

**POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF WOMEN- A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF MUSLIM AND NON MUSLIM WOMEN
(A CASE STUDY OF PUNE CITY)**

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**In Political Science
Under the Board of Moral and Social Sciences**

By

Shaikh Wahida

**Under the Guidance of
Dr. Nitin Birmal**

May 2014

DECLARATION

I, Shaikh Wahida Abdul Razzak, hereby declare that the references and literature that are used in my dissertation entitled, “*POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF WOMEN- A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MUSLIM AND NON MUSLIM WOMEN (A CASE STUDY OF PUNE CITY)*” are from original sources and are acknowledged at appropriate places in the dissertation.

Further, I declare that this dissertation is a bonafide record of research work carried out by me and that no part of the dissertation has been presented earlier for any degree or diploma.

Date: May 2014
Place: Pune

Shaikh Wahida

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Shaikh Wahida, a research scholar in Political Science from Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune has duly completed her research work under my supervision and guidance. Shaikh Wahida is submitting her thesis titled ***“POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF WOMEN- A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MUSLIM AND NON MUSLIM WOMEN (A CASE STUDY OF PUNE CITY)”***. I have approved her thesis and permitted her to submit to the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune for Ph. D. degree in Political Science. It is further certified that neither this dissertation nor any part thereof has been submitted to this university or any other university in the country or abroad for the award of Ph. D. degree or any other degree. This thesis is compiled with all relevant conditions specified in the regulations of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi and Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

Date: May 2014
Place: Pune

Dr. Nitin Birmal
Guide

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CHAPTER I

CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A narrow definition of politics is termed as the electoral participation in a democracy. The various duties performed by an individual such as a voter or as an elected position holder are called political participation. This participation of an individual is very important for decision making in the public sphere which in turn is denoted as power. Politics is a game of power and power is the decision factor in molding relation in society. While the value and impact of women's position in voting and pattern of their exercise of this power cannot be underestimated women's participation and impact and role in their political activities are equally important. The activities of political participation are ongoing activities which take place during the policies, manufactures campaign issues, campaign methods and techniques and above all the choice of candidates by the parties in electoral tray. The women's role and participation in elections as voters and candidates or as ministers and decision makers is also affected by many other factors as well such as in private realm of family and marriage women have to keep silence they have to face many unrecognized battles for survival and development. There are deliberative gender discrimination such discriminations and struggles become an unavoidable factors in schooling employment and political contests etc. While some women are capable of resisting them, many other merely accept them. These are many who exercise independent judgment while perhaps many others succumb to situations.

It is therefore necessary to study the electoral participation of women as well as their participation in the peasant autonomous women's movements women's wings /units within political parties and interest groups etc. There are few outbursts as well as informal struggles of unorganized women etc. which one need to understand to really gauge women's political participation and awareness.

The present Indian socio economic conditions are not positive for successful involvement of women in political affairs. Women are politically less active and less dynamic. Political equality is not possible unless there is social equality. A better social economic and political condition of women is indispensable for political

involvement. Those who have powers, martial knowledge and resources are in a position to involve in the decision making process

In India and some developing countries which have recently become independent women are enjoying a high and significant position. This could be possible because these women have participated in such struggles which had broken many socio cultural obstacles and inhibitions.

The 73rd constitutional amendment Act of 1992-93 have opened a new horizon for women to alter their right to be heard in the decision making process. Reservation has led to the recognition of the identity of women and their presence in the public life

In India a minority of women are generally politically aware of and capable of exercising the power of decision making. The reason for this awareness is confined to educated working and middle class women and that the uneducated rural and non elite women do not participate in politics not even in voting. If this is true of voting exercise of every citizen it is truer of these women emerging as active political figures and even more of those who are successful politicians.

Are these assumptions true anymore? What is the extent of women's participation in politics either as politicians or as voters? What is the nature of their participation and at what level? What are the factors that have helped them emerge as political figures and what type of discrimination and disadvantages did they have to face? How many women overcame these obstacles and how many were frustrated by them? An answer to these and other nagging questions on women's participation needs to be sought.

Very less research is been done on women politics in our country. It is as neglected as the women are in the Indian society. However the more important reason for less women studies is the lack of due weight accorded to the women in society. In today's Indian context women studies are very few in number and women politics as a field of research is its inception condition. The current study is an attempt to fill up this vacuum and throws light on the political behavior of women.

The low standard of women in society have caused occurrence of rape, molestation, dowry hilling female infanticide and domestic violence against women. Women's active role and involvement in decision making process will lead to the

progress of standards of public life . These defects can be eradicated by empowering women. Awareness campaign should be created in support of women empowerment. The important responsibility to create awareness about the political empowerment of women is of Mass Media, Non-Governmental Organization, Political Parties, Self help groups and Mahila Mandals. There are several struggles in 21st century for the cause of gender justice by internationalizing struggles for equality by women and other oppressed people. The question of political participation of women in India in a dynamic manner deserves attention.

1.2 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation is both an activity and an attitude. Every political system has political participation as its important ingredient. These are various activities which are enlisted as political participation in all political systems. Political participation does not only mean use of right to franchise by maximum number of people. Political participation and involvement of the people in matters of state guarantees stability of political system and this stability of political system reinforces the legitimacy of political authority.

The political participation and active involvement of the people influences the decision making activity of the government. The citizen in democratic government are rational independent and interested political persons who can express their opinions independently regarding the persons aspiring for holding offices.

The basic way of participation in democracy is voting. The other ways or levels of political participation are as reading or listening or watching the mass media of communication, participating in political discussions, listening to political speeches, attending party meeting giving contribution to political parties, writing petitions or letters to public officials or news paper editors trying to influence the voters, contesting the elections for office etc.

1.2.1 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Behaviouralist have discussed the concept of political participation in political science. The arguments in favor of greater political participation are been extended by the republicans and democratic theorists from Rousseau onwards and are still in use by contemporary political theorists.

The classical view tried to show a distinction between state and individuals on the one hand and public and private on the other. Individuals favorable orientation to the state or government considers participation as an attitude. Due to this view any American can give participant political culture. Political culture became prominent in political science only from 1950's. According to Gabriel Almond 'political culture is the particular patterns of orientations to political objects in which a political system is embedded. Orientations are determined by factors such as traditions, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions, and symbols. Orientations are predispositions to political actions. Almond and Verba later on developed types of political culture in which they tried to break down the orientations into cognitive orientations (knowledge and awareness of the political effects), effective orientations (emotions and feelings about the objects), and evaluative orientations (judgment about them). According to Almond and Verba the ideal and best political culture is the participant political culture where people are more oriented to input processes and active in policy making. According to Almond and Verba the British, American and Scandinavian political systems best represent this ideal.

Birch writes political participation is the participation in the process of government. Communications have a question to the liberal concept of participation. They say that liberals have an individualistic view and they consider government as their locus. According to the communitarians running a community health club by a religious group or participating in a N.G.O. sponsored campaign for literacy can be seen broadly as participation in the political life of the community or civil society with different agents and levels of participation. Following the same logic political participation may be for serving political obligation of a democratic citizen to lead a participatory social life and just not for the civil obligations to the government on the question of law and order.

1.2.2 DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The term political participation has got several meanings. Political participation may be defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics. This is a broader definition of the term political participation because this term encompasses a wide range of activities viz from active roles of the people in order to influence political outcomes to ceremonial and support activities.

According to Almond and Powell “Political Participation is the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system.”

Verba and Pye defined Political Participation as “Those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take.”

According to Mc Closly “Political Participation implies those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formulation of public policy.”

The maximum political participation of the citizens decides the success ratio of democracy. In India Panchayati Raj is been introduced to make sure about the political participation of the citizens. This experiment of Panchayati Raj proves to be a training ground for citizens. It increases people's political consciousness, awareness of their rights and direct participation in self rule. The political system becomes legitimate due to the citizen's active participation in political affairs. As women comprise about half of the population it is pivotal and essential that a proper and equal attention should be paid to this section of the society as well. Men and women should be the equal partners in the nation building and political development. If womenfolk are not given equal rights and equal opportunities than it will be a failure of democratic political set up.

Democracy have a high potential if at least a minimum of people's participation in the decision making process is there. Norman D Palmer defines ‘Political Participations as the involvement of the citizens in such political activities which directly or indirectly influence the behavior and actions of decision makers. Political culture of a society and political participation of individuals are directly

related to each other. Political Participation enables a citizen to show his disagreement and to criticize.

However if political participation is to have any concrete meaning, particularly in a democratic setup people should directly or indirectly take part in the decision making process which effect their day to day life.

1.2.3 LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (Lesser Milbrath)

Lesser Milbrath has given three levels of political participation. They are gladiatorial activities, transitional activities ad spectator activities. They are explained as follows.

1) Spectator Activities:

Voting, influencing other's vote, getting influenced by political stimuli, participating in political debates, wearing badges of political parties and distributing leaflets etc is called the spectator activities in which the number of people participating is very high whereas the degree of participation is very low.

2) Transitional Activities:

The activities such as hearing the lectures of the leaders ,donating to the fund of the party and maintaining contact with the leaders of the party are included as transitional activities. These activities are of the helpers and well wishers of the political parties.

3) Gladiatorial Activities:

This category includes activities such as electrons to political post, participation in the election to legislature, gathering fund for the party movements to increase membership and organization of meetings everywhere to form public opinion in its favor etc. The degree of political involvement of citizen in these activities is very high but the number of people involved seems to be low as compare to spectator activities.

The categories discussed by Milbrath indicate the various levels of political participation. According to Milbrath in American population sixty percent of the people are engaged in spectator activities ,seven to nine percent people participate in transitional type of activities and one to three percent in

the gladiatorial activities. One person can participate in two or more than two categories of activities. The nature of political participation is explained by Lesser Milbrath with the help of this analysis. He said that 1/3rd people of American populations have no interest in political activities.

1.2.4 WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Till twentieth century women were not given right to vote therefore historically they have been outsiders in politics. As outsiders women were busy to promote cause of family and community welfare rather than to build careers. To have admission to formal electoral politics women have to struggle a lot. In the nineteenth and twentieth century middle class women tried to seek legislative remedies for social problems through their voluntary associations which tried to voice opinions on public policy.

In last two decades there has been a debate on the role of women in leadership situations. The United Nations Conferences on women have insisted upon the urgent need to increase the number of women in decision making positions. Within the Asia and Pacific region the leadership of women at central government was given much weightage. Whereas women are an important and integral part of their communities and they take a very active role in village life, towns and cities local government is much very much the first step into a political decision making arena. Women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making ,the goals of equality development and peace cannot be adhered.

Women's are economically dependent on men. The reason for this dependence is women have unequal access in getting resources, education and training to develop their skills and also in employment. Due to these factors there is low participation of women in politics and women's less participation in politics make them unable to keep control over the community's resources and also to associate themselves. In Bangladesh women are not habituated to activities such as picketing, violence to convince, motivate and convince and influence public authorities.

Democracy gives equality for all human beings , men and women. But against to this equality women are excluded from different walks of life, more visibly in politics. True democratic spirit will be attained only with ensured better political participation. “ In the Struggle for Gender Justices”, Usha Narayana argues political participation constitutes the first and for most step in that direction.

One of the aims of 73rd constitutional Amendment is to give training and practice to women in the process of decision making at the grass root levels i.e. at the local government level. By this amendment seats and seats of chairpersons are provided to women in all grass root level democratic institutions. This is a historic step of far reaching implications and significant repercussions on the political process in rural India.

In 1979 the U.N Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against women which is considered as the Human Rights Bill of women (CEDAW) came into being. This treaty upholds the following rights of women.

1. Their right to vote in all general elections and referendums and to be elected to general assemblies.
2. Their right to participate in the formulation and
3. Their right to participate in nongovernmental and socio political organizations

1.2.5 Women and Politics in India

There are various paradoxes found in the Indian society. For years together we have seen that those foreigners come in hordes to our country in search of spiritual peace whereas Indians rank among the most corrupt people in the world. At one hand India is spending billions to send satellites to space to prove its scientific prowess but on the other hand the state cannot provide almost half the population with the basic necessities of food education, health and shelter.

The same dichotomy exists in the case of women too .On one hand the scriptures consider women on a high pedestal. An old Sanskrit proverb says where the women's are held in reverence there we can find the God. It is traditionally believed in India that a society grows if the women grow. The Indian mythology regards God as half man, half woman ardh narishwara, on the other hand the UNICEF'S recent

international report mentions that more than 5000 dowry deaths occurs every year in India. The estimates drawn prove that women do two thirds of the world's work. In exchange they receive only 10% of all the income and own a more one percent of the entire world's means of production. It is very difficult to analyze women's social status and the real level of political participation in isolation on the contrary it is interlinked with the socio economic conditions, political climate and inequalities inherent in the traditional and social structure, its norms and values customs and rituals. All together these factors determine the actual social status of women. Women are stopped from active participations in development process due to fundamentalism of tradition and religious beliefs.

1.3 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

Political Attitude means the beliefs and values which underpin the operation of a particular political system. These attitudes were seen as including knowledge and skills about the operation of the political system positive and negative judgments about the system. These attitudes determine how people participate, whom they vote for and which political parties they support. The factors which make attitudes are family, gender, religion, race , ethnicity and region.

Family

Family is generally the first and most enduring factor which influence on young people's developing political opinions. Though there are generation gaps it is very much obvious that children tend to grow up and vote the way their parents do. If a family is more politically active the child is more likely to hold the same beliefs and attitudes. As children grow older other influences crisscross the family and naturally their attitudes tend to diverge from those of their parents.

Religion

Religious beliefs often affect the way people vote. Religion is the faith of the people in values and beliefs. The experiences of 1940s generally show that the Jewish voters are more likely to support democrats than are Catholics or Protestants. The recent experiences have shown that the religious right has supported more conservative candidates for public office in more favour of the Republican party than to the Democratic Party.

Race and Ethnicity

The experiences have proved that for the past half century African Americans are affiliated to Democratic Party than any other identifiable group. Some experts believe that this loyalty is weakening but recent elections have confirmed the strong tendency for black Americans to vote Democratic. It is very evident from some studies that Asian Americans tend to vote conservative, but there is still a lack of concrete evidence to prove this.

Region

The region where a person resides also affect a lot to which party he is voting for. The 1996 presidential elections have provided a statistical breakdown of the 1996 presidential elections. Democrat Bill Clinton won states in red, while states in blue were won by Republican Bob Dole. The solid tendency of to vote for Democrats have began to erode during 1950's. This is the reason that both Republicans and Democrats are competitive across the south today. However the recent presidential election indicate a general support for Republicans in the south.

1.3.1 MEANING OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

The study of political behavior have political attitudes as its central element. Research in political science has since that date been focused on empirical research on political behavior and institutions. When we have to explain voting behavior, political attitudes have an intervening function since they are a predictor for vote choice. Lane (1959) emphasizes the importance of political attitudes in a larger segment of attitudes and beliefs. He connects political attitudes of respondents directly to other psychological factors. If we determine whether respondents remain stable on their attitudes about politics, we might be able to say something about the influence of political attitudes over time in the general study of political behavior research that political attitudes to remain the same.

1.3.2 DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

- 1) Azen (1988) defines attitude as “a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person ,institution or event.”
- 2) Kiesler Collins and Miller said that “Opinions should be defined as an overt expressions of a covert attitude”

- 3) Eagly and Chaiken define attitudes as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, pp.1). This definition evidently speaks of attitudes and stresses the point of expression and evaluation. This definition is most suitable considering the concept of an attitude in this study.

1.3.3 PROCESS OF FORMULATION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

To ensure the smooth functioning of the society and system and to maintain peace and harmony within the society every society devises its ways. To have the effective governing of its people, every society develops few mechanisms or agencies such as the state, the government, the political parties and election or selection of representatives. The political attitude formation throws light upon how people cultivate their political beliefs and how they pass on their values to others from one generation to the next. Political attitudes formulation process is an essential element of a political system. Political attitude formulation and political attitude go hand in hand.

Political attitude formulation is a learning process by which an individual acquires orientations, beliefs, values and norms and behavior patterns in political system. Political attitude formulations determine the pattern of socio-political behavior. Political attitude formulation is a psychological concept as it is concerned with the society in general and with individual in particular.

1.3.4 DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION

1) Attitude Formulation in Childhood

The growth of the society is a social process like the growth of the child. A child develops his attitude towards the authority and obedience as per the obedience pattern at family. According to Easton and Dennis there are four stages in the process of political attitude formulation.

- i) A child recognizes authority through particular individual such as parents, policemen and the president of the country.
- ii) There should be a differences made between private and public authority.

iii) The understanding about impersonal political institutions such as national legislature, judiciary and voting behavior is developed.

iv) Distinction between political institution and person engaged in the activities associated with those institutions so that idealized images of particular persons such as the president or the congress.

2) Adulthood as the next Stage of Attitude Formulation

In this stage the attitude formulation takes places due to peer groups. The way the peer groups behave that way only patterns of obedience and disobedience are decided.

3) Attitude Formulation in Various Directions

The process of attitude formulation have its influence in various directions. Keeping in mind the example of U.S.A. Almond and Verba pointed out that since democracy is practiced in the country the people demand democracy everywhere such as in school, shops and churches . Since this demand is fulfilled children, workers and others develop articulation about debate and decision making. These experiences make them perfect to participate efficiently in political life and to accept changes in political life.

1.3.5 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION

1) Maintaining Political Culture

Maintaining of political culture is an important function of political attitude formulation in stable conditions. This function is performed by having communication between political culture from an generation to another generation. But in today's conditions the political socialization does not always act for maintaining political culture.

2) Modification of Political Culture

Modification of political culture is an important function of political attitude formulation.

3) Creating Political Culture

Creating political culture is performed by means of process of political attitude formulation. Every society needs to create new political culture with the establishment of new political system.

4) Foundation of Present Pattern of Political System

There is no scope for difference of opinions opposition into totalitarian state whereas if we see there are in number of opportunities for difference of opinions and opposition in open societies.

5) Continuity and Change

There is continuity and change in attitude formulation and this is an important factor of the process of attitude formulation.

1.3.6 Agencies of Political Attitude Formulation.

A variety of institutions and agents are involved in political attitude formulation. The important agencies of attitude formulation are categorized as follows:

- 1) Family and peer groups which are the interpersonal agencies.
- 2) Schools , religious institutions and workplaces- Organizational Agents.
- 3) Mass Media, Newspaper, TV and radio.
- 4) The legislature, executive courts and the bureaucracy which are specialized political input structures.

1) Interpersonal Agents

Family and peer groups are two important interpersonal agents of attitude formulation. The patterns of authority and obedience found in a family decide a child's pattern of obedience to authority.

The collective decisions made by the family are important to develop a sense of reward and punishment in a child. When a child in a family participates in decision making, it develops a sense of competence in him and enhances his skill for political interaction.

Another important agency which shapes a child's political attitude plays groups friendship cliques and small work groups. Individual are likely to adopt or accept their friend's views either because they respect them or want to be like them. To get accepted by a group the individual tries to modify their interests to that of others. When the influence of parents is reduced the influence of peer group becomes more dominant. The peer groups supplement the socialization function of the family and prepare an individual for more specific political roles. The interaction which takes place in peer groups socialize a person in to new ways of thinking feeling and behaving.

2) Organizational Agents

Schools religious institutions, educational institutions and work places are organizational agents of political attitude formulation. The knowledge of the political world as well as political process of a nation is provided to an individual by educational institutions. Schools impart values and attitude of the society. The affection for political system is created by the school. Schools provide a common symbols for an expressive response to the system such as flag and pledge of allegiance. A sense of loyalty is also created by school. College and university education tries to develop more rational and radical political ideas in an individual. Thus schools usually confirm the attitudes and strengthen the belief system of the children.

The moral values which have political implications which have political implications are taught by religion. Many religious leaders attempt to socialize children through their religions preachings and services. The religious institutions are present in all political system but their influence varies from one country to another. For example the Islamic fundamentalism has a great impact on Islamic political system world whereas though the church teachers values, it is not in position to control the political system.

Attitude formulation is also affected by the nature of job, employment and workplace. The socialization is shaped at workplace through unions and professional associations. The worker participates in collective bargaining at workplace and this proves to be an important socializing factor. Many of the occupational and professional associations have the power to affect political

attitudes in modern societies. Through strikes and other pressurizing methods the workers learn that they can shape their future.

Mass media includes radio, television, magazines and news papers etc. The responsibilities of mass media are to collect information from different source, systematize them and transmit them to masses. The information which is collected by the government, the officials, political leaders and mass media give these own interpretation and provide information to the people. Thus mass media acts not only as an agent of political attitude formation but also as an instrument used by various agents of political attitude formation.

3) Specialized Political Input Structure

Political parties are the main agents of the mobilization of the masses. A key role is played by the political parties in the entire political attitude formation process. They try to arouse the interest of people in political system and political issues. Elections keep people involved with political process and indicate their active participation in politics. Political parties try to influence the opinions of the people through wall posters, electoral campaigns, propaganda and canvassing.

The participation of an individual in the affairs of interest groups gives members opportunities to build an orientation toward the political activities. Thus an unintentional latent attitude formulation is done by interest group.

A labor union is established for the material benefits of the members of the union. It also imparts political education to its members. Though trade unions are non-political in nature they mobilize people along with other activities.

4) Specialized Political output structures

There are some output structures which are responsible for attitude formulation. They are such as legislature, executive, bureaucracy and courts. The personal experience and knowledge of individuals of what government stands for is likely either reinforced or weaken their ideas and attitudes. If government proves to be a failure than member of one political party or ideology may shift to another political ideology. Thus, politically conscious people either have old parties or join other parties that suit their interests or

end up establishing a new party altogether. Sometimes war, economic depression and prosperity have an impact on the entire process of political attitude formulation.

1.3.7 AGENCIES OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION:-

Political attitude formulation is ongoing process and it is accomplished through a variety of institutions and agents. Individuals pass through several stages before they completely get socialized. Various agents of political attitude formulation can be classified into five groups.

1. Interpersonal agencies-family and peer groups.
2. Organizations-schools, religious institutions and workplaces.
3. Mass media-newspaper, TV and radio.
4. Specialized political input structures-the legislature, the executive, courts and the bureaucracy.

The following are the explanations of each of the agents.

1. INTERPERSONAL AGENCIES

Family

The first and the most powerful agent of political attitude formulations is the family. Which directly or indirectly influences the process of political attitude formulation? It is the family that has a distinctive power to shape the attitude towards authority. A family makes collective decisions and for a child these decisions may be authoritative in nature and failure to comply with the decision may result in punishment. On the other hand, an early experience with participation in family decision making process will increase the child's sense of political competence as well as provide it with skill for political inter-action and make it more likely to participate in politics as an adult. Similarly the child's pattern of obedience to decision can help to affect its future performance as a political subject. The family also shapes the political attitude by placing the individual in a vast social world, establishing ethics, linguistic and religious ties and social classes: pronouncing culture and educational standards: and directing occupational and economic aspirations. It is also observed that political activism in women affects the family's functions as a

socializing agent. Education, to a great extent, reduces the apathy of the people towards politics, thereby making them observe the action carefully.

Peer groups

Though the family is undoubtedly the most powerful agent of social formulation, another important unit that shapes political attitude is peer groups, including childhood play groups, friendship cliques, and small work groups, wherein the members share views and have close ties. Individuals are likely to adopt or accept their friend's views either because they respect them or want to be like them. A peer group socializes its members either by motivating them or by pressurizing them to accept their values or behavior of the group in general. A person might get interested in politics may be because their close friends do so. High school goers may prefer to join a college because the friends with whom they identify themselves have chosen to attend that college. In such cases, an individual tries to modify their interests to that of others so as to be able to acquire acceptance from the group. The influence of peer groups becomes dominant when young people tend to become more independent of the influence of their parents. The peer groups supplement the socialization function of the family and prepare an individual for more specific political roles. They, thus, instruct a person how to play their role and socialize them into new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL AGENTS

School and educational institutions

Educational persons are likely to be more active and have an impact on the government. They are more aware of the political situation and pay more attention to it as governments have an influence over the lives of the people. Educational institutions provide individuals the knowledge of the political world and the role they are expected to play in political process of the nation. Schools transmit the values and attitude of the society. They play a crucial role in shaping their attitude about the unwritten rules of the game of politics. Schools reinforce the affection for the political system and provide common symbols for an expressive response to the system such as flag and pledge of allegiance. These symbols develop a sense of feeling of loyalty to their country. Schools are also responsible for indirect socialization of young

minds. College and university education may also bring in new values and help in the formation of radical political attitude. Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, in their work *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, explaining the educational system in South Africa and the influence of the same over the individual, comment that the main goal of the education system in South Africa has been the development and perpetuation of difference between the races. The apartheid culture is supported by inculcating attitude of separateness and by providing different skill and knowledge. For instance, there was no mixing of white and black children. White children learn from their parents and siblings that blacks are inferior. Thus, schools usually confirm the attitudes and strengthen the belief system of the children.

Religious institutions

Religions of the world have a tremendous impact on the minds of the people. They have the power to influence moral values which inevitably have political implications. Most of the religious leaders regard themselves as teachers and their followers usually attempt socialization of children schooling and socialization converts of all ages through preaching and religious services. The presence of religious institutions is felt in all political system; yet, the influence of the same varies from one country to another. The church, although it systematically teaches values, is not in position to control the political system. So, the emergence of religious fundamentalism also has a major impact on the Muslim world and, in recent times, has been a deciding factor in shaping the politics of Islam and others as well.

Workplace

Political socialization also depends upon job, the workplace and the nature of employment. Jobs, be it in formal organizations, provide for building unions, professional associations, and the like which act as effective means of political socialization. Individuals identify themselves with a group and become sensitive to the norms of the group and evaluate its actions according to their opinion of what is good for the group and what it stands for. One of the powerful socializing experiences for a worker or a laborer is participating in collective bargaining. By this, workers learn that they can shape their future by taking proper decisions and also gain knowledge about specific skill such as picketing, demonstrations, etc. Many of the occupational and professional associations have the power to affect political attitudes

in modern societies. These associations with a large no. of memberships always defend their member's economic and professional interests.

Mass Media

Communication act as a link between modern societies. Information about incidents or events in any part of world reaches everybody and becomes general knowledge in just a few hours. Much of the world today reacts in the same way to the same events and is also motivated by similar tastes. This is made possible only because of mass media that includes radio, television, magazines, newspapers and the like.

The effect of mass media is the same irrespective of the young or the old or whether one lives in rural and urban areas. However, the nature of mass media is not uniform in all societies. The composition of the society and the distribution of resources within the society exert an influence on the role played by the media.

However, one cannot assert the media is the only information as they collect the news from different sources and systematize them and transmit them to masses. The information first organizes at the government level, whereby the officials and political leaders and the mass media give their own interpretation and provide information to the people. Thus, mass media act not only as an agent of political attitude formation but also as an instrument used by various agents of political attitude formation. Mass media to a large extent is, however not a primary socializing agent. It only strengthens the already established orientations. It informs and interprets in order to maintain status quo.

3. SPECIALIZED POLITICAL INPUT STRUCTURES

Political parties

Political parties play a crucial role in entire process of political attitude formation. They try to mould the preference of the people, arouse those who are apathetic to politics, and try to find new issues as they mobilize the masses for support. Though parties differ in their ideologies and criticize the ruling government, they often support the basic structures and process of the entire political system. A continuous flow of political activities and elections after every few years keep the citizens always involved in the electoral process which increase their participation.

Sometimes the act political attitude formation taken up by the political parties has divisive tendencies also. They have the power to divide the people on the lines of class, language, religion, ethnicity and race and make citizens more aware of the differences. It is this devise ability that makes countries opts for a single party system than competitive system. In communist nations, and in many pre-industrial countries, government adopts a single party in order to inculcate common attitude of national unity, support to the government and an ideological agreement. A single party and a controlled media are potent. The media present a single opinion and the party activities reinforce the perspective by involving the citizens more actively and personally. In multiparty and especially democratic countries, each political party socializes the electorate in a way it likes, and makes them participate in political activities. Political parties have the power to influence the way one individual thinks of any matter directly or indirectly. Such influence is usually exercised through wall posters, electoral campaigns, propaganda and canvassing.

Interest groups

Interest groups neither have any political character nor do they impart any political education to the masses. It is a mere participation in their affair that gives members opportunities to build an orientation towards the political activities. Thus, it carries on an unintentional latent political attitude formulation.

Trade unions

Though non-political in character, trade unions have been established to carry out political education and mobilize people along with other activities. A labor union is always concerned with the material benefits of the members of the union and also aim at involving its members in political action give them political education.

4. SPECIALIZED POLITICAL OUTPUT STRUCTURES

Legislature

The process of political attitude formation is carried out through certain output structures like the legislature, executive, bureaucracy and courts. An individual experiences the functioning of the government through direct contact with personal and knowledge of what government stands for is likely either to reinforce their ideas

and attitude or to alter them quite substantially. If the government is successful in improving the conditions of the people, be it political or economic, it becomes a major step forward towards political attitude formation. Followers of one political ideology are likely to shift to another ideology if they feel that the government is a failure. Thus, politically conscious people either have old parties or join other parties that suit their interests or end up establishing a new party altogether.

Sometimes, certain events are likely to have an impact on the entire process of political attitude formulation. Such events refer to war, economic depression and prosperity. Fundamental culture style which is expressed in a consistent manner through many socializing agents has a great effect on society. An important example is the implicit message of modern technology and scientific culture. It has been observed that modern attitude of people working in factories can bring about an awareness of the possibilities of organization, change and control over nature. Furthermore, factory work, education, mass media, information about various political events, issues, leaders, openness to new experiences and readiness to accept social change have brought about a change in political attitude formulation.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS OF RESEARCH

- 1) The level of education has a direct effect on the political attitude formulation of women.
- 2) Age is also another factor affecting political attitude formulation of women
- 3) Economic class has a direct impact on political attitude formulation of women.
- 4) Ideological factor also has an effect on attitude formulation of women.
- 5) Historical background of reform movement of both Muslim and non Muslim women.

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The present study intends to examine the changing role and status of Muslim and non Muslim women in India. There is widely prevalent notion that women enjoy the lower status in every sphere of social life as compared to counter parts. Status of women all over the world has under gone change. However degree of change varies from country to country while Muslim countries have been some-what slow and have struck to the Quranic teaching while among the non-Muslim countries women have

been dealt with more liberty. In the discussion on the role of women in contemporary society, there is an unfortunate tendency to look at the relationship of men and women in an abstract manner, based on medieval knowledge and social codes; it is unfortunate since it ignores the contemporary historical, social and biological knowledge. Some of these relationships are products which are peculiar to the industrial society. This is in contrast to the role of women in earlier societies. Today, the structure and value system of society necessitates the active participation of women both in the professional as well as social work.

Many scholars like Andra Bonard (1962) Margaret Murray (1949), J. C Stobart (1925) and Philip K.Hitti (1966) are of the view that women's position in the past was very low. Women had been subjected to discrimination, harassment and exploitation from time immemorial. Status of women in Ancient Rome was inferior and they were discriminated against in many spheres of social life. However many Indian scholars are argued that women in ancient India had high status. For example, Altakar (1962), Upadhyaya (1979), Shastri (1960), Varghese (1978) and Gosh (1989) are of the view that women in the Vedic period enjoyed high status and participated in many spheres of social and economic life. But Manu, the Hindu law giver, assign low status to women (Upadhyaya and Pandey, 1990:10). Even though Buddhism provided a better status to women, their position was not improved due to their economic dependence (Varghese, 1978:3). Similar was the state of affairs during the period of Bhakti Movement. (Ahuga, 1992:94-95)

If women are uneducated and illiterate, it will not be possible for them to organize a contemporary modern household which is efficient, and which does not require hard manual or tiring work for women further, They would not have the new knowledge about food and nutrition which is required to organize the household effectively lack of education and exposure to new ideas would deprive women of these possibilities with the result that they will be overworking and tiring themselves their household will be primitive unorganized and unhygienic what applies to This area also applies to other areas such as education . If they are not educated and effective what advice of training they would be able to impart to their children? What sort of help would they be able to provide them in their growth, and development? The absence of such help and advice would adversely affect. Their children who would suffer from a great handicap

However, the deteriorated position of women of the past has not lasted for long time. Owing to some factors like education, employment, protective legislation, urbanization and industrialization come across many changes in the role and position of women. The rate of participation outside the family has increased considerably. They are competing with men in almost all fields of life. They begin to share the same responsibility as men. “Today there is hardly any hindrance to women being placed or promoted on an equal footing with men even in areas until recently considered as men’s work” (Ghosh,1981:11). In India, especially after Independence, women have begun to participate in certain spheres of socio-economic activities. They have started coming out of their seclusions and are actively participating in vocations that are largely the monopoly of males (Reddy, 1986:13). Kapur (1970) also states, “socially one of the most fundamental and remarkable changes brought about since independence is the comparative emancipation of women- kind its emergence from the seclusion of home into the activities of the world without”. Today women participate in private and public, organized and unorganized sectors, although their representation is low. “women are working in almost all type of job such as technical, professional and non-professional, in both private and public sector, residing in rural and urban areas with or without their kith and kin” (Reddy, 1986:13). “women are gradually realizing that they have personalities of their own as human beings and that their mission in life does not end with becoming good wives and wise mothers but also realizing they are all members of the civic community and of the body politic” (Reddy, 1986:14).

Even though many changes have taken place in the role and status of women in India and also in the world, no spectacular transformation has taken place in the case of Muslim women. Their participation in social and economic spheres is limited when compare to their female counter parts in other religious communities. E.H. White (1978) reports, into “in comparison with other major culture areas, the Muslim majority nations of the world have low rate of reported economic activity by women, low female literacy at all levels.” According to Bhatti (1976:99) “ various impediments have been imposed on women by Muslim community, by a series of social sanctions which have limited her role principally to that of mother and wife and for all practical purposes denied her freedom to choose a role or a combination of roles.....” as a consequence they remain backward in every field of life.

Against this background it is necessary that we examine why Muslim women remained backward compare to the women of other religious communities in social, economic, cultural and political fields. When the British came to India in the sixteenth century A.D women had been completely degraded, as society was stagnated by religious customs and traditions. Pardah system, child marriage, female Infanticide, sati and restrictions on widow marriage, were common in those days when the British entered India with a new culture and social values based on equality. During the British rule in India, several laws were enacted to eliminate social evils prevalent in the society. Although only a few women belonging to the upper class took advantage to the new culture, the attitude and behavior patterns of Non-Muslims s change drastically. But Muslims did not take the benefit of the new culture. “The Non-Muslims s had taken more readily to the western concepts of a humanistic and democratic way of life. On the other hand, the Muslims despite their forward-looking leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan stuck to their conservatism and refused to imbibe democratic values and even modern education. Thus the hiatus between the Non-Muslims and the Muslims developed, giving rise to an inequality of status for which of course, no one but the Muslims themselves are to blame” (Sarkar,1991:30-31).

The minority position of Muslims in India further discouraged them from accepting modern culture and values. They were scared of imbibing democratic culture for the reasons of losing their identity and maintained ancient customs and traditions backed by the support of religious Ulemas. This attitude affected the development of the Muslim women. The autonomy of the Muslim women has been severally eroded. Ahsan (1990:14) reports that the cause of Muslim backwardness is that the related social life with religion when religion should be a matter of personal faith. But both should be demarcated and one should lead life in common with the other citizens of India.

However, Muslim women have remained backward in most of the areas of life and are slow in taking the benefits of modernization and development. But in recent years there have been some signs of change. Modernization and development have brought about some changes in their role and status. They are no longer isolated from the outside world. In this process of change, they have surmounted several barriers. “Some of these changes have taken the Muslim women out of the protected environment of the past into the rush and confusion of the modern world... her world

no longer bounded by the four walls of the house, but by the wider area of civic and national interests and even international relationships” (Woodsmall, 1983:355). Muslim women too started taken up carriers in administrative and political fields. Roy (1979:107) writes: “Muslim women are availing themselves the opportunities provided to an average citizen of India”. Nowadays, we can see Muslim women in the field of teaching, Medicine and even judiciary and the like. It is Miss Fatima Bivi a Muslim women who is the first women judge of the Supreme Court of India. The religious strangle-hold of Muslim fundamentalists is gradually weakening. If we look at the present position of the Muslim women in matter of education, employment, Purdah etc, we come across many changes. They have acquired greater autonomy in many spheres of social life. “Formerly, the frame of Muslim women’s life was her home. Her contacts were limited to her family. But within the last decade the radius of her interests have been lengthening so that today the periphery of her life has been extended beyond the quiet wall of the house” (Woodsmall, 1983).

Even though there is definite evidence of change among Muslims, there is hardly any literature available on the impact of modern forces on Muslim women and the changes that they have brought on their role and status. Many studies have been carried out on the issues relating to Muslim women. These studies are mainly on the problem faced by Muslim women, their past and present status, purdah system and the like. Some of these studies are Roy (1979), Siddiqi (1980), Brijbhushan (1980), Menon (1981), Engineer (1987), Qamaruddin (1980) and Anjum (1992). However, these studies have not focused much on the changes that are occurring in the role and status of Muslim women. A few studies reveal the changes that are taking place among the Muslims of India. Ahmed(1991), Jain (1986), Singh (1986) and Sarfarazuddin Ahmed (1991). But not in particular about Muslim women.

Thus it is important to understand role of society as much as that of religion. Women are oppressed not so much by religion as by society. In order to bring about change in the plight of women it would be equally necessary to bring about change in socio-economic condition of women in India. If women remain poor and illiterate, it will be very difficult to improve conditions of women.

Political participation of women refers to a process of "authoritative allocation of values in a society". All kinds and all levels of activity-voting, contesting in elections, campaigning, party activism , pressure group membership and extra-institutional or agitation activity of any kind at informal level aimed at influencing the

policy makers and ministerial office are subsumed to construct the profile of political participation of women in India.

Political Participation of Indian women started with the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi was very much instrumental for arousing political consciousness in the poor, illiterate for women and making them take part in the freedom movement. Political participation may be defined as voluntary participation in political affairs through membership, voting and partaking in the activities of the political parties and legislative bodies. The constitution of India guarantees adult franchise and provides the framework for women to participate actively in politics.

Women are excluded from participation in public affairs because of the presumption that they lack in leadership skills. Even though the constitution of most of the independent states have incorporated equal rights for men and women in principle ' it is never in practice expect in voting as most of the political parties bank upon women voters. Hence there are not many women in politics it is obvious that are invisible in decision making and in ensuring implementation of the decision. The male dominated political parties are interested only in the female vote bank. They are not interested to promote female membership in the party beyond a certain limit so that men could hold maximum number of important positions. Reservation of seats for men in Panchayats to parliament is a small step to realize the women's rising aspirations and much more remain to be achieved if women will have to play a significance role in decision making. While talking about women involvement in political sphere, we have see that while heavily involved in the independence movement and therefore due to much involvement debates over the extension of franchise to women are going on large scale. Women presence in the legislature has been low despite of the absence of legal constraints.

Due to the low involvement and low representation the women do not seem to have constructive political attitudes. They are less informed and least bothered about the day to day happenings of politics. Therefore, there is need to find out what opinion they carry about particular political issue.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTION

From the light of the above discussion there was an urgent need to seek the answers of the following questions:

- 1) What are the reasons for the low participation of women in politics?
- 2) Whether their social cultural and political barriers have stood in their way to attitude formulation about politics.
- 3) Whether their age of women affects their attitude formulation about politics.
- 4) How ideological factors play a significant role in political attitude formulation of women.
- 5) What are the suggestions to improve the political participation and political attitude formulation of women?

So, the investigator planned and decided to carry out “Political Attitudes of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women”

1.7 OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

More specifically the present study has been undertaken with following objectives.

- 1) To study the political attitude of women with special reference to Muslim and non Muslim women.
- 2) To know the Reason for women being less informed about politics in the following selected areas
 - Social
 - Political
- 3) To study how age, class and education level affects women political attitude formulation with respect to the selected variables
 - Age
 - Education
 - Socio-economic background
 - Voting patterns
 - Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
 - Family Income
- 4) To analyze how different political issues are opined by women in relation to the following variables.

- Age
 - Education
 - Socio-economic background
 - Voting patterns
 - Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
 - Family Income
- 5) To analyze the different political issues about which women are unaware and do not have the basic information in relation to the following variables
- Education
 - Socio-economic background
 - Voting patterns
 - Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
 - Family Income
- 6) To have the comparison of the attitudes of Muslim and non Muslim women on different political issues in relation to the following variables
- Education
 - Socio-economic background
 - Voting patterns
 - Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
 - Family Income

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

While a change is visible in the status of Indian women, towards one of greater equality with men. And in her role towards greater participation in familial decision making and other social and economic activities. Women's are considered to be lagging behind other religious communities in this regard. But, according to Jain (1986:115), "the women can be reasonably expected to be disturbed and affected by the changes which are taking place in the socio-cultural life of our society". Imbibing modern or changing culture is very important for the progress of a community. Although women in India have started to respond to the modern culture, it cannot be denied that it is already late. Fundamentalisms of a few men have also prevented Muslim women from enjoying modern privileges. For the development of any community the contributions of both men and women are important. Both are

responsible for the weal woe of a family, community and society at large. The role of women should not be underestimated.

For the development of the community the participation of women is equally important. They should have equal vistas to education and employment, because it is important to keep up the rate of progress improvement. Women face numerous obstacles in achieving representation in governance. Their participation has been limited by the assumption that women's proper sphere is the "private" sphere. Whereas the "public" domain is one of political authority and contestation, the "private" realm is associated with the family and the home by relegating women to the private sphere, their ability to enter the political arena is curtailed.

Women in government in the modern era are under-represented in most countries worldwide, in contrast to men. However, women are increasingly being politically elected to be heads of state and government. More than 20 countries currently have a woman holding office as the head of a national government, and the global participation rate of women in national-level parliaments is nearly 20%. A number of countries are exploring measures that may increase women's participation in government at all levels, from the local to the national. Increasing women's representation in the government can empower women. Increasing women's representation in government is necessary to achieve gender parity. This notion of women's empowerment is rooted in the human capabilities approach, in which individuals are empowered to choose the functioning that they deem valuable.

For any meaningful action to improve the status and role of women there is a need for reliable information about the real state of affairs. What is the status of women amongst Indian Muslims and Indian Non-Muslims? How educated are they? Do they possess autonomy? What roles do Muslim and Non-Muslims women play in the wider social, economic and political community as well of the nation? What is the level of understanding of Muslim and Non-Muslims women about various local and national issues? What are the changes which are taking place in the attitudes of women? What are the forces that promote or hinder such attitudinal changes? Hard facts about these issues are necessary for any meaningful forward action. The present study is a modest attempt in this direction.

1.9. LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

The study is limited to selected wards of a selected assembly constituency of Pune city. Being a case study, the findings of the study may not be universally applicable and appreciable. Applicability of this study is general. Few things of this study have impact on local level. They cannot be applicable overall. In this study the closed discussion have taken place between the interviewer and interviewee. Many a time the respondents were not available on the given time and the interviewee was supposed to visit the place twice.

The samples of this case study seem to be limited. The study conducted was only upon one group of society. Thus the data gathered only tells us about one group of society and how their behavior was in certain situation. The results are therefore hard to generalize to any other group as psychologists cannot be certain that any other individual would react this way in the same situation. The data gathered is also limited and over all questions the usefulness of this study as if the data cannot be generalized.

Another limitation of this study is that the longitudinal aspect and vast amount of data being collected can open up possibilities for researcher bias. It is harder to take an objective outlook on the data and reduces the scientific nature of the research. One of the biggest limitations of this kind of research strategy is generalization of conclusions that is the results produced are tentative not fix. Also generalizing the result for few cases may be dangerous for the research study, as most of the situations are typical in most of the cases. The result may be biased in disclosing some of the research issues or ignored some key facts. Therefore this study may not show the actual position of the problem and it is just a photocopy of the original research. It is very difficult to draw a definite cause effect relationship from this study. It is difficult to replicate. It is time consuming.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study is descriptive in nature. It keeps a record of secondary data, published and unpublished journals, newspapers, and research articles and books and booklets materials relating to the study. The present investigation was undertaken on “Political Attitude of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women”. Research methodology process includes a number of activities to be

performed. These are arranged in proper sequence of timing for conducting research. One activity after another is performed to complete the research work. This chapter includes the following aspects

1. Type of Research
2. Sources of Data
3. Instruments for Data Collection
4. Research Methods
5. Sampling
6. Statistical Tools for Data Analysis

1. Type of Research

The topic for the research study is “**Political Attitudes of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women**” the topic is theoretical and descriptive. The study has been conducted in, Hadapsar, Maharashtra Assembly Constituency of Pune city. From this Assembly Constituency three wards viz ward no.120, (Kondhwa), ward no. 121 (NIBM) and ward no. 122 (Mithanagar) were selected. The reason for the selection these wards was is that these wards have more muslim populations as compare to the average muslim populations in Pune city and an average muslim population of Maharashtra. The population of the present study is consisted of women voters both from Muslim and Non-Muslims community. A formal list of women voters was taken from the office of Zilla Parishad and Shiv Sena office of Kondhwa. The sample for the present study comprised of 478 women voters from the above mentioned wards.

2. Sources of Data

There are two sources of data collection

- a) Primary Data
- b) Secondary Data

a) Primary Data

For the study purpose both primary and secondary data are used. A formal list of women voters was taken from the office of Zilla Parishad of Pune. Primary data was also collected from the party offices of Shive Sena, Bhartiye Janata party and Congress from Kondhwa. The investigator has several meeting with politically active

citizens of that area. The investigator also visited the office of MLA of that constituency.

b) Secondary Data

The secondary data was collected after reviewing related literature from journals, articles, reports, books, dissertations and thesis. Investigator visited different libraries such as:-

- 1 Library, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Sadashiv Peeth. Pune-
- 2 Jayakar Library, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Road, Pune - 411007,
- 3 Gokhale Institute of Economics and Political Science, J M Road, Pune-411007,
- 4 Department of Political Science, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Road, Pune- 411007.
- 5 Abeda Inamdar Senior College, Azam Campus Camp, Pune- 411001.
- 6 Internet was also surfed for the related articles and literature.

3. Instruments for Data Collection

For collection of data the following instruments have been used:

(a) Questionnaire

I) Construction of the Tool

A questionnaire was developed by the investigator as a tool. Questionnaire is a set of questions prepared to ask a number of questions and to collect answers from respondents relating to the research topic. The questionnaire is in printed form. The questionnaire consists of fifty seven questions. The questionnaire is consists of close ended and open ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first section consisted of the Socio-Economic background of the respondent and the second section consisted of the Political awareness, the third section consisted of the questions related to Political Participation of the respondents and the fourth section consisted of the questions related to Political Attitude formulation. Finally questionnaire was ready to collect quantitative and qualitative data respectably.

II) Validation of the Tool

The questionnaire was given to different experts from Department of Political Science, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Department of Political Science, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Pune, Department of Political Science Gokhle Institute of

Economic and Political Science, Pune. Experts were requested to check the tool regarding

- Relevance of content
- Response system
- Clarity of language
- Appropriateness of the directions

Suggestions and remarks of the experts were taken into consideration and before finalizing the tool necessary changes were incorporated.

(b) Interview

To obtain detailed and complete data a standard interview schedule was prepared for the two sets of respondents (Muslim women and Non-Muslims Women). Interviews were conducted by the researcher herself. In this method the interviewer personally met the respondents and asked necessary questions to them regarding the subject of enquiry. Usually a set of questions or a questionnaire is carried by her and questions are also asked according to that. Before the beginning of the interview, the objective of the interview was explained and respondents' cooperation was sought with an assurance that all the information given by them would be treated in strict confidence and their identity will not be revealed under any circumstances. In this process of data collection the researcher encountered some practical difficulties. Some women even insisted that they speak only in the presence of their men and therefore their condition had to be accepted. To tackle these problems, the researcher had to convince the respondents that the information obtained from them will not be shown to any other individual and their secrecy will be strictly maintained. She also promised that her intention was not to submit the report to the government or any other organization but only for use in her doctoral dissertation. To obtain frank and free information, employed women were interviewed at their place of work and college-going girls in the respective colleges and most of the housewives were interviewed in the absence of male members. On an average each interview took about 40-50 min. respondents were illiterate or had little education had some difficulty in reporting certain information. After completion of each interview the data was checked for their completeness and accuracy and edited carefully. After editing, the data was transferred to the code sheets with the help of a code design prepared for the purpose and tabulation was done from the code sheets.

4. Research Methods

For collection of primary data for this research work survey and observation methods have been used. Experimental method is not found suitable for this study because the topic is a theoretical topic and there is no need to have experiments.

(a) Survey Method

The Survey method is used to collect quantitative information about items of the questionnaire which is prepared for this particular research work. Surveys were conducted by the researcher in ward no. 120, 121, and 122 of Haqdapsar assembly constituency for collecting the data. The respondents are contacted by the researcher personally, telephonically or through mail. This method took a lot of time and efforts but the data collected are of high accuracy, current and relevant to the topic. The survey method was utilized by the researcher in an efficient way for collecting information from a large number of respondents. Statistical techniques were used to determine validity, reliability, and Statistical significance. Only questions of interest to the researcher are asked, recorded, codified, and analyzed.

(b) Observation Method

Observation is a complex research method. The observer put herself in the actual situation and watched carefully. On the basis of her knowledge, skills and experience she collected the data. The results entirely depend on the talent of the researcher and her observation at the time of interview. Out of available methods for collecting primary data, survey and observation methods have been found suitable for the study. These have fulfilled the requirements for data collection properly.

5. Sampling

For this particular study data is supposed to be collected from the respondents. It is not possible to collect data from everyone of the population.

For this research study purpose out of different sampling methods the stratified random sampling has been selected. The universe includes women voter both Muslim and Non-Muslims s from Hadapsar Assembly constituency of Pune city (ward no. 120, 121 and 122) are selected through random sampling. So stratified random sampling has been used for the study. Keeping in view the proper representation of every segment of population and manageable size of the sample, the sample size selected is 478.

6. Statistical Tools for Data Analysis

For data analysis the technique of SPSS (statistical package for social sciences) is used. Frequency and percentage of each research question are presented in a tabular form. Cross tables also indicate frequency and percentage of each variable.

1.11. CHAPTER SCHEME

The present study is divided into six chapters and each chapter is devoted to a specific aspect included in the study

Chapter-I provides introduction to study, contains a definition of selected theme and hypothesis of the study. This particular chapter outlines the statement of the problem, scope and objectives as well as significance of the present study. It also presents the research method, sample, tools and techniques adopted in the present study.

Chapter-II provides review of literature. In this chapter the historical background of reform Movement of women from ancient period to modern period is discussed in detail. The Reform Movement which took place in various countries is also discussed. It traces the history women of political rise and also examines the various Movements launched by the women's organizations during different periods for the grant of various political rights including the right to vote.

Chapter-III deals with the profile of the selected wards. In this particular chapter the geographical, historical, socio-economic and political profile of Maharashtra, Pune city, Hadapsar Assembly Constituency and ward no 120, 121 and 122 is discussed thoroughly.

Chapter-IV portrays the socio-economic profile of the sample respondents, viz, age, religion, education, language, marital status, income, occupation of the respondent, their place of residence and also their parents' education level. In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the political awareness and political participation of women. An overview of women's involvement in various political activities like boycott voting and Morcha is taken in this chapter. It also examines the attitudes of women about various concepts related to democracy, democratic organizations and various political issues. This chapter contains 57 tables and 57 figures in support of the tables. The data collected through questionnaire and interviews is presented in

tabular and graphical format in this particular chapter. In this chapter frequency and percentage of each variable is explained. On the basis of these frequencies and percentages the findings of this research work are finalized.

Chapter-V deals with the cross tabulation of the tables explained in chapter no. four. In this chapter twenty-four cross tables are included. The variables which are used for cross tabulation are age, education, socio-economic background and ideological factors. The above said variables are compared with various levels of political participation and opinions about various concepts of democracy, democratic organizations and various political issues. On the basis of these cross tables the findings of this research work are finalized.

Chapter-VI contains the major conclusions, findings and suggestions of the present study. An overview of the changing position of attitude formulation and also an overall assessment on the extent of their participation in political process is discussed in this chapter. Finally, few suggestions and recommendations are also included.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF REFORM MOVEMENT OF WOMEN

2.1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. Functioning of Democracy in Pakistan by Mohammad Waseem, from the Democracy in Muslim Societies, the Asian Experience by Zoya Hassan Sage publication Ltd, in 2007 (177-213):-

The basic approach in this was that the exact reasons for the decline of democracy or no growth of democracy in Pakistan could be traced as lack of strong legal restrictions, malfunctioning of parliament, political parties being weak as well as federalism being in turmoil situation. In his study Mohammad Waseem tried to reveal how democracy in Muslim societies with its goals and ways have gone away from its basic agendas of establishing the rule of public representatives. Instead democracy is increased conceived in terms of non violent characteristics of public life and absence of actual Islamic resurgence.

The behaviouralist approach in social science during the 1960 and 1970s made the social scientists to give up collective approach and adopt a new individualistic approach in which the locus of inquiry and research would be an individual. This individual is a decisive factor. Maximum patterns are decided by these individual in the form of voters, opinion holders and corporate or public office holders.

As opposed to the culturalists analysis of relationship between Islam and democracy the case of Pakistan points to the central position of the power structure and its institutional expression in Pakistan as the real source of Islamic ascendancy.

2."Self-Sacrifice" versus "Self-Interest": A Non-Historicist Reading of the History of Women's Rights in India by Srimati Basu From: Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East Volume 22, Number 1&2, 2002 p. 20-35:-

This study of Smriti Basu tries to pinpoint at a very crucial question of right to equal property inheritance by Indian women. She tries to reveal that this law of equal inheritance became unimplemented or impractical over four post independence decades. Basu argued that women give up their property rights because they are bound by traditional patriarchal system. At the same time women

consider that sacrificing their long term material gains is one way of showing their love and loyalty to their parents. The story of women's rights always shows a dichotomy between laws on one hand and sentiments and duty on the other.

3.The Contemporary Hindu Women- Overview of Tahira Basharat, University of Punjab, Lahore. (A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. 24, No. 2, July December 2009, PP 242-249):-

In this article Tahira tries to show how in every religion women were given a secondary position. She also tries to reveal how with the passage of time, in the universe of all religions, womanhood has earned respect, honor, status and rights.

Historically speaking both muslims and non-muslim women tolerated exploitation and disrespect at the hands of their men folk. Comparatively muslim women were in acceptable and better position as their religion had protected their status, rights, and virtue.

Whereas the non-muslim women suffered a worthless and lower position due to their religion and holy scriptures. Today's political scenario has totally changed when we can find non –muslim women holding high position in governance.

It is very hard for the fundamentals to digest the fact that there is continuous elevation of women's political position. At present there is a hard time for the non-muslim women who are struggling to achieve social liberty and civil rights in all dimensions. Negation of their rights made them more rebellious. In the present scenario female politicians in India such as Indira Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi have worked hard to get the respect and honor of the women. Feminism tends to focus on issues for women as class. In India the subjection of women is being co-related to the systemic oppression of the majority of the population. This is the result of the long set historical hierarchical stratification of the society as a whole.

4.An Article by Samita Sen on “Towards a Feminist Politics, the Indian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective” (the World Bank Development Research Group Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, Policy Research Report on Gender and Development, Working paper Series No. 9 April 2000) :-

Samita Sen in her studies tries to reveal that the women reform movement in India which started in 19th century reached its peaks during the period of freedom struggle. The Constitution of Independent India gave equal rights for women and

universal adult franchise. This proved to be an important achievement of women's struggle. But the guarantees which were given by the Constitution couldn't bring many changes in socio material positions of most Indian women. A New Women's Movement articulated to mass and popular politics emerged in the 1970s. In spite of vigorous women's movement the structure of social and political institutions is determined by the deep rooted patriarchy which denied many equal opportunities to women. The Constitution of the nation state is an evidence of this consent and dichotomy between patriarchy and the women's movement.

In her studies Samita Sen also tries to show how the platform of Indian National Congress has opened up new horizons for women's movement. From 1889 every meeting of the Indian National Congress included some women. This gave a new opportunity for women to play new public roles.

5. "Women in Indian Politics Women are as Ever Underrepresented in the Election Fray and in Party Structures but in Many Ways Most of them Qualitative they have never been as important as they are today, by Jayati Ghosh (India's National Magazine from the publishers of " the Hindus" volume 16-Issue 20 Sept. 20-Oct 08, 1999):-

The researcher tried to cover the case for the reservation of women. What has emerged quite clearly in current election process that various political parties are still dominantly male, women account for only five to ten percent of all candidates across parties and regions. This pattern of candidature is been observed for last 13 general elections in the country. There is a great opposition over the 84th Constitution Amendment Bill even last year also. In fact it is an ironic paradox that the parties which are very much in favor of women reservation bill have put up the same proportion of women as always and certainly not more than other parties that had opposed the bill. This is very much ironic that though Congress Party is headed by a women and though it is very much in favour of the reservation of women has only 10 percent of women candidates as compare to BJP at 7 percent women candidates as well as the communist party India (Marxist) have any 7 percent of candidates are women. The women members in most of the parties are very low in number. Their existence in decision making bodies as well as party decisions couldn't be felt. They are pushed back at the "women's wing" of the party where they are supposed to concentrate on so called "women issues" such as

dowry and rape cases and sometimes price rise which are seen as concerns of especially “housewives.”

6. “The Hindu Goddess and Women’s Political Representation in South Asia. Symbolic Resource or Feminine Mystique? By Stephinie Tawa Lama.(Csh Delhi.com/team/download/ publiperso/STLR-RIS.):-

As a French observer of women’s political representation in South Asia the researcher was particularly interested in Freedman’s work. Her observations drew me to question the impact if any of the Hindu Goddess a uniquely popular positive figure of feminine power- on political representation of women in two countries where non muslims ism is the religion of the majority: India and Nepal.

A cultural explanation is presented by a recent study of women representation in France and the United Kingdom. Freedman who is the author of the study has a hypothesis of his study that the responsible factor which keep women out of political field is political culture which proves to be as a hindrance for offering women any positive model of female power. In this paper the researcher proposes to locate the evidence of associations of women’s political participation with the Hindu Goddess over the last century in India and Nepal. With the help of this the researcher could co-relate the effect of goddess for women’s political empowerment and the nature of functions she performs and the manipulation she undergoes.

7. Women’s Participation in the Political Process by Zoya Hassan and Ritu Menon from “Unequal Citizen” published in India by Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2004.[206- 229] :-

In her studies, Hassan Zoya and Menon Ritu reveals that the Women’s participation in elections and political activities is an important means by which Women gain status and autonomy, but their presence in party politics and leadership remains limited. Their low political representation, however, does not appear to have any correlation to their voter turnout or political awareness. Women are quite conscious of the importance of their vote and regularity exercises their franchise. Over the years, the number of women voters has shown a steady rise; while it’s still lower than that of men, the gender gap has reduced from 16% to less than 10% over the past four decades. In the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, for example 58% female voters exercised their franchise. In their study women’s involvement

in political activities, the MWS asked a number of questions regarding their participation during elections and their willingness to contest in elections. Respondents were asked about the age of voting. Overall, 53% of them were aware that 18 years is the correct age for voting; 25% gave no reply and 9% relied “20 years”. Comparatively more Hindu respondents from both rural and urban areas were aware of the correct age of voting. Among Muslims, about 51% replied correctly but lack response amongst Muslims was higher.

8. Decision Making by Zoya Hassan and Ritu Menon from “Unequal Citizen” published in India by Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2004.[129-151]:-

In her studies, Hassan Zoya and Menon Ritu reveals that the Women’s decision making capacity and their presence and participation in decision making within the family, in public, at work, and in decision making bodies, weather institutional or political are an important gauge of their autonomy and empowerment. Increasingly both the level and quality of their participation, especially at the political and policy levels has been a major plank of the international women’s movement, which has consistently drawn attention to it and lobbied for it at national and international forums. The united nation system recognize it as a major policy initiative, and most international donor and lending agencies require a gender component whose primary objective is women’s empowerment to be included in all the programs, activities, and organizations they support.

Some data on women in decision making have been compiled by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in their Human Development Reports, and a more detailed analysis is available in Human Development in South Asia. The Gender Question, from which we get a broad idea of comparative study by country. As with most such data, however, the true picture remains elusive, mainly because women’s everyday experiences are not accounted for. Their primary arena remains domestic, not the public, where few enumerators have ventured in order to capture the complicated, and sometimes contradictory, circumstances in which women negotiate bargain, concede, manipulate, and otherwise express agency.

9. The Indonesian Experience in Implementing Democracy by Adriana Elisabeth from “The Democracy in Muslim Societies” , the Asian Experience by Zoya Hassan Sage Publications Ltd in 2007 [75-107]:-

In her study Hassan Zoya reveals that the Muslims constitute the majority in Indonesia. Indeed, it is the largest Muslim community in the world. Yet their struggle for the establishment of Indonesia as an Islamic state based on the Shari'a by constitutional as well as violent means in the form of armed rebellion has been unsuccessful since the beginning of Indonesian independence. Nonetheless, on the part of many Muslims, particularly through a number of Islamic political parties, the aspiration for the Islamic state remain alive to this day, if by less than violent means, albeit with implications involving frequent cases of violence in society. The majority of Indonesian Muslims, most of whom are moderate, seem to be powerless in preventing the growth of militant groups with their intolerance, intimidations and violent actions, particularly against non-Muslim communities in the country.

10. Functioning of Democracy in Pakistan by Mohammad Waseem, from the Democracy in Muslim Societies, the Asian Experience by Zoya Hassan Sage Publications Ltd in 2007 [177-213]:-

In her study Hassan Zoya reveals that the study of Pakistan and other contemporary Muslim societies has been de-contextualized in as much as the means and ends of democracy have lost touch with the agenda of establishing the rule of public representatives. Instead democracy is increased conceived in terms of non-violent characteristics of public life and absence of actual Islamic resurgence.

It is argued that a structural approach to politics has the necessary potential to explain the lack of democracy in that country, while it shared the structural dynamic of the state with India as a legacy of British colonialism; it also inherited certain distinct features, such as economic and political underdevelopment of the territories constituting Pakistan, including Punjab as the catchment area for recruitment of the army. The partition of India was accompanied by a process of structural discontinuity in Pakistan as opposed to India, characterized by the predominant role of Islamic ideology as the *raison d'être* of the new state, relocation of the political center first at Karachi and then in Islamabad, and ascendancy of the migrant elite in the state system. Under these conditions, the institutional imbalance between the two state apparatus of the army and bureaucracy on one hand and Parliament and Political parties on the other, created a dichotomy between state and democracy. While state elite gave

priority to national security, Islamic ideology, concentration of authority in the hands of the executive, the center and the president, and developmentalism in general, the political leaders focused on the agenda for representative rule, pluralism, and provincial autonomy, parliamentary sovereignty and a distributive mechanism for allocation of resources across ethnic and class division.

11. The Struggle for Democracy in Bangladesh by Amena Mohsin & Meghna Guhathakutra from the Democracy in Muslim Societies, the Asian Experience by Zoya Hassan. Sage Publications Ltd in 2007[46-74]:-

In her studies Amena Mohsin & Meghna Guhathakutra, Bangladesh, with a population of 135 million and as a per capita GNP of the only US\$ 350, is one of the least developed countries in the world. Eight percent of the population lives in rural areas. In the post-independence (1971) period, the reconstruction and the rebuilding of the war-devastated nation was topmost priority. Proverbs and poetry are important reflections of the state of a society. Bengali culture and politics are, in fact, quite enmeshed, and the state of politics in Bangladesh is well reflected by a proverb in Bengali popular culture that says, *jar naikononitishaeikorerajniti* (one who does not have any principle doe's politics). One cannot blame the general people for such a perception. Since its birth, the political history of Bangladesh has been marred by violence; a nation born out of violence with an estimated death of 30 million and rape of 20 million, yet a dream of a golden Bengal has remained unrealized.

The liberation war of Bangladesh had politicized the Bangladesh Army. The liberation force which formed the nucleus of the Bangladesh army in the immediate aftermath of liberation war, in the past the military had intervened under such circumstances, even under much lesser pretexts, but the non-interference of the military, despite the continued deterioration of general law and order is indicative of the growing maturity of the military and also the power of society. The trajectories for the future of democracy in Bangladesh are mixed and complex. Intense political confrontation marked by pressures all over. Unless political parties come to a minimum consensus the non- state actors will appropriate the state.

12. A Workshop on “Women’s Law and Strengthening of Counseling Centers” by Maharashtra State Commission for women and YASHADA

(Pune).(mahilaayog.maharashtra.gov.in/new/policy.google.com

Maharashtra State Commission for Women):-

A workshop on “ Women’s Law and Strengthening of Counseling Centers” was jointly organized by MSCW and YASHADA on 10th and 11th Jan 2011 at YASHADA Pune. This workshop meant for elected representatives from various Zilla parishads and Municipal Corporation of Maharashtra State. In this workshop it was insisted by Honorable Minister of Women and Development Department Mrs. Varshatai Gaikwad that knowledge about the basic legal rights of women should be imported to grass root level as well so that their participation as peoples representatives could be increased. The major role of the women in the political process as well as development of the country was also appreciated by the lady minster. The need for organizing such workshops is very urgent and organizers were appreciated for their efforts. A very important suggestion of this workshop was to have hotline services for women and commission sub centers at regional levels . It was expected by the organizers that it is the responsibility of everyone to implement National Policy for the empowerment of women.

13. “Women’s Reservations are not sufficient for Responsible Democracy”, an article by Prof. Dr. Sharad Ghodke.(Articles Disciplines Covered Review Team Guidelines for reviewers guidelines to Author FAQ format at Research Paper volume-I, Issue IV May 2011):-

In his article the researcher tried to show the correlation between women empowerment and their political participation. Liberty, Equality and Justice are the pillars of a successful democracy. The vigilance of the people is the watchdog of democracy .Voting being the prime responsibility of citizens both urban and rural women have become active voters. The strength of the political system can be added through empowerment of women. The empowerment of women is directly related with responsible democracy. The author tries to reveal a contradiction between the reservations and actual women’s participation in decision making. In spite of reservations to women ,role played by women in decision making seems to be weak. In fact decision making and real exercise of real political powers is still the domain of their male counterparts. This is clear from the entirely male composition of the traditional Panchayat, either of villages or of caste groups..

This quota system have provided a new horizon for women to decide and generate the policies for welfare. The opportunity to participate and represent is also assured by this reservation system. The direct benefit of the reservation for women introduced in 1993 was enjoyed by male candidates as women are used as rubber stamps. Now, the scenario is totally changed. Today women are taking this opportunity as a platform provided for social welfare. Women are enjoying the pride to be a representative of people in democratic country.

14. Muslim Women in Indian Politics 1947-2002 by Karin Deutsch Karlekar, from “In a Minority, Essays on Muslim Women in India”, By Zoya Hassan and Ritu Menon published in India by Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2005 [222-262]:-

The researcher captioned that throughout India, the 1937 elections were the first major opportunity for women to enter politics at the provincial level. The government of Indian Act of 1935, which introduce a number of wide reaching constitutional reforms and increased the representation of Indians in the structure of British colonial governance, also gave six million women the vote, and 42 seats in the Provisional Legislature Assemblies had been reserved for women. The Muslim separatist movement, which culminated in the partition of British India and the creation of Pakistan, had significant consequences for most Indian Muslims.

The circumstances leading up to partition, coupled with several key trends in post Indian politics, combined to limit the opportunities available to many Indian Muslims to enter public life. Their overall share of position in government and administration has remained low, and the percentage of Muslims who have been able to win an election position in the Lok Sabha is only half their percentage of the Indian population. And Muslim women at most levels of government, Muslims have been and remain under-represented. Scholars such as Minault and Lateef have given the detailed efforts of male reformers to rejuvenate the Muslim community. Thus, women’s organizations quickly became involved in issues of a political nature, followed by participation in national politics and their entrance into the legislatures in 1937. The tussle over sub-reservation and the current impasse over reservation for women in general do not bode well either in terms of increasing women’s representation or of encouraging greater participation in political life by Muslim women in particular.

15. “Women in Electoral Politics, Women In Electoral Process Of India Under Representation In Decision Making Process”(Articles about electoral politics Page No. 3- Times of India Articles.):-

The issue of women’s political participation in decision making has become an international agenda and it has initiated many regional and national plans of action. 1975-85 was declared as Women Development Decade by the UNO. Various recommendation as well as suggestions were given for recruitment, nomination and promotion of women in various branches of government.(By the World Plan of Action).

Late twentieth century was crucial stage for enhancing women’s participation in political decision making. The UNO have adopted many resolutions for women’s participation in 1975. Further recommendations to promote international cooperation and strengthen peace through women’s participation in world is suggested by Copenhagen in 1980. Late twentieth century has focused on the issue of women’s participation in political decision making. The United Nation adopted the convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952.

16. Panchayat Raj and Women in Kerala, the case of Muslims, by Aboobakar Siddiqui . from “In a Minority, essays on Muslim Women in India”, By Zoya Hassan and Ritu Menon published in India by Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2005 [284-309] :-

Aboobakar Siddiqui captioned from the Kerala state Government, From the inception of statehood till 1990, only three elections have been held to the Local Self Government Institution in Kerala. The first was held in 1963, the second after a gap of more than one and a half decades, in 1979 and the third in 1988. Till 1990 the participation of women was very limited in local self-government. In the 1963 election, which was held in accordance with the Kerala Panchayat Act, 1960, very few women contested, in fact, the Act contained no provisions to ensure their participation as candidates. Later, the Kerala District Administration Act, 1979, carried a provision for the nomination of two women with full voting rights in the District Council, but the barred from the assuming the posts of president. In the 1988 election panchayats there was 20 percent seat reservation for women consequently, 2029 women were elected to village panchayat. However only 2.4 percent became president and 12.4 percent became vice president from among all elected women. It has to be noted that there were no

women panchayat presidents at that time in Mallapuram, Kasargod, and Wyanad districts. Despite this scenario, women have largely been absent in public sphere, it is in this context that affirmative action and state initiatives like social development programs, reservation of seats for women in local bodies, peoples plan campaign, etc. become relevant. Nonetheless, neither political parties nor social activists have seriously taken up the issue of 'women's invisibility' in politics, even the intelligentsia had paid it scant attention.

17. The field, Haryana, Women and Panchayati Raj, Pamela Singha from Women's Participation In Panchayati Raj, Rawat publications, [113-137] :-

The Singha Pamela from Women's Participation in Panchayat Raj stated that the formation of Haryana, has been a significant increase in the number of women contestants, especially during 1967-87, but this is not true for the number of women elected, both in case of state assembly as well as in the case of their representation in the national parliament. Till now it has been able to send only two women to the Lok Sabha, although the number of women contestants has certainly increased. To the Rajya Sabha too, Haryana did not send any women during the first 25 years of its existence. It is only in 1990 that it nominated two women candidates- sushma swaraj (BJP) and Vidya Beniwal (JPS).in 1990, Chandrawati was appointed the governor of Goa and in 1992, Shelaji was appointed the deputy minister of education in the union cabinet. This analysis reveals that in Haryana the participation of women in politics has indeed been very insignificant [Bala, 1999; 293] This reservation has brought in more women at the grass roots, i.e. both in the rural as well as urban local bodies [ARORA AND Prabhakar, 1994; panchayati raj update 2000] the women of the state, who have been behind the veil for ages, are now getting due prominence under the new panchayati raj act. Though the Act has been in place for a very short period, its mandatory requirements have necessitated participation of women in the decision making process at the grass root level.

18. Political Empowerment of Women in India and Karnataka, Talwar Sabanna, from Political Dimensions of Women Empowerment, the Associate Publishers, New Delhi.201.[23-43] :-

Talwar Sabanna captioned that Women are an integral part of society. They play an important role in determining the destiny of a nation. Therefore, due recognition to them in the society and their greater involvement in socio-

economic and political affairs become all more important. However, history reveals that women have not been given their due status in the society. According to the data collected women contestants for Lok Sabha elections held since 1952 show a broad picture of trends of women participation in national politics. The data reveals that the average number of women contestant per seat, share of women among total contestants and their success ratio stand at 0.30, 3.7 percent and 25.1 percent, respectively. It is evident that few women got elected because few women contested. The data also shows that though the number of women contesting elections is going up steadily over the years the increase is not very appreciable keeping in view the fact that there has been overall increase in the number of candidates both men and women. Further the fact highlights that the success ratio of women contestants has steadily fallen over the years and ultimately dived from 43.1 percent in 1952 to just 6.8 percent in 1999 election. In Karnataka things took a different turn, when the 'Janata Party' formed the government in 1983. Karnataka became the first state in the country to introduce the policy of reservation for women in the Panchayati raj institutions. The act of 1985 clearly mentions that 25.00 percent of the total seats should be reserved for the women in Panchayati raj institutions. The purpose behind this move was to provide more opportunities for women to participate in the electoral process, in decision making and their by increasing the possibilities of accruing more benefits of development due to them.

She further stated that in Karnataka, women representative in state assembly in 1952 out of 99 seats 4 were won by women members constituting 4.04 percent of the total. Again women representatives increased in 1957 out of 208 seats, 21 were won by women members making 10.10 percent. Further, in 1962 there was tremendous increase in the representation of women members i.e., 13.46 percent. However, very low women representatives were represented in 1983, i.e. out of 224 seats only 2 were won by women member making 0.89 percent. Further the data concludes that representative of women member was very low as compared to male members during 1952-2008.

19. Women in Politics by Dasarathi Bhuyan published in 2008, Printed at Arora Enterprises Laxminagar, Delhi-110 092. :-

Bhuyan stated that Women in Politics are least researched topics in our country. It is as neglected as the women are in the Indian society. For a long

time the social scientists did not throw a firm looks at the political behavior of women. It was partially owing to the backwardness of behavioral research in India. Women's empowerment is a global issue, which has gained momentum in recent decade. Gender inequality is at once ideological (the beliefs, norms and values about the status and role of women in society) and structural (women's access to and positions within social institutions). As highlighted by Bradely and Khor (1993) political status includes women's access to power and representation in the state. Social status includes women's access to education and health as well as their sexual objectification and reproductive rights (Md. Tarique and Ahmed Sultan, 2006). In economic status, we include women's activities around production, distribution and consumptions of goods and services. However, the more significant aspect accounts for the scarcity of women studies is the lack of due weight according to the women in the society. Even today women studies are very few in number and women politics as a field of research are still in its building stage. The current study is an attempt to fill up this vacuum and throw light on the political behavior of women. Women comprise about 50% of country's population. However, they are the biggest group roughly in all facets. The male is denying their rights and liberties. Due to the male domination of Indian society, their social, economic and political status has stayed behind comparatively stumpy. From the time immemorial, they have been classified in all activity of life and regarded as "second class citizens"

In this survey Bhuyan's effort is made to find out the correlation between the social and economic conditions of women, and their political behavior. Secondly, it tried to find out if there has any marked change taken place in the pattern women politics. It is relevant to determine if the change in their socio-economic status have led to corresponding changes in their political behavior. Their political participation in the pre independence period and after 1947 is studied. In order to determine the level of their political modernization, their exposure to communication flow, level of political knowledge and awareness, the degree of their efficacy and legitimacy and political participation is certainly analyzed. The attitudes of women towards various social, economic and political issues are examined.

20. Women and Politics by Md. MastanVali published in 2002, 4374/4B, Ansari Road, Daryaganj New Delhi- 110 002:-

Mastan Vali stated in his book that women's study is an interested topic and many scholars have gone through it. The topics like "Women and politics" have become an area of great interest to students and scholars of all social science. Women studies have come to occupy a prominent place in the contemporary scholarly literature. As the women and their organizations throughout the world have been agitated for their rightful place in the society, the attention of the scholars of various disciplines is rightly focused on various issues relating to women's position in different fields. In India women's role has been marginal in the society, although they constitute half of the country's population. Their involvement in politics is negligible all along. Their number in the legislatures including parliament has always remained at a very low, as it never exceed 10 percent of total membership of these bodies at any point of time.

Nevertheless, several women played an active role in the National Movement and also in political process after independence. In recent past, there is a wide spread realization that they should be emancipated and all types of discrimination against them to be avoided to enable them to play legitimate role in the society. It is also emphasized that the emancipation of women could be possible only through their social, economic and political empowerment necessary steps are being mooted in this direction. The most important among them are the 73th and 74th constitutional amendments, which provide them reservation in the local bodies. A bill was also introduced in the parliament and state legislative assemblies. Today women are making their ways in every walk of life with the gradual improvement in their position in different fields. Now, the Indian women look forward to play a bigger role in politics at all levels. This ongoing process of women's emancipation in different fields particularly in political sphere deserves scholarly attention for it is going to bring a radical change in the Nation's life.

This study makes a detailed survey of the extent of women participation in representative bodies at different levels, at different points of time. It also highlights the role played by the women in the Nationalist Movement. Apart from this the few prominent political profiles, achievements and contribution of women leaders of India have been mentioned in this study.

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

21. Pune Municipal Corporation Elections Socialism. In fighting for Domestic Socialism Youraj B. Mach 21 2012:-

Since recent municipal elections in Pune has shown that no party will gain clear mandate. Though NCP (Nationalist Congress Party) topped the seat tally and has formed post election alliance with Congress to gain majority. It was for the first time more women corporate than men in Pune. They numbered 51 seats out of 152 municipal corporations. If you go to see the political background of these women they are from established political families. They were given candidature as a proxy to their male counter parts. The two female candidates were Vaishali Bankar ,daughter in law of corporator Datta Banakar where as Shashikala Kondre, daughter in law of ex-corporator Kailas Kondre. Both were candidates of NCP. Same condition was there in Pimpri Chinchwad Municipal Corporation elected Mohini Lande, the wife of MLA Vilas Lande as Mayor. This shows the empty role played by the parliamentary provisions of women empowerment which is in cordial relationship with feudal institutions like caste, patriarchy and dynasticism. Unless the capitalism is not overthrown we cannot expect women emancipation in the real sense of term.

22. 'Women's Participation in Elections in Afghanistan 24.12.10 (Helpdesk Research Report: Enquirer DFID Asia Regional Team):-

In this report the main points of discussion is how women's participation in politics is viewed in the state of Afghanistan. Since all decision making powers are in the hands of men there is very little opportunity to women to enter in politics. This hampers women's political life. There should be a total revival of a reform of the entire gendered security and socio

political system. This only will remove all types of obstacles found in the way of women participation fully in political life in Afghanistan.

This report tries to highlight that such a mechanism should be developed which will meet the need of women. It tries to also ensure that election management bodies should be made to operate independently, impartially and transparently and their boards should have women on responsible positions.

23. “Why some women are politically active: The Household Public Space and Political Participation in India.”:-

This paper at the beginning describes the position of women in public political life in India. It tries to highlight how women’s existence is absent in legislative bodies at the state and at the national level. It gives an evidence of Kerala that though women have full exposure to education and good life their proportion of representation at state legislative bodies is very low.

This paper brings to the light an important point that though women are aware of the advantages of being politically active but still they get themselves chained in various social and familiar constraints. Due to a different kind of socialization women tend to think political activity in a different way. This lower level of participation is caused due to the resources that women possess but also a result of the place of women in the family. The paper argues that those women who can negotiate independent space for themselves within the household are more likely participants in political life.

24. Women in Electoral Politics: Empowerment of Indian Women by Pavitra.

Multi party system, with hundred of political parties competing for power both at the central and state levels is the hallmark of Indian democracy which is considered as one of the largest democracies in the world. The tickets for either Lok Sabah election or Vidhan Sabah elections are given to the candidates on the basis of caste, class and religion instead of the capacities and potentialities of the candidates. The women from Maharashtra played a key role in freedom movement as well as various other movements. The first female President of India, Mrs. Pratiba Singh Patil is also from Maharashtra. The government a Maharashtra has set up the State Commission for women

under Maharashtra Act No. xv of commission. The debate about political participation of women in decision making assumed importance in twentieth century. The convention on political Rights of women was adopted by UNO in 1952. Similarly decade of 1975-1985 was declared as Women Development Decade. Many suggestions regarding recruitment nomination and promotion of women in various branches of government and public bodies were also given by the world Plan Action of 1975.

25. Sachar Committee Report on Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India (17 NOV, 2006):-

On March 09, 2005 Prime Minister of India appointed a High Level Committee to prepare a report on social ,economic and educational status of muslim community of India.

The High Level Committee consists of Justice Rajender Sachar, Mr. Saiyd Hamid, Mr. M.A. Basith, Dr. Rakesh Basant, Dr. Akhtar Majeed and Dr. Abu Saleh Sharif as its members. The objectives of this report were to know the geographical location of muslim population state wise, district wise and block wise. It wanted to study geographical pattern of economic activity, asset base and income levels. It also aimed at studying levels of socio economic development of muslims, their educational progress, literacy rate, drop out ratio, their relative share in public and private sector employment. It also aimed to know the proportion of OBC in muslim community and their problems.

The report was presented to the Prime Minister on 17th November 2006. It was tabled in the Lok Sabha on 30th November 2006. This report contains 12 chapter and 403 pages. Main report is upto page 254. The supporting material of the report presented in the statically appendices.

Sources of data which Sachar Committee used for its reference were census of India 2001, National Sample Survey, RBI, NABARD, SIDBI, NMDFC, and Data from government organizations such as Backward Classes Commission and NCAERT.

Observations of Sachar committee for the educational conditions of Indian muslim is that the literacy rates among muslims in 2001 were below

national average. The gap between muslims and general literacy rates are higher in urban areas and among women. The observation of the committee was that muslim literacy rates are much lower than general and other minorities but almost equal to SC/ST. As many 25% of muslim children in 6-14 age group have either never attended a school or have dropped out. Dropout rates are higher at primary, secondary and higher level. This is pathetic to know that only 4% muslims complete graduation while 2% muslims are able to complete post graduation.

The recommendation of Sachar Committee for elevating the level of education of muslim are that there should be free and compulsory education up to age 14 years. Bias should be removed from text books. High quality schools should be set up in all areas of muslim concentration. An exclusive girls school should be set up to 12th standard. Madrasas should be linked to mainstream education. Technical training should be provided as well as hostel facilities should be provided at reasonable cost to minorities. Madrasas degree should be recognized for competitive exams. The state should run maximum number of urban schools.

The observations of Sachar committee for Economy and Employment of muslim were that there is low work participation for men and women. High share of muslim workers are engaged in self employment in urban areas and for women as well. The participation of muslim workers in salaried jobs both public and private sector is quite low. It is an important observation that muslim women workers undertaking work in their homes (70%) is much larger than for all workers (51%). The participation of muslim in apparel, auto repair and electrical machinery is high amongst muslim. Participation of muslim in security related activities as well as professional and managerial cadre is low. It is a pathetic observation that muslim workers get lower daily earning than others.

It was recommended to provide financial and other supports to initiatives built around occupations where muslims are concentrated. To locate ITs , polytechnics and other institutes that provide skill training to non matriculates in large concentration muslim populations.

It was observed that muslim concentration areas are not well served. No roads, no local bus stops, no toilets, no educational and medical facilities.

The most important recommendation of Sachar committee report was that access to schools, health care, sanitation facilities, drinking water, means of daily transportation are basic facilities one can expect a state to provide for the citizens. This is in the interest of India and not only muslim alone.

It is pathetic to note that though the report is commendable but the Union Government failed to implement the corrective measures with its sincerity and impartiality. The agencies of the government couldn't do anything to uplift the conditions of muslims. I forcefully advocate that the proper scheme should be once again revised to implement the recommendations of the committee thoroughly.

26. Malala Yousafzai; Christina Lamb (08 October 2013) , “I am Malala: The story of the girl who stood up for education and was shot by the Taliban.”:-

Yousafzai is a memoir I am Malala co-written with British journalist Christina Lamb was published in October 2013 by Little Brown and company in the U.S and by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in the U.K.

A reviewer for the Guardian called the book “fearless” and stated that “The haters and conspiracy theorists would do well to read this book”.

Malala Yousafzai the Pakistani school girl who was shot in the head by the Taliban has declared she is determined to follow in Bhutto in to politics. Malalal Yousafzai is a student and education activist. She is from the town of Mingora in the swat district of Pakistan's northwestern province. She became famous for the fight of rights to education and for women. In Swat valley the right to education was denied to girls by Talibans. In early 2009, Malala dared to write a blog under a pseudonym for the BBC in which she gave a detail explanation of her life under Taliban rule, their attempts to take control of the valley and her views on promoting education for girls. She was continuously giving interviews in print and on television about the rights of girls to education.

On 9th October 2012 when Malala was going to her school by a school bus in the district of Swat, a gunman boarded up the bus and asked for Malala by name. He shot her by a colt 45. One bullet hit the left side of Malal's forehead, another bullet went inside her skin and third into her shoulder. She was sent into the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham, England for intensive rehabilitation.

U.N. special Envoy for Global Education Gordon Brown visited Yusuafzai on 15th October 2012. A petition was launched under the name "I am Malala". This petition was in support of what Malala fought for. Mr. Brown made it clear that this petition is with the hope that there is no child left out of school by 2015.

Yusafzai has been awarded the following national and international honours.

- International Children Peace Prize 2011.
- National Youth Peace Prize 2011.
- 2013 Sarkharov Prize for Freedom of Thought awarded by the European Parliament.
- 2013 Pride of Britain, October 2013.
- She won many more other awards also.

27. 'Lajja' or 'Shame'- Taslima Nasrin:-

Born in 1962 author Taslima Nasrin was a Bengali and former physician who was exited in 1994. Due to her essay and novels depicting feminist views and criticism of Islam in particular and of religion in general, she became world famous by the end of 20th century. Her area of thought was secular humanism, freedom of thought equality for women and human rights. She is known for her powerful writings on women oppression. She published half a dozen collections of poetry between 1982 and 1983, of ten with female oppression as a theme. In the early 1990s she produced three collections of essays and four novels before the publication of her 1993 novel Lajja or Shame, in which a Hindu family is persecuted by Muslims. Publication of Lajja changed her life dramatically. The Islamic fundamentalist attacked Nasrin physically as well as other ways following the publication of Lajja.

Nasrin moved to Sweden in 2008 and later worked as a research scholar at New York University. One can see the influence of her own experience of sexual abuse during adolescence of her own experiences as gynecologist. She talked against treatment of women in Islam and against religion in general. In total Taslima has written 35 books in Bengali which includes poetry, essays, novels and autobiography series. Her works have been translated in thirty different languages.

Taslima Nasreen won great literacy award Anand from India in 1992. She won the Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought from the European Parliament in 1994. She received the Kurt Tucholsky award from Swedish PEN. She got the UNESCO Manjeet Singh Prize for promotion of the tolerance and non violence in 2005.

28. Indian Muslim Women, Politics of Muslim Personal Law and Struggle for life with Dignity and Justice; Raziya Patel.

The status overall development of the community as well as the state of Hindu Muslim relation define the issue of justice and progressive laws for Muslim women. A uniform base of constitutional values can be provided by uniform civil code which implies retaining the customary diversity of all communities. This particular articles highlights on the nature of Muslim personal Law in India the politics behind MPL(Muslim Personal Law). It also tries to explain what is expected by the social scientists and activists. Unless there is a mass movement aimed at change and reforms in personal laws will remain impossible.

An important controversies and debated issue in India is of Muslim personal Law. After Shah Bano case in 1986 and with the introduction of Muslim Women Act this debate has got central position. In this article the author tried to show the politics around the Muslim personal law in India. The oral divorce, polygamy and denial for maintenance after divorce lead to the violation of women's human rights. Therefore women's rights activists are opposed to these provisions surveys which confirm the plight of women under the present form of Minority Personal Law. Many women's organizations and NGO's are working on these issues of reforms in Muslim personal Laws. Many cases have been submitted by the muslim women challenging the unjust

provisions of laws. The laws should be made on the basis of principle of justice equality and human rights. A huge sense of insecurity is developed by the muslim community after Shah Bano case, the 1992 Babri Masjid demolition and Gujarat riots. After Gujarat the priorities of community and muslim women changed from laws to survival.

29. Muslim Dalit and OBC Conference: A report by Yoginder Sikand; 20 November 2005:-

A conference was organized in New Delhi by the Prime Minister's High Level Committee. In this conference activists and leaders upholding the cause of muslim Backward Cast (OBC and Dalit) communities were present. A prominent Mumbai based Islamic Scholar Asghar Ali Engineer pointed out that Islam does not hold caste distraction. In this conference Asghar Ali Engineer insisted that the reservation should be given to those muslim communities which are Dalits, Tribals and Backward castes.

Mr. P.S. Krishnan former Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission brought to notice an important fact that there is no data available on the socio economic conditions of many OBC muslim communities. He said that these OBC muslim communities rank among the poorest sections of Indian society .He said that the state is responsible for all this. He also opposed state's stand to deny schedule caste status to muslim and Christian Dalit communities though their socio economic conditions as well as the secondary status they are given in the wider social context as similar as those of Hindu Dalits. He insisted that the census needs to take note of the social conditions of Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians.

In this conference Ejaz Ali of All India United Muslim Morcha also stressed that the state should recognize many of muslim OBC communities as Scheduled castes so that it becomes easier for them to compete for government jobs.

Shabbir Ahmed Ansari of Maharashtra State Muslim OBC organization criticized the way in which minority upper castes get the traditional Muslim leadership. These upper castes tend to ignore the interests of these communities and on the contrary tend to raise controversial issues which

as a result perpetuates their own hegemony. Zafaryab Jilani suggested that within the 27% quota in government service reserved for OBC's under the Mandal Commission a separate provision for muslim OBC's should be given. Iqbal Ansari of the Minorities Council of India also claimed that Muslim OBC's should be provided a separate quota within the general OBC quota.

Ashfaq Hussain Ansari brought to the notice an important point that inadequate political representation is given to Dalits and Muslim OBCs. He said that from first to present Lok Sabha only 60 Dalit and OBC Muslim had been elected whereas in total 400 Muslims had been elected. He noted down a very significant point that in the National Backward Classes Commission ,there is no single OBC Muslim.

Dalit Saleem, an activist from Hyderabad stressed that there is an urgent need that madrasas should be modernized because large section of madrasa students are from Muslim OBC and Dalit families since there is only conventional and restricted education given in these madrasas the employment prospects of these OBC and Dalit Muslim children go down.

30. Muslim Dalit and OBC Conference: A view by Prof. Fakhruddin Bennur. (30 November 2005).

Fakhruddin Bennur ,an activist from Osmanabad, Maharashtra expressed his view that the issue of representation of muslim OBCs in educational institutions is not pointed out by the terms of reference of the Sachar Committee. He tried to say that since Muslim OBC's are not highly qualified there is very less chance for them to get the government jobs. He also insisted that due to the privatization of education professional institutes charge a very high fees which cannot be afforded by many OBC and Dalit families. Fakhruddin Bennur also asked that the Sachar Committee should also look into the issue how neo liberal economic policies and privatization have destructed the livelihood of most of the muslim OBC and Dalit families.

31. Seminar Report: "What Ails Indian Muslims" submitted on 25 October 2013: A view by Prof. Fakhruddin Bennur on the Plight of Muslim:-

While presenting his paper on 'Religious Reform Movement' and "Othering of muslims", Prof. Fakhruddin Bennur said that the condition of

Muslims in this country is pathetic. He discussed roughly the factors which were responsible for the plight of Muslims. These factors are anti Muslim genocide, educational backwardness communalism, socio economic backwardness ,no equal opportunities in almost all field of life and riots perpetuated by BJP and Shiv Sena.

Prof. Bennur lamented when a reform movement took place to improve Hindu community by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dr Ambedkar at that time the muslim were under the orthodox dominance of ulemas. He said unfortunately these ulemas in the name of purification of Islam tried to transplant the Arabic social structure. They never thought of having social economic and educational reforms. Prof. Bennar insisted that this was the cause for the Muslim are left alienated from pluralistic culture of Indian society.

32. Low Representation of Muslim in Indian Politics: Causes and Concerns; Shahidur Rashid Talukdar (May 27 2011):-

One can see very clearly that since Independence the muslim representation in India Politics ranges between 6% to 8% as compared to their share in the Indian population which is estimated to be around 14%. The author tries to pinpoint that this representation of muslim is very low. The author tries to enlist various reasons for the low representation of muslims. One of the basic reasons can be lack of effective muslim leadership. Another reason is that political parties presume that muslim candidates have very low chance of electability as the non muslim electorate won't vote for them because of their religions identity.

Another reason is that muslims are nearly excluded from SC and ST's. Therefore they cannot compete in the election in the reserved seats. These reasons whether involuntary or deliberate, deprive muslims to have bright chances of their leadership to grow. Additionally due to the Indian muslim community being subdivided into many other religions linguistic and regional groups there are no muslim political parties at the national level. Together all these unfavorable factors have contributed to make muslim community the largest minority group in the country having poor representation in the country's politics. This is undoubtedly, not the sign of a healthy democracy.

33. Muslim Dalit and O.B.C Conference A Report: By Yoginder Sikand (30th November 2005):-

In this conference of OBCs and Dalits Hafeez Ahmed Hawari raised an issue of low political representation of muslim OBCs and Dalits. He said that it is been observed for long that so called 'high caste muslim' degrade their co-religionists i.e. 'low caste muslims'. He said very sadly that the high caste muslims prefer that a Hindu candidate from B.J.P. should win election but they will not vote for a 'low caste 'muslim. Whereas the contradiction of the reality is that the high caste muslim candidate always demand the low caste muslim to vote for them giving them the reason that if they do not vote B.J.P. will win. He asserted that muslim O.B.Cs and Dalits have decided that now no more they will be salves of the so called upper castes. They decided that instead of voting them they will prefer to vote such political party which will promote their rights and demands.

34. Seminar Report: What Ails Indian Muslim (25th October 2013):-

This seminar was organized by Center for Promotion of Democracy and Secularism (CPDS) in collaboration with Department of Political Science of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad and with the sponsorship of ICSSR on 11th and 12th October 23013.

The keynote address of the seminar was delivered by internationally renewed scholar Prof. Mushirul Hasan of Jamia Milia Islamic, New Delhi. He brought to light a bitter fact that in compare to other religions and ethnic community of India, the muslims are lagging behind in all walks of life. He said that both the state and society are biased about the muslim community and therefore the corrective measures which are given by Sachar Commission Report are not been properly implemented by the Central Government. He gave a very valuable advice to the muslims of India that they should act as responsible citizens of the country and should become active in corporate life. He pointed that muslims being the largest minority community of India should strive to win the confidence of the majority community.

35. Indian Women's Movement by Aparna Basu.:-

The male social reformers discussed issues regarding plight of women and started women's organizations. The history of Indian women's movement

can be traced back to 19th century. There was establishment of women's organization at the local and then at the national level in the end of the 19th century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) focused on women's issues such as sati, kulin, polygamy and women's property rights. Throughout the century the reformers highlighted the issues such as women's inferior status, enforced seclusion, early marriage condition of widows and lack of education. In Bengal a famous Brahmo Samaj activists, Keshub Chandra, started women's journal. Same kind of work was done by Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra and Gujarat. In 1882 Swaran Kumari Devi sister of the poet Rabindranath Tagore formed the Ladies Society in Calcutta. In 1882 Arya Mahila Samaj in Pune was founded by Ramabai Saraswati.

Women's from urban educated families started organization and association in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other smaller cities. Bharat Stree Mandal was formed in 1910 by Sarala Devi Chaudhurani. This was considered as a platform for women of all castes, creeds, classes and parties. Women's movement was launched with two main issues that are political rights for women and reform of personal laws. This happened in the inter-war years between 1917 and 1945. Women took active part in national movement as well.

The Constitution on Independent India guaranteed Universal Adult Franchise to all. Women also joined Telengana Movement in Andhra Pradesh, Tebhag Movement in Bengal and Naxalite Movement. Women also joined Shahada Movement in Dhulia District of Maharashtra. Self Employed Women's Association was also established by Ela Bhat in 1972. Women also joined Chipko movement in 1974. The issues such as dowry deaths, bride burning, rape, sati etc. were fought against forcefully by women between 1970's and 1980's. Women's Studies as an identifiable area of teaching and research emerged in 1960's in the United States.

But still the fact is that to bring about a new morality, new values and a new egalitarian relationship women's movement has a long way to go in its struggle.

36. Muslims and 1857: India's First War of Independence: Compiled by Mushtaque Madni and A.I . Makki,published by Mr. P.A.Inamdar:-

This particular book is a very good record of all those Muslim leader and activist who played a very important role in mutiny of 1857 till the partition of the country. This book discusses the various achievements and works of these muslim leaders in all fields such as political, social and educational field. They can be enlisted as Sirajuddaula, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan, Maulvi Ahmdullah Shah, Sharafat Ali, Ashfaqullah Khan, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, Khawaja Altaf Hussain Hali, Nawab Muhsin-ul-mulk, Syed Ameer Ali, Shah Nawaz Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Aga Khan III, Badryuddin Tayabji, Syed Hasan Imam, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Allamah Shibli Naumani, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Maulvi Barkatullah Mazharul Haque, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dr. Zakir Hussein. These are the muslim political leaders, activists, thinkers, social reformers and educationists.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF REFORM MOVEMENT OF WOMEN

Appropriateness of behavior in women has been an issue since time immemorial. What is sanctioned by the society been the basis of rules of what is allowed and what is not when it comes to women and how women should behave. The earliest reference for appropriate behavior in women is found in 200 BC wherein Manu has laid down that independence in thinking and action in women is intolerable. In Indian society the common thread running through all the different cultures and religions is that the exposure of women has been limited to inside the house. Despite revolutionary thinking worldwide, restrictions on women are still prevalent in India. In fact it is an ironic paradox that on hand different Indian cultures and religious traditions worship the 'Female' as goddesses for example 'Durga' the form of Shakti, 'Saraswati' the goddess of learning, 'Lakshmi' the goddess of wealth and on the other hand women are not permitted to work, or be active politically. The issue of equality of gender has its earliest reference in revolutionary movements of the 12 the century philosopher Basawashwara who adhered to

the principles of equality of gender, society without demarcations of class and caste.

The reform movements which occurred in the 19th and the 20th century also advocated the cause of non discrimination and a better life for women. Post independence the constitution of India has supported women through different laws, amendments. On the international front the issue of equality based on gender has found reference in UN Charter in 1945 and in the UN Declaration of Human rights in 1948. Improved legal and social status for women was a focal point in the activities undertaken by CEDAW. However most of the efforts undertaken for propagating equality between sexes during the development discourse have remained in theory. Hard core practical reality is another story as all these theoretical amendments and reforms are proposed and adopted by a society which is essentially traditionally male and patriarchal as is observed over the course of history.

In Ancient times there have been references to scholarly Indian women like Gargi and Maitrayi which indicates that ancient society propagated the notion of education. The contributions of women in the economic scene were equally important. The picture on equality between sexes is hazy with no clear reference points but the supposedly modernistic attitudes like freedom of choice of life partners and widow remarriages were clearly advocated in ancient India and it was as the Indian society started ‘ progressing’ on the path of civilization that discrimination on the basis of gender set in. It can be said that it was during the Vedic period that the status of women started deteriorating. The probable reasons for this decline may be attributed to solidifying practices of property and lineage being passed on to the next generation through the male progeny. The age of the Dharmashastras saw malpractices like ‘Sati’ gaining popularity and the sphere of economic, political and social participation of women shrinking. Rapid decline in the social importance of women coupled with being the physically weaker sex saw the scope of behavior of women being rigidly defined limits set on what was considered ‘appropriate’. The practice of female feticide can be traced to the Vedic period in the Indian history. The concept of ‘Hinduism’ which evolved around 500 BC saw women as the weaker sex which had to be

dominated and punished for transgressions. The evolving ideology saw women being deprived of opportunities to education and exposure to the world outside the house. Even inside the household there were behavioral rules which were strictly implemented under the guise of religious practices. This phenomenon was also observed in the western world during the Classical period. Grecian women were deprived of political rights, as were the Spartan women who could not own property. The exception to this deprivation was ancient Rome where freeborn women who were citizens and though they were deprived of political office or the right to vote they could influence the political turn of events. Preference for the male child was phenomenon common to the Eastern and Western cultures.

However the picture representing the medieval period is hazy with no clear references on the life lived. It can be observed though that changing social trends like permission for education led to issues like being discriminated in politics. The concept of equality took root like matters like education, property and right to vote via a Declaration of Sentiments. The women's suffrage moment began in New York in 1848 and England continued till the 19th amendment which was more than 50 years later facing a lot of opposition from the traditionalists who believed that women were the weaker sex and hence not capable of representing their self interests. This social phenomenon of disguised slavery and bondage under the guise of protection and love was evident in India and continued despite rampant onslaughts on culture and cultural synthesis. The traditionally patriarchal Indian society with a few exceptions like Malabar Coast in South western India where Matriarchy prevailed tolerated few transgressions and believed in controlling women through clipping their wings. This phenomenon was observed in Hindu society as well as the Islamic society and though culture showed improved tolerance and adaptations, the status of women remained as ever throughout the times. The nineteenth century saw changing social conditions with different roles being played by the reformers like, Veerasaivism, Verses of Vemana and Sri Vaishnavism in South India who defied the traditional Bramhanical order and regenerative role played by the British in introducing western culture, liberal ideas and social reforms. A special mention can be made of Kandukuri

Veeresalingam who pioneered the social reforms activity in Southern India especially in Andhra Pradesh.

The path of history finds its next destination in the Early Modern Period which follows the medieval age and is essentially framed as starting with the Ottoman Empire conquest of today's Turkey, then known as Constantinople. In the course of history this period marks an integration of previously isolated parts of the globe with discovery and colonization and thus improved trade and commerce. Philosophies became more defined, strong in their beliefs and thus more rigid. Old world orders gave way to new with decline in feudalism in different parts of Europe, reorganization and revolutions. The science of economics also evolved with the theory of mercantilism and a shift away from traditional commerce and organization. This period is characterized by the world wide spread of Christianity, developments in infrastructure with new inventions, innovations and experiments. The world became a relatively smaller place. As a result of the continued efforts of Suffrage movement women finally earned the right to vote in all the states of USA following states like Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming during this century.

The famed Nineteenth Amendment to the constitution was passed in 1920 finally giving women the right to vote. The Indian scene has seen women evolve from being characterized as only homemakers restricted within the confines of home to stepping forth and making their mark on all the fronts including shaping the nation's destiny on the political front. This transition is observed in increasing enrollments in education. As is apparent in the age-old paradox, place of women in the political scene of India is always two extremes either as being deprived of political participation, discriminated against by refusal of right to vote on one hand or the quintessential goddess 'Durga' or 'Shakti' with many arms portrayed by prominent Indian women politicians like Sushma Swaraj or largely 'Indira Gandhi' However the majority of women population falls under the first category rather than the second. Beginning with the social reforms of 1920s there was a unification of feminist nationalism in India which resulted in a

specific thought-out frame of identity which accepted some ideology of patriarchy, gave inputs to the nationalist discourse in independent India.

Post independence however the growing exposure of women helped them cross the barriers of class and caste despite the absence of a strong and channelized coordinated effort for equality. It was during the latter part of seventies that an informal network of activities took root and grew which raised a combined voice against violence, abuse by men as well as by women against women themselves, against the traditional practices like 'SATI' This informal network was not confined by restrictions of caste, education, race or creed albeit was bound by shared experiences and suffering which assumed an identity in its own right.

The history of women's' struggle for reforms has a common root in oppression and discrimination be it East or West. Illiteracy, lack of independent financial resources, no control over decisions and lives was a common occurrence. In America this produced an antislavery women's rights movement .Special mention can be made of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton who spearheaded the movement. As regards the women's reforms movement in India, the picture was a little different with male social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwarchandra Vidysagar, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Mahatma Phule, Dhondo keshav Karve and others took up struggle for various women oriented issues like condemnation of the practice of SATI, of widow remarriages, of abolishing polygamy and fighting for women's property rights prior to independence in the eighteenth century. Under their guidance different organizations like the Prarthana Samaj, the Bramho Samaj worked for educating women. Women organizations and their participation in freedom struggle lent the movement strength in the nineteenth century and free India saw women fighting for their rights and against male dominated patriarchal society. It inspired them with the confidence of achievement and earned them respect. Due the efforts of the male social reformers few women like Ramabai Ranade; Savitibai Phule became active social reformers. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani carried the struggle on to the national scale with Bharat Stree Mandal. Year 1927 saw the establishment of the All India Women's Conference with its first session having major

attendance at Pune. Ansuya Sarabai headed the Ahmedabad Textile Workers strike in 1920. However the women reform movement saw a change in structure with the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the political freedom struggle scene. The freedom struggle now saw women from all classes and masses join in large numbers.

Pre independence the women's reform movement was majorly targeted towards social reforms, abolishing of antisocial and harsh practices. Independent India saw the reformation of society and major evil being destroyed with increasing awareness, participation and exposure. This saw a shift of focus with there being a lull in the efforts of reforms related to women and to industrial and rural poor working class of Indians. Many women activists joined the Telangana movement, the tebhaga movement, the naxalite movement in later years and the Shahada movement. The credit for first organized women's trade union to come in existence goes to Ela Bhat in 1972, formally called Self Employed Women's Association in Ahmedabad. Operating on Gandhian ideals the organizations works for deprived downtrodden women from the informal unorganized sector providing training in developing skill sets, loans for starting businesses and collective bargaining. Another movement with which deserves special mention is the movement for consumer protection against inflation initiated by Mrinal Gore and Ahalya Rangnekar. The Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat saw middle class women in large numbers resorting to hunger strikes and 'Prabhatferis' for protesting against black marketing, and corruption leading to soaring prices. Importance of environment and ill effects of felling trees started in 'Gopeshwar', nicknamed 'Chipko' saw the movement succeed due to the efforts of women of women who joined in large numbers.

It has been long believed that Islam as a religion is extremely rigid and averse to change / reforms. However this belief is shallow with no base to the reality of doctrines advocated by the religion. The nineteenth century India saw the appearance of Muslim reformers like Sir Syed and Badruddin Tyabji who were known educationists. Sir Syed was associated with social reforms prior to his work in the education field. His journal Tahzibul Akhlaq set thought processes in motion which lead to revolutionizing the stagnation in

Indian society. However his journey in education in northern India was fraught with troubles as the north had seen many prominent social reformers being executed in the later eighteenth century especially after the revolt of 1857 whereas Badruddin Tyabji faced comparatively fewer troubles in western India. In the north there was decline in the popularity enjoyed by the 'Ulema' as the 'Shariat' courts were replaced by the secular courts. This resulted in an anti British movement which further turned the muslim populace against what was perceived to a British way of life. As is usually observed the elite class in any system wields a large influence the belief of elite class against social reforms hampered the efforts of the reformers. The elite class of Muslims in northern India had lost comparatively much more than the Hindus for them to adapt to what was essentially British tradition of education. The rigidly traditional beliefs of the 'Ulema' were challenged by Maulvi Mumtaz Ali Khan in his book *Huququn Nisa* (the rights of women) where he proposed the notion of 'Equality between sexes' This belief was supported by Justice Ameer Ali in his book the 'Spirit of Islam' in which he propounded the progressive ideas and social reforms. However the Muslim social scene was distinguished by two opposing beliefs that of the educated elite and the common people who supported the Ulema. The educated elite were more tolerating towards accepting reforms but post partition there was an exodus to Pakistan. The Ulema on the other hand were rigid, conservative and enjoyed the support of the masses that were mostly poor and uneducated these simple people believed the Ulema out of fear who manipulated them. The Congress party at the time supported the Ulema for selfish, political ends. Social reforms can only become a mass movement if the socially respected upholders of tradition accept changes and the elite class of Muslims who were liberal in their approach had gone over to Pakistan post partition. There was political unrest, bloodshed which has left the masses unsure of what to expect. In such conditions beliefs were too fragile to undergo changes which against traditions. However reformers like Badruddin Tyabji who was educated in England and wealthy supported the Indian National Congress, opposed the partition and formation of Pakistan continued the efforts for social reforms.

History has been witness to the change in the society that took place with the advent of the British. Especially in Maharashtra, cultural and social contact with the English exposed the lacunae of the conservative, orthodox, religious practices of the Indian society. The wide-spread influence of English as a common language berefit of ego for communication acted as a stimulant for the spread of the liberal western ideology, equality and attacked false superstitions, apathy, lethargy and fatalism gripping the Indian, especially Maharashtrian society. References can be traced to as early as 1818 where Lord Moire has said that despite being the rulers the British also adopted a more tolerant approach in order influence the Indian society. British Officers like Mount Stuart Elphinstzone who had come to India in his teens stayed back and was responsible for setting up many institutions so that deserving Indian students studied English and familiarized themselves with the English literature. He also pioneered the education system in Maharashtra with setting up institutions not only for higher studies but also schools for the poor, ignorant masses. He ensured that they received facilities like school books and improved the overall standard of teaching in order to encourage the lower classes to educate their children. Lord Elphiston was also responsible for getting the European science disciplines to India. He ensured translation of prominent works in local languages so that Indian society would have the benefit of research being conducted in physical and social sciences in Europe. His efforts resulted in massive transformation due to spread of education which started questioning the age old dogmas and religious practices. All these reforms were aided by the work of Christian Missionaries who advocated equality between classes, masses and sexes. Their doctrine of no higher and lower caste and an equal right to education for girls resulted in large scale socio- reform movement in Maharashtra which continued well into the nineteenth century.

Transformation of the society .This period of comprehensive social and religious renaissance had the effect of unifying the Indian society. Educated reformists like Dr. Atmaram Pandurang and R.G. Bhandarkar in both the Muslims and the Hindus realized the fallacy of blind faith. This led to establishment of various social institutions like the Prarthana (prayer) Samaj (

society). The Prarthana Samaj played a very important role in reforming the Indian society as the educated reformers adapted the reforms in a way which was palatable to the illiterate masses whilst ensuring that blind following of traditions was questioned. The Prarthana Samaj which started with prayers, reading and discussions slowly crystallized the philosophy which was later published in its weekly periodical called the 'Subodh Patrika'. Another institution which deserves special mention is the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' which was established by Mahatma Jyotiba Phule. As the name suggests it aimed at finding the truth. He believed in 'equality' of the human race with no superior and inferior classes and creeds. The membership of the Samaj was open to anyone who wanted to join it. Mahatma Phule endorsed the British legislation in the beginning but it was after the revolt of 1857 that his views underwent a change. A special mention in leading reformers is deserved by Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade who worked tirelessly for widow remarriages, education of women and other evils. He educated his young wife Ramabai Ranade who went to continue his life's work and establish the 'Seva Sadan' after his death. Summing up the different periods of history it can be said that women in India have been facing evils like 'Sati', 'Mistresses', and 'Concubines' along with deprivations like illiteracy, polygamy, physical abuse and violence which were the ill-effects of a rigidly conservative patriarchal society over the ages.

The advent of the British in a way was beneficial in case of women because English culture believed in equality between sexes which led to Indian reformers taking efforts for educating women and abolishing practices like 'Sati', female infanticide and slavery. However the reformists had to face opposition from the religious leaders who were against change which would lead to a decline in their sphere of influence. The reformers fought against practices like child marriages by trying to fix a minimum age of marriage, against illiteracy with the help of Christian nuns and missionaries. Especially in Maharashtra people were progressive, purdah system was not followed which led to girls being educated. The industrialists in Maharashtra like Shri Jagganth Shankar Sheth and Bhau Dagi aided the reforms with scholarships and donations. Notable contribution was made by Shri Thakersy and Dhondo

Keshav Karve who established “SNDT” Women’s University. B. M. Malbari, Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandawarkar, Mahatma Jyotiba G. Phule and Pandita Ramabai were the significant names who toiled tirelessly for female literacy. Mahatma Phule along with his wife Savitribai Phule started a private school for girls. Efforts of social reformers like M. G. Ranade, Vishnu Shastri Pandit, D. K. Karve and Pandita Ramabai led to the foundation of Vidhava Vivaha Uttejak Mandal, in 1893 and the ‘Anath Balika Ashram’ near Pune. Any summarization cannot be complete without the mention of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution who as a Law Minister presented the bill for upholding monogamy, raising the age of consent and marriage, treated the ‘ Streedhan ‘ as woman’s property and gave them the right of divorce. Efforts towards equality have been made over centuries with varying intensity and women’s studies as a discipline emerged in the later part of the nineteenth century. The literary references can be found in the works of Virginia Wolf and Simone de Beauvoir. Formally the UN Mid –Decade Conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980. The Indian Association of Women’s Studies which is an institution involved in research and teaching was established in 1981.the recent times have seen the publishing of feminist literature on a massive scale and political participation being increased with almost all the major political parties in India having a women’s section. The rural areas too have witnessed movements like self help groups and women’s cooperative societies which work for the benefit of women. However changing centuries old beliefs and traditions take patience and consistent efforts. The quality of life of women in all classes still has a lot of scope for improvement and the struggle for equality is just as long and as hard as it was earlier.

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CHAPTER III

PROFILE OF SELECTED WARDS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the geographical, historical, political and socio-economic profile of Maharashtra, Pune and selected wards is discussed. If you look back you can find that Indian history is an amazing one, full of conflicts, battles and tussles of strong and large power who ruled over the country for a long period. Much more light can be thrown on the facts of history. We have to collect evidences of these facts from the scriptures of Buddhists, temples of Hindu, libraries of Muslims as well as archaeological investigations. There is an urgent need of time that we need to know a lot about the history of our country otherwise we tend to fail to prove ourselves as a strong nation. If we go back to the deep roots of our history even in Alexander's time in 4th century we had a rich and glorious culture which was a part of attraction and curiosity of the people of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Indian women started displaying their active role in politics from freedom movement only. Margaret Alva suggested that the Universal Adult Franchise introduced after Independence was an outcome of two factors viz women's participation in freedom movement as well as feminism. Till 1909 when great discussions and deliberations were going on amongst Britishers and some nationalist leaders the issue of women's right to vote was still an untouched matter. Since there was spread of western education and the growth of news papers the mind set of Indian people was changed

3.2 PROFILE OF MAHARASHTRA

3.2.1 Geographical Profile of Maharashtra



Map 3.2.1

Maharashtra is a state of India which occupies a good portion of the Deccan Plateau in the western peninsular part of the subcontinent. Maharashtra has Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Goa as its west. There are four geographical divisions of Maharashtra i.e. Konkan, the Sahayadri Ranges, Eastern Plateau and Northern Satpuda Ranges and Northern Satpuda Ranges and the flat terrain nearby.

We have “black cotton soil” in large number in Maharashtra. The important rivers which flow in Maharashtra are Godavari, Krishna, Bhima and Narmada, Tapi River. The average of rivers is 100 to 150 kilometers. The main minerals in Maharashtra are Maganese, Bauxite and Iron Ore. There are different kinds of soils in Maharashtra. Wild life is also found in Chandrapur and thick jungles in Sahyadri Ranges.

As per details from Census 2011, Maharashtra has population of 11.24 crore an increase from figure of 9.69 crore in 2001 census. Total population of Maharashtra as per 2011 is 112,374,333 of which male and female are 58,243,056 and 54,131,277 respectively. In 2001 total population was 96,878,627 in which males were 50,400,596 while females were 46,478,031.

3.2.2 Historical Profile of Maharashtra

The origin of the word Maharashtra could be traced back to Puranas such as Bramha Purana and Wayu Purana. The name Maharashtra is related to the area where Marathi language is spoken. If you go to see from the national point of view the Maharashtra history is important for last 350 years. The history of Marathas under the leadership of Chattrapati Shivaji in 18th century is considered as synonymous to the history of India. Under Peshwas in the middle of Eighteenth century the Marathas proved themselves to be the king makers of Delhi. There was a breakdown of Maratha control in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This is fantastic to note that when Britishers took over the power, it was from the hands of Marathas and not from Mughals. The Marathas could dominate not only south as but also north at that time. Therefore there is a solid reason to correlate history of India to history of Maharashtra.

If you look back you can trace that the State of Maharashtra was prosperous and flourishing state during the rule of Satvahanas, whose rule lasted for four centuries. The later rulers the Rashtrakutas, the Chaiulkyas and Yadavas were Maharashtra rulers. Rule of Mohammedans speaks about the second period of history of Maharashtra. After the fall of Bahamani Kingdom complete chaos was experienced in Maharashtra. Maratha Empire and Swarajya in Maharashtra was established by Shivaji, the young son of Shivaji Bhosle. Shivaji was given an inspirational training by his mother Jeejabai and tutor Dadoji Kondadeo.

The unification of people of Maharashtra was brought by Chattrapati Shivaji Maharaj. In 1674, Shivaji became king and he declared his independence in 1707. The power was taken over by Peshwas and Pune became the capital. Leader of Maharashtra like Tata Tope, Nanasahab and the Rani of Jhansi took active part in the revolt of 1857. The Indian National Congress received a strong support in

Maharashtra. Ganesh Utsav and Shivjayanti were introduced by Lokmanya Tilak as public festivals with great zeal and enthusiasm. The main leaders of “Quit India Movement” of 1947 from Maharashtra were Raosaheb and Achutrao Patwardhan, Nana Patil, Dhulapaa Navale, V.S Page, Vasant Patil, and Dhondiram Mali.

3.2.3 Socio-Economic Profile of Maharashtra

The population of Maharashtra includes people of all religions such as Hindus, Mohammendans, Christians, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Lingayats and Jews. The majority community is the Hindu Community. Hindus again have various castes and sub castes. There are number of tribal and nomadic tribes also in Maharashtra.

Balutedari is well known in villages. This balutedari have divided the people in various castes and sub castes. These sub castes are also the result of customs ,traditions and professions. Some castes were supposed to be untouchables. They had a very low position in the society. There was division of profession on the basis of caste. The Brahamin Maratha and Kayastha were considered to be higher castes. The agriculturalists class was of the Marathas.

A movement against this social inequality was launched by social reformers such as Maratha Phule ,Agarkar ,Lokmanya Tilak, Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolahapur and Dr. Ambedkar. The untouchability was declared illegal by the Constitution of India .Some castes were listed as scheduled castes and tribes were also listed as scheduled tribes. They were supposed to give maximum facilities and opportunities to elevate their status.

The literacy rate of Maharashtra is higher than the national average and the literacy among the women is higher as compared to many other states. Marathi is the regional and official language of Maharashtra. Rich cultural heritage is an indispensable feature of Maharashtra. Additions have been made in the field of religion ,architecture, language and literature, dance and drama folk music and folk dances and art.

In the last quarter of 20th century Maharashtra is been declared as India's leading industrial state due to its favorable and strong economic policies. Maharashtra

has 42% of urban population. The important industries of Maharashtra are petroleum, sugar, textiles, steel, iron castings, pharmaceuticals and many more others.

The net irrigated area is 33,500 square kilometers. The percentage of the people who are engaged in agriculture is very high (64.14%) . Mumbai is the capital of Maharashtra and financial capital of India. A good number of software parks have been built in Maharashtra in Pune, Mumbai, Navi Mumbai, Aurangabad, Nagpur and Nasik. Chattrapati Shivaji International Airport in Mumbai is one of the biggest international Airports in South Asia. The coast of Maharashtra has been a shipbuilding center for many centuries.

3.2.4 Political Profile of Maharashtra

As a result of Linguistic Reorganization taken place in India, Maharashtra State was formed on 1st may 1960 as a Marathi language state. The Samuyakta Maharashtra Samiti under Keshavrao Jedhe had a fight for the cause of Marathi speaking state.

It was Indian National Congress who got a clear cut majority and had a upper hand in Maharashtra politics from 1960 to 1977. Maharashtra became a bastion of congress party. There was an emergence of an alliance of regional party- Shiv Sena and a National party Bhartiya Janta party in Maharashtra is the year in 1989 and this really changed the political scenario of Maharashtra. The people of Maharashtra were provided with an option party to congress. The Shiv Sena and the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) secured an overwhelming majority in the state to form a coalition Nationalist Congress Party(NCP) was formed by Sharad Pawar after a split in Congress Party but formed a coailition with the congress to keep out the BJP-SS combine . Prithviraj Chavan of Congress Party is the current Chief Minister of Mahatrashttra. Maharashtra legislature is bicameral one of the few states in India to have a bicameral type. Vidhan Sabha is the lower house and the Vidhan Parishad is the upper house.

Vidhan Sabha-the State Assembly and Mantralya ,the administrative offices of the government are located in the capital city of Mumbai. The monsoon and budgetry sessions of Vidhan Sabha are convened in Mumbai whereas winter session is convened in Nagpur.

The governor of Maharashtra is appointed by the President of India. Executive authority in the state is exercised by the cabinet in the name of the governor. In Mumbai there is High Court of state headed by the Chief Justice and a panel of Judges. There are branches of this court in Nagpur and Mumbai. The appointments of all state services are conducted by Maharashtra Public Service Commission and Union Public Service Commission.

3.3 PROFILE OF PUNE

3.3.1 Geographical Profile of Pune



Map 3.3.1

The location of Pune is marked 560m(1840ft) above sea level on the western margin of Deccan Plateau. It is a hilly city. The Sinhagad fort is located at an altitude at the confluence of the Mula and Mutha Rivers.

Pune has a tropical wet and dry climate with average temperatures ranging between 20 to 28c. Pune experiences three seasons, summer, monsoon and a winter.

Pune district is bound by Thane District on South Raigad District on the West Solapur District on the South East and Ahmednagar District on North East. Climate of the Western Region of Pune is cool whereas the Eastern part is hot and dry.

In 2011 Pune had population of 9,429, 408 of which male and female were 4,924,105 and 4,505,303 respectively. In 2001 census Pune had a population of 7,232,555 of which males were 3,769,128 and remaining 3,463,427 were females. Pune District population contributed 8.39 percent of total Maharashtra population. In 2001 census this figure for Pune District was at 7.47 percent of Maharashtra population.

3.3.2 Historical Profile of Pune

In 1626, Rango Babuji Dhadphale was appointed as the administrator of Pune. He was appointed by Shahaji Raje Bhosale. Shivaji Raje Bhosale was crowned Chattrapati in 1674. Thus foundation of Maratha Empire was led. He further stated the development of Pune. Manpower was provided for building of an army by the villages surrounding Pune. There was shift of power between Mughals and Maratha in 1660, 1670 and again 1703. Pune was taken over by the Britishers in 1817. There was an establishment of Pune Municipality in 1858. During the British rule only the various peths of Pune viz Ganj peth, Mahatma Phule Peth and Navi Peth were developed.

The social and religious movements saw its inception in late 19th century in Pune. A high level of agitation and social reform took place in Pune between 1875 and 1910 under the leadership of Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak as well as feminist Tarabai Shinde. Unity between Hindu and Muslim eradication of untouchability, equal rights for women etc. were demanded by their social reformists.

After India became an independent country lot of progress and development took place in Pune. There was development of N.D.A (National Defence Academy) and N.C. L. (National Chemical Laboratory) in Pune. Many industrial plants were also developed. There is a fast growth in every aspect of life viz. telecommunication, IT Sectors, Chemical Industries and many more. In 2008 Commonwealth games were also organized in Pune.

3.3.3 Socio-Economic Profile of Pune

Marathi is the official language of Pune. Pune is the cultural capital of Maharashtra. The city is now known for manufacturing, automobile, government and private sector Research Institutes, Information Technology (IT) and Educational Management .Pune is known as Educational Hub. The students from many Afro- Asian countries come in Pune for education. There are many Mandirs, Masjids, Guradawaras ,Churches, Jain Temples and Buddhist Viharas .Hinduism seem to be the dominant religion. The community structure of Pune includes Marathas, Maharas, Malis, Brahamin ,Marwaries ,Punjabi and Sindhi.

A very prominent Hindu temple is located in Pune i.e. at Parvati.Ganesh Caturthi festival of Pune is one of the distinguishing cultural feature of Pune. Spiritual teacher like osho lived in Pune, taught between 1970s and 1980s. Pune gave impetus to arts and crafts music and theatre.

Pune has classical buildings like Aga Khan Palace, Shaniwarwada ,Lal Mahal and Sinhadgad Fort. Pune has nine universities as well as a large population of Pune is of students. Pune has distinguished and high quality research institutes. Average literacy rate of Pune city is 91.61 of which male and female literacy was 95.3 percent and 87.91 percent respectively.

There is a great expansion of many IT and manufacturing companies. Pune has the seventh largest metropolitan economy and the sixth highest per capita income in the country .There is Automotive Research Association of India in Pune which does homologation of all vehicles available in India. Kirloskar Oil Engines Ltd of Pune is the landmark in the field of engineering. Due to good climate and proximity to Mumbai we can find many firms like Tata Motors (TELCO),Bulkau Wolf KSB pumps and Hindustan Antibiotics and several others.

3.3.4 Political Profile of Pune

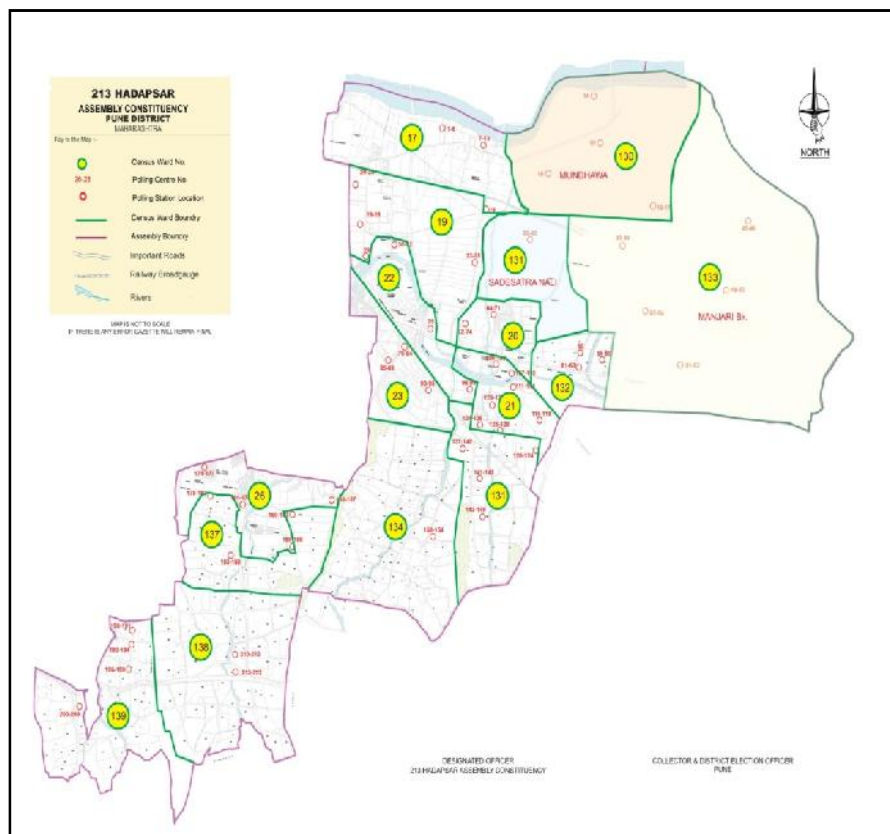
There was an establishment of Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) in the year 1950. The whole administration of Pune city is taken care by PMC. The Municipal Commissioner is the administrative head in the city. The PMC provides civil facilities to the residents of the city.

The city comes under the Haveli Taluka of Pune district in Maharashtra. The district collector looks after the collection of land revenue and other revenue. The law is enforced by the police in the city which is headed by police commissioner.

In Pune Mahanagar Palika an initiative is taken for governance system. A public private partnership is perceived to bring tremendous changes in the future. The corporators are the local members of all major political parties who participate in election. It is the prime responsibility of these corporators to provide infra structural and other facilities in their constituencies. The corporation currently consists of 149 directly elected corporators.

3.4 PROFILE OF HADAPSAR ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY

3.4.1 Geographical Profile of Hadapsar Assembly Constituency



Map 3.4.1

The constituency comprises newly-emerging suburban areas of the city like Kondhwa, Kondhwa Budruk, Mundhwa, Mundhwa gaonhan, Hadapsar gaon, Magarpatta and parts of Katraj. There are nine wards (18 corporaters), and two gram panchayat i.e. Keshavnagar and Mundwa. This is the administrative structure of Hadapsar constituency.

Hadapsar has a number of Industries and residences in it. It stretches on Pune-Sholapur Road to some distance. The assembly constituency itself is a part of the Shirur Lok Sabha constituency. Hadapsar is an eastern suburb in Pune City, Maharashtra, India. Hadapsar is located nearly 8.5 km from the heart of Pune. Hadapsar is also well known for two SEZs: Magarpatta city and Fursungi IT Park (SP Infocity) have given Hadapsar a new direction in IT and ITES. ADP, Sybase, IBM, TCS, Mphasis, Amdocs, Avaya, SAS, John Deere, Patni, Option One, Accenture, Exl, Zs, Aviva, Honeywell, BNY Mellon, Zensar and Synecron are IT companies based in Hadapsar. It is also the headquarters of the Sanmitra Sahakari Bank. Up until 1980 Hadapsar was a small village surrounded by farms. Many big real estate projects such as "Magarpatta City" and "Amanora" have come up in the vicinity of Hadapsar. Hadapsar gaon (the original village), Gadital, Malvadi, Satav wadi, Gondhale nagar, Satyapuram, Satav plot, Sadhana society, Aakashwani, Sadesatra nali, Sasanenagar, Sayyad nagar, Magarpatta, tukai darshan, kale padal, Laxmi cololy, Mahadev Nagar, undri are main areas. Most of the people in Hadapsar come from outside areas all over Maharashtra. Manjari, Kolwadi and Loni kalbhor is the greenest and zero pollution residential zone in Hadapsar. Pune Lohegaon Airport and Pune Junction Railway Station are the nearest access points.

The 87 industrial units in Ramtekdi industrial area that have been protesting against the garbage processing plant nearby have decided take the legal route to bring about a solution. The Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) had established the plant, which processes 80-100 tons of garbage a day, in September last year. Every evening, the stench affects residents at Gadital, Satav Wadi, Mahadev Wadi, and Mundhwa Road and so on. Spread over 150 acres near Hadapsar, the Ramtekdi industrial area has engineering, food industry and liquor units.

The Hadapsar constituency, with 3.62 lakh voters has the second highest number of voters after Vadgaon Sheri (3.65 lakh). Both these constituencies were

formed during the process of delimitation. The Hadapsar constituency has registered as many as 4,005 new voters during the last drive, which is highest among all constituencies. Generally Marathi and Mali Caste is the major population of this constituency. Apart from Marathi and Mali Caste Muslims, Christians and OBC population is also found here.

3.4.2 Geography of Selected Wards, 120 Kondhwa, 121 NIBM, 122 Mithanagar

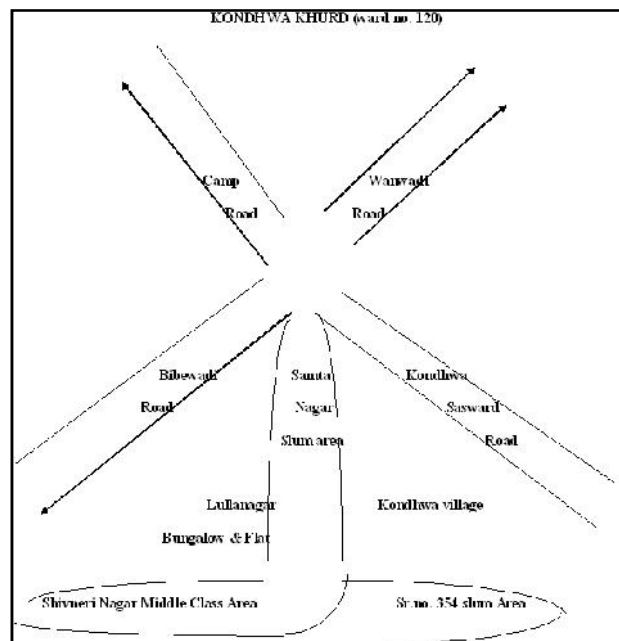
i) Geographical Profile of Kondhwa (ward no. 120)

This Ward namely Kondhwa Khurd includes:

- 1) Kondhwa village
- 2) Survey. no.354 slum area
- 3) Samta nagar slum area
- 4) Shivnerinagar cosmopolitan area
- 5) Lullanagar Bungalow and Apartments

Total population of this ward is 25014 and total male population is 12896 and female population is 12118.

KONDHWA KHURD (ward no. 120)



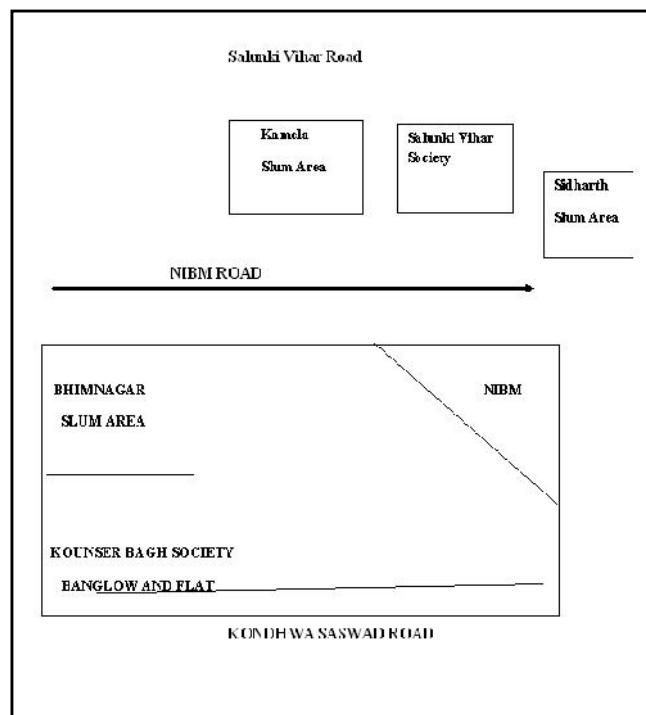
Map 3.4.2 (i)

ii) Geographical Profile of NIBM (ward no. 121)

- 1) Kouser Baugh area where most residents are Muslim communities
- 2) NIBM Bramha Majestrate, Kubera Colony cosmopolitan area
- 3) Kamela Slum Area
- 4) Sidharth Slum Area
- 5) Bhimnagar Slum Area
- 6) Salunki Vihar society where all retired army peoples are staying.

Total population of this ward is 34937 and total male population is 1372 and female population is 765.

NIBM WARD No. 121



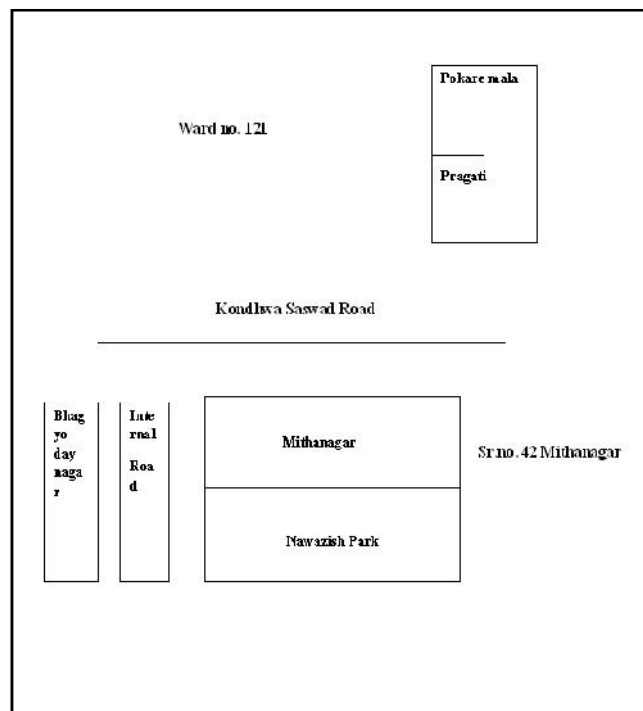
Map 3.4.2 (ii)

iii) Geographical Profile of Mithanagar (ward no. 122)

- 1) Mithanagar Survey. no. 4950
- 2) Nawazish Park
- 3) Durrani Complex
- 4) S.No.42
- 5) Pragati Park and Pokare Mala
- 6) Bhagyoday Nagar
- 7) Kirti Apartment

Total population of this ward is 49363 and total male population is 25607 and female population is 23693.

MITHANAGAR WARD No. 122



Map 3.4.2(iii)

3.4.3 Historical Profile of Selected Wards

i) Historical Profile of Hadapsar Constituency

Earlier this constituency was under the administration of Pune Cantonment Board and excluding some of the rural and urban area of Hadapsar a new constituency as Hadapsar was formed in 2009. Hadapsar as a constituency is included under Shirur Lok Sabha Constituency. This Constituency was under ward no 7 of Pune Cantonment Board previously. This ward included Camp area and most of the areas of Hadapsar. This was under rural administration i.e. GramPanchayat. Manjri. Phursungi, Vadki, Dhankawdi, Kondwa, Undri, Yewlewadi, Pisoli; Uruli kanchan was included as wards under Hadapsar Constituency.

ii) Historical Profile of Kondhwa (ward no.120)

Kondhwa village is an old historical place. This village was established in Pune Municipal Corporation in the year 1952. The villagers are having four hundred years background. These villagers are basically farmers. Most of the villagers are Marathas.

iii) Historical Profile of NIBM (ward no. 121)

NIBM ward is newly formed in 2007 this is the area where kondhwa villages were doing forming business they have sold their forms to builders. The builders lobby had constructed Bungalows, buildings apartment. High class people are staying in some parts of this area poor people are also staying in the slum area.

iv) Historical Profile of Mithanagar (ward no. 122)

Mithanagar is area which has developed after 1990 before this the Kondhwa villages were doing farming in 1997 this area was merged in Pune municipal corporate. Most of the Muslim communities are staying middle class peoples have constructed them house and apartments the separate ward is made for election there are about 17000 voters.

3.4.4 Socio-Economic Profile of Selected Wards

i) Socio –Economic Profile of Hadapsar Constituency

Agriculture is the main source of income in the area under gram Panchayat in Hadapsar Constituency. In remaining area service sector is the main source of income. There are prominent industries in this constituency for example Bharat Forge, Hadapsar Industrial Area, Ponawan Institute, Siram Company. The rural population of this constituency does have their property in the form of buildings which is given on rent and that is the source of income. In newly constructed societies the fourth class has a great opportunity to earn their livelihood.

ii) Socio-Economic Profile of ward no 120

iii) Socio-Economic Profile of ward no 121

iv) Socio-Economic Profile of ward no 122

The most prominent communities here include Marathas, Mahars, Mali, and Muslims. Many Masjids, and few temples are found throughout the area. It epitomizes Marathi culture, which lays emphasis on education, arts and crafts, music, and theatre “Aai Prathishthan” is a group of youngsters under the Shiv Sena who celebrates Kondwa Mohatsav every year where they arrange few games for all people including housewives. In this celebration film actors and eminent personalities are invited as guest. Gazal, Dance Competition, Lavni, Singing Competition are arranged as a part of entertainment in this mohatsav. People of slum area take participation in election on large scale. Agriculture and related occupation is the main source of income. Earlier people from Maratha community were in great number and agriculture was their prominent source of income but due to the newly developed areas service sector has become main source of income. In this area now there are migrants from Pune Camp, Nana Peth, Bhawani Peth and other city areas due to enhanced economic profile provided by IT sector. Now this area has become a cosmopolitan area religiously as well as economically. Here there are agriculturists, vendors, rickshaw pullers, petty businessmen and servicemen.

Village profile has old temples. They are been renovated. New developed area has near about 50 Masjids and Madrasas.

In this area there is no influential muslim leader. Mr. Firoz Bengali has entered in to politics but he has criminal background. He lost the election due to one vote. Mr. Hassan Khan won the elections of 2012 with 1700 votes. His party is N.C.P. Mr. Hassan Shaikh and Mr. Shafi Pathan are important social worker from muslim community but their parties are different. Mr. Raees Sundke from M.N.S. has won 2012 election with 4700votes. His party is M.N.S. His base is money but there are no extraordinary achievements of this person. He doesn't have any influential personality. Mr. Rashid Khan is from Congress Party but now he is more active with educational activities.

3.4.5 Political Profile of Selected Wards

i) Political Profile of Hadapsar Constituency

The Hadapsar constituency being newly-carved, equations have changed for some of the strongholds in the area these assembly elections. While there are no prominent rebels in Hadapsar, the contest will be among sitting MLA Chandrakant Shivarkar (Congress), Mahadev Babar (Shiv Sena) and Vasant More (MNS). Claiming that the Hadapsar constituency is not new to him, Congress candidate Shivarkar, on the other hand, said, "The area has been a stronghold for Congress for many years. Even if delimitation has taken place, it will not quite affect our chances." Shivarkar began his career as a PMC corporator in 1974, later became mayor in 1984 and then graduated to state politics after he was elected MLA for the first time in 1990 when he trounced his arch political rival Vitthal Tupe. There was no looking back since, and Shivarkar was re-elected to the state assembly in 1999 and 2004 by defeating Kailash Kodre and Leelavati Tupe respectively. Shivarkar said building new flyovers in order to de-congest traffic jams, which is a major issue in Hadapsar, will be on the top of his agenda. He said, "Floating new water schemes, slum rehabilitation programmers, building a new cultural hall are also among our agendas." In fact, Mayor Rajlaxmi Bhosale (of NCP) had shown interest to her party to contest the Hadapsar, which eventually went to Congress. In Hadapsar Bhartiya Janata Party, Nationalist Congress Party Shiv Sena and Maharashtra Navnirman Sena are the influential political parties. There are 95 wards, 18 Corporators, 1 member of Zilla Parishad and 2 panchayat samiti of Municipal Corporation are there. Lok Sabha 45%, Vidhan Sabha 55% and Local governing bodies 60% to 65%.

Former mayor and local corporator Rajlakshmi Bhosale's Disha Foundation runs the garbage processing unit. The other two NCP corporators, Dattatray Sasane and Anand Halkunde, were against the garbage processing unit being set up in the industrial area. "The unit was sanctioned by the standing committee. A couple of corporators from Hadapsar area opposed the plant, but the majority voted in its favor," said Halkunde. Every evening, the stench affects residents at Gadital, Satav Wadi, Mahadev Wadi, and Mundhwa Road and so on. Noble Hospital and some small clinics are also affected. Spread over 150 acres near Hadapsar, the Ramtekdi industrial area has engineering, food industry and liquor units.

ii) Political Profile of Kondhwa (ward no. 120)

Babar, a senior corporator representing the Kondhwa civic ward since 1992, is seen as a vital cog in the Sena's network, particularly in the eastern suburbs of the city. Kondhwa, which comes under the Hadapsar constituency has a large base of Muslim voters and have been faithful to Babar for long. "I have been working here for about 20 years and I have faith in my people. There are quite a number of lawyers in Kondhwa and adjoining areas and I have their support as well. The delimitation will not affect any of my chances," Babar told TOI on Sunday. The present ward was included under ward no 17. From this ward Mahadev Babar from Shiv Sena, Sachin Navare from Bhartiya Janata Party and Rachna Tilekar are the leaders. The elections of this ward are conducted under the leadership of MLA Babar.

Again in 2006 the wards were reframed which divided the ward into three parts ward no 120 Kondwa Khurd Gavthan, ward no 121 NIBM Road, ward no 122 Bhimnagar. Ward no 122 is highly Muslim populated area who settled here in search of employment and residence. Population here belongs to middle class and lower class.

Babar was PMC deputy mayor from 2002 to 2005 and has been among the vocal corporations on issues related to drinking water. He single-handedly helped Sena spread its network in Kondhwa and adjoining region. Even OBC population is found but lacks effective leadership.

Pune Municipal Corporation elections were conducted in the year 2007. This ward no. 120 was established for general gents sitting corporator Mr. M. R. Babar (Shiv Sena) he is a MLA. Mr. S.D. Lonkar (NCP) Mr. J.R. Shaikh (Congress). Mr. M.R. Babar won this election by margin of 1800 votes over NCP candidate Mr. S.D. Lonkar.

This ward had total voters of 1600 out of which 45% voters casted their votes. During this election it was found that the slum area voters came out heavily as compared to Bungalow and apartment voters. During this ward and study it was found that the most of the Hindu people voted for Shivsena candidate because they felt that this is the party which would make civic development. Ward no 120 is considered as a part of Pune Municipal Corporation. Bhagyodyanagar and Shivnerinagar is Hindu populated area which helped Babar to strengthen his vote bank.

Ward no 120 i.e. Kondwa Khurd Gavthan is included under Pune Municipal Corporation. In this ward Maratha and OBC population is there and that is the vote bank from very inception of Shiv Sena in Kondwa. In Kondwa Gavthan agriculture and related occupation to agriculture is the main source of income.

iii) Political Profile of NIBM (ward no.121)

This ward no. 121 was general meant for gents also.

Candidates contested for election

- 1) Mr. T Lonkar (Shiv Sena)
- 2) Mr. Anil Sundke (NCP)
- 3) Mr. Ilyas Kasi (Congress)

Mr. T Lonkar won the election by margin of 750 votes In ward no 121 there are two slum areas i.e. Sidhartnagar and Bhimnagar ,Kausarbaug and Sainik Nagar Society ,Salunke Vihar is highly educated area. People of slum area take participation in election on large scale on the basis of effective mass support Tanaji Lonkar have defeated Anis Sundke.

iv) Political Profile of Mithanagar (ward no. 122)

This ward was reserved for general ladies Candidates contested for election

- 1) Mrs. Mega Babar (Shiv Sena)
- 2) Mrs. Marium Bangali (RPI)
- 3) Mrs. Mulani (NCP)

Mrs. Megha Baber has won the election by margin of 1 (one) vote only.

Most of the educated Muslims voters had voted to her. Bharat Chowdhary from Shiv Sena and Aarti Babar from Maharashtra Navnirman Sena are the Corporators from this ward. At present Shiv Sena is powerful political party in this ward. Because of Muslim representation or leadership from MNS the Muslim voters are bifurcated towards MNS. Growing influence of MNS had led to the decline of voters for Shiv Sena in Kondwa Gavthan.

Earlier the land rates were high but due to the development and facilities provided under the rule of Shiv Sena the land rates has raised to Rs.20,00,000/- per 1000 sq ft. Most of the Muslims, Christians, OBC and Hindu population do live in slum area. In ward no 121 there are two slum areas i.e. Sidhartnagar and Bhimnagar ,Kausarbaug and Sainik Nagar Society ,Salunke Vihar is highly educated area.

People of slum area take participation in election on large scale. On the basis of effective mass support Tanaji Lonkar have defeated Anis Sundke. In comparison to other areas of Pune Kondhwa is highly Muslim populated area. Kamela is slaughter house and in Mithanagar there were two Bone Factories, the people were not interested to settle here and invest in property. Since Camp is nearby place Muslims population has shifted here. Many estate agents in this ward are Muslims. But this have provided an opportunity to terrorist organization to settle down here and have taken advantage of it. Yasin Bhatkal centre of terrorist activity in Pune was in Kondhwa

Ward number 120,121,122 has come into existence in 2007. From 2007 to 2012 ward number 120 had Mr. Mahadev Baber as he is corporator from Shiv Sena party. We had Mr. Tanaji Lonkar as corporator from Shiv Sena party from 2007 to

2012. Ward number 122 had Mrs. Medha Baber as its corporator from Shiv Sena party. She enjoyed tenure from 2007 to 2012. In 2002 corporation election parbhag (Of two wards) number 26 which is a male candidate ward Mr. Mahadev Babar was elected. From women O.B.C. group Mrs. Ranjana Tikekar and from backward class candidature Mr. Sachin Manaware were elected. These three candidates were elected from B.J.P.- Shiv Sena alliance.

In 2012 corporation elections parbhag 26 was divided again in to more three wards. From ward number 63 we have Mr. Bharat Chaudhari from Shiv Sena and Mrs. Arti Baber from Maharashtra Navnirman Sena as elected candidates. In this election Mr. Mahadev Baber from Shiv Sena was defeated from ward number 62. Mr. Prashant Jagtap and Mrs. Nanda Lonkar from Nationalist Congress party got elected. Mr. Tanajoi Lonkar of Shiv Sena party got defeated. From ward number 62 Mr. Yogesh Tikekar and Mrs. Sangita Thosar got elected. They are candidates of B.J.P. - Shiv Sena alliance.

Mrs. Ratna Tikekar from B.J.P., Mrs Megha Baber from Shiv Sena party Mrs. Arti Baber from M.N.S. and Mrs. Nanda Lonkar from N.C.P. are the ladies (women) corporators of the wards selected for the research.

Today's Hadapsar Assembly constituency was earlier known as cantonment. In 1995 this constituency had Mr. Suryakant Lonkar as member of legislative assembly. From 1999 to 2009 Mr. Balasaheb Shivarkar was member of Legislative Assembly (MLA). In 2009 Mr. Mahadev Baber become the MLA of this constituency. He is from Shiv Sena party.

3.5. References:

- Dr.Santosh Dastane, "Glimpses of Maharashtra" ,Dastane Ramchandra & Company, Pune, 2002.
- <http://pune.gov.in/punecollectorate/PuneCity/Climate.aspx>
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CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

India, with a population of around one billion persons is the second most populous country in the world after china. Located in south Asia, the country is spread over an area of 3.2 million square km, which makes it the seventh largest country in terms of area. The country was under British Rule for about one hundred and fifty years before 1947, when it became independent. In the year 1950, it declared itself a republic.

The political and administrative structure of the country is largely inherited from the British. The British introduced local democracy in India by constituting Municipal Councils and Municipal Corporations in the last quarters of the nineteenth century. They also provide a federal structure of the country with the Government of India Act, 1935. Although local Government in India is a subject of the state Governments, the seventy-third and seventy-fourth amendments to the constitutions of India now make it obligatory for the state Governments to recognize local bodies, to hold regular elections to them and to give them appropriate finances.

The urban local bodies are of three grades; municipal corporations for cities with a population of more than (0.3 million), municipal councils for towns smaller than this population limit and Nagar Panchayats for village in transition to becoming towns. These bodies are elected on a universal suffrage basis, with all citizens above the age of eighteen years of having a right to vote.

This research was conducted in Pune city of Maharashtra at the Hadapsar Assembly constituency. Under this constituency three wards were selected; ward no. 120, 121 and 122 named as Kondwa Khurd, Mithanagar and NIBM respectively. The interview was conducted of 450 people. With the help of this methodology it has been seen that the people with the full vigor participate in elections in their respective areas. The total no. of voters is like this 16500 from ward no. 120, 16000 from ward no 121 and 17000 from ward no. 122 respectively in the year 2007.

The candidates were from Shiv-Sena, RPI and NCP in this election. In ward number 121 Mithanagar the candidates are all women because this ward is reserved

for the general ladies. Mrs. Megha Babar of Shiv-Sena, Mrs. Maruim Bangali of RPI and Mrs. Mulani of NCP. Mrs. Megha Babar of Shiv-Sena has won the election by margin of one vote.

For this particular research work on “Political Attitudes of Women- a Comparative Study of Muslim and non Muslim Women” the Hadapsar assembly constituency and three wards viz ward no. 120, 121, and 122 named Kondhwa Khurd, Meethanagar, NIBM were selected respectively. A random sampling of four hundred and fifty women voters from both the communities was done. Keeping in mind the objectives of the research a questionnaire of twenty three questions was prepared. This questionnaire is divided into three variables that are socio-economic background, political participation and political Attitudes. This interview was conducted to know how much women are aware and interested in politics, elections, political parties and various issues related with government. Various variables of the interview also focus on the factors influencing on women’s political participation and political attitudes.

The final variable also discuss that what is the attitude of the women towards the government, elections, political parties and other issues related to the government. Women have shown positive attitude towards and satisfaction about their representatives and political institutions. The following tables explain the various variables of this interview in detail.

Socio- Economic Background of the Respondent

Table 4.2

Classification of the Respondent on the Basis of Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
20-25	45	9.4
26-35	123	25.7
36-50	143	29.9
51-60	80	16.7
60 and above	87	18.2
Total	478	100.0

The above table no. 4.2 reveals the age of the respondent who was interviewed. 29.9 % of the respondent was in the age group of 36 to 50 years and 25.7 % of the respondent was in the age group of 26 to 35 years which shows that maximum population is of young people. Only 9.4 % respondents were in the category of 20 to 25 years whereas 16.7% are in 50 to 60 years and 18.2% are 60 and above.

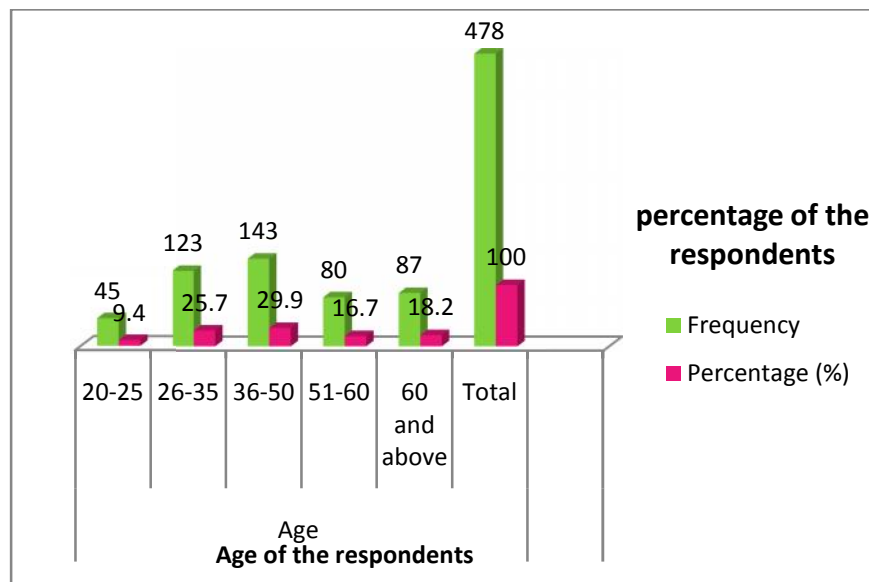


Figure 4.2 Age of the Respondent

Table 4.3

Classification of the Respondents on the Basis of Religion

Religion	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Christian	28	5.9
Hindu	248	51.9
Jain	06	1.3
Muslim	184	38.5
Sikh	02	0.4
Other	10	2.1
Total	478	100.0

The above table no. 4.3 reveals that majority of the respondent that is 51.9% belong to Hindu Religion. 38.5% respondents are Muslims. 9.7 % respondents are from Christians, Janis, Sikh and other Religion.

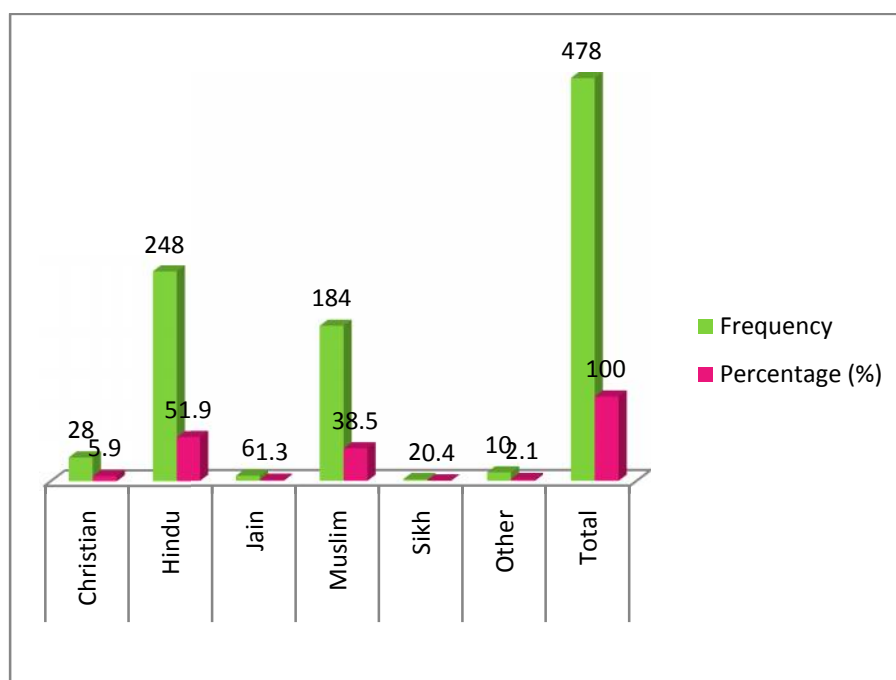


Figure 4.3 Religion of the Respondent

Table 4.4

Classification of the Respondents on the Basis of Marital Status

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Married	358	74.9
Unmarried	77	16.1
Widowed	43	9.0
Total	478	100.0

In the above table 4.4 we found that majority of the respondents that is 74.9% are married women and 16.1% are unmarried women. In this study we found that 9% of the women respondents are widows.

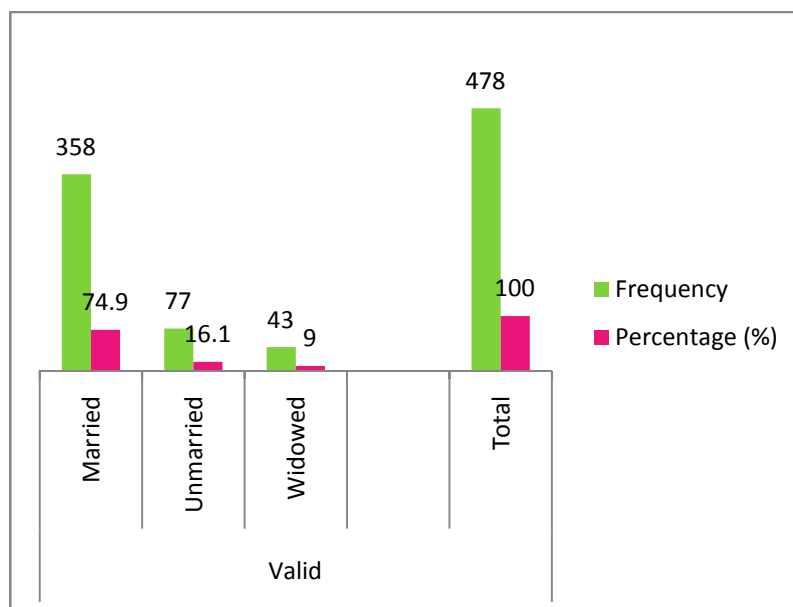


Figure 4.4 Marital Statuses of the Respondents

Table 4.5

Classification of the Respondents on the Basis of Education

Education level of respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Non Literate	48	10.0
Below Primary	32	6.7
Primary/ Middle Fail	13	2.7
Middle Pass/ Metric Fail	33	6.9
Metric	91	19.0
College No Degree	144	30.1
Graduate	95	19.9
Post Graduate	14	2.9
Professional Degree	08	1.7
Total	478	100.0

The above table no 4.5 indicates that 30.1% of the respondents reached till college level but only 19.9% of the respondents were succeeded to get the graduation degree 2.9% respondents was having post graduate degree. Only 1.7% respondents are professionals. 19% of the respondents are metric where as 10% of the respondents illiterate. 16.3% of the respondents fall in the category of primary and secondary level but unable to complete metric.

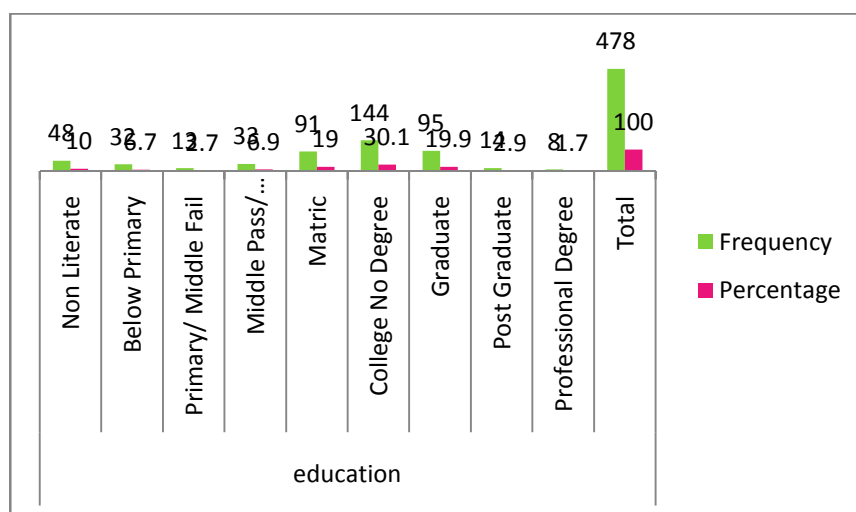


Figure 4.5 Educational Level of Respondents

Table 4.6

Level of Education of Respondent's Father

Level of Education of Respondent's Father	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Non Literate	151	31.6
Below Primary	29	6.1
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	06	1.3
Middle Pass / Metric Fail	16	3.3
Metric	111	23.2
College No Degree	61	12.8
Graduate	102	21.3
Post Graduate	02	0.4
Total	478	100.0

The above table no.4.6 shows that majority of respondents' fathers are illiterate. 23.2% are metric. 21.3 % are graduate whereas 12.8% respondents' fathers attended the college but not able to get the degree. Only 2 respondents' fathers are post graduated. 10.7% of the respondents' fathers fall in the category of primary and secondary level of education but unable to complete metric.

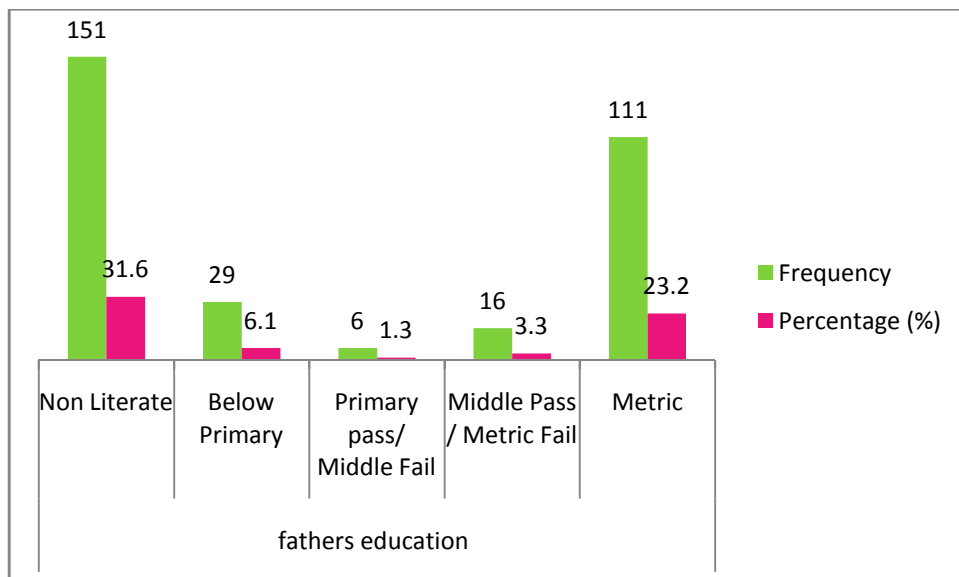


Figure 4.6 Level of Education of Respondent's Father

Table 4.7

Level of Education of Respondent's Mother

Level of Education of Respondent's Mother's	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Non Literate	236	49.4
Below Primary	14	2.9
Primary Pass / Middle Fail	13	2.7
Middle Pass / Metric Fail	30	6.3
Metric	71	14.9
College No Degree	66	13.8
Graduation	47	9.8
Post Graduation	01	0.2
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.7 indicates that majority of respondents mothers (49.4%) are illiterate. 14.9% mothers are metric. 9.8% are graduate. 13.8 % is unable to complete their graduation. Only one respondent's mother is a post graduate. 11.9% respondents' mothers fall in the category of primary and secondary level of education but unable to complete metric.

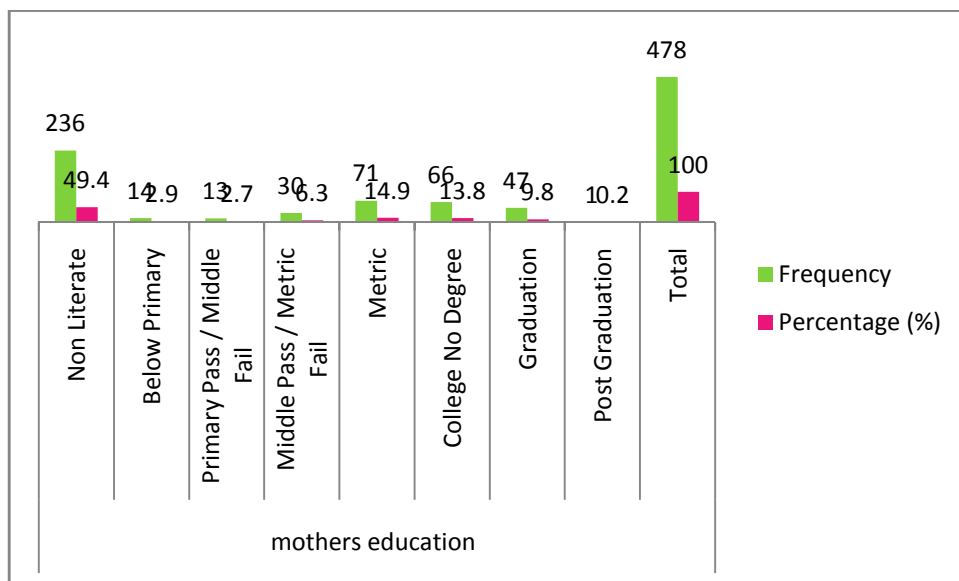


Figure 4.7 Level of Education of Respondent's Mother

Table 4.8

Occupational Classification of the Respondent

Occupational Classification of the Respondent	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Engineers	02	0.4
Doctor	02	0.4
Lawyer	04	0.8
College / University Teacher	04	0.8
Other Higher Professional	10	2.1
School Teacher	17	3.6
Other Lower Professional	08	1.7
Traditional Work (Madrassas)	02	0.4
Other Administration (Services)	13	2.7
Small businessmen	07	1.5
Petty Businessmen	02	0.4
Tailor	06	1.3
Unskilled Labor	04	0.8
Housewife	333	69.7
Student	25	5.2
N.A	39	8.2
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.8 shows that 77.82% respondents are house wives. Only 9.8% of the respondents are professionals namely teachers, professors, lawyers, doctors and engineers. 3.2% respondents are engaged in tailoring, vegetable vendors, small shops etc. 2.7% respondents are in service whereas 4 respondents are unskilled laborers working at construction sight 5.2 % respondents are students. 0.4% respondents are running Madras's.

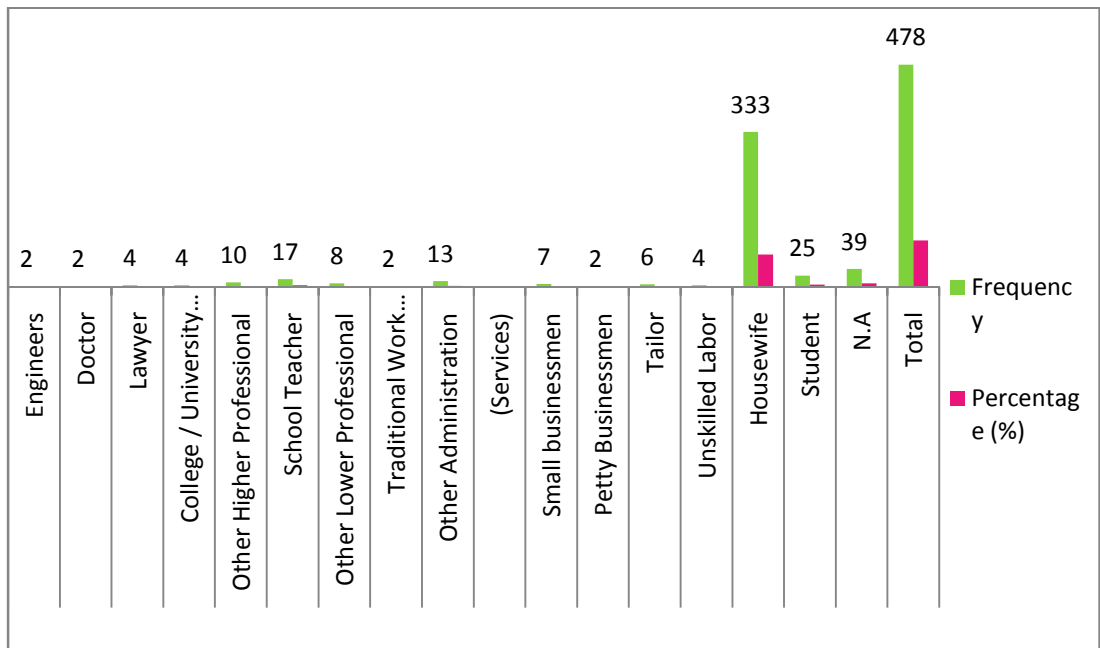


Figure 4.8 Occupational Classification of the Respondent

Table 4.9

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Language

Language of respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Marathi	129	27.0
Hindi	285	59.6
Tamil	08	1.7
Telegu	10	2.1
Bengali	14	2.9
Bihari	04	0.8
Urdu	04	0.8
Punjabi	02	0.4
English	12	2.5
Konkani	04	0.8
Tulu	02	0.4
Kannada	02	0.4
Kashmiri	02	0.4
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.9 shows that the maximum respondents (59.6%) speaks Hindi language whereas 29.5% respondents speak regional language that is Marathi. 1.7% speak Tamil, 2.1 % speak Telegu, 2.9% speak Bengali. 4 respondent speak Bihari, 4 Urdu , 2 Punjabi, 4 Konkani, 2 Tulu, 2 Kannada and 2 respondents' speak Kashmiri.

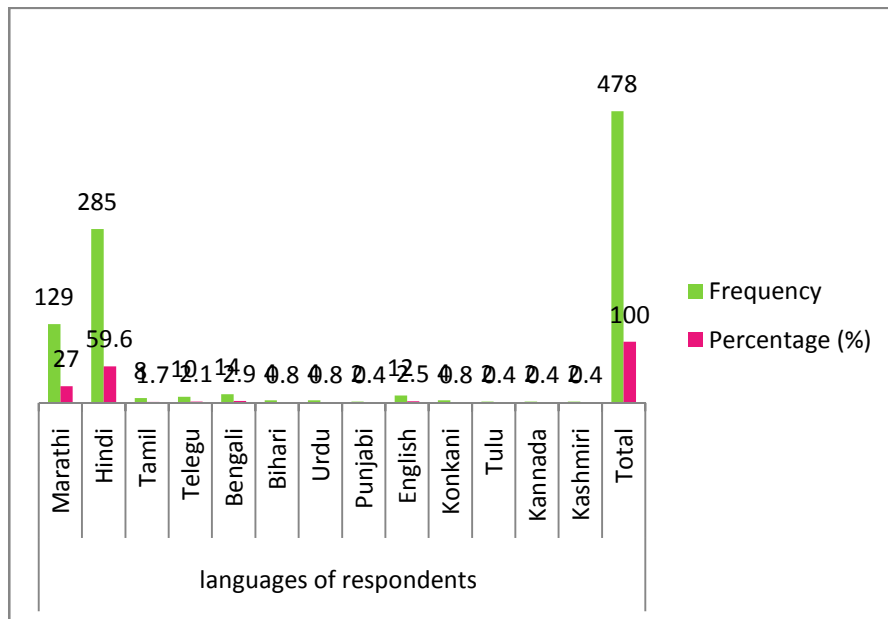


Figure 4.9 Language of respondents

Table 4.10

Classification of Respondent's Family According to Place of Residence

Place of Residence	Frequency	Percentage (%)
One room	156	32.63
One room with kitchen	48	10.04
1 BHK	98	20.50
2 BHK	85	17.78
3 BHK/ Bungalow	89	18.61
Juggi/ Jhopri/ Slum	2	0.4
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.10 shows that 32.63% respondents stay in one room. 10.04% respondents stay in one room with kitchen. 20.50% stay in 1 BHK. 17.78% are having 2 BHK where as 18.61% respondents stay in either 3 BHK or Bungalow. Only 2 respondent's \ stays in Juggi/ Jhopri / Slum.

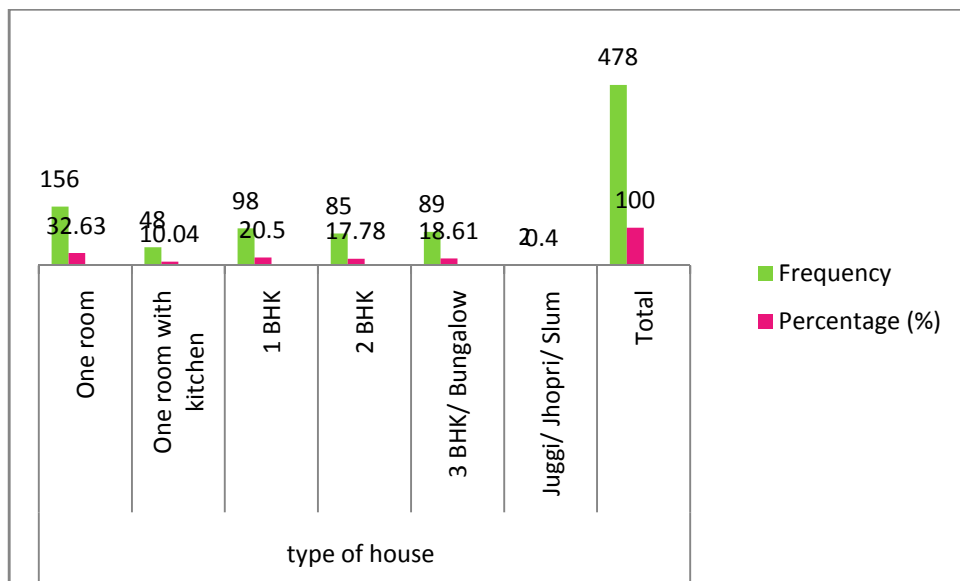


Figure 4.10 Place of Residence

Table 4.11

Classification of Respondents as Per Household Monthly Income

Income of the Respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Less than 1000	07	1.5
1000 to 2000	08	1.7
2000 to 3000	20	4.2
3000 to 5000	94	19.7
5000 to 10000	112	23.4
10000 to 20000	54	11.3
20000 and above	136	28.5
Don't Know / Can't say	47	9.8
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.11 shows 23.4% of the respondents family income falls in the category of Rs. 5000/- to 10000/- per month, 28.5 % are having monthly income more than Rs. 20000/- . 11.3% respondents family income is in the category of Rs. 10000/- to 20000/- . 19.7% respondents family income is Rs. 3000/- to 5000/- per month. 4.2% respondents family income is Rs. 2000/- to 3000/- . 1.7% respondents family monthly income is Rs. 1000/- to 2000/-. 1.5% family income is below Rs. 1000/- per month. In this study we found that 9.8 % respondents were unable to say anything about their monthly income of family.

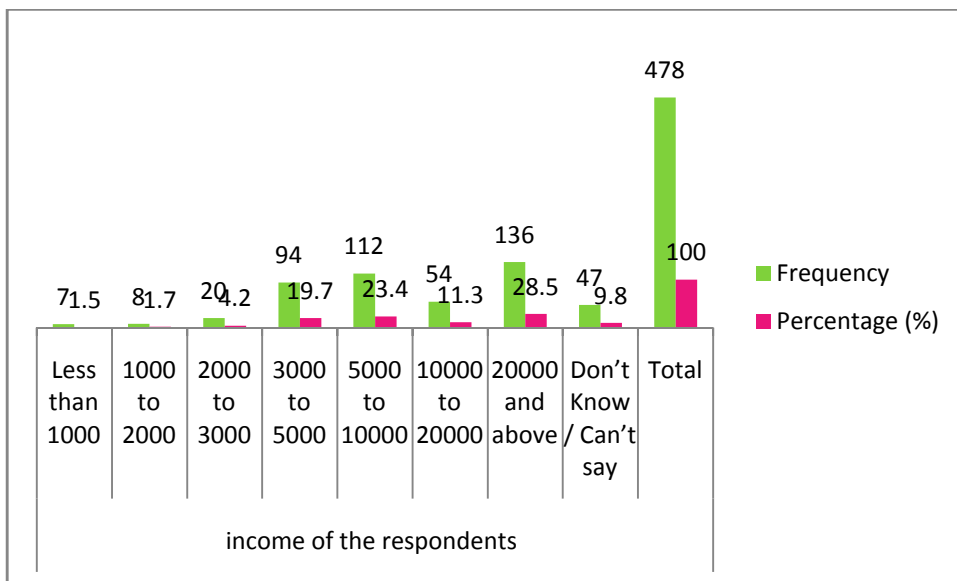


Figure 4.11 Incomes of the Respondents

Political Awareness and Political Participation

Table 4.12

Classification of Respondents on the basis of their Interest in Politics

Interest in Politics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Too Much	09	1.9
Very Little	102	21.3
Not Very Special	110	23.0
Not At All	162	33.9
DK	95	19.9
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.12 indicates that majority of the respondent's i.e. 33.9% say that they are not interested in politics at all. 19.9% respondents were not confident about their interest. 23% respondent say that they have some interest but politics is not very special for them. 21.3% respondents show very little interest in only 1.9% respondents showed high interest in politics.

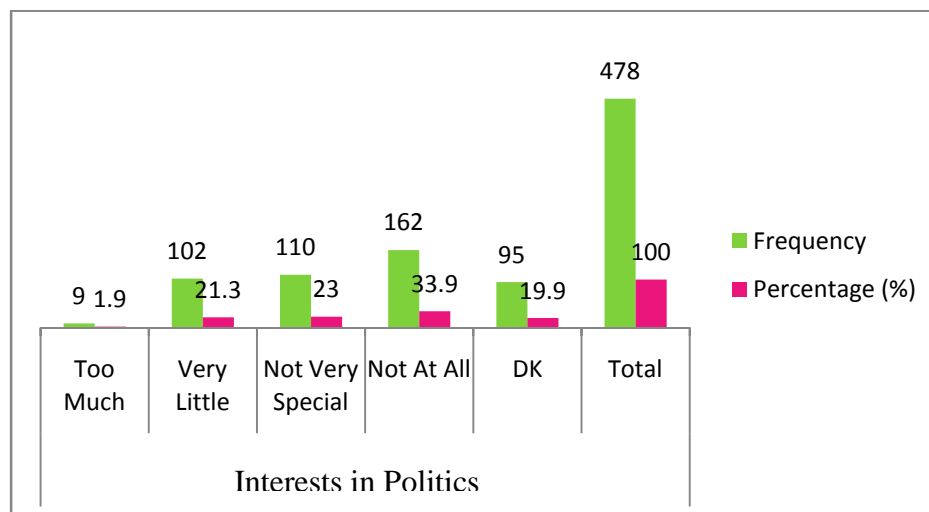


Figure 4.12 Interests in Politics

Table 4.13

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Various Political Activities

Political Activities	Responses		
	Yes	No	Total
Sign An Application	15 (3.1%)	463	478
To Participate in Boycott	06 (1.3%)	472	478
To Participate in Morcha	13 (2.7%)	465	478
Others	32 (6.7%)	446	478
Participation in Group Views	06 (1.3%)	472	478
Participation in Colony Problem	73 (15.3%)	405	478

The above table 4.13 shows that (30.33%) respondents participate in various political activities namely sign an application (3.1%), to participate in boycott (1.3%) , Morcha (2.7%) and It means that only 13.80% respondents have actively participated in the political activities. (1.3%) respondents participated in group view activities. 15.3% of the respondents get involved in solving problems of colony or their residential area. other political activities such as campaigning, contesting election, agitation etc (6.7%) .

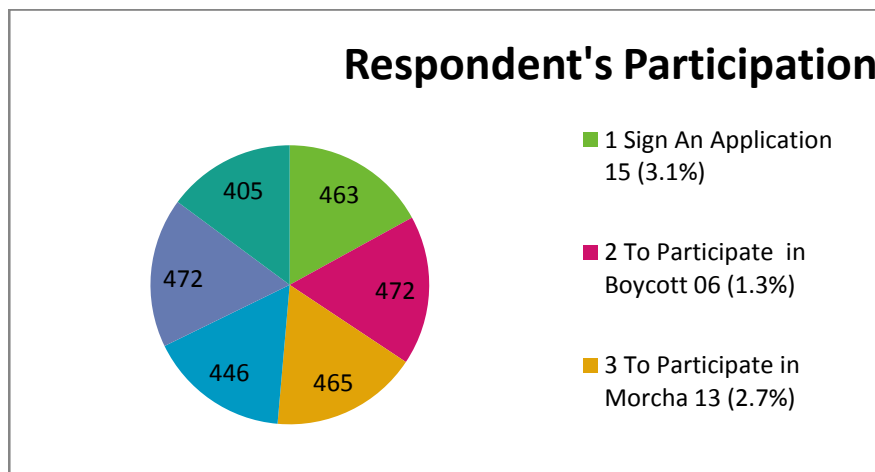


Figure 4.13 Political Activities

Table 4.14

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Interest in Campaigning of Elections

Campaigning Of Elections	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Not at All	336	70.3
Little bit	69	14.4
Much	21	4.4
DK	52	10.9
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.14 shows that majority of the respondents (70.3%) are not at all interested in campaigning whereas 14.4% of the respondents show little interest . only 4.4% showed a very high interest towards campaigning. 10.9% of the respondents were not sure of their interest .

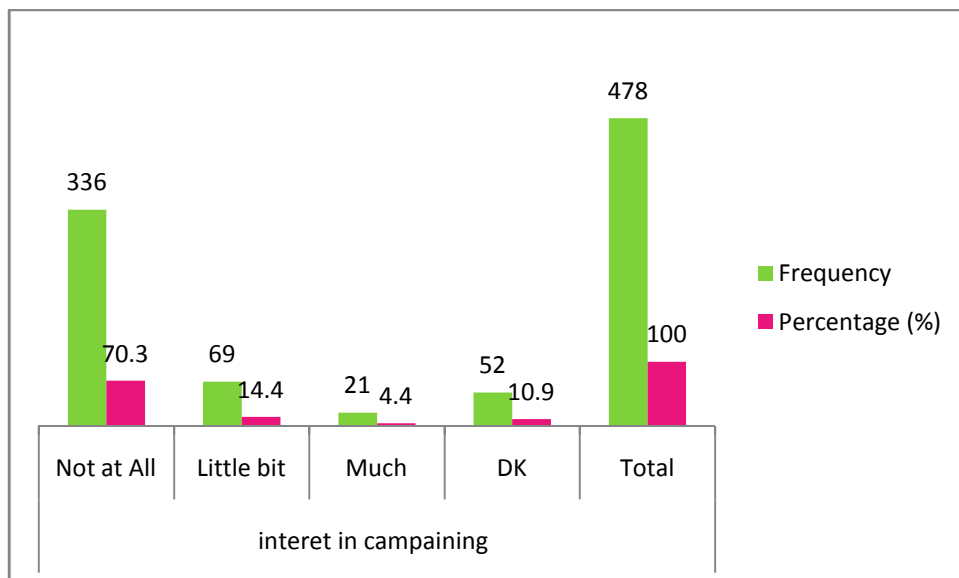


Figure 4.14 Campaigning Of Elections

Table 4.15

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Political Discussion with Friends

Political Discussion with Friends	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Many a Time	27	5.6
Some Time	212	44.4
Never	91	19.0
Can't Say	148	31.0
Total	478	100.0

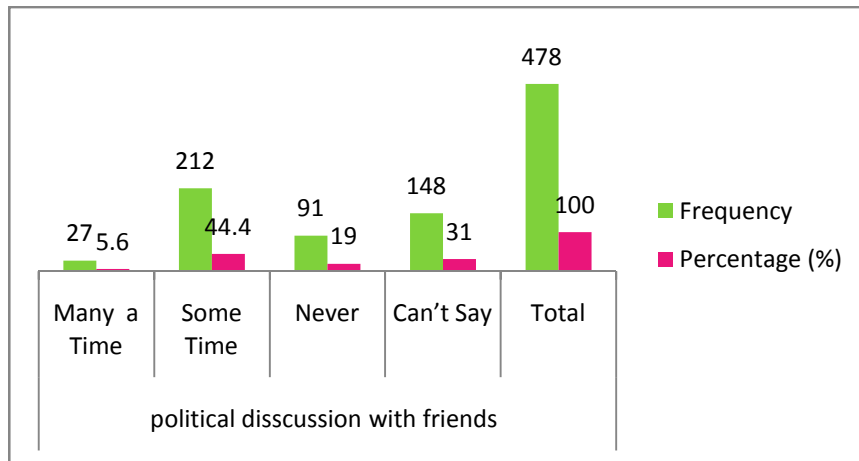


Figure 4.15 Political Discussions with Friends

Table 4.16

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Political Discussion with Family

Political Discussion with Family	Frequency	Percentage (%)
With any one	22	4.6
Close Friends and Family member	213	44.6
Can't say	124	25.9
NA	119	24.9
Total	478	100.0

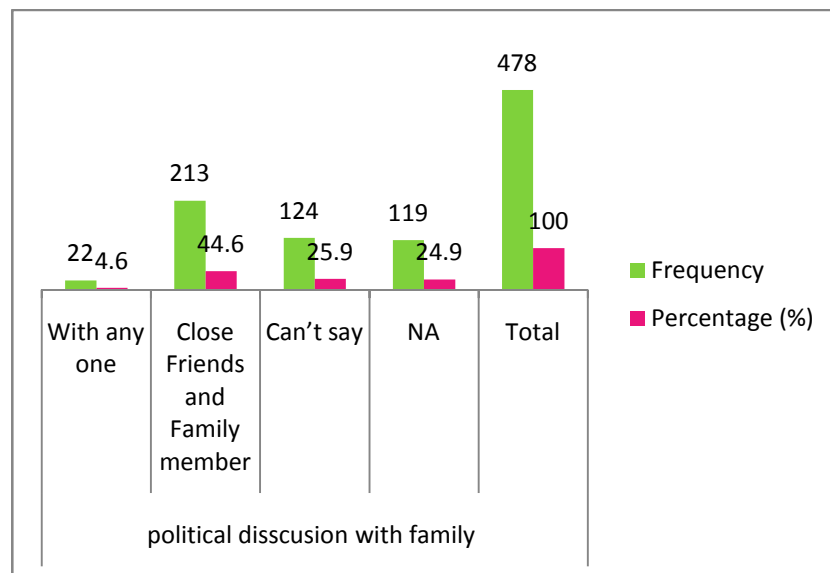


Figure 4.16 Political Discussions with Family

Table no.4.17

Political Discussion with Friends and Family

Response	Family (Frequency, Percentage)	Friends (Frequency, Percentage)
Many Time	22 (4.6%)	27 (5.6%)
Some Time	213 (44.6%)	212 (44.4%)
Never	124 (25.9%)	91 (19.0%)
Can't Say	119 (24.9%)	148 (31.0%)
Total	478 (100)	478 (100)

The above table 4.17 indicates that 5.6% of the respondents discuss the political matters with their friends where as 4.6% discuss with their family members frequently. 44.4% of the respondents discuss on some or the other issues sometime with their friends whereas 44.6% discuss with their family members on some occasions. 19% of the respondents and 25.9% never discuss any political issues either with friends or family members respectively. 31% respondents can't say anything about their discussion with their friends and 24.9% with their family members.

Table 4.18

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Participation in Voting

Participation in Voting	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Vote for each election	83	17.4
Vote for many election	201	42.1
Vote for few election	73	15.3
Vote very rarely	90	18.8
Can't Say / Don't Know	09	1.9
NA	22	4.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.18 indicates that maximum for all the elections voting is done by 42.1% of the respondents. 17.4% respondents voted in each election. 15.3% voted for few elections. 18.8% respondents voted very rarely. 1.9% respondents were not sure of the number of the times they have voted. This question was not applicable to 4.6% respondents as their names are not enrolled in voters list or there was no elections taken place since the time they become adults

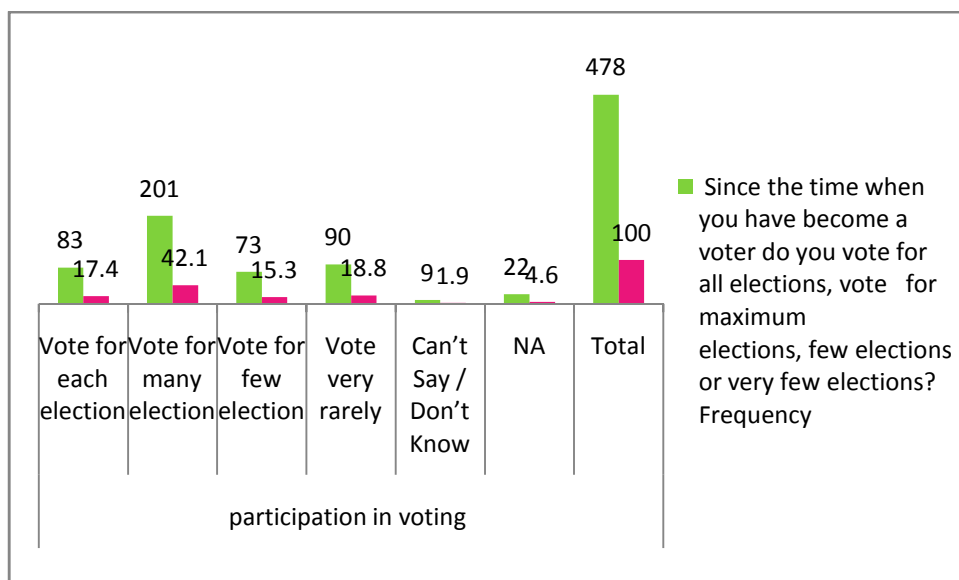


Figure 4.18 Respondents Participation in Voting

Political Attitudes

Table 4.19

Classification of Respondents on the Basis Influence while Voting in an Election

Influence on the Respondent	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Husband	55	11.5
Other Family members	104	21.8
Religious Leaders	03	0.6
Friends/ neighbor	02	0.4
Colleagues	02	0.4
Own Attitude	258	54.0
DK	54	11.3
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.19 indicates 54% respondent vote according to their own attitude. 11.5% respondents are influence by their Husband's attitude. 21.8% are influenced by other family members. 3 respondents mention that they are influenced by religious leaders. 2 respondents mentioned about friends and colleagues on their choice of voting. 11.3% of the respondents were not very sure with the answer.

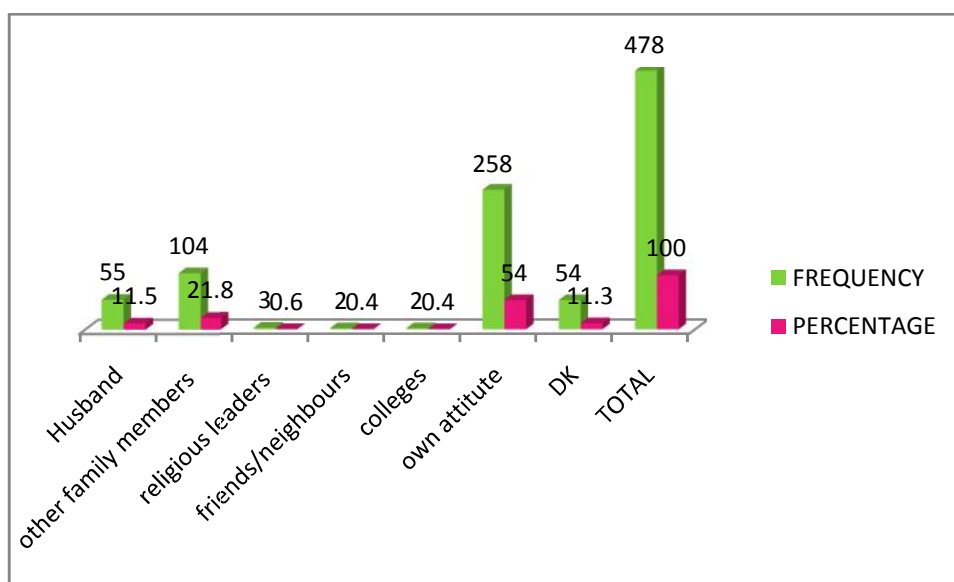


Figure 4.19 Respondent's Influence while voting for an Election

Table 4.20

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Attachment with any Political Party

Respondent's Attachment with any Political Party	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	03	0.6
No	383	80.1
No opinion	92	19.2
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.20 indicates that (80.1%) of the respondents do not have any attachment to anyone of the political party. Only 3 respondents are attached to any of the political party. 19.2% respondents were unable to give any opinion.

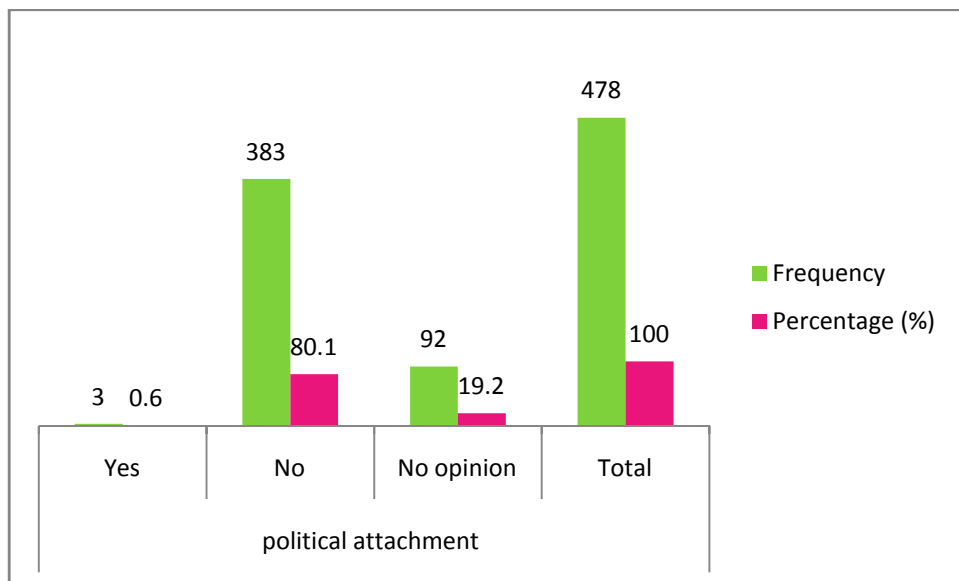


Figure 4.20 Respondent's Attachment with any Political Party

Table 4.21

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Name of the Political Party to which they are attached

Name of the political party	Frequency	Percentage (%)
CSDK	03	0.6
NA	475	99.4
Total	478	100.0

The table 4.21 indicates that 3 respondents who responded positively for their attachment with political party said the name of the political party. 99.4% of the respondents who has a negative answer about the attachment to political party (80.1%) as well as who couldn't give any opinion to this question (19.2%) this particular question was not applicable to them.

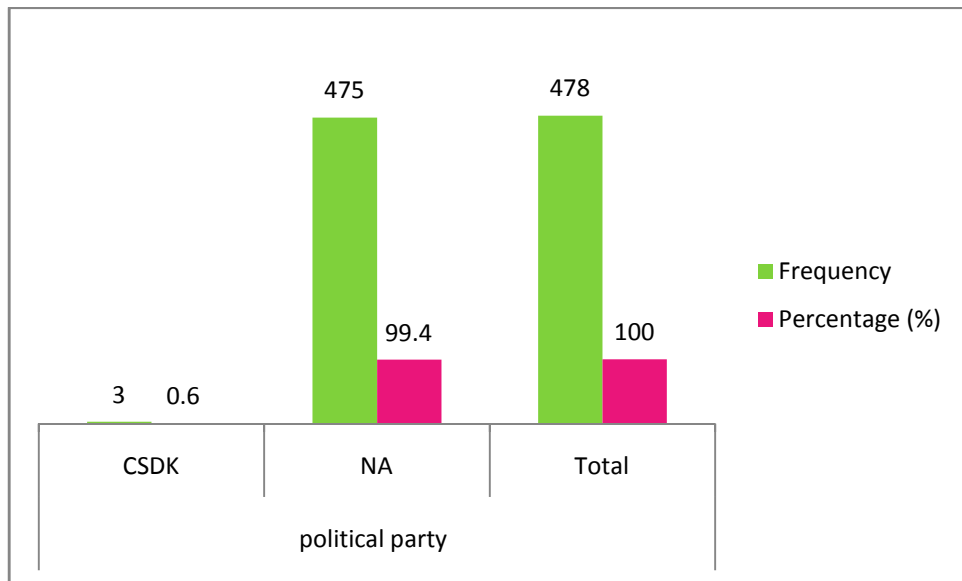


Figure 4.21 Name of the Political Party to which Respondent is attached

Table 4.22

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Government

Respondent's faith on Government	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	208	43.5
Some	144	30.1
Not Very Much	07	1.5
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	117	24.5
Total	478	100.0

The table 4.22 indicates that 43.5% of the respondents have great deal of faith on central government. 30.1% have some faith on central government. 24.5% couldn't give their opinion. 1.5% does not have much faith on central government. Only 2 respondents said that they do not have faith at all on central government.

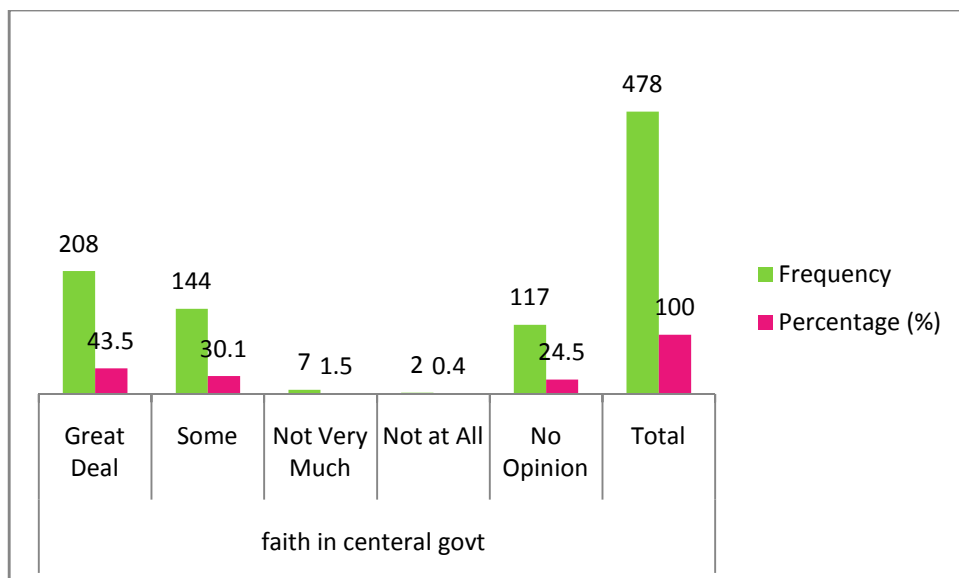


Figure 4.22 Respondent's Faith on Government

Table no. 4.23

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on State Government

Respondent's faith on State Government	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	111	23.2
Some	239	50.0
Not Very Much	09	1.9
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	117	24.5
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.23 shows that 50% of the respondents have some faith in state government. 24.5% of the respondents couldn't give their opinion about their faith on state government. Only 23.2% responded that they have great deal of faith on state government. 1.9% does not have much faith on state government. Only 02 respondents said that they do not have faith in the state government at all.

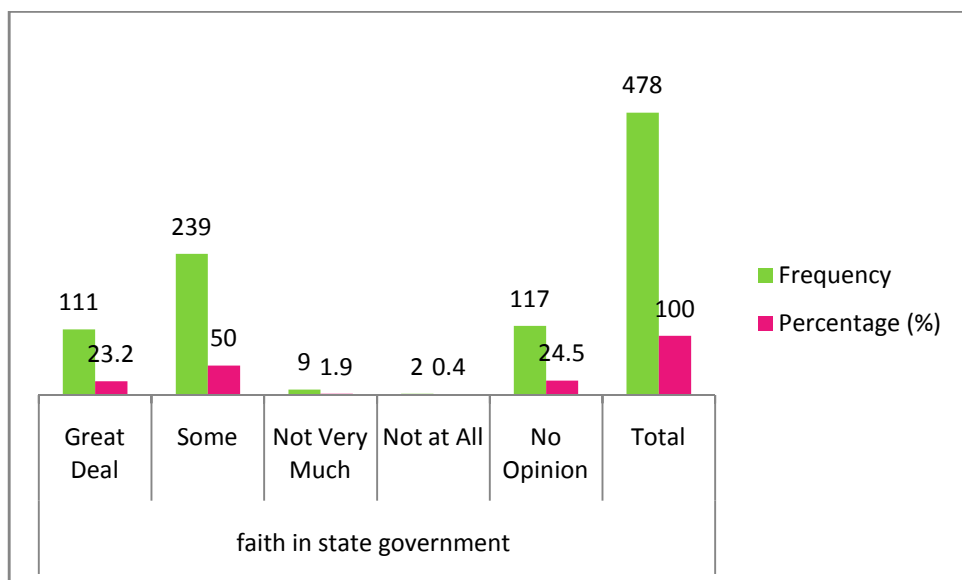


Figure 4.23 Respondent's Faith on State Government

Table 4.24

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Local Self Government

Respondents Faith on Local Self Government	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	221	46.2
Some	140	29.3
Not Very Much	08	1.7
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	107	22.4
Total	478	100.0

The table 4.24 indicates that 46.2% respondents have great deal of faith on local self government. 29.3% have some faith on local self government. 22.4% respondents couldn't give their opinion about their faith on local self government. 1.7% respondent does not have much faith on local self government. Only 02 respondents do not have any faith on local self government.

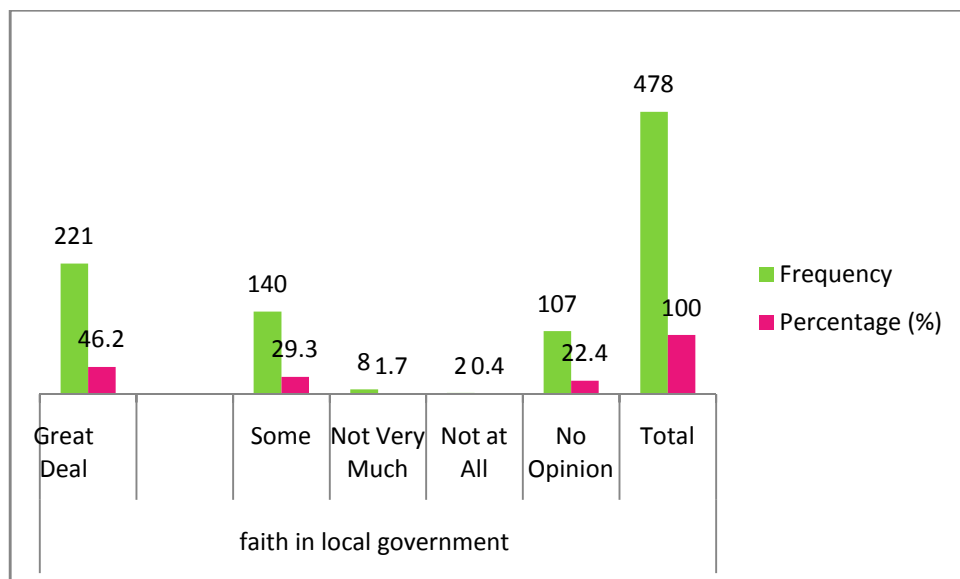


Figure 4.24 Respondents Faith on Local Self Government

Table 4.25

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Bureaucracy

Respondents Faith on Bureaucracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	169	35.4
Some	173	36.2
Not Very Much	13	2.7
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	121	25.3
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.25 indicates that 36.2% of the respondent has shown some faith on bureaucracy. 35.4% respondents have great deal of faith on bureaucracy. 25.3% respondents couldn't give their opinion about their faith on bureaucracy. 2.7% do not have much faith on bureaucracy whereas only 02 respondents say that they do not have any faith on bureaucracy.

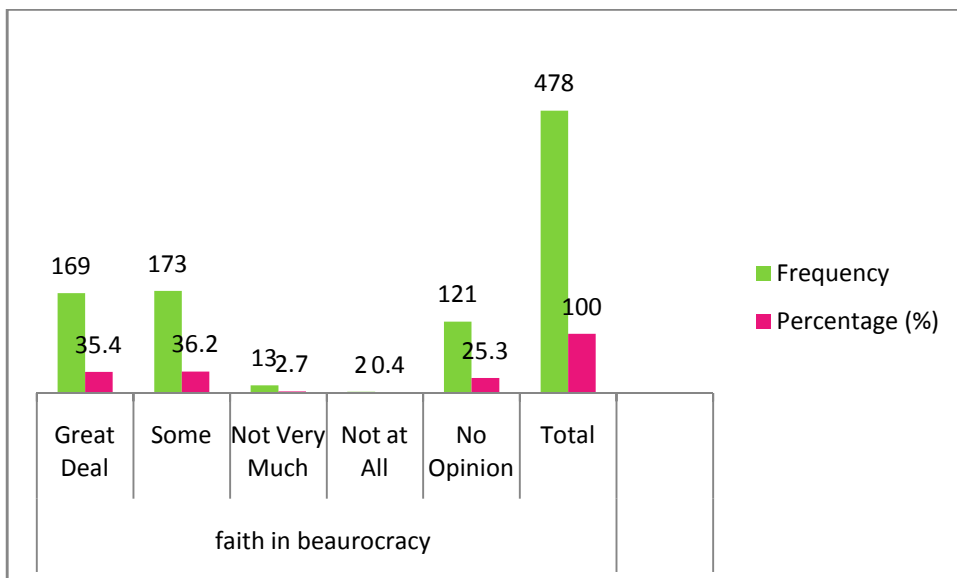


Figure 4.25 Respondents Faith on Bureaucracy

Table 4.26

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Police

Respondents Faith on Police	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	57	11.9
Some	183	38.3
Not Very Much	99	20.7
Not at All	24	5.0
No Opinion	115	24.1
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.26 indicates that 38.3% respondents have some faith on police. 24.1 % respondents do not have any opinion about this question. 20.7 % of the respondents do not have much faith on police. Only 11.9% of the respondents have great deal of faith on police. 5% respondents say that they do not have faith on police at all.

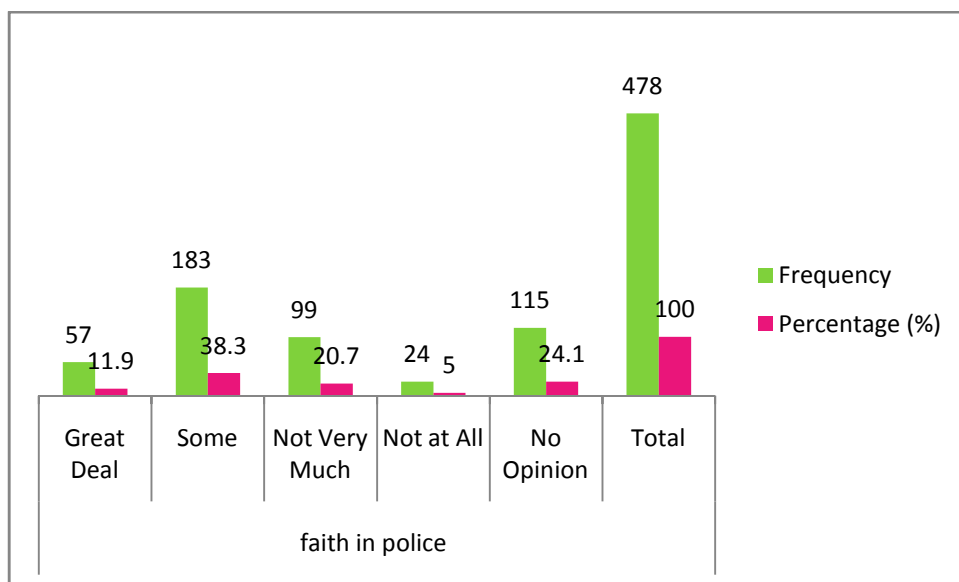


Figure 4.26 Respondents Faith on Police

Table 4.27

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Military

Respondents Faith on Military	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	88	18.4
Some	66	13.8
Not Very Much	101	21.1
Not at All	107	22.4
No Opinion	116	24.3
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.27 indicates that 24.3% of the respondents didn't give any opinion about their faith on military. 22.4% do not have at all faith on military. 21.1% of the respondents have not very much faith on military. Only 18.4% have great faith on military whereas 13.8% have some faith on military.

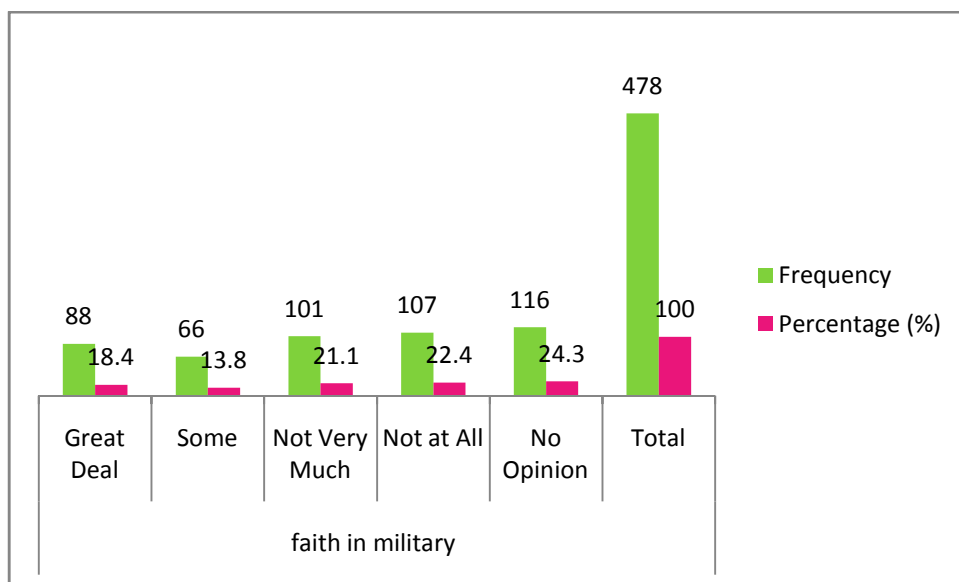


Figure 4.27 Respondents Faith on Military

Table 4.28

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Judiciary

Respondents Faith on Judiciary	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	217	45.4
Some	131	27.4
Not Very Much	21	4.4
Not at All	04	0.8
No Opinion	105	22.0
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.28 indicates that 45.4% of the respondents have great deal of faith on judiciary. 27.4% have some faith on judiciary. 22% couldn't speak anything about their faith on judiciary. 4.4% respondents do not have much faith whereas 4 respondents said that they do not have at all any faith on judiciary.

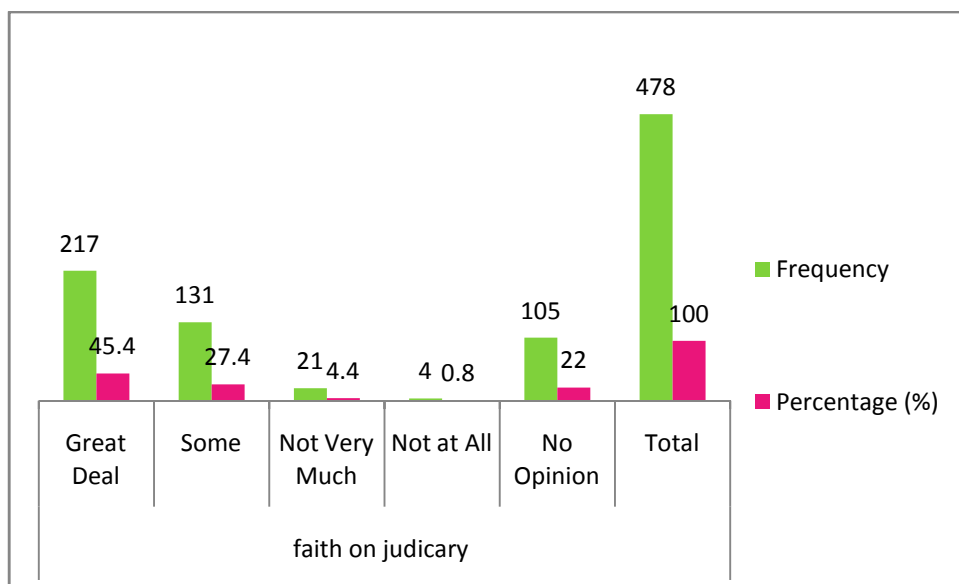


Figure 4.28 Respondents Faith on Judiciary

Table 4.29

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Parliament

Respondents Faith on Parliament	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	158	33.1
Some	193	40.4
Not Very Much	20	4.2
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	105	22.0
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.29 indicates that 40.4% respondents said that they have some faith on parliament. 33.1% said that they have great deal of faith on parliament. 22% couldn't give any opinion about their faith on parliament. 4.2% do not have much faith on parliament only 02 respondents said that they do not have at all faith on parliament.

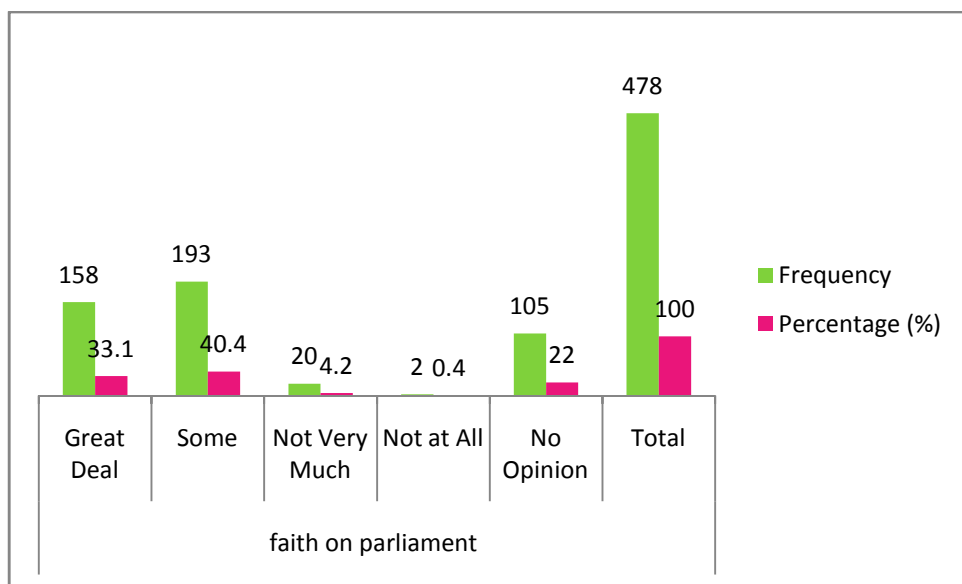


Figure 4.29 Respondents Faith on Parliament

Table 4.30

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Political Party

Respondents Faith on Political Party	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	161	33.7
Some	173	36.2
Not Very Much	39	8.2
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	103	21.5
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.30 indicates that 36.2% respondents have some faith on political party. 33.7% respondents have great deal of faith on political party. 21.5% couldn't give any opinion about their faith on political party. 8.2% said that they do not have much faith in political party. Only 02 respondents say that they do not have any faith on political party.

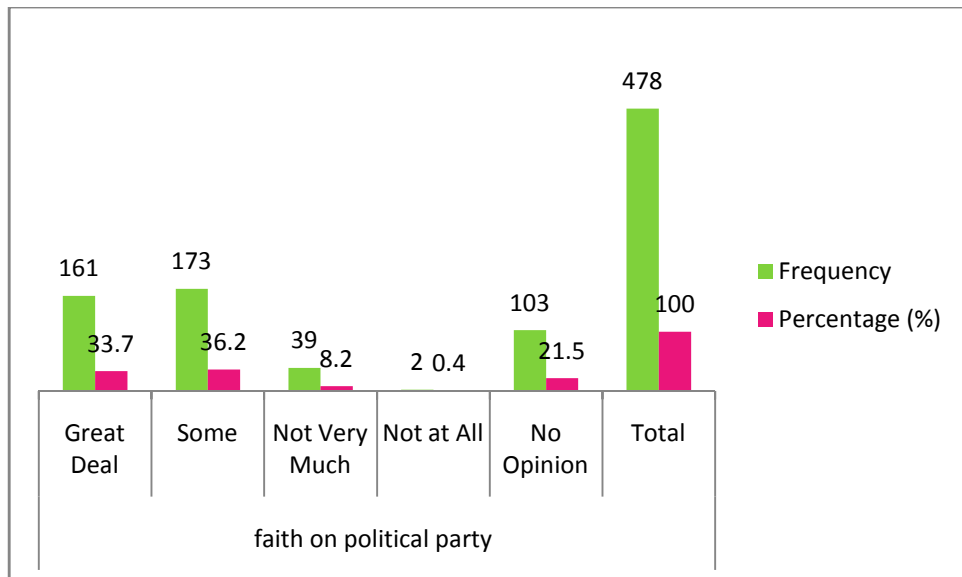


Figure 4.30 Respondents Faith on Political Party

Table 4.31

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Faith on Election Commission

Respondents Faith on Election Commission	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great Deal	153	32.0
Some	175	36.6
Not Very Much	45	9.4
Not at All	02	0.4
No Opinion	103	21.5
Total	478	100.0

Table 4.31 indicates that 36.6% respondents said that they have faith on Election commission. 32% respondents have great deal of faith in Election commission. 21.5% couldn't give their opinion on this. 9.4% do not have much faith whereas only 02 respondents do not at all have any faith in Election commission.

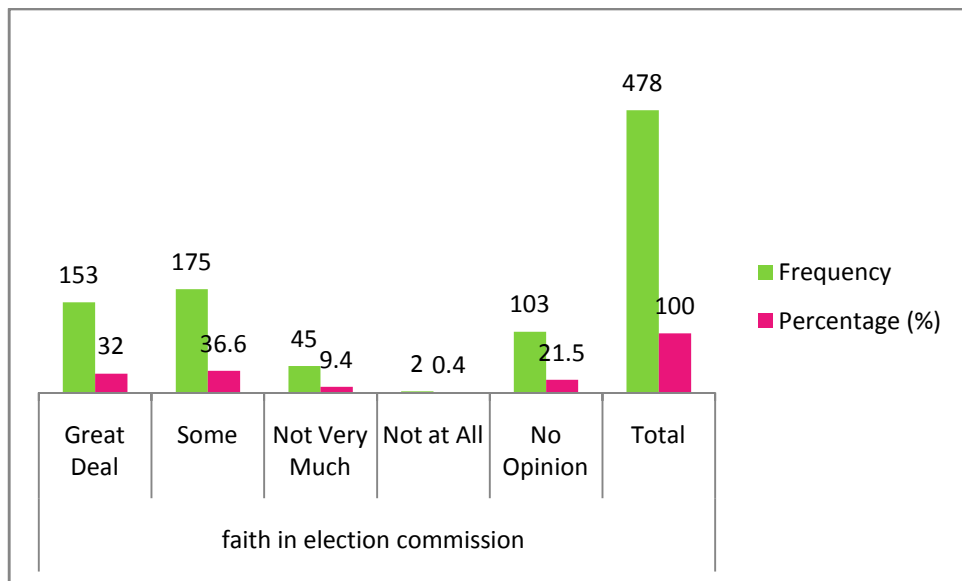


Figure 4.31 Respondents Faith on Election Commission

Table 4.32

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their View on Linking of Democracy

Respondents view on linking of Democracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Freedom of speech and expression	116	24.3
Peoples Controls over rulers	112	23.4
Weaker Factors get good treatment	87	18.2
Minority rights are protected	70	14.6
Any other	04	0.8
CSDK	89	18.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.32 indicates that 24.3% respondents said freedom of speech and expression is the best reason of their linking of democracy. 23.4% said that peoples control over rulers is the reason. 18.2% respondents said that weaker section get good treatment in democracy therefore, they like democracy 14.6% said that minority rights are protected in democracy. 18.6% respondents couldn't say anything they do not know anything whereas only 04 respondents could give any other reason.

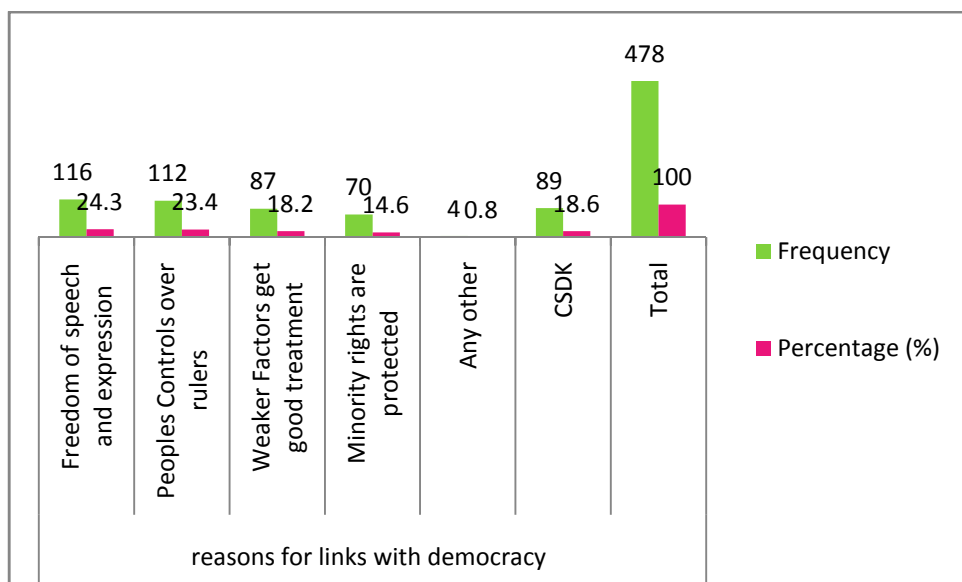


Figure 4.32 Respondents View on Linking of Democracy

Table 4.33

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Their View about Drawback of Democracy

Respondents view about drawback of Democracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Multi Party system leading to the division of the people	171	35.8
Rulers keep on changing	117	24.5
Increasing corruption	77	16.1
Domination of majority over minority	20	4.2
Any other	04	0.8
CSDK	89	18.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.33 indicates that 35.8% of the respondents said that they do not like multi party system leading to the division of the people as a drawback of democracy. 24.5% respondents said that main drawback of democracy is rulers keep on changing. 16.1% of respondents said there is increasing corruption in democracy. 4.2 % respondents said that there is domination of majority over minority 18.6% of the respondents couldn't give any answer to this particular question. Only 04 respondents could speak about any other reason.

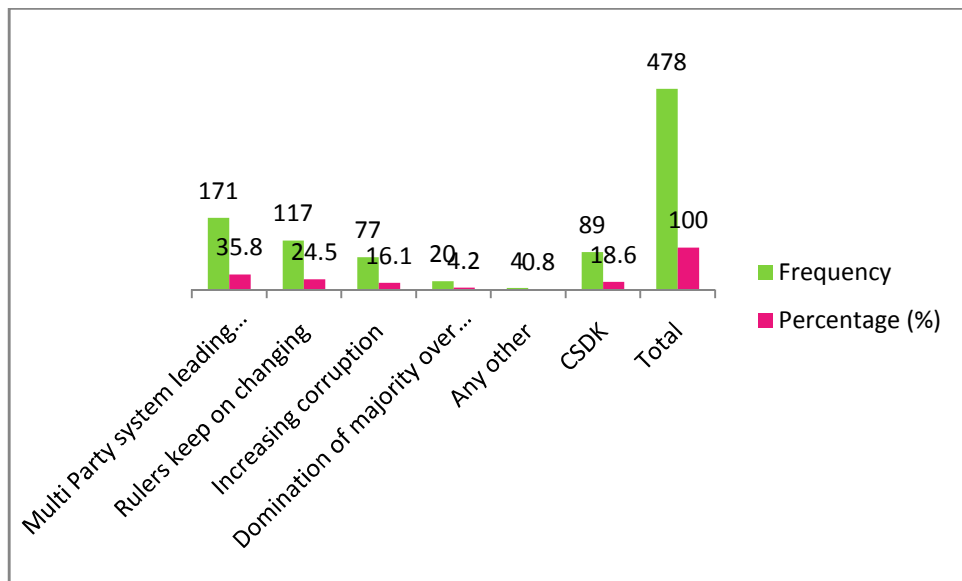


Figure 4.33 Respondents View about Drawback of Democracy

Table 4.34

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Opinion about Minority Group

Respondent's Opinion about Minority Group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Muslim	18	3.8
Rich	02	0.4
Women	52	10.9
Lower Caste	07	1.5
Poor	100	20.9
Small Population	09	1.9
Muslim Women	04	0.8
CSDK	250	52.3
NA	36	7.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.34 indicates that near about 52.3% of the respondents couldn't give their opinion about who is minority. 20.9% respondents say that poor are minority. 3.8% respondents said that Muslims are minority. 10.9% said that women are minority. 1.5 % said lower castes are minority. 1.9% said small population is minority. 02 respondents said rich are minority whereas only 04 respondents said that Muslim women are minority.

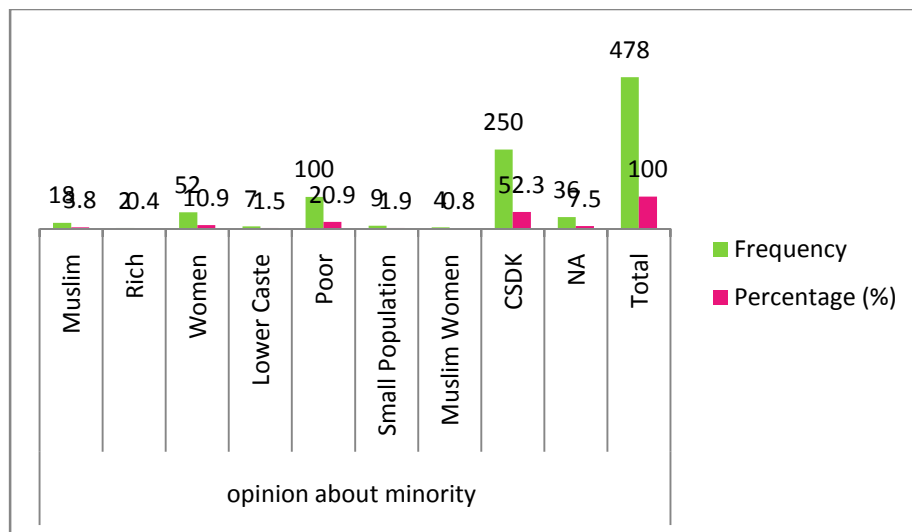


Figure 4.34 Respondent's Opinion about Minority Group

Table 4.35

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their opinion about Majority Group

Respondent's opinion about Majority Group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Hindu	27	5.6
Poor	02	0.4
Men	48	10.0
Upper Caste	07	1.5
Rich	102	21.3
Ruling People	01	0.2
Muslim Men	02	0.4
CSDK	251	52.5
NA	38	7.9
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.35 indicates that 52.5% of the respondents couldn't say who majority community is. 21.3% respondents said that rich people are in majority. 10% respondents said that men are in majority. 1.5% said upper cast people are in majority. 02 respondents said poor people are in majority whereas 02 respondents said Muslim men are in majority. Only one respondent said that ruling people are in majority only 5.6% said that Hindus are in majority.

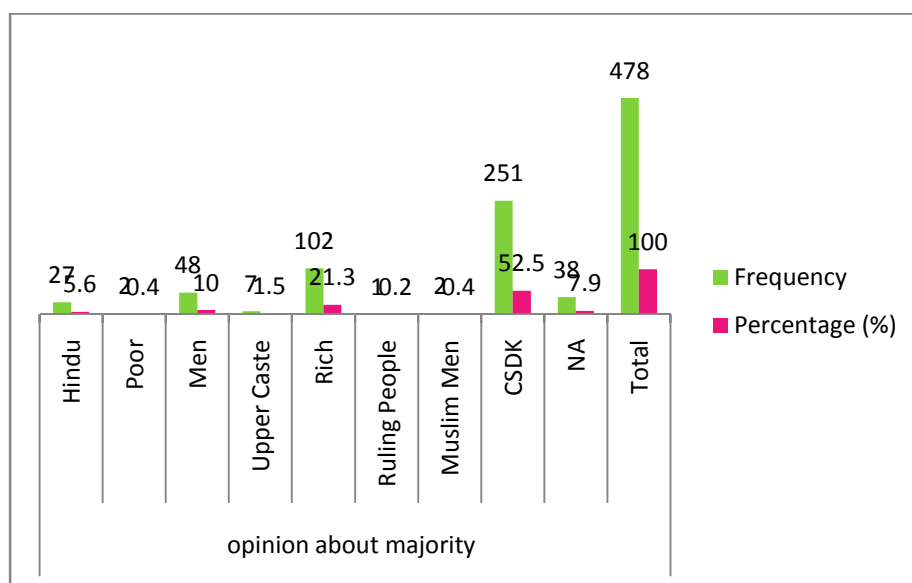


Figure 4.35 Respondent's opinion about Majority Group

Table 4.36

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Satisfaction for Democracy

Satisfaction for Democracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Democracy is better than any other form of government	327	68.4
In some situation dictatorship is better than democracy	18	3.8
Whether we have democracy or any other form of democracy is of no importance for me	28	5.9
CSDK	105	22.0
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.36 indicates that 68.4% of the respondents said that democracy is better than any other form of government. 22% respondents couldn't say anything 5.9% of the respondents said whether we have democracy or any other form of democracy is of no importance for me. 3.8% respondents said that in some situation dictatorship is better than democracy.

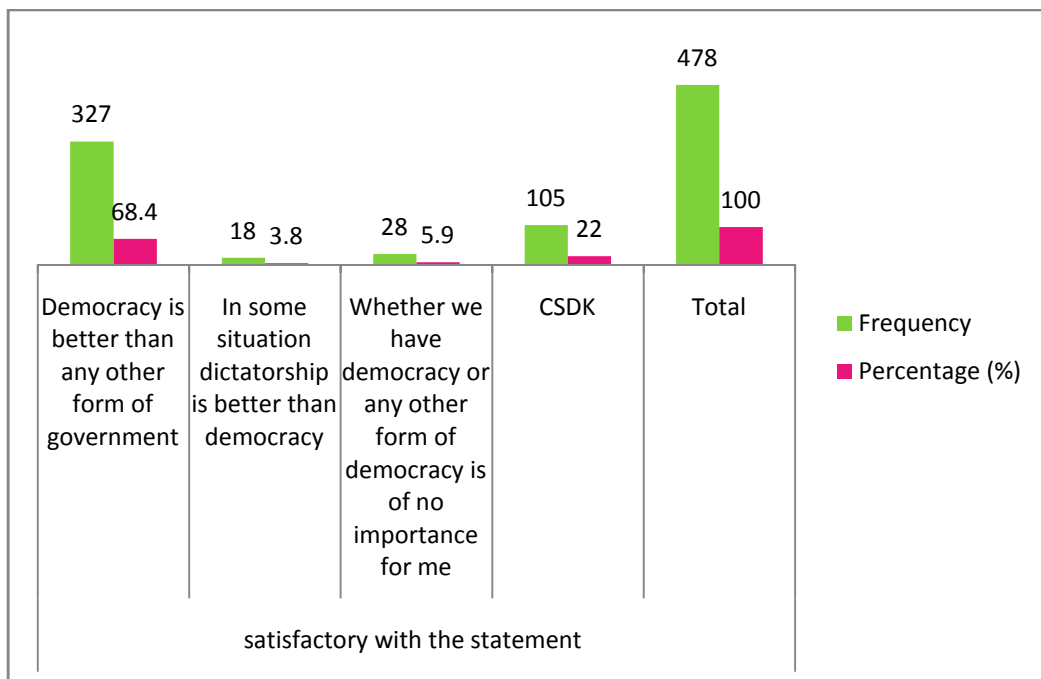


Figure 4.36 Satisfaction for Democracy

Table no.4.37

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Views for Features of Democracy

Features of Democracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
To change government through election	44	9.2
Right to check the ruling party	68	14.2
Equal right to every one	178	37.2
Provision of basic necessities like food, clothing and shelter everyone	81	16.9
Can't say	107	22.4
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.37 indicates that 37.2% of the respondents say that equal right to everyone is the essential factor of democracy. 16.9% respondents say that provision of basic necessities like food clothing and shelter for everyone. 14.2% responded that right to check the ruling party. 9.2% respondents said that to change the govt. through election is necessary whereas 22.4% couldn't say about anything.

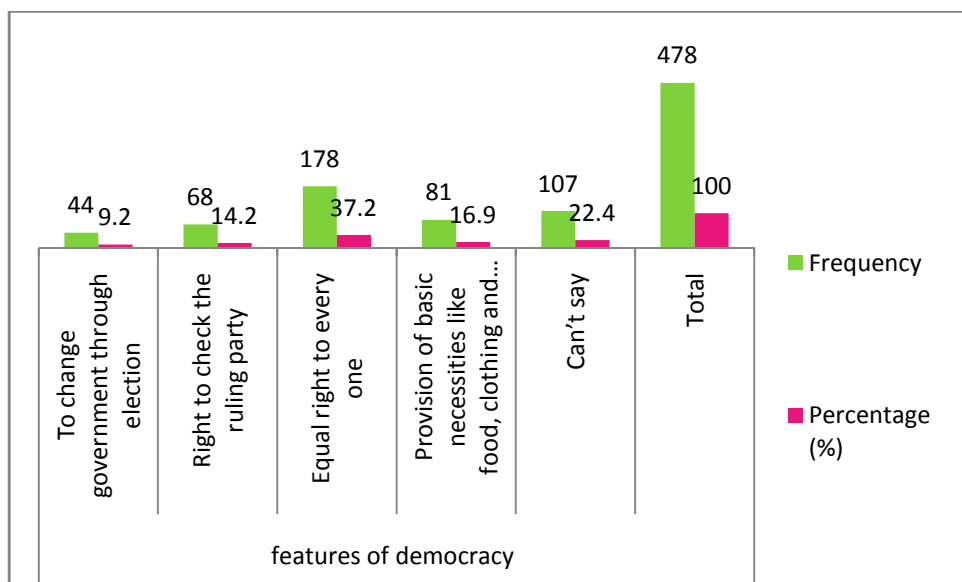


Figure 4.37 Features of Democracy

Table 4.38

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Pride in Caste/ Radical Identity

Caste/ Radical Identity	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Feel very much proud	214	44.8
Feel proud	156	32.6
No proud	06	1.3
Can't say	102	21.3
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.38 indicates that (44.8%) of the respondents are very much proud of their caste identity. 32.6% feel proud about their caste identity. Only 6 respondents are not proud of their caste identity. 17.8% respondents couldn't answer about their pride in their caste.

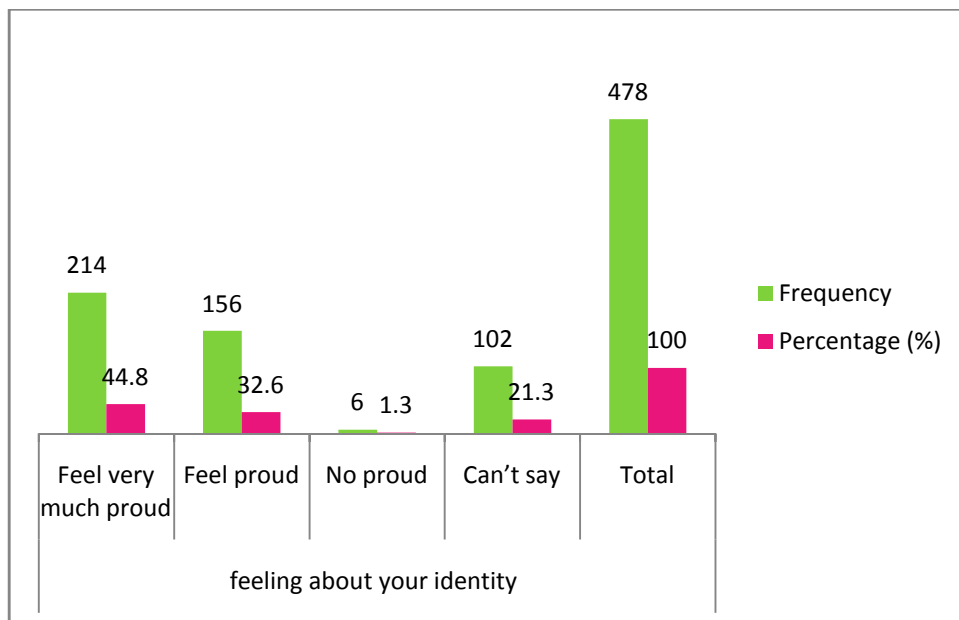


Figure 4.38 Respondents Pride in Caste/ Radical Identity

Table 4.39

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of their Pride in National Identity

National identity	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very much proud	345	72.2
Proud	45	9.4
No proud at all	03	0.6
CSDK	85	17.8
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.39 indicates that 72.2% of the respondents is very much proud in their national identity. 9.4% respondents are proud of their national identity. 17.8% of the respondents can't answer this question. Only 03 respondents responded that they are not at all proud of it.

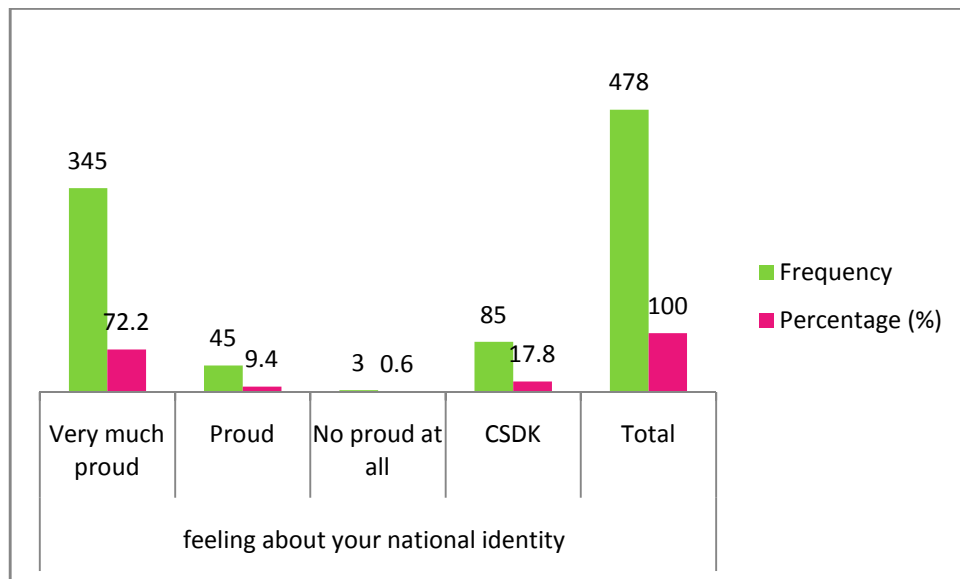


Figure 4.39 Respondents Pride About Their National Identity

Table 4.40

Classification of Respondents on the Basis of Opinion about Democracy

Opinion about the Statements	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Democracy is preferable to any kind of government	334	69.9
In certain situations a dictatorial government can be preferable to democratic one	17	3.6
It does not matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non democratic	21	4.4
Can't say	106	22.2
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.40 indicates that 69.9% of the respondents say that democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. 22.2% respondents couldn't say anything. 3.6% respondents said that in certain situations a dictatorial govt. Can be preferable to democratic one.4.4% said that it does not matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non democratic.

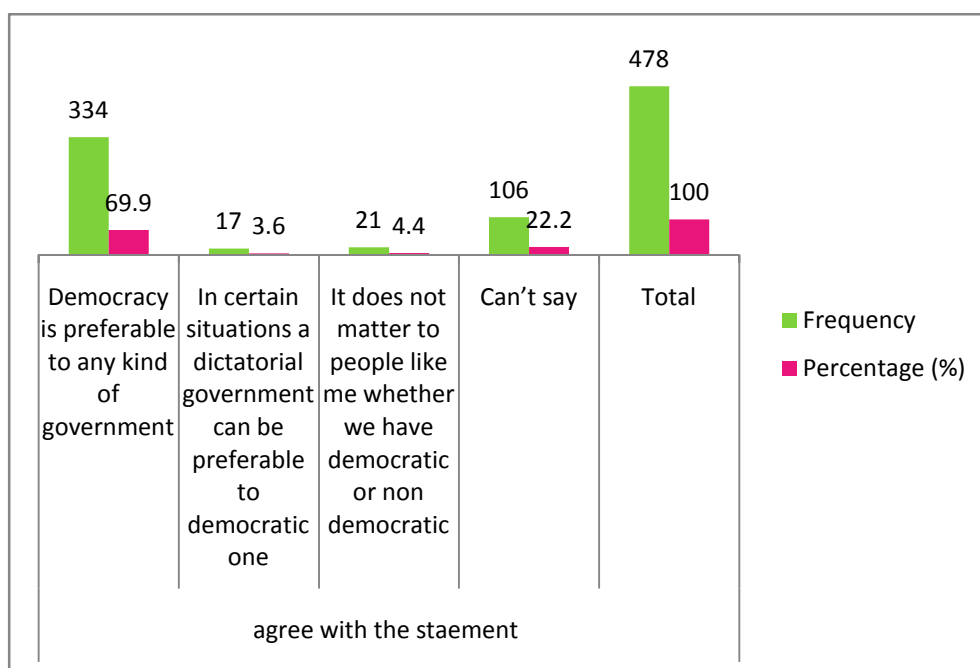


Figure 4.40 Opinions of Respondents

Table 4.41

Classification of the Respondents on the basis of Identity

Identities	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Indian first	169	35.4
Religious identity first	41	8.6
Equally Indian and religious identity	172	36.0
Can't say	17	3.6
CSDK	79	16.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.41 explains that 35.4% of the respondents accepted that they are Indian first. 8.6% said that their religious identity comes first. 36% said that they identify themselves equally by both Indian as well as religious identity. 16.5% respondents can't say anything about themselves how they identify themselves through a national identity or religious identity.

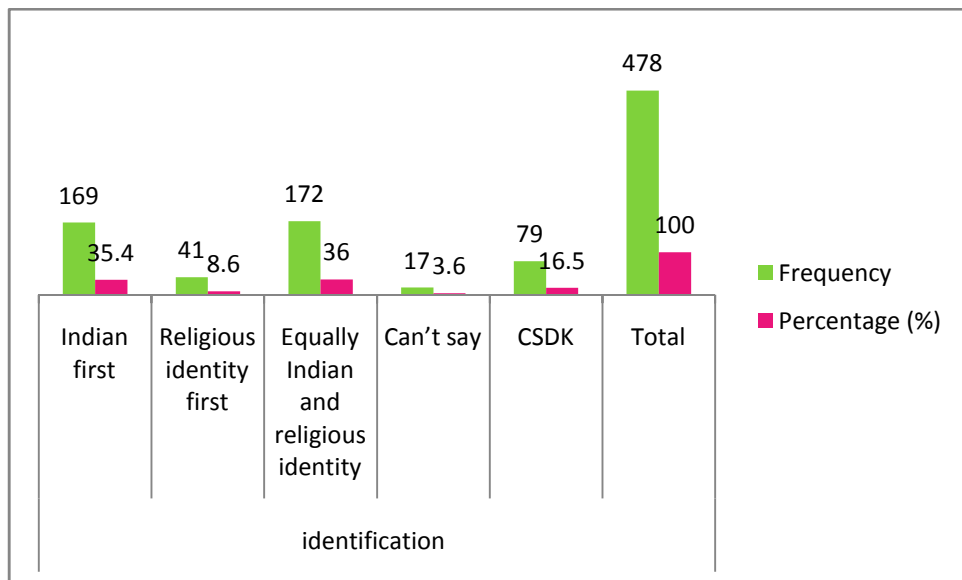


Figure 4.41 Identities of the Respondents

Table no.4.42

Respondents view on dependence on Parliament and leadership

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Good	57	11.9
Good	139	29.1
Bad	14	2.9
Very bad	17	3.6
Can't say	251	52.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table no.4.4.15 indicates that the maximum of the respondents (52.5%) couldn't say anything about the political system which is having strong leadership not dependent on parliament and election . 11.9% said that this political system is very good. 29.1% said that this political system based on leadership is good. 2.9% said that this kind of strong leadership not dependent on parliament and election is bad. 3.6% said that strong leadership not dependent on parliament and election is very bad.

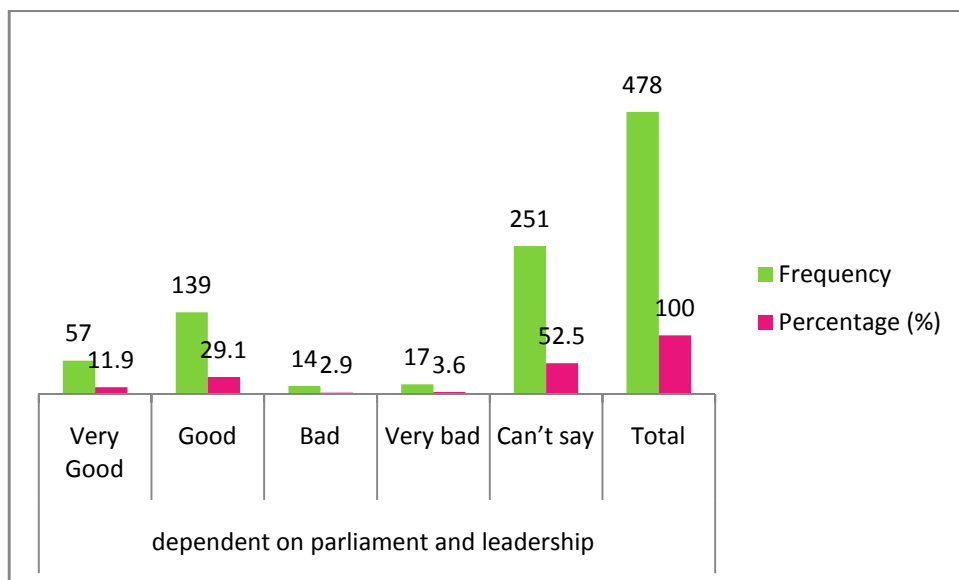


Figure 4.42 dependent on Parliament and leadership

Table 4.43

The Classification of the Respondents on the basis of their Views about Preference of Professional People to Government

Preference of Professional People to Government	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Good	54	11.3
Good	62	13.0
Bad	22	4.6
Very bad	49	10.3
Can't say	291	60.9
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.43 indicates that maximum of the respondents (60.9%) couldn't say anything about whether professional people should decide good for people not the govt. 11.3% respondents accepted that the system where the professionals are deciding about the people rather than the govt. is very good system. 13% said that this system to be good. 4.6% called it bad and 10.3% respondents called this system to be very bad.



Figure 4.43 Preferences of Professional People to Government

Table 4.44

Respondents' Classification on the basis of Military Rule as an Option to Present Political System

Military Rule	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Good	32	6.7
Good	115	24.1
Bad	49	10.3
Very bad	135	28.2
Can't say	147	30.8
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.44 indicates that 30.8% said that they can't say anything about the military rule as an option to the present political system. 28.2% respondents said that it is very bad. 24.1% said that military rule is good whereas 6.7% respondents said it is very good. 10.3% said that it is bad.

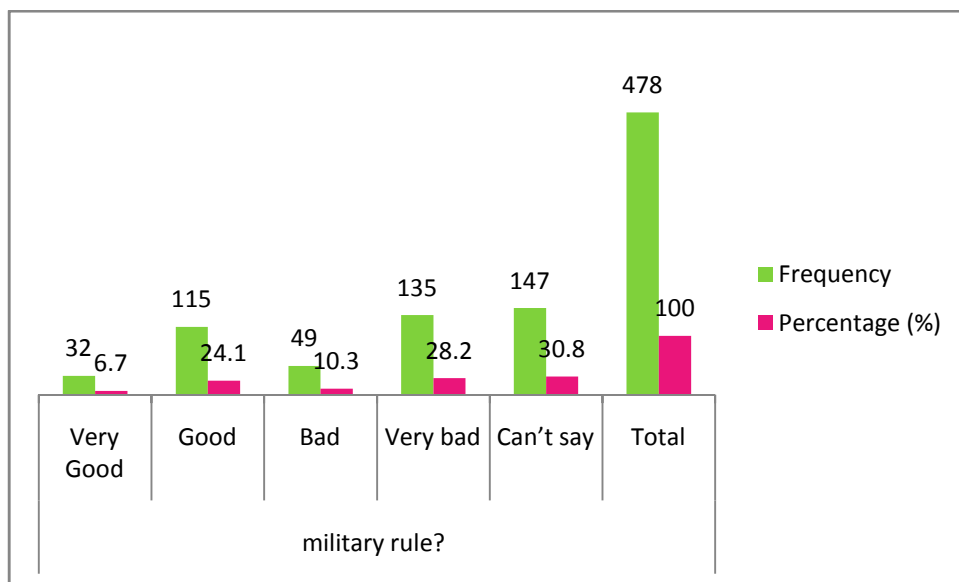


Figure 4.44 Preference of Military Rule

Table 4.45

Respondents Classification on the basis of Support for Democratic form of government

Support	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Good	288	60.3
Good	122	25.5
Bad	06	1.3
Can't say	62	13.0
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.45 indicates that 60.3% respondents said that democratic form of govt. is very good. 25.5% respondents said that democratic form of govt. is good political system. 13% respondents can't say anything and 06 respondents said that democratic form of govt. is bad.

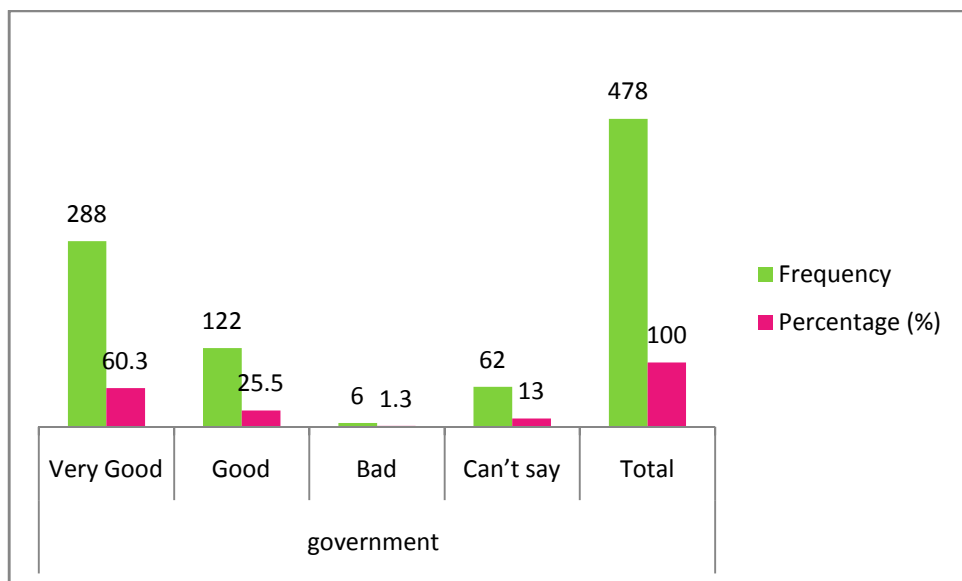


Figure 4.45 Support for Democratic form of Government

Table 4.46

Respondents Classification on the basis of Views about Indian Democracy

Views about Indian Democracy	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Fully Democratic	149	31.2
Partially Democratic	274	57.3
CSDK	01	0.2
CSDK	54	11.3
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.46 indicates that (57.3%) respondents say that Indian democracy is partially a democratic form of govt. 31.2% said that Indian democracy is fully a democratic form of govt. Only 11.3% respondents couldn't say anything about the Indian democracy.

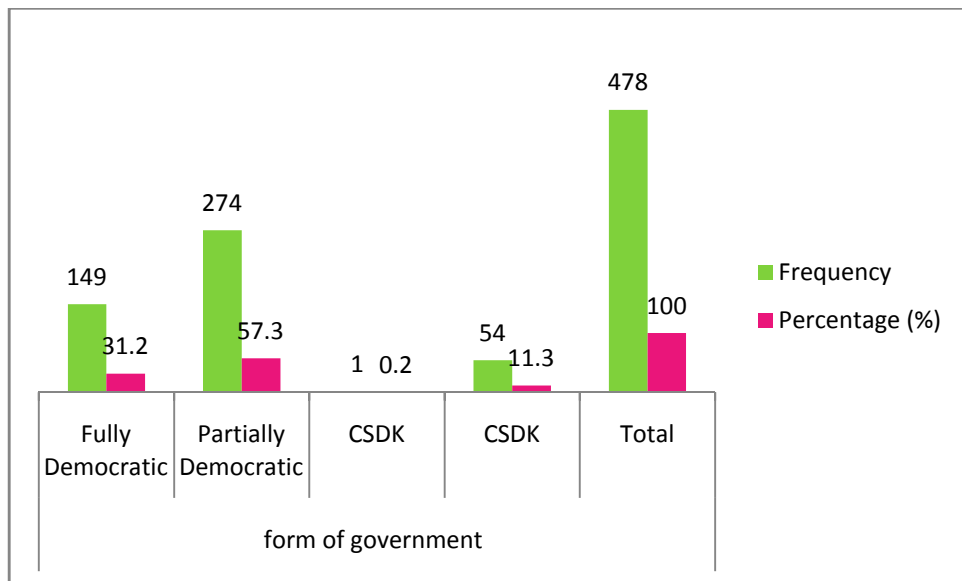


Figure 4.46 Views about Indian Democracy

Table 4.47

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Their View on Human Rights in India

Views on Human Rights	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Much Respected	124	25.9
Less Respected	161	33.7
Not Much	87	18.2
Can't say	87	18.2
CSDK	19	4.0
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.47 indicates that 33.7% respondents said that Human rights are less respected in India. 25.9% said that Human rights are much respected. 18.2% respondents said that Human rights are not much respected. 22.2% of respondents said that they don't know anything so they can't say anything.

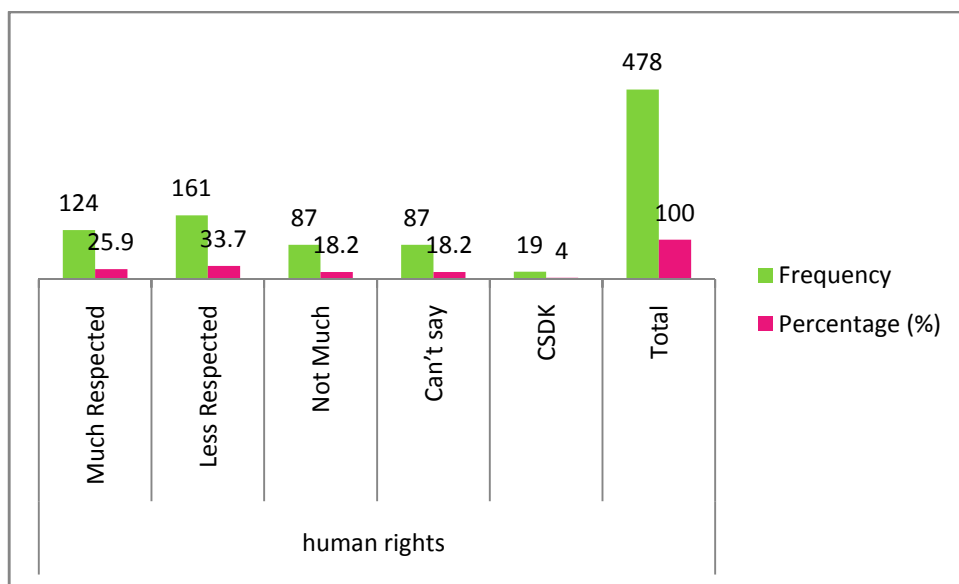


Figure 4.47 Views on Human Rights

Table 4.48

Classification of Respondent on the basis of Needs of Poor People as an Important Question in front of Country

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Important	400	83.7
Secondly Important	41	8.6
Can't say	37	7.7
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.48 indicates that according to 83.7% of the respondent's need of the poor people is a very important question in front of the country. 8.6% said that needs of the poor people is secondly important. 7.7% respondent was not in position to say anything.

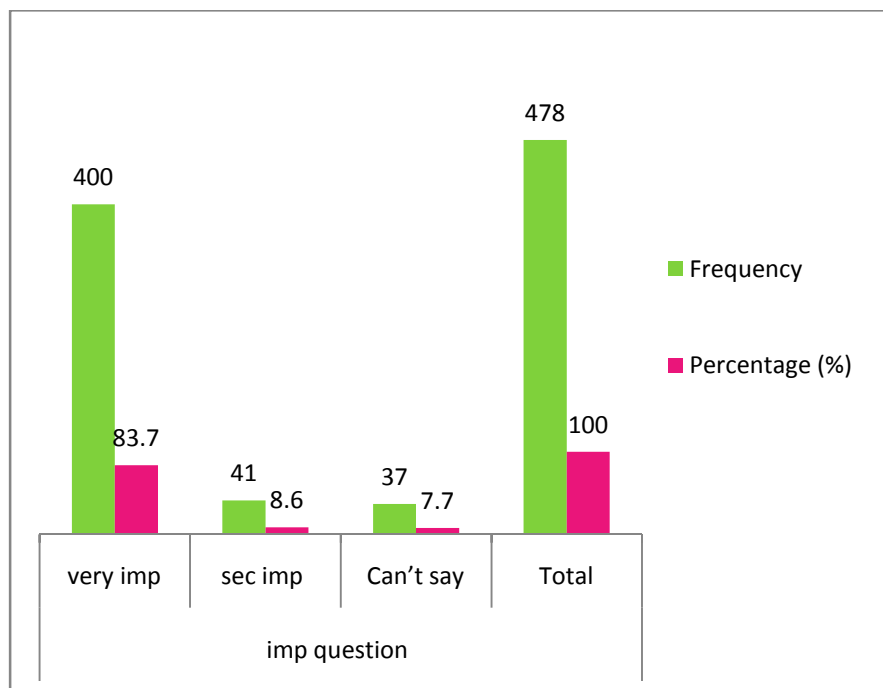


Figure 4.48 Respondent's Response

Table 4.49

Classification of Respondent on the basis of Discrimination of Girls and Women as an Important Question in front of Country

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Important	363	75.9
Secondly Important	79	16.5
Can't say	36	7.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.49 indicates that the 75.9% respondents said that discrimination of girls and women is important question in front of the country. 16.5% of the respondents said that this discrimination of women and girls is secondly important question in front of the country. 7.5% respondents can't say anything.

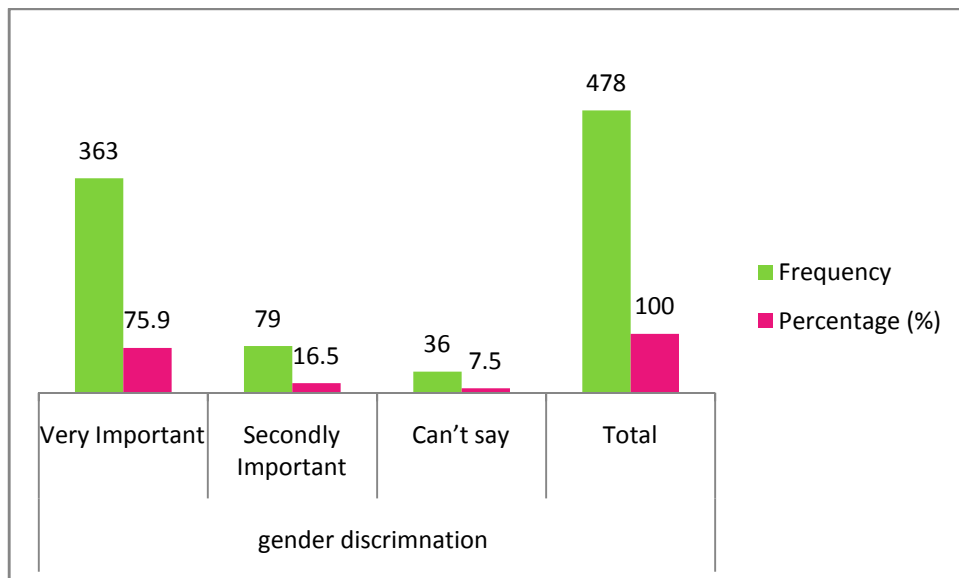


Figure 4.49 Respondent's Response

Table 4.50

Classification of Respondent on the basis of Unfulfilled Education as an Important Question in front of Country

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Important	385	80.5
Secondly Important	57	11.9
Can't say	36	7.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.50 indicates that unfulfilled education is considered as very important question in front of country by 80.5% of the respondents. 11.9% of the respondents said it is secondly important. 7.5% of the respondents couldn't say anything about this question.

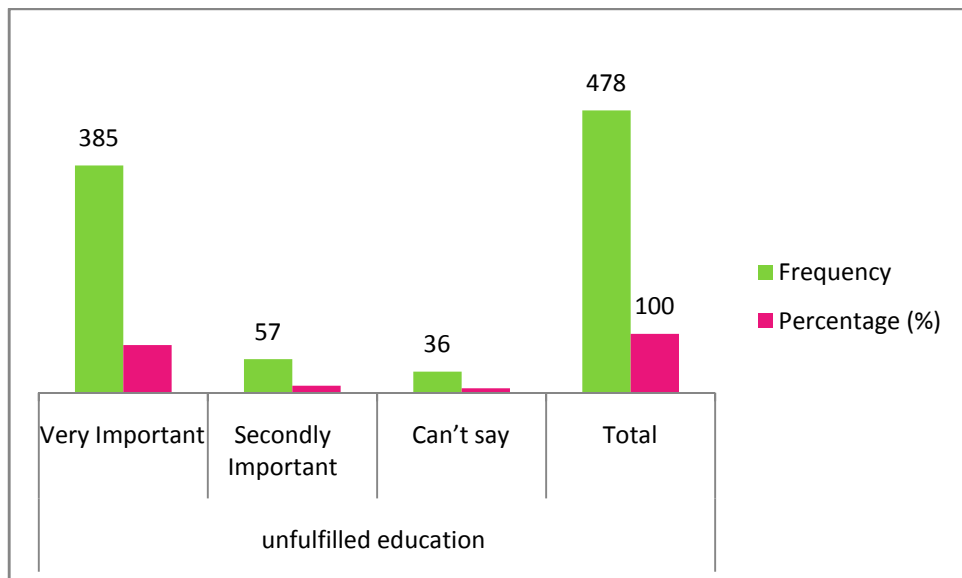


Figure 4.50 Respondent's Response

Table 4.51

Classification of Respondent on the basis of Polluted Environment as an Important Question in front of Country

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Important	330	69.0
Secondly Important	88	18.4
Can't say	60	12.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.51 indicates that 69% of the respondents said that polluted environment is very important question in front of the country. 18.4% respondents said it is secondly important. 12.6% of the respondents said that they couldn't answer anything.

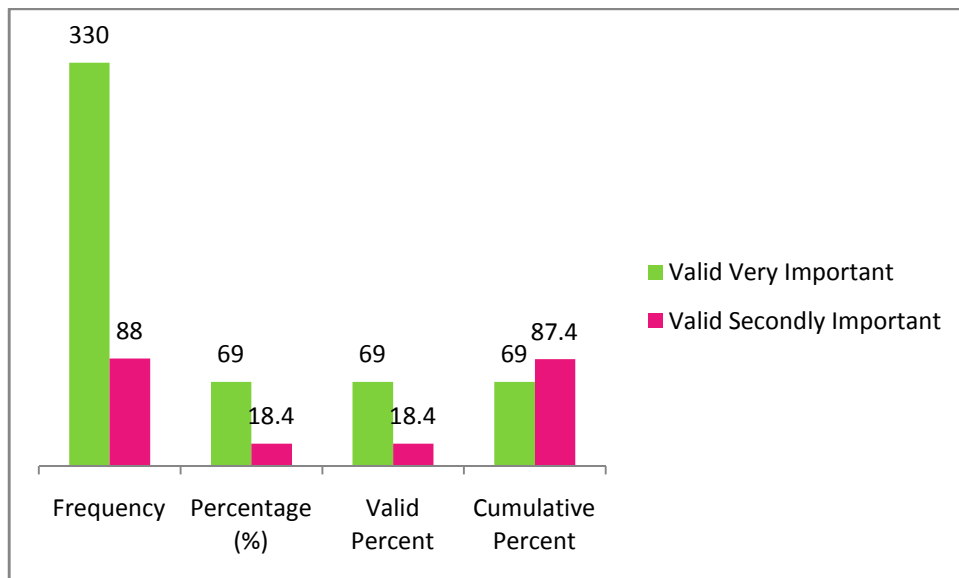


Figure 4.51 Respondent's Response

Table 4.52

Respondents Classification on basis of Their Knowledge about Gujarat Riots

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	461	96.4
No	17	3.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.52 indicates that 96.4% respondents responded positively that they heard about the Gujarat Riots. Only 3.6% respondents were having No information about the Gujarat Riots.

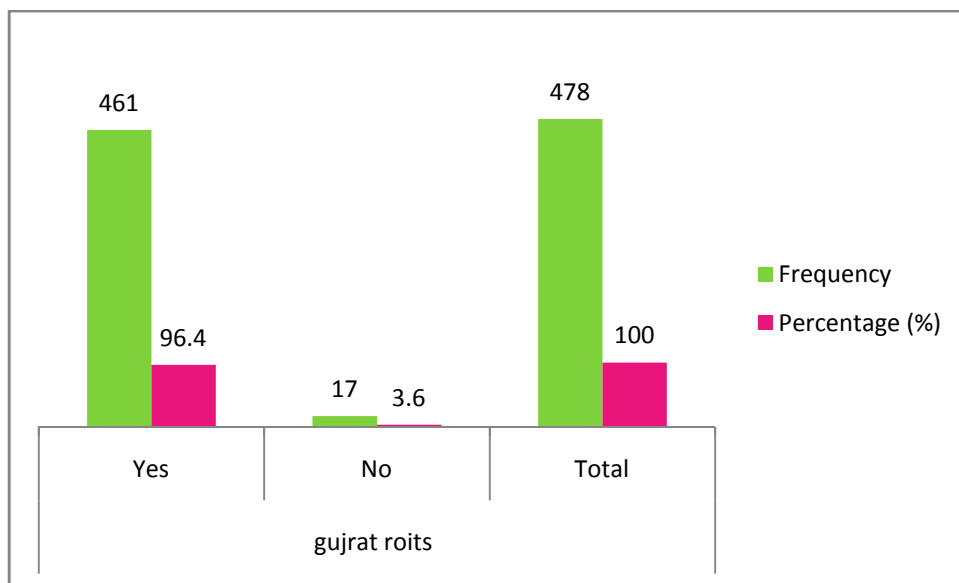


Figure 4.52 Respondents Response

Table 4.53

Respondents Classification on basis of Their Opinion about Gujarat Riot

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Whatever happened in Gujarat was totally wrong	279	58.4
Whatever happened in Gujarat was wrong, but it was necessary to teach the lesson to the people who are against the country	34	7.1
No Opinion	156	32.6
NA	09	1.9
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.53 indicates that 58.4% respondents said that whatever happened in Gujarat was totally wrong. 7.1% said that whatever happened in Gujarat was wrong but it was necessary to teach the lesson to the people who are against the country. 34.5% couldn't give their respond or opinion.

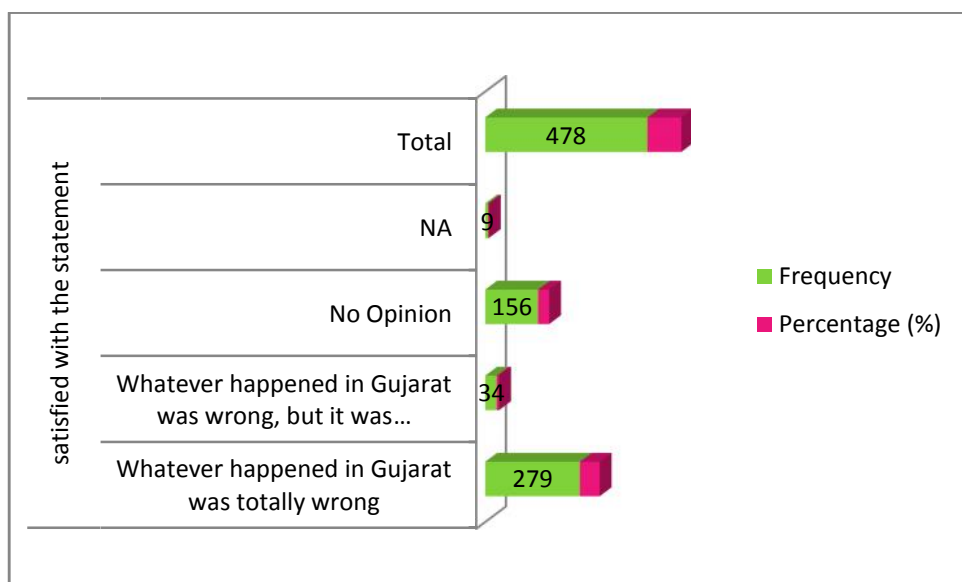


Figure 4.53 Respondent's Opinion

Table 4.54

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Their Knowledge about Babri Masjid Demolition

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	447	93.5
No	31	6.5
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.54 indicates that 93.5% of the respondents were having information about demolition of Babri Masjid. 6.5% respondents were ignorant about this particular incident.

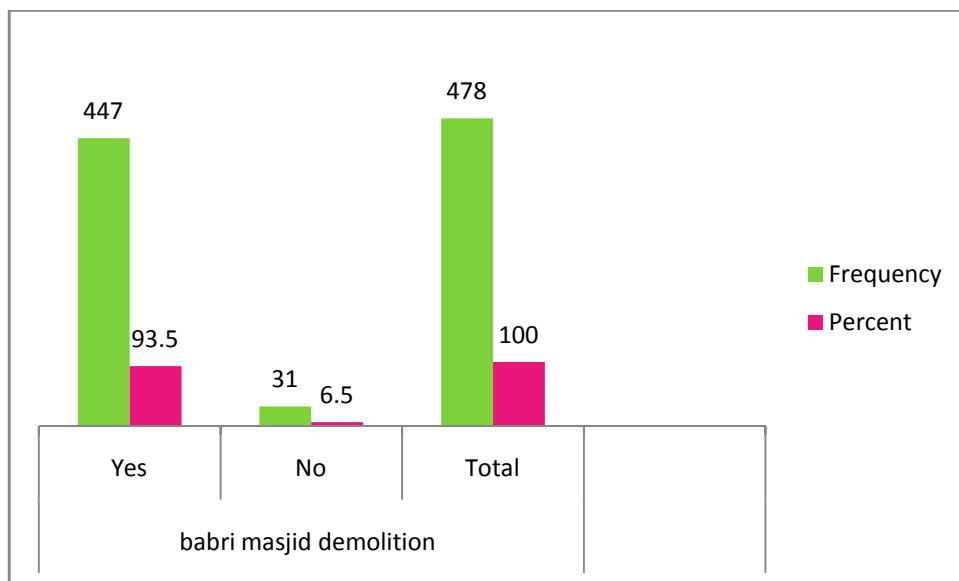


Figure 4.54 Respondents Response

Table 4.55

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Their Knowledge about Reservation to Women in Lok Sabha and Vidhansabha

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Fully Support	307	64.2
Somewhat Support	130	27.2
No Opinion/ Can't say	41	8.6
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.55 indicates that 64.2% of the respondents fully support Women Reservation Bill in Lok Sabha and Vidhansabha. 27.2% respondents said that they partially support. 8.6% couldn't give their opinion about reservation of women in Lok Sabha and Vidhansabha.

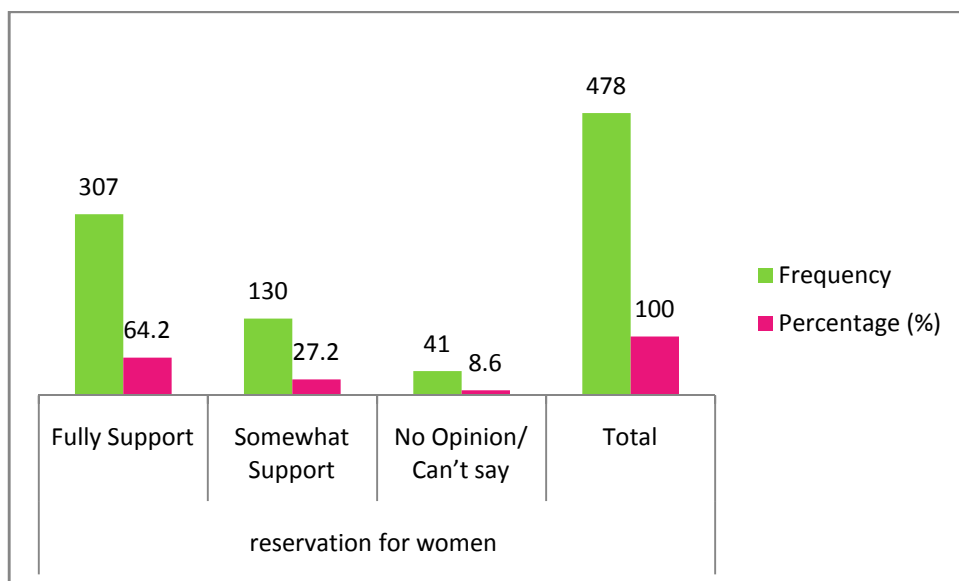


Figure 4.55 Respondent's Response

Table 4.56

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Their Knowledge about Terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	462	96.7
No	16	3.3
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.56 indicates that 96.7% respondents have information about terrorism. 3.3% respondents have negative answer for their information about terrorism.

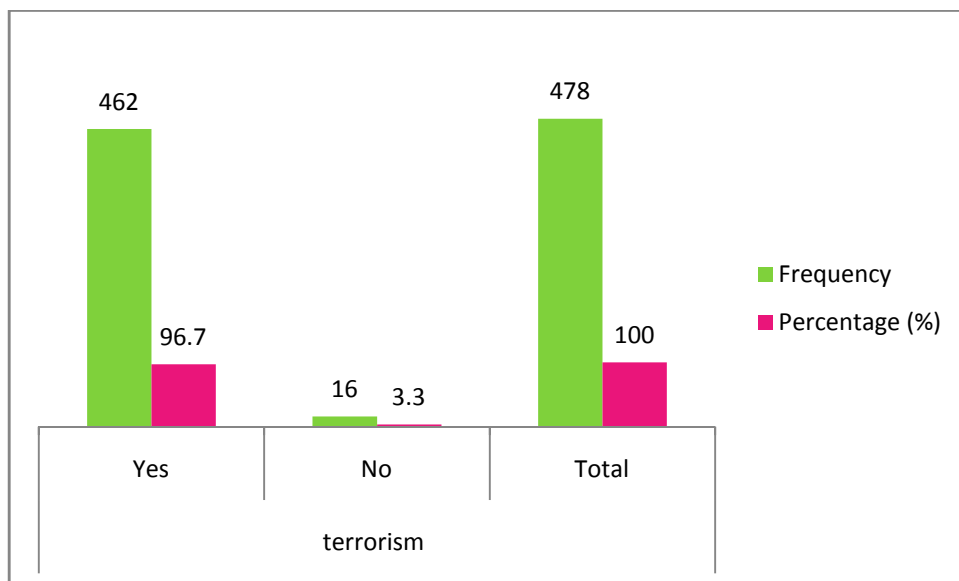


Figure 4.56 Respondent's Response

Table 4.57

Classification of Respondents on the basis of Their Opinion about Terrorism

Respondent's Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Terrorists Activities in India are result failure of the government	77	16.1
Government is doing its best control terrorist activities	335	70.1
CSDK	66	13.8
Total	478	100.0

The above table 4.57 indicates that 70.1% of the respondents agree that govt. is doing its best to control terrorist's activities. 16.1% respondents said that terrorist's activities in India are result of failure of government. 13.8% couldn't say anything about this particular issue.

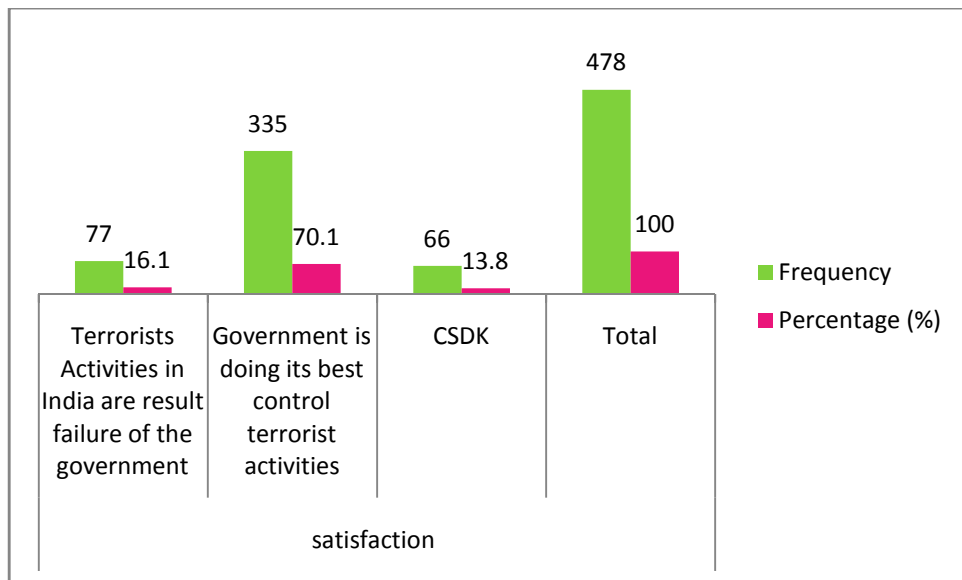


Figure 4.57 Respondent's Response

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF MUSLIM AND NON MUSLIM WOMEN'S ATTITUDES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to examine some of the important relevant concepts which are closely related to the main theme of the variables. In the context of women to attempt a definition of political participation in women's participation includes the gamut of activities with bearing on the political processes, opinion about the politics and other related activities. Besides social relationships, which are generated and institutionalized by being used to encourage, control or move women's behavior, attitude and beliefs in specified directions?

Political participation of women is severely limited due to nexus of traditional factors; these are the domination of Indian politics by consideration of caste, class, religion, education and family status. There are several socio-economic constraints by which women have been marginalized. However, there is difference in the analysis of socio, economic and political women discrimination against the state of affairs is unfair and must be changed. In some key areas Muslim women are not even equal to women in Hindu community. The difference can be seen most sharply in socio-economic status of Muslim household, occupational distribution, asset structure, and education. The standard of living of Muslims is generally poor, and in comparative terms, much below that of Hindu upper castes, lowers even that of OBC. Hindu-Muslim disparities in socio-economic status are statistically significant and constitute a major source of differentiation in women's status.

Significantly, there is much greater all-India similarity socio-economic status among Muslims than Hindus. Disparities in the status of Hindu across region were relatively smaller, even though they were more polarized in terms of standard of living than Muslims.

Community difference in education is also quite significant, Muslim women across the country are more illiterate than Hindus. 59 percent of them have never attended school, less than 10 percent have completed it, in short, Muslim women fare more poorly than the average Hindu women in education.

There have been associated with various forms of traditionalism and conservatism towards women, and frequently with barbaric communal violence, as in Gujarat 2002. The intensification of communal politics in the 1990s has added to worries about the status of Indian Muslim women as a minority, and this has hardened communal boundaries.

In view of the acknowledged links between various socio-economic factors, including women's status and women's over well being that operates synergistically to further marginalize women. One cannot but argue strongly for a women centered population policy. While changing deeply embedded cultural norms particularly regarding gender equality is a slow process, it need to be geared towards improving women's(of all religion) access to education, employment, politics so as to tackle the twin objectives of women's well being.

Age of the Respondent as Variable of Comparison

Table 5.2
Age + Interest in Politics

11. Interest in Politics						
Age of women with categories	Too Much	Very Little	Not Very Special	Not at all	DK	Total
20-25	0	7	18	9	11	45
	0	15.6%	40.0%	20.0%	24.4%	100.0%
26-35	3	32	22	43	23	123
	2.4%	26.0%	17.9%	35.0%	18.7%	100.0%
36-50	2	26	29	58	28	143
	1.4%	18.2%	20.3%	40.6%	19.6%	100.0%
51-60	0	21	17	24	18	80
	0	26.3%	21.3%	30.0%	22.5%	100.0%
60 and above	4	16	24	28	15	87
	4.6%	18.4%	27.6%	32.2%	17.2%	100.0%
Total	9	102	110	162	95	478
	1.9%	21.3%	23.0%	33.9%	19.9%	100.0%

The above table no 5.2 reveals that the respondents amongst all the age groups show very little inclination in politics. So the factor of age and interest in politics are not much related.

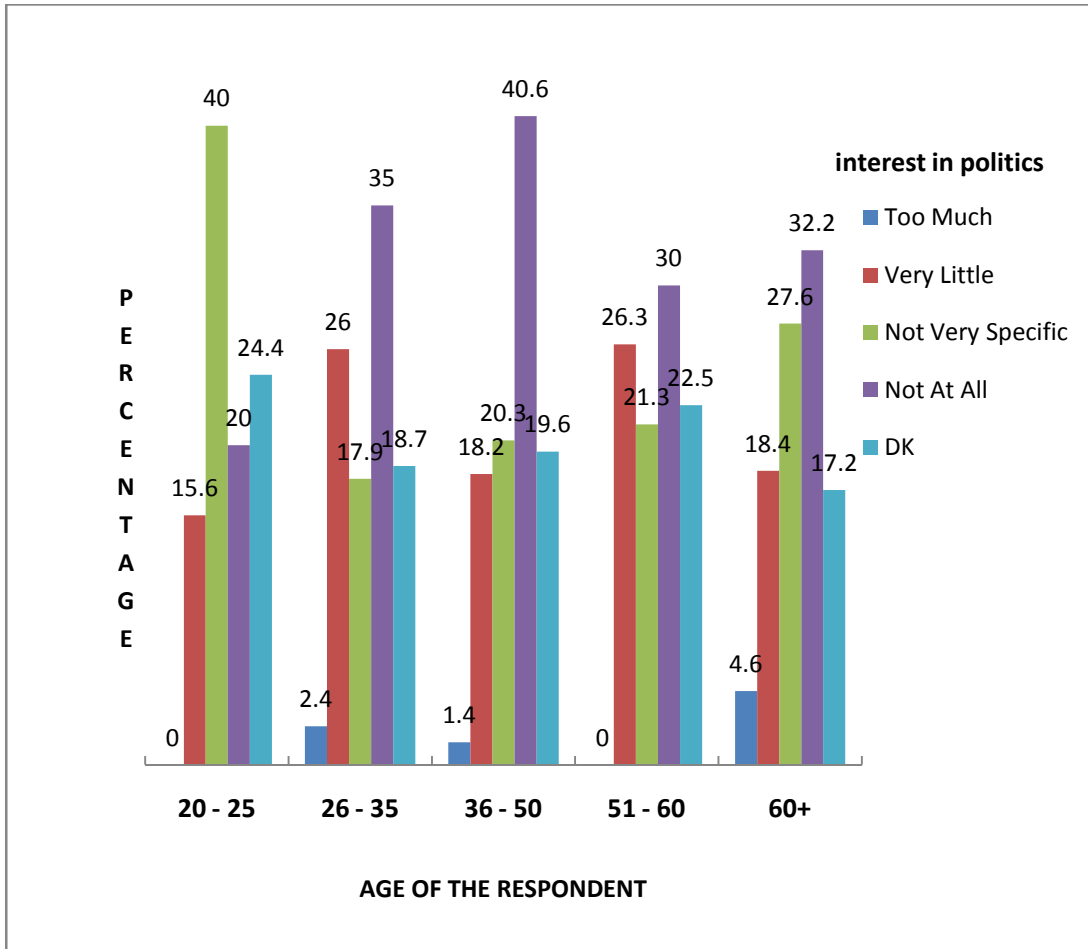


Figure 5.2 : Age + Interest in Politics

Level of Education of Respondent as Variable of Comparison

Table 5.3

Education and Interest in Politics

Interest in Politics						
Education	Too Much	Very Little	Not Very Special	Not at all	DK	Total
Non Literate	00	9	12	18	9	48
		18.8%	25.0%	37.5%	18.8%	100.0%
Below Primary	2	7	9	14	00	32
		6.3%	21.9%	28.1%	43.8%	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	00	2	3	2	6	13
		15.4%	23.1%	15.4%	46.2%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	00	4	6	12	11	33
		12.1%	18.2%	36.4%	33.3%	100.0%
Metric	00	18	22	42	9	91
		19.8%	24.2%	46.2%	9.9%	100.0%
College No Degree	5	40	23	40	36	144
		3.5%	27.8%	16.0%	27.8%	25.0%
Graduate	00	20	23	28	24	95
		21.1%	24.2%	29.5%	25.3%	100.0%
Post Graduation	2	00	10	2	00	14
		14.3%	00	71.4%	14.3%	100.0%
Professional Degree	00	2	2	4	00	8
		25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	00	100.0%
Total	9	102	110	162	95	478
		1.9%	21.3%	23.0%	33.9%	19.9%

The above table 5.3 reveals that the education level of the respondents also does not make any positive effect for their highest interest in politics. No matter whether they are non-literate, below primary, Metric, graduate, post-graduate or professional degree holder, they show a very little or no interest at all in politics. So there is no direct relationship between respondent's education and interest in politics. The political reason for low interest of women in politics was women are not well informed about political matters.

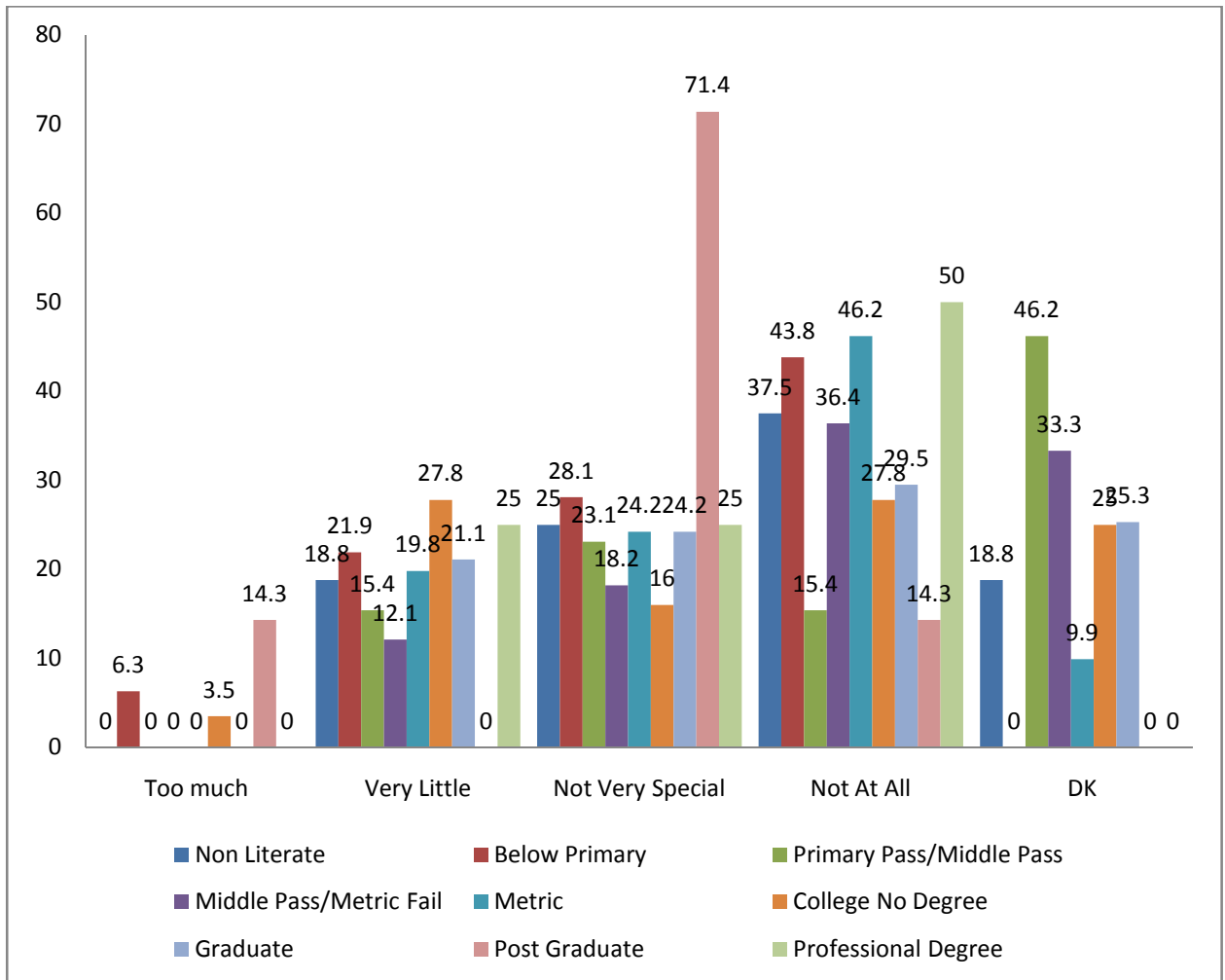


Figure 5.3 : Education and Interest in Politics

Table 5.4

Respondent's Education and Political Discussion with Family and Friends

Education	With any One	Close friends and family member	Can't say	NA	Total
Non Literate	9	15	20	4	48
	18.8%	31.3%	41.7%	8.3%	100.0%
Below Primary	0	16	0	16	32
	0	50.0%	0	50.0%	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	3	0	8	2	13
	23.1%	0	61.5%	15.4%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	0	15	5	13	33
	0	45.5%	15.2%	39.4%	100.0%
Metric	0	43	10	38	91
	0	47.3%	11.0%	41.8%	100.0%
College No Degree	8	64	46	26	144
	5.6%	44.4%	31.9%	18.1%	100.0%
Graduate	2	46	33	14	95
	2.1%	48.4%	34.7%	14.7%	100.0%
Post Graduation	0	12	0	2	14
	0	85.7%	0	14.3%	100.0%
Professional Degree	0	2	2	4	8
	0	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	22	213	124	119	478
	4.6%	44.6%	25.9%	24.9%	100.0%

The above table no. 5.4 reveals looking at the two ends of the education spectrum; highly educated respondents show a high involvement in political discussion with close friends and family members. This particular table proves that the highest level of education is directly related with high degree of political discussion with friends and family members. Education is a vital tool for effective participation, i.e. making inform choices, contributing to public debates on signing petitions. For example, education increases their ability to demand economic and social policies that respond to their priorities.

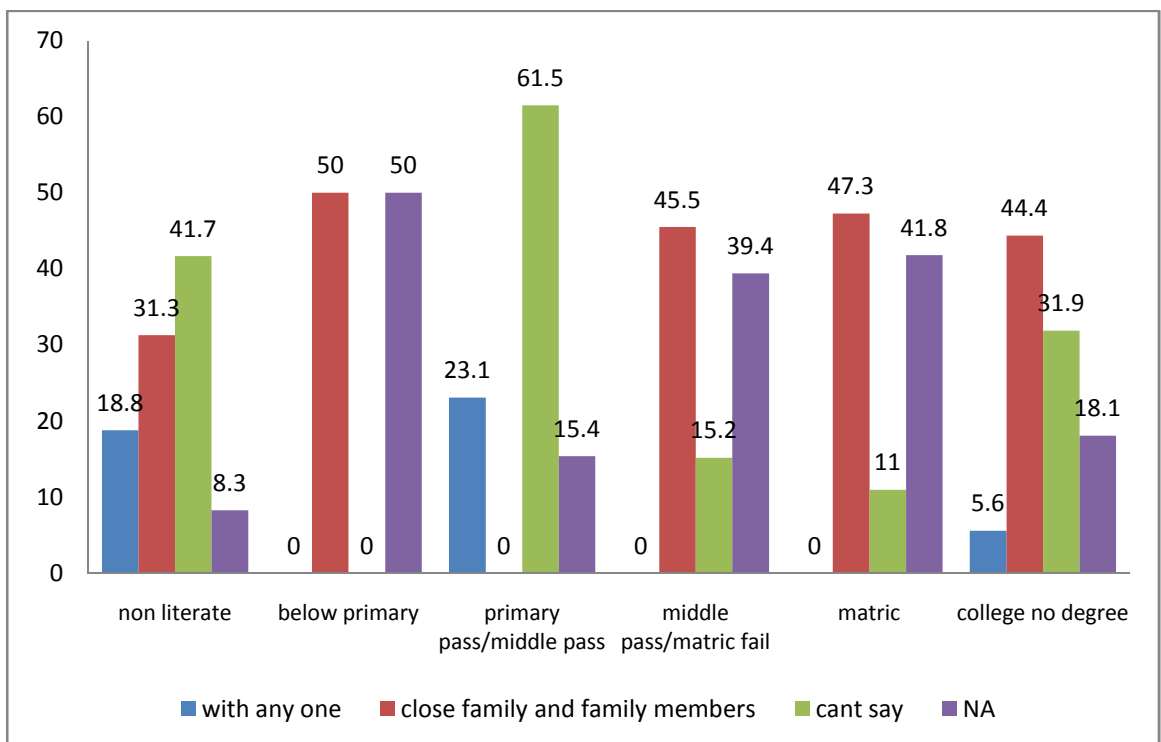


Figure 5.4 : Respondent's Education and Political Discussion with Family and Friends

Table 5.5

Respondent's Education and Influence while Voting for an Election

Education	Husband	Other family members	Religious leaders	Friends/neighbors	Colleagues	Own Attitude	DK	Total
Non Literate	2	11	0	0	0	28	7	48
	4.2%	22.9%	0	0	0	58.3%	14.6%	100.0%
Below Primary	2	9	3	0	0	18		32
	6.3%	28.1%	9.4%	0	0	56.3%		100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	0	4	0	0	0	7	2	13
	0	30.8%	0	0	0	53.8%	15.4%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	10	6	0	0	0	14	3	33
	30.3%	18.2%	0	0	0	42.4%	9.1%	100.0%
Metric	20	20	0	2	0	42	7	91
	22.0%	22.0%	0	2.2%	0	46.2%	7.7%	100.0%
College No Degree	13	30	0	0	0	80	21	144
	9.0%	20.8%	0	0	0	55.6%	14.6%	100.0%
Graduate	8	22	0	0	0	55	10	95
	8.4%	23.2%	0	0	0	57.9%	10.5%	100.0%
Post Graduation	0	2	0	0	2	10	0	14
	0	14.3%	0	0	14.3%	71.4%	0	100.0%
Professional Degree	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	8
	0	0	0	0	0	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	55	104	3	2	2	258	54	478
	11.5%	21.8%	.6%	.4%	.4%	54.0%	11.3%	100.0%

The above table no. 5.5 reveals that no matter whether the respondent a non-literate, below primary, primary pass/metric, graduate, post graduate or a professional degree holder have their own autonomy in voting. To assess the extent of autonomy in voting and to what extent the voting decision is made by the women themselves; respondents were asked whom they consulted or who advised them to support a particular party or candidate. But at all levels of education they seem to be quite independent and autonomous in carrying their own attitudes to polling booths.

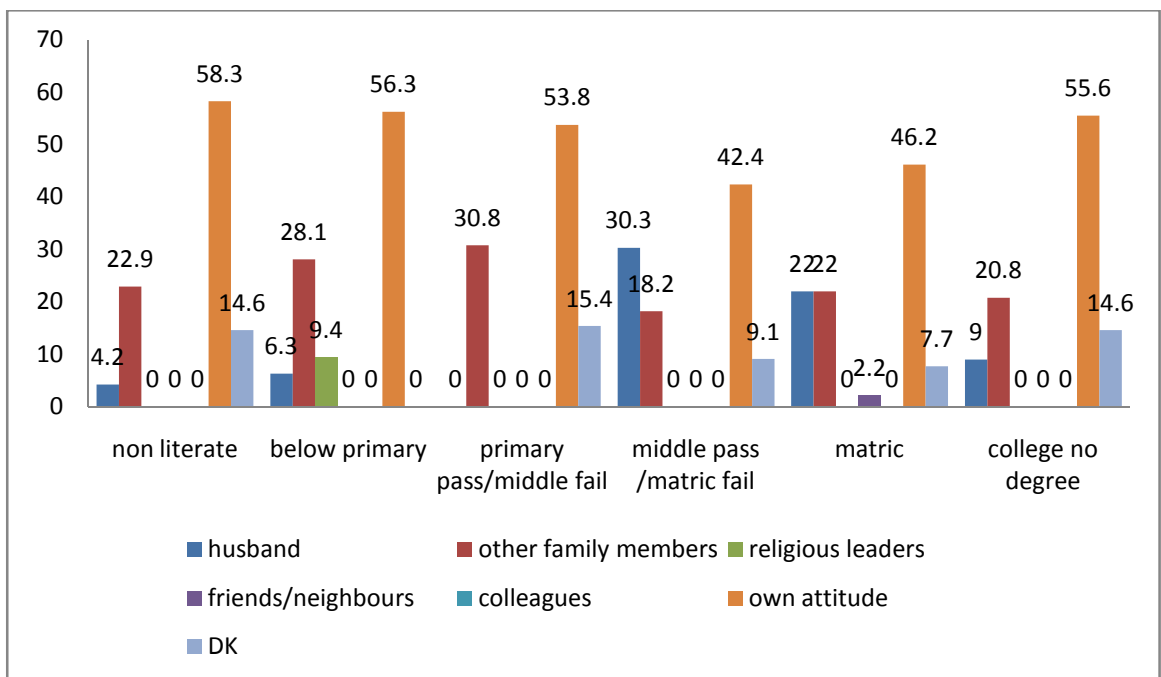


Figure 5.5 : Respondent’s Education and Influence while Voting for an Election

Table 5.6

Respondent's Education and Faith on Political Party

Education	Great Deal	Some	Not very much	Not at all	No Opinion	Total
Non Literate	16	13	10	2	1	42
	38.1%	31.0%	23.8%	4.8%	2.4%	100.0%
Below Primary	16	6	3	0	0	25
	64.0%	24.0%	12.0%	0	0	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	2	4	1	0	1	8
	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	0	12.5%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	14	7	2	0	0	23
	60.9%	30.4%	8.7%	0	0	100.0%
Metric	36	27	2	0	6	71
	50.7%	38.0%	2.8%	0	8.5%	100.0%
College No Degree	45	57	9	0	13	124
	36.3%	46.0%	7.3%	0	10.5%	100.0%
Graduate	26	47	8	0	5	86
	30.2%	54.7%	9.3%	0	5.8%	100.0%
Post Graduation	2	10	2	0	0	14
	14.3%	71.4%	14.3%	0	0	100.0%
Professional Degree	4	2	2	0	0	8
	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	0	0	100.0%
Total	161	173	39	2	26	401
	40.1%	43.1%	9.7%	.5%	6.5%	100.0%

The above table no. 5.6 reveals that non-literate, below primary, metric fail, metric pass and the professional degree holder show a great deal of faith on political party. Whereas those who have joined the college but not yet graduate once as well as the highly qualified i.e. the post-graduates show some faith on political party. Here we can say that qualified and highly qualified have a shaking faith on political parties. They have questions in their minds about the ideologies and programs of political parties.

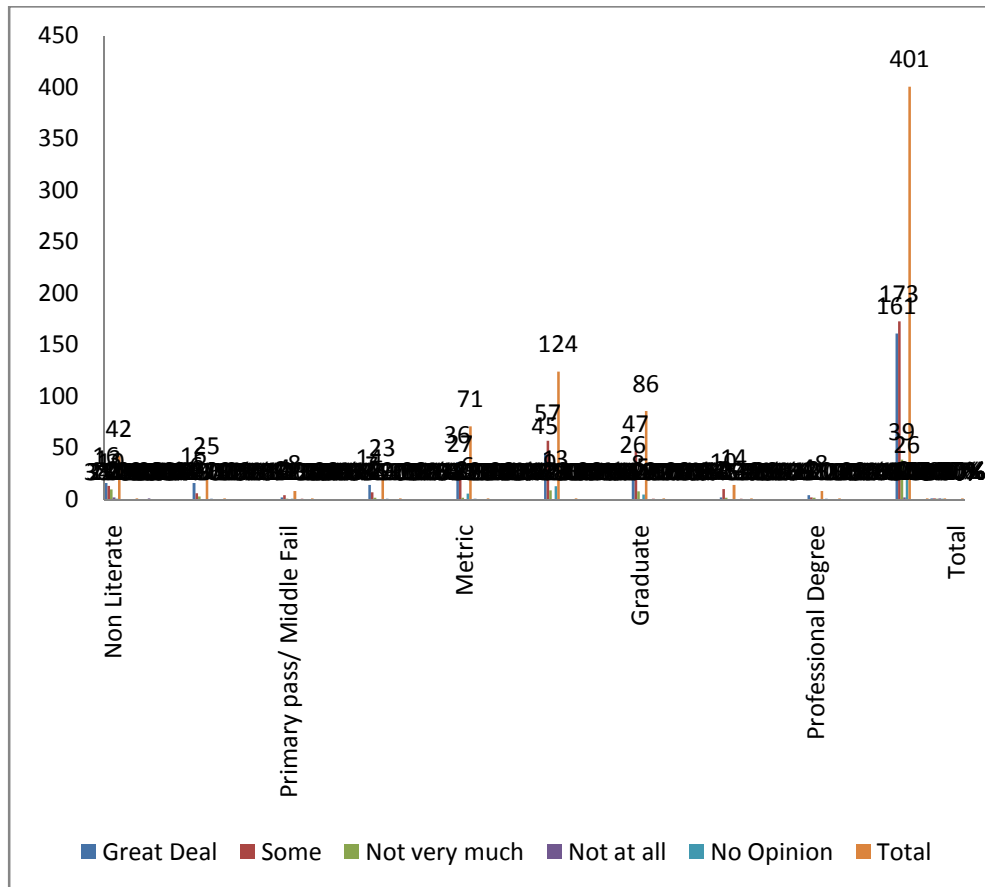


Figure 5.6 : Respondent's Education and Faith on Political Party

Table 5.7

Respondent's Education and Their Understanding of Minority Group

Education	Muslim	Rich	Women	Lower caste	Poor	Small Population	Muslim Women	CSDK	NA	Total
Non	2	0	0	0	9	0	0	31	0	42
Literate	4.8%	0	0	0	21.4%	0	0	73.8%	0	100.0%
Below	1	0	5	0	9	0	2	8	0	25
Primary	4.0%	0	20.0%	0	36.0%	0	8.0%	32.0%	0	100.0%
Primary	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	8
pass/ Middle Fail	25.0%	0	0	0	25.0%	0	0	50.0%	0	100.0%
Middle	0	0	6	0	3	0	0	14	0	23
Pass/ metric Fail	0	0	26.1%	0	13.0%	0	0	60.9%	0	100.0%
Metric	3	0	21	3	23	2	0	17	2	71
	4.2%	0	29.6%	4.2%	32.4%	2.8%	0	23.9%	2.8%	100.0%
College No	6	0	7	0	29	5	0	57	20	124
Degree	4.8%	0	5.6%	0	23.4%	4.0%	0	46.0%	16.1%	100.0%
									%	
Graduate	4	0	11	0	19	0	0	38	14	86
	4.7%	0	12.8%	0	22.1%	0	0	44.2%	16.3%	100.0%
									%	
PG	0	2	2	2	4	0	2	2	0	14
	0	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	0	14.3%	14.3%	0	100.0%
		%								
Professional	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	8
Degree	0	0	0	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	0	25.0%	0	100.0%
Total	18	2	52	7	100	9	4	173	36	401
	4.5%	.5%	13.0%	1.7%	24.9%	2.2%	1.0%	43.1%	9.0%	100.0%

The table no.5.7 reveals that the respondents were given the options of Muslims, rich, women, lower-cast, poor, Muslim women and small population as options for a minority group. Most of the respondents who were non-literate, primary pass, middle

pass, college going respondent's , graduates and professional degree holders cannot respond and have poor knowledge about this particular concept of minority group. The respondents below primary as well as post graduates have said poor as minority, whereas the metric pass considered women as minority group.

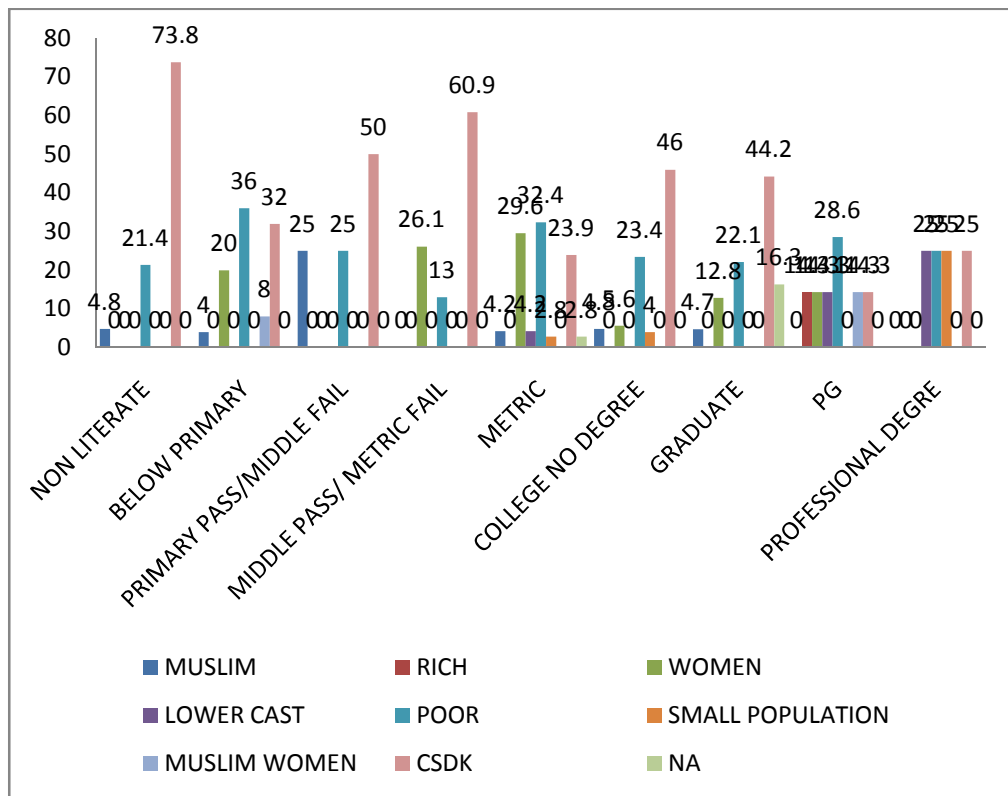


Figure 5.7 : Respondent's Education and Their Understanding of Minority Group.

Table 5.8

Respondent Education and Their Understanding of Majority Group

Education	Hindu	Poor	Men	Upper Caste	Rich	Ruling People	Muslim Men	CSDK	NA	Total
Non Literate	2	0	0	0	9	0	0	31	0	42
	4.8%	0	0	0	21.4%	0	0	73.8%	0	100.0%
Below Primary	1	0	5	0	9	0	2	8	0	25
	4.0%	0	20.0%	0	36.0%	0	8.0%	32.0%	0	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	8
	25.0%	0	0	0	25.0%	0	0	50.0%	0	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	0	0	6	0	3	1	0	13	0	23
	0	0	26.1%	0	13.0%	4.3%	0	56.5%	0	100.0%
Metric	7	2	17	3	23	0	0	17	2	71
	9.9%	2.8%	23.9%	4.2%	32.4%	0	0	23.9%	2.8%	100.0%
College No Degree	5	0	7	2	29	0	0	59	22	124
	4.0%	0	5.6%	1.6%	23.4%	0	0	47.6%	17.7%	100.0%
Graduate	6	0	11	0	19	0	0	36	14	86
	7.0%	0	12.8%	0	22.1%	0	0	41.9%	16.3%	100.0%
Post Graduation	2	0	2	2	6	0	0	2	0	14
	14.3%	0	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%	0	0	14.3%	0	100.0%
Prof. Degree	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	8
	25.0%	0	0	0	25.0%	0	0	50.0%	0	100.0%
Total	27	2	48	7	102	1	2	174	38	401
	6.7%	.5%	12.0%	1.7%	25.4%	0.2%	0.5%	43.4%	9.5%	100.0%

The table no.5.8 reveals that the respondents were given the options of Hindus, Poor, Men, Upper-cast, Rich, Ruling people and Muslim Men as options for a majority group. Most of the respondents who were non-literate, primary pass, middle pass, college going respondent's , graduates and professional degree holders cannot respond and have poor knowledge about this particular concept of majority group. The respondents below primary, metric pass and post graduates have said Rich as majority group.

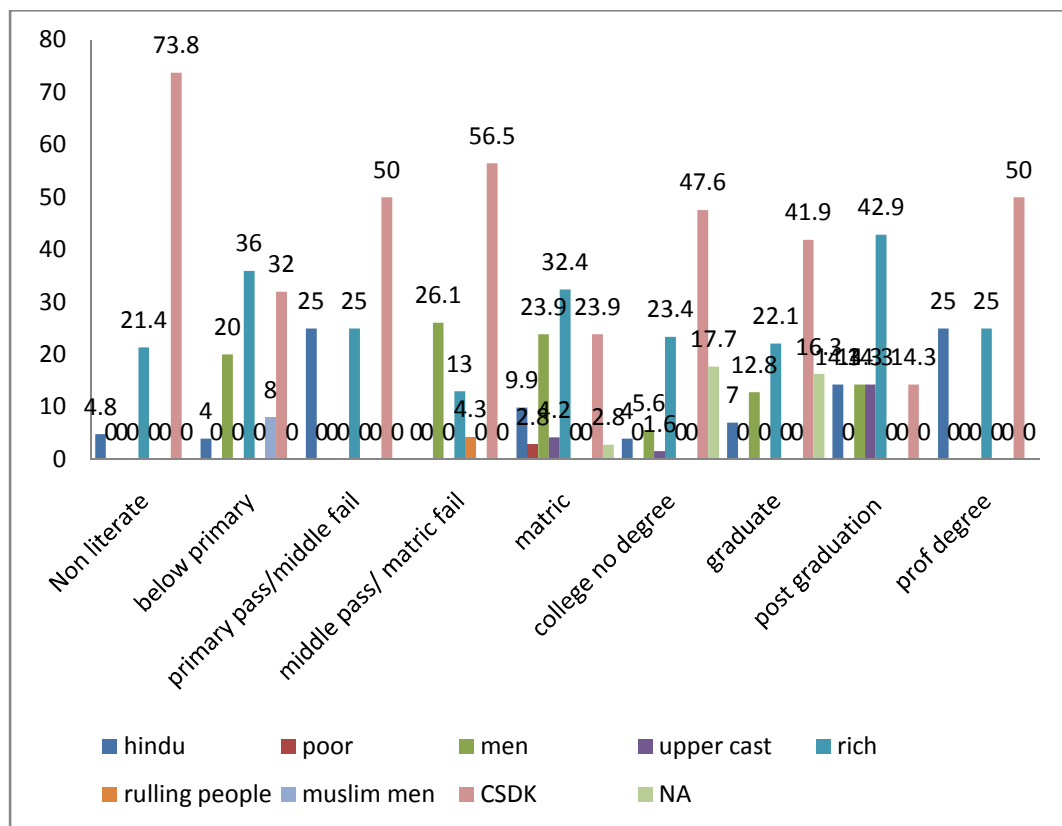


Figure 5.8 : Respondent Education and Their Understanding of Majority Group

Table 5.9

Respondent's Education and Their Pride About Their Caste/ Radical Identity

Education	Feel very much proud	Feel proud	No proud	Can't say	Total
Non Literate	15	21	2	4	42
	35.7%	50.0%	4.8%	9.5%	100.0%
Below Primary	20	5	0	0	25
	80.0%	20.0%	0	0	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	2	5	0	1	8
	25.0%	62.5%	0	12.5%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	15	8	0	0	23
	65.2%	34.8%	0	0	100.0%
Metric	40	25	2	4	71
	56.3%	35.2%	2.8%	5.6%	100.0%
College No Degree	59	52	2	11	124
	47.6%	41.9%	1.6%	8.9%	100.0%
Graduate	47	34	0	5	86
	54.7%	39.5%	0	5.8%	100.0%
Post Graduation	10	4	0	0	14
	71.4%	28.6%	0	0	100.0%
Professional Degree	6	2	0	0	8
	75.0%	25.0%	0	0	100.0%
Total	214	156	6	25	401
	53.4%	38.9%	1.5%	6.2%	100.0%

The above table no. 5.9 reveals that all the respondents irrespective of their level of education are proud of their caste/radical identity. It shows that education does not affect in any way as far as the caste of the respondent is concerned. No matter how much educated the respondent is but when it comes to the personal identification the respondent connects her to the caste identity and they are radical about this identity.

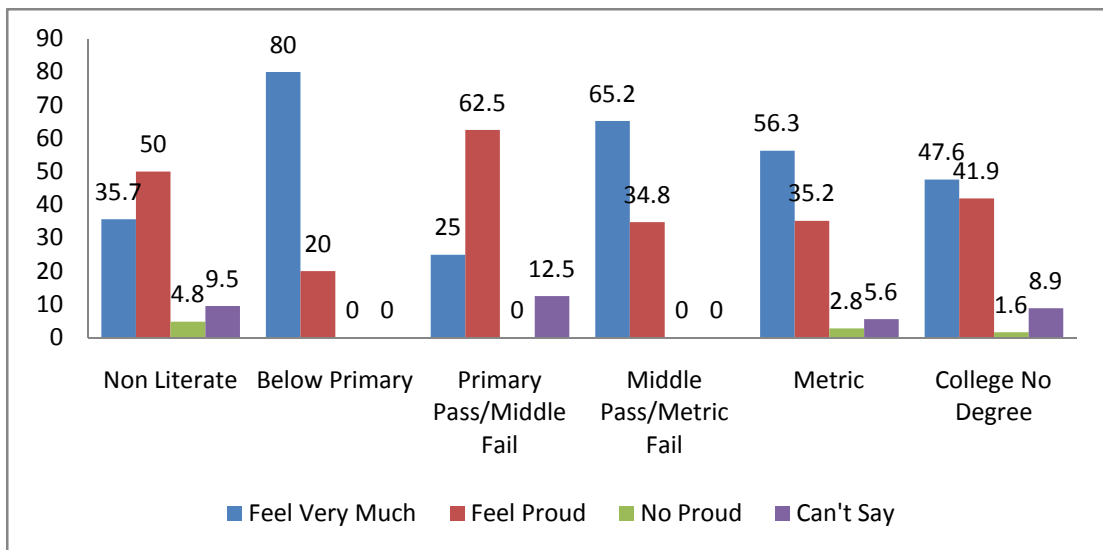


Figure 5.9: Respondent's Education and Their Pride About Their Caste/ Radical Identity

Table 5.10

Respondent's Education and Their Pride About Their National Identity

Education	Very much proud	Proud	No proud at all	CSDK	Total
Non Literate	41	0	0	1	42
	97.6%	0	0	2.4%	100.0%
Below Primary	24	1	0	0	25
	96.0%	4.0%	0	0	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	3	4	1	0	8
	37.5%	50.0%	12.5%	0	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	20	3	0	0	23
	87.0%	13.0%	0	0	100.0%
Metric	61	9	0	1	71
	85.9%	12.7%	0	1.4%	100.0%
College No Degree	103	16	2	3	124
	83.1%	12.9%	1.6%	2.4%	100.0%
Graduate	73	10	0	3	86
	84.9%	11.6%	0	3.5%	100.0%
Post Graduation	12	2	0	0	14
	85.7%	14.3%	0	0	100.0%
Professional Degree	8	0	0	0	8
	100.0%	0	0	0	100.0%
Total	345	45	3	8	401
	86.0%	11.2%	.7%	2.0%	100.0%

The above table no.5.10 reveals that all the respondents feel proud about their national identity. All of them take pride being an Indian.

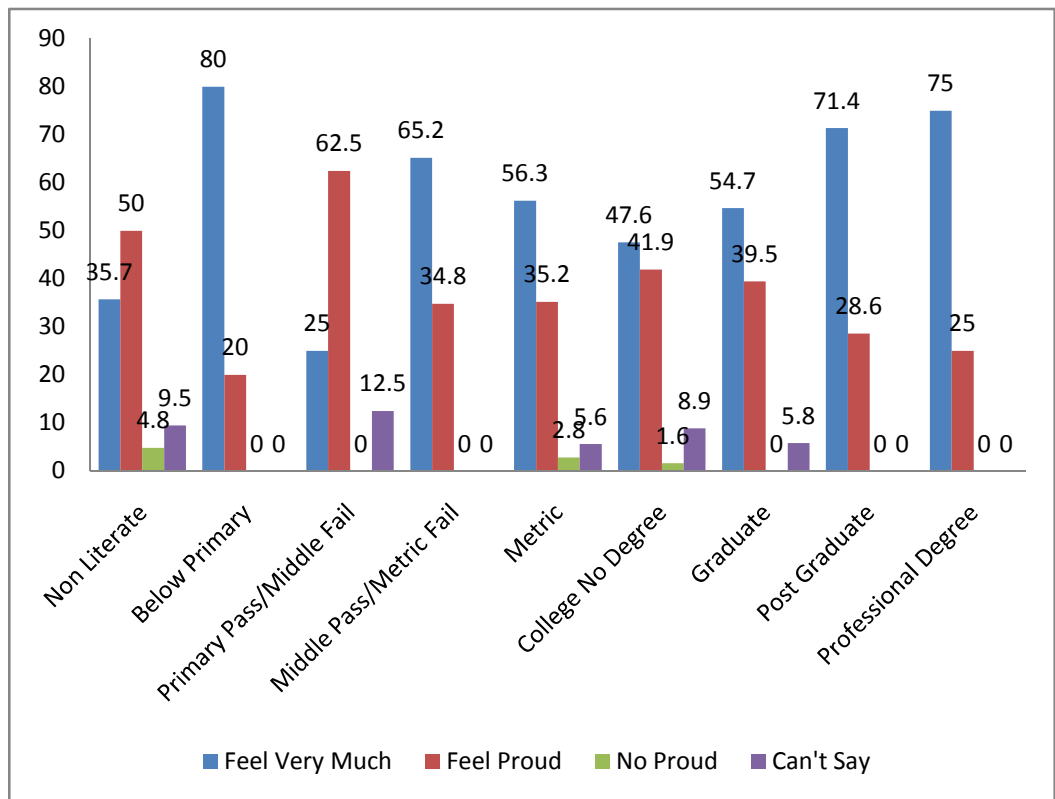


Figure 5.10: Respondent's Education and Their Pride about Their National Identity

Table 5.11

**Respondent's Education and Their Understanding About Reservation to Women
in Loksabha and Vidhansabha.**

Education	Fully Support	Somewhat Support	No Opinion / Can't say	Total
Non Literate	32	11	5	48
	66.7%	22.9%	10.4%	100.0%
Below Primary	20	10	2	32
	62.5%	31.3%	6.3%	100.0%
Primary pass/ Middle Fail	9	2	2	13
	69.2%	15.4%	15.4%	100.0%
Middle Pass/ metric Fail	24	9	0	33
	72.7%	27.3%	0	100.0%
Metric	51	35	5	91
	56.0%	38.5%	5.5%	100.0%
College No Degree	100	29	15	144
	69.4%	20.1%	10.4%	100.0%
Graduate	59	24	12	95
	62.1%	25.3%	12.6%	100.0%
Post Graduation	8	6	0	14
	57.1%	42.9%	0	100.0%
Professional Degree	4	4	0	8
	50.0%	50.0%	0	100.0%
Total	307	130	41	478
	64.2%	27.2%	8.6%	100.0%

The reservations for women in Panchayats and municipalities have been written into law through the 73th and 74th Amendments to the constitution in India. The respondents were asked several questions in order to gauge their political awareness, among them whether they are aware that there are seats reserved for women in the Panchayat elections. The above table no. 5.11 reveals that the majority of the respondents (64.2) seem to be aware of such reservations and they fully support this reservation as it is in favor of maximum women participation in politics.

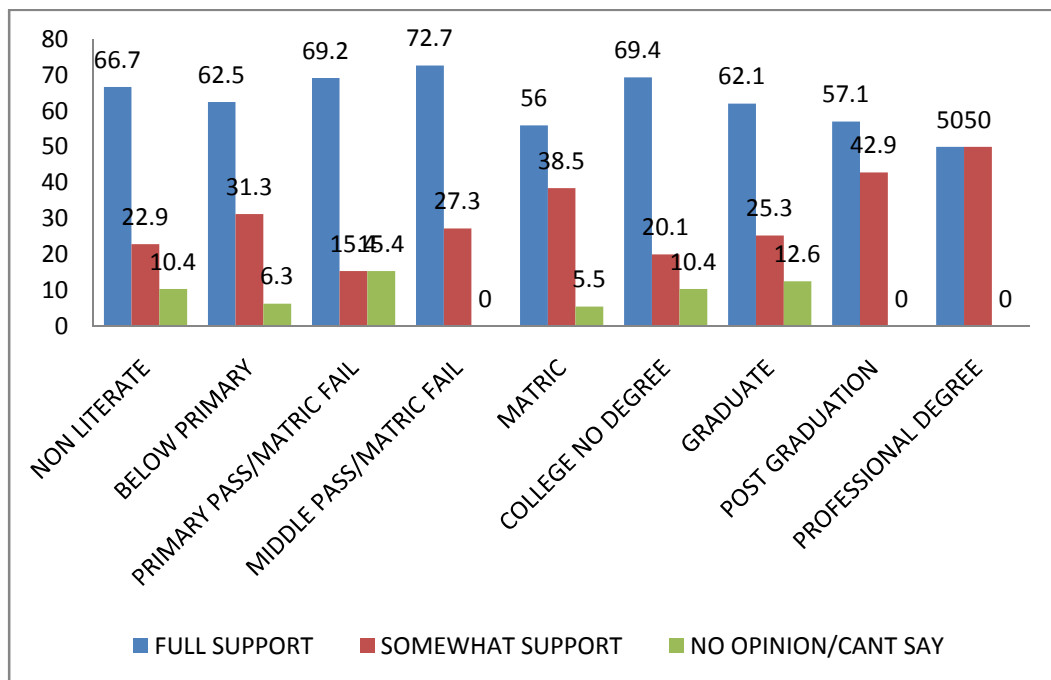


Figure 5.11 : Respondent’s Education and Their Understanding About Reservation to Women in Lok Sabha and Vidhansabha.

Socio-Economic Background of Respondent as Variable of Comparison

Table 5.12

Occupation and Influence on the Respondent while Voting

Occupation	Husband	Other family members	Religious leaders	Friends/ neighbors	Colleagues	Own Attitude	DK	Total
Engineers	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%	100.0%
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%	0	100.0%
Lawyer	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4
	0	0	0	0	50.0%	50.0%	0	100.0%
College/University Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%	0	100.0%
Other Higher Professional	0	4	0	0	0	4	2	10
	0	40.0%	0	0	0	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
School Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	15	2	17
	0	0	0	0	0	88.2%	11.8%	100.0%
Other Lower Professional	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	8
	25.0%	0	0	0	0	75.0%	0	100.0%
Traditional Work	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%
Other Administration	0	5	0	0	0	8	0	13
	0	38.5%	0	0	0	61.5%	0	100.0%
Small Businessmen	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	7
	0	14.3%	0	0	0	85.7%	0	100.0%
Petty Businessmen	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%
Tailor	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	6
	33.3%	0	0	0	0	66.7%	0	100.0%
Unskilled Labor	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
	0	0	0	0	0	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Housewife	51	77	3	0	0	165	37	333
	15.3%	23.1%	.9%	0	0	49.5%	11.1%	100.0%
Student	0	9	0	0	0	12	4	25
	0	36.0%	0	0	0	48.0%	16.0%	100.0%
N.A.	0	4	0	2	0	28	5	39
	0	10.3%	0	5.1%	0	71.8%	12.8%	100.0%
Total	55	104	3	2	2	258	54	478
	11.5%	21.8%	.6%	.4%	.4%	54.0%	11.3%	100.0%

The table no.5.12 reveals that the Engineers can't say anything about the influence which they carry for their voting in an election whereas the Doctors, Lawyers, the college/ University teachers, other high professionals, school teachers, other lower professionals, small businessmen, tailor, house-wives, and students have their own attitude operating while voting. Near about more than half of the respondents have their own attitude influencing their voting pattern.

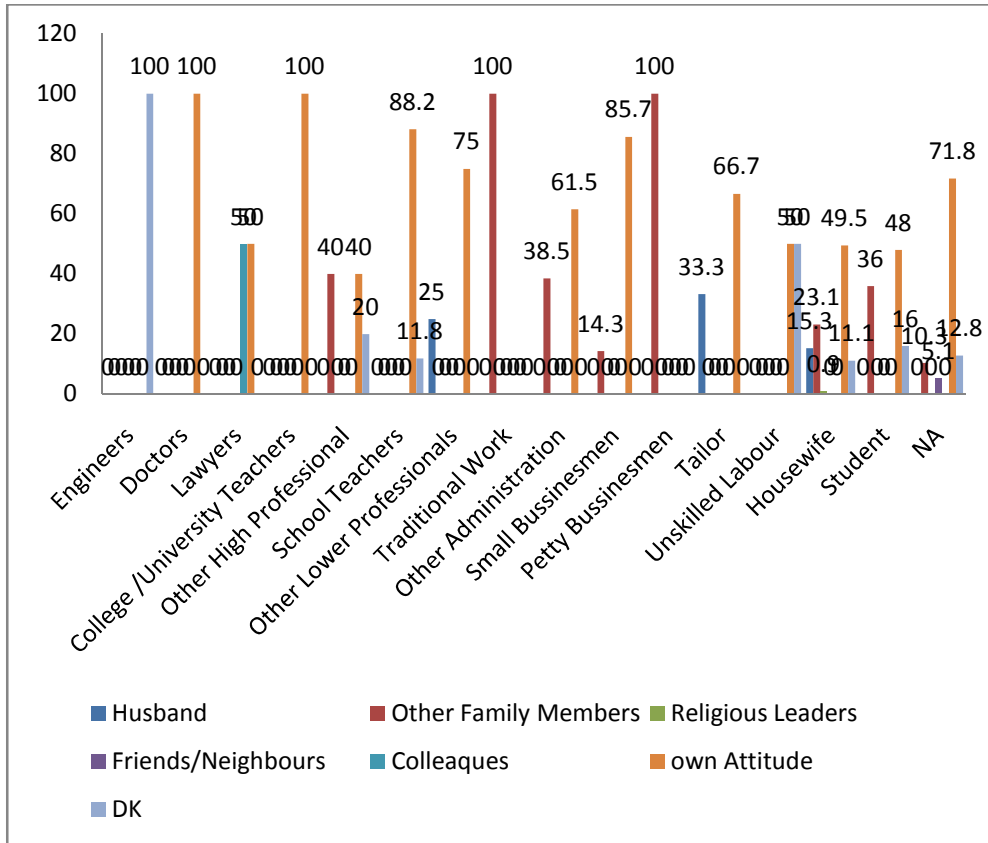


Figure 5.12 : Occupation and Influence on the Respondent while Voting

Ideological Factors as Variable of Comparison

Table 5.13

Religion + Interest in politics

Interest in Politics						
Religion	Too Much	Very Little	Not Very Special	Not at all	DK	Total
Christian		10		16	2	28
		35.7%		57.1%	7.1%	100.0%
Hindu	6	57	61	72	52	248
	2.4%	23.0%	24.6%	29.0%	21.0%	100.0%
Jain		2	2	2		6
		33.3%	33.3%	33.3%		100.0%
Muslim	3	25	47	68	41	184
	1.6%	13.6%	25.5%	37.0%	22.3%	100.0%
Sikh				2		2
				100.0%		100.0%
Other		8		2		10
		80.0%		20.0%		100.0%
Total	9	102	110	162	95	478
	1.9%	21.3%	23.0%	33.9%	19.9%	100.0%

The table no. 5.13 shows that the respondents belonging to Hindu and Muslim religion show no interest at all in politics at all. They have very low involvement in any kind of political activity.

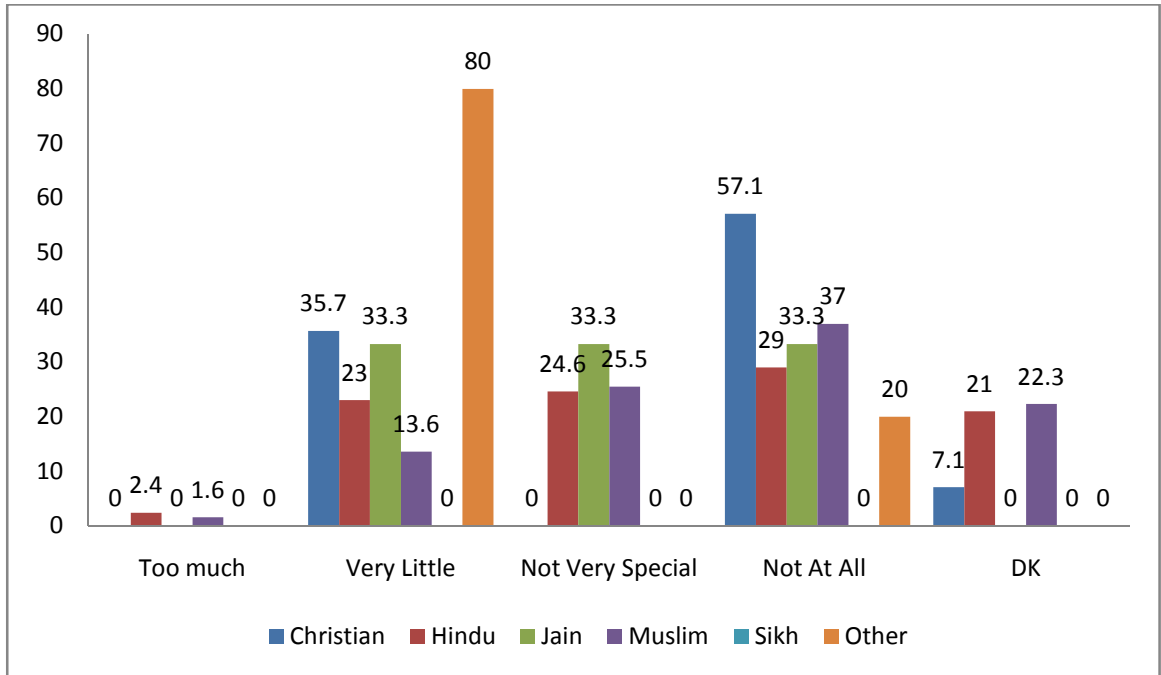


Figure 5.13 : Religion + Interest in politics

Table 5.14
Respondent's Religion and Occupation

Occupation	Christian	Hindu	Jain	Muslim	Sikh	Other	Total
Engineers	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
	0	50.0%	0	50.0%	0	0	100.0%
Doctors	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0	.4%
Lawyer	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	100.0%
College/University Teacher	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	100.0%
Other Higher Professional	2	7	0	1	0	0	10
	20.0%	70.0%	0	10.0%	0	0	100.0%
School Teacher	8	6	0	3	0	0	17
	47.1%	35.3%	0	17.6%	0	0	100.0%
Other Lower Professional	0	7	0	1	0	0	8
	0	87.5%	0	12.5%	0	0	100.0%
Traditional Work	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	0	0	0	0	0	100.0%	100.0%
Other Administration	0	12	0	1	0	0	13
	0	92.3%	0	7.7%	0	0	100.0%
Small Businessmen	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	100.0%
Petty Businessmen	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	0	100.0%	0	0	0	0	100.0%
Tailor	0	1	0	5	0	0	6
	0	16.7%	0	83.3%	0	0	100.0%
Unskilled Labor	0	1	0	3	0	0	4
	0	25.0%	0	75.0%	0	0	100.0%
Housewife	10	159	6	152	0	6	333
	3.0%	47.7%	1.8%	45.6%	0	1.8%	100.0%

Student	2	11	0	12	0	0	25
	8.0%	44.0%	0	48.0%	0	0	100.0%
N.A.	6	24	0	5	2	2	39
	15.4%	61.5%	0	12.8%	5.1%	5.1%	100.0%
Total	28	248	6	184	2	10	478
	5.9%	51.9%	1.3%	38.5%	.4%	2.1%	100.0%

The above table no. 5.14 reveals that the maximum respondents from Hindu religion are Engineers, Doctors, Lawyers, College/university teachers, other higher professionals, other low professionals and other administration as well as small businessman. Amongst Hindus near about 45% of the respondents are House wives and students. Contrary to this only 50% of Muslim respondents are Engineers, whereas near about more than 75% are Tailor and unskilled labor. This show in some key areas Muslim women is not equal to Women in the Hindu community. The difference can be seen most sharply in the socio-economic status of Muslim household, occupational distribution, asset structure and education. Hindu Muslim disparities in socio-economic status are statistically significant and constitute a major source of differentiation in women status.

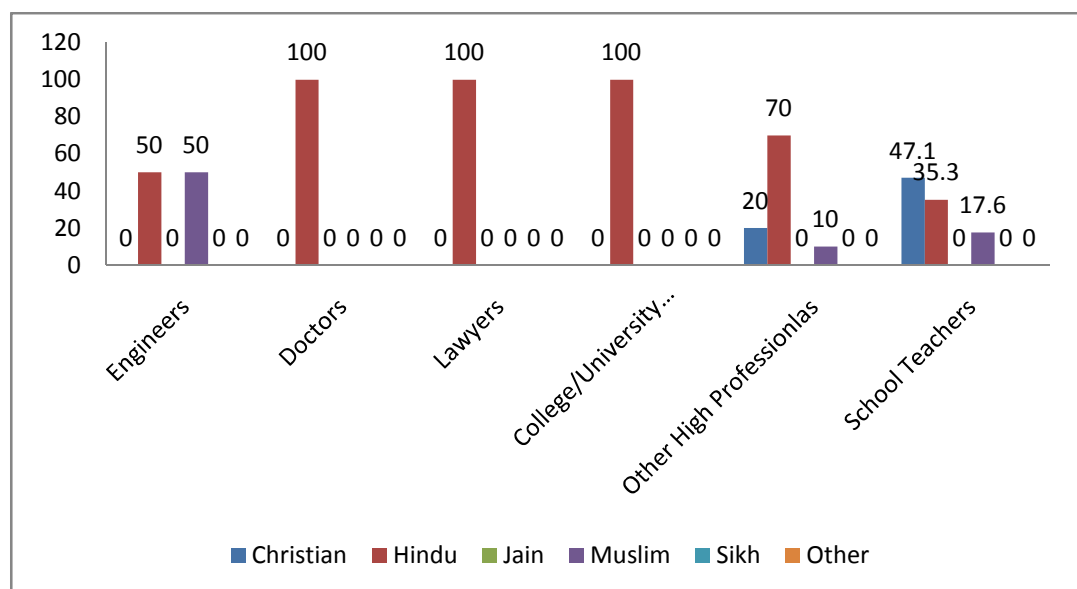


Figure 5.14 : Respondent's Religion and Occupation

Table 5.15**Income and Religion of Respondents**

Income	Christian	Hindu	Jain	Muslim	Sikh	Other	Total
Less than 1000	0	4	0	3	0	0	7
	0	57.1%	0	42.9%	0	0	100.0%
1000 to 2000	2	5	0	1	0	0	8
	25.0%	62.5%	0	12.5%	0	0	100.0%
2000 to 3000	0	7	4	9	0	0	20
	0	35.0%	20.0%	45.0%	0	0	100.0%
3000 to 5000	2	46	0	42	0	4	94
	2.1%	48.9%	0	44.7%	0	4.3%	100.0%
5000 to 10000	4	42	0	64	0	2	112
	3.6%	37.5%	0	57.1%	0	1.8%	100.0%
10000 to 20000	6	36	2	10	0	0	54
	11.1%	66.7%	3.7%	18.5%	0	0	100.0%
20000 and above	12	92	0	26	2	4	136
	8.8%	67.6%	0	19.1%	1.5%	2.9%	100.0%
D K/ Can't say	2	16	0	29	0	0	47
	4.3%	34.0%	0	61.7%	0	0	100.0%
Total	28	248	6	184	2	10	478
	5.9%	51.9%	1.3%	38.5%	.4%	2.1%	100.0%

The table no. 5.15 reveals that 57.1% Hindu respondents and 42.9% Muslim respondents are in the income group of less than Rs.1000/. 62.5% Hindu respondents and 12.5 % respondents are in the income group of Rs.1000-2000/. 35% Hindu respondents and 45% Muslim respondents are in the group of Rs.2000-3000/ monthly income. 48.9% Hindu respondents and 44.7% Muslim respondents are in the income group of Rs.3000-5000/ per month. The income group of Rs.5000-10000/ per month shows the 37.5% for Hindu respondents and 57.1% for Muslim respondents. The income group of Rs.10000-20000/ and Rs.20000/ and above shows 66.7% and 67.6% for the Hindu respondents, whereas 18.5% and 19.1% for the Muslim respondents respectively. Community difference in income are quite significant Muslim

respondents are poor than Hindu respondents as their percentage of monthly income in the group of Rs.10000-20000/ and Rs.20000/ and above is very less. The standard of living of Muslim respondents is generally poor and in-comparative terms, much below that of Hindu upper caste lower even than that of OBC.

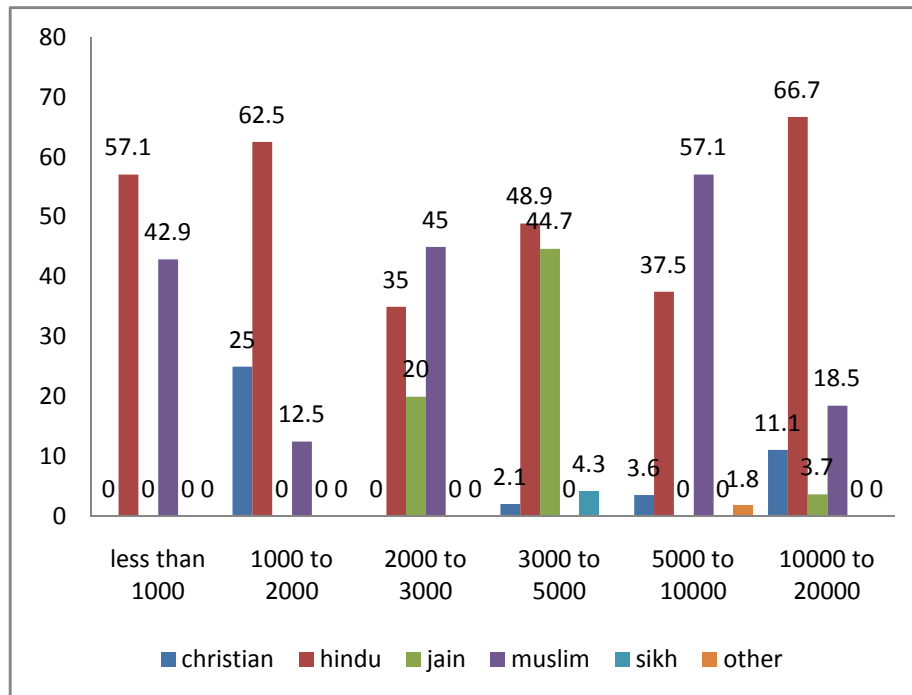


Figure 5.15 : Income and Religion of Respondents

Table 5.16
Religion and Frequency of Voting

Religion	Vote for each election	Vote for many election	Vote for few election	Vote very rarely	Can't Say/ Don't Know	NA	Total
Christian	6	6	6	4	0	6	28
	21.4%	21.4%	21.4%	14.3%	0	21.4%	100.0%
Hindu	53	98	36	45	2	14	248
	21.4%	39.5%	14.5%	18.1%	0.8%	5.6%	100.0%
Jain	0	2	2	2	0	0	6
	0	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	0	0	100.0%
Muslim	22	91	25	37	7	2	184
	12.0%	49.5%	13.6%	20.1%	3.8%	1.1%	100.0%
Sikh	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	0	0	0	100.0%	0	0	100.0%
Other	2	4	4	0	0	0	10
	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	0	0	0	100.0%
Total	83	201	73	90	9	22	478
	17.4%	42.1%	15.3%	18.8%	1.9%	4.6%	100.0%

The above table no.5.16 reveals that 49.5% of Muslim respondents vote for many of elections. Whereas, 39.5% of Hindu respondents vote for many elections. If voting in elections is an indication of participation, than the participation level of our Muslim respondents is high in compare to our Hindu respondents. A good number of Muslim respondents go to the polling booths and cast their votes. However, they didn't give their votes according to others' choice but they carry their own independent attitude to the polling booths.

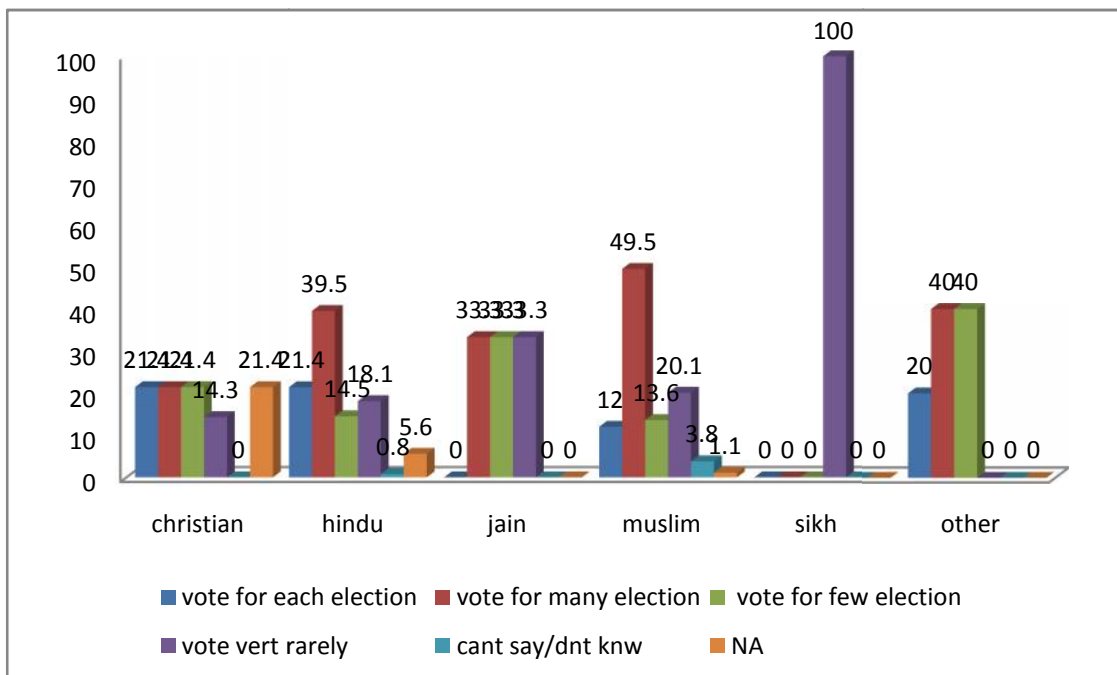


Figure 5.16 : Religion and Frequency of Voting

Table 5.17

Religion and Political Discussion with Family and Friends

Religion	With any One	Close friends and family member	Can't say	NA	Total
Christian	2	8	8	10	28
	7.1%	28.6%	28.6%	35.7%	100.0%
Hindu	8	108	84	48	248
	3.2%	43.5%	33.9%	19.4%	100.0%
Jain	0	2	0	4	6
	0	33.3%	0	66.7%	100.0%
Muslim	12	87	30	55	184
	6.5%	47.3%	16.3%	29.9%	100.0%
Sikh	0	2	0	0	2
	0	100.0%	0	0	100.0%
Other	0	6	2	2	10
	0	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	22	213	124	119	478
	4.6%	44.6%	25.9%	24.9%	100.0%

The table no. 5.17 reveals that 43.5% of Hindu respondents and 47.3% of Muslim respondents have political discussions with friends and family. This is an indication that the intensity of discussion of both the groups of respondents is more or less similar. There is no significant difference regarding discussion and consultation between two groups of respondents.

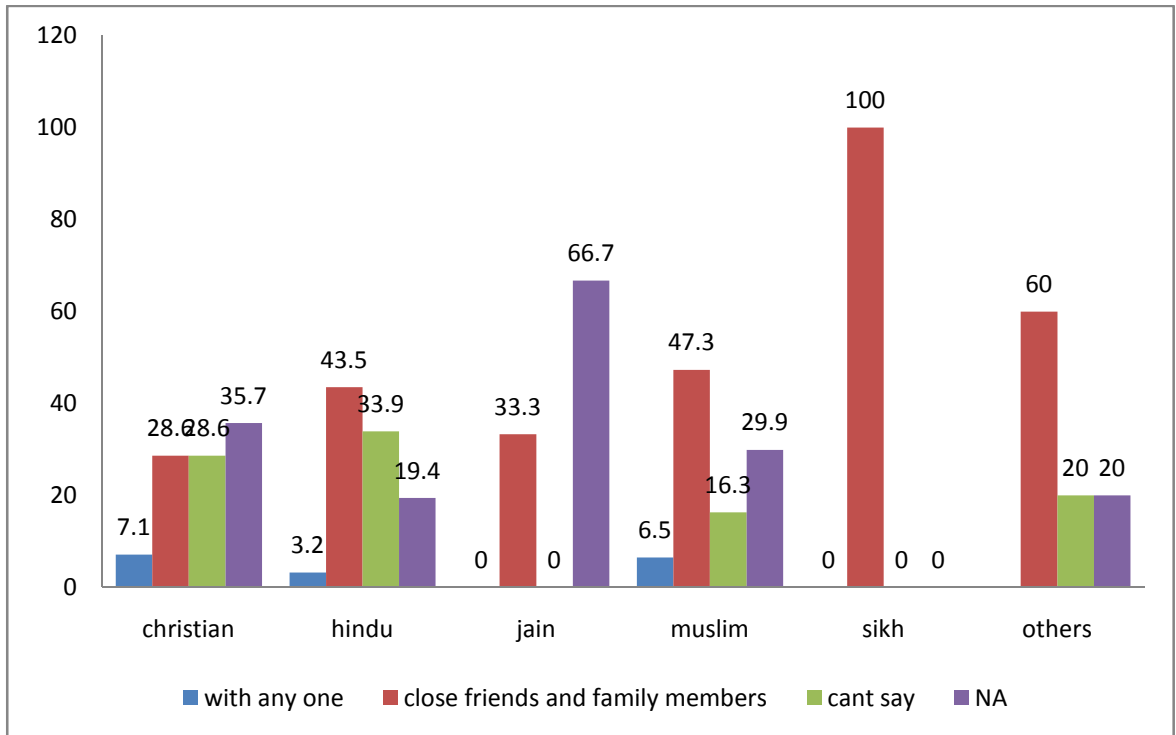


Figure 5.17 : Religion and Political Discussion with Family and Friends

Table 5.18

Respondents Religion and Their Understanding of Minority Group

Religion	Muslim	Rich	Women	Lower caste	Poor	Small Population	Muslim Women	CSDK	NA	Total
Christian			8		4	4		10	2	28
			28.6%		14.3%	14.3%		35.7%	7.1%	100.0%
Hindu	12	2	17	5	45	3	2	99	33	218
	5.5%	.9%	7.8%	2.3%	20.6%	1.4%	.9%	45.4%	15.1%	100.0%
Jain	2							4		6
	33.3%							66.7%		100.0%
Muslim	4		27	2	45		2	56	1	137
	2.9%		19.7%	1.5%	32.8%		1.5%	40.9%	.7%	100.0%
Sikh								2		2
								100.0%		100.0%
Other					6	2		2		10
					60.0%	20.0%		20.0%		100.0%
Total	18	2	52	7	100	9	4	173	36	401
	4.5%	.5%	13.0%	1.7%	24.9%	2.2%	1.0%	43.1%	9.0%	100.0%

The above table no.5.18 reveals that the maximum number of respondents both from Hindu (45.4%) and Muslims (40.9%) were not able to respond about the minority community. 20.6% of the Hindu respondent and 32.8% of the Muslim respondents called poor as minority groups. This particular variable proves that irrespective of religion their understanding of the concept of Minority group seems to be weak and poor.

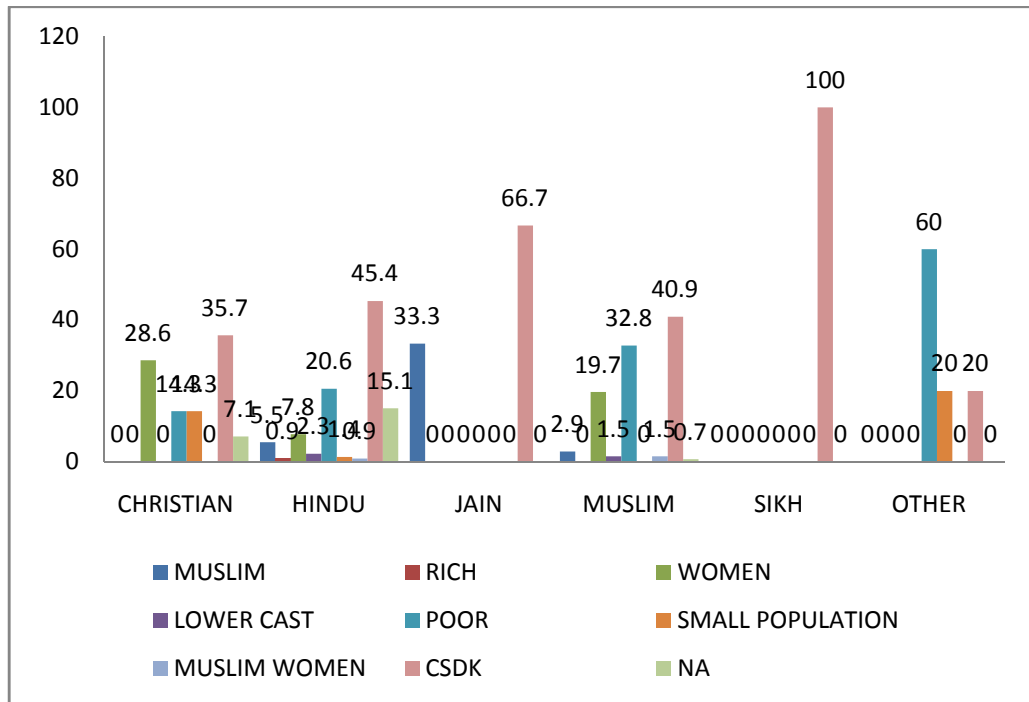


Figure 5.18 : Respondents Religion and Their Understanding of Minority Group

Table 5.19

Religion and their Understanding about Majority Group

Religion	Hindu	poor	Men	Upper Caste	Rich	Ruling People	Muslim Men	CSDK	NA	Total
Christian	2		8		4			12	2	28
	7.1%		28.6%		14.3%			42.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Hindu	14	2	13	6	47			101	35	218
	6.4%	.9%	6.0%	2.8%	21.6%			46.3%	16.1%	100.0%
Jain	2							4		6
	33.3%							66.7%		100.0%
Muslim	7		27	1	45	1	2	53	1	137
	5.1%		19.7%	.7%	32.8%	.7%	1.5%	38.7%	.7%	100.0%
Sikh								2		2
								100.0%		100.0%
Other	2				6			2		10
	20.0%				60.0%			20.0%		100.0%
Total	27	2	48	7	102	1	2	174	38	401
	6.7%	.5%	12.0%	1.7%	25.4%	.2%	.5%	43.4%	9.5%	100.0%

The above table no.5.19 reveals that the maximum number of respondents both from Hindu (46.3%) and Muslims (38.7%) were not able to respond about the majority community. 21.6% of the Hindu respondent and 32.8% of the Muslim respondents called rich as majority groups. This particular variable proves that irrespective of religion their understanding of the concept of Majority group seems to be weak and poor.

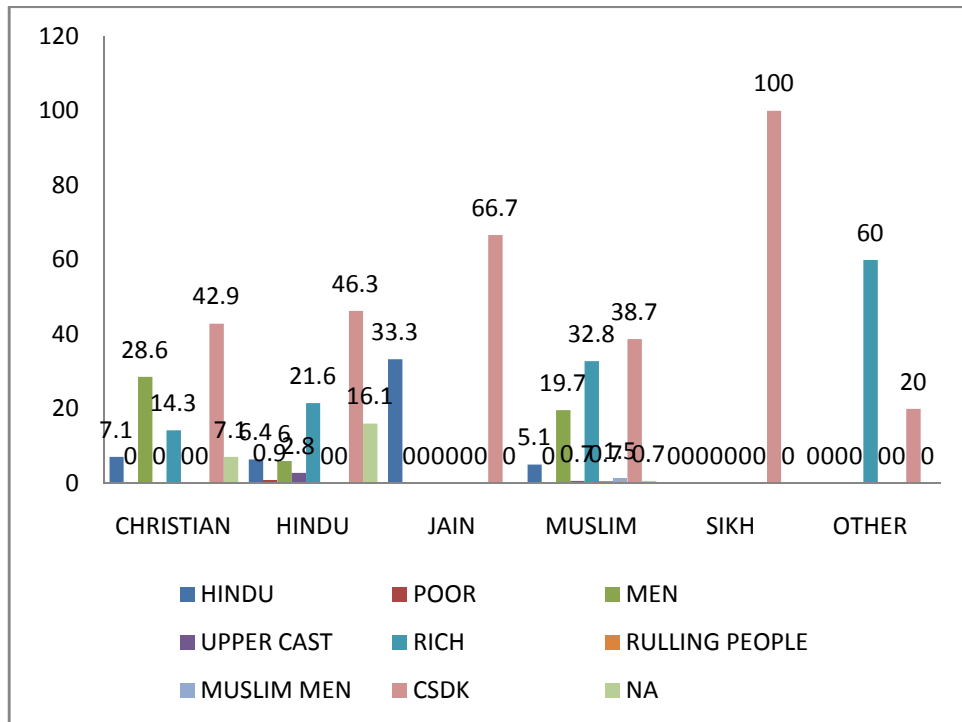


Figure 5.19 : Religion and their Understanding about Majority Group

Table 5.20**Respondent's Religion and Their Pride About Their Caste/ Radical Identity**

Religion	Feel very much proud	Feel proud	No proud	Can't say	Total
Christian	16	12	0	0	28
	57.1%	42.9%	0	0	100.0%
Hindu	98	103	4	13	218
	45.0%	47.2%	1.8%	6.0%	100.0%
Jain	2	4	0	0	6
	33.3%	66.7%	0	0	100.0%
Muslim	88	35	2	12	137
	64.2%	25.5%	1.5%	8.8%	100.0%
Sikh	2	0	0	0	2
	100.0%	0	0	0	100.0%
Other	8	2	0	0	10
	80.0%	20.0%	0	0	100.0%
Total	214	156	6	25	401
	53.4%	38.9%	1.5%	6.2%	100.0%

The table no.5.20 reveals that the Muslim respondents (64.2%) feel very much proud and Hindu respondents (47.2%) feel proud about their caste identity.

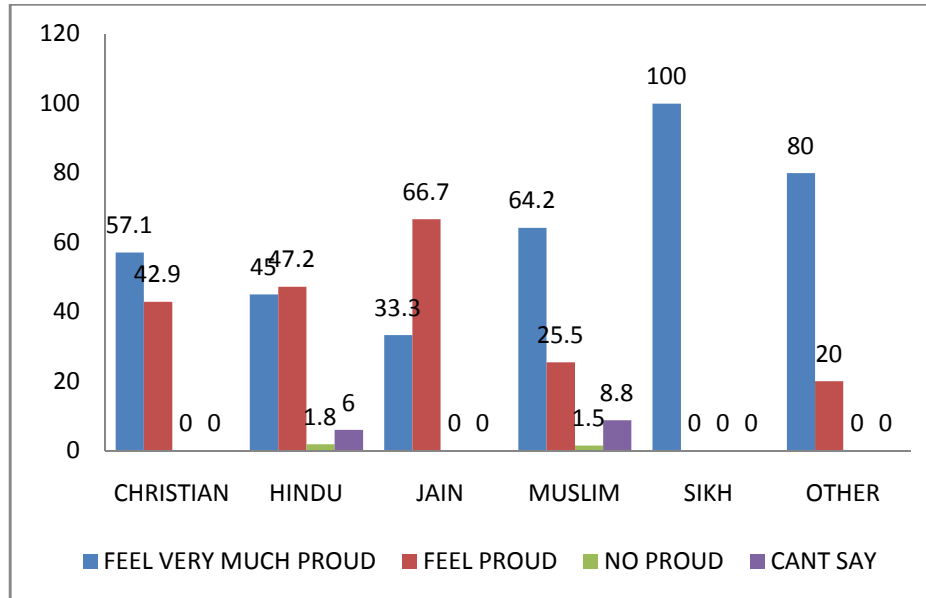


Figure 5.20 : Respondent’s Religion and Their Pride About Their Caste/ Radical Identity

Table 5.21**Religion and Their Pride about Their National Identity**

Religion	Very much proud	Proud	No proud at all	CS/DK	Total
Christian	28				28
	100.0%				100.0%
Hindu	178	33	3	4	218
	81.7%	15.1%	1.4%	1.8%	100.0%
Jain	2	4			6
	33.3%	66.7%			100.0%
Muslim	125	8		4	137
	91.2%	5.8%		2.9%	100.0%
Sikh	2				2
	100.0%				100.0%
Other	10				10
	100.0%				100.0%
Total	345	45	3	8	401
	86.0%	11.2%	.7%	2.0%	100.0%

The table no.5.21 reveals that the Hindu respondents (81.7%) and Muslim respondents (91.2%) feel very much proud being Indians. They take pride in their national identity.

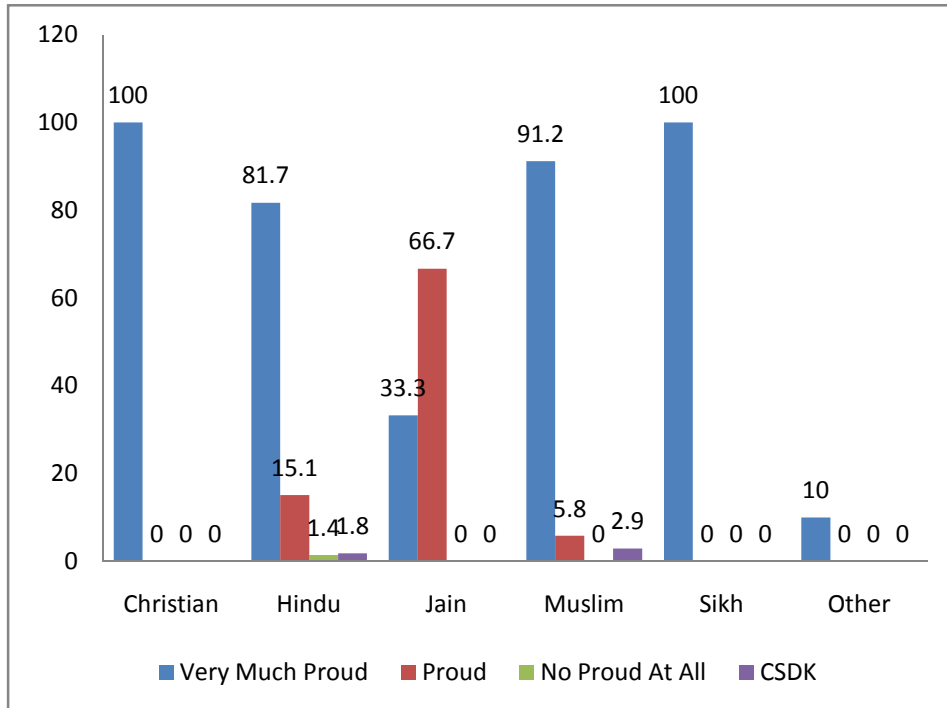


Figure 5.21 : Religion and Their Pride About Their National Identity

Table 5.22**Religion and Knowledge about Gujarat riots**

Religion	Yes	No	Total
Christian	28	0	28
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Hindu	240	8	248
	96.8%	3.2%	100.0%
Jain	6	0	6
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Muslim	160	9	169
	94.7%	5.3%	100.0%
Sikh	2	0	2
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Other	10	0	10
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Total	446	17	463
	96.3%	3.7%	100.0%

The table no.5.22 reveals that Hindu respondents (96.8%) and Muslim respondents (94.7%) have a positive response for their knowledge about the Gujarat riots. In general, during interview it was found that both the respondent groups have shown a higher exposure to mass media to get an information and knowledge about this barbaric communal violence in Gujarat 2002.

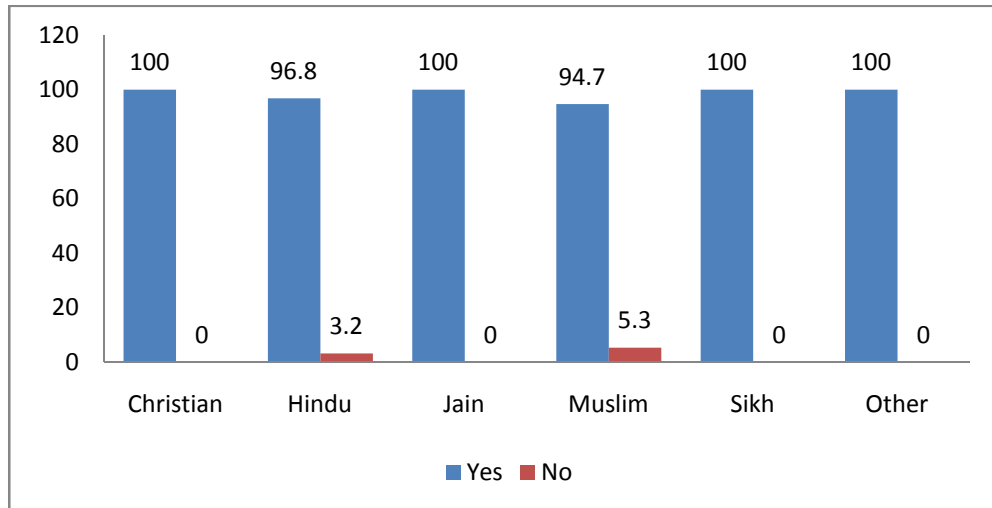


Figure 5.22: Religion and Knowledge about Gujarat riots

Table 5.23
Religion and Their Opinion about Gujarat Riot

Religion	Whatever Happened in Gujarat was totally wrong	Whatever Happened in Gujarat was wrong, but it was necessary	No Opinion	NA	Total
Christian	14	2	12		28
	50.0%	7.1%	42.9%		100.0%
Hindu	162	19	61	6	248
	65.3%	7.7%	24.6%	2.4%	100.0%
Jain	4		2		6
	66.7%		33.3%		100.0%
Muslim	91	13	77	3	184
	49.5%	7.1%	41.8%	1.6%	100.0%
Sikh	2				2
	100.0%				100.0%
Other	6		4		10
	60.0%		40.0%		100.0%
Total	279	34	156	9	478
	58.4%	7.1%	32.6%	1.9%	100.0%

The table no.5.23 reveals that the Hindu respondents were of the opinion that whatever happened in Gujarat was totally wrong (65.3%) only 24.6% of Hindu respondents couldn't give their opinion about the Gujarat riots. The percentage of Muslim respondents who were of the opinion that whatever happened in Gujarat was totally wrong was 49.5%. Whereas, 41.8% couldn't give their opinion about this particular communal issue. After talking informally to the Muslim respondents it was found that the intensification of communal politics in 2002 has added to the worries about the status of Indian Muslims as a minority, and this has hardened communal boundaries. This event contributed to polarization along religious lines, tied Muslim women even more firmly to their religious community and personal law. It is now gradually being recognized that a defensive reaction by Muslims has often led to

minority issues being confused with communal issues so that the defense of personal laws becomes synonymous with the protection of minorities.

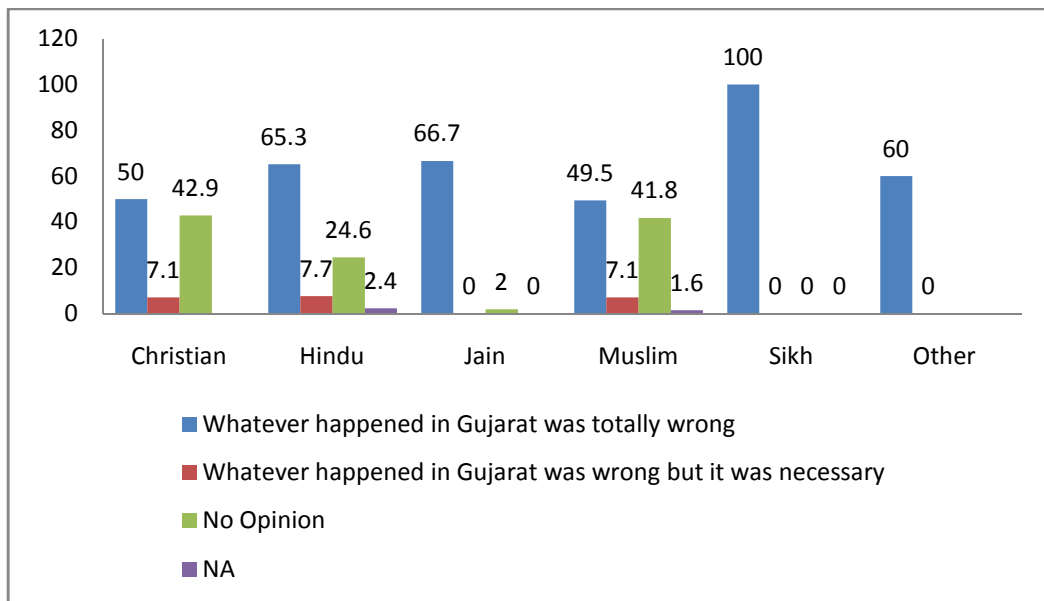


Figure 5.23 : Religion and Their Opinion about Gujarat Riot

Table 5.24
Religion and Knowledge about Babri Masjid Demolition

Religion	Yes	No	Total
Christian	28	0	28
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Hindu	228	20	248
	91.9%	8.1%	100.0%
Jain	6	0	6
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Muslim	173	11	184
	94.0%	6.0%	100.0%
Sikh	2	0	2
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Other	10	0	10
	100.0%	0	100.0%
Total	447	31	478
	93.5%	6.5%	100.0%

The table no.5.24 reveals that 91.9% of Hindu respondents and 94% of Muslim respondents were having the knowledge about Babri Masjid demolition. From the informal conversation it was found that for women's specially, communal politics as manifested in the aftermath of the Shah Bano controversy and the unlocking of the gates of Babri Masjid in 1986 resulted in a rapid escalation of political support for militant Hinduism and the Bhartaiya Janata Party (BJP). The period of 1990s was a period of diverse political and social changes. Communal politics acquired a volatile face and a definite identity, majority and minority conflicts increased, and Muslim women came to represent only their own community.

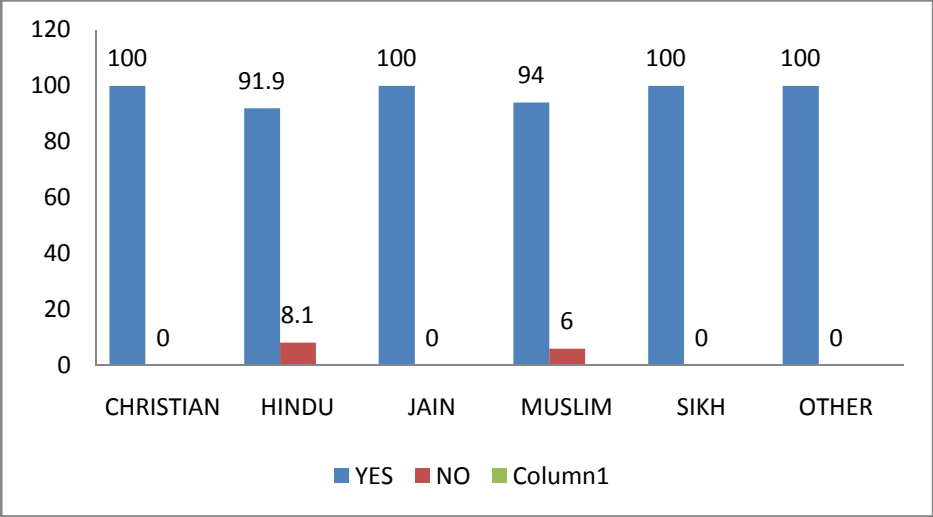


Figure 5.24 : Religion and Knowledge about Babri Masjid Demolition

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries. There is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries. Out of twelve countries where women representation in parliament is more than 33%, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category. However, the improvements in medium and low human development countries are not significant. The structural and functional constraints faced by women are shaped by social and political relations in a society. The common pattern of women's political exclusion stem from (a) social and political discourses (b) political structures and institutions (c) the socio-cultural and functional constraints that put limits on women's individual and collective agency.

This chapter presents the discussion of the conclusions and for the clarity the whole discussion is divided in the following section:

- 1) Location of Area.
- 2) Political awareness and political participation of respondents.
- 3) Respondents faith on democratic institutions.
- 4) Notion of Majority' and Minority'
- 5) Support for democracy
- 6) Conclusions about the Nation building and Nationalism
- 7) Conclusions of Cross study of Hindu/Muslim respondents

In this context, the present study is attempted to examine the growing involvement of Indian women in the political process in different capacities and also to evaluate their role in the political process and along with their contribution to the development of political system of the country.

The study makes a thorough examination the extent of participation of women in politics in India. On the basis of their participation in the election as voters the present study reveals that the turnout of women voters in different elections is always lesser than that of men.

6.2 LOCATION OF AREA

For the present study, the social, economic and political factors have been taken as one of the antecedent factors influencing women's participation and political attitude formation. This research was conducted in Pune city of Maharashtra at the Hadapsar Assembly constituency. Under this constituency three wards were selected; ward no. 120, 121 and 122 named as Kondhwa Khurd, Mithanagar and NIBM respectively. The interview was conducted of 478 women.

The present study reveals that merely fifty five percent of the respondents belong to the 26 to 50 age group. The study reveals that 90 percent of the respondents belong to the Hindu and Muslim religion. In which Hindus are 51.9 percent and Muslims are 38.5 percent. 52 percent of the respondents are college going. A large majority of women are housewives. Sixty percent of the respondents reported Hindi language as their mother tongue. Forty percent of the respondents belong to higher middle class with income of Rs 20,000 per month or more than 20,000 per month.

Pune city is a Hindu majority city. The two wards of Khondwa having high Muslim population with above mentioned features we can take out following conclusions

6.3 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

It has been generally believed for long that the quality and quantity of women's participation in politics is determined by factors like:-

- a) Political rights given to women by law.
- b) The stage of a society.
- c) Women access to education property and entry to different sectors of social life i.e. economy, communication decision making in the community social freedom in relationships, associations etc.

- We look at the findings of the research it is interesting to conclude that majority of the respondents show very less interest in politics. The main reasons for the low interest and participation of women in politics would be no high level of education. Women are shy by nature, maximum of the respondents are housewives. Many of the respondents are from low monthly income group.
- Another political reason for women being less informed and less participation in politics is women's unequal status in politics, lack of training for women in politics. Many women are not entering into politics because of the widespread exploitation and mudslinging involved in it. In addition the men are not willing to allow their women to enter politics because of the power hunger which has always exploited women. Furthermore, women are still considered to be objects to be possessed by men. Many women do not have the necessary infrastructural facilities and enough money to contest elections. The conclusions of the present study reveal that overall social and political reasons for the low participation of women in politics were reported to be partially agreed upon. Name of the reason was reported to be most agreed or not agreed at all. Any attempt to discuss women's participation in Indian politics would be incomplete without discussing their political participation in the pre-independence era. During the independence movement women all over India took an active part in this struggle. Women were not merely tolerated but their men-folk depended on them for success of the movement. The constituent assembly appreciated women's participation and contribution in the struggle for freedom and several articles of constitution refer to equally for economic, political and social purposes of men and women.
- We conclude from the findings that the respondents show no interest in politics. The interest as well as involvement of the respondents in various levels of political participation is reported to be low.
- Women are not at all interested in campaigning of elections. The reason could be less physical strength of women less information about political activities or not allowed to travel or campaigning. Thus the hypothesis was retained.
- The conclusions drawn after analysis is that political discussions take place mainly in closed groups and sometimes only.
- All those interviewed said that they had voted on some occasions or the other. The participation of women in the electoral process is an indicator of their political consciousness as well as their aspirations for status enhancement. This

participation has been more or less steadily expanding over the years through various elections as voters. Nearly two third of the respondents hold regular and reasonably fair polls reported voting in every election.

- It can be concluded that voters vote independently in elections on the basis of their awareness and understanding of politics. They are neither much relying on the suggestions from male members of the family-husbands and sons nor on religious leaders, friends and neighbors. This study pointed out that women are independent voters as majority of them vote as per their wish and attitude.
- The available evidence suggests that the level of self reported membership of or attachment to political parties in this area is fairly low.

Criminality and corruption among party leaders has become more common. Parties are becoming leader centric as leaders appear unwilling or unable to institutionalize system of selecting leaders or candidates. This may be one of the reasons to low party attachment or involvement of the respondent.

It was seen that the basic fact of the subordination of women in society act as a structural constraint and stops women from participating in political activities in two ways. First, due to gender based division of labor in the family. Women have to bear the full responsibility of household chores. These constraints operate more or less for all classes and communities of Indian women. Women's lower educational level inferior social status and lack of autonomy are reflected in their lower participation in politics. Increasing criminalization corruption and compromises required sustaining one' political career also deter women from entering mainstream politics.

6.4 RESPONDENT'S FAITH ON DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

We now turn to particular trust levels enjoyed by different institutions both representatives and non-electoral which play an important role in the working of democracy regarding which the survey canvassed opinions.

Modern governance produces a range of institutions; one set of institutions includes government at different geographic levels. The national provincial and local governments, with parliament being the most visible institutions. Then there are other non-elected institutions such as courts, the army, police, bureaucracy and again, the more visible organization in democratic politics, the election

commission. Finally, the political party is the central institution in the functioning of democracy. As we shall see below, we come across differentiated levels of trust as far as these various institutions are concerned.

- It is evident that there is no difference in support for a democratic government among Muslim women and non-Muslim women; if anything educated Muslim respondents tend to support democratic government more than equally educated non-Muslim respondents. People in this area favor the rule of leaders elected by people parliamentary government has rated full trust of the respondents. Those who are more active in politics are also more likely to be more supportive of democracy. The higher the degree of participation the higher is the support for a democratic government.
- It is concluded clearly that all institutions do not enjoy the same level of trust or faith the general higher level of trust in non-elected institutions, however, is not born out in the case of the police, and the main arms of the administration. Possibly institution which have a stronger interface with the public seem to score lower than those which are more distant. The degree of trust reposed in police is not higher than in other institutions. Neglect on the basic expectations of the people, rampant corruption and use of coercive tactics employed by police make fewer representatives. The armed forces and the police many a times become the part of the problem of insecurity rather than solution. This was the expression given while talking to the respondents informally.
- It can be concluded that the judiciary enjoys a very high level of trust, significantly higher than the averages of trust in other institutions. It may be because the judiciary conventionally stands as a symbol of national pride and strength.
- It is evident that parties enjoy a very high level of trust or faith. Parties here are expected to perform roles that elsewhere are handled by other democratic institutions. In society characterized by high diversity religious linguistic and ethnic disparities between individuals and groups, parties cannot but reflect some of these tensions and acquire a coalitional character. The Indian party system has made a definite transition from the days of one-party dominance to a multi party system in which the multiplicity exists at the national than at the state level and increasingly bound in a bi-nodal alliance system. There is high trust/faith in Election Commission.

What makes people trust or distrust institutions? It appears from this study that performance and experience of democratic institutions are the two factors that broadly explain the level of trust. People judge institutions on the basis of the perceived performance and tend to trust institutions when they have a longer experience of the working democracy. It is demonstrated that trust in institutions is not conditional upon the cultural traits of society; rather it is related to the political experience and social situation of various sections of the society.

6.5 NOTION OF MAJORITY' AND MINORITY'

This survey of public attitudes brings out the fuzzy nature of the majority/minority divide in the area. There are no fixed majority or minorities the recognition of the self' as a member of a Majority or a Minority depends upon the regional or political context.

- It is proved that nearly half of the respondents could not offer any response to whether they thought of themselves as belonging to the 'majority' or the 'minority'. Their notion of 'majority' or 'minority' is related to 'poor' as 'minority' and rich as 'majority'. This is an important conclusion of this survey that understanding of majority and minority is not based on religion. The respondents have not given any importance to religious Minority. These groups of respondents are urban residents of high income group and have good educational qualification.

Given this condition those who view themselves in minorities, feel that their condition of life has not improved. It is expected that minorities should adopt the ways of life of the majority community.

6.6 SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

Support for democracy is fairly widespread across the area when asked to spell out what the word democracy' meant to them and their level of satisfaction for this form of government.

- A similar relationship exists between being satisfied with the working of democracy and the index of support for a democratic government.
- Nearly everyone who responds to the question offered positive description. Index of support for a democratic government is directly and positively related to a belief in the suitability of democracy in one's country. Those who believe that democracy is very suitable for their country are much more likely to be democrats than those who find democracy not suitable for their country. Support for democracy goes beyond a liking for the word democracy to approving of the institutional form of democratic government. People in the region favor the rule of leaders' elected by the people. All but a handful of those who respond disagreed with the idea of representative democracy. The people not only approve democratic arrangements, they find them suitable for their own contexts. Democracy has become an object of desire. Something that is viewed positively is considered suitable and is generally preferred over its opposite.
- It is the evident that though the respondents show considerably high degree of trust the idea that country should be governed by the army rule was endorsed by less than half (38%). It is true in countries with no experience of army rule; the respondents have no idea of what they are endorsing. Their response is best interpreted as support for the institution of army, for this discipline professionalism that contrast and easily with the messy reality of politics and for being the symbol of national pride rather than as a demand for replacement of democratic representatives by the army.
- This also proves affirmation of rule by elected representatives the support for democratic government is very broad in the region.

6.7 NATION BUILDING AND NATIONALISM

- It is evident that the sense of pride in caste racial identity is very much strong.
- National pride is a common theme in all the respondents. High numbers of survey respondents are saying that they are proud and very much proud of their National identity. This feeling is very much intense.
- When asked to choose between National and Religious identity, the citizens are evenly divided between those who prefer an exclusive National identity and those who see themselves as a mix of the National and Religious identity. It is possible that people do not want to make clear cut choices between the National and the religious but prefer to live within the messy and tension ridden reality of combining the claims of the National with the affinities generated by the religion. There are not many takers for an exclusive religious identity.

6.8 CONCLUSIONS OF CROSS STUDY OF HINDU/MUSLIM RESPONDENTS

- A cross study of both religion and interest in politics proves that level of interest in politics of women from both the religion i.e Hindu and Muslim seem to be very low. The reasons may be many for this less interest.
- A cross study of religion and frequency of voting in elections is an indication of level participation. The participation level of our Muslim respondents is high in contrast with to our Hindu respondents. A good number of Muslim respondents go to polling booths to cast their vote as per their choice.
- A cross study of religion and political discussion with family and friends can be concluded that the intensity of discussion is slightly higher in Muslim respondents than Hindus.
- A cross study of respondents' religion and their understanding of 'minority' and 'majority' group is the evidence that both Hindus and Muslims understand 'Poor' as 'minority' and 'Rich' as 'majority'. Their understanding of 'majority' and 'minority' have no relation with religion, respect for Minority concerns and rights is more pronounced by both the communities.
- A cross study of Religion and Pride about their radical identity says that the sense of pride in caste identity is high amongst Muslim than Hindus.

- A cross study of Religion and respondents' Pride about their National identity concludes that Muslim respondents are high in number compare to Hindu respondents in saying that they are very much proud of their National Identity.
- People are proud of their Religious identity at the same time they are proud of their National identity. This co-existence is crucial to the way in which people relate to the community and the Nation state.

In this context the present study is attempted to examine the growing involvement of Indian women in the political process in different capacities and also to evaluate their role in the political process and along with their contribution to the development of the political system of the country. The study makes a thorough examination the extent of participation in the election as voters rather as independent voters. The study reveals what way the attitude formulation take place amongst women for different political issues.

If increased political participation of women has to have any meaning, it should be based on a widespread and well orchestrated mobilization of women around issues. The elected women representatives must ensure women's empowerment through the political institution which they represent. Therefore it is necessary to develop structures and methods for accountability from women representatives to develop links and support system between women's group and the women in political institutions.

While we celebrate fifty years of independence yet, its governance cannot even claim the increase in the percentage of women's literacy for every year after independence. It is very important that women must involve in the governance so as to achieve their direct share.

We must be prepare to commit ourselves, politically and organize ourselves, as a political force, both as an informed organized vote blocks and as elected representatives the power of women in lays in the hands of 300 million women votes which could be a deciding factor in choosing the each party each MP and MLA. No one can be elected without their support. Let them use the power of vote by voting for women's interests only. The change will come when we mobilize ourselves right from the village, block, district, state and National level, and acquire our collective strength.

6.9 SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN

In the light of the forgoing analysis of data following suggestions were observed more effective for participation of women in politics. Education plays a very important role fasting greater social participation. Education helps the women to develop a sense of motivation to achieve more.

- 1) Encouraging self esteem of Women and Girls so that they are able to reach the decision making levels.
- 2) Political training of women should begin school stage and should be speed on the local provincial National and inter-National levels.
- 3) Sensitize and make women conscious of their right and power to vote.
- 4) Women should fight for their right to progress in politics.
- 5) Women need to be helped to raise their voice.
- 6) Women should be inspired and motivated to think discuss and act to solve problems by Political leaders.
- 7) Showing transparency and gender balance in the selection process.
- 8) Providing greater sensitive training to women to have no discriminatory and balanced relationship.
- 9) Developing mechanisms and training to encourage participation of women in the electoral and political processes.
- 10) Women moreover need to be actively involved in defining the political, economic and social agenda. A large scale gross roots movement must be initiated to change the perceptions and attitude of both decision makers and voters.

The entry of women in politics will transform the total scenario. From the maximum educate a man and you educate a man only, educate a women and you educate a family. We can say that if we are able to make at least one woman politically aware we will be able to sensitize many people about these issues.

6.10 RECOMMENDATIONS

The investigator on the basis of her experience and findings of the study recommends studies in the following areas:-

- 1) Similar study can be come out to find out the role of women politicians..
- 2) A comparative study can be conducted on the opinion of politically active men and women regarding women's low participation in politics.
- 3) Qualitative studies to know about women in politics.

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Respondent S.No.

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Political Attitudes of Women -

A Comparative Study of Muslim and Non- Muslim Women

(A Case Study of Pune City Area)

A.C. Name: _____

P.S. Name: _____

Ward Name: _____

Name of the Respondent: _____

Address of the respondent (*Give landmark*): _____

1. *What is your age?* _____

2. *What is your religion?*

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Buddhist | 2. Christian | 3. Hindu | 4. Jain |
| 5. Kirat | 6. Muslim | 7. Sikh | 8. Other (<i>specify</i>) |

3. *What is your marital status?*

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Married | 2. Unmarried | 3. Living with a parents, but not married |
| 4. Widowed | 5. Divorced or separated | |

4. *Till what level have you studied?* _____

5. *Till what level your Father and Mother studied?*

1. Father _____ 2. Mother _____

6. *What is your main Occupation?* _____

7. *Generally, what language you speak at home?* _____

8. Type of house where you live (owned or rented)

1. House/ Flat/ Bungalow (with kitchen and bathroom)
2. House/ Flat with 3 or 4 bedrooms
3. House/ Flat with 2 bedrooms
4. House/ Flat with 2 pucca room (with kitchen)
5. House/ Flat with 2 pucca room (without kitchen)
6. House/ Flat with 1 pucca room (with kitchen)
7. House/ Flat with 1 pucca room (without kitchen)
8. Mainly pucca house
9. Slum/ Jhuggi/ Jopri/ Fullt jatcha
10. N.A.

a.

9. Do you or your family own the following?

b.

a. Car/ Jeep/ Van (exact numbers of cars)

c.

b. Colour/ Black & White Television

d.

c. Cable Television

e.

d. Scooter/ Motorcycle/ Moped

f.

e. Tractor

g.

f. Telephone or Mobile

h.

g. Electric Fan/ Cooker

i.

h. Radio/ Transistor

j.

i. Pumping Set

k.

j. Fridge

k. Camera

10. Total monthly household income (in Rs) _____

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Less than 1000 | 2. 1000 to 2000 | 3. 2000 to 3000 |
| 4. 3000 to 5000 | 5. 5000 to 10,000 | 5. 10,000 to 20,000 |
| 6. 20,000 and above | | |

Political Awareness

11. How much interest do you have in Politics?

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Too much | 2. Very little | 3. Not very special |
| 4. Not at all | 5. Don't know | |

Political Participation

- a. 1. *Have you participated in any of the following actions in last five years?*
- | | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> a. To sign an application | 1 | 2 |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> b. To participate in a boycott | 1 | 2 |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> c. To participate in morcha | 1 | 2 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. Others (specify)_____ | 1 | 2 |
2. *How much you are interested an campaigning of an election?*
 1. Not at all 2. Little bit 3. Much 9. Don't know
3. *How regularly do you have political discussions with your friends ? Many time, occasionally, never?*
 1. Many a time 2. Some time 3. Never
 4. Question is not understood 8. Can't say
4. *With whom do you have political discussions? With close friends and family members or with no one?*
 1. With any one 2. Close friends and family members 3. With no one
 8. Can't say 9. N.A.
5. *Since the time when you have become a voter do you vote for all elections, vote for maximum elections, few elections or very few elections?*
 1. Vote for each elections 2. Vote for many elections
 3. Vote for few elections 4. Vote very rarely 9. N.A.
6. *Now there is a question about some political and social activities. Probably you must be participating in these. You are tell whether have you participated in this?*
- | | Yes | No | Not
Remembered | Can't
say |
|---|-----|----|-------------------|--------------|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> a. Any boycott, Morcha, Movement | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> b. Election campaigning, participation in group view | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> c. Participation in solution of area/ colony problem. | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 |

Political Attitudes

1. *while voting for an election suggestion you think is more important?*
 1. Husband 2. Other family members 3. Religious leader
 4. Friends/ Neighbors 5. Colleagues 6. Own attitude
 7. Other (specify) 8. D/K
- 2a. *Any political party which is close to you?* 1. Yes 2. No
- 2b. *(if yes) Which Political Party (Record the party name, even if are mentions party symbol of leader's names)* _____
- _____

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.
- g.
- h.
- i.
- j.

3. I will tell you names of the some organization. Now you let me know how much faith do have on them. Too much faith, not much, very little, not all?

	<i>Great Deal</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>Not very much</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>No opinion</i>
a. Central Government	1	2	3	4	8
b. State Government	1	2	3	4	8
c. Local Self Government	1	2	3	4	8
d. Bureaucracy	1	2	3	4	8
e. Police	1	2	3	4	8
f. Military	1	2	3	4	8
g. Judiciary	1	2	3	4	8
h. Parliament	1	2	3	4	8
i. Political Party	1	2	3	4	8
j. Election Commission	1	2	3	4	8

4. People give many reasons for liking of democracy. Which is the perfect reason for this.

1. Freedom of speech and expression
2. People's control over rulers
3. Weaker factors get good treatment
4. Minority rights are protected
5. Any other (specify) _____

5. Which drawback of democracy you don't like?

1. Multi Party system leading to the division of the people
2. Rulers keep on changing
3. Increasing corruption
4. Domination of majority over minority
5. Any other (specify) _____

6. There is a great talk about majority and minority, majority means more in number and minority means less in number. To whom do you call minority?

7. To whom do you call majority in our society?

8. From the following mentioned statements which statement is much satisfactory for you?

- a. Democracy is better than any other form of Government
- b. In some situations dictatorship is better than democracy
- c. Whether we have democracy or any other form of democracy is of no importance for me

9. *There are different features of democracy from following features. Which one is most essential for democracy?*

1. To change government through election
2. Right to check the ruling party
3. Equal right to everyone
4. Provision of basic necessities like food, clothing and shelter every one
8. Can't say

10. *How much proud you feel about your caste/ Racial identity?*

1. Feel very much proud
2. Feel proud
3. No proud
4. No Proud at all
8. Can't say

11. *How much proud you feel about your national identity?*

1. Very much proud
2. Proud
3. Don't feel proud
4. No proud at all

12. *Which one of the following three statements do you agree with the most?*

1. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government
2. In certain situations, a dictatorial government can be preferable to democratic one
3. It does not matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non democratic
8. Can't say

13. *When we ask people as to who they are, we get different answers. Some people say they are Indian first then Hindu/ Muslim/ Sikh/ Christian. (Name respondents religion) whereas others say they are Hindu/ Muslim/ Sikh/ Christian first then Indian. And other say they are equally Indian and Hindu/ Muslim/ Sikh/ Christian (Name respondents religion). How do you identify your self?*

1. Indian first
2. Religious identity first
3. Equally Indian and religious identity.
4. Can't say

14. *I will tell you different types of political system and let me know what do you feel about them about our country? very good, good , bad, very bad?*

very good good bad very bad can't say

a.	<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Strong leadership not dependent On parliament and election	1	2	3	4	8
b.	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. The professional people should					
c.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Decide good for people not government	1	2	3	4	8
d.	<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Military rule	1	2	3	4	8
		d. Democratic form of government	1	2	3	4	8

15. *India fully run according to democratic form of government?*

- 1. Fully democratic
- 2. Partially democratic
- 8. Can't say/ D.K.

16. *Are Human rights respected in India? Do you feel human rights are respected very much, less respected, not much respected or not at all respected?*

- 1. Much Respected
- 2. Less Respected
- 3. Not much
- 4. Can't say

a.

17. *According to you which is the most important question in front of the country?*

	<i>very important</i>	<i>secondly important</i>	<i>can't say</i>
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b.

a. Needs of the poor people	1	2	8
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c.

b. Discrimination of girls and women	1	2	8
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d.

c. Unfulfilled education	1	2	8
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d. Polluted environment	1	2	8
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18. *Have you heard about Gujrat riots?*

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

19. *People speak many things about Gujrat riots. From following statement by which statements you are much satisfied?*

- 1. Whatever has happened in Gujrat was totally wrong.
- 2. Whatever has happened was wrong, but it was necessary to teach the lesson to the people who are against the country.
- 3. In riots nothing serious has happened but media has exaggerated it.
- 8. No Opinion
- 9. N.A.

20. *Have you heard about Babri Masjid Demolition?*

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

21. *If there is any proposal to give reservation to women's in Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha, will you support it or oppose it?*

- 1. Fully support
- 2. Somewhat support
- 3. Fully oppose
- 4. No Opinion/ Can't say

22. *Did you hear about terrorism?*

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

23. *People have different opinions about terrorism. By which opinion you are satisfied.*

- 1. Terrorists activities in India are result failure of the Government
- 2. Government is doing it's best control terrorist activities

Not to asked

Date of interview: _____

Name of City _____

Name of District _____

Ward No _____

Name of electoral Constituency _____

Name of respondant _____

Name of interviewer _____