

# 105PO21

*by* Cde Anu

---

**Submission date:** 01-Aug-2025 02:53PM (UTC+0530)

**Submission ID:** 2723675977

**File name:** 105PO21.pdf (2.02M)

**Word count:** 66077

**Character count:** 339706

# **WOMEN AND POLITICS**

**PAPER-V**

**M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE, I SEMESTER**



**Director, I/c**

**PROF.V. VENKATESWARLU**

*MA.,M.P.S., M.S.W., M.Phil., Ph.D.*

**CENTRE FOR DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**ACHARAYA NAGARJUNA UNIVERSITY**

**NAGARJUN NAGAR – 522 510**

**Ph:0863-2346222,2346208,  
0863-2346259 (Study Material)**

**Website: [www.anucde.info](http://www.anucde.info)**

**e-mail:anucdedirector@gmail.com**

M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND M.A. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
**SEMESTER - I**  
**105PO21- PAPER V (b) (OPTIONAL): WOMEN AND POLITICS**

(Common for both M.A. Political Science and M.A. Public Administration  
 Students with effect from the academic year 2006-07)

**UNIT - I**

**THEORITICAL APPROACHES**

- i) Ancient political philosophers on Women: Plato, Aristotle Rousseau.
- ii) Modern Liberal  
 Mary Wool stone Craft, J.S. Mill
- iii) Radical Thinkers – Karl Marx and Engels, Simon de Beauvoir,  
 Kate Millet.

**UNIT – II**

**WOMEN AND THE INDIAN STATE**

- i) Indian Constitution and Women
- ii) Committee on the Status of Women - 1975
- iii) National Policies on Women

**UNIT – III**

**WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

- i) Women and Nationalist Movement
- ii) Women's Electoral Participation - Trends - National and State
- iii) Women's Movement in India - Perspectives and Strategies

**UNIT – IV**

**RESERVATION - THE EXPERIENCE OF PANCHAYATI RAJ**

- i) The Debate on Women's Reservation
- ii) 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendments
- iii) Lessons from the Experience.

**READING LIST:**

1. Charvet John, Feminism - Modern Ideologies Series, J.M. Devt & Sons London, 1982
2. Eva Figes, Patriarchal Attitudes Women in Society, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1985.
3. Agnew Vijay, Elite Women in Indian Politics, Vikas, New Delhi, 1979.
4. Susheela Kaushik, (ed.), Women's Participation in Politics.
5. Diana Coole, Women in Political Theory.
6. Simon de Beauvoir, The Second Sex.
7. Vicky Randall : Women and Politics, Macmillan, London, 1982.
8. Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: Towards Equality: Report of the Committee on the Status of Women, New Delhi, 1974.
9. Geraldine Forbes: Women in Modern India, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
10. Veena Mazumdar (ed.) , Symbols of Power.
11. Issues of Panchayati Raj - Update - Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi.

\*\*\*

17/2/21

Head

Department of  
 Political Science and Public Administration  
 Acharya Nagarjuna University

## CONTENT

L.No	Lesson Name	Page No
01	<b>1</b> Ancient Political Philosopher: Plato views on Women	1-7
02	Ancient Political Philosopher Aristotle views on Women	8-14
03	<b>1</b> Ancient Political Philosophers Rousseau views on Women	15-20
04	Modern Liberal Thinker: Mary Wollstonecraft views on Women	21-26
05	Modern Liberal Thinkers: John Stuart Mill views on Women	27-32
06	Karl Marx views on Women	33-38
07	Friedrich Engels views on Women	39-44
08	Simone de Beauvoir views on Women	45-49
09	Kate Millet views on Women	50-55
10	<b>8</b> Indian Constitution and Women	56-61
11	Committee on the Status of Women	62-73
12	National Policies on Women	74-83
13	<b>8</b> Women and Nationalist Movement	84-91
14	Women's Electoral Participation – Trends- National and State	92-101
15	Women's Movements in India Perspectives and Challenges	102-114
16	<b>8</b> Debate on Women's Reservation	115-123
17	73 <sup>rd</sup> and 74 <sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments	124-130
18	Women's Political Participation – Problems and Prospects	131-138



## LESSON 01

# ANCIENT POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER: PLATO VIEWS ON WOMEN

### 1.0 Objective:

1. Students would be able to learn about the philosophical thought of Plato about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Plato.

### Structure:

#### 1.0 Objective

#### 1.1 Introduction

#### 1.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Plato on Women

#### 1.3 Female De-Sexed: Republic V

#### 1.4 The Sexual Female Republic VI

#### 1.5 Criticism

#### 1.6 Philosophy and Female

#### 1.7 Conclusion

#### 1.8 Model Questions

#### 1.9 References

### 1.1 Introduction:

Plato was born in Athens in 427 B.C., one year after the death of Pericles and he was breathed his last in Athens in 347 B.C., then, years before the battle of Chaeronea a battle which enabled king of Macedonia Philips, to bring the whole Greek world under him. It was the period when Athens was observing the decline of the democratic institutions. Plato was born into a family, one of the most eminent family on both sides, in Athens. Plato was influenced by the conditions overcome at that time, among the Greek thinkers, Pythagoras, Heraclitus and Socrates influenced him.

### 1.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Plato on Women:

Socrates proposes his radical offers to enclose them at the starting of his fifth book about the women in the guardian class of his just state. He stated that, women must trained and do exercise along with men so that they can become the warriors and able to protect the city. They can live communally and eat along with men, when the philosopher king presented women and given glorious status. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, in Athens, the conditions about the women were totally different, depending upon those situations some authors argue that, Plato, tried to liberate the women from the lower rank and shielded their life. In his book V, he proposed several questions and shared dialogues about the proposals. Even Socrates permitted women to enter the ruling class but confirms that, women are by nature weaker than men, but at the same time he stated that, they are not

supposed to be different from men by nature, he says that, the plundering of a corpse the work of a small and "womanish" mind. The existence of women in guardian class, from time to time forgotten, Glaucon, uncertain to contain them in the army. In his critical remarks he says that, women are straightforward they submit very easily to sorrow but men are stronger; women are childish when they enjoy of the diverse and colourful; in Book VIII he said that, they bring about the disintegration of different political structures. He described in the Book V about the equal participation in the governance of the city, and they had common education and common food; however, in Book VIII, he mentioned that the equality and freedom between sexes that made the city to degenerating into anarchy and tyranny.

Socrates tries to turn women into men by giving equal political participation and he disregards the unusual natures of each and accordingly, destabilises the rightness of the political community in the Republic. the presence of women in the Republic as they go from courtesans in the early books to the de-sexed and unnatural females of Book V, and once again to the sexual female in Book VI-after Eros (a Greek word, means sexual-love or feeling of arousal) had been introduced again into the discussion with the presence of the philosopher. The disagreement among women and men converts a model for the antagonism between philosophy and politics; the effort to balance both arrays of contraries put an end to all.

### 1.3 Female De-Sexed: Republic V:

In the Book V, of Republic, where women had the status of guardian class have lost the body. They neither desired nor desiring, for these women, called as "De-sexed" (means femininity is diminished or removed) females by him. The concept from the biological body, portion of an enduring theme from the beginning of Book I, this dialogue took place in the house of old Cephalus with Socrates for a short time. During these talks women first appear; however Cephalus set up them needed once, his body now feeble and he no longer wants or answers to them. He pronounces his present situation with a quote from Sophocles who, when questioned how at ninety he was managing with regard to the sexual desire, replied: "Most happily I escaped it, as if fleeing a raging and wild master".

Hence, Cephalus indicates the death of sexual eros (love, desire, feeling of arousal, name of Greek God of love,) and the dampening of the bodily needs that, had been so sturdy in his youth. Yet, the old man leaves the scene, he conferred on his abstraction from the physical body to the residual group, who in turn must go through a whole evening of discourse without the dinner that promised. The warrior class arises since Glaucon had been displeased with the true city, or the city of pigs as he calls it. He wants delights (among which are women who had not appeared in the earlier city). However, to guard those delights and obtain more, a warrior class must be recognized, and a class that itself must be removed of all the desires for delights. Their education first obtainable as "gymnastics for the body and Mousike for the soul". The details of the gymnastic education left to the well-trained mind or person, rather, Mousike that, governs the warrior's education works to remove all worries of the body and to remove the young men of any robust physical requirements for food, drink, or sex.

Preceding to Book V, the women who appeared are those who stimulate men's sexual desires and are consequently in disagreement to the course of construct from body that, symbolises the establishment of the just city. Cephalus centres precisely on the sexual desire for women in his discussion of old age. As soon as, Glaucon offers his speech praising the aids of injustice, he mentions to the queen of Lydia who seduced by Gyges,

in the course of his rise to power. In the fevered city of Glaucon, women appear as courtesans right in the middle of an inventory of pleasures comprising seasonings, perfumes, incense, and cakes, as requiring feminine dress or ornaments, or as wet nurses. The educational program for the warriors is developed in the Book III, Syracusan stalls (i.e., banquets), Sicilian pleasures, and Corinthian maidens who serve as mistresses must be removed from the experiences of the youth. And it is well-known later that, members of the warrior class, having been dispossessed of all individual wealth, will be powerless to make gifts to their mistresses. Women, far from participating in the political structure in the early books, are offered as the aggressors of the sexual eros, which must be controlled between the guardians as well as midst of the creators of the just city. Female, as a member of this city, before Book V, has to do with "the (common) possession of women, marriages and the procreation of children", not with their contribution in the affairs of the city, much less equal participation. Therefore, it is by way of ample unwillingness, as one who might "be an unwilling murderer of someone", that Socrates abruptly in criticises the female as the identical of the male among all species, canine or human.

Plato had the feeling that, female were of low individualities and physical appearance that can be seen in his Republic and Laws. Plato's method was of rationalist he accept as true that the power of reason to instrument and command a perfect political organ. Plato mentioned about the women in a dispersed manner in his writings. He established them weak, emotional grouchy (complaining) and missing in virtue. But where as, in his Republic and law, provided complete proposals for systematizing of women, children and family that contributed some opponents to substitute a legend and Plato as feminist thoughts. It required to sort out the point of view to see Plato, really behind the women. The main purpose of the Republic, to tell about the just state, this gave rise to the graded and steady organization and everyone does their act according to their suitability. The three important actions taken out according to Plato, deliberative, executive and productive.

Socrates, stated that women, equivalent to men in his best city, in his earlier book he said differently. He felt sorry for those comments and he said that, the women, different from men only they have long hair, meant, superficially and not due to their nature. He tried to protect the women he stated that, men are not above the female in cooking and weaving. This, deliberately illogical, for Socrates, overlooking the sexual female, also disregards the unusual biological qualities that women, alone, have. Obviously the female is superior to the male because of her ability to bear children.

#### 1.4 The Sexual Female Republic VI:

Plato argued that, the sexual capacity hold in one hand and it believed that the state must have the capabilities of its members, it also observed that, the some of the women capable of virtue, fewer balanced and less prepared to learn than males. About the women of Spartan, Plato stated that, they have the capacity and have the prospective body but said that, her faith, less potential.

In his second argument, he in just polis, he gave prominent position to women, he says that, amongst the guardians, wives and children must be put together. Moreover, he stated that no child must know about his or her parents, it indicates that, there would not have any private house or families and even the private property. The sexual mating of the women, certainly by the system of "Lot", but it could have easily operated by the rulers so that, they can have their choice of mate and so that they can have a healthy

offspring. The inheritance of any property, not suggested by him, rather lawfulness is to command with whom women would have sexual mating.

His argument, that, if the parent have the same qualities depending upon their sufficiency and the prime age then they will have very good progeny and which is very much needed for the commonwealth. Plato also argued that, the elimination of the family and the property will double the chances of the unitedness of the State. Plato understands the relation among the family, monogamy and the possessing of private property, it is obvious that in his Laws, he observed that, women are vulnerable to the anti-social tendencies hence, they may be sent out of the house. The insight expressed by Plato, about the wives, as 'possession' which gave the impression that, they are jealous and this would lead to fight. The unity of the state doubled by the opinions of the kinship. Plato stated that guardians must perform like a true family and treat like sisters and brothers. He also emphasized about the importance of the education, the battle of oikos-polis can be solved by the elimination of the family while, binding its devotions and sensitive links to the city, by private life.

One unspecified by Plato that, the submission of illogical and selected desires such as, impulsive mating, kinship bias, greediness, and women themselves, to the rational controls of the state. In the polis, the sentiments and the sexuality are intimidate the steadiness or the stability of the state have been abolished, and they are rationally structured to command the absolute knowledge of the state. It is observed that, the women with her virtue of sexual and reproductive capabilities, challenged and granted the more importance to the men in the role of generation. Plato suggested about the reproduction, went further by eradicating the gender, but the actions and qualities, linked with women, instead of men. The tie among the mother and child has to be fragmented and the judge of women's fertility depends upon the demanding sexual relation ultimately leads to pregnancy.

2 An important aspect of Plato's political thought, communism of wives and property. The concept of communism was not known to Greeks, but both in Athens and Sparta a little of communism can be seen. He thought that, Guardian class must be free from physical uncertainties, so they can focus on public service. He asserted that, during the acquisition of property and family would stand in the way of philosopher king, to take proper decision about the community. Plato said that, mixture of political and economic power was restricted to lead to corruption and deprivation in the state and an operative system of administration could operate only when economic power, absolutely separated from political power. Baker said that, the think of communalism by Plato, an important step in his thinking. According to Prof. Sabine "So firmly was Plato convinced of pernicious effect of wealth upon Government that he saw no way to abolish the evil except by abolishing wealth itself, so far as the soldiers and rulers are concerned".

2 His thought of communism of wives was the extension of his communism of property. He was of the opinion that, man always give importance to his family and children over the interest of nation, hence he gave greater importance to communism of wives.

2 The scheme also for the sake of guardian class only, like that of communism of property, and majority of artisan and present class were excluded from it. He stated that, Communism of wives sure to control the thoughts of selfishness and free the women from the labour, of home which allow them to work for the cause of state. And, there was no system of lasting wedding between the guardian class and women, were shared for all men. This indicates that Plato had little respect toward the women. All the guardian have

to live both men and women were to live together and share barracks, and it was the obligation of state to organize a brief mating between best men and best women, for one year, to yield best children to increase the population of the state. The view of Plato was very strange and ridiculous that, after the birth of children all of them, must be separated from their mothers, no child must know their parents and the duty of rearing lies upon the state nurses. State, to provide the best education to them to nurse them as best citizens. The entire guardian class was transformed into big family and children born in a specific season, must be treated as brothers and sisters. The weak and disfigured children must be killed as soon as they born, so that their birth should not be burden on the state. He showed dissimilarity in communism of wives, he said that, guardian people to reject the property, but in the case of wives he said that, women were given the common ownership to the guardians.

Plato gave certain reasons to have common wives and he wanted to create unity in the state, and Plato thought that, family was the main reason for the blockade of any development in the state. He wanted family at public level and abolish family at private level. Plato was quite worried by the unacceptable plight of women in Athens wanted that, the talent of the women should be utilized for the benefit of the society. He thought that women have same talents like men. He was of the opinion that the temporary marriages by the state would produce better intelligent race among the new-borns. He also asserted that, "the improvement of race demands a more controlled and more selective types of union".

### 1.5 Criticism:

His concept of communism of wives, criticised severely even Aristotle criticised, his criticism as follows:

1. He treated state as a bloated version of family, he stated the organic concept and did not find any variance between family and state. In reality there is big difference between these two and they are not identical.
2. Communism of wives inevitable to lead social disagreement and causes much damage to the society, distributing one female is not wife for all guardians.
3. Children cannot grow into balanced way, because they will not get care and nourishment which is required in a family. In fact nobody can take the responsibility of the children, something for all is not the responsibility of none.
4. It is ridiculous to apply similarity of animals to humans and asked the state to measured reproducing.
5. The suggested reproduction or mating, not practical and it is not possible to bring mating of best women with best men.
6. One can observe that, communism of wives, applicable to guardian class only and most of the other sections of people, not covered. It stresses too many sacrifices by the guardian community.
7. He incorrectly treated the marriage process as mechanical one, marriage is a social process than mechanical, and it needs clear understanding of wife and husband in the act of marriage which can be lacking in this case.



### 1.6 Philosophy and Female:

As soon as the comparison between the philosopher and the female has been recommended, the query ascends as to why Socrates (Plato) presents it. Bloom is the one commentator to contract with this specific in view of the vivid organisation of the discourse, he argues that the sexual metaphors will appeal particularly to Glaucon. Bloom argues that, the male, with his potentials of bravery and power, signifies only half of humanity. Philosophy needs the feminine qualities like kindness as well. He believes that the impact of this similarity can be accepted to some extent more.

It is very difficult to say that, Plato either in his Republic or in his Laws did not shown any compassion or understanding of women. He never mentioned the high regard toward the women about her nature and capabilities which wonders everyone. But in fact, he gave formal chance of equality in his book Republic. Plato has no space for women in his thoughts hence, 'he forced to turn into men'. The advantage noticed in the thoughts of Plato are mere accidental ones and only he recognises them as the members of the community. Plato stated that, women's virtue and souls are similar to that of men, which he took from the notion of Socrates, and challenged the by birth differentiation of weak body. According to him women stayed in the household. Plato, prepared to permit women into the ruling class, but he did not come out from the images stated by the ancient Greek traditions.

### 1.7 Conclusion:

Socrates proposes his radical offers to enclose them at the starting his fifth book about the women in the guardian class of his just state. He stated that, women must trained and do exercise along with men so that they can become the warriors and able to protect the city. They can live communally and eat along with men when the philosopher king presented women, and given glorious status. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, in Athens, the conditions about the women were totally different, depending upon those situations some authors argue that Plato, tried to liberate the women from the lower rank and shielded their life.

In the Book V of Republic, where women had the status of guardian class have lost the body, they neither desired nor desiring, for these women, called as "De-sexed" females by him. The concept from the biological body portion of an enduring theme from the beginning of Book I, this dialogue took place in the house of old Cephalus with Socrates for a short time. During these talks women first appear; however Cephalus set up them needed once, his body now feeble and he no longer wants or answers to them.

His thought of communism of wives was the extension of his communism of property. He was of the opinion that man always give importance to his family and children over the interest of nation, hence, he gave greater importance to communism of wives. It is very difficult to say that, Plato either in his Republic or in his Laws did not shown any compassion or understanding of women. He never mentioned the high regard toward the women about her nature and capabilities which wonders everyone. But in fact, he gave formal chance of equality in his book Republic. Plato has no space for women in his thoughts hence, 'he forced to turn into men'.

### 1.8 Model Questions:

1. Describe about the Plato's Philosophy and his thoughts about the women?
2. Write an essay about his presentation of wives in the community and discuss about the critiques he faced?

**1.9 References:**

1. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,1979.
2. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,2008.
3. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey,1987.
4. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA,1979.
5. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato,USA,1991.
6. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
7. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
8. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
9. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate,USA,2013.
10. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON 02

# ANCIENT POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER ARISTOTLE VIEWS ON WOMEN

### 2.0 Objective:

1. Students would be able to learn about the philosophical thought of Aristotle about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Aristotle.

### 9 Structure:

#### 2.0 Objective

#### 2.1 Introduction

#### 2.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Aristotle on Women

##### 2.2.1 Aristotle's Philosophy on Women

##### 2.2.2 Some of the comments of Aristotle on Women

##### 2.2.3 The Dissimilarities among Women and Men

#### 2.3 Conclusion

#### 2.4 Model Questions

#### 2.5 References

### 2 2.1 Introduction:

"The Politics of Aristotle is the richest treasure that has come down to us from antiquity, it is the greatest contribution to the field of political science that we possess". -Zeller.

Aristotle was one of the prominent political thinker of Greek ancient time, he was the student of Plato and considered as the gem of political thought, because the political thoughts, mainly based on his prime ideas only. He contributed in several fields of sciences as well. Plato, was born at Stagira in the Aegean Sea in 384 B.C. thus, he was not an Athenian by birth. His father was a physician who worked for king of Macedon. This gave him an opportunity to know about procedures of the Royal Court, his understanding of the state.

### 1 2.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Aristotle on Women:

One of the greatest philosophers ever produced by the world was Aristotle he was the student of Plato and the most respected philosopher of Greek ancient times. The Arabians, Jewish political thinkers were very much influenced by him and in the Middle Ages even the Christian thinkers were closely attached to his thoughts. His contribution was very much important and he had worked all areas of philosophy and Natural Sciences. Aristotle stated that, the heavens of a thing lies in the understanding of its final nature and with this thought he tried to heavenly the nature of women.



### 2.2.1 Aristotle's Philosophy on Women:

Aristotle was firmly influenced that woman was, in reality, an imperfect or maimed or injured man. He stated that, the female as automatically mediocre and male as the eventual understanding of humanity and she is lesser than men. Though, he stated, and has this negative attitude and opinion about the womanhood, Aristotle preserved every women with kind-heartedness and sympathy. He married and led a family life very successfully.

### 2.2.2 Some of the comments of Aristotle on Women:

Aristotle stated in his Poetics about women as, "Women may be said to be inferior to man".

Aristotle said in his works, Generation of Animals about women as, "The female is, as it were, a mutilated male". Further he stated, in the same book that "Females are feebler and frostier in nature, and we must look upon the female character as being a sort of natural insufficiency".

In his, Politics, Aristotle mentioned that, "What difference it makes whether women rule, or the rulers ruled by women? The result is the same". It shows that, he had positive attitude towards women and he also expressed the similar thoughts in his philosophy.

In the History of Animals, he stated about women as, The female, weaker in nature than the male, more naughty, a smaller amount modest, extra thoughtless and further observant to the natural surroundings of young; the male, on the other hand, is more strong-willed than female, more vicious, more humble and less shrewd. The suggestions of these discriminated features are more or less noticeable universally, but they are particularly observable where personality is more advanced, and most of all in man.

He further quoted in History of Animals, about women as, Women is more sympathetic than man, more simply stimulated to tears, at the same time is extra jealous, further complaining, more apt to scold and to strike. She is more, extra predisposed to hopelessness and less hopeful than the man, more negated of shame or self-respect, more untrue dialogue, more misleading, more absorbent memory. She is also more restless more attenuation, more problematic to revive to accomplishment, and needs a lesser amount of nutriment.

### 2.2.3 The Dissimilarities among Women and Men:

Aristotle thought that, nature intended not only physical dissimilarities between male and female but mental dissimilarities as well. In contrast to man, he contended, woman, "more mischievous, less simple, more impulsive ... more compassionate ... more easily moved to tears ... more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike ... more prone to despondency and less hopeful ... more void of shame or self-respect, more false of speech, more deceptive, of more retentive memory and... also more wakeful; more shrinking and more difficult to rouse to action". His views on how a child's sex decided have since been abandoned.

He stated that, the women who has white skin only and he did not mentioned about those women who have dark skin he said to have sexual relation with the former women only. He opined that, by the eating of overpowering food would improve the discharge. Aristotle stated about the women's discharge, like that of unproductive or cut off male. He

determined that both of them contribute to the next generation to come. His thought about the reproduction was very agile. The link between the men and women yield to categorized charm and by mentioning about male rule upon the barbarians or non-Greeks. Aristotle stated, about women as, "by nature the female has been distinguished from the slaves. For nature makes nothing in the manner that the coppersmiths make the Delphic knife-that is, frugally-but, rather, it makes each thing for one purpose... Among the barbarians the female and the slave have the same status. This is because there are no natural rulers among them but, rather, the association among them is between male and female slave".

Aristotle stated about the Sparta the legislature sought to create the entire city, but he did not mentioned about the women with overindulgence and treasure. He mentioned that in those times the situation of the women was very miserable and they did not have any sort of laws to govern the City or Country.

About the similar weight to Male and Female Ecstasy, Aristotle, very keen about the enjoyment of both men and women, he stated in his 'Rhetoric' that, the community would not be glad if the women are not happy in the society, it shows the importance given to the women by Aristotle. Stauffer stated in his works, about the Aristotle's opinion, and he observed that, in nature a common good came only by the king who has the higher thinking, he specified about the common good for man being higher to women.

Aristotle commented about the children as, "And what could be more divine than this, or more desired by a man of sound mind, than to beget by a noble and honoured wife and children who shall be the most loyal supporters and discreet guardians of their parents in the old age, and the preservers of the whole house? Rightly reared by father and mother, children will grow up virtuous, and as those who have treated them piously and righteously deserve that they should". He was of the opinion that, all of us biological entities and our main objective being to reproduce, he defends the usual trust between man and women. He also mentioned that the persistence of the women, to give birth to the children. Aristotle gave the importance to the family as well, he said that, both man and women work collectively, so that, they can bring up their family and children. By such action of the man and women kind of the people and ultimately leads to kind of society and all of them lives in such community.

The important aspects of the Aristotle have thought about the women, a mere dissimilarity between an egalitarian Plato and a hierarchical Aristotle, that, he assumes a natural historian method, the biological relationship between man and women, stated in his work polis. In his writing Aristotle mentions about the natural sexual division, it identifies him as, the forerunner of women's oppression. Aristotle was more worried about the unitedness of the state or the country, he gave structure of the real possible just state, and he did not provide any specific role to the women in polis, but he criticised about the Platonic Republic where he argued communism of wives and children. Aristotle suggested that, the natural phenomena must be in the mind set, when political measures being taken into consideration. It is due to the fact that, women have an exact part to act in the natural order of things and the actions of them must not be destroyed. The objective of the differentiation among the types of the authority, precisely among the household and polity. He trusts on two types of examination, the genetic and theological, the first one talks about the historical improvement of household from village to polis. The second relation in the household about the master and slave.

The household activities of the women needs goodness and submission to his husband and performing the regular domestic functions. In his Book III, he stated about the qualities of women to have along with man, hence, it indicates that he has given equality between the two genders.

With the debate on the slavery, which talks about the Politics. These are the connotation views in the Greek society. He treated both women and slave in a similar manner. The association between man and wife is political and it nevertheless, this affiliation dissimilar to the civic organization in which the liberty of man and wife cannot be uttered in practical interchange ability. About the household controlling, Aristotle upholds, the balancing of man and woman correctly decides their equality as individuals.

Aristotle stated that, the representation devoted by the Greek about the female principle, the division of labour precisely ligating women to the works of the household and do the works of men regarded as their superior duty. Aristotle has the opinion that, the both husband and wife are like friends and it is evident that, women must love more than her husband. But whereas in the works of the households there may be domination, and subordination between them which is depended upon the natural distinctions among them. Aristotle connected the female with the history of the Greek traditions, he communicates more with them by stating that, they have to perform duties of daily life. The position about the ethics is degenerating.

If he defines women solely in terms of the household, but he did not gave specific position of the women in the society, the position of the women is lower and the reason is defective. It does not mean that the marital position and matters of the women can persist uncontrolled. About the Spartan constitution, he criticised severely because it involve women, if the law is failed it cannot control their lives which consequences are in entanglement with authorisation and luxury, and the entire culture would be corrupted. One of the concerned of Aristotle about the women's health and its progeny, he mentioned the age to get married, and if the young are married then they produce immature and adulterated progeny, he stated that the girls who have the experience of the sex intercourse early, then he said that they are supposed to become more intemperate, hence, he advised that the marriage must be performed only after attainment of the maturity by the females which he indicated a very good thing for them. He mentioned the perfect age to get marry, eighteen years. If the female gets pregnancy then she has to observe many things to keep her fit. It is very much necessary to have scheduled of physical exercise and mental lethargy, in case if she has so many pregnancies including the miscarriages, it is better to have acquaintance with the control of the population. He never mentioned about the submissive nature of women as treated by Plato, Aristotle stated that the works of the women must be under control and no one should eradicate such functions of the women in the society.

Aristotle did not debated about the role of the women in the state like that of Plato, but eventually, he stated about women in most of his writings particularly in his Politics, he gave an clear image of the women in his writings saying that, women are mediocre living beings and they have to lead the life under the strict regulation of their fathers or if they are married then it has to take up by their husband. Aristotle mentioned that, women do not have any act in the governance of running the state. Aristotle has discussed the community of wives and children which is stated in the Republic. He claims that if the family is weak then the bonds would not last and it results in the destruction of the family, and the dilute family bonds lead to the amplified lawlessness and disorder in the state.

Aristotle mentioned that, women and slaves are fewer capable to thoughtful than the man who is free. This incapability may be outcome of the circumstances which prevails, or it might be because of some sort of natural insufficiency. He claims about the definite political and social organisations, it can be seen in the Athens, during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., where women and slaves do not have sufficient liberty to regulate their activities and therefore, it is obvious that, they would have very less quality. The discussions or debates are lacking of power, it is due to the fact that, the ultimate decisions women unable to take, hence, it has to be taken by her father or by her husband. Likewise, the slaves do not have capacity to take decisions and they cannot discuss the matter because they lack the knowledge, so that they would act according to the guidelines provided by their masters in this regard.

On the other hand, he claims that, if they have definite inborn features in them then the women or the slave are not totally in capable of discussions or considerations and the quality of their character and it does not depend upon the social and political circumstances they are living. Aristotle suggests the implementation of any such social and political organisations which enforces limitations on the liberty of the members of these assemblies.

Aristotle is in favour of slavery, he treats women and slave alike, he thought that, it is very important for the faultless functioning of the family which can be performed only by the help of both man and women, Aristotle asserted that, slave and women, a living possession and property of his master. Though, they have the power to understand, they have to follow his master, because, they have very less capabilities and must bow to those who have more abilities. It is acceptable to Aristotle slavery on three important factors such as, natural, usefulness and expediency. He does not accepted the views of radical, Sophists and said that, slavery is dissimilar to nature because, nature has created everyone as equal. He says that, all men does not skilful by nature with similar capabilities and nature awards different abilities to different persons, and orders that, superior must rule over the inferior person. He took slavery as a general rule and inferior must be ruled by superior person only. He said that, in the state those, who have more reason has to expertise and direct those who have little ability and those who commands are by nature masters and later as slaves. He asserts that, to lead a good life by the household, not possible without slave.

We have observed how political thought developed inside a background of misogyny (means dislike of women or girl) and it assimilated fear, disbelief and aversion of women into its groundwork. The women's inferiority and the role played by women in the activities of domestic works, Aristotle treated them as the fundamental part of his philosophy. He also given the legitimacy to his thoughts, the thought which came as complimentary from him. Even in the medieval periods it can be seen the ancient thoughts of Greek and so that, it can hold the Greek city-state and the culture, traditions which observed during those times.

Aristotle overlooks the citizenship for women. The greatest political procedure is that, the person who is most talented must rule the state with virtue and must be ruled are citizens. Women, ethically mediocre to men. Hence, women must not be citizens. Since men and women in Aristotle's state have different pursuits and women do not take part in the activities of governing the state, there is no motive to give the sexes the similar education. Not astonishingly, when Aristotle turns his attention to education, in the last book of the politics, he is worried about the education and he said that parents must deliver education to the sons.

Subsequently, Aristotle considers his state as a collection of individuals, the applicable, whether the state positions to advantage from completion of sexual discernment, but whether its individual members stand to benefit. Many virtues require the arena of public life for their development, e.g., (male) courage is promoted on the battlefield. Women, nevertheless, have nothing to achieve from political participation, because the virtues are not suitable to their sex not improved by such activities. Additionally, to live virtuously is to be cheerful, according to Aristotle, and since men have a greater capacity for virtue, they have a greater capacity for happiness.

In Politics, Aristotle mentioned that, men are cut out by nature to rule and women are cut out by nature to be ruled. Husbands are heads of families, husbands and they govern the polis. He also said some people are natural masters and others are natural slaves. The natural masters should rule the natural slaves. Aristotle is incorrect about both of the women and the slaves, in reality it is accepted that both women and men are identical or equal and slavery is ethically immoral.

### 2.3 Conclusion:

One of the greatest philosophers ever produced by the world is Aristotle he was the student of Plato and the most respected philosopher of Greek ancient times. The Arabians, Jewish political thinkers were very much influenced by him and the Middle Ages even the Christian thinkers were closely attached to his thoughts. Aristotle was firmly influenced that woman was, in reality, an imperfect or maimed or injured man. He stated that the female as automatically mediocre and male as the eventual understanding of humanity and she is lesser than men. Though, he stated and has this negative attitude and opinion about the womanhood, Aristotle preserved every woman with kind-heartedness and sympathy. He married and led a family life very successfully. Aristotle thought that nature intended not only physical dissimilarities between male and female but mental dissimilarities as well.

He stated about the women who has white skin only and he did not mentioned about those women who have dark skin he said to have sexual relation with the former women only. He opined that by the eating of overpowering food would improve the discharge. Aristotle's stated about the women's discharge, like that of unproductive or cut off male. Aristotle did not debated about the role of the women in the state like that of Plato, but eventually he stated, about women in most of his writings particularly in his Politics, he gave an clear image of the women in his writings saying that, women, mediocre living beings and they have to lead the life under the strict regulation of their fathers or if they are married then it has to take up by their husband. Aristotle considers his state as a collection of individuals, the applicable, whether the state positions to advantage from completion of sexual discernment but whether its individual members stand to benefit.

### 2.4 Model Questions:

1. Describe about the philosophical thought of Aristotle about the women?
2. Write a short notes about the women and slavery?

**2.5 References:**

11. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,1979.
12. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,2008.
13. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey,1987.
14. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA,1979.
15. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato,USA,1991.
16. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
17. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
18. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
19. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate,USA,2013.
20. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer



### LESSON – 3

## ANCIENT POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS ROUSSEAU VIEWS ON WOMEN

### 3.0 Objective:

1. Students would be able to learn about the philosophical thought of Rousseau about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Rousseau.

### 9 Structure:

#### 3.0 Objective

#### 3.1 Introduction

#### 3.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Rousseau on Women

#### 3.3 Conclusion

#### 3.4 Model Questions

#### 3.5 References

### 3.1 Introduction:

1  
Rousseau was born in Geneva, in the year 1712, in a middle class French family. His mother died while giving him birth and the burden of rearing the child fell on his father. His father being unbalanced man, he could not give appropriate devotion to the education of Rousseau. At the age of sixteen, he left his home and took to life of wanderer. Thus, unlike Hobbes and Locke he could neither receive proper education nor find a supporter. He led a life of poverty and deprivation.

Rousseau made his mark in political thought in 1749, when he wrote an essay “Has the Progress of Sciences and the Arts helped to Purify corrupt morals” for the Dijon Academy which not only won him the first prize, but also made him well known in the literary circles of Paris. After five years he wrote “Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality”, in which he relentlessly criticized the institution of private property and held it accountable for the inequality in the society, on political economy, which he contributed to the French Encyclopaedia in 1755; The social contract in 1762. La Nouvelle Heloise published in 1761; the Emile (a treatise on education) published in 1762. His writings has great mass appeal because he stood for the abolition of rights for the privileged classes and favoured their extension to the middle and lower middle classes.

Influences on Rousseau, reflects the influence of prevalent surroundings, as well as the innumerable political philosophers who headed him because of the hard life he led, he could well raise the value of the problems and difficulties of ordinary men and developed a philosophy to suit them. Among the political philosophies, he was intensely influenced by Plato, Locke, Montesquieu, Hobbes etc. He was appreciative to Plato for basic ideas, like political subjection, basically ethical and that the community itself the chief moralizing intervention and hence, embodies the uppermost moral order and value.

### 3.2 The Philosophical and Political Thought of Rousseau on Women:

Rousseau, one of the most prominent writers of 17<sup>th</sup> century, he made the differentiation very clearly, if civic equality, compared with that of natural order, it is observed that there is a lot of sexual differentiation which identifies women as unable to take the act in the public life. Rousseau followed the traditions of Aristotle, and he suggested that, the women must be given training which must be totally different from men. It is important to note that, the gender neutrality can be seen in Social Contract, the character given by him to the women in Emile, vital aspect in the social renaissance. In the book Discourse, Rousseau said that, the evolution of disparity lies with the differentiation of two kind of variation among the human beings, such as, moral and natural along with political inequalities would be seen in the society. The natural salvage proposed by Rousseau, in fact pre-social order. It talks about the loneliness and independent women, who go around the forest to achieve the requirements of the unspoiled or unchanged.

In the long run people got inspired to become autonomous that led to the new inventions in the field of occupation with different skills, by such developments a divergent area of fields evolved and it gives rise to the new type of division of labour, and created the need for passion. Rousseau, mentions that, rationality and benefits due to this improvement are not accepted universally, but it gave the scope to the rich to develop their organizations for own welfares. This led to the establishment of political organizations carried novel restraints on the poor which in result gave authority to rich. The perfect explanation to the state of matters on a combined level, can be observed in his writings of Social Contract, if the contract is a good one, then it gives an actual civil freedom and moral equalities, which surpasses all the natural drawbacks. He also mentions that, the victory of rich will not bring such equalities but it comes only by the universal citizenship of the individuals, it can be seen in the General Will.

The General Will, the manifestation is sporadic and defective in the beginning, but it enhanced as the political involvement increased and they brought the education for the sake of the people. The origin of General Will, altered the nature of the people in the society. By the General Will, the citizen must get the self-master by himself in driving the needs and his own personal desires. The problem observed in the Social Contract is that, the person who charged with corruption must experience the transformation and express the General Will. Rousseau has given the explanation to this, in his Book Emile, he proposes that, such persons who are corrupt might be saved from, by providing proper education. Emile, teaches the individual to become a good man confines his passions.

Rousseau, states that, the women can take part as the citizens of the country, but the will must come by themselves, if it is not from them, then it would be the interest of men in the society. Even though, one can see in Emile, the participatory citizenship is that of male privilege. About the state of nature, Rousseau is more neutral in his thoughts of sexuality, not like his predecessors of 17<sup>th</sup> century, he stressed the need of individuals in families, and they are the components of the family. About the sexual copulation he says that, it is for a small amount of time, it is unprompted and unselective. He further mentions that, the father of the child is unknown about the identity of his child, discloses no fondness for child or for child's mother. But, on the other hand, women remains self-reliant, bring her child rearing the child along with her. The child could not brought up unless the mother plays an important role in doing so to her child. In such a development, the sexuality has had an impact as a nature's come across. With such connotations the first revolution came into existence which recognised and differentiates the families, and



familiarises a type of property. Rousseau stated about it as, "The first expansion of human heart were the effects of novel situation, which united husbands and wives, fathers and children, under one roof. The habit of living together soon gave rise to the finest feeling known to humanity, conjugal love and parental affection. Every family became a little society, the more united because liberty and reciprocal attachment were the only bonds of its union. The sexes, whose manner of life had hitherto been the same, began now to adopt different ways of living. The women became more sedentary, and accustomed themselves to mind the hut and their children, while the men went abroad in search of their common subsistence".

Rousseau, says about the natural women and the improvement in prehistoric state has divergent phases and it is obvious that the stages like, monogamy, patriarchy, division of sex, sexual identity are noticeable developments in the state. Rousseau mentions in his Book, Emile, "bids the women obey the man", as an alternative to the status, given in the primary stage, the self-sufficient phase, now we have naturally reliant on wife and child. From the monogamous, the people are now categorized. He stated that, "male shares the care of the little ones", this statement is accidental and subsequently, mother and children could not give out the father's affection, and the care of the father in such cases. About the natural society, Rousseau, remains in his Social Contract, the family would develop and the father has all the authority to govern the family. In other terms, we can say that, man has unnecessarily taken his model of what is natural for women, from this the patriarchal family evolved and it can be seen as a change because it was replaced by another revolution.

Rousseau, mentions, prolong the relation of natural authority in the family, has stated as the away from the parent, and the connection between them considers as marital relation, which means the result of martial link the child would come into existence. He also separates the relations of domestic and political relations, because, his thought similar to Aristotle, he also recognises the connection between male and female and it can never be condensed to the contract who can be observed as two similar and equal human beings. He condemned the political disparity while, permitting marital hierarchy. The important feature of his argument in his Discourse on Political Economy, he did not suggest about the sexual equality, and by that, he avoids further argument. Rousseau, on the other hand, asserts that, the family which consists of patriarchy is natural one at the aforementioned probabilities with the history which is stated in the Second Discourse.

It is assumed that, the first revolution is the natural one, and division of sex which is said, but there is clarification about it though, the suggestions are shocking for the women who is self-sufficient or autonomous, and she made compulsory to live with her husband and entirely reliant on him. This notion of Rousseau is very upsetting to the women in nature. He afterwards permit the division as natural one: he says, "Nature teaches us that they should work together, but that each has its own share of the work". He did not give any recommendation about the inequality which came into existence. In his second revolution, he stated, about the dependence, servitude and inequality are destined because they are predictable consequences. He mentions that, in order to leak out from such dependency he asked men to restrict their needs, and women will merely assign the submissive abilities which are suitable to a dependent to strengthen them.

With the help of other concurrent improvements, the occurrence of the patriarchal families are connected, if the man have stable association with women, which means that they must need to have constant sexual life then only one can have the paternity. It would safeguard the each component in women's life. Okin, opines, as, "women's economy

dependents on man is introduced simultaneously with his sexual dependence on a particular women". It means that, the women must be made dependent so that identical or equal authority can continue between them. He further stated that, family would relish only when there is love, romance and womankind display, and its civic antithesis where men only are vigorous.

Rousseau, suggests that, women must have proper education which he mentioned in the Chapter 5 of Emile, he described about the sex of women in his previous works as, "a woman is a man"; he means that, women also has the same organs and faculties which men possess. However, the function of her sex is revealed to saturate the presence of women; rather than her humanity, defines her. However, he says, "male is a male now and again, the female is always a female, or at least all her youth; everything reminds her of sex; the performance of her function requires a special constitution". The fulfilment of the women's life is due to the facts, which happen in her life, such as, pregnancy, child bearing, nursing etc. gives her satisfaction and at the same time all these things bond the family so that it can unite for long.

About the kind of qualities a women possess, he documented as, she is for man's happiness, she has to do service and attract him and give birth to his legitimate children, by doing so she would win his love as well and this is the main function of her. In other words, her functions are very clear, that she has to delight or satisfy her husband, charm, counsel and console him whenever necessary, so that his husband's life is enjoyable and cheerful. He says that, women has the equalities such as, attractiveness, cunningness, humour, tricks and she has other qualities which are more important, she is very tender, sympathetic and diplomatic, she touch tears. The act of women he assigns as, he assumes the entire variety of her natural abilities, from the little girl to feminine tastes, the women has no right to have freedom and she is equal, if she has to get love and respect then she must play a subordinate and loyal role in the society. She is give rights because she can do better work.

The dream of Rousseau, about the socio-political renaissance and compared with his ideal women is merely adverse to the political representation. Rousseau's suggestion to women was really an ethical requirement for civic virtue in the male dominated state. Okin claims that, the dreams of Rousseau on women, says that he intrude upon all the values of his ethics and social theory. Rousseau, claims parity and self-sufficiency between men, but at the same time, he says, the power and heteronomy in the family. He stress the need of dependency of women on her husband, but at the same time, he did not assign same thing to men. By this we can say that Rousseau's political thought, motivated by Locke and his thinking of sexuality is nearer to Aristotle. The characteristics assigned by him as, she does not have the right sort of reason, she does not have self-sufficiency, she cannot judge, she cannot do the justice.

Rousseau asserts that, "is no women of the world, she is almost as much of a recluse as the nun in the convent". He also says that, her views are restricted only to the family affairs and she is unable to focus on the affairs of the world. Hence, she is inclined thoughts of neutral justice and he mentions that, it is because of her restrictions; he says, "women is made to submit to man and to endure even injustice in his hands. You will never bring young lads to this; their feelings rise in revolt against injustice; nature has not fitted them to put up with it". It is expressed by him that, women cannot deal all the activities of the polity, and she is unable to perform her duties properly. But at the same, time can perform her duties of family very well. She thinks from the body rather than the

mind, she answers to desire by disguising rather than exceeding, she becomes the strong contender for General Will.

Rousseau says that, the privacy of a women has two types, first it stops from her obtain certain powers from the civic kingdom, he finds her she cannot be suitable person. The simplicity of women is good and can be regulate their sexual passions. If she is given opportunity to uncheck freestanding of marriage then become unhelpful to the society because they tempt citizens. Secondly, women must be reserved out of community, so that one can protect her natural virtues. The ones who involve in the public affairs they cultivate 'amour propre' (is a French word means, Self –love) and ultimately results in the catastrophe.

Finally we can understand that, Rousseau, adopts with the opinions of Aristotle, that women must be excluded from citizenship, however, agrees and must have some sort of requirements to it. He assigns women of the Greek virtues of loyalty and shyness, he recommends similarly like Plato, and that the family life are required in the just state uniformly they intimidate it. Rousseau thinks that, the space given by the family where individuality and desire can be conveyed because they are neutralized. The women who works for the husband and family she inspires those sort of feelings at the same time she protect them so that they cannot cause the problem in the public affairs. Mary O' Brien asserts, that, "purifies the passion of particularity, thus making the private realm truly ethical" and less threat to the universality required of citizen-husband.

### 3.3 Conclusion:

Rousseau was born in Geneva, in the year 1712, in a middle class French family. His mother died while giving him birth and the burden of rearing the child fell on his father. His father being unbalanced man he could not give appropriate devotion to the education of Rousseau, he wrote "Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality".

Among the political philosophies, he was intensely influenced by Plato, Locke, Montesquieu, Hobbes etc. He was appreciative to Plato for basic ideas, like political subjection, basically ethical and that the community is itself the chief moralizing intervention and hence embodies the uppermost moral order and value. Rousseau is one of the most prominent writers of 17<sup>th</sup> century, he made the differentiation very clearly, if civic equality is compared with that of natural order, it is observed that there is a lot of sexual differentiation which identifies as the women unable to take the act in the public life. Rousseau followed the traditions of Aristotle, and he suggested that the women must be given training which must be totally different from men. It is important to note that, the gender neutrality can be seen in Social Contract, the character given by him to the women in Emile, vital aspect in the social renaissance.

The General Will, the manifestation is sporadic and defective in the beginning, but it enhanced as the political involvement increased and they brought the education for the sake of the people. The origin of General Will altered the nature of the people in the society. By the general will the citizen must get the self-master by himself in driving the needs and his own personal desires. The problem observed in the Social Contract is that, the person who charged with corruption must experience the transformation and express the General Will.

Rousseau says that the privacy of a women has two types, first it stops from her obtain certain powers from the civic kingdom, he finds her she cannot be suitable person. The simplicity of women is good and can be regulate their sexual passions. If she was given opportunity to uncheck freestanding of marriage then become unhelpful to the society

because they tempt citizens. Secondly, women must be reserved out of community, so that one can protect her natural virtues. The ones who involve in the public affairs they cultivate 'amour propre' (is a French word means, Self –love) and ultimately results in the catastrophe.

Rousseau says, “women is made to submit to man and to endure even injustice in his hands. You will never bring young lads to this; their feelings rise in revolt against injustice; nature has not fitted them to put up with it”. It is expressed by him that women cannot deal all the activities of the polity and she is unable to perform her duties properly. But at the same time can perform her duties of family very well. She thinks from the body rather than the mind, she answers to desire by disguising rather than exceeding, she becomes the strong contender for General Will.

### 3.4 Model Questions:

1. Describe about the political thought of Rousseau about women?
2. Write about the status of women according to Rousseau?

### 3.5 References:

21. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.
22. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008.
23. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey, 1987.
24. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA, 1979.
25. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato, USA, 1991.
26. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
27. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
28. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
29. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate, USA, 2013.
30. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**LESSON-4****MODERN LIBERAL THINKER: MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT VIEWS ON WOMEN****4.0 Objective:**

1. Students would be able to learn about the philosophical thought of Mary Wollstonecraft about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Mary Wollstonecraft.

**Structure:**

4.0 Objective

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Privileges of Man and Injustices of Women

4.3 Rights of Men and Liberty of Women

4.4 A Vindication of Rights of Women

4.5 Conclusion

4.6 Model Questions

4.7 References

**4.1 Introduction:**

Mary Wollstonecraft was born in England on April, 1759, at the age of 19 years, she started a school to support her siblings as companion after that, she became the Governess of Ireland, she stayed in Lisbon, in 1785. She started working as, reviewer and translator for Joseph Johnson's Analytical Review in 1787. Her first Book was published in 1786, and her Two Vindications in 1790 and 1792. She was greatly admired and her books were studied by the people in the world. Her major writings are on the education of daughters in 1787 and then, two vindications of the rights of woman.

Mary Wollstonecraft, regarded as the "first feminist" or "mother of feminism" theorist and her notable contributions are women intellectual capacities, education and marriage. The Vindications of the Rights of Woman, is a classic of feminist thought, and a must-read for everyone who wants to understand the history of feminism. Her life and works have been understood in extensively diverse means, depending upon the outlook of the writer towards equality of women or on cord of feminism with which a writer is connected.

**4.2 Privileges of Man and Injustices of Women:**

Mary Wollstonecraft, is regarded as a feminist who has the liberal thoughts because her style mainly worried with the women specific and about her rights, she has different outlook while, dedicate the women's natural talents and her persistence that women not

be restrained by men's standards. She explained perfectly about the sexual feeling and relationship between men and women, and some of the gender morals and sexuality, her works has some glows. Wollstonecraft, demanded with some legality to the feminists, their critiques of "rights" methods resonances in her stress on the performance in the family and civic relationship. She can be regarded as the forerunner of the political feminists, her works such as *Vindication and Maria*, the wrongs of women can be connect the oppressions of women and the requirements of men to change accordingly. She was involved in and observed in number of social revolutions and one among them was the enlightenment thought in general, the disbelief about the revision of organisations, which includes the family, the state, educational theory, and religion. She, specifically connected with Enlightenment thought that put 'reason' at the middle of social individuality and it gives the explanation of rights.

But these thoughts appeared in definite and dissimilar to the ongoing truths of women's lives. Wollstonecraft, may perhaps gaze to her own life history and to the lives of women in her family and understand the difference. Misuse of women was adjacent to family. Her maxim little legal alternative for the sufferers of abuse. In lieu of women the increasing middle class, and persons who did not have husbands, or slightest dependable husbands, had to discover the means to make their own living or a living for their families. The difference of the pungent conversation of "rights of man" with the authenticities of the "life of woman" inspired by Mary Wollstonecraft to write her 1792 book, called *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Regions and philosophical books had been swapped around rights and independence and freedom and purpose for a number of years.

#### **4.3 Rights of Men and Liberty of Women:**

Wollstonecraft wrote two books such as *Vindication of the Rights of Men*, and *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in these writings Wollstonecraft, debates the types of womanliness alive by white women of her class, and circles up a pressure between feminism which means, radicalism or women's movements and femininity, which means womanliness. There is difference of meanings in these two words. Her style of writing can be observed even in her titles, the preference given by Wollstonecraft to use the words in the titles of her two "vindication". The titles are alike, with the significant exclusion that the first book is vindicating the rights of men and the second book vindicating the rights of woman. Her demands for the rights of men and woman demands to men. The woman for whom Wollstonecraft is vindicating rights is none other than, herself.

Wollstonecraft claims about the rights of men and woman, she talks about 'for and against' the rights of men, but at the same time she stresses 'for the rights of women'. The important contribution of her to the field of political theory is that she presented with two aspect of rights to men, the first aspect, common and well known right such as, civil and political rights which, incorporated in the document as the human rights, and these human rights came into presence since, 1789, must be enjoyed by women along with men. The other aspect of the right which men possesses and exercised by men, this right gives power over women and thereby, they deny the women liberty. She argues that, these rights are not incorporated in the human rights document. Wollstonecraft, says about the aristocratic political order, said that, those rights of men are nothing more than sanctioning sounds.

When Burke, stated that, English liberties, the result of “entailed inheritance”, she attacked Burke, on these lines and stated that, the rights and the freedom are the birthrights of every individual. She suggested in her Vindications, the rights of man and humanity as frightened (Men 34; woman, 163). In her work Maria, she stated that, women are left without their rights of liberty, which is in fact, a birthright of every individual and wives are ‘bastilled.. for life’ she says that, the position which is given to women as subordinate, which make her to have consequences of both political and spiritual. She stated in her Book Woman, that, women lack the physical freedom on the earth and they become slaves on political and civil sense.

The political theorists particularly men, attacked because of the inclusion of women’s rights similar to that of men. Burke mentions about the, masculinity and femininity of women, he said the feminine weakness, the weakness cannot find a stand in the state. She deliberates that, in the society we only can notice master and servant, but the development of thing like, virtue, reason, morality etc. is reserved in the social order as well as and in both sexes. She asserts that, both morality and sexuality are separate and it treats every individual male, or female both alike. She says that, the both sexes must have the manly virtues, she attacks those who criticize the “masculine women”, she meant that, women also must develop masculine. She commented upon Burke, the emotions, literary style and sensibility, looks like the author who does not have manliness. She also commented that, rich would be ruined by extravagance, redundancy, sensuality, and sweet talk, have stopped men, and wasteful of rank powerless by hereditary effeminacy (means, describes traits in a human male that are more often linked with feminine nature, behaviour, mannerism, style or roles). The statement manly is to safeguard the rights of women and the state. In her second vindication she suggests ‘an appeal to the reasons of men’, she never stated that women must compete with men.

To Wollstonecraft, women must have all her natural rights and the second concept of which she mentioned must be eradicated. She stresses that, women must have political involvement and must be allowed in the discussion of the government. She also declared that, women similar to that of hardworking mechanic and she could keep the loyalty when she is not feeding children. About the French Revolution, she contends that, the political order should replicate social environments. Rights become inadequate, if the principles could not understand the importance of birthright and women also has the similar right.

#### **4.4 A Vindication of Rights of Women:**

The book written by Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of Rights of Women, is first of its kind and this is considered as the first feminist demand and the first continued discussion in English about the rights of woman. This book deals with, the answer to those previous works on women’s education and the women’ behavior which, written in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the men. Out of all those men, the most significant writer was Rousseau, he wrote Emile, in which he mentioned the conduct of women. She answered in her book, contrary to the notion of women and femininity as well-defined mainly by the capability to provoke male sexual passion. She is very much particular about the education especially, that of women and girls, this thought can be observed in all her writings. The book A Vindication of the Rights of Women, which starts with an appeal to the school system in the nation, where she wanted women must have equal opportunities for education along with males. She opined that, the need of the hour is the education to all, as a liberal thinker and activist education only could help women in combating all those social problems and could bring the social stability.

She asserts that, women must have equal rights along with their counterpart men, she also criticized that operational disparity of marriage. She stated that marriage is grounded on the contract which is unsatisfactory, because in such marriages, only women has the accountability to please her husband, not with her intelligence or with her morals but with the help of attractions or charms. She says that if she has taught to please, then, it destroys the customs of life. It could lead to the monotony and bitterness or extra-marital affair, because women, said to have the quality of "pleasing", would not affect the husband when they come across daily.

Wollstonecraft definitely knows about the consequences of the natural rights, she says that, if everyone born with freedom and equal then they would have the rights by birth. No one can deny of those rights. She also talked about the women's enjoyment as well, if anyone deprived of this right, then it becomes a problem to be addressed and needs justice in that regard to the half of the population. Hence, she burdens that, even women has the right to have a stake in man's rights. She also aware of the fact that, it must be functional to the relationships in the family. The rights of the husband are alike the rights of king and it must be dealt without any menace. She challenges about the issues of women as, "if women are to be excluded, without having a voice, from a participation of the natural rights of mankind, prove first, to ward off the charge of injustice and inconsistency, that they want reasons".

Wollstonecraft commented upon the notions of Rousseau, as he said about, the patriarchal family and the division of sex are abnormal because he mentioned in his first notion that, women is self-sufficient. She challenged the sexual categorization shrewdness, and agrees the different roles played by the women in this regard. Her disagreement about this notion is as like as the statement of Socrates in the Meno. He deal with that, women must have two similar virtues so that she can deal the household works and the state, and they remains unopposed for both men and women. She declare that, women must be treated as human being first, than an item which gives pleasure by copulation or sex. Wollstonecraft attracts on a well- recognized sequences of dualism in her writings, such as, reason-passion, mind-body, freedom-slavery, and civilization-barbarism. These are used for women traditionally, she entreats them exactly to remove form the sexual associations. She thinks that, every person has to subservient to their desire of balanced control. She also advises that, 'an unhappy marriage is often very advantageous to the family' and 'a neglected wife is in general, the best mother'.

She says about the slavery, as the state of mind, and is persuaded that sexual dissimilarity is related to the psychological levels on an individual and with such thought women becomes the salve and oppressor. She involves in a criticism about the status of women in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and she thinks that, it is a synthetic concept, articulated by a male dominant with inaccurate thoughts of the natural woman. Wollstonecraft, condemns the reality that, "many men stares insultingly at every female they meet". She hates the women's decline to 'tempting bodies', 'unimportant entity of passion'; she convicts 'impolite references' of men, and their indecent jests about women. She understands that the disabilities of women not entirely depend upon the limitation of rights, but the patriarchal traditions also have an impact on this, hence, it is required to find the solutions for it.

About the freedom of women her ideas are classically liberal one: and she gave stress on the components such as, education, civil rights, employment and political rights, she emphasized that, of all these education is of prime importance. About the civil rights in



the family she asserts that, if women are to be good mothers, they need a law which can protect them from the dictatorial husbands. The transfer of the property is really wicked and it reduces her so that she has to be reliant on her husband. Her outlook on sexual equality stays liberal, she thought that the traditional and emotional practicalities are the cause of women's oppression, she want to overcome these problem by the equal education and equal rights of women. She insisted 'civil' equality and economic independence in place of incremental reforms about the women, along with autonomous mind so that she can express her feelings.

#### **4.5 Conclusion:**

Mary Wollstonecraft, regarded as the "first feminist" or "mother of feminism" theorist and her notable contributions are women intellectual capacities, education and marriage. Mary Wollstonecraft was born in England on April, 1759, she, at the age of 19 years, started a school to support her siblings as companion after that, she became the Governess of Ireland, she stayed in Lisbon, in 1785. Her first Book was published in 1786, and her Two Vindications in 1790 and 1792.

Mary Wollstonecraft, is regarded as a feminist who has the liberal thoughts because her style mainly worried with the women specific and about her rights, she has different outlook while dedicate the women's natural talents and her persistence that women not be restrained by men's standards.

The book written by Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of Rights of Women, is first of its kind and this is considered as the first feminist demand and the first continued discussion in English about the rights of woman. She answered in her book, contrary to the notion of women and femininity as well-defined mainly by the capability to provoke male sexual passion. Wollstonecraft commented upon the notions of Rousseau, as he said about, the patriarchal family and the division of sex are abnormal because he mentioned in his first notion that women is self-sufficient. She says about the slavery as the state of mind, and is persuaded that sexual dissimilarity is related to the psychological levels on an individual and with such thought women becomes the salve and oppressor. She challenged the sexual categorization shrewdness, and agrees the different roles played by the women in this regard. Her disagreement about this notion is as like as the statement of Socrates in the Meno. She gave stress on the components such as, education, civil rights, employment and political rights, she emphasized that of all these education is of prime importance. About the civil rights in the family she asserts that, if women are to be good mothers, they need a law which can protect them from the dictatorial husbands. The transfer of the property of is really wicked and it reduces her so that she has to be reliant on her husband.

#### **4.6 Model Questions:**

1. Describe about the philosophical thought of Wollstonecraft about the women?
2. Write about the book A Vindication of Rights of Women, and discuss about the status given to women by Wollstonecraft?

#### **4.7 References:**

31. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.

32. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,2008.
33. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey,1987.
34. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA,1979.
35. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato,USA,1991.
36. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
37. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
38. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
39. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate,USA,2013.
40. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**LESSON – 5****MODERN LIBERAL THINKERS: JOHN  
STUART MILL VIEWS ON WOMEN****5.0 Objective:**

1. Students would be able to learn about the philosophical thought of J.S Mill about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to J.S Mill.

**Structure:**

5.0 Objective

5.1 Introduction

5.2 J.S Mill's Arguments on Women

5.3 The Impartiality of Sexes

5.4 Conclusion

5.5 Model Questions

5.6 References

**5.1 Introduction:**

John Stuart Mill, was the eldest son of the Scottish philosopher and historian, James Mill. J.S Mill was born in Bentonville area London, on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1806. J.S Mill, was a political economist, philosopher, civil servant and member of the Parliament in England. He was the promoter of utilitarianism and a powerful champion, who fought against the government for the social reforms. Sedgwick claimed, "I should say that from about 1860-65 or thereabouts he ruled England in the region of thought as very few men ever did: I do not expect to see anything like it again". He was educated completely by his father, who was a firm authoritarian. By his eighth year he had read, in the original Greek, Aesop's Fables, Xenophon's Anabasis, and the whole of the historian Herodotus. Amongst his utmost renowned and noteworthy works, A System of Logic 1843, Principles of Political Economy 1848, On Liberty 1859, Utilitarianism 1861, The Subjection of Women 1861, Three Essays on Religion, and his Autobiography.

**5.2 J.S Mill's Arguments on Women:**

J. S. Mills says that, men are principally opposing themselves since they deliberate that, women are unable to perform an accomplishment and need to halt them from performing it. J.S. Mill advocates that, men mainly acknowledging that women can perform their activity, but men do not make them to perform. If the women can do or not to be find out,

in fact, are unable to know the real nature of the women, because it is enclosed. J.S Mill advocates that, we need to examine what a women can and cannot.

In his Subjection of Women, chapter I, he stated as, "I deny that any one knows or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. Until conditions of equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural differences between women and men, distorted as they have been. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both to develop and use their faculties freely."

J.S Mill, condemns the urgings of women, who say they are basically worse at doing something than men, and we must not inspire them to do so or prohibit them from doing. In fact, we do not know about her that, what she can do and her talents are, we never gave them to do, and no one cannot make a commanding declaration without any proof. And must not prevent them from trying things and they may not be able to do them. An urging grounded on theoretical physiology is just that, speculation.

In his Subjection of Women, chapter I, he stated as, "The anxiety of mankind to intervene on behalf of nature...is an altogether unnecessary solicitude. What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing."

Women are victims of customary biased, they conveyed, as if they weak, emotional, and passive, he says that, must look for the benefits for every women and they must get benefited by the society as well. His thoughts are evidently of utilitarian in nature on three computations such as, the immediate grater good, the enrichment of society, and individual development, he wrote this, in his Book, The Subjection of Women. J.S Mill, thought that, the liberation and the education of women would have optimistic aids for men as well. The motivation of female competition and companionship of equal education persons would lead to the greater knowledge and improvement for everyone. J.S Mill, emphasized the unfaithful odds and ends of the continuous companionship of an uneducated wife or husband, he thought that, men and women married to follow certain traditions and the relationship among them is merely a domestic one, he also opined that, by liberating women would make them to attach with the knowledge close to their husbands, so that their association advances.

Regarding the marriage laws, he condemns them because he associate marriage with slavery of the women. He says that, "there remain no legal slaves, save the mistress of every house". J.S Mill mentions that, the subjection of women flattering jobless as slavery ensured before it, he also urges that, there is a requirement for reforms of marriage legislation whereby it is condensed to a business contract, employing no limitations on whichever party. These offers varying of legacy laws to permit to retain their own property, and permitting women to work outside the home, by which they become financially autonomous. He also talked about the women's rights to vote, he said that their population consists of half of the total population. J.S Mill imagines, that men will vote to those M.Ps who will subordinate women, and hence, women must be permitted to vote so that she can defend their own interests. In his Subjection of Women, chapter III, he says, that, "Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same".

J.S Mill has a positive vision about women he says that, if women were given an opportunity then they would outshine, he was not merely a theorist, and he energetically electioneered for the rights of women as a Member of Parliament in Britain and the President of the National Society for the Women's Suffrage.

Mill persuaded that the moral and intellectual improvement of human race would consequence of superior pleasure for one and all. J.S Mill, declared that the greater happiness of the intelligence produced extreme superior gladness than the lesser pleasure of the right mind. He considered about the human beings as morally and intellectually skilful of presence educated and civilized. J.S Mill thought every person must have the right to vote, with the only exemptions being barbarians and uneducated people.

Mill is considered as the liberalist and it consists of economic and political doctrine and it is informative to instigate by positioning him with a custom of political economy. He actually discussed about the women's economic actions, the two important aspects of these are reproduction and wages, the political thinkers identified in these two aspects with definite family and sexual preparations as favourable to economic-wellbeing, and these are generally adverse to women, but he tried for the economic liberation of women. The emphasis was on the physical labour force's supply and on the level of wages wanted to assure the aforementioned operative replacement, which was observed in 'Wealth of Nations' of 1776, by Adam Smith. Mill, was regarded as the first promoter of contraception but it was not available in his days and at the same time, its encouragement was not allowed. He advises as alternatives 'well-prepared customs of conduct' and also suggested to open equal industrial occupations to both the men and women. Which indicates that he was very much in favour of the women's emancipation.

J.S. Mill says that, women who works instead of marrying serve a valuable Malthusian role in overpowering both reproduction and desire. He makes a neat division between the private ancestral dominion and public one. He evades this choice, quoting at least two examples in which interference in domestic matters necessary. Firstly, he states, the state for worsening to regulate the method in which the domestic power battered, that means the deletion of husbands dictatorship upon wives compare with the modest convenient of providing women with equal rights and legal safety. He also mentions that the state must implement responsibility on parents to educate their children because they are the future citizens of the nation, or must treat a 'moral crime' is committed against the child and the society.

Producing child under Malthusian consequences, according to Mill, not a private act but it must be regarded as "a serious offence against all those who live by the remuneration of their labour". Consequently, he disagrees that the laws forbidding marriage, in such cases where there is insufficient evidence that a family might be maintained, are a violation of liberty. About the reproduction he give the impression to advocate procedures that, would comprehensively encourage or impede the attention of the women by observing as public wealth. The handling of Miller, about women has to take in the wider sense, about the reproduction. He, merely interested in the economic concerns of the women, because of his liberal outlook and utilitarian thoughts. He believes that self-respect and poise would be improved; it will motivate exactly that moral and communal spirits if are linked to then they would get maximum happiness. One can understand by this that, his advocates are inspired mainly by the liberal values such as, responsibility, autonomy which can flourish through involvement. He talks about the civilizing and enlightening effects of

associations, he openly permits the men and women to administer these associations so that they can advance the social utility.

J.S Mill observes sex and class oppression and the requirement in both circumstances to abandon the patriarchal safeguard in support of accountable self-government. Mill wanted to have a free traditions to express and to represent in the public scope. He suggested in his list of utilities and wanted to have women's liberation in the subjection so that they can contribute and with such contributions the women can create a type of tradition from there all would benefit. He wanted that women also participate along with men in the different faculties and occupations by motivating men's own knowledge by the added competition. He says that, if the women is confined in the isolated province, she is unable to understand and she does not care which the correct way is in the politics. Her ignorance could make menace in economic terms, he was in favour of those women who are narrow-minded because he thinks that they are threat to the society.

He was of the opinion about the women must be forced to involve in the public life by participation, they would get knowledge and they can patronise the interests by that they can motivate the masses. He also says that, if the family controlled in hierarchical system then the children get trained in dictatorship, and public virtue will become self-love inspired among men and narrow-mindedness among the women by force. The ancestral education such as, economic and politics deceits with the social qualities. He mentions that, about the inequalities of marriage and the horrors of it as, the wife would lose rights over her children, she lose rights on her property, finally her right upon her own body, totally she becomes the victim of domestic violence and sexual abuse. In such circumstances, the wife would be in continuous surveillance, even her mind become enslaved because men desires regulate upon the feelings of the women along with her compliance. When such things happens then the women would lose her nature biased. He agrees with Wollstonecraft, that, women, naturally possess the self-respect and need privacy, instead of false attributes of altruism and obedience are imposed along with the qualities of morality.

J.S Mill overturns his argument, to speak of duties rather than rights, he says that, women manages the household, economy and having and rearing children, so that so does her work done particularly of domestic, but at the same time he fails to ask whether she would have shares in her benefits. He says about the married women that, they must be autonomous in all aspects, she must secure a respectable position along with employment and should have equivalent chance in the competition in all sorts of works.

### **5.3 The Impartiality of Sexes:**

In J. S. Mill, one can observe the impartiality about the sex, he has the thoughts of drastic nature who want to have equality for the women, and his writings about the subordination of women to men are really outstanding. He pointed out certain parameters for subordination of women in England and they are:

He says that, before the times of 1923, men had ground to get divorce and women had very less base to get divorced. In those times, husbands used to control the properties of the wives, but when the Married Women Act of 1870 and 1882, gave the right to women to hold. The wife at that time had no right upon her own children which was really a pitiable concern. And women did not have any important aspects of legal individuality because the fact that, husband was regarded as the head of the family, and in that way they eradicated the need for women suffrage. He, as the Member of Parliament, stressed

the need of right to vote and also very much concern about the political and social reforms such as proportional representation, labour union and farm cooperatives. He labels the association as that of lively domination in which women follow to will of men.

During the times of J.S Mill, the thought of feminism was developed in the brains of individuals as sprinkled concepts, it was because of him those sprinkled thought were developed into full-fledged and well-structured movements. He was participated in this development in well fashioned manner, as a Member of Parliament, he talked about the women' suffrage, he was also involved in giving the proof to Royal Commission on Contagious Diseases Act. The misuse of power and the harmful properties of instinctive relegation refrains which persist more often in Mill's work than any other. Since he matters to the supremacy of capital that he becomes so closely a Socialist. It is for the reason that government by the few is, a system as well, appropriate to support itself with tyranny, but he is very tough a democrat.

He desired to get the status, legal, political and social, of women elevated to that of men, but focussed on attempting to attain for women the vote on the similar standings as men had it, demanding all over that, as men had no knowledgeable right to resolve for women, women ought to be put into a situation to choose for themselves. Concluding that, the women during that time were in a powerless situation to carry out their demands. He thought that women should convince men to those demands with attraction.

#### **5.4 Conclusion:**

John Stuart Mill, was the eldest son of the Scottish philosopher and historian, James Mill. J.S Mill was born in Bentonville area London, on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1806. J.S Mill, was a political economist, philosopher, civil servant and member of the Parliament in England. J. S. Mills says that, men are principally opposing themselves since they deliberate that, women are unable to perform an accomplishment and need to halt them from performing it. J.S Mill, condemns the urgings of women, who say they are basically worse at doing something than men, and we must not inspire them to do so or prohibit them from doing. In fact we do not know about her that what she can do and her talents are, we never gave them to do, and no one cannot make a commanding declaration without any proof.

Women are victims of customary biased, they were conveyed as if they were weak, emotional, and passive, he says that, must look for the benefits for every women and they must get benefited by the society as well. J.S mill, thought that the liberation and the education of women would have optimistic aids for men as well. The motivation of female competition and companionship of equalling education persons would lead to the greater knowledgeable improvement for everyone. J.S Mill, emphasised the unfaithful odds and ends of the continuous companionship of an uneducated wife or husband, he thought that, men and women married to follow certain traditions and the relationship among them was merely a domestic one. He was of the opinion about the women must be forced to involve in the public life by participation they would get knowledge and they can patronise the interests by that they can motivate the masses. He also says that, if the family controlled in hierarchical system then the children get trained in dictatorship, and public virtue will become self-love inspired among men and narrow-mindedness among the women by force.

#### **5.5 Model Questions:**

1. Describe about the political thought of J.S Mill about women?
2. Write about the status of the women with regard to J.S Mill?

**5.6 References:**

3. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,1979.
4. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,2008.
5. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey,1987.
6. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA,1979.
7. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato,USA,1991.
8. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
9. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
10. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
11. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate,USA,2013.
12. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer



**LESSON – 6****KARL MARX VIEWS ON WOMEN****6.0 Objective:**

1. Students would be able to learn about the radical philosophical thought of Karl Marx about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Karl Marx.

**Structure:**

6.0 Objective

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Women Political Theory

6.3 Conclusion

6.4 Model Questions

6.5 References

**6.1 Introduction:**

Karl Heinrich Marx was born on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1818, in Trier, Kingdom of Prussia in German confederation. He was a great German philosopher, sociologist, historian, economist, journalist and revolutionary socialist, he wrote number of books among them, the most important are, The Communist Manifesto in 1848, Das Kapital during 1867-1894. Karl Marx worked in economics, which positioned the foundation of the present recognition of labour and it's related to capital, and he influenced about the economic thought. He was born into a rich middle-class family, he studied at the University of Bonn and University Berlin, there he got interest with the philosophical thinking of Young Hegelians. In the year 1849, he was exiled hence, he relocated to England along with his family.

**6.2 Women Political Theory:**

On the question of women, they have reflected many issues, differences between Aristotle, Plato, Rousseau and Mill. Marxism, focuses mainly on the sexual equality and total involvement of women in public affairs, it discovers no variance among the sexes, and proposes a complete description for women's barring from public life. Marx and Engels in Women's Estate, Juliet Mitchel, appeals dissimilarity amid two stages in the performance of women. "Their Solution", she accomplishes, "recall this excessively economic pressure, or arrive the dominion of interrupted assumption". The first argument that, wherever woman are incorporated under a historical explanation of the family to develop simple requirements for private property. The second argument about the Marx's initial works, as he offered women as historical progress.

Marx gave the status of the women, he took up this issue in his works, Manuscript in 1844, and The Holy Family in 1854, in this he made a representation with some sort of imagery of the classification of women. Marx discussed about the relation between nature, alienation, labour and private property. He says that, the isolation of the species

from nature can happen only with the abolition of private property, in fact it, is known as communalism, which is the honest determination of the struggle between man and nature and among the man and man. Marx observes the connection between sexes as figurative in nature, he says that, the relationship between man and women is most usual among the human beings, this relation also tell about the amount of relation between them. The relationship between them could be uttered by those factors such as, the real harmony between nature and man, it can be seen during the initial communalism, their antagonism throughout the history, which is the fight between property and class, and the last reconciliation beneath the real communalism are the elements in which one can observe the relationship between man and women. This can be relationship of sex only instead of herself, which can be acknowledged with nature.

With the help of such association one can understand the improvement of the man itself. However, the consequence of that, man can create history and precise advancement and they give women the inert pointers and legatees of man development in civilizing nature. Marx, talks about the natural and impulsive partition of the labour inside the family, which is grounded on the physiological basis whose beginning lies in the partition of labour, which can be observed in the sexual act. After the natural relationship between the sexes, a social individual grows and this is itself the first property relationship, it can be seen in the nucleus family, where the husband will have his wife and children as his salves. In this context the usual relations give the husband a sort of authority so that, he can organize his wife's labour powers. Marx could not give any explanation about this how this come about, so that he can dispose wife's labour powers, it develops some sort of class relationship within the family and by this means it permits a materialist interpretation of women's tyranny.

By such methods the man would make the history and humanizer of nature, it is the fact that, women is not against the reasonably prohibited from allocation of the mission of the man, said by the Hegel, but she has the unnatural disadvantage which makes her exclude before the last stage of the history. On behalf of women's dependence takes her from the doctrine of the social aspect and leaves for discussion only. The liberation of women in the style of Marx foresees, it is in the unbiased phase, characteristic in the classes as such, or it is intended to achieve the passion of the men. The advancement of the women in the direction of communism is in the hands of the women. The initial condition of the civilization of man women association is the consequences of her dependence. This would be corrected only when man has accomplished his task. His co-writer Engels stated about the case of monogamy, and said that, it was the unlimited historic progress, and at the same time, it is also comparative reversion by which the improvement of and happiness of one group can be observed by the deprivation and unhappiness of another group.

Marx has exemplified about the role of the women as inactive in the historic improvement and their deprivation to prove the brutalizing feature of private property. When this happens, he criticizes rudimentary communism as an unethical form of actual things. In the state, the standards of middleclass are widespread and or not eradicated. Marx compares this as the move from middleclass marriages and definitely from the exclusion of the private property to the universal prostitution. He says that, the basic communism varies from free relationship of creators, as general prostitution ensures from permitting association between sexes. When one can see the lust and envy, are the norms, then we can observe the degradation of women and it discloses dehumanization of the entire

society, this is because of the explicit, pivotal, pure and open appearance in the association of the women and the man.

Marx says that, women is further than figurative of the historic level, and she replicates accurately, because regarding the property also, she has been treated in the same manner. It is most important to note that, it is the man treated her in such a way and it is not due to the dialectical association with the women, where the property of the women, taken either enviously or with some other way, the sufferer would be always women. Marx says that, the communism frees women since, it eliminates the property association and reinstates the classes to an appropriate mutuality with natural surroundings. He says that, the man's compromise with the civilized natural surroundings should comprise of explanation and permitted conversation inside the associations of the sex, since, the relation of such associations are very translucent and the scientist from social science calls it as "sex-love", is the example of the more transparency of the usual world in the alteration of classes. In this sayings it can be seen the roots of Hegelian, and more importantly, the role assigned to the women. It can be observed and it is a reality that, the women is inert position of the women, replicates the middleclass as its actuality, she only can represent her status, it is due to the fact that, she is not equated with men historically. And her domestic works and the reproduction does not have any impact on historical grounds.

It is fact that Karl Marx has observed in his early writings, the demonstration of women as an intangible group reasonably than who would pursue the liberation on their own terms. He says that women replicates somewhat than pledge variations, but there is as hitherto no effort to clarify, why this arises about or methodically to clarify the oppression of the women. Karl Marx mentions that, beneath the capitalism, women always stays as the status of the property, and its history with which she stakes. The liberation of women would occur as the logical outcome of its eradication, and even it looks like to be figurative. It is not possible that, the women may prompt for overall change, as the case of Utopian socialism, since, they are omitted from the vital development of prolific labour in which history completed. Marx suggested that the reasons are natural even though he observes that it could be overturned when nature has civilized, but at the same time Karl Marx, miss the mark to queries about the connection between the nature of the women and the slavery, or else servitude of the women. Well along it would develop that this defect sustained to blemish even in the succeeding historical materialist examination of the suppressed women.

Subsequently, Marx has associated with the assessment of the family in the society of the communist with the overpower on the state and the religion, he should have predicted that, the nonappearance of the family in the communist society ever since Marx thought that, the state and the religion would be finally conclude to be existent. This establishes his frequent persistence that the family would be demolished, Marx says that, "Therefore after the example, the earthly family is discovered as the secret of the holy family, the former must itself be theoretically and practically destroyed". Although Marx once inexplicably mentioned to an advanced form of family to displace the middleclass family, Marx and Engels criticized Hermann Krieger, the contemporary social scientist, for not claiming on the demolition of the family.

In his writings Karl Marx, has talked about the sexual suggestions, while for giving the solutions for then offer to oppression of the women, would ascend from the aforementioned associating their liberty with sexually homogeneous admission to the social creation. Intended for Karl Marx, is that, he considered labour is the main

component and it would permit its free manifestation, the conversion of the nature conferring to artistic as well as functional standards.

Women's leading proposal was that, women possibly will be honestly independent of men and must have the equal in rights so that they can become independent economically as well, which means that they not only take part in the work but also the possibility that, they can go out of the house to work. This would lead to the basement for the equality of the sex even. To the incorporation of women into the industry was a shocking misuse for the other thinkers, but for the Marx, it was the principal circumstance for the advancement. At this time, the first right-left division about the question of the women in the social drive. The Marxist standpoint is that the entry of the women into the industry, not itself the answer, in fact it stood for the answer, it delivers the essential regulation for the battle, this includes the fight against misuse of the women. Once the women who comprises of the half of the population as an essential chunk of the greatest social battle then the entire things followed.

The overall presentation of the Marxist method to the women is outwards, it tries to give scientific explanation about the oppression, which is rooted in the material process, and it suggests that, the suppression is the activity of the social, historical problem which can be regulated. The oppression is not due to the result of traditions and inactive, but it happens due to the ongoing process of the material interest, hence, it sees the material nature of their relegation. Marx and Engels both, presented only an elementary application of this process to the women, they restricted it in the book of Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the States. It was observed that, the process which they developed to clarify the class relation, it cannot be used upon the sexual aspects. They faced two types of problems, firstly, the women does not belong to a class a word which suggests economic position, it is in the similar manner as the grassroots or bourgeoisie are. They may get a position in the economy and they can have different classes but they could be categorized accordingly by their husband's class. Secondly, the difficulty of the reductionism, in which the interest of the women are reduced from the class membership, and they are deduced to the economic actions either grass-root level or middleclass level. Marxist foresee the liberation of women as the result of the revolution and it can make them free and equal to their counterparts men.

In total, it is evident that the, Marxism is relevant to women due to the overall study and the changing aspects of oppression and in fact, women had suffered from such elements. It became difficult for them because it did not explain for especially sexual type of oppression. The ideology of German starts with the actuality of living human beings, and they work and at the same time they reproduce, these actions are the traditional action so that, the human nature can be conserved, however, the family and social associations makes to build reproduction very speedily but it losses the capability to understand the advancement, hence, the improvements of relatively develop new requirements produce more important associations than of the affecting in the family.

One of the quotes of Karl Marx as follows:

1. "The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them."

### 6.3 Conclusion:

Karl Heinrich Marx was born on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1818, in Trier, Kingdom of Prussia in German confederation. He was a great German philosopher, sociologist, historian, economist, journalist and revolutionary socialist, he wrote number of books among them the most important are, The Communist Manifesto in 1848, and the Das Kapital during 1867-1894.

Marxism, focuses mainly on the sexual equality and total involvement of women in public affairs, it discovers no variance among the sexes and proposes a complete description for women's barring from public life. Marx gave the status of the women he took up this issue in his works, Manuscript in 1844, and The Holy Family in 1854, in this he made a representation with some sort of imagery of the classification of women. Marx discussed about the relation between nature, alienation, labour and private property. He says that, the isolation of the species from nature can happen only with the abolition of private property, in fact it is known as communalism, which is the honest determination of the struggle between man and nature and man and the man. Marx suggested that the reasons are natural even though he observes that it could be overturned when nature has civilized, but at the same time Karl Marx, miss the mark to queries about the connection between the nature of the women and the slavery of the women. Well along it would developed that this defect sustained to blemish even in the succeeding historical materialist examination of the women.

Marx compares this as the move from middleclass marriages and definitely from the exclusion of the private property to the universal prostitution. He says that the basic communism varies from free relationship of creators as general prostitution ensures from permitting association between sexes. In total, it is evident that the, Marxism is relevant to women due to the overall study and the changing aspects of oppression and it is in fact women had suffered from such elements. It became difficult for them because it did not explain for especially sexual type of oppression.

### 6.4 Model Questions:

1. Write about the radical philosophical thought of the Carl Marx about the women?
2. Describe about the status given by the Marxism to the women?

### 6.5 References:

3. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.
4. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008.
5. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey, 1987.
6. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA, 1979.
7. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato, USA, 1991.
8. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
9. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
10. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.

11. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate, USA, 2013.
12. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**LESSON -7****FRIEDRICH ENGELS VIEWS ON WOMEN****7.0 Objective:**

1. Students would be able to learn about the radical philosophical thought of Engels about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Engels.

**Structure:**

## 7.0 Objective

## 7.1 Introduction

## 7.2 Conclusion

## 7.3 Model Questions

## 7.4 References

**7.1 Introduction:**

Friedrich Engels was associate of Karl Marx, he was born on 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1820, at Barmen, Kingdom of Prussia, presently known as, Wuppertal, in Germany. He was one of the prominent, social scientist, political theorist, author and the father of Marxist theory, who worked along with Karl Marx. He wrote books such as, The Condition of the Working Class in England, he wrote along with Karl Marx, The Communist Manifesto, and they both together wrote many books. Such as "The Communist Manifesto" in 1848 along with Karl Marx, and he supported Marx to write the Book Das Kapital. Engels prepared the notes for Marx on the "Theories of Surplus Values", which he published as "Fourth Volume" of Capital afterwards, he made some significant contributions to the Economic field.

He later started reading the philosophy of Hegel and those philosophical works of Hegel really dominated the entire Germany. In the 1842, he met Karl Marx, he approved the influence of German philosophy to his intellectual improvement in his entire life time. He said that, "To get the most out of the life you must be active, you must live and you must have the courage to taste the thrill of being young". While, he was in Manchester, he happened to meet Mary Burns, who had the radical thoughts and opinions, they associated themselves, they did not marry it was because they both were against the organization of the marriage. Engels considered monogamy as its virtue, he stated state and church regulated marriage as a type of class oppression.

The German Ideology was developed based on the historical development by the male domination, because of the natural sexual differentiation between men and women. Engels in his work "The Origin" talked about the remarks and the evolution of the patriarchy system, he challenged general views that, they were simple and natural so that, they cannot be changeable. Change can be seen in the women oppression and he advocates most appropriate methods to overcome such difficulties. In his work Origin he talked about the sexual oppression which paved the way for liberty of the women from then. Engels agrees with Morgan, who claimed three important periods such as, savagery

(cruelty), barbarism and civilization. They regarded as, by diverse level of existence and knowledge. The first era, considered as Stone Age, the second era, the period of transition when the iron ore founded and they started to domesticate the animals and also they removed forests in the process. The existence of the civilization made to invent the necessary things for them. During such development, in the last stages, the existence of monogamy was compulsory process, which led to the oppression of women and battle in the sexual relation led to the types family which give rise to the different relations, and clarification in this regard in needed.

Engels speculate that, the humanity was generated from the animalism which must have exhibited by the primitive crowd because, such type of improvement must have required an amount of teamwork preventing sexual envious. By this unique promiscuity, a progressively lessening family might have developed. The 'consanguineous' families had the intergenerational incest, observed during those days, but whereas in families of 'punaluan' there were more restrictions against the intercourse of siblings, and those types of marriages, can be seen in the primitive communism, noticeable locally by communistic households progressively prepared to eliminate those persons with whom the sex was not acceptable. But in the case of tribes, they had endogamous type (permitted), they were subdivided, so that, they can have only exogamous type of sex (forbidden). Engels did not explain about this clearly but he simply says, that, "we see, then, how the impulse towards the prevention of inbreeding asserts itself time and again, but in a groping, spontaneous way, without clear consciousness or purpose". But Engels by assertions about the Darwinian natural selection, so that inbreed improve very speedily, as the restriction of incest increases the taboo which inspires by posing the ultimate defeat of the women. During the times of the barbaric age, there were more restrictions to inspire the continuing copulations so that a family can be paired. Thus, neither sex-love nor economic imperatives which inspires for the alteration of the prehistoric families.

As in the case of group marriages, they survives, it becomes more difficult to understand the status of the father, it could be recognized only by the help of the women, at the same time, if the prohibitions of incest are to be maintained, then they must be organized in such a way that, women remains within the communal household and sons has to get new ones from some other place. This would be the major social division which can be identified in favour of women, and it could be easy to establish their identity with their natural child, hence it become the age of mother's right. With the help of such establishments Engels, was very keen to make the ground for the power of the women. Whereas, maternity produces the position and it is more important that it brings the material power because the men are continuously travel between diverse genets but women from a single household fit to single gene. Engels says that, there is no perfect association between the mother right and the kind of work women does, Engels claims that, the position of the social affairs of women and the sexual separation of labour ascends from dissimilar grounds, it could not be possible to expect further development unless it is factual one. He says that, the mother's power gives her both the material power and the social position, we can understand by this as, the association of the reproduction in fact, decides the social status, and it is this power, which would carry the downfall of the women. Engels accepts as, "The very cause that had formerly made the women supreme in the house, namely, her being confined to domestic work, now assured supremacy in the house to the man: the women's work lost its significance compared with the man's work in obtaining a livelihood; the latter was everything, the former an insignificant contribution".



The find of Engels for the material ground for the power of the women might enhance this clarification, and he made compulsory to link matriliney with division of sex of labour, and an important association in the disagreement of Engels, but he, unable to clarify it properly. Engels constantly encourage the situations which associated for their failure. Apparently, they extended for chastity, for permanent marriages so that, the relation of sex can be fugitive and they become humiliating and cruel when they lose inexperienced original jungle appeal. He says about the men as they would not think of the rejecting such happiness, Engels says that, the monogamy, recognizes the paternity which is most important element in shutting the fate of the women. Engels says that, as the wealth accumulates along with the women's work as well, the position of himself increases and along with this his passion to pass the property to his children, it is observed as a inaudible prehistoric upheaval succeeds in that way to give rights to father and these rights replaced by the rights of the mother. It can be seen from now only father and children can stays in the genes and the wife to whom he brought from outside restricted to give the legitimacy of his children.

Engels says that the family with patriarchal background, speedily submits to the monogamous family and which follows the organization of the private property. The battle for the class and sex have originated, at the same time, which related to the offspring private property, and the class battle which overlaps with the world historical overthrow of the female sex. But for the women fidelity which guarantees and requirement for the private property; and by this women, condensed to domestic slave and reproducing devise. Engels gives a clarification about the sexual association where he and Marx explained it as merely a natural one. But they did not explain how adequate this account of the female subjection is. He did not gave the description about the rights of father from where they got these rights exclusively, so that, they can pass on to their sons which revealed property newly. At the same time, Engels did not presented without any clarification about the division of the labour which links men with their new property. He talks about the natural division of the family within and in the important analysis in his book "The Origin", he did not have any clarification about it. The biological differentiation actually gave a definite position to the women, where they succumb to the division of labour with men working out of the households which, governed by the communistic conditions where the care of the child would be shared among. He did not advocates the allocation of sexual function changes.

Engels women's subordination accomplishes by the occurrence of the private property as the significant stride, and it depend on the evidence that are unknown to historical, biological materialism, psychological and naturalism. It is because of the natural selection family gets narrowed and brings monogamy and quasi- morality dislike against sex which were assorted to women. Engels depends upon the naturalistic approach, says that the vital connection between the oppression of the women and private property, Marx and Engels come very close by to the biology as their purpose. If any other element is further important than private property is answerable for women's suppression, it is doubtful that its elimination would be adequate to liberate women.

On the other hand, there is no hesitation that the Engels' sympathy about the association of the family was powerfully prejudiced by Fourier and Owen. Engels, heaped admiration on both socialists' opinion on the family. He reflected Owen's writings on the marriage about his most significant works. About Fourier he stated that, "even more masterful is his critique of the bourgeois from the sexual relationship and the position of the women in the bourgeois society". whereas working on "The Origin of the Family" in 1884, he stated

to Karl Kautsky, that Fourier had luminously expected Morgan in various substances. Certainly Engels initially planned in his book to be a constant of Fourier's Morgan's, and his own ideas, but time restrictions prohibited this.

Engels demanded in his article, that, the system of factory was at present backing to the disbanding of the family, particularly, from end to end the situation claim for the child labour. In his book he improved this refrain and delivered emotional instances of the involvements of working-class families to demonstrate the complexities of deprivation and discouragement addicted to which the system of factory charged them. Engel portrayed the harmful shackles that made a home life conceivable, the abandonment of children since the fathers and mothers worked in the factories and extra discouraging elements that by now brought destiny for the offensive circumstances of women and children in British factories, first when he explicitly connected this through the disbanding of the family.

Engel defined the materialist beginning of the history and the role played by the women, the origin of the family simply builds on the start set by the Marx and Engels in the ideology of the Germans', Engels stated as, "According to the materialist conception of history the determining factor in history is the production and reproduction of immediate life-The social institution, under which the people of a certain historical epoch and a certain country live, are determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labour on the one hand, and of the family on the other".

Engels written the book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in 1884, it was mainly based on the social clarification for the emergence of women's oppression with the growth of social organisations and the patriarchal family and the development of private property during the specific time in the history, he clarified this in an organized manner. It actually mounted a straight experiment to the overriding religious assessment and the lower position of the women which was rested upon the God focused aspects such as, physical, intellectual, biological moral concepts positioned to the lower dignity. The science and technology gained as the ground for the pursuit of knowledge during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the clarification about the gender divergence and the dissimilarity was grounded about women which was moved towards the natural alteration. Those variations not from the God but it was due to the nature regulates and this made the foundation for the dissimilarity. Engels and Karl Marx, were unclear about the kind of clarification, they disagreeing such opinions which determined tyranny of the women which can be observed as everlasting and unalterable, they also disapproved by the materialistic examination of the growth and the misuse and the development of the class society and the occurrence of the organized domination of the women. The freedom and from the gender oppression, similar to the class oppression which was convincible. The substitute clarification about the religion and the unchangeable natural surroundings were exposed as amount of the ideological explanation for the preservation of the current structure of the exploitation.

The Communist Manifesto, observed as the industrialization, would bring the women into the workforce, it is because the women who are unskilled and they get less wages, even they have the capability to do so, he did not explained why they are cheap and why they are unskilled, when women get the equal wages then they also become as valuable like men.

**7.2 Conclusion:**

Friedrich Engels was associate of Karl Marx, he was born on 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1820, at Barmen, Kingdom of Prussia, presently known as, Wuppertal, in Germany. He was one of the prominent, social scientist, political theorist, author and the father of Marxist theory who worked along with Karl Marx. He wrote books such as, The Condition of the Working Class in England, he wrote along with Karl Marx. Engels in his work "The Origin" talked about the remarks and the evolution of the patriarchy system, he challenged general views that they were simple and natural so that they cannot be changeable. This change can be seen in the women oppression and he advocates most appropriate methods to overcome such difficulties.

The 'consanguineous' families had the intergenerational incest were observed during those days, but whereas in families of 'punaluan' there were more restrictions against the intercourse of siblings, and those types of marriages can be seen in the primitive communism, noticeable locally by communistic households progressively prepared to eliminate those persons with whom the sex was not acceptable. But in the case of tribes, they had endogamous type (permitted), they were subdivided so that they can have only exogamous type of sex (forbidden). As in the case of group marriages, they survives, it becomes more difficult to understand the status of the father, it could be recognized only by the help of the women, at the same time, if the prohibitions of incest are to maintained then they must be organized in such a way that, women remains within the communal household and sons has to get new ones from some other place. This would be the major social division which can be identified in favour of women, and it could be easy to establish their identity with their natural child, hence it become the age of mother's right.

Engels written the book The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State in 1884, it was mainly based on the social clarification for the emergence of women's oppression with the growth of social organisations and the patriarchal family and the development of private property during the specific time in the history, he clarified this in an organized manner. It actually mounted a straight experiment to the overriding religious assessment and the lower position of the women which was rested upon the God focused aspects such as, physical, intellectual, biological moral concepts positioned to the lower dignity.

**7.3 Model Questions:**

1. Describe about the radical political thought of the Engels about the women?
2. Write about the Status provided by the Engels to the women?

**7.4 References:**

3. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.
4. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008.
5. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey, 1987.
6. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA, 1979.
7. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato, USA, 1991.

8. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
9. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
10. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
11. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate, USA, 2013.
12. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**LESSON -8****SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR VIEWS ON WOMEN****8.0 Objective:**

1. Students would be able to learn about the modern radical philosophical thought of Simone De Beauvoir about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Simone De Beauvoir.

**Structure:**

8.0 Objective

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Conclusion

8.3 Model Questions

8.4 References

**8.1 Introduction:**

Simone de Beauvoir was a French modern feminist philosopher and novelist, she was born on 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1908 in Paris, at France, her family, considered as the conservative and middleclass family. Her father Georges, was Parisian Father and a trained lawyer. He was an atheist and did number of jobs, belongs to extreme right-wing political views. During Beauvoir's early age she experienced religious and political ideological battles between her parents and her value methods, she explained in her writings, which made her to be a radical intellectual. In the early ages she studied the philosophy and was educated from Sorbonne.

Simone de Beauvoir was the most noteworthy feminist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, her most famous writing "Second Sex" in 1949, was a philosophical and a feminist accomplishment which made her an important personality in the history of the women's liberation. Beauvoir, uses the word 'Second Sex', to describe the women it was due to the fact she observed that, women, dominated in all aspects in the society. She marked the reasons and significances of sexual variance within the society, both biologically and socially. She actually gave a focal point for the revaluation of the associations of the gender. Beauvoir's outstanding work, transformed in the manner we reflect about the gender and individuality. A prominent personality of French existentialism, her concepts of 'becoming woman' and of woman as absolute 'Other' are her influential views on feminism. This book she focused on some of the main areas of her thought, which includes:

1. Existentialism and ethics
2. Gender and Feminism
3. Literature and autobiography
4. Sexuality, the body and ageing.

Simone De Beauvoir she says that, "A man is right in being a man", the women considered as wrong. It was stated that, women has ovaries and uterus, these uniqueness detain her in prejudices or partialities, demarcate her inside the restrictions of her own

nature. It is frequently stated that, she thinks only with her glands but unfortunately, man ignores the reality that he too has such glands and it secretes only hormones. He considers that, his body is just different and it associates with the world, and he believes that, he catches accurately, but in the case of women he thinks that the women's body as a prevention, a custodial evaluated down by the whole thing strange to it. Aristotle stated about women as, "The female is a female by virtue of certain lack of qualities," he said; "We should regard the female nature as afflicted with natural defectiveness". And St. Thomas said about women as, women to be an "imperfect man" an "incidental" being.

Hence, humanity is male, Michelet writes about women as, "Women, the relative being..." Benda gave positive one in his Rapport d' Uriel: "The body of man makes sense in itself quite apart from that of woman, whereas the latter seems wanting in significance itself... Man can think of himself without woman. She cannot think of herself without man". And she is merely what man decrees; thus she called "the sex", by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as sexual being. For him she is sex-absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is Subject, he is the Absolute-she is the Other".

Montaigne says about the women as, "It is easier to accuse one sex than to excuse the other". From the time to time, what is happening is obvious to all, for example, one could look at the Roman law is evident that, the Roman Law, is restricting the women's rights it quoted as, "The imbecility,, the instability of sex" it was during the times when the family bonds getting deteriorate which looks like a hazard to the male successors. St Augustine, made the proposal to keep the married women under the guardianship during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, he also stated that, "Women is a creature neither decisive nor constant", it was said when the women talented to manage her property. Montaigne recognised clearly, it was a subjective and unjust to the appointed women lot, he says about it as, "Women are not in the wrong when they decline to accept the rules laid down for them, since the men make these rules without consulting them. No wonder intrigue and strife abound". But he never go beyond to this for their problems. But during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the men who had the democratic nature in their mind started to give their opinions about matter, Diderot, and others were the first human being who attempted to project 'women is, like man, a human being'. After that, the people such as John Stuart Mill came forward very enthusiastically for her protection. Those philosophers had shown uncommon neutrality. Whereas, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the feminist battle started once more a battle of <sup>14</sup>artisan. The most significance of such battle was, the industrial revolution which made the entry of the women into the productive labour, and from there all the rights of feminists occurred from the dominion for the basis of economic theory. The powers on the landed were lost powers some degree, the middleclass had gripped to the old morality which safeguard them of the property in the private family. The women were systematically back into the homes such a way that her liberty becomes and threat. Even in the working class men wanted to restrict them to detain the women's emancipation, because men started to look women as a threat for them in all their endeavours, because women can work for low wages as well.

Simone de Beauvoir says that, women has been depends upon the man, may not be a slave, but the fact is that both the man and women on no occasion had common equality in the world. Even in the present situation women is regarded as impaired person and the status quo started to transform now. Her position of legality is not similar to that of man and it proves to be disadvantageous to her regularly. Though, the rights of women are accepted legally but age-old traditions restricts their manifestation. In the sphere of

7  
economics both man and women can be regarded as two castes, they are equal, the man hold better jobs, he get higher wages and consume more chances for their success than their counterpart women. In the politics and in the industry men will have numerous situations and they control entire arena. Along with this they also relish a customary privilege children's education inclines to maintain and man has been made the history, even in the recent times, when women being asked to take up the issue of the world affairs but unfortunately, still man hold and the world belong to him only. Man the sovereignty will deliver woman the liege with measurable shelter and will carry out the moral reasoning of her presence; hence, she can avoid when both economic danger and metaphysical jeopardy of freedom in which concludes and targets must be forced without support.

Simone De Beauvoir states in her book, "Facts and Myths", about the biology of women, she explains in a simple manner by saying that, 'she is a womb, an ovary, she is female', these term are enough to define the female. Every time man insulted women, and though he is not embraced about the nature of himself, he opposes, and is feel honored if someone says about him, "He is a male!". The term 'female' is not insulting it is due to the fact that, it highlights woman's animality, but because the term detains her in sex; and for man, sex is like to be disgraceful and hostile even in harmless dumb animals, it is obvious that the uncomfortable aggression exposed in him by women. Man still wants to look justification from the biology by using such emotion. The term female carries in the mind of man a group of imaginary a vast, round ovum engulfs and castrates the agile spermatozoa.

In her book "Second Sex", she talks about the women's situations and characters, she says that, one can observe many similar things, the common is impeachment, drawn up against her since the times of the Greeks to present times. The situation of the women continued the similar because the insincere variations took place and this leads to the situation where we can call it as 'character' of the women. She says that, women "revels in immanence", she is conflicting, she is practical and trivial, she does not have any intelligence of reality, or untrue, dramatic, self-centered, she is absences of ethics, she is disgracefully serviceable and so on. In fact it can be observed some sort of reality in this statement. We must understand that, the different behaviours which are mentioned to women due to the presence of her hormones or not by the prearranged organization of her brain, these are all because of the circumstances which made her to do so. In such situations we need to do a complete study of the women so that we can assess the female totality about her economics, social and her historical situations.

De Beauvoir, says in her book 'second sex' about women as she understands that the world is masculine entirely and those who governed it are tranquil dictate present day and they are men. The women did not think that she herself is accountable to such situations, she thinks that she is lower and reliant on someone she did not educated about the violence, she never considered as the subject in front of other groups. She is closed in her home and skin she understands herself, as inert because humans set some targets and founded some standards. In this regard there is reality in, the saying that makes her the 'eternal child'. Workers, black slaves, 'colonial natives', have also been known as grown-up children, they are not afraid when they are prolonged, which meant that, they need to agree whatever laws imposed by the men on them. The women lot are well-thought-of submission. She has no hold, even in understandings, about the facts around women.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is observed that, women are the one of the utmost difficulties in the mode of the struggles to allow the workers, most of the nervous housewives requested

their husbands not to take any opportunities, women are worried about the strikes, unemployment and poverty, they are afraid that the revolution might be a blunder. It is informal to realize that, if they must hurt, they preferred what is familiar to adventuring, for they could achieve an inadequate welfare snuffle effortlessly at home in the streets. The destiny of the women is bonded with the things which succumb and they lose all once they perish. In fact the primary reserve has been left without to woman. The woman in fact has some purpose that she won't trust in the freedom of herself because she never thought of her own powers so that, it could be examined. She observes that, the world rules her in such a manner that it need to complain about it. Women did not marked such type of dangerous methods but she, asked to trail them hence, it is quite obvious that she has to be drop with much inspiration. The future must be reopened to her so that she would not observe such variation which, she has seen in the past. Once women are asked to take stern accomplishment once they understand their attention in the chosen areas, the women are very brave and daring like men.

The memorandum in the Second Sex, where she says that, the oppression of the women cannot be overwhelmed totally, it can be regarded only in the outlines of the human oppression. The situation of the women is in fact that they are unable to understand that they are oppressed species. It indeed that if the women belief had not been submitted to the principles of the men then the society which we see would not have been improved, she says that, "all the oppression creates war"... the honest unity only could be seen if they stop such oppressions among them.

In "The Second Sex", Simone de Beauvoir says that, "...It is for man to establish the reign of liberty in the midst of the world of the given. To gain supreme victory, it is necessary, for one thing, that by and through their natural differentiation, men and women unequivocally affirm their brotherhood".

## 8.2 Conclusion:

<sup>12</sup> Simone de Beauvoir was a French modern feminist philosopher and novelist, she was born on 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1908 in Paris, at France, her family, considered as the conservative and middleclass family. Simone de Beauvoir was the most noteworthy feminist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, her most famous writing "Second Sex" in 1949, was a philosophical and a feminist accomplishment which made her an important personality in the history of the women's liberation. Beauvoir, uses the word 'Second Sex', to describe the women it was due to the fact she observed that women was dominated in all aspects in the society. She marked the reasons and significances of sexual variance within the society, both biologically and socially.

Simone De Beauvoir she says that, "A man is right in being a man", the women considered as wrong. It was stated that, women has ovaries and uterus, these <sup>13</sup>iqueness detain her in prejudices or partialities, demarcate her inside the restrictions of her own nature. It is frequently stated that she thinks only with her glands but unfortunately man ignores the reality that he too has such glands and it secretes only hormones. Montaigne says about the women as, "It is easier to accuse one sex than to excuse the other". From the time to time, what is happening is obvious to all, for example, one could look at the Roman law is evident that, the Roman Law is restricting the women's rights it quoted as, "The imbecility,, the instability of sex" it was during the times when the family bonds are getting deteriorate which looks like a hazard to the male successors. St Augustine, made the proposal to keep the married women under the guardianship during the 16<sup>th</sup> century,



he also stated that, “Women is a creature neither decisive nor constant”, it was said when the women was talented to manage her property.

The most significance of such battle was, the industrial revolution which made the entry of the women into the productive labour, and from there all the rights of feminists occurred from the dominion for the basis of economic theory. The future must be reopened to her so that she would not observe such variation which she has seen in the past. Once women are asked to take stern accomplishment once they understand their attention in the chosen areas, the women are very brave and daring like men.

### 8.3 Model Questions:

1. Write about the modern radical thought of the Simone De Beauvoir about the women?
2. Discuss about Simone De Beauvoir’s Second sex, and the status given by her?

### 8.4 References:

3. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.
4. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008.
5. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey, 1987.
6. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA, 1979.
7. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato, USA, 1991.
8. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
9. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
10. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
11. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate, USA, 2013.
12. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON -9

### KATE MILLET VIEWS ON WOMEN

#### 9.0 Objective:

1. Students would be able to learn about the modern radical philosophical thought of Kate Millet about women.
2. Students would be able to understand the status of women with regard to Kate Millet.

#### 9 Structure:

##### 9.0 Objective

##### 9.1 Introduction

##### 9.2 About Women's Movement and Sexuality

##### 9.3 Kate Millet and her Feminism

##### 9.4 Sexual Politics

##### 9.5 Criticism of Kate Millet

##### 9.6 Sexual Politics and Indecorous Answer

##### 9.7 Arguments on Millet of Anti-Feminist Outlook

#### 2 9.8 Conclusion

#### 9.9 Model Questions

#### 9.10 References

#### 9.1 Introduction:

Katherine Murray Millet, is her full name, but she is familiar and we call her as Kate Millett, is an American feminist and activist, born on 14<sup>th</sup> September, 1934, in Minnesota, United States of America. She studied in Oxford University and she was the first American Women to be awarded her Post-Graduate degree with first class honours. During 1960, Kate Millett, active politically in the anti-war and civil rights movements, and then she was aggressively involved in feminist politics in the 1960s-1970s. Kate Millett, became the committee member of The National Organization in 1966 (NOW). Kate at Barnard College, taught English, she was awarded Ph.D. in 1970, with distinction, the doctoral thesis was published as "Sexual Politics" in August 1970. She, regarded as the "a seminal influence on second-wave-feminism", Liza Featherstone stated, because of

the Millets determinations, the 'legal abortions', equality between sexes and sexual freedom could be possible.

The most important contributions and movements organized by Kate Millet, are feminist, peace, civil rights, human rights, and anti-psychiatry. The books which she has written are mainly focused on activism, women rights and mental health reforms, and about sexuality. She also produced some documentaries like, *Three Lives*, and also wrote *Not a Love Story*: which is mainly based on pornography. She was brought up in Minnesota, and lived in Manhattan, which is now known as Millet Center for the Arts. She is well known for her bisexual (Lesbian), her other works are, "The Politics of Cruelty" in 1994, which is about the state sanctioned torture in most of the countries, 'Mother Millet' in 2001, about her mother, she also won award for literature in 2011 and 2013, Lambda Pioneer Award for Literature, received Yoko's Courage Award for the Arts.

## 9.2 About Women's Movement and Sexuality:

Kate Millet is known as the forerunner for the feminist's movements she is regarded as the second-wave feminism of which occurred during 1960 to 1970s. She is well known by her work 'Sexual Politics' which is called as the manifesto for the movement.

## 9.3 Kate Millet and her Feminism:

Kate Millet is in the committee since, 1966, in the organisations such as, National Organization for Women (NOW). She later associated with other organisations and they are, The New York Radical Women, Radical Lesbians and Downtown Radical Women. In all these organisations she was the spokesperson for the feminist movements, after her work *Sexual Politics* got grand achievement. She fought with contradictory insights because of her bigheadedness and her exclusiveness, keeping all these she wrote another book called as "Flying" in 1974. About the Kate Millet the Biographer, Gayle Graham Yates stated as, "Millet articulated a theory of patriarchy and conceptualized the gender and sexual oppression of women in terms that demanded a sex role revolution with radical changes of personal and family lifestyles". It was to advance the women politically, economically.

Millet, very keen about the women's liberation, she wrote number of book about the feminism and its viewpoints, in 1980, she wrote a book, "The Basement", in which she reported about the brutal torture and murder of Indianapolis teenager in 1965, she actually discovered the story of the unprotected girl and the underlying forces of the persons involved in her sexual, physical and emotional abuse. Roberta M. Hooks, a writer stated as, 'Quite apart from any feminist polemics, *The Basement* can stand alone as an intensely felt and movingly written study of the problems of cruelty and submission". But Millet stated, about the inspiration of the committer: "It is the story of the suppression of women. Gertrude seems to have wanted to administer some terrible truthful justice to this girl: that this was what it was to be a woman".

She had an experience of travelling to Iran, she and Sophie Keir a Canadian journalist traveled to Tehran, in 1979, to work for the Iranian women's rights, the then President Ayatollah Khomeini, Stopped coeducation, the girls from attending Schools with boys, women, those work must wear veils and restricting women from giving divorce to their husbands. Thousands of women gathered to protest the rally at the Teheran University on International Women's Day, both of them participated in the rally, but there was strong objection from the Government officials and asked to leave their country, if not they

would put in jail and executed, and they were put on the plane, Millet anxious about the destiny of the Iranian women to whom she could not help she said about it as, "They can't get on a plane. That's why international sisterhood is so important", she also wrote a book about her experiences about trip "Going to Iran".

#### **9.4 Sexual Politics:**

This Book 'Sexual Politics', actually the Ph.D. thesis of Millet which was published in 1970, and at the same time she was awarded Ph.D. from Columbia University. The work was became a sensation, and the book sold 80,000 copies with seven printings. The book talks and mainly criticize about the Western patriarchal society and literature, it also talks about the sexism and heterosexism about the novelists and she compared their viewpoints with rebellion perceptions of the homosexual author Jean Genet. She actually asked about the origin of the patriarchy and also discussed about the sex-based oppression can be observed at both political and cultural levels, and she suggested that the downfall of the customary families was the focal point for the real sexual rebellion. She was covered by the Time magazine cover story as "The Politics of Sex" it was because of her well thought involvement of women's freedom movements. "The Politics of Sex", known as "Sexual Politics" as well this book, regarded as amazing book which gives a comprehensive theory about the feminist movements.

In the male conquered world, she explained some facts about the women, she made a documentary film in 1970, known as "Three Lives", which portrayed the ordinary lives of three women from a feminist argument of interpretation. The papers on prostitution, seen in 1971, as a chunk of the women in the sexist society this was edited by Gornick and Morgan, it offered four female voices out one, of Millet and two of them prostitutes. She tried and explored the facts about their lives as women and their experiences in the male dominated world. These talks were published as a book in 1973, and later again in 1976. In the preface in 1971, Millet emphasizes the significance of recognizing the diversities between women and must not covering them under a "Fraudulent Sisterhood" She contends, "Loving someone is wanting to know them".

Millet's most renowned and significant work is "Flying", along with her work "Sexual Politics", This Book Flying was published in 1974, and it is a stunning psychological record about the life which is very speed, she actually lived in a wake of Sexual Politics, it is one of the confession of autobiography of its kind. In this book Flying, emphasizes on the complications of her lesbian association with women named Celia and Claire. And also relationship with her husband Fumio, as well, her husband is from Japan. Her work Sits, is also like 'flying', but it was not as famous as flying, in which she explores the conclusion of a lesbian association.

Millet's work of "The Politics of Cruelty", another master piece from her writings, this book was published in 1994, it is an essay on the literature of political imprisonment. She says about it as, "Knowledge of torture is itself a political act, just as silence or ignorance of it can have political consequence".

#### **9.5 Criticism of Kate Millet:**

The Sexual Politics has produced sincere respect, commendation and moderate criticism. But at the same time the evidence of its efficacy is presence of a diversity of articles and reviews are noticeable by absolutely unselfconscious vulgarity, unsophistication and deadly aggression.

6  
Helen Lawrenson, in the issue of 'Esquire', in January 1971, says, "These are not normal women. I think they are freaks. Besides, they are dead wrong in their assumption that most women detest men, marriage and housework so much they can't wait to be liberated from them so they can rush out to work all day in factory, shop or office... Most women have a strong nesting instinct and they like taking care of their homes". Lawrenson article, "The Feminine Mistake' talks about the unawareness and social perceptive.

Decter who is the executive editor for the magazine called Harper's, they reviewed the Sexual politics, says, about Millet, "a figment of the Zeitgeist, bearing the rough and careless marks of what is called higher education and exhibiting a talent for the delivery of gross simplicities in tones of leaden complexity. Brilliant in an unserious way...She has mind of great energy but small feeling for nuance...She is the ideal highbrow popularize for the politics of the New Left..." hat is more "About the experience of working class women she knows next to nothing..."

6  
Irving Howe says that, like Simone De Beauvoir's The Second Sex, Millets Sexual Politics has come on the arena, with the background of women's movement. He actually, used Beauvoir so that, he can depress Millet, he commented about Millet as, "...anyone comparing the two books would immediately recognize the extent to which Miss Millet has drawn upon de Beauvoir's famous work. The central ideas and sentiments of Sexual Politics are simply appropriated, in vulgarized form, from The Second Sex, and reviewers with some intellectual conscience might consequently have shown some restraint in praising Miss Millet's originality of thought". Lavish to a mistake.

#### 9.6 Sexual Politics and Indecorous Answer:

6  
ate Millet has expressed a powerful prosecution of patriarchal society and demonstrated her theory of Sexual Politics with number of instances from psychology, history and literature. No need to approve each instance, each disagreement offered to come to the understanding that, "there remains one ancient and universal scheme for the domination of one birth group by another -the scheme that prevails in the area of sex".

The proof awesome and whether Millet, deliberating women in the economy, literature, in dictatorial societies or their estimations of themselves, she grips her factual with excessive ability and even further significant, with vision, funniness and sympathy.

While talking about the economy of the women, she said that they are underpaid but their number is very large, Millet shows a big difference among the men and women in the area of production. She says that, though this process is owned by men nor the women, still they involve in this, she says 'women do not even comprehend it'. She gave an informative instance as, "... the refrigerator is a machine all women use, some assemble it in factories, and a very few with scientific education understand its principles of operation. Yet, the heavy industries which rolls its steel and produce the dies for its parts are in male hands. The same is true of the Typewriter, the auto etc. Now, while knowledge is fragmented even among the fame population, collectively they could reconstruct any technology today is sufficient great that it is doubtful that they could replace or repair such machines on any significant scale.

This conclusion is inescapable. "If knowledge is power, power is also knowledge, and a large factor in their subordinate position is the fairly systematic ignorance patriarchy imposes upon women".

Though, the involvement of women in the higher education is increasing in the society, by its assertion on recalling extended unfashionable traditional divergence, applies methodical unawareness in a way not besides dissimilar from the way advocated by John Ruskin in 1865. Female education for Ruskin, “not for self-growth, but for self repudiation.

### **9.7 Arguments on Millet of Anti-Feminist Outlook:**

In the dictatorial societies- the outlook are principally illogical and they may be harmful to the economy of such societies, she stands for the arguments that, “...sexual politics, while connected to economics and other tangibles of social organization, is, like racism, or certain aspects of caste, primarily an ideology, a way of life, with influence over every other psychological and emotional facets of existence”. It is certain that, the Germany and Russia methodically omitted women from the force of the labour before to the World War II, There was some sort of deliberation of awe-inspiring significance, and they increased the population so that, they can conduct the war. In these countries they gave intensives for mothers, but in the case of Germany, there were extra taxes for bachelors and marriage loans with tax and interest rebates for each child born.

### **9.8 Conclusion:**

Katherine Murray Millet, is her full name, but she is familiar and we call her as Kate Millett, is an American feminist and activist, born on 14<sup>th</sup> September, 1934, in Minnesota, United States of America. She studied in Oxford University and she was the first American Women to be awarded her Post-Graduate degree with first class honours. The most important contributions and movements organised by Kate Millet, are feminist, peace, civil rights, human rights, and anti-psychiatry. The books which she has written are mainly focused on activism, women rights and mental health reforms, and about sexuality.

Kate Millet is known as the forerunner for the feminist's movements, she is regarded as the second-wave feminism of which occurred during 1960 to 1970s. She is well known by her work 'Sexual Politics' which is called as the manifesto for the movement. Millet was very keen about the women's liberation, she wrote number of book about the feminism and its viewpoints, in 1980, she wrote a book, 'The Basement', in which she reported about the brutal torture and murder of Indianapolis teenager in 1965. This Book 'Sexual Politics', is actually the Ph.D. thesis of Millet which was published in 1970, and at the same time she was awarded her Ph.D. from Columbia University. The work was became a sensation, and the book sold 80,000 copies with seven printings.

The Sexual Politics has produced sincere respect, commendation and moderate criticism. But at the same time the evidence of its efficacy is presence of a diversity of articles and reviews are noticeable by absolutely unselfconscious vulgarity, unsophistication and deadly aggression. Kate Millet has expressed a powerful prosecution of patriarchal society and demonstrated her theory of Sexual Politics with number of instances from psychology, history and literature.

In the dictatorial societies- the outlook are principally illogical and they may be harmful to the economy of such societies, she stands for the arguments.

**9.9 Model Questions:**

1. Discuss about the Kate Millets radical thought for the sake of women?
2. Write about:
  - A. Sexual Politics
  - B. Criticism and Sexual Politics and Indecorous Answer of Millet
  - C. Arguments on Millet of Anti-Feminist Outlook

**9.10 References:**

3. Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western political thought, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,1979.
4. Nancy J Hirschmann, Gender, Class and Freedom in modern political theory, Princeton university press, Princeton, New Jersey,2008.
5. Susan Moller Okin, Gender, and the family, Princeton university press Princeton, New Jersey,1987.
6. Allan Bloom, Jean – Jacques Rousseau, Emile or on Education, Basic books, USA,1979.
7. Allan Bloom, the Republic of Plato,USA,1991.
8. Steven M. Cahn, Classics of political and moral philosophy, Oxford university press, New York, 2002.
9. Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, Princeton Readings in political thought, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996.
10. Liz Sperling, Women, Political Philosophy and Politics, Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.
11. Jane Duran, Women in Political Theory, Ashgate,USA,2013.
12. Mukherjee Subrata & Ramaswamy Sushila, A History of Political Thought: Plato to marx, Prentice-Hall of India, Pvt.Ltd., 2011.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**Lesson –10****INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND WOMEN****10.0 Objectives:**

1. Students would be able to know about Indian Constitution and women.
2. Student would learn about the different Articles which provides privileges to women.

**Structure:**

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Provisions of Constitution

10.3 Special Provisions under the Constitution for Women

10.4 Provisions of Special Nature for Women

10.5 Conclusion

10.6 Model Questions

10.7 References

**10.1 Introduction:**

Social change is an inevitable occurrence of every society because social conditions never remain the same forever. Social change may come through legislation or by judicial understanding specifies the change in believed methods of life, or for a better life. The altering design does have an influence on the laws and the life of a given society, law must keep changing with socio- economic developments and with movements of politics in the society, while, it is necessary to balance between rights of individual and their duties. Therefore, law and justice deliver a possible force for the accomplishment of a liberal social change. The dignified status of Indian women in ancient and medieval period agonised, the factors which played a major role in their suppression, are socio-economic and political factors. Social embarrassments and biased practices against them continued to exist during the enlightened and civilised imperial rule. The leadership of independent movement was committed to agreement an equal status to women and give them a place of honour, and dignity in the society. Accordingly, the constitution - the fundamental law- as emerged out of the constituent assembly which has to treat men and women equally and also provide protective discrimination for women. Within the framework of a democratic polity, our laws, development policies, Plans and programmes have aimed at women's improvement in different scopes. India has also approved various international conventions and human rights instruments obliging to secure equal rights of women. Key findings among them is the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1993.

The Indian constitution has provided certain rights and privileges to women, which enable them to perform equally with their counterparts. These rights include discrimination against women, equal opportunities for education, politics, etc., the



following rights and privileges have been provided by the constitution to the women in India.

#### FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS:

Relevant provisions under Article 14,15,16,17 & 24.

#### DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES:

Relevant provisions, under Part IV

#### PREAMBLE:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India in to a SOVERIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, and to secure to all its Citizens

JUSTICE – Social economic and political

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith & worship

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all.

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

IN OUR CONSTITUTENT ASSEMBLY, this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTIONS".

The preamble to the constitution declares that India is a sovereign, Socialist, Secular & Democratic Republic that secures to all its citizens. Justice- Social Economic and Political freedom.

The words written in capitals have their importance, in the democratic systems, which positions on the practicalities of equality and liberty. Indian constitution guarantees vital advantages of Justice, Liberty, Equality, Secularism and Socialism under Fundamental Rights and the Principles of social –economic and democracy, is limited in Directive Principle of State Policy. Fundamental Rights, considered important to guard the rights and the independence of the people. The fundamental rights are utmost vital for the achievement by the individual for his full Intellectual, moral and spiritual status. It provide security and equality to the citizens who are living in this country and by helping in the process of Nation Building. The principles of preamble and fundamental rights involve for the development of the weaker sections of the community like women and children and from the scheduled castes (SC) & Scheduled tribes (ST) to guard them from social injustice and exploitation.

#### 10.2 PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTION:

The India constitution has provided, equality to women and it also provided powers to the States to adopt methods to stop discrimination against women, counter the socio-economic conditions, education and difficulties in political structure faced by women. The Fundamental Rights assures women equality before law, equal protection of law, prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, and guarantee equality of opportunity to all citizens, in matters concerning

to employment Articles 14,15,15(3), 16,39(a), 39(b), 39(c) and 42 of the constitution are of particular importance in this respect.

### **PRIVILEGES PROVIDED TO WOMEN BY CONSTITUTION**

The Constitution of India has been provided privileges to the women. The privileges are as follows:

1. According to the Article 14 of Indian Constitution, provides equality before law for women
2. The privilege provided by the Article 15(i) of the Indian Constitution, the State not to discriminate against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them
3. The privilege provided by the Article 15(3) of the Indian Constitution, State to make any special provisions in favour of women and children
4. The privilege provided by the Article 16 of the Indian Constitution, equal opportunity for all citizens of India in all matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State
5. The privilege provided to women by the Article 39(a),39(d), of the Indian Constitution, State to direct its policy towards securing men and women equally the right an adequate means of livelihood by Article 39(a), and equal pay for equal work for both men and women by Article 30(d).
6. The privilege provided by the Article 39 (A), of the Indian Constitution, to promote justice on the basis of equal opportunity and to provide free legal aid by suitable legislation or scheme or any other way to ensure that equal opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or disabilities.
7. The privilege provided by the Article 42 of the Indian Constitution, the State to make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief.
8. The privilege provided to women by the Article 46 of the Indian Constitution, State to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations.
9. The privilege provided to women by the Article 47 of the Indian Constitution, State to raise the level of nutrition and standards of living of its people and improvement of public health.
10. The privilege provided to women by the Article 51 (A) (e) of the Indian Constitution, to promote harmony and spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India and to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.
11. The privilege provided to women by the Article 243 D(3) of the Indian Constitution, not less than one-third including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to Schedule Caste and Schedule tribes, of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every panchayat to be reserved for women and such seats to allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.
12. The privilege provided to women by the Article 243 D(4) of the Indian Constitution, not less than one-third of the total number of offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level to be reserved for women.
13. The privilege provided to women by the Article 243 T (3) of the Indian Constitution, not less than one-third including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to Schedule Caste and Schedule tribes, of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality to be reserved for

women and such seats to allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

14. The privilege provided to women by the Article 243 T (4) of the Indian Constitution, reservation offices of Chairpersons in municipalities for scheduled Cast, Scheduled Tribes and women in such a manner as the legislature of a State may by law provided.

### **10.3 SPECIAL PROVISIONS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION FOR WOMEN:**

The Indian constitution framers have allocated adequate thought on the position of women and children in the social order. This is obvious from the setting up of the constitution, which have ensured equality between men and women and provided certain protections in favour of women. Equality of status, opportunity is associated with the principle of social justice. Women require superior action.

The articles of 14 and 15 are defined below:

#### **ARTICLE 14:**

"The State shall not deny to any Person Equality BEFORE THE LAW OR EQUAL PROTECTION LAWS with in the territory of India." This facility aims at creating Equality of status in the preamble and guarantees to all persons, including women and children, the right to equality in law. Article 14 is general provision and has to be read subject to the other provisions with in the part-III of Fundamental rights. Hence, any law making provision for women and children under Article 15 (3) cannot be challenged on the ground of contravention of Article 14. The special provisions made under these provisions must be within reasonable limits.

#### **ARTICLE 15:**

The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, Caste, Sex, Place of birth or any of them.

2. No Citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to – a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels & place of public entertainment; or b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing Ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained Wholly or partially out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

3. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from making any special provisions for women and children.

### **10.4 PROVISIONS OF SPECIAL NATURE FOR WOMEN:**

Article 15(3) has allowed the State to make some special provisions as under: -

- Section: 354 Indian Penal Code (IPC): Assaulting or using force to a woman with intent to outrage her modesty; imprisonment for 2 years or with fine or with both.
- Section 497 IPC: Which only punishes man in cases of adultery and exempts the women from punishment even though she may be equally guilty as an abettor. This provision is also applicable for children.
- Section 497 (1) Criminal Procedure Code: Making special treatment for women and children in matter of granting Bail.
- Section 494 IPC: Which makes bigamy a punishable offence.

- The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 has made Bigamy punishable offence and given greater strength to monogamy
- Reservation of seats in local body.
- The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 made for reaching changes in the law improved the position of women and treated women on par with men in case of property succession.
- Separate educational institutions exclusively for women.
- Reservation of a seats or places for women in public conveyances and places of public resort.
- The Factories Act 1948 provides separate facilities & treatment for women.
- Maternity Benefit Act 1961 provides free medical treatment and maternity leave for women.
- The State is competent under Article 15(3) 16(1) 16(2) and 16(4) of the constitution to give preference to women in Government Jobs where they are equally represented like men. These constitutional provisions, no doubt ensures equality of opportunity to women. The purpose of Article 15(3) is to improve the status of women, to empower them in a manner that would bring about effective equality between men and women.

The supreme court gave varied clarification to the phrase “Special Provisions” under Article 15(3) to include within spheres not only positive state acts like concessions, preferences, benefits, etc., but also reservation for the posts or appointment in public service in favour of women. Based on wider interpretation of the Supreme Court Rule 22-A(2) of Andhra Pradesh State and subordinate service rules provided to the extent of 30% of the posts to women. Therefore, Based on the above instances of Article 15(3) has been described as ‘Protective discriminations’ for women. The framers of the constitution took a practical view, in incorporating Article 15(3) because they anticipated that this provision might reimburse the laws of opportunities suffered by women during the last several centuries. Hence Article 15 of clause 3 of the constitution may be described as a compensatory provision for women.

The following are the relevant provisions in respect of women in Directive Principles of State Policy.

Article 39(a): Equal Right of men and women to adequate means of livelihood and free legal aid.

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

Article 42: Directs the state to make provision for securing just human conditions and for maternity relief.

Article 47: Duty to raise the stand of living and improvement of health

### **10.5 Conclusion:**

The Constitution of India has provided special privileges to women in-order to protect their fundamental rights so that they can have equal with their counterparts. These Articles has given them equal education rights, opportunity for equal employment and equal wages, equal before law, Maternity benefits for women, improvement of health etc., are helpful for the women to be on par with men in the existing society.

**10.6 Model Questions:**

1. Describe the privileges provided by the Indian Constitution to women?
2. What are the special Provisions provided to women in the Indian Constitution?

**10.7 References:**

1. Kagzi, M.C. Jain, The Constitutional of India Vol.1 & 2, India Law House, New Delhi, 2001.
2. Hasan , Zoya & E. Sridharan etc.(eds.) India's Living Constitution: Ideas, Practices, Controversies, Permanent Black, Delhi 2002.
3. Mathew, P.D. Fundamental Rights in Action New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 1996
4. Pylee, M.V. Our Constitution Government & Politics, Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2002.
5. Basu, Durga Das, Introduction to the Constitution of India, Wadhwa and Company Law Publishers, New Delhi, 2002.
6. Raj , Hans, The Constitution of India, New Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 1998.
7. Sharma, S.R. (ed.), The Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi Act 1991 ULP, New Delhi, 2002.
8. Mathew, S.J. National Commission For Women, New Delhi: ISI, 2002.
9. Mustafa , Faizan & Anurag Sharma, Conversion: Constitutional and Lagal Implications; ISI, New Delhi, 2003.
10. Kashyap , Subhash C.(ed.), Perspectives of the Constitution, Shipra Publishers, New Delhi, 1995.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON 11

# COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

### 11.0 Objectives

1. Students would be able to know about the history and status of women at different times.
2. Students would be able to understand the struggle for their rights and different committees.
3. Students would be able to learn about role of different organization for the development of women.
4. Students would be able to state about the Committees on the Status of Women in India, in Indian context.

Structure:

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Committees on the Status of women

11.3 Origin of the Commission on the Status of Women

11.4 Acquiring the Legal Foundation of Gender Equality

11.4.1 Declaration of Universal Human Rights – Draft

11.4.2 Women's Rights and Commission

11.4.3 Commission on the Women's access for Universal Political Rights

11.4.4 Removal of Discrimination in the Marriages

11.4.5 Commission's Works with Other Agencies

11.4.6 Encouraging the Women's Involvement in Development

11.4.7 Eradication of Discrimination against Women

11.5 The International Women's Year 1975

11.6 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

(CEDAW)

## 11.7 Second World Conference - United Nations Decade for Women

## 11.8 World Conference to Review UN Decade for Women's Attainments

## 11.9 The Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing

## 11.9.1 Assessment of the Beijing Platform for Action

## 11.10 The Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) in 1974

## 11.11 Background History

## 11.11.1 National Mechanism for Women

## 11.12 Conclusion

## 11.13 Model Questions

## 11.14 References

**11.1 Introduction:**

Women have been subjected for the overpowering since long ages, which resulted in subordination and their thoughts have become that they are inferior to men regardless to the socio-economic, demographic and religious conditions which prevails in the world. This status is given to her because of child bearing and rearing biological activity. These pigeonholes on the basis of cultural tradition which authenticate and justify their subordinate status and explains their dependency, discrimination and degradation in the male dominated society. Male and Female are important genders in the society without them the society cannot persists. Half of the world's population is consist of women, still they live in unfavourable condition, it is mainly due to gender differences, victims of violence, exploitation and discrimination. They are treated as second class citizens and more susceptible to abuse and unable to protect themselves from these activities.

The transformation in the status of women throughout the world began in the modern age, they battled for their freedom and identity. This age has observed as new dimension in the consciousness, creation of women's organisations, international conferences and movements by them in bringing the method of modernization. The key of modernization in any society is by the position of women with men in the society. The big role of women in the society gives her higher status in the society, it is very important that, both men and women has to play equal role in the development of the society.

**11.2 Committees on the Status of women:**

It has been observed that, there are number of committees worked for the developmental process of women and some of the important committees among them are as follows:

1. United States Foreign Assistance Act in 1973, (Percy Amendment) was very important that, U S bilateral aid must take care, to encourage the women into developmental process.

2. United Nations declared 1975, an International Women's Year for a decade from 1975-85, in Mexico, and other important conferences such as, Copenhagen, Nairobi and Beijing encouraged to bring women's development internationally to give due status to them.

The National Government was under pressure from the women and developmental organisations to understand the role of women to fight against causes like eradication of poverty, Illiteracy and high birth rate and discrimination on the basis of sex.

Though, there have been different efforts to improve the status of women but their situation has not increased considerably. In the year 1995-96 the report by the UN was observed that "The world's 2.8 billion women remain humanity's largest marginalised group".

3. In the year 1979, United Nations accepted the resolution on elimination of all types of discrimination against women by CEDAW, this was a significant event and known as International Bill of Women's Rights.
4. The U N in its report said that, women comprises of half of the world's population, does two-thirds of work hours and gets one tenth of the world's income. Statistics revealed that, 66% of the women in the world are illiterate and 70% are very poor.

The position of women in India is very pathetic, they have been exploited or demoralised socially, economically, psychologically, physically and some times in the name of custom and tradition and most importantly in the name of religion. The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, in Karachi, in the year 1931, agreed for the equal rights in politics and legally and introduced the concept of equal obligation along with equal rights in fundamental rights resolution which was passed by the Congress. He said that, without economic freedom other facets of equality would prove insincere. Women must be trained to participate "in every department of human activity".

The Constitution of India is regarded as very complete and identify the ideal of equality, which says women are equal to men and rendered special protection to eliminate the old age problem of discrimination. The Articles which gives women their fundamental rights are important in the context of human rights of women. The Article 14, protects women and gives right to equality before law, it does not have any differentiation on the basis of caste, creed and sex. The Article 37, provides the States to endorse distinct requirements in the developmental process of women.

The women's development is not remained to the position of women within the family, but their right to equality with men in different aspects of life is vital. The most important aspects being the socio economic and political development of women, though different defending methods provided by the constitution of India, they have not been liberated from the age old traditions and customs hence, they are not able to give their best in the developmental process. The Indian society is mixing the ancient civilization with modern thoughts.

### **11.3 Origin of the Commission on the Status of Women:**

The United Nations promise to the development of women started with signing of UN Charter in the year 1945, at San Francisco. There were only four women participated out of 160 signatories. The four women from Dominic Republic's Minerva Bernardino, United States, Virginia Gilder Sleeve, from Brazil Bertha Lutz and China's Wu Yi-Fang.



They flourished in bringing the document of women's rights of United Nations, which reiterates in its preamble "Faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity of human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of Nations large or small".

In February 1946, inaugural meeting of UN general assembly in London, the delegate from United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, read an open letter to address "The Women of the World": "To this end, we call on the Governments of the world to encourage women everywhere to take a more active part in national and international affairs, and on women who are conscious of their opportunities to come forward and share in the work of peace and reconstruction as they did in war and resistance." A committed sub-commission on the status of women was established after few days under the Commission on Human Rights. Most of the women delegates and representatives from NGOs thought that, a distinct body, required to deal the women's issues. In May 1946, the first Chairperson of the Sub- Commission, Bodil Begtrup from Denmark, requested the Economic and Social Council to give full status to the Commission: "Women's problems have now for the first time in history to be studied internationally as such and to be given the social importance they ought to have. And it would be, in the opinion of this Sub-Commission of experts in this field, a tragedy to spoil this unique opportunity by confusing the wish and the facts. Some situations can be changed by laws, education, and public opinion, and the time seems to have come for happy changes in conditions of women all over the world".

The Sub-Commission officially became the Commission on the Status of Women (CWS), on June 1946, and it is committed to assure women's equality and to encourage women's rights. The directive is to "prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields" and to make recommendations "on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights". Then after, the division on the Status of Women of the UN Secretariat, became Section for the Advancement of Women in 1978, which was recognised in the Human Right's Section of the United Nations to provide secretariat functions.

#### **11.4 Acquiring the Legal Foundation of Gender Equality:**

The first session of the Commission on the Status of Women met at Lake Success, in February 1947, at New York, There were 15 women government representative, gave an exclusive charm and sustain it by gathering large number of women delegates. Since, the beginning the commission was not in good relations with NGOs, many International Women organizations addressed that to the commission in first session, from then NGOs were given the status of consultants, ECOSOC asked to represent as observers. The members of the commission were associated with other international organisations like UNESCO and UNICEF.

In the first conference, the Commission stated that, "to raise the status of women, irrespective of nationality, race, language or religion, to equality with men in all fields of human enterprise, and to eliminate all discrimination against women in the provisions of statutory law in legal maxims or rules, or in interpretation of customary law".

##### **11.4.1 Declaration of Universal Human Rights – Draft:**

In the first session, the Commission decided that, they should be the part of discussions on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and be the part of drafting the bill, their priority and flourished, the draft which was a historical event, the Act came into force on 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1948.

**11.4.2 Women's Rights and Commission:**

The period between 1946 –1962, the Commission concentrated to encourage women's rights and equality and its values by international agreements which targets to bring the change discriminatory legislation and by promoting global sensitizing about the women's problems. The categorisation of women's legal rights were to be supported by country wise data and analysis, for that, Commission organised huge research to know the status of women all over the world and collected data on legal status of women, education access and other civil rights, and obtained information from different countries, the information they got from this study was the source to draft the human rights bill. The NGOs and other UN agencies played a prominent role in this study.

**11.4.3 Commission on the Women's access for Universal Political Rights**

In the year 1945, the Commission gave very much importance to the women's political rights, out of 51 member nations, only 25 U N Member States provided women to vote along with men. In 1950, the Commission on women's political rights, Secretary General said that, women from 22 countries did not have right to vote or to grasp political office and in some of the countries though they have the right to vote, but have not put in exercise. On 20<sup>th</sup> December in 1952, after wide range of discussions, the resolution on Women's Political Rights were drafted. It was the first international law which safeguards women's political rights on par with men, and were given right to vote in elections, can run political party or public office.

**11.4.4 Removal of Discrimination in the Marriages:**

The Commission paid its responsiveness on the discrimination in marriages throughout in 1950s. The report of UN stated that, this was because of differences in the national laws on family residence, marriage and divorce. The commission came to know about the problem of discrimination in marriages and drafted during the Convention on Nationality of Married Women, adopted 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 1957, this was projected by the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages Adopted on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 1962, and was approved by UN.

**11.4.5 Commission's Works with Other Agencies:**

The Commission worked to develop programmes and support, to increase women's literacy and equal opportunities to education, it worked with UNESCO, also worked on economic rights of women, association with International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1951, on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for equal pay for their work and equal value. Commission also started concentrating on the traditional issues, unsafe to women and girls, resolutions were accepted by the ECOSOC in 1952 and adopted by General Assembly in 1954, asking Member countries to take necessary steps to stop the physical integrity and human rights of women, from 1980, the female genital mutilation or cutting considered as violence against women.

**11.4.6 Encouraging the Women's Involvement in Development:**

The period between 1960-70 brought insightful transformation in UN, as the number of members increased significantly because of newly emerged Nations and the organisation started to concentrate to take in the problems of developing nations as well. Organisation observed during 1960-70 that, there was awareness about the discrimination against women in many parts of the world. Commission concentrated on needs of women in

community and rural development, agriculture works, family planning and scientific and technological improvements particularly in developing countries.

#### **11.4.7 Eradication of Discrimination against Women:**

To consolidate the efforts that had been from 1945, General Assembly asked the Commission to draft a declaration on the Eradication of Discrimination against women in 1963, and the draft was supported by the women's rights activists. The declaration on Elimination of Discrimination against women was finally accepted by the general Assembly on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 1967. Its influence on the ground was more inadequate: the reporting measures for the Declaration's implementation were voluntary, and the level of reaction from Governments was little. The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which was to be ultimately approved in 1979.

#### **11.5 The International Women's Year 1975:**

On the mark of commission's 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in 1972, it endorsed that, 1975 be selected as International Women's Year, on behalf of the Women's International Democratic Federation, it was the notion proposed by Romania. The intention was to retell about discrimination against the women to International Community, imbedded in law and deeply channelled cultural dogmas which was the long lasting problem in the world. It stimulated the governments, NGOs and individuals to intensify and strengthen to promote equality between men and women and to improve women's development. The General Assembly accepted the endorsements of Commission and added third theme of equality and development by three tier agenda for the improvement of women.

The World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico in 1975, 133 Nationals participated, it defined a World Plan of Action for the Implementation of objectives of International Women's year. The 1976 to 1985, UN declared The United Nations Decade for Women for Equality, Development and Peace. The Decade donated to fetching lawfulness to the international women's movement, and moved women's issues advancing on the global plan. During the decade, it was believed that development helped to improve women and a new thought was developed that, development was not possible without women.

#### **11.6 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW):**

The draft of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was a chief assignment of the Commission throughout the Decade. The drafting of CEDAW had been authorised by the Plan of Action accepted at the Mexico City Conference, on the elimination of discrimination against women, with operative execution measures.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was finally accepted by the General Assembly in 1979 by a vote of 130 Member Countries, with 10 abstaining. It entered into force on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1981. The Convention was the first international device to describe discrimination against women, which was stated as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social,

cultural, civil or any other field". The Expert Committee combined new themes and issues concern like violence against women and HIV/AIDS.

#### **11.7 Second World Conference - United Nations Decade for Women:**

In July 1980, the second World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women was held in Copenhagen. The intension of conference was to review the improvement in implementation of the goals of World Conference of International Women's Year and to apprise Plan of Action, they stressed the following areas which were utmost needed for women, employment, health and education. The Second Conference, reassured the durable national methods to safeguard women's ownership and control of property, women's rights to inheritance, child custody and loss of nationality. Apart from UN who works for Women's problems, other new organisations took responsibility of strengthening the hands of UN, the organisations like United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) were came into existence.

#### **11.8 World Conference to Review UN Decade for Women's Attainments:**

The conference was held in Nairobi, in 1985, the aim of the conference was to take materialistic methods to observe to solve the problems and achieve the Decade's objectives without fail. At the end of two weeks bargaining in the conference, Nations came to an agreement with a strategic plan for the improvement of women. A blue print for the future of women to the end of century, implementing gender equality at national level and women to work for peace as well.

#### **11.9 The Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing:**

The important accomplishments of the Commission on the Status of Women was held in 1995 in Beijing, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, which expressively advanced the global agenda for women's human rights and gender equality. The introductory procedure, discovered deviating opinions which made agreement very problematic. The delegates, to the end came to a compromise and the document that greatly improved women's rights and set new standards for the improvement of women and the accomplishment of gender equality. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, adopted unanimously by 189 countries, built on political treaties reached at the three previous global conferences on women and amalgamated five decades of legal advances designed at securing the equality of women with men in law and in practice.

##### **11.9.1 Assessment of the Beijing Platform for Action:**

"Beijing +5" The General Assembly, on the approval of the Commission on the Status of Women, certain to hold a twenty-third special session in 2000 to conduct a five-year assessment and evaluation of the enactment of the Beijing Platform for Action, and seeing future actions and creativities.

The Commission on the Status of Women, the Preparatory Commission as pro term, conveyed a draft political declaration and effect of the document was to approve at the special session. The UN regional commissions summoned regional preliminary meetings to guarantee a regional outlook on execution and additional actions and wits. The special meeting was held in New York in 2000, at UN headquarters on, "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development, and Peace for the Twenty-first Century". Member States reached consensus on a Political Declaration and on further actions and initiatives to implement

the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (i.e. the “outcome document”). In 2005, during the decade’s assessment and evaluation of the Beijing Platform was planned in the background of the 49th meeting of the Commission.

The Declaration accepted that the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) are jointly supporting in attaining the gender equality and empowerment of women.

#### **11.10 The Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) in 1974:**

The Women’s reservations were discussed in the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) in 1974. The Report said that, though the equal rights and universal adult suffrage assured by the Indian constitution, the presence of women at the State and Central levels had been decreasing gradually over 25 years. The Committee noted, views in favour of reservations, largely by women campaigners, women legislators were of the view that, women’s reservation would be deteriorate and would oppose the principle of equality assured in the constitution. Those who are against any form of favourable action, predominantly in public or government service, frequently take alternative to Article 15(1) or Article 16. The leading view in the CSWI was against reservations, though there were two proceedings of disagreement.

The opinions in favour of reservations are:

- There are problems of women to achieve admission into male-dominated political parties and is necessary to have reservations
- Those reservations for women would safeguard a substantial existence of women to act as a vital pressure group
- The presence of large number of women would strengthen the sense of accountability among women and this would guarantee that women’s interests would be effectively embodied.

The opinions against the reservations are:

- Reservations for women would lead to parting from the constitutional principle of equality
- Women’s comforts cannot be inaccessible from the economic, social and political interests of groups, sections and classes in the society
- Schemes of distinct image for women may twist into alike demands from other groups and would threaten national integration.

However, there was an agreement on the requirement for reservations for women in the local self- governments to safeguard the interests of rural poor women. The efforts of those women activities really paved the way for women’s reservations at Local Self-Governments such as Panchayats, Municipalities and Municipal corporations, so that women can be part of decision making process to make policies.

It is evident that, since 1975, the movements of women has progressively trying to find and inspire the policy of India, with an understanding to consist of women issues and perspectives so that the women’s representation and participation can be increased. By this involvement the women’s movements throughout the world inspired and it took lot of alterations in this aspect and particularly, the countries of third world took important steps in transforming depending upon the prevailing laws of the nation. They have taken steps to develop policy directives on women and development and started some precise

programmes. There was an international debate to eradicate the women's inequality and women's participation in the mid-1970s.

During that time in India as well, in 1976, established Women's Welfare and Development Bureau and National Plan of Action which was followed by the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, it took the suggestions of the World Plan Action for the International Women's Decade to create such national organization for women in India. In India, too, as the national machinery developed, and as India, was answering to the difficulties of women's movements and creativities of UN, the discussions inside and outside the movement sustained on as to what kind of devices would harvest best outcomes. Eventually, an valuation of devices so shaped, generally been adverse, such as, it has come out from a dangerous examination of the nature of government response to questions of gender, structures, agencies and programmes, action plans and state policies and state initiatives that has been done with a view to recognize whether there have been gaps in hypothesizing gender issues within governance, or there are difficulties at the execution level or there are not enough gaps available to women to influence policy and processes for bringing required changes. The policy documents of the Government have combined, the speechmaking of gender broadminded viewpoints and the documents most freely use the vocabulary of 'empowerment', equity, development, justice, and rights of women, increasing the competences and participation of women etc. without any comparable change in the position of women in Indian society.

### **11.11 Background History:**

Whereas women's movements in India in the post 1970s talked about difficulties to the Government by inquisitive policies and educating matters which are responsible and answerable, it is significant to recognize the nature of these organizations, procedures and conditions by which they functioned in direction to understand as to what magnitude these organizations are in agreement with the idea of the women's movements. It can be addressed only by providing a background to the formation of the National Commission for Women.

#### **11.11.1 National Mechanism for Women:**

In 1971, the Government of India, constituted a national committee to review the status of women in India, from the Independence and the department of Social welfare asked to prepare the report and as there was a demand from the United Nations. The then Social Welfare Minister, Phulrenu Guha, took the responsibility of the specific study on the status of women in India. The reviews had been studied the situations and status of Scheduled Caste and Backward Class because there was no such study had been undertaken. She insisted to establish a commission of Enquiry for this drive. The committee's report actually happen together with the International Women's Year, it observed the gender gaps in almost all the sections and underlined the inequalities underwent by the women in the areas of education, employment and health the failure of government and to assured the rights provided in the constitution to women.

The committee stated that, the government of India, totally unsuccessful in its constitutional accountability of not discerning on the grounds of gender. It also emphasised that it found no appreciation of the works done by the women and it requires to have them in all major areas of the Indian economy. The women's work was reducing and less participation of women was noticed and it resulted in the increase in the poverty and insecurity in the areas of economy in which they were dominant force previously,

which were not thought of changing them, the sectors such as, agriculture, forestry, livestock, cottage industry, fisheries sericulture etc.

The report made some important proposals, it suggested that reorganizing the employment policy for women needs to reconsideration of current theories concerning their appropriateness for diverse types of work and superior determinations to encourage equal chances by giving due care to incapacities of women. This is inevitable that, any policy or action programme for the liberation and growth of women must have combined method. The report piercing out that, the procedures of development had unfavorably wedged on women by departure them out of 'both the discourse and practice'. The Committee suggested that, the Government of India must have a National Policy on Women's Development to contribute suitable care and offer a setting of orientation for valuation of government and voluntary efforts. The report also recommended follow up mechanisms and processes, to be set up by the state to look into the matters elevated in the report and to attain the constitutional goals of equality and justice for the women.

The suggestions made by the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) needed new methods and organizational support to interpret steadfast into action. The debate of the Parliament on CSWI Report concluded in a very wide mandate to the government "to remove all disabilities that Indian Women suffer from". This made the establishment of the National Machinery embedded inside the bigger organization of government. The United Nations, asked all the countries world-wide to bring the status report on women and requesting them to make organisations at national and international levels, to follow up the recommendations of UN and prepare different types of policies for the women. The conferences of Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980 and Nairobi in 1985, really speed up the actions for setting up the organizational mechanisms at national and International levels to encourage the status of women.

Policy discussions during the Women's Decade (1975-85) manifest a change in positions of observing women as objectives of social welfare processes to that of contributors in the course of development. The dispute was that women have persisted only beneficiaries of welfare, now they must be combined in the development procedure. The attitude was called as Women in Development (WID), and later as Gender and Development (GAD). This incorporation was to be gifted through education and training to women by providing them with adequate employment prospects in order to transfer into the market economy.

In India, a significant sanction made by the CSWI was to structure a National Policy for Women, to avert any uncertainty about the women's welfare, a sanction that was not acknowledged and as a substitute, a National Plan for Action for women was haggard up in 1976 to work on the guideline of the national and state levels. While, the National Plan of Action of 1976, used the word "machinery for implementation", the CSWI Report called it "agencies for co-ordination, communication and implementation of processes to develop the status of women" while endorsing the setting up of legal, independent Commissions at the central and state levels.

The consequence of the National Plan of Action was that the formation of a Women's Welfare and Development Bureau in 1976, in the Department of Social Welfare (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare), a standing Advisory Committee at the national level that will evaluate the Plan of Action to be named as "The National Committee on Women" with Prime Minister, as the Chairperson, and at State level, the Chief Minister, will be the Chairman. The Women's Bureau, given with the nodal accountability of

synchronizing and cooperate with each other with other central government ministries, introducing policies, programmes and processes, checking programmes for women's welfare, administration of legislative representations and following up of the approvals of the CSWI, the Nairobi Forward Looking policies and other significant reports and monitoring programmes for women.

The Committee for the Status of Women in India, that carried out a complete report on the status of Indian women was also set up on the by the Indian Government. The National Commission on self-employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector, established by the Government to make a complete study of the working and living conditions of poor women in the disorganized and informal sector of the Indian economy. All these have been a significant part of mainstreaming and institutionalizing women apprehensions in public and political agenda.

The Country Paper that the Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD) prepared for the Beijing Conference in 1995, shows national machinery "with its institutional support" diagrammatically as a series of concentric circles, with the DWCD at the centre and other government agencies and non-government agencies, commissions etc. arranged within the series of larger circles around the centre. Likewise, the Department of Women and Child Development carried out a report titled "Platform for Action- Five Years After - An Assessment" in 2000 in which it states, "The machinery for women's advancement, visualized as a set of structures and systems with the Department at the centre".

#### **11.12 Conclusion:**

Throughout the presence of fifty years and its fifty conferences, the Commission on the Status of Women has steadily encouraged the improvement of women. It has been helpful in intensifying the appreciation of women's rights, in authenticating the truth of women's lives in the entire world and in making world-wide policies on gender equality and empowerment of women and in safeguarding that, and the UN work in all areas combines to be gender perspective. UN endures to play an important role in getting Nations together. The objectives of UN, were promoted by NGOs, and International and Regional Organizations to encourage women's rights and develop the gender equality.

It is evident that since 1975, the movements of women has progressively trying to find and inspire the policy of India, with an understanding to consist of women issues and perspectives so that the women's representation and participation can be increased. In 1971, the Government of India, constituted a national committee to review the status of women in India from the Independence and the department of Social welfare asked to prepare the report and as there was a demand from the United Nations. The then Social Welfare Minister, Phulrenu Guha, took the responsibility of the specific study on the status of women in India. The reviews had been studied the situations and status of Scheduled Caste and Backward Class because there was no such study had been undertaken. She insisted to establish a commission of Enquiry for this drive.

#### **11.13 Model Questions:**

1. Write about the pre historic of the status of women in India?
2. Describe about the struggle for their rights and different organisations and committees?
3. Discuss about the role of different committees to uplift the women status?



**11.14 References:**

1. Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: Towards Equality: Report of the Committee on the Status of Women, New Delhi, 1974.
2. Geraldine Forbes: Women in Modern India, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
3. Agnew Vijay, Elite Women in Indian Politics, Vikas, New Delhi, 1979.

Dr. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## **LESSON - 12**

# **NATIONAL POLICIES ON WOMEN**

### **12.0 Objectives:**

1. Students would be able to know about the different policies for the empowerment of women.
2. Students would be able to understand objectives of the policy
3. Students would learn strategies to be implemented for their empowerment.

### **Structure**

#### 12.0 Objectives

#### 12.1 Introduction

#### 12.2 National Policy for Empowerment of Women 2001

##### 12.2.1 Eradication of Poverty

##### 12.2.2 Micro Credit

##### 12.2.3 Role of Women and Economy

##### 12.2.4 Effect of Globalization

##### 12.2.5 Role of Judicial Legal Systems

##### 12.2.6 Empowering Women in Decision Making

##### 12.2.7 Role of Women in Agriculture

##### 12.2.8 Role of Women in Industry

##### 12.2.9 Women in Support Services

#### 12.3 Social Empowerment of Women

##### 12.3.1 Importance of Education

##### 12.3.2 Role of Women on Health

##### 12.3.3 Role of Women on Nutrition

##### 12.3.4 Role of Women on Drinking Water and Sanitation

##### 12.3.5 Role of Women on Housing and Shelter

12.3.6 Role of Women on Environment

12.3.7 Role of Women in Science and Technology

12.3.8 Role of Women in Difficult Circumstances

12.3.9 Role of Women against Violence

12.3.10 Rights of the Girl Child

12.3.11 Role of women on Mass Media

12.3.12 Action Plan

12.3.13 Official Mechanisms

12.3.14 Role of Women in Resource Management

12.3.15 Legislation for Women

12.3.16 Sensitizing Gender

12.3.17 Panchayati Raj Institutions

12.3.18 Partnership with the Voluntary Organizations

12.3.19 International Cooperation

12.4 Conclusion

12.5 Model Questions

12.6. References

### **12.1 Introduction:**

The Gender Equality protected in the preamble of the Indian Constitution like Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The grant of equality to women and empower the states to take appropriate measures for positive discrimination in favour of women, granted by the Indian Constitution. For the sake of women's progress the following outline of democratic polity, our laws, plans and programmes have made possible. During the Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-78, given importance from welfare to the development of women. The empowerment of women has become the main issue in recent years influencing the status of women. The National Commission for Women was formulated by an act of parliament in 1990, to protect the rights and legal rights of women. In the year 1993, 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the constitution have provided for the reservation of seats in local bodies of Panchayat and

Municipalities for women, which lay a foundation for them to participate in decision making at local levels.

India has also approved different international conventions and human rights mechanisms constraining to secure equal rights of women. Vital among them is the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1993. In the year 1975, The Mexico Plan of Action, in 1985 The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies in the year 1995, The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action and the Consequence Document accepted by the (UNGA) Session on Gender Equality and Development and Peace for the 21st century. The Policy also takes the commitments of the Ninth Five Year Plan and the other Sectoral Policies connecting to empowerment of Women.

The extensive spread of NGOs and wide spread of networks have made possible to inspire, bring initiatives about the women's movements and their contributions for the upliftment of women. Though the Constitution has provided legislation, different policies and plans, programmes and other devices for the empowerment of women, but in fact, the status of women is different. The report which was analysed on the status of women in India by Department of Women and Child development in its Committee Report "Towards Equality" in 1974 highlighted in the National Perspective plan for women 1988-2000, in Shramshakti report in 1988.

The Gender gap shows in different forms and most important being the drop in the female ratio in the population in the last few decades, this is because of social labelling, domestic and societal violence are some of the other factors and discrimination against the girl child, adolescent girls and women as well. This is because of the socio-economic structure established on formal and informal norms and practices. Because of this the entry of women, who belongs to the weaker sections like Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes Other Backward Classes and Minorities are greatly effected particularly who lives in rural areas and other unorganised sector, they are deprived of education, health, productive resources and they remain poor, socially omitted and side- lined.

Objectives of the policy to reach the goal are here under:

The objective and aim of this policy is to bring about the development, advancement and empowerment of women. Precisely, the objectives of this Policy include:

1. Making an environment over positive economic and social policies for full development of women to permit them to understand their full potential.
2. The de-jure and de-facto pleasure of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres which include political, economic, social, cultural and civil.
3. Equal access to participate in social, political economic life of the nation and be able to make decisions.
4. Equal access to women for the quality education at all levels, health care, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, career and vocational guidance, social security and public office etc.
5. Strengthening legal systems meant at removal of all forms of discrimination against women.
6. By the means of active participation and involvement of both men and women to change the societal attitudes and community practices.
7. Gender perspective must be streamlined in the development process.
8. Discrimination of all forms of violence against women and the girl child; must be eliminated.
9. Building and strengthening partnerships particularly with women's organizations and civil society.

**12.2 National Policy for Empowerment of Women 2001:**

The following methods can make women self-reliant and economically empower.

**12.2.1 Eradication of Poverty:**

The majority of population of women contains, to live below poverty line and some-times extreme poverty, to address these issues the programmes like poverty eradication, intra household and social discrimination, macro- economic policies will cater the needs of these women. To target such women, there are certain improved implementation programmes, the merging of services and mobilization of women by offering a range of economic and social options will improve their capabilities and condition.

**12.2.2 Micro Credit:**

The existence of micro-credit mechanism and micro-finance institutions will give an improvement in women's access to credit for consumption and production must be undertaken to outreach of credit. At the same time, sufficient flow of credit through financial institutions and bank must be ensured so that, all women who are below poverty line can have easy access to credit.

**12.2.3 Role of Women and Economy:**

Women's views will be involved in designing and implementing of Social Policies and Macro-Economics to participate through institutions for their development. The involvement of women in socio-economic development, as producers and workers will be accepted in the formal and informal sectors and suitable policies must be made to employ them and perfect working conditions should be maintained.

**12.2.4 Effect of Globalization**

The globalization is an important factor to recognize the women's equality and the gender influence has not been thoroughly assessed. The global economy has been distributed irregularly which lead to the bigger economic difference, increased gender inequality, worst working conditions, and unsafe working environment. Policies must be developed to improve the capacity of women and to empower them to encounter negative social and economic influences.

**12.2.5 Role of Judicial Legal Systems:**

Judicial system has to play an important role and gender sensitive to the need of women, particularly in the cases of personal assault and domestic violence, new laws must be formulated and existing laws must be reviewed to make sure that justice is very quick and punishment can be given to the culprit. This could be possible with the involvement of community and other leaders. The policy must be targeted to changes in personal laws for example, marriage, divorce, maintenance etc., to eliminate discrimination against women. The subordinate position of women in the society is because of patriarchal system be followed for the rights of property. There must be a policy to bring the changes in the law concerning to the ownership of the property.

**12.2.6 Empowering Women in Decision Making:**

Active participation of women in decision making process which include decision making in political matters at all levels must be guaranteed, to accomplish the objective of empowerment. Methods must be taken to assurance to women, of equal chances in decision making process at all levels including local bodies, legislative, executive, judicial, corporate, etc.,. Reservations at all levels must be provided for them. The policies must be suited for the women's development to bring them to the mainstream of the society. Women must be involved in participation of all developmental activities, a system must be improved for checking and organizing the issues so that women's economic empowerment should be ensured.

**12.2.7 Role of Women in Agriculture:**

The role of women, in agriculture and other allied sector as agriculture workers and producers, intense hard work must ensure, the developmental process, which benefits them by training, extension of different programmes like in soil conservation, social forestry, dairy development and other agriculture related occupations like horticulture, livestock, like animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries etc., would pave the empowerment of women in agriculture sector.

**12.2.8 Role of Women in Industry:**

The role of women in industry has been increased recently, they are very much involved in information technology, electronics, food processing and agro industry and textiles industry. Their role in these areas would give support in terms of labour legislation, social security. Presently, women cannot work during the night, even if they are prepared. But effort must be taken to make women work in night shifts as well by ensuring their safety and transport.

**12.2.9 Women in Support Services:**

Women in supportive services like child care, which include crèches at places of work and institutions of education, disabled and old age homes must be expanded and develop settings to guarantee assistance in political, social and economic ways of life. Women must be ensure to participate in the developmental activities.

**12.3 Social Empowerment of Women:****12.3.1 Importance of Education:**

Women must be guaranteed of equal access to education for women and girls, eradicate illiteracy, globalized education, elimination of discrimination and create gender sensitive educational system, must be implemented to bring literacy among women. Improve the quality of education, improving dropout rate at school levels, developing technical skills, so that the earning capacity must be long term and dropping the gender gap at high school and higher education levels would be focused. A special attention must be paid on girls and women belonging to Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe, Other Backward Classes and Minorities. A curricula must be developed which should be gender sensitive to address.

**12.3.2 Role of Women on Health:**

An universal method to be adopted in relation to women's health, it should cater both nutritional and health services and distinct care must be taken at all stage of women, and girls life which includes reduction of infant mortality and maternal mortality rates, which are sensitive indicators of human development, must be given priority. The health policy, says about national demographic goals for Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) set out in the National Population Policy 2000. All the women, must have the access to the comprehensive, affordable and quality health care, informed about the reproductive rights, reducing the exposure to the sexual and health problems like endemic, infectious and communicable diseases like TB, Malaria, Water-borne diseases, hypertension and cardio-vascular diseases, health consequences of HIV/AIDS and STD must be attempted. The problems of infant mortality, early marriage, access to safe and affordable family planning methods, spacing of child must be informed to them to practice.

**12.3.3 Role of Women on Nutrition:**

Women are facing high risk of malnutrition and other diseases at all three critical stages like, infancy and childhood, adolescent and reproductive stage, attention must be paid to meet the nutritional requirements of women, which include health of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women with health of infant and young ones. Extensive use of nutrition education should be made, to address the issues of intra-household imbalances in nutrition and to meet the special needs of pregnant and lactating women. Women must participate in the planning, superintendence and delivery of the system.

**12.3.4 Role of Women on Drinking Water and Sanitation:**

Extraordinary care should be given to meet the needs of women in the delivery of safe drinking water, sewage disposal, toilet facilities and sanitation within accessible reach of households, especially in rural areas and urban slums. Women's participation will be ensured in the planning, delivery and maintenance of such services.

**12.3.5 Role of Women on Housing and Shelter:**

Women's viewpoints are to be involved in housing policies, planning of housing colonies and establishment of shelter in rural and urban areas. Special attention has to be given for providing suitable and safe housing and accommodation for women including single women.

**12.3.6 Role of Women on Environment:**

Women are to be involved, and their viewpoints, are reflected in the programmes and policies on environment, conservation and restoration. The influence of environmental factors on their livelihoods, women's participation will be confirmed in the conservation of the environment and control of environmental degradation. The immense majority of rural women, are still depend on the locally available non-commercial sources of energy such as animal dung, crop waste and fuel wood. They confirm the effective use of these energy resources in an environmental friendly manner, the Policy will aim at promoting the programmes of non-conventional energy resources, which involve in

spreading the use of solar energy, biogas, smokeless chullahs and other rural application to change the life styles of rural women.

#### **12.3.7 Role of Women in Science and Technology:**

Involvement of women in science and technology is to be encouraged so that, the girls can come forward to take up science and technology at higher education and create awareness about these areas of development for them. Methods are to be taken up to develop the skills in communication and information technology which is one of the fastest developing subjects in the world. Steps are to be taken to bring right technologies, which are suited for their development.

#### **12.3.8 Role of Women in Difficult Circumstances:**

Women are accustomed to the variety of situation in the present circumstances, Programmes and policies are to be taken up to give good attention in this regard. The different situations like extreme poverty, deprived women, women in battle situations women affected by natural calamities, women in under developed regions disabled widows, old women, victims of marital violence, are the ones in difficult situations. They are to be tackled with care, give them strength to face boldly.

#### **12.3.9 Role of Women against Violence:**

Violence is one of the biggest problem faced by women, it include physical and mental problems at domestic and societal levels. These are developed from the customs, traditional practices, which are accepted largely by the society, has to eliminate successfully. Training is to be given to women by developing institutions, which cater in prevention of violence against women. Elimination of sexual harassment at work places and importance should be given to deal the trafficking of women and girls.

#### **12.3.10 Rights of the Girl Child:**

Discrimination against the girl child and violation of her rights, is to be eradicated to protect their rights, by enforcing laws against parental sex selection, female foeticide, female infanticide, child marriage, child abuse etc., There will be distinct importance on the needs of the girl child and allocating of substantial investments in the areas relating to food and nutrition, health and education, and in vocational education. In implementing programmes for eliminating child labour, there will be a special focus on girl children.

#### **12.3.11 Role of Women on Mass Media:**

Media is one of the important area in the development of women, it consist with human dignity of women and girls. It tries to work hard to remove patronising, humiliating and negative orthodox images of women and violence against women. Women are to be informed well in the area of information and technologies, with the help of private sector and media network partners. Media has to improve guideline for professionals, code of conduct and other regulatory devices which could help women.



**12.3.12 Action Plan:**

The Ministries of Central and State has to bring these action plans into the actual actions by involving Centre and State Departments of Women and Child Welfare and National and State Commissions for women would develop necessary Plans for the sake of Women.

**12.3.13 Official Mechanisms:**

For promoting advancement of women, need to have institutional mechanism which could be helpful in empowering the women. These institutes which are present at Central and State levels has to be strengthen from the grass-root levels, provision for sufficient resources, training and skills in advocacy, bring policies, legislation, programmes for them.

Institutions at the district level has to be strengthened from the grass-root level, Government has to help women through its programmes, to organize and strengthen Self-Help Groups (SHGs) at the Anganwadi, Village and Town level. The women's groups has to register themselves into societies and unite at the Panchayat and Municipal levels. These societies will implement all the social and economic development programmes available through Government and Non-Government channels, including banks and financial institutions and by establishing a close Interface with the Panchayats and Municipalities.

**12.3.14 Role of Women in Resource Management:**

The policy has to be managed by the concern departments like, financial credit institutions, banks, private sector, civil society with sufficient financial, human and market resources. It include:

1. Assessing the flow of benefit to women and allocation of resources to the programme, necessary changes are required to make use of highest level of benefits to women.
2. There has to be cooperation among the personnel from departments like, Health and Rural Development, Education and Women and Child Development Departments at the field and village levels to bring change in women.
3. In the Ninth Five Year Plan, Women's Component Plan was adopted and not less than 30% of benefits or funds flow to women from all Ministries and Departments will be implemented effectively so that the needs of women and girls are addressed by all concerned sectors. The Department of Women and Child Development being the nodal Ministry will monitor and review the progress of the implementation of the Component Plan from time to time, in terms of both quality and quantity in collaboration with the Planning Commission.

**12.3.15 Legislation for Women:**

The existing Legislative organization has to review the present laws which include personal, customary and tribal laws, subordinate legislation, gender discrimination etc., and new policy which suits women more effectively must be evolved by the consultation with Women and Child Development Department and National Commission for Women. Firm implementation of all related legal requirements and quick redressal of complaints

will be ensured, with a special focus on violence and gender related atrocities. Procedures to stop and punish sexual harassment at work places, protection for women workers in the organized or unorganized sector and strict implementation of significant laws such as Equal Remuneration Act and Minimum Wages Act has be undertaken

#### **12.3.16 Sensitizing Gender:**

Training has to be provided to the executives, legislative and judicial personnel with emphasis on who frame the policy and programmes, implementation agencies, judiciary, NGOs has to take the responsibility in sensitizing gender about their human rights to achieve empowerment of women.

#### **12.3.17 Panchayati Raj Institutions:**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendments Bill of 1993, to the Indian Constitution have helped as a development towards guaranteeing equal access and increased participation in political power structure for women. The PRIs, will play a vital role in the development of improving women's participation in public life. The PRIs and the local Self-Governments will be actively involved in the implementation and execution of the National Policy for Women at the grassroots level.

#### **12.3.18 Partnership with the Voluntary Organizations:**

The involvement of voluntary organizations, associations, federations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, women's organizations, as well as institutions dealing with education, training and research will be ensured in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and review of all policies and programmes affecting women. Towards this end, they will be provided with appropriate support related to resources and capacity building and facilitated to participate actively in the process of the empowerment of women.

#### **12.3.19 International Cooperation:**

The Policy, is aim at execution of international responsibilities, pledges in all sectors on empowerment of women such as the Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD+5) and other such instruments. International, regional and sub-regional cooperation towards the empowerment of women will continue to be encouraged through sharing the experiences, exchange of philosophies and technology, networking with institutions and organizations and through bilateral and multi-lateral partnerships.

#### **12.4 Conclusion:**

It has been understood that, there are number of problems pertains to the empowerment of women, in-order to bring development among them. For the sake of their development following changes have been adopted. In the year 1993, 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the constitution have provided for the reservation of seats in local bodies of Panchayat and Municipalities for women, which lay a foundation for them to participate in decision making at local levels.

The policies has been developed at different levels nationally and internationally like, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1993. In the year 1975, The Mexico Plan of Action, in 1985 The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies in the year 1995, The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action and the Consequence Document accepted by the (UNGA) Session on Gender Equality and Development and Peace for the 21st century. There are certain measures have been discussed to bring back women into main stream.

### **12.5 Model Questions:**

1. Discuss about the developments of the national policy and conferences to formulate policy for the women's development?
2. Discuss about the different objectives of the policy and how to implement them for the sake of women's development?

### **12.6 References:**

1. Devaki JAIN. Women, Development and the UN: A Sixty-year Quest for Equality and Justice, Bloomington, Indiana Press University, 2005.
2. Kaur and Punia, Women Today. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 2008.
3. Krishnaraj, Maithveyi, Women's Studies in India. Bombay Popular Prakasham, 1986.
4. Report of the Committee on Empowerment of Women(2002-2002) on Functioning of National and State Commissions for Women, Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Women and Child Development), Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.
5. "Creating a Window to Redress Women's Grievances" Research and Documentation Project on Mediation, Counseling and Conflict Resolution, Compiled by Saraswati Haider, Project Officer, PRAJA, March 2002.
6. See Annual Report 2000-2001, National Commission for Women, pp.175-192 and A Decade of Endeavour 1990-2001, Volume II, Annual Report, NCW, 1996-97.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON- 13

# WOMEN AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

### 13.0 Objectives:

1. Students would be able to know about the women's Nationalist Movements.
2. Student would be able to understand the role played by Gandhiji in bringing women to the nationalist movement.
3. Student would be able to learn issues prompted women to participate in the movement.

### Structure:

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Women in India's Freedom Struggle

13.3 Women in the Nationalist Movement

13.3.1 Role of Women during National Congress

13.3.2 Women's Contributions and Emergence of Annie Besant:

13.3.3 Role of Gandhi in Women's Movement

13.3.4 Role of Women in Khadi/ Boycott of Foreign Goods

13.3.5 Role of Women in Bardoli Satyagraha

13.3.6 Role of Women in Civil Disobedient Movement

13.3.7 Role of Women during Civil Disobedient and Quit India Movements

13.4 Issues Prompting Participation of Women in Nationalist Movement

13.4.1 Influence of Social Reforms Movements

13.4.2 Impact of Family and Members

13.4.3 Role of Stimulating Leadership in the Movements

13.4.4 Role of Environment

#### 13.4.5 Role of Literature

#### 13.4.6 Issues of Women in Nationalist Movements

#### 13.5 Conclusions

#### 13.7 References

### **13.1 Introduction:**

Most of the women took part in the in the Nationalist Movement, along with their regularly attending domestic and social acts. Women all along the country, took part in the Nationalist Movement unfortunately, the required literature on their involvement is very less and could not focus much about them in this regard. According to Veena Muzumdar she reported that, “Existing research on Women and Indian Nationalism...be described as non-comprehensive, cursory in nature and generally a history from above”. Hence, with the limited information available on their participation in nationalist movement one has to realize and evaluate their act in this movement.

### **13.2 Women in India’s Freedom Struggle:**

The Nationalist Movement, manifest the start of a political emergent amongst the women in India. In 1905, during the Swadeshi Movement, it was noticed that, most of the women took part in the movement and ultimately, into the freedom struggle. It was because the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and they gave membership to women and ultimately include them in the struggle, this opportunity made them to think positively about the struggle and started participating in nationalist movements throughout. In the year 1914, Annie Besant, came into the Indian politics, which fastened the formation of women associations for the freedom struggle, then, she became the First Women President (Chairperson) of the Indian National Congress. The emergence of another prominent leader, from women’s list was Sarojini Naidu, she also involved very actively in the struggle. The struggle was intensified when Mahatma Gandhi took freedom struggle on his shoulders, large number of people including women took part in the struggle, it become a national phenomenon to participate in huge numbers and the scene of nationalist movement changed from 1917, as Gandhi was personally involved in the struggle and women rushed into the struggle, when he said that, “when women, we call Abala became Sabala, all those who are helpless will become powerful”, and the prominence he gave to women and he appreciated that, women too can take part in his tentative Satyagraha along with men. His overwhelming presence in the struggle and his opinions on women influenced them and the struggle lies on the objectives of non-violence, Satyagraha and civil disobedience movements ‘acceptable women to participate largely in politics.

Gandhi was able to activate huge number of women, leaving caste and class lines and to perform a dynamic role in the freedom struggle. Gandhi’s own stand on women advanced over time, and he conclude and insisted women to fight for exploitation whether within the home or in the Congress Party. According to Gandhi, he never saw the nationalist movement politically but for him, it was social and economic reform. He also told that, men and women are equal but not identical, but women are equal to men intellectually, spiritually and can participate in every activity. Gandhi thrived in electrifying the traditional household women as a commanding device of political action.

Gandhi could able to organize women, by maintaining their personal dignity and self-sufficiency in the family and society. He claimed that, women's capability to leave her personal agenda for the sake of family was the reason that, she could able to extend to the community and to the nation, this mobilized women to participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement and change brought women to the centre stage. This was followed by, women from, liberal and conservative families, urban and rural areas, single and married, young and old plunged and joined hands to fight against the British rule.

### **13.3 Women in the Nationalist Movement:**

The role and participation of women in the struggled can be can be divided according the period wise, the role of women in the struggle started way back in 1857 prior to the establishment of National Congress. It was in 1857, the first revolt against the British rule called Sepoye Mutiny, and in that revolt prominent women like Rani Jhansi Bai, Rani Tara Bai, Begum Hazarat Mahal, Lalitha Bakshi, Jhalkari, Sunder Kashi Bai, Munder Moti Bai, Rani of Ranigarh and Rani of Tulsipur took part, though they figure less in number but their presence made inspirational to the others to follow.

#### **13.3.1 Role of Women during National Congress:**

Though, British curbed the mutiny but it was alive in the soul. During 1885, the formation of national Congress gave podium for everyone to fight for the cause of nationalist movement and obtain the independence for them. Since the inception of the National Congress, it gave membership to women along with men and to fight against the British rule. Allen Octavian Home said that, "the political' reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds with equal pace with the work, all their labour for political enfranchisement will prove vain'. It was to notice that, in 1889, the fourth session of congress, at Bombay was held and only ten members attended, but from then the number had been increased since 1900, Dr. K. Ganguly was the first women, from Bengal to talk in that session, women from Calcutta and Bombay only attended.

The other prominent women personality was Swarna Kumari Devi, was sister of Rabindranath Tagore, she was the first Women editor and social reformer. She started women's association to enlighten women, at the advent of National Congress, she joined in Congress. The other important women personalities who were educationalist and social reformers such as Shanti Bai, Pandita Rama Bai, Shevanti Bai, N. Kamber, Kashi Bai and Manikjee Arbtejee.

In the year 1905, Bengal was partitioned and it led to the spirit of patriotism among them and fought for the cause, the difference was during the sepoy mutiny only the princely class participated and the struggle was also led by the elite group of women because in the National Congress, all the women class belonged to elite class. It was evident that, the initial stage of nationalist movement was represented by the upper and elite class of the society.

#### **13.3.2 Women's Contributions and Emergence of Annie Besant:**

The period between 1905-1919, regarded as revolutionary period, the women contributed in different ways for the struggle of freedom. They were associated with revolutionary leaders and contributed their gold belongings for the National Fund Publicity and Protest. They participated in different range of national events from within and outside the home. They spun and wove cotton materials and took up classes to educate women and followed

by freedom literature, poems and articles, which signifies the importance of nationalist movements within the home.

During that period they played an important role, they kept association with the revolutionary women leaders, who were under vigilant of police some of the important revolutionary women were Kumudini Mitter, who propagated her thoughts by Suprabhat, in bangali magazine, Sarala Devi, a social reformer and Swadeshi worker, and niece of Rabindranath Tagore. The elite group participated in socio political aspects of the movement. Annie Besant of Home Rule League also joined and the organisations like, Women's Indian Association (WIA), All India Women's Conference (AIWC) were came into existence. The year between 1914 -1918 noted as very important in the freedom struggle, because, the entry of Annie Besant, led the struggle and her presence gave the moral boost to women and many women organisations came into existence, for the right cause of nationalist movement. She assured and organised movements for women's liberation and political rights for them. She gave encouragement and strength to women in India and made the ground for Gandhian Freedom Movement.

### **13.3.3 Role of Gandhi in Women's Movement:**

M. K Gandhi played a significant role during the freedom struggle and had remarkable influence on them. Bringing women into the freedom struggle was considered as revolutionary thought, he was against Purdha, Dowry and Devadasi system in the society. It was noteworthy to state that, he understood the role of women that they can play in struggle for freedom. He said that the talents, women had in them, sacrifice nature and silent suffering hence, they can accustom to the nationalist movement. The important principles of Gandhi, were non-violence and Satyagraha, accepted by women in large numbers.

Gandhiji, said that, "when women, we call Abala became Sabala, all those who are helpless will become powerful", he also told that, men and women are equal but not identical, but women are equal to men intellectually, spiritually and can participate in every activity. Gandhi thrived in electrifying the traditional household women as a commanding device of political action. Gandhi could able to organize women by maintaining their personal dignity and self-sufficiency in the family and society.

The women were much apt for spinning the wheel (Chakra), spinning and weaving khadi improved campaign against the British Rule, most of the women joined hands in this work and other important contributions of women were, Civil Disobedient Movement, Salt Satyagraha led by Gandhi. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, women in different parts of India, joined processions and promulgated the use of khadi (spun cotton) and charkha (spinning wheel).

### **13.3.4 Role of Women in Khadi/ Boycott of Foreign Goods:**

Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Renuka Ray, Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi and Kasturba Gandhi played an important role in the boycott of foreign goods. Many women participated in the khadi movement and some of them left schools and colleges when they listened the inspiring speech of Gandhi. Besanta Devi along with her husband toured Bangal and told them to boycott foreign goods and go for khadi instead.

**13.3.5 Role of Women in Bardoli Satyagraha:**

The period between, 1922-30 was remarkable in the freedom struggle. In 1928, during Bardoli Satyagraha, women steadily be more than men in political congregations. Maniben Patel and Bakti Desai fixed their tents on the land declared to be sold by the government. No Tax movement was organised by them. Satyagraha was proved the strength of women and the rural flock participated in the movement.

**13.3.6 Role of Women in Civil Disobedient Movement:**

The year between 1930 to 1935 were promising and most of the women took part in the meetings, and the beginning of pledge for liberation started. During the Salt satyagraha, Gandhi, began a historic march to Dandi to break salt law, because salt was part n parcel of daily life and women participated in huge numbers and they started manufacturing salt on the sea shores. Sarojini Naidu, Muthuben Patel, Mridula Sarabai, Khurseedben, Kamala Devi Chattopadyaya and Avanthikabai, Gokhale were some of the noticeable women connected with the Salt Satyagraha. Some of the important women leaders resigned their positions such as, Muthu Lakshmi Ammal, resigned from legislative council, Hansa Mehta and Kamabba Lakhmana Rao resigned as Magistrates.

Many women from different parts of India were participated, Sawrup Rani Nehru, wife of Moti Lal Nehru, took part in resisting forest law. The movement under Gandhiji was inspired by many women of that time, Durgabai Deshmukh was appointed by Tanguturi Prakasm to break salt law in Madras. The women leaders like Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Sarojini Devi were in the top position to organizing processions, meetings and picketing foreign goods.

**13.3.7 Role of Women during Civil Disobedient and Quit India Movements:**

Those two movements were the most significant in the history of Nationalist Movements, because it was the final period before the Independence. That was the time when all the women from different classes such as, elite and rural ordinary women took part in the movement and were arrested. Among the women, Suchetha Krapalani was, in charge of the Women's Department of the All India Congress Committee, (AICC) since 1939, and she was the first women to be arrested.

During 1942, the Quit India Movement, many women took part in demonstrations holding public meetings, demonstrations and organizing strikes. A young girl from Assam, Kanakalatha Barua, led a pageant of 500 and was killed in the police firing. In Bombay, Usha Mehta ran an underground radio station. The most significant personality of that time was, Aruna Asaf Ali, who participated in 1942 movement, for many years she continued secretive avoiding arrest. She published bulletins and edited the newsletter "The Inquilab" along with Ram Manohar Lohia. There were some women who did not believe in non-violence accepted the revolutionary way.

There were some examples of women who joined the nationalist movements and dynamically contributed similarly like men. Women were dynamic who were with Gandhiji and extremist sections. Though, the number of women who attained positions of power or membership in the representative bodies were less compared to men. During the elections of 1937, eight women candidates were elected from the general constituencies and 42 from the reserved constituencies, and became ministers when the provisional cabinet was formed. Vijayalaxmi Pandit become minister for local self-government in Uttar Pradesh and later Ansuyabai Kale and J.T Sipahimalchi were



appointed as Deputy Speakers in Madhya Pradesh and Sindh, respectively. Hansa Mehta took office as Parliamentary Secretary in Bombay.

It was noted that, the women who were active in politics or politically successful belonged to rich and broadminded families. They were supported by their husbands or family members who were active members in Congress. That was been followed even after the independence. There were huge number of women who were unknown, participated in the freedom struggle.

#### **13.4 Issues Prompting Participation of Women in Nationalist Movement:**

The participation of women in Nationalist Movement started in 1857 with the princely women in Sepoy Mutiny, as the advent of Gandhiji into main stream of struggle who had inspired and influenced women flock was one of the important reason.

##### **13.4.1 Influence of Social Reforms Movements:**

The social reforms were brought in between 1800 to 1884, which influenced and enhanced the status of women and several Acts were brought in to better their lives and had an impression on them as well. Education also played an important role in understanding the need and most of the women from elite group were attracted.

##### **13.4.2 Impact of Family and Members:**

One of the important factor of women's participation and contribution in Nationalist Movement was their family members were kept in jail, even the elite families like, Moti Lal Nehru, Jaman Lal Bajaj were imprisoned and women wanted to share such experiences with their men, this was even seen in the middle class people hence, the impact played a major role in bringing women to the freedom movement.

##### **13.4.3 Role of Stimulating Leadership in the Movements:**

The inspiring leadership was provided by many prominent leaders such as, Subhash Chandra Bose, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jawahar Lal Nehru inspired women flock motivated them bringing in to the main stream, among all, the most influential personality was M. K Gandhiji, who not only inspired, but made them to follow him in all aspects of freedom struggle. His impression on women was amplified and many women took part in nationalist movement.

##### **13.4.4 Role of Environment:**

The environment was such that, every women was influenced by the great leaders of that time, the processions and slogans attracted them and were plunge into the struggle of freedom. Civil Disobedient Movement was one of the important cause in bringing them into main fold and the patriotic speeches made them to follow.

##### **13.4.5 Role of Literature:**

Literature had played a vital role in the freedom struggle, the autobiography of Annie Besant, was one among them and women were inspired by her, books also played their part in the struggle along with novels like Saratchandra Chatterjee's novel "Pather Dhaba" influenced the Bengali revolutionist.

**13.4.6 Issues of Women in Nationalist Movements:**

During the entire nationalist movement women's issues were projected and Gandhiji, understood the consequences of British Rule on women's position in India, and his decision to launch Khadi movement, which was significant, by which many, women from different parts of the country started following him. It was chiefly women's movement where they spun and wove cotton and influence the other women, in not to buy foreign cloths. The other issue was gender equality, Gandhiji projected women along with men, was another aspect in bringing women into the movement. Another Important factor was the rural poor women participated along with rich and elite family persons from Jawahar Lal Nehru and other prominent leaders.

**13.5 Conclusions:**

The struggle for freedom was started from the princely women groups during the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 and it took an active participation after the formation of National Congress. The most important factor among them was the presence of Gandhiji who not only influenced them but brought them into the main stream of nationalist movement. He told that women was not "Abala" she can become "Sabala", he showed equality along with men, his speeches were so inspiring that could influenced rural poor people as well. Gandhiji, proved that women were capable of strengthening the political movement and the participation of women in freedom struggle had its impact on the society and family.

**13.6 Model Questions:**

1. Describe the role of women in Nationalist movements?
2. Describe the Gandhi's role in inspiring women during nationalist movement?
3. Write about the issues prompted women to participate in Nationalist movements?

**13.7 References:**

1. Raka Ray, Fields of protest: Women's movements in India, University of Minnesota press, 1999.
2. Narendra Subramanian, Nation and Family: Personal Law, cultural pluralism, and gendered citizenship in India, Stanford university press, 2014.
3. Mandakranta Bose, Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern India, Oxford university press, 2000.
4. Gandhi, 'To the Women of India', Young India, II August 1921 (CWMG, Vol.20, pp. 495-97).
5. Suruchi Thapar - Bjorkert, Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930-42, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2006.
- 6.
7. Geraldine Fobres, The New Cambridge History of India : Women in Modern India, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- 8.
9. Manmohan Kaur, Role of Women in the Freedom Movement (1857-1947), New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1968.
10. Usha Bala, Indian Women Freedom Fighters 1857-1947, Manmohan Publishers, New Delhi, 1986.

11. Aparna Basu, "The Role of Women in the Indian Struggle for Freedom," B.R. Nanda (ed), Indian Women: From Purdah to Modernity, New Delhi, Vikas Publishers, 1976.
12. Manju Verma, the Role of Women in the Freedom Movement in Punjab, New Delhi, Abhijeet Publications, 2003.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## **LESSON-14**

# **WOMEN'S ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION – TRENDS- NATIONAL AND STATE**

### **14.0 Objectives:**

1. Students would be able to know about history of women's electoral participation.
2. Students would be able to learn about women in electoral process.
3. Students would be able to understand determining factors for women's participation.

### **Structure:**

#### 14.0 Objectives

#### 14.1 Introduction

#### 14.2 Women in Politics in Ancient India

#### 14.3 Women in Electoral Process

#### 14.4 Opinions and Views on Women Electoral Process

#### 14.5 An Impression of Women's Electoral Participation

#### 14.6 Elections and Gender Interactions

#### 14.7 Low Representation and their Motives

#### 14.8 Women Turnout in Elections

#### 14.9 Women Participation in Panchayati Raj Bodies at in Different States

#### 14.10 Strategic Determining Factors and Reasons on Women's Participation

##### 14.10.1 Location and Region

##### 14.11 Problems and Obstructions

##### 14.12 Conclusions

##### 14.13 Model Questions

##### 14.14 References

**14.1 Introduction:**

The electoral participation of Women of politics in India exposes that, there has been a significant growth in their voting turnout and election campaigning. Though there have been substantial improvements in voting turnout and campaigning, still women in India are less represented both in Legislative Assemblies and Parliament, at the State and National level and in Political Parties. It is observed that, analysis regarding the aspects which effect the participation of women says that, women as voters and women as campaigners, are two different elements. Optimistic confirmatory action in the form of reservation in the local bodies, was an important step, for women in decision-making, positions in political parties and in government public offices would talk about the vital problem of women in India.

The fact that, in India, gender favoritism still triumphs, property rights, still an illusion for huge number of women and the political participation is largely “depends” on the interest of gender. Remarkably, the women’s participation has a long history in India, way back from the pre-historic and colonial periods. In the developed, to the developing countries, the political participation of women is very low compared to men. In most of the countries, women had to fight for their right to vote and the women percentage of voters has been improved presently, but their political participation has not increased like men, and hence, women are not able to get their share in organization, where decision making is mandatory. Women have not been considered as an important portion of the political ground. Men have been dominating the at entry level of Politics at each level of participation.

Women who comprise of almost half of the population, and they are to be represented sufficiently in decision making process at all levels, gender equality must prevail in the society and in politics so that development of women can be achieved.

Political Participation can be said as, it is not merely exercising the right to vote, but allocating power, decision making and finally policy making and governance at all levels.

Political Participation is broadly defined as, a process by which an individual acts in politics, has the opportunity to take and make decisions, the collective objectives, which are useful and can be achieved for the society. Political Participation, denotes the actual participation in these professional accomplishments by which members of the society can part in the choice of rules and directly or indirectly in the formulation of public policy.

**14.2 Women in Politics in Ancient India:**

Indian society, considers both men and women as two wheels of a chariot of daily life, she plays various parts as mother, wife, and as sister, encourages men to donate usefully in every domain of life. During the early civilization of Indus, women were considered a source of life, In Mahabharata, women were pronounced as light of the house. But, still there is a misunderstanding regarding the factual status of women in ancient India. It is determined that, women in Vedic age, believed them as human beings in their own rights. They relished significant freedom socially, politically, and in educational events. Women occupied a noticeable position in social and religious gatherings, they had an absolute equality with men. Even the family property headed by men of the family, women enjoyed suitable position. Steadily changes took place and slow decline in the female education. The degree of liberty which Indian women relished during the ancient period was lost some extant in medieval period. During that period some outstanding women personalities left their glorious marks on the pages of history for instance, Rudramba the

Kakateya, Queen Rzia Begum, Chand Bibi of Ahmednagar, Tara Bai, Ahila Holkar were the great women of that period.

#### **14.3 Women in Electoral Process:**

The women electoral participation in India, is a significant aspect in the democratic country, it can be defined that, it is not only in relationship with equality and liberty by which women share political power with their counterparts men, and also by which democratic freedom has been provided for women by electoral legislation. The Constitution of India assured that, “to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political” and “equality of status and of opportunity”. Though, the Constitutional declaration of rights to women, still women in India are obviously represented very less in number at all levels of legislation including State and Nation.

The women representing at Parliament are very less in number than other countries in the world, our representation is less than 20% of the world's average. Accordingly, the same case with legislative assembly members in the different states in the country which is less than 20% average. It clearly indicates the women are left out from electoral participation and much important representation and been sidelined because, huge pressure and competition on political parties at national and state levels. The reason for this would be natural male dominant and male controlled (patriarchal) approach which left out women from electoral procedures and very few seats will be allotted to them during elections.

#### **14.4 Opinions and Views on Women Electoral Process:**

The electoral participation as Voters has been increased substantially since 1990, the issue of electoral participation has different opinions and views. Some philosophers thinks that, the process of elections are male controlled and male dominant by which, obstacles seen in the participation of women and the deficiency of political voice and very less representation, is because of prohibiting women in election process. The other philosopher who do not agree with the previous statement and says that, the increase in women's participation in electoral process since 1990, is an indication for the increased number as voters and their share in political power at all levels says that, there is no gender biased situation but gender inclusive situation is present.

It is because of the strength and willpower of women's movements in different parts of India, and the plans of government to give women reservations, is the main cause for the increase in the female representation in the political areas, mainly in terms of voting patterns and decision-making power and admission to positions of the public offices.

The women's participation in politics in a wider outlook contains relations in an extensive variety of actions such as, take part in trade unions, cooperatives, women's collective bargaining's, informal and formal political processes. Political participation has been defined as a citizen's active contribution with public institutions, which comprise of voting, candidature, campaigning, occupying political office or urging individually or through membership in a group.

#### **14.5 An Impression of Women's Electoral Participation:**

An ephemeral outline of the historical background of women's participation in electoral participation delivers a background both of chronological and thematically. During the Swadeshi Movement of 1905, in Bengal it was noticed the start of Indian women's participation at nationalist activities and also conveyed to the front position question of

suffrage and voting rights. Outlining the back ground of the female suffrage movement in India.

According to Forbes, specified that, “the firm insistence of organized women that they would be treated as equals of men on the franchise issue emerged not from the perceptions of the needs of the women in India, but as the result of the influence of certain British women, in the case of the first demand for the franchise 1917, and as a response to the nationalist movement, in the case of the second demand for franchise, 1927-33”.

Hence, the women’s suffrage movement was started in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in India, which was introduced on the same lines of Britain and by the British women living in India, later it was connected to nationalist movements and the inadequate suffrage rights were provided to women in various provinces of India between 1920 and 1929. Still the suffrage rights were approved to a very small sector of women, established on their property discretion. The Act 1935, of Government of India, delivered a varied sector of women suffrage rights, but it was static limited and burdened with qualifications such as literacy, property ownership or marriage to property-owning men. The Act empowered one woman for every five men empowered.

In viciousness of the movement’s and oppose to gender based reservation of seats, the 1935 Act, approved 41 reserved seats for women in the provincial assemblies and inadequate reservations for women in the Central Legislature, leading to cleft in the movement on gender and religious outlines. Nevertheless, women took benefit of the seats reserved for them in the elections which were held in 1937, and 80 women won and elected as legislators. Consequently, India had the third highest number of female legislators in the world in 1937, after the United States and Soviet Union. After India’s independence in 1947, the new Constitution did not approved reserve seats for women in the legislature. Yet reservation of seats for women in the legislature was there in the British time, was for brief time and was divided on religious ranks. Women were given a footage in legislation activities and usual practice which women could lure on decades later. Yet, the grounds for electoral participation of women was positioned during the freedom movement, after the Independence period did not observe any determined or joint work to create electoral spaces for women. It can be noticed that, participation after Independence was controlled by social standards determining not only occasions for but also awareness of female involvement in politics – perceptions that were sometimes unique to men, at times shared by women.

It was obvious from the first Lok Sabha Elections in 1952, women could win and occupy a miserable 4.4% of the seats in the lower house of Parliament. The call for better representation of women in political institutions in India, was taken up extremely, after the report of Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) in 1976. The CSWI report recommended that, women representation in political bodies required to be increased from the grass-root levels, by adopting a policy for women reservations. The National Perspective Plan for Women in 1988, also proposed that, a 30% quota for women be introduced at all levels of elective bodies. Women’s groups and gender politics firmly asserted that reservation be limited to the Panchayat level, so as to inspire women’s participation at grass-root levels. In 1993, which was resulted in the approval of the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution, to introduce 33% reservation for women at all local-self Governments. In 1995, the demand came in, to introduce reservations at all levels, though the Bill was passed in Rajya Sabha, still it has to be passed in Lok Sabha.

**14.6 Elections and Gender Interactions:**

The women participation at different electoral courses in India is diverse, but the level of participation and involvement is at different levels. The political participation and electoral interaction can be differentiated as 1. Women's representation at Parliament and Assemblies which restricts them at lowest number 2. Women Candidates in election process as candidates and officials of political parties and the number will be more than the previous stage 3. The dynamic campaigners of political parties, much increased numbers than the first two and 4. The huge number of women as voters who participate in election process.

The number of women representatives would be less in the first division than males, but they are restricted as voters only. Therefore, their participation in electoral process is limited and biased and uneven for contesting elections and representing to the top levels of governmental activities. It is to observe that, in the South Asian Countries recently, the highest percentage of representation can be seen in Afghanistan with 27% presently, Iraq with 25.45% and Pakistan with 21.35% It is because there reservations for women being implemented, India with 10.86 and Sri Lanka with 4.89 are the two countries with less representation in South Asian countries which has less than 20% of representation in Parliament.

The representation of women in Parliament and Assemblies from the first General Elections discloses that, their number debarred from the electoral participation even after the independence. They were 4.4% of total members in Parliament in 1952, it has not yet reached the world average of 20% the increase in percentage has been noticed in 2009, by 11%, there is a slight increase from 2004.

**14.7 Low Representation and their Motives:**

The important reason for the low representation of women may perhaps be

1. Socio-Historic powers inborn from Nationalist Movements, political procedures and gender domination is obstructing women's participation in governmental offices, elections, political participation and community organisations presently.
2. Nonexistence of women reserved seats in Parliament and Assemblies is another factor
3. Unwillingness among the political parties to give more tickets to women and nonexistence of unanimity at national level.
4. Continuation of patriarchal political arrangements with class, caste and gender demotion performing as restrictions to women contesting from elections.
5. Absence of knowledge and awareness of electoral politics and lack of support from the family members and political parties strictly upsets the chances of women from contest and win elections.

There was an increase in the number of women candidates who contested the elections, has increased from 284 in 1999, to 566 in the general elections of 2004. Though, most of the parties have not allotted more seats for women at national and state level, because the winning capacity of women could be less which can damage the party's chances of winning elections. A report on winning capacity of women reveals that, their capacity is much higher than men from the last three general elections.



**Table N0: 01**

Seat Allotment of women contestants in General Election by National Parties from 1999, 2004, and 2009 are here under:

National Parties	1999 Contested	Won	2004 Contested Won	2009 Contested Won
National level	284	89	335 45	556 59
Congress	51	41	45 12	43 22
BJP	25	15	30 10	44 13
CPI	4	1	2 0	4 0
CPM	5	3	8 5	6 1

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

In 2014 General Elections the total contested women candidates are 668 and 62 women candidates are won the election the total women percentage is 11.42. In the 2019 General Elections the total 78 women candidates are elected. In 2024 General Elections, the total contested candidates are 800 out that 74 women candidates are elected.

#### 14.8 Women Turnout in Elections:

However, the pattern of women participant in General elections from 1952 to 2009, shows a steady increase in women turnout and difference in turnout had been decreased significantly, there has been an insignificant decrease in female voting in 2004 general elections as compared to 1999, participation of women in the electoral process as voters has gradually increased from 1962 to 2009, in 1962 the average was 46.6% in 2009, the difference in voter turnout among men and women was 16.7% in 1962, was came down to 4.4% in 2009. In spite of the difference in voting levels remaining significant in relation to men, there was not only a definite improvement among Indian women in the 1990s, but also in their turnout. In fact, the general elections of 2009 had witnessed the highest voter turnout among women. Thus, Indian women's participation as voters at national level electoral competition has shown a significant gain.

**Table N0: 02**

Turnout of Women Voters in General Elections

General Elections	Total turnout	Total turnout Men	Total turnout Women	Difference in Turnout
First 1952	60.5	53.0	37.1	15.9
Second 1957	63.7	56.0	39.6	16.4
Third 1962	55.4	60.0	54.9	11.1
Fourth 1967	61.3	66.7	55.5	11.2
Fifth 1971	55.3	60.9	49.1	11.8
Sixth 1977	60.5	66.0	54.9	11.1
Seventh 1980	56.9	62.2	51.2	11.0
Eighth 1984	64.0	68.4	59.2	9.2
Ninth 1989	62.0	66.1	57.3	8.8
Tenth 1991	57.0	61.6	51.4	10.2

Eleventh 1996	58.0	62.1	53.4	8.4
Twelfth 1998	62.0	66.0	58.0	8.0
Thirteenth 1999	60.0	64.0	55.7	8.3
Fourteenth 2004	58.8	61.7	53.3	8.4
Fifteenth 2009	58.2	60.2	55.8	4.4
Sixteenth 2014	66.30	67.0	65.54	1.46
Seventeenth 2019	67.10	67.04	67.02	0.02
Eighteenth 2024	66.10	65.55	65.78	0.23

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

#### 14.9 Women Participation in Panchayati Raj Bodies at in Different States:

It is evident that the 73rd Amendment Act created adequate space structurally for women and the impact of this Act can be measured in terms of the number of women who have contested the Panchayat Raj elections held in 2006 in different States in the Country. The following table reveals the exact position.

**TABLE-03**

#### Number of Elected Women Members in the Panchayati Raj Bodies in Different States in India

S.No	States	Grama Panchayat			Panchayat Samithi			Zilla Parishad		
		Women	Total	%	Women	Total	%	Women	Total	%
01	Andhra Pradesh	74019	224003	33.0	4914	14617	33.7	364	1095	33.2
02	Arunachal Pradesh	3183	8260	38.5	577	1639	35.2	45	136	33.1
03	Assam	9903	25991	38.1	791	2148	36.8	135	390	34.6
04	Bihar	70400	130091	54.1	5671	11537	49.2	577	1157	49.9
05	Chattisgarh	54159	160548	33.7	1005	2977	33.8	109	321	34.0
06	Goa	538	1489	36.1	-	-	-	24	50	48.0
07	Gujarat	38071	114187	33.3	1394	4161	33.5	274	817	33.5
08	Haryana	24994	69473	36.0	962	2833	34.0	135	384	35.2
09	Himachal Pradesh	9128	27270	33.5	559	1667	33.5	86	251	34.3
10	Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Karnataka	41210	96090	42.9	1519	3683	41.2	373	1005	37.1
12	Kerala	6893	18482	37.3	748	2004	37.3	125	339	36.9
13	Madhya Pradesh	134368	396877	33.8	2393	7164	33.4	304	888	34.4
14	Maharashtra	77118	229710	33.6	1317	3902	33.8	653	1951	33.5

15	Manipur	646	1768	36.5	-	-	-	21	61	34.4
16	Orissa	36086	100862	35.8	2188	6227	35.1	296	854	34.7
17	Punjab	31900	91207	35.0	922	2760	33.4	103	315	32.7
18	Rajasthan	42543	120171	35.4	2108	5494	38.4	391	1040	37.6
19	Sikkim	398	1005	39.6	-	-	-	32	100	32.0
20	Tamil Nadu	39370	116534	33.8	2319	6570	35.3	227	656	34.6
21	Tripura	1986	1733	34.6	106	199	35.5	28	82	34.1
22	Uttar Pradesh	299024	771660	38.8	24673	65668	37.0	1122	2698	41.6
23	Uttaranchal	21734	57500	37.8	1133	3152	35.9	119	360	33.1
24	West Bengal	21339	58748	36.3	2953	8483	34.8	246	720	34.2
25	A & N Island	296	856	34.6	25	67	37.3	10	30	33.33
26	Chandigarh	62	187	33.2	06	15	40.0	03	10	30.0
27	D & N Haveli	49	125	39.2	-	-	-	03	10	30.3
28	Daman & Diu	37	97	38.1	-	-	-	07	20	35.0
29	Lakshadweep	38	101	37.6	-	-	-	08	22	36.4
30	Pondicherry	370	1021	36.7	40	108	37.1	-	-	-
Total		1039872		36.7	58328		37.1	5821		36.9

Source: Grama Sabha (Telugu Monthly Magazine), March 2007, P.25, April 2007, P.25, May 2007, P. 25

#### 14.10 Strategic Determining Factors and Reasons on Women's Participation:

The levels of women's participation in proper politics, influenced by factors which are universal and gender-specific in nature, while some are locally precised at national level. In India and in another places it has been recommended that women's participation in elections is usually lower than of men, because they have been socially different, particularly, marriage, motherhood, employment, and property ownership are factors, or because they have less resources. Likewise, the socio-economic demographics of women and gender specific reasons to determine their level of participation in the electoral process at the different levels.

There has been an observable improvement of women as voters in Indian elections and they have achieved parity with men voters in elections. The reasons mentioned has been campaigned by state and society in boosting women to participate and vote in elections. Other factors are that their interest in politics to casting their votes. Huge number of the women with an interest in politics are the ones who participate actively in the voting process. The different socio-demographics such as education and income, socio-cultural types and caste are also related with women's chances in political participation.

##### 14.10.1 Location and Region:

Location and Region plays an important role in women's participation. Women in rural areas, vote share is higher as compared to those in urban areas, rural women are ahead by 5 percentage points in voting in the 2004 general elections. Likewise, the women from south and eastern parts of India participate in voting, compared to women from north and western parts. The reason for the higher percentage of voting by women in the southern

and eastern parts of India is the matriarchal (Mother Dominate) social arrangement widespread in these regions which permits them more freedom and convey interactions in the public province and in elections.

#### **14.11 Problems and Obstructions:**

The Constitution of India grants both men and women with equal rights to participate in elections, but in the existing social value system, the male majority in political organizations limit women from exercising their electoral rights and a fair participation in elections. These influences, also turns as an important barriers and obstacles in women's dynamic participation in Indian electoral system and in the higher concerns of women's development as a whole. The absence of dire and superior representation of women in crucial decision-making positions, results in women's programme not revealed and addressed in public plans and platforms

Despite the fact that, elected women representatives addressed the issues of long- term benefits like education, health, violence against women and basic amenities that affect community, while, men focused on problems that required instant consideration such as roads, community and commercial centres, tanks, bridges, etc. Therefore, men's plan of public work inclines to disregard women's issues and is harmful for the development of women and improvement, in the larger interest of the society. On the one hand, the absence of a critical mass of women representatives lessens their negotiating power during the allotment of key cabinet berths in India like Finance, Home, Defence, Health, etc., which are commonly allocated to men and measured "heavy-weight" Ministries. On the other hand women are generally allocated ministries which are not only termed as "feminine" ministries like Women and Children Welfare, Information and Culture, Social Welfare, etc., which are comparatively less important. Hence, women in India are unsuccessful in breaking the ice and have been lowered to the peripheries in power sharing at the top level, and has an antagonistic impression on their overall political status in the country and has acted as barriers and obstacles in higher electoral participation.

#### **14.12 Conclusions:**

There has been a noticeable upsurge in voter turnout and in election campaigning among women. While there have been noteworthy gains among women in these two areas of electoral participation, they continue to be under represented in legislative bodies both at national and state level and within political parties. The underrepresentation of women in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies will lose in vital decision-making positions and like significant cabinet positions as well. Though women have important number at national and state levels as party leaders, their representation within the rank is not noteworthy. Women who have made their presence felt in inner party structures are also demoted to the second stage leadership and have failed to break the ice. They hardly ever perform any part in framing policies and strategies in political parties and are allocated the job of keeping an eye on "women's issues" that could bring electoral benefits and dividends for the party in forthcoming elections. The variance in voting is based on gender, but the participation of women as voters is clearly on the upsurge at the national and state level.

#### **14.13 Model Questions:**

1. Write about the women's participation during ancient times?
2. Describe about the participation of women in electoral process?
3. Describe about the factors determining women's electoral participation?

**14.14 References:**

1. Buch, N., From Oppression to Assertion: A Study of Panchayats and Women in Madhya
2. Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (unpublished report). New Delhi: Centre for Women's Development Studies, 1999.
3. John, M., "Democracy, Patriarchies and Reservations for Women". Indian Journal of Gender Studies. Vol. 6, No. 1, January–June 1999.
4. Menon, Nivedita, "Elusive 'Woman': Feminism and Women's Reservation Bill". Economic and Political Weekly. 28 October 2000.
5. Raman, V., "Women's Reservation and Democratization: An Alternative Perspective". Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay), 11 December 1999.
6. Raman, V., "The Women's Question in Contemporary Indian Politics". Asian Journal of Women's Studies 2001.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

**Lesson- 15**

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN INDIA PERSPECTIVES AND CHALLENGES**

**15.0 Objectives:**

1. Students would be able to know about the situations in which they lived.
2. Students would be able to learn about different women's movements and causes for such movements.

**Structure:**

15.0 Objectives

15.1 Introduction

15.2 Basic Features of Women's Activities /Movements

15.2.1 Shared Mobilisation

15.2.2 Existence of an Ideology

15.2.3 Coordination Required for Change

15.3 Sorting of Women's Movements

15.3.1 Participation of Women in Movements

15.3.2 Movement of Women

15.3.3 Women's Reforms Movements

15.4 Liberation Movements by Women

15.5 Status of Women in India – Historical Periods

15.6 Status of Women during 19<sup>th</sup> Century- First Wave Movements

15.6.1 Movement on Sati

15.6.2 Female Infanticide

15.6.3 Child Marriage

15.6.4 Enforced Widowhood

15.6.5 Devadasi System

15.6.6 Dowry System or Bride's Money

15.7 Movements of Social Reforms in 19<sup>th</sup> Century in India

15.7.1 Issues of Social Reforms

15.7.2 Social Reform Need

15.8 Second Stage 1915-1947 Second Wave Movement

15.9 Role of Women in Khadi/ Boycott of Foreign Goods

15.10 Role of Women in Bardoli Satyagraha

15.11 Role of Women in Civil Disobedient Movement

15.12 Role of Women during Civil Disobedient and Quit India Movements

15.13 Third Stage Post 1947- Third Wave Movement

15.14 Chipco Movement

15.14.1 History

15.14.2 Movement

15.15.Challenges of Women at Present

15.16 Conclusions

15.17 Model Questions

15.18 References

**15.1 Introduction:**

Women's Movements in India are customary movements which are focused on creating and shielding equality social, political and economic rights for Indian women. In this connection, the rights of women in India, like other feminist groups all over the world, in India they seek gender equality, the right to work for equal wages, the right to equal access to health and education and equal political rights. The women in India also fought against the socio-cultural issues such as patriarchal society, inheritance laws practice of sati, early marriage, dowry system, access to education, against poverty, participation in freedom movements during independence time etc.,

The women's movements in India can be divided into three phases like, the first stage, beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not like in western countries, where women took the initiatives for their cause, but in Indian context, the men initiated all the movements for

their cause, later taken up by women. It was the first time, the European male talked and objected the social evil of sati. The second stage started from 1915 to Indian independence, when Gandhi, started the women's movements and from then, the individual women's organisations started to emerge. And lastly, the third stage post-independence, where women have taken up number of movements such as Chipco, Constitutional equality, Dowry system, against rape and sexual violence, right to political participation etc.,

Even though, women has participated many movements still, women are facing many issues of discrimination because of India's patriarchal system has made the course of attainment land ownership and right of entry to educational challenges in the last two decades, and also the trends of sex-selective abortions. Like in western parts the women's movements have been under go severe criticism in India as well. They criticised for focusing women too much on women already privileged and neglecting women and representation of poor women or low caste women, this has led to the creation of caste-specific women organisations and movements.

### **15.2 Basic Features of Women's Activities /Movements:**

The study of components to understand the women's movements are required. M.A.S Rao in 1978, defined social movements as "an organized effort on the part of a section of population, involving collective mobilization based on an ideology to bring about change in the social system". With the above definition one can understand that, women's movements are organized efforts of women's organisations with an ideology to bring equality and liberation for women. Hence the basic features of women's movements can be recognized as follows:

- 1 Shared Mobilization
- 2 Existence of an Ideology
- 3 Coordination required for the Change

#### **15.2.1 Shared Mobilisation:**

To start any movement presence of people are required, and these masses have to be collectively mobilised into action for their movement. This can be possible with sensitising and educating them with the problem are required to mobilise and bring them into action. The essential strategies are required to inspire them of the problem through education, discussions and write ups for the cause for their movements. Movements will have larger perspectives and objectives to be achieved by the help of different procedures including agitation.

#### **15.2.2 Existence of an Ideology:**

In fact it is observed by many sociologist and they also accept that, ideology is very essential for the achievement of any movements and it is the basis of any movement. The base of women's movements is the ideology of feminists as worried section in struggle against their dictators. Gail Omvedt differentiates feminism as Liberal feminism, bringing equality among the sexes, radical feminism, revolutionary changes and Social feminism, attempts to check the oppression of women linked with other oppression for the women's emancipation.



**15.2.3 Coordination Required for Change:**

Social movements are directed towards the demand for the social change and was said by Gus Field in 1979, and Nadkarni in 1987, said that, social movements intend to alter the existing social power structures at least at the national level where it takes place. The women's associations working as pressure groups agitate to bring changes at regional level. They work together to bring change at national and international levels.

**15.3 Sorting of Women's Movements:**

The women's movements has been classified by Gail Omvedt into four types and are as follows:

- 1 Participation of women in movements
- 2 Women's movements for any type of cause
- 3 Movements benefiting women in bringing reforms
- 4 Movements for the sake of women's emancipation

**15.3.1 Participation of Women in Movements:**

Women participated in number of movements though they are not related to them, such as anti-price rise, and other movements. They do not stress on oppression due to sexual differentiation, though, they are not exact movements, but they play a role in giving strength and self-confidence in struggle against their own oppression and get the experience of participating in the agitations.

**15.3.2 Movement of Women:**

There are certain movements women are the main participants but their participation alone cannot be named as women's movements in fact, such movements can be named general division of labour where men fight for wage rise and women for price-rise, without challenging the male domination and social structure, these movements play a reformist role. In these movements they give women an opportunity to participate and experience the cause.

**15.3.3 Women's Reforms Movements:**

During the pre-independence age there were number of movements occurred and women took participation in those, such as, education and voting rights to women, abolition of Sati etc. Those movements give more powers to women and upgrade the society.

**15.4 Liberation Movements by Women:**

Movements such as, sexual harassment, patriarchal and issues concerning women can be prioritised and their fight for the cause to liberate from such social issue are addressed. Issues such as sati, women's education are called women's movements.

**15.5 Status of Women in India – Historical Periods:**

The status of women in India is depend upon the factors like cultural differences, family structure, class, caste, property rights and morals. These differences are due to the sexual and biological indifferences among them, is the principle cause for the social differences.

In India women are given low importance, low status, considered as sexual partner only. During the Vedic times women in India enjoyed greater freedom. Their status was satisfactory during that time. They experienced both social and political life, girls were educated like boys in that period. Music, dancing and painting had been encouraged during those times.

### **15.6 Status of Women during 19<sup>th</sup> Century- First Wave Movements:**

It was believed that women, only fit to perform duties such as kitchen and other household works in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Margaret Cousins, the condition of women in 19<sup>th</sup> century was very low and the need for literacy, individuality, health, social status, freedom of movement, economic freedom and the need for liberation was noticed during 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The women's movements can be divided as three stages and the first stage starting of 19<sup>th</sup> century and second stage from 1915 to Indian Independence, when Ghandi started the women's movement into Quit India movement and individual women organisations came into existence during that time and lastly the third stage post –Independence which has focused on impartial action of women in the work force and right to political equality. Unlike the western women's movements, Indian movement was started by men and later joined by women. The efforts of these men which include abolition of sati, custom of child marriage, elimination of disfiguring of widows, prohibition the marriage of upper caste Hindu widows, endorsing women's education, obtains legal rights for women to own property, and requiring the law to recognise women's status by granting them basic rights in matters such as adoption.

The colonial undertaking into modernity fetched of democracy, equality and individual rights. The rise of the concept of nationalism and self-examination of discriminatory practices brought about social reform movements related to caste and gender relation. Thus, efforts for improving the status of women in India was started in 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **15.6.1 Movement on Sati:**

The practice of sati can be mentioned dated back to 4th century BC. While indication of practice only appears from the 5th - 9th centuries AD. Practice is considered to have been originated within the warrior aristocracy on the Indian subcontinent and gradually gaining in popularity from the 10th century AD, to other groups and becoming generally authorized/suggested by the doctrines around the 12th century. With the military expansions outside of Indian subcontinent, the practice has been proved to have been practiced in a number of localities in Southeast Asia.

The practice was banned by the British in 1829, within their own territories in India, the statistics says at least 500-600 sati per year, followed up by laws in the same directions by the authorities in the princely states of India in the succeeding decades, with a general ban for the whole of India issued by Queen Victoria in 1861. The Indian sati prevention act from 1987 further outlawing any type of aiding, abetting, and even the glorifying of sati practice

Sahajanand Swami the founder of the Swami Narayan sect, preached against the practice of sati in his area of influence, in Gujarat. He argued that the practice had no Vedic standup and only God could take a life which he had given. He also orated that widows

could lead better life would ultimately get salvation. Sir John Malcom, the Governor of Bombay supported Sahajanand Swami in this endeavor.

It was mainly due to efforts of the Bengali reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahmo Samaj, who in the beginning of 1812, started defending the cause of prohibition of sati practice, and initiated an extensive movement against the practice. He was inspired by the experience of seeing his own sister-in-law being forced to commit Sati. He tried to gain support from other elite class of Bengal and wrote articles and circulated to show that, it was not required by scripture. He was at loggerhead with certain section, who wanted that, Government should not interfere in religious practices and filed a counter-petition for making a law banning sati practice. He appealed to William Bentick, the Governor of Bengal, to pass a law to ban sati practice in British India and his work paved the way and practice was banned by a law passed in 1829, in Bengal Presidency and later extended to Madras in 1830.

#### **15.6.2 Female Infanticide:**

Another prominent social evil that women faced was female infanticide, the birth of female child was not welcomed by the parents and family, they were put to death of female child in those days. They believed that the son only could be the saviour of parents and they get salvation with son only. The practice of female infanticide was declared illegal by the British in 1795 and 1804.

#### **15.6.3 Child Marriage:**

The other social evil in those days was the early marriages of child which causes severe problems to the child and the society. Dr. Annie Besant said, that type of system did not present anywhere in the world. Girls were married at very young age between 1 to 10 or some times less than one year, they believed that with early marriages the girl alter herself with her husband and his family. This practice was banned because of the efforts of the social reformers and their movements, the bill was passed in 1860. Social reformers like Mahadev Govind Rande, Behramji Malabari and Tel Bahadur Sapru attempted to ban the child marriages

#### **15.6.4 Enforced Widowhood:**

The impact of child marriages clearly can be seen here, there are many cases, where the girl child become widows before they attain the age of puberty or adolescent age. It was observed that, the widow had to observe and compelled to have pitiful life throughout. She was deprived of the minimum comforts of the life, she had to live on one meal a day, sleep on the floor and wear white saree, and was not permitted to grow hair and look beautiful. She was regarded as bad omen and inauspicious lady in the society, was not permitted to attend any sort of functions.

Behramji Malbari, pleaded for the marriage of such persons, there were several other persons like Kandukuri worked for the sake of such children for their improvement. It was in 1881, the first remarriage of widow was performed at Rajamundry of Andhra Pradesh. In 1884, the Society for Widow Remarriages was came into existence.

#### **15.6.5 Devadasi System:**

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, another shameful system dominant was that of Devadasis. Men used to go to them and spend money on them finally, ruining of their families.

Though they find talent in those devadasis they ought to lead the devadasis life only, and it became very impossible for them to lead normal life in the society.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, condemned the practice as atrocity and crime of the religion. The efforts were taken to eradicate the social evil and to bring social reforms and to bring liberty of devadasis. Gandhiji also continued to fight against it and the system was abolished by the enactment made and Bill was passed in 1937 and 1947 individually.

#### **15.6.6 Dowry System or Bride's Money:**

It was another social evil present in those days, where the bride get money from bridegroom, that act, made greedy parents to marry their young daughter to the old man if they possess money, otherwise called as Kanyasulka. Different organisations were responsible for the elimination of such social evil, it started in 19<sup>th</sup> century and became the indigenous culture with western culture.

#### **15.7 Movements of Social Reforms in 19<sup>th</sup> Century in India:**

In India the social reforms movements were initiated, because of British government's programmes, and policies put forward to come over the impression of the encouragements of the western and impressed by the educated elite group of Indians especially, men undertook the work of brining the reforms and social reforms. In this system, women were focal point of the social reforms movements by giving access to education, to bring social change among them, thus, they could take the lead in the participation of the movements aiming the causes which relates them. The reforms movement, considered as the significant in the mechanism, which was the beginning for making modern India.

The beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a stimulus for the social reforms, it was quite evident that, the status of women started changing because of the movements against education for women, early marriages, polygamy, sati, denial of property rights and purdah system got severe criticism and movements took place for the emancipation of women in this regard. Academicians gave the thoughtfulness to the problem, Veena Majumdar, commented on the 19th century social reforms as "they were concerned by the impact of modernisation that increased the gap between men and women and threatened the stability of the family sought to strengthen women's position with education and property".

##### **15.7.1 Issues of Social Reforms:**

The main issues related to the 19th century were, unfriendly treatment of widows, ban on widow remarriages, ban on child marriages, ban on sati, Rights on property, women's education and status of the women within the family. These issues were handled very carefully and brought the required reforms so that women too can have their share in the developmental process of the society.

##### **15.7.2 Social Reform Need:**

The reformers thought that, the social evil should be eliminated from the grass-root level so that the women could attain the best suited place in the society and to stop the injustice being done to them in the name of culture and religion. They thought that, it could be possible only by making women know about the facts, and by educating them and to

bring them into the main stream. They demanded the restoration of healthy and congenial situations as present in the Vedic periods.

### **15.8 Second Stage 1915-1947 Second Wave Movement:**

During this period the struggle against colonial rule increased, nationalism become outstanding cause. Appealing Indian dominance became instrument of culture revivalism ensuing in a recognised model of Indian womanhood. Gandhi legitimated and expanded Indian women's public activities, by introducing them to non-violent civil disobedience movements against British. He dignified women roles of caring such as, self-abnegation, sacrifice and tolerance etc., during this time Women organisations like, All India Women's Conference (AIWC), and National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW) arose. Women were facing with issues relating to the scope of women's political participation, women's franchise, communal awards and leadership roles in political parties.

A new period for Indian women was begin in 1920, and was accountable for the formation of localised women's associations, they stressed women's education issues, livelihood strategies for working class women, and connected with All India Women's Conference which was associated with Indian National Congress and under the leadership of Gandhi, worked for the national and anti-colonial movements. This made the mass mobilisation of women and become the fundamental part of Indian nationalism, including civil disobedience movements in 1930. After Independence, All India Women's Conference continued to operate and in 1954, The Indian Communist Party formed its own women's wing called as National Federation of Indian Women.

The Nationalist Movement, manifest the start of a political emergent, amongst the women in India. In 1905, during the Swadeshi Movement it was noticed that, most of the women took part in the movement and ultimately into the freedom struggle, because the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and they gave membership to women and ultimately include them in the struggle. In the year 1914, Annie Besant came into the Indian politics, which fastened the formation of women associations for the freedom struggle, then, she became the First Women President (Chairperson) of the Indian National Congress. The emergence of another prominent leader from women's list was Sarojini Naidu she also involved very actively in the struggle. M. K Gandhi played a significant role during the freedom struggle and had remarkable influence on them. Bringing women into the freedom struggle was considered as revolutionary thought, he was against Purdha, Dowry and Devadasi system in the society. It is noteworthy to state that, he understood the role women can play in struggle for freedom.

The role and participation of women in the struggled can be can be divided according to the period wise, the role of women in the struggle started way back in 1857 prior to the establishment of National Congress. It was in 1857 the first revolt against the British rule, prominent women like Rani Jhansi Bai, Rani Tara Bai, Begum Hazarat Mahal, Lalithat Bakshi, Jhalkari, Sunder Kashi Bai, Munder Moti Bai, Rani of Ranigarh and Rani of Tulsipur took part. The period between 1905-1919, regarded as revolutionary period, the women contributed in different ways for the struggle of freedom. They were associated with revolutionary leaders and contributed their gold belongings for the National Fund Publicity and Protest.

### **15.9 Role of Women in Khadi/ Boycott of Foreign Goods:**

Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Renuka Ray, Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi and Kasturba Gandhi, played an important role in the boycott of foreign goods. Many women, participated in

the khadi movement and some of them left schools and colleges when they listened the inspiring speech of Gandhi. Besanta Devi along with her husband toured Bangal and told them to boycott foreign goods and go for khadi instead.

#### **15.10 Role of Women in Bardoli Satyagraha:**

The period between, 1922-30 was remarkable in the freedom struggle. In 1928, during Bardoli Satyagraha, women steadily be more than men in political congregations. Maniben Patel and Bakti Desai fixed their tents on the land declared to be sold by the government. No Tax movement was organised by them. This Satyagraha was proved the strength of women and the rural flock participated in this movement.

#### **15.11 Role of Women in Civil Disobedient Movement:**

The year between 1930 to 1935 were promising and most of the women took part in the meetings, and the beginning of pledge for liberation started. During the Salt satyagraha, Gandhi began a historic march to Dandi to break salt law, Sarojini Naidu, Muthuben Patel, Mridula Sarabai, Khurseedben, Kamala Devi Chattopadyaya and Avanthikabai, Gokhale were some of the noticeable women connected with the Salt Satyagraha. Many women from different parts of India were participated Sawrup Rani Nehru, wife of Moti Lal Nehru, took part in resisting forest law. The movement under Gandhiji was inspired by many women of that time, Durgabai Deshmukh was appointed by Tanguturi Prakasm to break salt law in Madras. The women leaders like Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Sarojini Devi were in the top position to organizing processions, meetings and picketing foreign goods.

#### **15.12 Role of Women during Civil Disobedient and Quit India Movements:**

These two movements were the most significant in the history of Nationalist Movements, because it was the final period before the Independence. This was the time when all the women from different classes such as elite and rural ordinary women took part in the movement and were arrested. Among the women, Suchetha Krapalani was, in charge of the Women's Department of the All India Congress Committee, (AICC) since 1939, and she was the first woman to be arrested.

During 1942, the Quit India Movement, many women took part in demonstrations holding public meetings, demonstrations and organizing strikes. A young girl from Assam, Kanakalatha Barua, led a pageant of 500 and was killed in the police firing. In Bombay, Usha Mehta ran an underground radio station. The most significant personality of that time was Aruna Asaf Ali, who participated in 1942 movement, for many years she continued secretive avoiding arrest. She published bulletins and edited the newsletter "The Inquilab" along with Ram Manohar Lohia. There were some women who did not believe in non-violence accepted the revolutionary way.

There were some examples of women who joined the nationalist movements and dynamically contributed similarly like men. Women were dynamic who were with Gandhiji and extremist sections. Though, the number of women who attained positions of power or membership in the representative bodies were less compared to men.

#### **15.13 Third Stage Post 1947- Third Wave Movement:**

Post-independence women movements initiated to redefined the amount to which women were permitted to involve in the workforce. Before to independence most of the women

accepted the sexual divide within the labour force. Thus, women in 1970, challenged the inequalities that had been recognised and struggled to reverse them. These inequalities included unequal wages for women, and they have also recognised inequalities not just between men and women but also within the power structure such as caste, tribe, language, religion, class and region etc., ensure the fulfilment of demands of one group would not create further inequalities for another group. Now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the focus of Indian women movements gone beyond treating women as useful members of society and a right parity, but also having the power to decide the course of their personal lives and the right of self-determination.

The second wave began, as grass-roots organizations concentrated not only upon gender but also upon caste, class, and culture as roots of women's harassment. The groups in this movement were united with grass-roots labour, peasant, and tribal movements as well as leftist opposition parties. Their activities were protests by tribal women, in Maharashtra, against alcohol-related domestic violence, and by the Chipco movement of poor women in the Himalayas to safeguard their forest resources and highlight women's unrecognized economic contributions. The first poor women bank to help the poor women was established by, The Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), a union of women working as street vendors and rag-pickers and in home-based industries. In the late 1970s, independent, certainly feminist women's movements arose. Aggravated by the discharges of cases of girls raped by police and by religiously certified violations of women's human rights, their campaigns relocated on violence against women, dowry deaths (the murder of brides for their dowries), sex-selective abortions, and sati.

The accomplishment of women's movement organizations, met with an anti-feminist response, which calls upon household, communal, and religious identities to try to push back women's gains (Kumar 1995). Since, poverty and insecurity support the flare of conservative fears, the feminist strategy of promoting grassroots-based sustainable development is a double-edged one—it addresses both the economic independence of women and the long-term security and well-being of the whole community.

#### **15.14 Chipco Movement:**

The Chipco movement, otherwise can be called as Chipco Andolan, which was participated by the women on the grounds of Gandhian style of Satyagraha and non-violent movements to protect the trees from being felled, they hug them. The movement started in the 1970s, against the deforestation in the areas of Garhwal Himalayas, of Uttarkhand and later in Uttar Pradesh. Amrita Devi, was the women who started the movement against the King's men to stop them from cutting trees in Himalayas. She created awareness about the uses of forest and number of women took part and on 26<sup>th</sup> March in 1974, the significant event took place and a group of women from Reni, village, Hemwalghati in Chamoli district of Uttarkhand, started the movement against the cutting of the trees to reclaim their traditional forest rights, the actions of the women in this regard motivated number of agitations took place in the region. The movement which started in a small place took a turn and become the national agitation by 1980s, which led to the formulation people sensitive policies.

The livelihood was caused because of it, and progressively the awareness about the ecology was started and it finally give rise to the start of political activism in the region. In the year 1964 an organisation of Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh (DGSS) Dasholi Society for Village Self-rule was established by Gandhian social worker, Chand Prasad

Bhatt in Gopeshwar and was motivated by Jayaprakash Narayan and Sarvodaya movement with the clear object to start small industries using forest resources.

#### **15.14.1 History:**

Chipco movement started mainly for the protection of their livelihood rather than conservation of forest movement, which after took the initiation of number of environmentalists in India. It happened when there was no awareness about the environment, which motivated many such groups to take action against the fast deforestation actions and put interest in the ecological awareness, and the issues related, to the tribal and sidelined people. Though the leaders of this movement were men, but women stood behind this agitation, because of the deforestation women would affect mainly for the firewood, fodder, drinking water and water for their land. Due to their efforts the afforestation could happen. In the year 1987, the Chipco movement got the award of Right Livelihood Award.

#### **15.14.2 Movement:**

During this time villagers from the different parts of the state started organising themselves into smaller groups, and started taking up local causes against the commercial logging processes of ash trees, which they thought, would be danger to their livelihood. The forest department gave permission to the company to prepare tennis rackets in 1971, though there were protest against the action. But later years this struggle was on, but in 1973, when such actions of deforestation was going on several villagers agitated and eventually contract was cancelled, this was the first opposition of the movement. But the commercialization of government logging policy to procure the annual quota of ash trees was on the rampart, the villagers thought it was against their will and they decided to start the hugging of the trees or Chipco as a mean of non-violence protest.

The significant event took place in the year 1974, when government auctioned 2,500 trees near Reni village by overlooking Alakananda River, Villagers in that area were motivated by Bhatt, and started protesting against the action of government by hugging the trees, over the next few weeks meetings, protests and rallies were continued. In 1974, March 25<sup>th</sup> when the contractors to start their operations a young girl saw them and informed Gaura Devi, the head of the village, she along with 27 women went to the site and confronted with them, the talks were failed and even they threatened women with guns, then the women resorted to hugging the trees to stop them from being felled. This took place till late hours and women all-night vigil guarding their trees from cutters, the next day the news spread like wild fire more people from other parts also joined the movement and finally after four days stand off the contractors had to leave the place.

The news of the movement reached the state capital, the then Chief Minister set up a commission to look into the matter, which finally ruled in favour of the villagers, this became the focal point in the history of the eco-development in the region and world-wide.

The participation of women in the Chipco movement was very innovative cause, the contractors lured men with alcohol but women seized this act and continued. Gandhian and Chipco leader, Sundarlal Bahuguna also took foot march of 5,000 kilometers in 1981-83. Chipco, in Hindi language means Embrace or hug. The movement became reality when the government issued ban on felling of trees in Himalayan region for fifteen years in 1980, until the green cover was restored the then prime Minister Indira Gandhi stood



behind the cause in passing orders. Later women started cooperative organisations to guard local forest, and also planned for fodder production at lower rates which can be easily met by them.

#### **15.15. Challenges of Women at Present:**

In the modern times women are facing lot of problems they include, Women Trafficking, Sexual Abuse, Acid attacks by the peers from opposite sex, Domestic violence by husbands and their family members, Problems at Working place like double meaning dialogues with women when they converse etc. These problems have to be eliminated from the grass-root levels and we need to find the solutions for them.

#### **15.16 Conclusions:**

Women's Movements in India are customary movements which are focused on creating and shielding equality social, political and economic rights for Indian women. The women in India also fought against the socio-cultural issues such as patriarchal society, inheritance laws practice of sati, early marriage, dowry system, education, against poverty, freedom movements during independence time etc.,

The women's movements in India can be divided into three stages like, the first stage, beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not like in western countries where women took the initiatives for their cause but in Indian context the men initiated all the movements for their cause later taken up by women. It was the first time the European male talked and objected the social evil of sati. The second stage started from 1915 to Indian independence, when Gandhi started the women's movements and from then the individual women's organisations started to emerge. And lastly, the third stage post-independence, where women have taken up number of movements such as Chipco, Constitutional equality, Dowry system, against rape and sexual violence, right to political participation etc.,

There are certain movements women are the main participants but their participation alone cannot be named as women's movements in fact such movements can be named general division of labour where men fight for wage rise and women for price-rise, without challenging the male domination and social structure, these movements play a reformist role. In these movements they give women an opportunity to participate and experience the cause.

During the pre-independence age there were number of movements occurred and women took participation in those such as, education and voting rights to women, abolition of Sati etc. These movements gives women more powers to women and upgrade the society. The present day challenges are such as sex abuse, acid attacks etc. need to tackle.

#### **15.17 Model Questions:**

1. Write about the circumstances in which the women lived before the social reforms?
2. Describe about the different women's movements in the following
  - A. Pre-independence movements
  - B. B. Nationalist movements
  - C. C. Chipco movement

**15.18 References:**

1. Suruchi Thapar - Bjorkert, Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930- 42, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2006.
2. Chattopadhyay, Kamaladevi. Inner Recesses, Outer Spaces: Memoirs. Navrang, New Delhi, 1986.
3. Forbes, Geraldine. Women in Modern India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
4. Kumar, Radha. A History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India 1800-1990. London: Verso, 1993.
5. Dasgupta, Kalpana, Women on the Indian Scene, New Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1976.
6. Manmohan Kaur, Women in India's Freedom Struggle, Delhi, Sterling Publishers, S.R. Bakshi, 1988, Mutiny to Independence, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1985.
7. Srinivas, M.N., 1978, Changing Position of Indian Women, Thomas Huxley Memorial Lecture, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1978 .
8. Mazumdar, V., 'Emergence of Women's Question in India and the Role of Women's Studies', Occasional Paper, 7. CWDS, New Delhi, 1985.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON -16

# DEBATE ON WOMEN'S RESERVATION

### 16.0 Objective:

1. Students would be able to know about the constitution Amendment Bill.
2. Students would be able to understand about the history of Women's Reservation Bill.
3. Students would be able to understand about Women's Reservation Bill.

### Structure:

16.0 Objective

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Background History

16.3 Women's Reservations

16.4 The Women's Reservation Bill Highlights

16.4.1 Bill's Drawbacks

16.4.2 Dual-Member Constituencies Proposal

16.5 The Women's Reservation Bill

16.6 Women's Reservation in the Indian At present status

16.6.1 Historical Background

16.6.2 Significance of the Reform

16.6.3 Challenges and Criticisms

16.7 Conclusion

16.8 Model Questions

16.9 References

### 16.1 Introduction:

The women's reservation bill or the constitution amendment bill of 108, is a pending bill which proposes to amend the Constitution of India so that it can provide 33% (one third) of seats in Parliament, the Lok Sabha and in all State Legislative Assemblies for women. The seats to be reserved on rotation basis and would be determined by the draw so that, a seat shall be reserved only once in three successive general elections. This bill has been passed by Rajya Sabha on March 9<sup>th</sup> 2010, but till 2014 general elections the bill has not been passed in Lok Sabha. Only after the approval in Lok Sabha, then half of the State legislatures would have to be passed then signed by the President to become an Act.

The 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendments in India announced 33% quota for women in local self-government institutions. The Amendments were implemented in 1993 and made 1,000,000 openings for elected women representatives. Later, all key National Political Parties expressed their backing for women's quotas in Parliament, State Legislatures and the Women's Reservation Bill, introduced in the Parliament in 1996. The Bill has become debatable for the last nine years. It is because serious defects in the Bill, even the supporters of women's quota, also find it difficult to support it. But some women's groups have adopted a very firm position in support of the Bill, practically treating it as sacrosanct and unable to discuss.

The Indian Constitution has provided the quota for the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes in the Hindu community and the women's reservation bill is not different from quota bill. It also has the requirements on parallel ration for those who are economically backward classes, are termed as 'Other Backward classes'(OBC), give privilege in education, employment in private, public sectors and in political representation. The Amendment to the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutions provided for 33% of quota for representation of women in local self-governments, and it was implemented in 1993, they were enacted without any pressure or demand from women. Before to these reservation Bill, Karnataka had introduced 25% women's quota in Panchayat Raj Institutions. Later, Maharashtra provided for 30% reservation of seats for women in rural and urban areas in self-government institutions. In 1996, more than 10,00,000 women representatives were elected throughout India.

The Constitutional Amendments of Bill of 73<sup>rd</sup>, 74<sup>th</sup> has encouraged all important national Political parties to commit themselves to extending 33% to the Parliament and State legislative Assemblies. And Women's Reservation Bill or the 81<sup>st</sup> Constitutional amendment Bill was finally introduced in Parliament in 1996 and still the bill has not passed in Lok Sabha.

### **16.2 Background History:**

It is very much important to know the early history on women reservations which is lengthy aspect of women's reservation and demand for it in the Parliament. The demand for the separate reservations for the women actually came up in 1920s. The main reason for this, they keep away from their demand for Universal Adult Franchise and to contest elections like men. It was supported by many prominent women organizations like, All India Women's Conference, The Women's Indian Association and National Council of Women in India and by the Home Rule League, The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. A Joint Memorandum in 1932, on the Status of Indian Women from all-India women's organizations, the Franchise Committee was set up and at the end of the Second Round Table Conference, they uttered their demand for Universal Adult Franchise "irrespective of any property or literacy qualification, with no expedients such as nomination or reservation of seats". They endorsed the declaration of Fundamental rights to Citizenship in India made in the Indian National Congress session in Karachi, in 1931, which was declare equality before law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex, universal adult franchise and women's right to vote, represent and hold public office. Nevertheless, they faced opposition from the British, and the women's organisations agreed to compromise that, the urban women will have right to vote, because the urban women would be in a position to represent women of India. Important to know that, the idea of opposition was not limited to women alone, in 1932, the British gave "Communal Awards" which provide separate electorates and reserved seats to Anglo-Indians, Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs because they were "depressed classes", this was opposed

by The All India Women's Conference (AIWC). The reason behind such opposition was division along the lines of religion and rebellious voices were raised by Begum Sakina Mayuzada and K.B Firozuddin, thought that, it would be harmful to community, and educational backwardness among Muslim women.

Significant to note that, the nationalist movement did reach at a agreement on the issue of, satisfactory action or reservation for the dejected classes and this was given a constitutional status in 1950, when special provisions for the "scheduled castes" and "scheduled tribes", were written into the Constitution of India, and they were to be given reservations in Parliament, State Legislature, Educational and Employment according to their population. Thus, the Article 15(1) Provide them Constitutional right which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, sex, caste, birth and a host of other factors, Article 15(4) states: "Nothing in this article .....Shall prevent the State from making any special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". Likewise, Article 15(3) lays down the basis for the state making special provisions for women and children.

#### 16.3 Women's Reservations:

A constitutional amendment bill was passed in the year 1993, by which one third of the village council seats in gram panchayat to be reserved for women. This council is accountable to provide infrastructure in the village like, water and roads, public buildings, identifying beneficiaries for Government programmes. Though decisions in the village council will be made by the acceptance of majority members, Pradhan or Sarpanch plays a vital role in the decision making and control over decisions. Recent research after the introduction of this bill, it revealed that, the decision making capability of the women has been increased and the attitude and aspirations towards the education among the girl child has also been improved since then.

There is a plan to extend these reservation to the Parliament and the State Assemblies since long time, women in India, get reservations or preferential dealings in education and jobs, many law schools in India have 30% of reserved seats for women. In India, a section of feminist are strongly in support of providing preferential priority to women, so that they can participate more in politics and social works. Reservation for women is anticipated to increase openings for women. Thus, if this bill is passed women can avail 33% of reservations and the condition of the women is expected to improve significantly.

#### 16.4 The Women's Reservation Bill Highlights:

- Nearly one-third of all seats in Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies shall be reserved for women.
- Reservation shall apply for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) as well.
- Seats to be reserved in rotation will be determined by draw of lots in such a way that a seat shall be reserved only once in three consecutive general elections.

##### 16.4.1 Bill's Drawbacks:

- The most important fault of this bill is rotational reservation of one-third seats. The pre-election nurture of a Lok Sabha or State Assembly constituency

comprises a very heavy investment on the part of the political parties and individual candidates. Rotational reservation of one-third of the seats completely for women would lead to a severe doubt among sitting male MPs grind down their methodically developed political base and leaving them no choice to follow politics as a life-long task or career.

- This is detrimental for an individual politician's political career as well as for the development of national level leaders with towering personalities. This would minimise the popularly elected political leadership and it strengthen the bureaucracy.
- The Bill also overlooks an important recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the 81st Amendment Bill about extending reservation to Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils that was combined in the Clause 21 of its Report.
- The Bill turns women's quota into a zero sum game where women would get seats only if male MPs were removed from one third of the constituencies.

It becomes political suicide for the male members if the Bill is passed in present form, inspite of these drawbacks women's organisations treat it as not negotiable and are not looking for alternate suggestions. The feminist activist, Madhu Kishwar, encouraged a proposal that, nomination of 33% women candidates instead of reserving to the constituency would be much better option, and Rami Chhabra, backed the proposal for converting 50% constituencies into dual member constituencies, former one has severe disadvantages and the latter is more expensive than the proposal of, then Speaker of Lok Sabha, in July 2003, proposal of dual-member constituencies discussed here under.

#### **16.4.2 Dual-Member Constituencies Proposal:**

On 15th July 2003, then Speaker of Lok Sabha, Manohar Joshi, arranged a four-party meeting to discuss a proposal of dual-member constituencies. At the National Executive Meeting at Raipur, on 19th July 2003, passed a resolution and to bring a Constitutional Amendment, to convert from one-third of the Lok Sabha Constituencies into Dual-Member Constituencies.

The Main Features of the Proposal:

- The present Lok Sabha constituencies of 543, would be grouped into three lots of 181 each. In every election, one of these lots would be changed into dual-member constituencies, electing two Members each to Parliament - a male and a female.
- This would increase the number of elected Lok Sabha Members from 543 to 724 (362 + 181 + 181).
- After every election, the Dual-Membership would rotate, and to the next lot of 181 constituencies.
- The proposal would also apply to State Assemblies and to SC and ST constituencies.

The Strengths of the Proposal:

1. One of the strengths of it is, without lifting the current restriction on delimitation of constituencies it will be conceivable to create extensive opportunities to speak the needs of representation of people, who have grown from 300 million to over 1080 million without an increase in the number of representatives.
2. It proposes women's quota with an answer by providing greater representation to women without depriving men from their existing representation.

3. It will not breach the procedure of leadership development, which a risk involved for men by Women's Reservation Bill could be eased out.

With these changes, the chance of passing the Bill in the Parliament are much higher than those of the Women's Reservation Bill. Some of the women's groups are not prepared to discuss the proposal, thinking that, the present draft of the Women's Reservation Bill as unchanging and untouchable. This fundamentalism on the Women's Reservation Bill and narrow-mindedness towards the proposal for the dual-member constituencies has become unfavourable in discussing women's quota in Parliament.

It is not harmful, if the rotational reservation united with exchange of reserved constituencies into dual –member constituencies, but the proposal of rotation in Women's Reservation Bill would displace sitting male candidate if it is reserved for women. At the same time, it would affect the sitting women candidate as well because male members would put pressure on them that, women be nominated from women reserved constituencies. There were such occurrence happened in Municipal Elections. The parties who were opposing Women's Reservation Bill (WRB), are now supporting Dual-member constituencies, it is something to welcome and rejoice; eventually, to reach the goal of gender equality, the policy for reaching that goal and the Bills are only instrument.

The Dual-Member proposal marks up to 25%, as conflicting to the promise of 33% in WRB, this decrease could be rewarded by providing reservations to the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils. This recommendation, acknowledged by the Committee and encompassed in its Report as the Clause 21, but it was not included in the 84th Amendment Bill and its subsequent versions.

There are some important lapses among the women's groups about the quota of women's reservation bill. The women's organisations have unnoticed that, the recommendations of Joint Parliament Committee ignored. The Dual-Member constituencies do not weakens the status of the members, each member is independent and these constituencies guaranteed that, each member would get development fund which is doubled than the single member.

Though the proposal for Dual-member Constituencies not flawless, but it can be worked out. This proposal ensures the existing share of men in the Parliament but also increases the size by giving women their unpaid stake. Nevertheless the women's quota highlighted, which has not guaranteed active participation of women. Some other guidelines should be taken to pledge to make women's representation a sustainable, all the political parties must provide 33% representation of women in their organisations.

#### **16.5 The Women's Reservation Bill:**

The 84<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendment Bill intended to provide one-third reservation of seats to women in Centre and State Legislative bodies and the existing discussions and disagreements around it reflect the flaws of Indian Society. The Women's Reservation Bill once again tosses up questions of positive kinds of identity, definitely caste and religious identity, the interlinking of gender identity with caste and religion and their enunciation in the public dominion in the field of politics. What is important is the outlook to the question of women's reservation during the key periods in the 1930s, 1970s and the 1990s.

The fundamental questions to relate to the hierarchy of Indian society, and the way in which this hierarchy functions in the field of politics and political representation. It also

raises questions about the nature of representation. The decline in the participation of women in political life, is due to the patriarchal forms of domination and segregation in the Indian Society, important in maintain Brahminical and caste dominated social order.

The characters of the Bill highlight the customarily authorised rejection of women from the public scope is vital. Still, stressing the measurement of gender domination at the expense of other oppressions of caste, ethnicity, class, religion etc. sheens over the multifarious and complicated ways in which gender domination is implanted in these classes. Factually, women's suppression has no doubt, very important in maintaining upper-caste uniqueness and domination. Favourable action for women would certainly play a role in discouragement of male and upper-caste dominance. Recent developments suggest that, the need for speaking about the gender domination in more restrained means, Access to power and means to all groups of women to be safeguarded.

The sustained supremacy of the upper castes in education, administration and structures of government is a truth that cannot be marked up. This has been paralleled by an increasing presence and prominence of women from the upper-caste middle classes. And the women from the other communities and classes have mostly the victims of development. The challengers of the bill in its present form, says that, it is likely, to ignore, women from the other backward classes (OBCs) and the minorities. Almost all the political parties except the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India CPI (M) are extremely divided on this issue. There is also a strong opposition on the part of a substantial number of political leaders violations into what has been a customarily male domain. The media also underestimated the debate by repeatedly portraying it as a combat between the feminists and the casteists. The bottom of the issue is whether really the widespread domination and omission of women characteristic of society. Unluckily, the statements of the women's organizations leaders, who support the Bill have not exposed enough consciousness about the difficulty of the problem, dire likeness about the multi-coloured nature of gender relations among the OBCs and the minority communities. The affinity on the part of women's organizations has been point to resilient patriarchal customs predominant among the OBCs and the Muslims and the attitudes of the men in these communities as being mainly backward and male racist.

Though alarming issues concerning the question of women's reservation has been accepted by the ruling elites in the 1990s, as compared to the resistance in the 1970s. Women has developed as a noteworthy force in politics from the 1970s onwards. The composition of Parliament has been changed because significant number of members from backward classes representation which challenges the domination of upper caste, which made women's bill more acceptable. In addition, there is another aspect: the fact that, the women's movement is no longer observed as a threat to the social direction, it is also outcome of the co-option of gender issues taken both by the State and the NGOs. There are many opinions from the activists of women and scholars, who seriously thought about the effectiveness of reservations, as a mechanism for the attainment of the goal of equality in all aspects. They focus on the fact that, the experience with women's reservations of local self-government has not been totally optimistic and women need to negotiate a long road before they reach the portals of parliament. They point out to the excuses in the method in which Panchayat Raj Institutions have performed; the desperate need for training of women and the need for greater gender sensitivity among the administration. Moreover, there is a sentiment that, if they want to be in politics at National and State level, they have to fight for the cause and as a principal stage they must fight for 33% of seats for women in the respective political parties. It is vital to note that, generally this reservation for women, also supplemented by a reservation on the



basis of caste. There is a distress that the question of women's reservations will advance the question of caste, religion and other troublesome classes.

In the society like India, where the political system has to ensure a measure of equality between all groups, if the history's extended domination is to be completely tackled. This would suggest that, the struggle for gender equality and justice will have to be laced into the tussle for liberation of each of the oppressed groups and communities.

### **16.6 Women's Reservation in the Indian At present status**

The concept of women's reservation in India has emerged as a critical measure to address the historical and systemic underrepresentation of women in political decision-making. Despite constituting nearly half of the population, women in India have historically been marginalized in legislative bodies at both the national and state levels. To rectify this imbalance and promote gender-inclusive governance, the Government of India enacted the Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Amendment) Act, 2023, widely known as the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam, which provides 33% reservation for women in the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies, and the Legislative Assembly of the National Capital Territory of Delhi.

#### **16.6.1 Historical Background**

The demand for women's political representation in India dates back to the freedom struggle, where women leaders such as Sarojini Naidu and Annie Besant advocated for gender equality in political participation. After independence, while the Indian Constitution (1950) guaranteed equality under Articles 14, 15, and 16, women's representation in elected bodies remained significantly low.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments (1992–93) marked a turning point by mandating 33% reservation for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions and urban local bodies, thereby institutionalizing women's participation in grassroots governance. This reform witnessed a substantial rise in women leaders at the local level, demonstrating the efficacy of reservation policies in enhancing political participation. However, similar provisions at the state and national levels remained absent for decades.

The Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam, 2023 (128th Constitutional Amendment Act)

Passed by both Houses of Parliament in September 2023, this Act represents a historic milestone in India's legislative history.

Key Provisions:

1. Reservation in Legislative Bodies: One-third of all seats in the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies, and the Delhi Assembly are to be reserved for women.
2. Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Within these reserved seats, one-third is specifically allocated for women belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), ensuring intersectional representation.
3. Implementation Timeline: The Act stipulates that reservation will be implemented after the completion of the first census conducted post-2026, followed by delimitation (the redrawing of constituency boundaries based on updated population data).

4. Duration of Reservation: Initially, the reservation will be operational for 15 years from its commencement, with the possibility of extension by Parliamentary legislation.

#### **16.6.2 Significance of the Reform**

1. Political Empowerment of Women: By guaranteeing women a minimum representation of 33% in legislative bodies, this law aims to dismantle gender barriers in politics and encourage greater female participation.
2. Enhanced Governance and Policy-Making: Empirical evidence from local governance indicates that increased female representation often results in policies that prioritize education, healthcare, and social welfare.
3. Promotion of Gender Equality: The Act aligns with constitutional mandates under Article 15(3), which allows the State to make special provisions for women and children, thereby strengthening India's commitment to gender justice.
4. Correcting Historical Disparities: Women's representation in the Lok Sabha has historically hovered around 12–15%, far below global averages, making this reform crucial for democratic inclusivity.

#### **16.6.3 Challenges and Criticisms**

Despite its landmark nature, the Act is not without criticisms:

- Delayed Implementation: The linkage of reservation to the post-2026 census and delimitation implies that actual enforcement may be postponed until 2029 or later, raising concerns about political intent and execution timelines.
- Exclusion of Upper House: The Act does not extend to the Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Parliament) or the State Legislative Councils, thereby limiting its scope.
- Need for Complementary Reforms: Critics argue that reservation alone may not suffice unless accompanied by structural reforms such as political party mandates for ticket allocation, capacity-building programs, and dismantling socio-cultural barriers.

Women's reservation in the Indian Parliament signifies a paradigm shift in India's democratic framework. By institutionalizing gender representation, the 128th Constitutional Amendment Act is expected to reshape political participation, foster inclusive governance, and accelerate gender equality. However, its success will depend on timely implementation, sustained political commitment, and complementary socio-political reforms that empower women beyond tokenistic representation. As India advances towards becoming a more participatory democracy, the effective execution of this reservation policy will serve as a litmus test for its resolve to achieve substantive gender parity in politics.

#### **16.7 Conclusion:**

The women's reservation has both negative and positive impacts on the society, Indian society is patriarchal society where the male domination is more than women and women considered as secondary. The idea of providing reservations to the women so that they can be equal with their counterparts at all levels may be political participation, education and so on. The amendment to the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitution provided women's

reservation bill in 1993. They have introduced this reservations in local self- government and more than 10,00,000 women were elected to these local governments.

**16.8 Model Questions:**

1. Write about the back ground history of women's reservations?
2. Describe about the Women's Reservation Bill and its implementation at PRIs? And its merits and demerits of the bill?

**16.9 Reference:**

1. Kumari, Ranjana, Is Two-Member Constituencies the Solution? The Economic Times July 23, 2003.
2. Chhabra, Rami, "Baking a Bigger Pie: Linking Women's Reservation with Delimitation" *Manushi* No. 121, Nov.- Dec. 2000.
3. Nanivadekar, Medha, "Reservation for Women: Challenge of Tackling Counterproductive Trends" *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. xxxiii No. 28, 11-17 July 1998.
4. Mazumdar, Veena, "Historical Soundings" in the symposium on Political Reservation for Women, *Seminar* No. 457, Sept 1987.
5. Nanivadekar, Medha, "Empowering Women: Assessing the policy of Reservation in Local Bodies" Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini, Mumbai, 1997.
6. Nanivadekar, Medha (2003) "Dual-Member Constituencies: Resolving Deadlock on Women's Reservation" *Economic and Political Weekly* Oct 25, 2003.
7. Dahlerup, D., "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 11 (4), 1988.
8. Government of India, Towards Equality, Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, Delhi, 1974.
9. Government of India, *National Perspective Plan for Women, 1988-2000*, Delhi, 1988.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## LESSON 17

# 73<sup>RD</sup> AND 74<sup>TH</sup> CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

### 17.0 Objectives:

1. Students would be able to know about the Article 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> of Constitution.
2. Students would be able to learn about the amendment of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitution.
3. Students would be able to understand.

### Structure:

17.0 Objectives

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Salient features of 73rd Amendments

17.3 73rd Constitutional Amendments Features/ List of Functions by PRIs

17.3.1 Local Governance

17.4 73rd Amendment Act Observations

17.5 Features of 74th Amendments

17.6 74th Constitutional Amendments Features/ List of Functions by PRIs

17.7 74th Amendment Act Observations

17.8 Conclusion

17.9 Model Questions

17.10 References

### 17.1 Introduction:

The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution fetched in a Local Government system as the third tier of governance with focus on economic development and social justice. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments have relocated many subjects and meanings to the rural and urban local bodies in the country. The accountability for the facility of local public services is now principally conferred with these local bodies. Certainly, improved reorganization can be anticipated to lead to an enhancement in the level and quality of local services, superior corresponding of local services to the likings of the local citizens, and better clearness and liability. The basic

plunge of the Constitutional amendments to award local bodies with acceptable powers, responsibilities, and resources, to empower them to function as independent establishments of self-government. By means of, there can be no efficient self-sufficiency without financial autonomy, and as the revenue nurturing capacity of local bodies limited, revenue transfers from the State Government to supplement the resources of local bodies required to permit them to deliver suitable level of public services.

The revival of Panchayati Raj, revealed through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment be obliged, its origin to the dynamic leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. In his address to the 5th workshop on 'Responsive Administration' held at Coimbatore in June, 1988, he said that "If our district administration is not sufficiently responsive, the basic reason is that it is not only sufficiently representative. With the decay of Panchayati Raj Institutions, the administration has got isolated from the people thus dulling its sensitivity to the needs of the people". With actions moving at a faster stride, Panchayati Raj developed as a chief recognised channel of such administration.

Local- Bodies elections, held by the State governments, till the passage of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, the states were considered as the sub-national units, officially recognized by the Indian constitution, and the constitution grants individual states considerable legislative independence. Schedule Seven of the Constitution, responsively founds the specific legislative spheres of the State Legislatures and the National Parliament. The effective zones over which the National Parliament has elite scope and stated in List "Union List". Substances on this list contain midst other things like, defense, foreign affairs, currency, income taxes, inter-state commerce, and key infrastructure, State Legislatures have special authority to enact legislation allocating with the items in List II, known as the "State List", which include law and order, public health, agriculture, wealth taxes, land tenure and reforms, and most importantly functions of local self -government in the list. Concurrent list of list III contains items like newspaper, electricity, education, price control are under the jurisdiction of Central and State governments.

The legislative backgrounds of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments date back to the Constitution (64th Amendment) Bill, which was presented in the parliament in July 1989. The introduction of this bill signified the first attempt to discuss constitutional status on rural local-governments., the bill was rejected by the Rajya Sabha, the criticism against the bill, it gives the States little discretion in the design of local government reforms.

The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments bill was introduced in the parliament again in 1991, in the form of two separate bill the 73<sup>rd</sup> bill for rural local bodies, known as panchayats and 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment bill for municipalities. It was referred to Joint Select Committee of Parliament and passed finally in 1992, as 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendments Bill, after the ratification by more than half of the state assemblies, the President gave his approval on 20<sup>th</sup> April, 1993. These amendments then officially endorsed by the issuance of government notifications, the act of Constitution of 73<sup>rd</sup> act, 1992 known as Panchayati Raj Act, came into effect on April 24, 1993, and the 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1992, known as Nagarapalika Act, which came in to force on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1993. Local Governments being in the State list of Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, and any legislation in the structure of local government has to be enacted by State Government, of the compulsory necessities of the Panchayati Raj Act, is the that it strengthen the structure of representative democracy and political representation at the local level.

However, the Panchayati Raj Institutions have been prevailing for long time, it has been noticed that, these institutions have not been gained the position and self-respect along with irregular elections. Insufficient representation of weaker section representatives from Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Women and their suppression, poor power delegation and lack of financial funds.

### **17.2 Salient features of 73rd Amendments:**

The important points of these amendments are here under:

- It gives the State Legislatures to make their own laws for establishing Panchayats, Municipalities and considering on them such powers and power as may be essential to permit them to function as institution of self-government
- A three-tier system is presented in every State, States excluding who have less than two million population
- Panchayats are to be recognised at the village and district levels
- It authorises people to elect their representatives in Panchayats
- Within six months of the dissolution of a Panchayat, elections has to be held
- Some seats will be reserved for women from Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST)
- A fixed five year term for all Panchayats has been fixed
- Panchayat has been given power to frame their own development plans and implement them
- Panchayats will have their own budget, taxation power and list of items in their jurisdiction.
- State Election Commissioner will to conduct Panchayat elections
- The review of financial resources of panchayats will be done every five years by the State Finance

It is important to note that the, **States of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Jammu and Kashmir, the Union territory of Delhi, hill area in Manipur and Darjeeling in West Bengal have not been covered by the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments.**

### **17.3 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendments Features/ List of Functions by PRIs:**

The Eleventh Schedule has been added, Article 243 G, which gives the detail list of functions to be performed by PRIs. All the states have panchayats at village level, intermediate and district levels and it give uniformity in Panchayati Raj structure.

#### **17.3.1 Local Governance:**

The elections to the Panchayat, held directly, the election of Chairman at intermediate and district level is indirect. The selection of Chairmen at village level, decided by state government, all members including chairperson have vote. According to the population of SC/ST seats are reserved for them, one third of total seats are reserved for women which may be allotted on rotation basis, reservations are made even for the position of chairperson.

The PRI as for a period of five years and after completing the five years term, elections has to be held, within six months period. With a view to ensuring continuity, it has been

provided in the Act, that all the Panchayats existing immediately before the commencement of this Amendment Act will continue till the expiry of their duration, unless dissolved by a resolution to that effect passed by the State Legislatures concerned or any law relating to the panchayats before the amendment came into force, not inconsistent with its provisions shall continue, unless amended or repealed.

The election commission will conduct the elections comprising of State Election Commissioner, appointed by State Government, it is also incharge of preparation of election rolls. State Legislature, has been authorize to levy, collect local taxes and also provide grant-in-aid to panchayats. State Finance Commission, once in five years would review the financial position and would make appropriate sanctions to the Governor. The 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment act adds a sub clause (bb) to article 280, by which Central finance commission shall make recommendations to the President, for consolidation of funds of a state to supplement it to panchayat.

#### **17.4 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act Observations:**

It has provided, for the operative and competent working of PRIs in India, it has given constitutional position and consistency by making three tier system, every five years they elect the new body. After the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, the PRIs have got constitutional validity. Indian federalism has moved a step further, till recently there had been two tiers of governance; hereafter, there would be three tiers of governance. Yet, there is a tough body of view that, in order to give an air of conclusiveness to the scheme, a separate list, namely the panchayats list could have been included in the seventh schedule, which lists subjects for legislation into Union, State and Concurrent list.

Secondly, though this amendment discourse the issues of uniformity but has not addressed some important matters like size of the Panchayat.

Thirdly, PRIs are unsuccessful due to irregular elections and recurrent suppression and suspension, this problem has been correctly addressed recently.

Fourthly, GramSabha is an institution which gives opportunity to take part in governance profoundly by all the people and be part of developmental process. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment brands the creation of Gram Sabha obligatory. It nevertheless, jurisdiction and powers lies with the state government. Most of the state legislation allot Gram Sabha a formal, tokenistic role, e.g., sanctioning proposals, making recommendations, considering annual accounts, reviewing development plans, scrutinising completed works. Other tasks delegated to Gram Sabha include, promoting harmony and unity in the village, mobilising voluntary labour and contributions in cash or kind, rendering support in implementation of development schemes, and promoting programmes for adult education and family welfare.

Fifthly, other problem relating to the working of the local bodies has been the love-hate relationship between the local level bureaucracies and the elected representatives of PRIs. Due to the lack of defined roles for the two, both have had a contentious working relationship rather than displaying the required harmony. This has been one of the practical and the more important reasons

Lastly, amendment has tried to take care of all of these problems by bringing them into the statute book. However, certain problems have persisted. There has been a general reluctance to concede political space to the unprivileged in panchayats.

#### **17.5 Features of 74th Amendments:**

- It provides for setting up of Nagar Palikas and Nagar Panchayats
- All other provisions including reservation, elections, financial power and implementation of development projects are very similar to those in the 73rd Amendment

#### **17.6 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendments Features/ List of Functions by PRIs:**

Since the independence, the urban local governments acknowledged bad situations at grass root level in India. In 1992, the Constitution, 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment Bill was passed which came into force on 1st June 1993. Two important Committees, namely Committee for District Planning (Article 243 ZD, (DPC) and Committee for Metropolitan Planning (Article 243 ZE, (MPC) have been constituted. 74<sup>th</sup> amendment, sets the basic structure of urban local bodies. It consists of three tier structure, there would be Municipal Corporations for larger areas, Municipal Councils for smaller areas and for those in a transition to become towns, Nagar Panchayats.

Direct Elections will be held by the people in the same way as the elections held for parliament and State Assemblies. Municipal elections are conducted by State election Commission, providing regular and fair elections, reservations of seats for SC, ST and OBCs, works for five year term, provides them with powers and responsibilities and tries to bring financial base of the urban local bodies. It also provides decentralising planning for nominated members, this is not in 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment bill. State Finance Commission, would take care of the financial viabilities of municipalities, Municipal funds have been improved through taxes, tolls, duties and fees. Urban municipal institutions are empowered to formulate and implement economic development schemes, social justice on eighteen subjects. Developmental Committees (DPC) and Metropolitan Planning Committee have been constituted, along with wards committees. The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) have created local self- institutions in entire India with power defined and delegated, within each municipality, Wards Committees and Zonal Committees have been established.

#### **17.7 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act Observations:**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> amendment bills, are turning points in history of local governments in India. The PRIs, in rural areas and municipalities and municipal corporations in the urban areas have been given the constitutional status, for the first time by these two amendments. They have been given the status of Government at local level as the Central Government at National level and State Government at State level.

The 74<sup>th</sup> CAA of Nagar Palika central legislation has distributed spatially hundreds of small local governments with their respective territorial jurisdictions have been formed. India has, thus, become a “federation of federation”. The 74<sup>th</sup> CAA has constitutionalised and also improved its life, structure, working and finances. Municipal bodies, as per article 243 W, have been assigned the tasks of economic development and social justice. Municipal bodies has been proficient of providing basic facilities of life to civil society



like, water supply and sanitation, roads and drains, street-lights collection and disposal of solid waste, maintenance of public places, burial grounds and crematoria, cattle ponds, registration of births and deaths, maintenance of markets and some monitoring functions relating to construction of buildings, public health areas such as eating places, slaughter houses and tanneries etc... This amendment upsurges the range of functions to be achieved by the urban bodies such as urban and town planning, regulation of land use planning for economic and social development, safeguarding the benefits of weaker sections of society including the handicapped and mentally retarded, slum improvement and up gradation, urban poverty improvement and promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.

74th Amendment Act, offers the constitution, by every state, of a State Finance Commission, within one year of the amendment and thereafter every five years, concerning the financial resources of local bodies. Regrettably, the recommendations of the Commission are not compulsory on the individual States. But still the Municipalities blame that they are not getting the required finances to run the urban body from State Governments.

### 17.8 Conclusion:

The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution fetched in a Local Government system as the third tier of governance with focus on economic development and social justice. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments have relocated many subjects and meanings to the rural and urban local bodies in the country. The accountability for the facility of local public services is now principally conferred with these local bodies. Certainly, improved reorganization can be anticipated to lead to an enhancement in the level and quality of local services, superior corresponding of local services to the likings of the local citizens, and better clearness and liability. It gives the State Legislatures to make their own laws for establishing Panchayats, Municipalities and considering on them such powers and power as may be essential to permit them to function as institution of self-government. A three-tier system was presented in every State, States excluding who have less than two million population.

It is important to note that the, **States of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Jammu and Kashmir, the Union territory of Delhi, hill area in Manipur and Darjeeling in West Bengal have not been covered by the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments.** Features of 74th Amendments are It provides for setting up of Nagar Palikas and Nagar Panchayats, all other provisions including reservation, elections, financial power and implementation of development projects are very similar to those in the 73rd Amendment. Municipal bodies had been proficient of providing basic facilities of life to civil society like, water supply and sanitation, roads and drains, street-lights collection and disposal of solid waste, maintenance of public places.

### 17.9 Model Questions:

1. Write about the 73<sup>rd</sup> amendments Act and its provisions?
2. Discuss about the 74<sup>th</sup> amendments act and its provisions?

### 17.10 References:

1. National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, Decentralisation and

Municipalities, New Delhi, 2001.

2. A Compendium of Municipal Legislations in Conformity with the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992, National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, 1998.

3. Harris, John, The Dialectics of Decentralization, Frontline, 2000.

4. Krishnakumar, R , Democratic Decentralization, A People's Movement, Frontline, 2000

5. Matthew, George, Decentralized Governance through Panchayati Raj: A Review of Indian

Experience, World Bank, 2002.

6. Mathur, M.P. (1999), "The Constitution (74th) Amendment Act and Urban Local Government: An Overview", Urban India, XIX(1), 1999.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## **LESSON 18**

# **WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION – PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS**

### **18.0 Objectives:**

1. Students would be able to know about women's political participation.
2. Students would be able to learn about the problems and the barriers.
3. Students would be able to understand constitutional rights.

### **Structure:**

18.0 Objectives

18.1 Introduction

18.2 Position of Women in Ancient India

18.3 Political Participation

18.4 The Constitutional Rights of Women

18.5 Women's Representation in Politics

18.6 Women in Public Offices

18.7 Important Political Parties in India

18.8 Political Involvement of Women

18.9 Women's Contribution- Problems /Challenges

18.9.1 Sexual Violence

18.9.2 Discrimination

18.9.3 Illiteracy

18.10 Over Coming Women Political Participation Barriers

18.11 Conclusion

18.12 Model Questions

18.13 References

**18.1 Introduction:**

Women in India participate in voting, running of public offices and political parties at the grass-root levels along with men. Political involvement and voting are the toughest areas of women's political participation, to fight the gender inequalities in politics, the Government of India has introduced reservation of seats in local self- governments. The challenges in women's political participations are discrimination, illiteracy and sexual violence are foremost important.

Democracy involves equality to men and women, against the elementary concept of democracy women are omitted from the daily life and from the politics. According to United Nations, the women organizes as "world's largest excluded category" to attain the real democracy the participation of women in politics has to improve. Usha Narayan says that, "political participation constitutes the first and foremost step in that direction". Equal treatment by men in politics would be only attainable when it start from the grass-root level, training and practice in decision making would give them to perform better. The constitutional amendment to 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup>, paved the way in attaining reservation in local self-government and to make decisions at that level. In 1925, Mahatma Gandhi declared that, "As long as women of India do not take part in public life there can be no salvation for the country" he added that "As long as women do not come to the public life and purity... we are not likely to attain Swaraj. "Ever if we did" he said "it would have no use for that kind of Swaraj to which women have not made their full contribution". The recent Constitutional Amendment Acts gave women huge opportunities at different facets of life.

**18.2 Position of Women in Ancient India:**

Indian society considers both men and women as two wheels of a chariot of daily life, she plays various parts as mother, wife, and as sister, encourages men to donate usefully in every domain of life. During the early civilization of Indus, women, considered a source of life, In Mahabharata, women were pronounced as light of the house. But, still there is a misunderstanding regarding the factual status of women in ancient India. It is determined that, women in Vedic age were believed them as human beings in their own rights. They relished significant freedom socially, politically, and in educational events. Women occupied a noticeable position in social and religious gatherings, they had an absolute equality with men. Even the family property headed by men in the family, women enjoyed suitable position. Steadily changes took place and slow decline in the female education. The degree of liberty which Indian women relished during the ancient period was lost some extant in medieval period. During this period some outstanding women personalities left their glorious marks on the pages of history for instance, Rudramba the Kakateya, Queen Rizia Begum, Chand Bibi of Ahmednagar, Tara Bai, Ahila Holkar were the great women of that period.

**18.3 Political Participation:**

The Political participation can be measured as an association in any form of organised activity that affects, or seeks to affect, these power relationships, it refers broadly also to "activities by those not formally empowered to make decisions, these activities mainly intended to influence the attitudes and behaviour of those who have powers for decision making". Even protest and demonstrations against those in power also part of political participation. It has covered wide range of activities like movements, protests and support meetings on the subjects of dowry, rape, price-rise, labour etc., called as movements for the promotion of peace. "Research in participation and empowerment links them bi-directionally, empowered individuals may be more likely to participate in organisations, and participation promotes empowerment."

The basic component of any political party is Political participation in every political system. It really helps every individual to associate effectively with respective political party. Higher the position in the party, more the political participation and is important to the appropriate purpose of democracy. According to the social science encyclopedia, denied the political participation as the main means by which agreement is approved or disapproved in democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. It indicates events like voting, seeking information, discussing and attending meetings, contributing financially and communicating with representatives. High level of political participation is generally related with democracy, which is advantageous to individual and the society. It is considered as 'sine qua non' of democracy. Political participation considered as civil duty, the political power in the society is controlled by few members, by comprising the many in the matters of the State, political participation look after firmness and order by strengthening the legality of political power.

According to Almond and Powel "political participation is the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system". Closky defines, "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". Verba and others describe it as "Those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take". In the eventual examination, political participation means a procedure of persuading the values of a society. For the effective working of democracy the maximum participation of people particularly, at the lowest level are essential. Panchayati Raj is significant political novelty and vital channel in the independent India.

#### **18.4 The Constitutional Rights of Women:**

The constitution of India forms a system of parliamentary government, it assures its citizens the right to be elected, freedom of speech, freedom to assemble and form associations, and vote. The Constitution of India, endeavors to remove gender inequalities by prohibition of discrimination based on sex and class, elimination of human trafficking and forced labour, and reserving elected positions for women. The Government of India focused State and Local Governments to encourage equality by class and gender including equal pay and free legal aid, human working conditions and maternity relief, rights to work and education, and nurturing the better standards of living. Women were significantly involved in Indian Independence movement in the early 20th century, and supported for independence from Britain. Independence brought gender equality in the form of constitutional rights, but historically women's political participation has continued low.

#### **18.5 Women's Representation in Politics:**

In the early 1900, the movement of women suffrage began in regard to the national movement for suffrage. After the independence, in 1950, the Indian Constitution granted officially, before to this provincial legislature had granted women right to vote, Madras was first to grant women's suffrage in 1921, and later others started to give this right. The rights were granted which were limited to qualifications of literacy, property ownership and husband's property ownership. This made poor women not to participate in voting until universal suffrage was granted to all Indian citizens. In the year 1950, universal suffrage allowed voting rights to all women irrespective of caste, race, creed and income.

India is a parliamentary system with two houses of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The participation rates among women in 1962 were 46.63% for Lok Sabha elections which rose to a high of 58.60% in 1984. Male turnout during that same period was 63.31% in 1962 and 68.18% in 1984. Turnout in Lok Sabha elections have declined since 1984, with the most recent available data of 2004 showing 52.65% turnout for men and 44.65% for women. The gap between men and women voters has narrowed over time with a difference of 16.7% in 1962 to 4.4% in 2009. Voter turnout for national elections in the past 50 years has remained stationary with turnout oscillating between 50 to 60%. State elections have seen a growing trend in women's participation, and in some cases women's turnout exceeding male turnout. This was reported in the Assembly elections of 2012 in Uttar Pradesh from 50% to 60%. The States of Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Kerala, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Damn and Diu and Pondicherry reported higher turnout of women than men in 2013.

### **18.6 Women in Public Offices:**

According to United Nations Gender Inequality Index, out of the 186 countries India stands at 132<sup>nd</sup> rank. In this Gender inequality one of the indicator in this index is the number of seats held by women in the national parliament. There are some other countries worse than India, the women representation in the Indian parliament is 10.9%. But there are other developing countries, whose rank is better than India. In 1994, India introduced quota, by constitutional amendments of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> providing reservations of 33% of seats to women in local governments. After this Women's Reservation Bill, 108<sup>th</sup> amendment has been introduced in the parliament by which 33% of seats in Parliament and Assemblies are reserved for women. This Bill has not yet passed in Lok Sabha and become law for them. The women's reservation discussions began in 1920s and continued up to 1930s, a compromise with British was reached, allowing urban women to cast their vote. Again in 1974, these discussions for the reservation to women initiated by United Nations Commission on the status of Women in India. And India, introduced quota for women in local governments until 1994, one third of seats in Panchayat Raj Institutions and leadership positions must be reserved for women. The States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand and Tripura have been increased reservation to 50% and the Central government has also proposed to increase it by 50% reservations in Panchayat Raj Institutions.

The seats reserved for women are rotated so that each seat has an equal chance of being reserved, after this the political participation of women increased from 4-5% to 25-40% and number of women, elected for the office of local government. Orissa is the only State where 28,069 women were elected in 1992, and 28,595 in 1997, prior to this amendment. Differences in the class have been noticed though poor women are elected with large number to panchayats, but the women from the higher class are elected as chairperson. The training for women have been increasing priority to prepare them for the leadership role. It is noticed that, these women from poor society who do not have sufficient education qualifications and proper training, found it difficult to understand the procedure of panchayat. Family also plays an important role in women's participation in government functionary, family impact can be blockage or backing for those who elect to the office. Family influences can help women pursue elected positions at National, State and Local levels. There are some concerns about the male family member works as proxies or substitution for women, still women have substantial effect on policy decisions. The consequence of reservation for women has been increased in the number

of public goods, including water and roads. Drinking water and road improvements are issues that are raised by female elected officials frequently. The most noteworthy issues for men are roads, irrigation, education, and water. Women are also likely to bring welfare issues such as violence against women, childcare, and maternal health to consideration.

### **18.7 Important Political Parties in India:**

There are 24 parties registered in India and it is multiparty system prevails in India. The three major parties are Indian National Congress (INC), Communist party of India (CPI), Communist Party Marxist (CPI M) and Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), Congress being the oldest national party along with Communist party. As the party system become more competitive hence, they focused on women to increase their vote share. This gave rise to the formation of women wings in these parties, they have Mahila Morcha, Congress has All India Mahila Congress, BJP has Mahila Morcha and CPI's wing is the National Federation of Indian Women.

The connection of women with political parties tangled to the demand of equal rights, the INC was in power until 1990, a little period by Jantha Party in 1977. As Congress started moving away from the welfare politics the other parties arose by challenging congress using poverty as their programme. But in 2004, Congress returned to power with the women's support and their participation. It has increased its women's participation by introducing 33% quota for them at all level in the party. Congress elected a women President in 2007 and women Speaker in 2009 accordingly. It was for the first time during these periods the first women President and first women Speaker held the office. BJP has received women's support by focusing on issues such as the Uniform Civil Code to extend equal rights to women and men regardless of religion. They have also spoken out against violence against Indian women. The CPI has also supported gender inequality issues including addressing issues of violence through the National Federation of Indian Women.

In the 1990s the women political participation remain low with 10-12% women members, they took initiative from their political parties and in 2007, they formed United Women Front party and backed for increase in the seats of reservation for women up to 50% in the parliament. They manage four political parties. In 2013, it has been stated that only 11% of women in Lok Sabha and 10.6% in Rajya Sabha.

### **18.8 Political Involvement of Women:**

The appearance of women's organisations started in early 1900s, and it took a leap in 1970s and limited activity from 1950 to 70s. In 1910, one of the oldest women's organisations by name Bharat Stree Mahamandals was formed and it concentrated on domination of men against women.

All India Women's Conference (AIWC) was started in 1927, to support women's education and took initiative in the passage of Hindu Code Bill between 1952 to 1960. Women were active in the freedom struggle by protesting British rule conducting public meeting in support of independence. The gender inequality resulted a new wave of feminism in the 1970. The report of The Committee on the Status of Women in 1974, emphasized the important differences between men and women which include disparity in the sex ratio, morality rates, employment, literacy and wage discrimination. Women's organizations in India address a variety of issues from the environment, poverty,

empowerment, and violence against women, one of the important organisation is All India Women's Conference (AICW) started in 1927, branches of 500 with 1,0000 members in India. They focus on women empowerment and education in India. Women actively involved in the movements like, Chipco movement in 1970, protested against deforestation. They were attentive on rape, female, foeticide dowry deaths, sati, domestic and violence.

### **18.9 Women's Contribution- Problems /Challenges:**

Women's political participation mainly based on societal and cultural aspects like violence, discrimination, and illiteracy, they face certain problems in political participation and they are as follows.

#### **18.9.1 Sexual Violence:**

One of the obstruction for women's participation in politics is the threat of violence against them. Sexual violence is the worse issue than the other issues like education and marriage. A report in 2011, revealed that, 24% of men committed sexual violence in their life time and 20% of them forced them to have sex, 38% confessed they had physically abused their partners. Widespread sexual violence attributed to the fact that violence within marriage is not against the law, and sexual violence goes largely unpunished, according to Martha C. Nussbaum, "In the larger society, violence and the threat of violence affects many women's ability to participate actively in many forms of social and political relationship, to speak in public, to be recognized as dignified beings whose worth is equal to that of others". Self-assurance is probable to increase involvement among Indian women, definitely in running for election.

#### **18.9.2 Discrimination:**

The prevalent obstruction for the participation of women in political life is gender inequality and the Constitution of India detached it by providing rights. A study in 2012, pointed out that, of the 3,000 Indian women found the obstacles in participation in politics, precisely in administering the political office, illiteracy, workloads of the household, and discriminatory attitudes towards women as leaders. This attitude resulted in low access to information and resources, they depend upon to get information from men either from family member or village member. They actually in short of leadership experiences because they are busy with their household work. Women have very few opportunities to be involved in organisation to obtain leadership expertise, they have very little scope for them to participate in politics because men have dominated in this field.

This discrimination is further exist in the classes, women from Dalit class are continuously discriminated in the Indian society because they are from the lowest class and unable to run the public office, even they are elected for the public offices, they hurt from abuse and discrimination, Dalit and Scheduled Caste women apart from harassment they are deprived of information, disregarded or silenced in local body meeting and sometimes in some cases appealed to be removed from their elected posts.

#### **18.9.3 Illiteracy:**

One of the largest illiterate population lives in India, the United Nations in 2014 reported that, there are 287 million adults illiterates in India, the literacy among the women in India is 53.7% and male literacy rate is 75.3% which is very low. Illiteracy is the one of the cause among women because it limits them to understand the political system and



related issues. Exploitation problems like being left off from the voter list, as the illiteracy restricts the ability to guarantee their right of casting their vote in election process. About the political participation by women Martha C. Nussabaum said that, "Because literacy is connected in general with the ability to move outside the home and to stand on one's own outside of it, it is also connected to the ability of women to meet and collaborate with other women." Niraja Jayal and Nirmala Buch conducted studies on women and found that, "persistently mocked and devalued in the panchayats if they are illiterate." Martha C. Nussabaum also stated that, literacy can play an important role in the independence of women in politics, by which they get access to communications like memos and newspapers so that they can become better conversant on the issues of politics.

### 18.10 Over Coming Women Political Participation Barriers:

One of the major prospect of women's political participation by which their level has been increased due to the amendment in the Constitution of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup>, which has provided them 33% of seats reservation in local government elections, by which they are being driven into the main stream of politics. To give women more importance and political participation the following barriers has to be eliminated to give more prospects to women in politics.

1. Women organisations has to give emphasis on the issues of empowerment, discrimination and violence
2. Empowerment is secured to the family support and improved status with in the household, which is challenged by the danger of sexual and domestic violence.
3. Poverty and illiteracy are one of the socio-economic causes, stops them from administering public office and voting has to be addressed and unable to understand the procedure to run the PRIs.
4. Empowerment of women can be done by bridging gaps in education, gender role negotiations, and biased attitudes.
5. National Mission of Empowerment of Women (NMEW) to talk about the empowerment issues and to "enhance economic empowerment of girls and women through skill development, micro credit, vocational training and entrepreneurship."
6. Government of India in 2001, passed a policy called National policy for Empowerment of Women which focuses on "the advancement, development, and empowerment of women."
7. Specifically, the policy focuses on ending gender inequality and violence against women. The United Nations has also encouraged empowerment among India women by campaigning to end violence against women in India
8. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also tried to empower women focusing on issues of education, violence, and leadership. NGOs working towards women empowerment in India include Sammaan Foundation, Deepalaya and CARE India.

### 18.11 Conclusion:

The constitutional amendment of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> has provided women reservations. In 1994, India introduced quota, by constitutional amendments of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> providing reservations of 33% of seats to women in local governments. After this bill Women's Reservation Bill, 108<sup>th</sup> amendment has been introduced in the parliament by which 33% of seats in Parliament and Assemblies are reserved for women. This Bill has not yet passed in Lok Sabha and become law for them. The report of The Committee on the Status of Women in 1974, emphasized the important differences between men and

women which include disparity in the sex ratio, morality rates, employment, literacy and wage discrimination. Women's organizations in India address a variety of issues from the environment, poverty, empowerment, and violence against women, one of the important organisation is All India Women's Conference (AICW) started in 1927. Women's political participation is mainly based on societal and cultural aspects like violence, discrimination, and illiteracy, they face certain problems in political participation.

#### 18.12 Model Questions:

1. Write about the ancient women's status in ancient India, political participation and Constitutional rights of women?
2. Write about the women's political involvement challenges and suggestions?

#### 18.13 References:

1. Usha Narayana, "Women's Political Empowerment: Imperatives and Challenges", mainstream, April 10, 1999.
2. Prabhat Datta, Major- Issues in the Development Debate: Lessons in Empowerment from India, Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi, 1998.
3. S.R. Bakshi, Empowerment of Women and Politics of Reservation, Book Enclave, Jaipur, 2002.
4. Later W. Milbrath, M.L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1977.
5. Kalpana Roy, Women in Indian Politics, Rajat Publications, Delhi, 1999.
6. Bidyut Mohanty, "Panchayati Raj, 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment and women", Economic and Political Weekly, December 30, 1995.
7. Manu Bhaskar, "Women and Grassroot Politics: Theoretical Issues and Social Concerns of Kerala Women", South Asian Journal of Socio Political Studies, Vol. NO 1, January-June, 2000.
8. Agnew Vijay, Elite Women in Indian Politics, Vikas, New Delhi, 1979.
9. Decentralizations in India: Challenges & Opportunities: UNDP, New Delhi, 2000.

Dr.. C. Vinod Kumar  
Lesson Writer

## ORIGINALITY REPORT

12%

SIMILARITY INDEX

11%

INTERNET SOURCES

2%

PUBLICATIONS

0%

STUDENT PAPERS

## PRIMARY SOURCES

1	article1000.com Internet Source	8%
2	www.anucde.info Internet Source	2%
3	Arlene W. Saxonhouse. "The Philosopher and the Female in the Political Thought of Plato", Political Theory, 2016 Publication	1%
4	tnou.ac.in Internet Source	<1%
5	Kumar, C. Vinod, and Md. Mastan Vali. "Political Empowerment of Women in Panchayati Raj Institutions at Grassroots Level: A Case Study in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh : Political Empowerment of Women in Panchayati Raj", Poverty & Public Policy, 2012. Publication	<1%
6	Paul Heideman, Kent Worcester. "Third Camp Socialism", Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2025 Publication	<1%
7	Carole McCann, Seung-kyung Kim. "Feminist Theory Reader - Local and Global Perspectives", Routledge, 2019 Publication	<1%
8	nagarjunauniversity.ac.in Internet Source	<1%

9	<a href="http://www.wbnsou.ac.in">www.wbnsou.ac.in</a> Internet Source	<1 %
10	Hilaire Barnett. "Sourcebook on Feminist Jurisprudence", Cavendish Publishing Limited, 2012 Publication	<1 %
11	<a href="http://www.kgdmcollegeacs.com">www.kgdmcollegeacs.com</a> Internet Source	<1 %
12	Submitted to Higher Education Commission Pakistan Student Paper	<1 %
13	"Visions of Women", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 1983 Publication	<1 %
14	Richard Anker, Mayra Buvinic, Nadia H. Youssef. "Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World - A study prepared for the International Labour Office within the framework of the World Employment Programme with the financial support of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities", Routledge, 2012 Publication	<1 %

Exclude quotes On

Exclude matches < 14 words

Exclude bibliography On