citizen, particularly in the countryside. Panchayati Raj institutions in our rural areas and municipal bodies in our urban areas represent, first and foremost, the possibility of a truly dependable and durable institutional assurance for overcoming those distances and gaps. Without local units of self-government, we cannot hope to establish a viable and vibrant democracy. It is in this perspective that rural and urban development are, in effect, two sides of the same coin and are parts of a composite continuum of what may be called democratic urbanisation. It is with an integrated vision that they have to be reviewed, restructured, reclaimed, renewed and revitalised. The committee envisages and recommends that local self-government should be constitutionally recognised, protected and preserved by the inclusion of a new chapter in the Constitution. Local self-government and more particularly, Panchayati Raj institutions, should be constitutionally proclaimed as the third tier of Government. The Committee is of the view that a separate chapter should be added in the Constitution so as to make the identity and integrity of the Panchayati Raj institutions reasonably and substantially inviolate.¹⁰

Sixty Fourth Constitution Amendment Bill, 1989:

64th Amendment Bill was presented in the Parliament in 1989 to make the panchayati raj institution influential bodies under the prime ministership of Rajiv Gandhi.

The salient characteristics of the draft of the Sixty Fourth Constitution Amendment Bill were as follows:

- a) For all the states three tier Panchayats but states having a population not above twenty lakhs may have a two-tier panchayat,
- b) Seats to be filled by direct election,

- c) A static tenure of five years;
- d) Reservation of seats for the SC and ST according to their population;
- e) Reservation of 1/3rd of the seats for women as well as tribal women;
- f) Decentralization of powers and responsibilities upon panchayats with reverence to the preparation of plans for economic progress and social justice;
- g) Selection of Finance Commission in the states in every five years to analyse the financial position;

64th Constitution Amendment Bill was approved in the Lok Sabha. But Rajya Sabha did not pass the bill. Since 1952 this was the first time when this constitutional amendment bill moved by the government has been defeated in the Rajya Sabha.

73rd Amendment Act:

In 1992, the 73rd and the 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts was passed by the government which set up a three-tier structure of Panchayats at the village level, intermediate and district levels and Municipalities in the urban areas respectively. This is the duty of the states to decentralize suitable powers, finances and responsibilities upon these frames so as to permit them to formulate strategies and implement various arrangements for social justice and monetary growth. These Acts offer an elementary agenda of decentralisation of powers to the Panchayati Raj or Municipal bodies at village level and urban levels. For to set up the strong and feasible system of local government States are projected to act in accordance with the essence of the 73rd and 74th constitutional acts. This act adds a new episode in the course of democratic decentralisation in the country. In terms of these Amendments, the accountability for taking conclusions concern with the actions at the local level which affect the lives of people directly would rest upon the selected members of the individuals themselves.

Panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) have been given a constitutional status by the 73rd amendment. During last thirteen years state government has passed conformity legislation and taken other step for empowerment of PRIs, the national development council, therefore decided to set up an empowered sub-committee of the national development council on financial and administrative empowerment of the PRIs. The National Development Councils empowered sub- committee was set up on 31.03.2003 with the

minister of rural development as its chairperson and secretary, planning commission and secretary rural development as convenor and co-convenor respectively. The empowered sub-committee has already met twice during the year and is expected to provide directions for strengthening the PRIs.¹¹

Provisions Related To Women:

73rd Amendment Act, 1992 article 243D of the constitution provides Reservation of seats for women.

(1) Seats shall be reserved for-

(a) the Scheduled Castes; and

(b) the Scheduled Tribes,

in every Panchayat and the number of seats of reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Panchayat as the population of the Scheduled Castes in that Panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in that Panchayat area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(2) Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes.

(3) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(4) The offices of the Chairpersons in the Panchayats at the village or any other level shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the Legislature of a State. Provided further that not less than one-third of the total number of offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women:

Provided also that the number of offices reserved under this clause shall be allotted by rotation to different Panchayats at each level.

(5) The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of offices of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in article 334.

(6) Nothing in this Part shall prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Panchayat or offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at any level in favour of backward class of citizens.¹²

73rd amendment provides a stage to women to intermingle with social and political entities, result into that they are become more visible in politics and achieved the self-confidence to accomplish their duties for the advancement of the people. Political parties nominate a woman just because of reservation policy. The system for the reservation of women has been very helpful to women in remonstrating on various problems like divorce, alcoholism and dowry quarrels. But it seems that reservation has not been very effective and functioning in some other areas. When political participation is concerned, it appears that women are very excited to acquire the knowledge about the participation techniques but there is still a vast gap to be bridged concerning the involvement of women in policymaking process.

73rd amendment provides 33% reservation at grass root level which offers wonderful chance to females for their access into politics which was else not accessible. The selection for reservation of seats is done by draw of lots. A huge numeral of women has been able to get access in the political level through the 73rd constitutional amendment. Since the Panchayati Raj institutions have capacity to begin with the procedure of women empowerment from the village level, it can alter the societal scene of the village. The Panchayati raj institution provide village women the chances for headship and to involve directly in the policymaking in the course of development. It will also assist in handling the violence against women. So, the subsequent issues had attracted to challenge the problem of women empowerment through PRIs for this effort. These are:

- I. To produce a well environment to exercise women's rights equal with men in rural parts.
- II. To shape women into groups as self -help groups for financial empowerment of rural parts.
- III. For equal involvement of women in executive bodies for their progress and good.
- IV. To prepare women for political involvement in Parliament and Assemblies also with 33 % reservation.
- V. To create political awareness and political contribution in village politics by women through PRIs

- VI. To implement a joined approach for empowering women through operative combination of the amenities, resources, system and man power in related sectors.

Various initiatives have been taken by government after independence for the empowerment of women and bringing enhancements in the socio-economic position of women. Various provisions were made by the Constitution of India to provide equal privileges and balances of socio-economic development for the development of women and men. Indian constitution also assures personal liberty, freedom of speech to take part in all type of welfare and functioning to all its citizens.

The Constitution of India not only provides equality to women but also permits the State to implement measures which helps women to exterminate different forms of discernment. fundamental rights have been given to all the citizens of India. Article 14, 15,15(3), 16, 39(a), 39(b), have great importance in this regard. Also 73rd constitutional amendment provides 33 percent reservation to women at local level.

The involvement of women in Panchayati Raj is very essential for the growth of a country. A country can attain higher development only when women will be the companion in it. The request of reserved seat was left to the National Perspective Plan for females to take up. It documented that political involvement of women is strictly constrained and proposed that a 30 per cent share for females be announced at all stages of elective frames. The method of reserved seat was introduced throughout Prime Minister ship of Rajiv Gandhi. The whole matter took on a political form as it became a controversial fact whether the framework of reserved seat at the stage of panchayats and urban local bodies was actually intended to give enlarged representation to women or was a populist quantity targeting to generate a women's constituency at a stint when the Congress Party needed to revival its image. These qualms anyhow, the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution in 1992 and 1993, which provided 33 % reservation for women in rural local bodies and urban local bodies. These amendments, as a plan of assenting action, assisted as a main breakthrough guaranteeing women's equivalent access and enhanced involvement in political power buildings.

Participation of women in decision -making is very essential for the development of a country. It has been observed that the system of governance which does not provide

proper representation to women, is totally undemocratic. It is very necessary to include women into decision-making process, especially at the grass root level is an essential step towards creating gender equal opportunities. Women are always actively involved in household and local work and hence they are well aware about the real problems which are faced by common people. This gives them idea and perception which can be helpful in sustainable and complete development.

The existence of women in local governments helps as an inspiration for other women to enter into various occupations and also helps to breach stereotypes of women's roles in culture and communal place. People of the country had achieved self-possession in women as virtuous public superintendents and local government representatives after sighted women creating a constructive variation in life of another people.

Panchayati raj institution have always been considered as a means to good governance and 73rd constitutional amendment was set up in the hope that it would lead to better governance and provide political space to the marginalized section of the society like schedule caste, schedule tribes and women, who were kept away from decision-making process. During ancient times, it was not that women did not join politics, but the fact was that they did not take interest in politics due to the patriarchal nature of society. The political field was considered for men. The assumption was that, women have no such political knowledge which is necessary for the politics.

Only Reservation for women cannot bring change in women's life because women face various obstacles in the way of their participation. But due to reservation women are more visible in politics, whether it is nominal. Society of India is patriarchal, that's why women are keep away from politics and it is assumed that the area of politics is associated with men. This is not for women because women do not bring any new political ideas. Women are generally involved in domestic works.

Policymaking procedures in Panchayats require to be well explained, to diminish the option of elite capture, single point decision and proxy participation. Reservations for women also do not make much intelligence in a condition where there is prominence on consent in policymaking because one can just as simply silence the poor as in a consent the sturdiest speeches prevail automatically. Thus, it is simple for a condition of elite capture to prevail if business guidelines of representative bodies clearly favour consent in policymaking. The stress on consent in decision making should be advanced with caution.

One Another matter is the rotation term of reserved seat in Panchayats. Intermissions between the rotation of reserve seats for women representatives need to be protracted.

This is the most operative official step towards the political empowerment of women. Many examples are present where women have been energetic and enthusiastic to fight an election. In some cases, the Gram Sabha has convinced women with headship capacity to stand for elections. Those women, who are effective and successful representatives, now act as a role model for the other women. Women would have had no role to perform in politics at local level in India without the policy of reservation.

Haryana Panchayati Raj Act:

Haryana came into existence on 1 November, 1966. It has 1.37 % of the topographical zone of the nation and 44,212 square kilometres which is less than 2 % of total population of India. Haryana is one of the speedily growing state in India. Both sector of agriculture and manufacturing have shown high growth rates and Haryana enjoys the exclusive otherness of having provided electrical energy, tarred transportations and filtered drinking water to all its communities. It is the utmost affluent state in India, with one of the maximum per-capita earnings. Despite of the external modernism and symbols of the globalizing budget, its countryside peoples persist protected in inflexible societal context, in which class and inter-caste panchayats switch public relation, meting out penalty for desecrations of habitual law and the class pyramid.

In Haryana identity of women if she is married defined either by their husband or father in law and if she is unmarried then their identity is demarcated by their father or brother, it does not matter whether they are rich or poor, educated or uneducated.

In pursuance of the 73 Constitutional amendments, the Haryana Government enacted the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. The Act provides a three-tier system, the Zilla parishads have been constituted afresh in the State after a gap of more than two decades. While the earlier act provided for indirect elections at the Zilla parishad and panchayat samiti levels, under the new Act, the members of the Zilla parishads are to be elected directly. It further provides for the co-option of Chairman of all panchayat samitis within the district as exofficio members and the Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly whose constituency lies within district are to be associated as ex-officio members for Zilla parishad, who have a right to vote in the meetings except for election and removal of the President and Vice-President. Likewise, while the members

of the panchayat samitis are to be elected directly from territorial constituencies within the panchayat samiti areas, one member of panchayat samiti is elected on the population of 4000 and the number of elected members will be 10 to 30 on the basis of population. MLAs representing constituencies, which comprise wholly or partly in the panchayat samiti area, as well as the Sarpanches of gram panchayats are to be co-opted as members. The Chairmen and the Vice-Chairmen of panchayat samitis and Presidents as well as Vice-Presidents Zilla parishads are to be elected indirectly by and from amongst its elected members. So far as gram panchayats are concerned, the Sarpanch and panches are directly elected by Gram Sabha from amongst its voters by secret ballot. The panchayati raj rules state that there shall be six panches for a gram panchayat having population up to five hundred and for every additional five hundred populations or fraction thereof one extra seat shall be provided subject to a maximum of twenty seats. If a fraction forms part of the number of a seat or the office computed the number of seats or offices shall be increased to the next higher number in case the fraction consists of half or more of a seat or office and the fraction shall be ignored in case it consists of less than half of a seat or the office.¹³

Features of this act are:

(1) Seats shall be reserved for Scheduled Castes in every Panchayat Samiti and the number of seats so reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Panchayat Samiti as population of the Scheduled Castes in that Panchayat Samiti area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted to such wards having maximum population of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes. (2) Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved under subsection (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to Scheduled Castes and such seats may be allotted by rotation and by lots amongst the wards reserved under sub-section (1). (3) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat Samiti, shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation and by lots to different territorial constituencies in a Panchayat Samiti except those falling under sub-sections (1) and (2).¹⁴

(4) The offices of Chairman in the Panchayat Samitis in a district shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and women by rotation by lots: Provided that the number of offices

of Chairmen reserved for Scheduled Castes in the District shall bear as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of such offices in the Panchayat Samiti as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State bears to the total population of the State: Provided further that not less than one-third of the total number of offices of Chairpersons of Panchayat Samitis in a district shall be reserved for women including the offices of Scheduled Caste women: Provided further that the number of offices of Chairman under this sub-section shall be rotated to different Panchayat Samitis firstly having the largest maximum Population of Scheduled Castes and secondly having the next largest maximum population of such Classes and so on. (5) One seat shall be reserved for the persons belonging to Backward Classes in every Panchayat Samiti which shall be allotted in such territorial constituencies as having maximum population of persons belonging to Backward Classes. (6) The reservation of seats under sub-sections (1) and (2) and the reservation of offices of Chairman (other than the reservation for women) under sub-section (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in article 334 of the Constitution of India: Provided that reservation of seats under sub-sections (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5) shall be reviewed after every decennial census.¹⁵

However, the men who controlled the grass root democracy for centuries are not ready to give-up easily. They have found a novel way to control of the reins of power. They are either getting married with educated women or have been finding educated brides for their sons. The worst affected are the districts which have a poor sex ratio and the lowest literacy rate. Sources say Mewat is one such district where more than four dozen cases of educated women marrying illiterate and school drop-outs have come to light. Deen Mohammad who belongs to Aklimpur village in Mewat district is illiterate but did not want to lose the status of being the family of panchayat representatives. The seat currently is reserved for a female candidate. As his wife was illiterate, he was not eligible to contest election, so he got his son Saiqul married to Sarmeen who is matriculate. However, she also could not contest election as she is 15 days shy of completing the requisite age of 21 years. Deen Mohammad is himself a former village headman. His mother Fazri Begum was also a Sarpanch (village headman) between 2000 to 2004. As the state's, BJP government passed a law this year only to allow educated people to contest Panchayat

elections, Deen Mohammad took the extreme step to solemnize his own and son's marriage who is class 12 student.¹⁶

Because of the reservation of seat at grass root level the power relation between wife and husband has changed because husband gets a chance to come into politics just because of his wife. In Haryana during 2015-16 election educational criteria have been selected for the election. Those village where there are women reserved seat unmarried men often seek that if nobody in their home is fulfilling the educational criteria either their mother or sister, they prefer to marry a girl who belongs to other state by giving money to the family of that girl. Or if they are married and their wife does not fulfil the educational criteria then they prefer to make fake certificates. They take help of corruption for this. This is not good for the progress of a nation.

There are various types of obstacles in the way of women's participation in Panchayati Raj. One main is the patriarchal nature of society which does not allow women to come forward to join politics or for any other purposes. Women representative are not taken seriously by their male partner. They think that women have no or say less knowledge about the functioning of gram Panchayat. There is dual burden (household work and Panchayat works) on the shoulder of women representatives. Women themselves do not want to come forward to contest election. It is always their family members who push them to contest the election in order to attain their power.

If reserve seats are rotated after every five-year tenure, it leaves very small enticement for the member who selected on a reserved seat to perform, because she thinks that in next round, there will be only a remote opportunity of being elected because she will not have the advantage of reserve seat in the same constituency. A million of women have come out from their homes for the first time to participate in public activities, to hold public offices, making their presence in the political field dominated by men only due to 73rd amendment.

Endnotes

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Chapter-IV

Field study

In Indian political system Panchayati Raj Institutions plays an important role at local level. In ancient times women did not have much space in Panchayati Raj election. But 73rd Amendment provides 33% reservation to women at Grass Root Level. After the 73rd Amendment Act, Haryana Panchayati Raj act came into effect on 22nd April 1994. 29 subjects have been listed to PRIs which are stated under the eleventh schedules of the constitution.

By this, women have got an opportunity to raise their voice in politics. Women get opportunity to participate in politics at least at grass root level by the 73rd amendment. This study tries to understand the role of women in PRIs in Rewari district of Haryana. There are total 139 women representatives in Rewari district. Rewari is one of the 22nd district of Haryana, in India. Rewari city is the biggest city in the state. It is located in south of Haryana around 80 kilometres from the capital of India, New Delhi. Rewari attain the position of a district on 1 November 1989. According to the census of 2011 it was the second lowest populous district of Haryana state, out of 21, after Panchkula district.

According to the 2011 census, Rewari district has a population of 896,129, which is roughly equivalent to the country of Fiji. Rewari district has a populace density of 562 residents per square kilometre which is 1,460/sq. metre. It has a sex proportion of 905 females as per 1000 males, and literacy rate of Rewari district is 82.2 per cent.

The Panchayati Raj Bill was passed by the Parliament in 1992. According to this, a three tier Panchayati Raj System was established in each state of India subsequently. It has three vital elements -Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Panchayat. The tenure of Gram Panchayat is five years.

Haryana Panchayati Raj elections were held in 1994, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 respectively. The fifth Haryana Panchayat Raj election (2015) was very significant because for the first-time education criteria was accorded as a qualification for the purpose of candidature. Women secured 37% seats out of the total seats in Rewari district. There are five blocks in Rewari district which are Khol, Nahar, Jatusana, Bawal

and Rewari. In all the Haryana Panchayati Raj election the number of elected women representatives has gone beyond 33% reservation.

In the present chapter, an effort has been made to analyse the factors which effects women participation in Rewari Panchayati Raj Institutions.

In this study sample of 40 women representatives have being taken out of 139 women representatives which is more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total representatives. Interview was conducted to get the responses on the raised questions and also non-participatory observation method was used by the researchers to get the information from the women representatives concerning about the participation of the elected female representatives in the PRIs.

After the work of field study, collected data is organised into tabulation form. Included tables are very simple and efficient. Tables have been also arranged in a very efficient way, the main purpose of arranging the table is to make the comparison very simple and to display the data in a very efficient way.

Table 1

Caste background of the respondents

Seat	Frequency	Percentage
Unreserved	11	27.5
Other backward caste	22	55.0
Schedule caste	7	17.5
Schedule tribe	0	0
Total	40	100.0

Table 1 presents the classification of the respondents on the caste basis. It shows that out of the total sample of 40 respondent's majority of women 55% (22 respondents) were from OBCs (since Rewari district is highly populated by Yadav community), followed by 11 respondents (27.5 per cent) belongs to unreserved category and 7 respondents (17.5 per cent) belonged to SC. No respondent in Rewari district belongs to ST category. So, it

can be depicted that all sections of the society which are presented have their representations in the sample, but the representation of SC category (17.5 per cent) was comparatively less than other. And no respondent belongs to ST category. Majority of the respondents belongs to OBC caste which is 55% of the total 40 respondents.

Table 2

Age group of the respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
25-35	27	67.5
35-45	8	20.0
45-55	5	12.5
More then 55	0	0
Total	40	100.0

Table 2 presents the age wise classification of female representatives in PRIs. This table reveals that out of the total 40 female representatives, the 27 respondents (67.5 per cent) belongs to 25-35years of age group, 08 respondents (20 per cent) belongs to 35-45 years of age group, 05 respondents (12.05 per cent) are from the age group of 45-55 years. Data analysis shows that majority of respondents (67.5 per cent) belongs to 25-35 years. And no respondents belong to more than 55 years of age.

Table 3

Educational background of the respondents

Education level	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	0	0
Up to 8 th	9	22.5
Up to 10 th	21	52.5
Up to 12 th	4	10.0

Graduation and more	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 3 shows the educational qualification of the respondents. As it evident from the table 3 that out of total 40 female representatives, 9 respondents (22.5 per cent) are qualified up to 8th, 21 respondents (52.5 per cent) are qualified up to 10th, 4 respondents (10 per cent) are qualified up to 12th and 6 respondents (15%) are either graduates or post graduates. So, it can be concluded that in PRIs of Rewari district most of the respondents were middle, Matric, and 10+2 passed. Respondents that hold the qualification of Graduation or more than graduation is only 15% out of 40 respondents. Graduated women are more active in politics and doing official work with full dignity. They are not working as a proxy to men.

Table 4

Family income of the respondent per-anum

Annual income	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 1 lack	30	75
1 lack to 4 lacks	03	7.5
4 lacks to 10 lacks	00	00
More than 10 lacks	07	17.5
Total	40	100.0

Table 4 shows the data about the annual income of family of women respondents. Majority of the women respondents belongs to the income group of less than 1 lack per anum. 30 respondents (75 per cent) out of 40 belongs to the that family whose income is less than 1 lack and 3 respondents belongs to the income group of 1 lack to 4 lacks (7.5

per cent) which is very less. 7 respondents belong to the income group of more than 10 lack which is 17.5 per cent of the total respondents. One of the interesting findings of the study is those respondents who belong to income slab of more than 10 lacks were working very efficiently. And they regularly attending the meeting and training program organised by the government of Panchayats. These women representatives raise the concerns of women such as domestic violence, women safety, foetus killing, and girl child education. They work for the welfare and upliftment of the women. These women comprising very high social and economic status.

Table 5

Marital status of the respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Unmarried	0	00
Married	40	100
Divorcee	0	00
Widow	0	00
Total	40	100

Table 5 represents the marital status of 40 women representatives. It has been found that all 40 respondents are married which is the 100 per cent of the total respondents. No respondent is unmarried, widow or divorcee among all the 40 women respondents.

Table 6

Family type of respondents

Nature of family	Frequency	Percentage
Joint	33	82.5
Nuclear	7	17.5
Total	40	100.0

This table shows the data about the nature of the family structure of the women representatives. On analysing the types of families of the total 40 women representatives it has been found that most of women representatives come from joint families. Out of the 40 respondents 33 women (82.5 per cent) belongs to joint families. And only 7 respondents (17.5 percent) women come from nuclear families. Those women who belongs to joint families find it difficult to take active part in political activities. Because of burden of household duties, they have no time for the political activities. And the women who belongs to nuclear family have extra time to take part in the political activities.

Table 7

Family size of the respondents

Size of the family	Frequency	Percentage
2-3	05	12.5
4-6	21	52.5
6-10	11	27.5
More than 10	03	7.5
Total	40	100.0

Table 7 presents the data about the family size of the respondents. Out of the 40 women respondents five respondents belong to their family size of 2-3 which is the 12.5 per cent of the total 40 respondents. And 21 respondents (52.5 %) have family size of 4 to 6, and 11 respondents (27.5%) belong to the family size of 6-10. And 3 respondents (7.5 %) belong to the family size of more than 10 members in a family.

Table 8

Husband's educational qualification of respondents

Husband's educational qualification	Frequency	Percent age

Illiterate	0	0
Up to 8 th	2	5.0
Up to 10 th	6	15.0
Up to 12 th	13	32.5
Graduation or more	19	47.5
Total	40	100.0

Table 8 depicts the data about the educational qualification of the husbands of women respondents. No one is found illiterate among 40. Out of 40 the husband of 2 respondents (5 per cent) were qualified up to 8th, husband of 6 respondents (15 per cent) were qualified up to 10th, 13 husbands of the respondents (32.5 per cent) were qualified up to 12th and 19 husbands of the respondents (47.5%) either graduates or post graduates. So, it can be concluded that in PRIs most of the husband of respondents were either 10+2 passed or graduates/post graduates. Graduate men were 47.5% out of 40 respondents. Husbands of the women representatives were more qualified than women respondents. Qualification up to graduation among women representative was 15% whereas 47.5% husbands of respondents were graduate.

Table 9

Husband's occupation of respondents

Husband's occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	14	35
Government job	10	25
Private job	16	40
Total	40	100.0

Table 9 presents the data about the occupation of husband of women representatives. Out of 40 women respondents 14 respondents accept that their husband is unemployed which

is 35 percent of the total respondents. And 10 respondents (25%) told that their husband is in government job and 16 respondent's husband's occupation is private job which is the 40 % of the total respondents.

Table 10

Tenure of women respondents in politics

Tenure in politics	Frequency	Percentage
0-5	35	87.5
6-10	4	10.0
11-15	1	2.5
More than 15	0	00
Total	40	100.0

Table 10 presents the data about the tenure of the 40 women representatives. Out of the 40 respondents 35 respondents (87.5 per cent) are first time entrants into the politics. And 4 respondents (10 per cent) entered second time into the PRIs. And only 1 respondent won the PRIs election for third time which is only (2.5 per cent) into politics. Most of the respondents accept that they are force to contest the election and won only because seats were reserved for women. And their family member fills the application without their permission. Respondents asked to their male counterpart about their role in contesting elections and what they have to do after winning elections, male counterparts said to respondents that you have to perform a nominal role, I/We (male member of the family) will perform all the necessary function and role in the name after you.

Table 11

Family support of respondents

Family support	Frequency	Percent
Yes	40	100

No	00	00
Can't say	00	00
Total	40	100

Table 11 depicts the picture of support of women representatives for politics. All the 40 respondents out of 40 accept that their family members supported them to join politics. None of their response is found of no support from family. All the respondents have family support which is the 100%. of the total respondents.

Table 12

Respondent's Husband belongs to politics

Husband belongs to politics	Frequency	Percent
Yes	6	15.0
No	29	72.5
Can't say	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

This table presents the relation of husband of women respondents with politics. According to the retrieved data 6 respondents out of total 40 accepted that their husband belongs to politics and their percent is 15. And 29 respondents (72.5 %) out of 40 accepted that their husband does not belong to politics. While 5 respondents did not say anything about it and their percent is 12.5%.

Table 13

Other member of respondent's family belongs to politics (in laws) side

Other member belongs to politics (in laws)	Frequency	Percent
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Yes	5	12.5
No	31	77.5
Can't say	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

This table presents the data of other member of women respondents belongs to politics. According to the retrieved data 5 respondents out of total 40 accepted that their family member belongs to politics and their percent is 12.5. And 39 respondents (77.5 %) out of 40 accepted that their family member (in law) does not belong to politics whereas 4 respondents did not say anything about it and their percent is 10.

Table 14

Other Member of respondent's family belongs to politics (maternal side)

Member belongs to politics (maternal side)	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	12.5
No	27	67.5
Can't say	8	20.0
Total	40	100.0

This table presents the data of other member of women respondents (maternal side) belongs to politics. According to the retrieved data 5 respondents out of total 40 accepted that their family member belongs to politics hence their percent is 12.5. And 27 respondents (67.5 %) out of 40 accepted that their family member (maternal side) does not belong to politics whereas 8 respondents did not say anything about it and their percent is 20.

Table 15

Participation of respondents in the functioning of Gram Panchayat

Participation in the functioning of Gram Panchayat	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	22	55.0
No	13	32.5
Can't say	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

Table 15 presents the data about the respondents participate in the functioning of the PRIs, majority of respondents (55 per cent) participate in the functioning of PRIs, and 13 respondents (32.5%) do not participate in the functioning of PRIs. Out of 40, 22 respondents accepted that they participate in the functioning in the Gram Panchayats which is the 55% of the total respondents. Whereas 5 respondents gave no response on it and their percentage is 12.5 % of the total respondents.

Table 16

Participation of respondent's family member in the functioning in Gram Panchayat

Participation of family member in the functioning in Gram Panchayat	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	19	47.5
No	15	37.5
Can't say	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 16 presents the data about the participation of family member of women representatives in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. This table shows that according to 19 respondents (47.5 per cent) their family member participates in the matters of the Gram Panchayat. 15 members of respondent's family (37.5 per cent) do not participate in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. And 6 respondents (15 per cent) gave no response on it. This shows that the level of participation of women varies from Gram Panchayat to Gram Panchayat.

Table 17

Respondent's Participation in the training program

Participation in the training program	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	23	57.5
No	7	17.5
Can't say	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 17 presents the data about the participation of 40 women respondents in the training program. 23 respondents out of 40 take part in the training program which is (57.5 per cent) of the total respondents. And 7 respondents (17.5 per cent) never attend the training program of Panchayati Raj. 10 respondents (25 per cent) did not respond to question. Most of the respondent accepted that they attend the training program only because it is mandatory to do so.

Table 18

Decisions taken by respondents asking by family members

Decision taken by asking family	Frequency	Percentage
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member		
Yes	24	60.0
No	6	15.0
Can't say	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 18 present the data about the decisions making power of women representatives by asking their family members. Out of the total 40 respondents 24 respondents accepted that they take any decision if their male counterparts of family asked to do so and their percentage is 60. And 6 respondents (15 %) accepted that they do not take any decision by asking their family members, while 10 respondents (25 %) did not reply anything.

Table 19

Discrimination at work place with respondents

Discrimination at work place	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	14	35.0
No	20	50.0
Can't say	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 19 presents the discrimination with female representatives at work place. This table presents the data out of the total 40 female representatives. 14 respondents (35 per cent) said that they faced discrimination at work place, 20 respondents (50 per cent) said that they never faced discrimination at work place, 06 respondents (15 per cent) did not give any response.

Table 20

Respondent's help by family members

Help by family members	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	70.0
No	7	17.5
Can't say	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

This table presents the data about the help of women respondents by their family member in their household work. According to the collected data out of 40 respondents 28 respondents told that their family members help them in their household work, which is the 70 percent of the total 40 respondents. And 7 respondents accepted that their family members never help them in their household work, their percent is 17.5 of the total 40 respondents. And out of 40 respondents 5 respondents refused to tell anything that is the 12.5 % of the total respondents.

Table 21

Feel difficulties in making coordination between political works and household works

Feel difficulties in making coordination between political works and household works	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	6	15.0
No	23	57.5
Can't say	5	12.5

Seldom	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 21 presents the difficulties faced by women representatives in making coordination between household works and political works. Out of the 40 respondents 6 respondents feels difficulties in making coordination, and their percentage is 15%. And 23 respondents do not feel difficulties in making coordination between household works and political works, and their percentage is 57.5 percent of the total respondents. While 6 respondents did not reply anything and their percentage is 15 percent of the total 40 respondents.

Table 22

Give preference to household works by respondents

Give preference to household works	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	30.0
No	23	57.5
Can't say	05	12.5
Total	40	100.0

Table 22 presents the preference given by women respondents to their household work in case when they feel difficulties between the household work and political works. Out of 40 respondents 12 women respondents accepted that they give preference to their household duties and their percent is 30. And out of 40 respondents 23 accept that they do not give preference to their household duties and their percent is 57.5. While 10 respondents did not reply anything, their percent is 12.5.

Table 23

Give preference to political works by respondents

Give preference to political works	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	50.0
No	08	20.0
Can't say	12	30.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 23 presents the preference given by women respondents to their political work in case when they feel difficulties between the household work and political works. Out of 40 respondents 20 women respondents accepted that they give preference to their political works and their percent is 50. And out of 40 respondents 8 accepted that they do not give preference to their political work and their percent is 20. While 12 respondents did not reply anything, their percent is 30.

Table 24

Decision taken by whom in the family

Decision taken by	Frequency	Percentage
Respondent	00	00
Husband	14	35.0
Father in law	18	45.0
Mother in law	00	00
Brother in law	08	20.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 24 presents about the data who takes decision in family affairs. Out of 40 respondents 14 respondents (35 per cent) told that decisions are being taken by their husband in the family, 18 respondents (45 per cent) replied that the decisions are being taken by their father in laws and 8 respondents (20 per cent) told that decision is taken by their brother in law in the family. It has been clear from the above table that women have no role in decision-making at home also. No respondents reply that we take decision at home.

Table 25

Education level creates obstacles in the way of respondents

Education level creates obstacles	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	30.0
No	22	55.0
Can't say	06	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 25 presents the data about the education level which creates obstacles in the way of women representatives. Out of the 40 respondents 12 respondents (30 per cent) accept that their education level creates obstacles, 22 respondents (55 per cent) accepted that their education level does not create obstacles and 6 respondents gave can't say response about this. Which is 15 per cent of the total respondents.

Table 26

More women should participate in politics

More women should participate in politics	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	35	87.5

No	03	7.5
Can't say	02	5.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 26 presents the data about the more and more participation of women in politics. 26 respondents (87.5) give their opinion about it that more and more women should participate in politics. So, that condition of women improved somewhat. And 3 respondents (7.5%) say no women should participate in politics because men do not allow women to participate in the functioning of panchayat. so, there's no benefit to participate in the politics as puppet. And 2 respondents (5.0%) gave can't say response on it.

Table 27

Desire to contest election again by respondents

Contest election again	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	21	52.5
No	07	17.5
Can't say	12	30.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 27 presents the data about whether the respondents want to contest election again or not. Out of the 40 respondents 21 (52.5 per cent) respondents accept that they want to contest election in next term also, and 7 respondents refused to contest election again which is 17.5 percent of the total respondents and 12 respondents gave can't say response which is 30 per cent of the total 40 respondents, they were not sure about it.

Table 28

Respondents Knowledge about the functioning of Gram Panchayat

Knowledge about the functioning of Gram Panchayat	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	13	32.5
No	08	20.0
Can't say	09	22.5
Little bit	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

Table 28 shows that out of the total 40 respondents 13 respondents (32.5%) were well informed about the functioning of Gram panchayat, and 10 respondents (25%) of them had little bit knowledge about the functioning of Gram Panchayat, 8 respondents (20%) have no knowledge about the functioning of Gram Panchayat. And 9 respondents (22.5%) gave can't say response on it.

Table 29

Respondent's views hear by Male members in meetings of Panchayat

Male member hears you when go in meetings	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	18	45.0
No	11	27.5
Can't say	11	27.5
Total	40	100.0

This table presents the data about the women representatives whether their ideas or views are listened in the meetings by male member or not. Out of the total 40 respondents 18 respondents (45%) reply yes, and 11 respondents (27.5%) reply no answer. And 11 respondents gave can't say response on it. Those women who are more educated say graduate or post graduate, supported by their family members, attend meetings and

training programs and well informed about the functioning about the Panchayati Raj or other constitutional right are more efficient and empowered than others.

Observation of field study:

Questionnaire was not much comprehensive because of the facts which occurred during the field observation. When researcher go for the interview of women sarpanch and asked to in fill the questionnaire but it was observed that respondent called her son to fill the questionnaire and go away to say that “I have lots of work to do, I do not know what to fill”. Then her brother in law came and fill the questionnaire himself. Respondent even hesitate to meet with researcher and came out after requesting a lot. Researcher asked whether you go to attend the meeting, she replied no and said “if I will go in the meeting then who will work at home”. When asked that what is your purpose to join politics. She replies that “I am 10th pass and no one is 10th pass at home, due to educational criteria I am here on this post”.

When researcher go to meet the other respondents then inquired a lady then she said why because she was her mother in law. Researcher said that she wants to meet her to take her interview. Then her mother in law said that she (sarpanch) don't know anything. All the Panchayati work is done by my son, she even does not know about the functioning and working of PRIs as a sarpanch. Later on, she allowed researcher to talk with the respondent. Respondent filled the questionnaire herself. But one thing was notable that respondent was asking to researcher what to write in the questionnaire in place of answer of a particular question, even respondent was 12th pass. When the researcher asked that who takes decision, she replied that all the decision taken by her. Then her mother in law chide her that why are you telling lie. And told to researcher that daughter all the decision is taken by my husband (respondent's father in law).

When researcher goes to meet the other respondent, she was not at home. Her sister in law was present at home. Researcher asked that when respondent would come. She said that “you can ask me whatever you want to know because she do not know anything about it, she is doing work at the plot. All the Panchayati work is done by my brother (respondent's husband). Few minutes later respondent come and then researcher asked her to fill the questionnaire. Respondent said “I do not know what to fill in the questionnaire. My sister in law will fill this”. When researcher asked to respondent that

whether you go for the meetings then she replied “my husband goes in the meetings. And I have to do lots of work at home and also replied that who will do the domestic task if I will go to attend the meetings” and did not fill the questionnaire.

Researcher went to meet another respondent and said her to fill the questionnaire then respondent’s husband stopped her wife asked her to get involved in domestic work and he himself respond all the queries on the behalf of respondent. Researcher said that this is to be filled by respondent. But respondent’s husband refused her to do so. And the questionnaire was field by her husband.

It has been cleared from the observation that government has reserved seats for women but due to patriarchal set up of society women are not allowed to participate in the politics.

When researcher go to meet the other respondent then her brother in law filled the questionnaire. And said that all the work of panchayat is done by me because she (sarpanch) do not know about the official work and she has no idea about the problems of villagers. He (respondent’s brother in law) also accept that not only I go for the meetings in fact in most of the cases male member of the women representative go for the meetings on behalf of them. Women rarely go to attend the meetings. Women go in the meeting when SDM comes and it is compulsory for them to go there. Otherwise they stay at home and do the domestic work. Most of the women have been elected only because the seats are reserved for women.

When researcher go to meet the other respondents then she filled the questionnaire herself. Researcher said to her that do you participate in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. Then respondent said that if we will come forward to attend the meetings and to participate in the meeting then all the member of villages would say that this woman does not care for her family’s modesty.

When researcher go to meet the other respondent, the respondent filled the questionnaire and said to researcher that “I never go for the meetings all the works of sarpanch is done by my father in law. He takes care for all the matters of Panchayati Raj”. She also told that she has been elected only due to women reserved seat, and she also said that I want to do the work for myself but family member does not allow me to do so.

It concludes that women have joined politics just because of seats are reserved for women. They are not allowed to attend meeting or participate in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. They act as proxies to men. Women joined politics forcibly. From the above study, it has been cleared that women are not allowed to do the panchayati work just because of they are female.

After that researcher asks to women sarpanch that do you think that more and more women should join politics or not. Then she replies that of course women should come forward to join politics so that their condition may change somewhat. Because it is only women who can understand the problem of other women. If women will not come forward then women's problem will not be solved. Men do not know about the various problem which women faced like various health related problem, water and child welfare, education, sanitation and alcoholism.

When researcher go in other village and asked few people about the sarpanch then they told the name of female sarpanch's husband. And tell that he is actual sarpanch. All the work is done by husband of sarpanch. When researcher asked to respondent then why you do not participate in the functioning of Gram Panchayat then respondent tell that I do not want to do panchayati work because I have much pressure of family's responsibility. All the work is done by my husband.

Other respondent told to researcher that no one in our family fulfils the educational criteria that's why I have been selected on unreserved seat. She says "I want to work for the upliftment of people and want to open a school for the girl because they have to go in other village for their secondary education and they are suffering from many types of problems, but I am unable to do anything because I am also a women and family member does not allow me to do this. They never let me go alone because of safety issues. Various evils are there in the society. Until these problems will not completely removed no men will allow their female member to go outside the home". She filled the questionnaire and tells the researcher that government should also take effective steps to remove the problems from the way of women's development and the factor that hinders the empowerment of women should be fully eradicated from the society. Only reservation of seat cannot bring much change.

Other respondent came into veil and refused to tell answer of anything. Then his father in law come and say to researcher that you can ask me what you want to know. He said that

I will fill the questionnaire because respondent do not have knowledge about any work, she always busy in her household duties. Researcher request him that questionnaire should be filled by the respondent then he said that when she do not know about anything then how can she fill it. Because of educational criteria she is on the post of sarpanch.

It seems that after the 73rd amendment women have gain only status not power. Most of the women in Panchayati Raj in Rewari district of Haryana not allowed to go in the meetings. They have occupied the status of sarpanch either by education criteria if nobody is fulfilling this or by women reserved seat.

When researcher go to other village his brother in law said “sarpanch does not know anything you can ask me whatever you want to ask”. When researcher ask to him that where is sarpanch then brother in law of sarpanch strictly refused to tell her anything. He said to researcher that she (sarpanch) is ill. I can fill the questionnaire and now you may go.

Then researcher go to meet the other respondent. She agreed to fill the questionnaire but request the researcher that “please you tell me what to fill because I do not have much knowledge about it. And tell to researcher that all the panchayati work is done by my son. He takes care for all the matters of panchayat. I only sign on the official papers”. Then she fills the questionnaire by the help of researcher.

When researcher meet the other respondent then she said that my husband married me just for the post of sarpanch because I am postgraduate. But I am not working as a stamp machine not my work is limited to sign on the papers. All the panchayati work is done by me. She said “In beginning I was not allowed to go outside the home and also, said that I always lived with veil by covering my face even at home also. I was sick off from all these and now I never cover my face by veil. Even I myself go for the meetings and in training programs because women also have right to participate in the politics”.

When researcher asks to respondent that whether you face any problem between your household work and panchayati work. Then she laughed and tells that she never goes for the meetings then how she can face problem. When researcher asked her that what is your purpose to join the politics then she said “that I have been elected just because of pressure from the family. I was not interested to join politics but male member of my family said me to join by saying that we will do all the work only your name will be used for the post”.

When researcher go to meet the other respondents. They were belonged to 25-35 age group. They said that we only go for the training program. After attending the training program, we think that we should do the whole panchayati works to our self. Most of the women respondents said that we want to work for the betterment of women because in our society the condition of women is very worst. They tell that we are full of enthusiasm when we attend the training program. But after some time, their whole enthusiasm disappears when they stay at home. Men does not want to give power to women which they have occupied since ancient times.

Another respondent told to researcher that she has been elected just because of women reserved seat. She filled the questionnaire and told to researcher that “I was not interested to join politics, my father in law takes care for all the official work and said that neither I go to attend the meetings nor I participate in the other functioning of GP. Also, I am in trouble because of this post because I am unable to fill the form for government job for the five-year tenure.

Most of the women who belongs to 25-35 age group thinks that more and more women should come forward and participate in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. And women belong to 45-55 age group thinks that women should not participate in the politics because here men exploit the women by different means, they should stay at home. Most of the women agreed that rights should be given to women so that they can participates in the functioning of Gram Panchayat. Women should freely participate in the meetings of Gram Panchayats. They should not act as proxies of men. Most of the women accepted that they stay at home and fulfils the domestic duties and rearing of children.

It has been clear from the above study that women have got constitutional right to participate in PRIs, but women representatives are not working actually themselves. Male member of their family either their husband, father or brother in law are using the power of female representatives. For to win the seat of sarpanch, male member of the family prefers to marry with educated girl either for the reserved seat or for the women reserved seat if no candidate at their home is fulfilling the following criteria. All the female representatives are working proxies to men. They are only source of doing signature on the official papers. But those respondents who were graduates and post graduates are more conscious then others because of their high education and economic status.

Chapter-V

Findings and suggestions

73rd constitution amendment was passed in 1992 and effective since 1993 in all the states. Due to this provision, the condition of women is improving. Because prior to this amendment women were not more visible in the politics. Their presence in the politics was very low. After the 73rd amendment women are more visible in politics now they are participating in decision-making process at grass root level. In most of the states their reservation is more than 45 percent, like in Bihar women's reservation is 50 percent. After the 73rd Amendment 33% reservation is compulsory for women. But this is still not much satisfactory.

It has been observed that effective participation of women in Indian politics cannot be ensured just by amending the constitution. The constitution amendment can only increase the percentage of women in politics but their actual participation is still far away. They do not participate actually in decision-making process. 73rd constitutional Amendment was passed by government to empower women. But many studies find that due to patriarchal structure of society women at rural local government are facing many problems in their participation in panchayat. Present dissertation is the study of "Women Representation In Panchayati Raj Institution in Rewari District of Haryana". There are five blocks in Rewari district, Nahar, Rewari, Khol, Bawal, Jatusana. There are total 358 sarpanch in Rewari district.

For the present study sample of 40 women representatives was selected out of 139 women representatives. In order to collect the data from 40 representative, questionnaires were prepared and interview was conducted to get the responses from the representatives. On the basis of analysis of data following conclusions are made:

When age related data was collected then it was found that 27 respondents (67.5%) related to 25-35 age group out of 40 respondents. And when inquired about their tenure in politics then it was found that 33 women (82.5%) were first time entrants into the politics. During the interview, it was observed that most of the women occupied this seat only because of women reserved seats. The number of women percentage in Panchayati Raj have been increased by 73rd constitutional amendment.

The elder age group of women have a more progressive position and status in the society and therefore they can freely and easily interact with men. Hence, they are the preferred candidates to contest election in panchayat. But now the educational criteria called the literate women to contest the election in Haryana state in 2015-16 election because most of the elder women do not fulfil the educational criteria. Which result into participation and involvement of young women who get a chance to contest election. From the collected data, it can be concluded that 27 women which is the 67.5 % of the total 40 respondents belongs to the age group of 25-35.

When it was inquired to women respondent that whether their husband involved in politics then out of 40 women respondents 6 (15%) respondents accept that their husband involved in politics. And when it was inquired that other member of your family involve in politics then, 5 respondents (12.5%) accept that other member of their family involved in the political field. When researcher inquired to respondents that any other member of your maternal side involves in politics then 5 (12.5%) respondents accept that they have joined politics just because of their maternal family's involvement in politics and they have no knowledge or experience about the politics.

Out of the 40 women respondents all were educated, none of them is illiterate. Most of the women representatives were qualified up to 10th which is 21 (52.5%) of the total respondents. 4 (10%) women were qualified up to 12th. Only 6 women were found graduate or more than graduates and their percentage is 10 %. Women representatives accept that education play the important role in people's life, also it is the main factor which influence the representation of women representatives. When inquired to women representatives that which level of education is necessary for the women. Then they say that women should be educated up to at least graduation level. When an effort was made to know from the respondent that does your education level creates obstacles in the way of your life or participation in politics. Then 12 (30%) women accept that their education level creates obstacles in their work.

Most of women representatives accept that they take their field related decision by asking to their family members. It has been clear from the presented data women have got constitutional and legal rights but in actual or practical life they are unable to take decision freely. The presence of women can be seen in papers only not in actual life.

Also, it was found during the interview that most of the women accept that they never go to attend the meeting of panchayat and all the official work is done by the male member of their family.

The present study shows that reservation had a positive impression on the political participation of women as most of the women representatives came forward to join politics just because of reservation. But they have very little knowledge about the politics and panchayatiworks. These women are not interested in political works because, since ancient times they are limited to household duties. They live inside the four walls of home. Political knowledge is very significant for the political empowerment, and in this sense the reservation for women has had a powerful effect on empowerment. The reservation system has optimistic effect on women's lives, not only in politics but for the complete empowerment of women. Which is a good symbol.

PRIs has given a platform to the women at local level, resulting in that they have become more visible in politics. Women are raising various issues like alcoholism, divorces and dowry quarrels, and trying to solve these issues. But in Indian society women member are not treated as equal to men. Many of the women representatives of panchayati Raj in Rewari district also explained that they feel that they are not treated equally as men not only in the political field but also in every sphere of life. According to them, men do not give any reputation to them, and women are never informed about any of the political matter about panchayat meetings. Even when they want to suggest something about a subject they are totally ignored.

Reservations for women is the most important factor that motivates them to come forward into political field. Most of the women respondents specified that they get the motivation from their family members, mainly their husband motivates them to join politics. The main purpose behind this motivation is to attain the chair of sarpanch on the behalf of women reserved seat. Women are not actually working in the panchayat of Rewari district. The male member of the women representatives playing the real role of sarpanch. Most of the men are working on the behalf of their wife, mother etc. Women representatives are also not taking much interest in the politics due to burden of household works. They think that if they will actively participate in panchayat then who will take the responsibility of household work, and who will take care of children. This area is considered the area of men. Many of the respondents said that politics is made

only for men and women's work is to stay at home and fulfil the household tasks. They said that they have no time for politics. There are many obstacles in the way of their participation in politics and empowerment. Women respondents face many obstacles in the way of their political participation. These obstacles are:

1. Lack of Confidence

Lack of confidence is one of the chief cause of low level participation of women in politics at local level. With the help of confidence and willpower any women can reach at the uppermost stage in the political procedure. That is why women should trust in themselves and should keep away themselves with the prevalent perception that only men have to be their leaders. Women are also equal to men and have the equal potential or capacity as men. Only women can struggle for their constitutional rights. Women in rural areas have low level of confidence. Women are very good champions and coordinators and they should recognised their capacity their self. Women are totally ignored in rural areas by their male member of the family.

2. Lack of education and limited access to gain education:

Due to lack of education and limited access to gain education women in rural areas often finds it difficult to do something for their good and welfare. They are unable to know about their rights and duties provided by the constitution only due to lack of education. This is the main obstacles in the way of women's empowerment and their participation in politics. One main reason of women's lack of education is the old traditional thinking of society which do not want to give education to women. Assumption behind this is that women should stay at home and fulfil the household duties and education have no role in it.

3. Poverty:

Poverty is another main obstacle in the way of women's participation in politics because due to poverty women are unable to contest election. Money is important to contest election. Women in rural areas have no or say less source of income. Political area is progressively becoming commercialized. More and more cash is required to contest election. Women have deficiency of money and possession of industrious resource, which limits the opportunity of their political work.

4. Dual burden of household works:

Women hold an unequal portion of household work. Their involvement in politics is further controlled by poverty and by lack of education. Women have no option because they have to spend much of their time trying to manage the elementary requirements of families. In addition to that, however, few females may have permanent occupations as mothers and wives as well as other full-time jobs as teachers, lawyers or doctors etc. So, due to dual burden of household work and jobs they find it difficult to participate in politics.

5. Patriarchal structure of the society:

India is male dominant country since ancient times. Only men are working in public field and women are not allowed to go outside the home.

6. Negative attitudes of men towards the female:

Men in our country think that politics is the area of men and women should not be allowed to participate in politics. Men often think that women are not able to do outside work. They think that women should do only household work and child rearing.

7. Low consciousness:

Women are very unconscious about their rights. This unconsciousness is only due to lack of quality education and limited access to education. And due to this unconsciousness women find it difficult to participate in politics.

8. Dependency of women on men:

The dependency of women on men is one of the main unfavourable issues to the political involvement of women in public political sphere. Women find it tough to participate in politics due to circumscribed time existing for them because of their dual roles in the creative and reproductive domains. With their key roles as sister, mothers and wives and carrying out local household tasks and maintenance work, they are left with slight time to take part in politics.

9. Involvement of women in financial actions remain unnoticed at the local level because of patriarchal social set up, Women are main contributors to nationwide saving via both their rewarded and their unpaid work. Rural Women's effort and their role as an important voter should not be miscalculated. The significance of Woman's biological and societal roles is very clear, their contribution in all fields of life often goes unnoticed. Eliminating poverty will have a constructive influence on women's enlarged involvement in the democratic procedure.

Financial empowerment of women, along with quality education will take women from the limitations of the domestic task to complete involvement in politics.

Another main obstacle in the way of women's participation in PRIs is the 'two-child norm' that has been made a condition for contesting elections in many states like Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. In Rural areas, there's a high fertility rate Hence it becomes really difficult for some of the women to enter into panchayati raj if restrictions like 'two-child norm' are compulsory for women.

Thus, due to the occurrence of all these various obstacles, it has been observed that elected women representatives (sarpanches) in many a case does not go to meetings and not reply to the question raised in the Panchayat meetings and their husbands or other member go on behalf of them and the patriarchal set up of society does not allow them to go outside from their home.

In our society men want that women should not participate in politics they also think that politics is the area of men. And if there's reserved seat for women then male member of that women's family plays role on the behalf of her. Women contest election in the Panchayat only because of the pressure of their family member. Women who herself take decision to contest election faces more problem in comparison of women who contest election by the support of their family.

Reservation has been provided to women at local level to empower them. But alone reservation cannot help to empower women. Through reservation men are empowering themselves, because practically they are working on the women reserved seat. The nomination is filled by the name of women candidate and the real power is using by the male family member. Female cannot do political work herself if she wishes to do. It is the compulsion of female member. Because they face various problems. Various steps are taken by government to improve the condition of women. But these problems cannot be removed at once. The system which has been set up over centuries, cannot be terminate within a short interval of time. To accelerate this process, it is very important to apply some more strategies which encourage the self-confidence of women and remove obstacles in the way of women's empowerment.

Various problems faced by women to keep them out from the politics. Women are controlled by their husband and other male family member. They are unable to handle the power of sarpanch. Men still dominate in Rewari district of Haryana in panchayati raj even after the reservation of women.

The only signs of change can be seen, which is the name of female candidate in the official documents and the increasing percent of women in these bodies only in papers. Female presence in the political institutions is fundamental in a functioning democracy and the 73rd amendment has carried large numbers of women into the political field. The effect is quantitative as well as qualitative. In some states elected women up to a greater extent really fight against alcoholism, corruption, gender partialities in comparison of the village where there's a male sarpanch because women can better understand the problem of other women and try to involve more women into political field.

It has been observed that in Rewari district most of the women candidate does not go for the meetings of panchayat. Most of the respondent accept that they go for meeting only when it is compulsory for them and when S.D.M comes. They said that it is wasting of time. If they go there then who will work at home. One respondent said that women have less knowledge about the panchayati raj they are just limited to household works. Men know about the problems of villagers. Only they can solve the problems. It is good for the society because women have little or say no knowledge about the society.

When it comes about the training then one respondent said that "I want to go for training program but my husband does not permit me to go outside the home. My husband says that I am doing all the work of panchayat then what will you do there. He said this is none of your business, stay at home and do your work. She also accepts that when my husband goes to attend the training program then at training centre trainer refused him to give training by saying that you are not sarpanch. And this training program have been organized for the sarpanch only".

The Indian Constitution guarantees equality for both men and women but women haven't historically entered politics although they have had the right to do so. Prior to the 73rd amendment participation of women was very negligible. by the 73rd amendment Seats have been reserved for them. This is only Reservation which made it possible for women to gain knowledge about the political process and to participate in the politics at local level.

There are many areas that need to be addressed before the goal of gender equality can be grasped in the rural areas affected by the 73rd Amendment. The 73rd Amendment has led to a change in the mindset of the women. Now women are thinking about their participation in the politics at local level of governance. It cannot be denied that women have attained a certain degree of power and confidence and this is only the result of reservation. It appears that the reservation is an important instrument for women's political empowerment. Husbands of women representatives play the role of women representatives. Women should be very conscious about their responsibilities and duties which has been provided by the constitution. If women representatives get all the facilities they will definitely will make the 73rd amendment successful.

73rd amendment proved to be very useful because 33 percent seats have been reserved for women by this amendment. It has helped women to raise their voice and status. Because of the 73rd amendment women are more visible in the politics at local level. Women have occupied this status in politics first time by the 73rd amendment. But still they are now facing many problems in the way of their participation. They are not allowed to go outside the home because of existing political culture, patriarchal society, growing violence against character assassination. Due to these problems women does not participate in the politics. Most of the women who are sarpanch only by name, their real functions and powers are used by the male member of the family. It was observed during the study that most of the women respondents were not willing to contest the election at the local level. But they do it only on the request of their husband, father in law and brother in law. They accept that they have no prior experience about this field. In general election of 2015 Haryana government has start educational criteria for the candidate to contest election. Haryana's patriarchal society has suddenly remembered the need of women and their education after the Haryana government introduced this year Haryana Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Ordinance to allow only literate candidates to contest panchayat elections.

Women's entry into PRIs as a result of 73rd amendment which has provide reservation to women. But this reservation is not proving much helpful because most of the women who have been elected do not have the actual power of decision-making. It has been cleared from the present study that Most of the women respondent file their candidature for

elections in panchayati raj not by their own will, but due to the pressure of husbands, brother in law, father in law, son or other male member of the family.

Due to the 73rd amendment a large number of women have come forward to join politics. The percentage of women have dramatically increased as a result of this constitutional amendment. A change can be seen in percentage which has been increased from 4-5 percent before PRIs and 26 to 50 percent in some states after PRIs. But after 73rd constitutional only percentage of women at grass root level has increased but their actual participation is still very low. They have just got status but not power by this amendment. There are only few states where women are working actually but it is not in all the states.

SUGGESTIONS

1. More and more education should be given to women so that they can aware about their rights provided by the constitution. And can know about their status which has been provided to them by the constitution. They are equal to men but society and negative attitude of men have made the on secondary position.
2. Government should make such organization which helps women in their empowerment. And the work of these organization should not be limited only to papers only. Original efforts should be made by the governments to improve the condition of women. Because their condition is still not improved for 70 years of independence.
3. There should be more reservation so that more women can come forward to participate in politics. This reservation is not enough because women constitute half of the total population and this reservation is only 33 percent, and only at the level of grass root. Reservation should be at all the levels of governance.
4. The Government should provide security to women from criminals. Because women are not able to go outside their home just because of the fear from criminals.

5. Women should be encouraged to join politics by other women who are presently in politics by setting various examples so that they also can think about their empowerment. Only change can be there in our country if women will fully participate in the country. And when one women will support other women.
6. Negative attitude of men towards women should be eliminated by organising different awareness campaigns. These campaigns should be organised at regular time interval for the better result.
7. Mostly all the women depend on the male member of their family in matter of finance and many other things, and due to this dependency, they are deprived from many things. That's why women should have equal access to various basic rights such as education, wealth, property like men.
8. There are many self-help group have been settled in many states like Karnataka, Odisha by women and they are working very efficiently for the empowerment of women such SHG should be organised at Rewari district also. So, that the condition of women may get improved somewhat. Because most of representatives neither go to attend meetings nor they do the other functioning of gram panchayat. All the functioning of gram panchayat done by the male members of the representatives. They are working as proxies to men. For to eliminate this proxy problem government officers should be strict and give order that only women candidate would be present for the meeting and survey program should be organised to see that whether women representatives are working actually or not. If it is not found than there should be strict punishment for them. Most of respondents said that we have no knowledge about the panchayat, for this training program should be organised regularly to trained them.
9. Patriarchal structure of the society is mainly responsible for the worst condition of women. Women themselves come forward to improve their condition otherwise nothing will change. There should be such thinking in the mindset of both men and women that they both all are equal. And women should also have right to live with full freedom. Due to patriarchal structure they are unable to do anything what they want to do.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

प्रश्नावली

Subject: Women representation in PRIs: a case study of Rewari district in Haryana (2015-2016).

Central university of Haryana, Political science Department

Note: collected data will be confidential, and use only for the purpose of research study.

1	Name of the panchayat: पंचायत का नाम	
2	Seat सीट	1 Unreserved 2. OBC 3. SC 4. ST 1.अन-आरक्षित 2 .अ.पि.व 3. अ.जा 4. अ.ज.जा
3	Name: नाम	
4	Age : आयु	
5	Educational qualification: शैक्षणिक योग्यता:	1. Illiterate 2 up to 8 th 3. up to 10 th 4. up to 12 th 5 graduation 6. post-graduation 7. More 1 अनपढ 2 8वी 3 10वी 4 12वी 5 स्नातक 6 स्नातकोत्तर 7 ज़्यादा
6	Annual income	1 less than 1 lack 2 one lack to 4 lack

	वाषिक आय	3 four lack to 10 lack 4 more than 10 lack 1 100000से कम 2 1से 4 लाखतक 3 4 से 10 लाख तक 4 10 लाख से ज्यादा
7	Marital status वैवाहिक स्थिति	1 married 2 unmarried 3 Divorcee 4 widow 1.विवाहित 2 अविवाहित 3 तलाकशुदा 4 विधवा
8	Nature of family परिवार का स्वरूप	1. joint 2. nuclear 1. संयुक्त 2. एकल
9	Size of the family: परिवार का आकार	1 (2-3) 2 (4-6) 3 (6-10) 4 (more than 10) 1. (2-3) 2. (4-6) 3. (6-10) 4.(10 सेज्यादा)
10	father/husband's name: पिता/पति का नाम	
11	Father/husband's educational Qualification पिता/पति की शैक्षणिक योग्यता	1. illiterate 2. 8 th 3. 10 th 4. 12 th 5. graduation 6. post-graduation 7. More 1. अनपढ 2. 8वीं 3.10वीं 4.12वीं 5.स्नातक 6. परा-स्नातक 7.ज्यादा

12	<p>Occupation</p> <p>व्यवसाय</p>	<p>1. unemployed 2. govt. job 3. Private job</p> <p>1.बेरोजगार 2.सरकारी नौकरी 3.गैर-सरकारी नौकरी</p>
13	<p>What is your main purpose to join the politics?</p> <p>राजनीति में शामिल होने का आपका मुख्यउद्देश्य क्या है?</p>	
14	<p>From how many years you are in political field?</p> <p>आप कितने साल से राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में है?</p>	<p>1(0-5 years 2.(6-11years) 3 (11-15 years) 4(more than 15 years)</p> <p>1 (0-5साल) 2.(6-11साल) 3.(11-15 साल) 4. (15 साल से अधिक)</p>
15	<p>What led to you to Join politics?</p> <p>क्या इस क्षेत्र के लिए किसी ने आपका नेतृत्व किया है?</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 No 3 can't say 4 Little bit</p> <p>1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते 4 थोड़ा सा</p>
16	<p>Do your husband belongs to political field ?</p> <p>क्या आपके पति राजनीतिक क्षेत्र के साथ संबंधित है?</p>	<p>1 Yes 2. No 3 can't say</p> <p>1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
17	<p>Does any other member of your Family belongs to political field (in laws) ?</p> <p>क्या आप के परिवार के किसी अन्य सदस्य का राजनीतिक क्षेत्र से संबंध है (ससुराल) ?</p>	<p>1. Yes 2. No 3. can't say</p> <p>1. हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
17	if yes then who?	

a	यदि हाँ तो, कौन	
18	<p>Des anybody in your parent's home(Maternal) belongs to political field?</p> <p>क्या आप के माता पिता के घर (मातृ) में कोई भी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र से संबंधित है</p>	<p>1 yes 2 No 3 can't say 1. हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
18a	<p>If yes then who?</p> <p>यदि हाँ तो, कौन</p>	
19	<p>Do you participate in the functioning of gram panchayat?</p> <p>क्या आप ग्राम पंचायत के काम काज में भाग लेती हैं</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
20	<p>Do any other member of your family Participate in the functioning of gram Panchayat?</p> <p>क्या आपके परिवार के कोई अन्य सदस्य ग्राम पंचायत के काम काज में भाग लेते हैं।</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
21	<p>Do you participates in any training Program of panchayat?</p> <p>क्या आप पंचायत के किसी भी प्रशिक्षण कार्यक्रम में भाग लेती है</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
22	<p>Do you take your field related decision by asking your husband or other member of your family?</p> <p>क्या आप अपने पतिया अपने परिवार के अन्य सदस्य से पूछकर अपने क्षेत्र से संबंधित निर्णय लेती हैं</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
23	<p>Do you face any type of discrimination at work place?</p> <p>क्या आप को कभी कार्य स्थल पर भेदभाव का शिकार होना पडा है</p>	<p>1 yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>

24	<p>What is the behaviour of your male colleague towards you ? आपके पुरुष सहक रमीका आपके प्रति कैसा व्यवहार है?</p>	<p>1 Hostile 2 competitor 3 cooperative 1 शत्रुतापूर्ण 2 प्रतियोगी 3 सहयोगी</p>
25	<p>Do your family members helps you? क्या आप के अपने परिवार के सदस्य आपकी मदद करते है</p>	<p>1 yes 2 No 3 can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
26	<p>Do you feel difficult to make Coordination between your household Works and political works? क्या आपको अपने घर के काम और राजनीतिक काम के बीच समन्वय बनाने के लिए मुश्किल लगी है।</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 no 3 Can't say 4 Seldom 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते 4 कभी-कभी</p>
26 a	<p>Do you gives preference to your household duties in this situation? क्या आप इस स्थिति में अपने घर के कर्तव्यों को प्राथमिकता देती है</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 no 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
26 b	<p>Do you give preferences to your Political work in this situation? क्या आप इस स्थिति में अपने राजनीतिक कार्य को वरीयता देते हैं</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 no 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
26 c	<p>Do your family helps you in this situation? क्या आपका परिवार आपकी इस स्थिति में मदद करता है</p>	<p>1 Yes 2 no 3 Can't say 1 हा 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते</p>
27	<p>Who takes decisions in your home? आपके घर में कौन निर्णय लेता है?</p>	<p>1 Yourself 2 Husband 3 Father in law 4 Mother in law 5 Brother in law 1 स्वयं 2 पति 3 ससुर</p>

		4 सास 5 पति का भाई
28	Does your education level create obstacles in your work? क्या आपका शिक्षा का स्तर आप के काम में बाधाएं पैदा करता है	1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते
29	Do you think that more and more women should participate in politics? क्या आपको लगता है कि अधिक से अधिक महिलाओं को राजनीति में भाग लेना चाहिए?	1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते
30	Do you want to contest election again? क्या आप चुनाव मे फिर से प्रतियोगिता करना चाहते हैं	1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते
31	Do you know about the functioning of gram panchayats? क्या आप ग्राम पंचायतों के कारवाइयो के बारे में जानती हैं?	1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 4 Little bit 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कहनहीसकते 4 थोडा सा
32	Do another member hears you when you go in meetings of panchayat? जब आप पंचायत की बैठ कों में जाती है तो क्या अन्य सदस्य आपकी बात सुनते है?	1 Yes 2 No 3 Can't say 1 हां 2 नहीं 3 कह नहीं सकते