

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN JHARKHAND
SINCE 2000: A CASE STUDY OF FIVE DISTRICTS**

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Dedicated to my Grandmother
Smt. Bhuneshwari Devi

Declaration

Certified that the thesis entitled “**Political Participation of Women in Jharkhand since 2000 : A Case Study of Five Districts**” submitted by me for the award of the Doctor of the Philosophy in Arts at Jadavpur University is based upon my own work carried out under the supervision of **Dr. Bijaya Kumar Das**, Jadavpur University, Department of International Relations , Kolkata and neither this thesis nor any part of it has been submitted before for any degree or diploma anywhere/ elsewhere.

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List of Abbreviations

- **CNUS** : Chotabagpur Unnati Samaj
- **INC** : Indian National Congress
- **MLA** : Members of Legislative Assembly
- **SRC** : State Re-organization Commission
- **JMM** : Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
- **MCC** : Marxist Coordination Committee
- **BCKU** : Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union
- **AJSU** : All Jharkhand Students Union
- **JAAC** : Jharkhand Autonomous Area Council
- **JPP** : Jharkhand Peoples Party
- **JCC** : Jharkhand Coordination Committee
- **UN** : United Nations
- **COJM** : Committee on Jharkhand Matters
- **APJSAC** : All Party Jharkhand State Action Committee
- **AVBP** : Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad
- **RSS** : Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
- **BJP** : Bharatiya Janta Party
- **CRPF** : Central Reserve Police Force
- **IPF** : Indian Peoples Front
- **RTI** : Right to Information

JHARKHAND MAP



INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Women constitute half of the world's population, yet they are marginalized and neglected all over. Discrimination against women is an acute problem which again is a major cause of concern in the 21st century. Women are given secondary positions be it in households, society, work place or levels of governance as compared to their male counterparts. They lag behind men in terms of social, economic and political achievements. The roles and responsibilities of women have attained new definition and perspective in this global era. Women play a very strategic role in the development of society in particular and a nation in general. A woman is the leader of the family, the first trainer; supplier of labor and by playing focal role in the development of different sectors like agriculture, industry, service, etc., she contributes towards the creation of an enlightened society. In spite of the positive role played by women in different walks of life. They have been subdued and denied proper access to different resources.

Women are kept at the receiving end without any freedom to take decisions for themselves and others. They are hence denied proper access to power and decision making processes in different spheres of public life. Men mediate women's relation with the outside world, hence they are expected to stay within the confines of private life, which leads to low political participation of women all over the world. From the local to the global level, women's leadership and political participation are restricted. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, whether in elected office, the civil service, the private sector or academia. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally in democratic governance.

Politics is a man's domain not only because men outnumber women in politics but also because of the masculinization of political culture. It has led to corruption and violence with aggression and manipulation. Politics is all about power based on domination hence it fails to understand the agony of the marginalized and the silenced. Women in every corner of the world continue to be largely marginalized from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of

education, lack of access to health care and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women.

What is important is social construction of male-female behavior, notions about their spaces, assumptions about their capabilities and appropriate roles in society, which influences women's role in politics. In most political systems women occupy a small proportion of elected offices, relatively few positions of power and influence. This political exclusion and marginalization undermine the principle of equal opportunity promised in a democratic polity. A meaningful participation in the political process can transform the political agenda which till today remains gender insensitive. Women's participation in the political process is not only central to the functioning and strengthening of democracy, but equally important in their struggle against oppression and their ability to challenge the ideologies and hierarchies which keep them subordinated. A change in power structure and gender relations is central to the process of transforming politics. Women empowerment and participation is a political question linked to transformation of power relations.

Political participation is not only a symbol of women's empowerment by promoting women's interest but also creates further awareness and mobilizes other women to be a part of the political arena. Women's political participation and empowerment cannot be confined to merely political rights. Politics has always remained the men's domain and they marginalize women's access to political power centers. Women are victims of masculine prejudices towards their participation in politics.

It is the global experience that in any political system, right from the developed to the developing countries, women's presence in the political process is marginal and low at every level. If real democracy and human rights condition has to be sustained, women must be incorporated at different levels of decision making. The UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952 had emphasized on the need for political participation of women followed by discussion on plans and strategies to achieve this objective. The United Nations General Assembly declared the International Year of Women in 1975 followed by the International Women's Decade. (Pal Singh, Kaur and Pal Singh, 2010, p. 19)

The global sensitivity about equality of sexes gained ground after the World War II. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated that everyone has the right to take part in government of his or her country. Irrespective of the developmental process in countries, women's participation in politics remained limited in most developed and democratized countries. In Switzerland women were given voting rights at the federal level only in the year 1971 after 123 years of male suffrage. Women were granted suffrage right in USA in the year 1920 and in UK in the year 1918. First three countries where women received right to vote and right to stand for election were Finland in the year 1906, Denmark and Iceland in the year 1915. Many countries granted this right to women, but with some restrictions and conditions. Globally women constitute only 10% of the legislative bodies and much lesser in important parliamentary positions. (V.A., 2009, p.293)

As per www.unwomen.org women serve as head of States or Government in only 21 countries, and 119 countries have never had a women leader. Only 25% of all national parliamentarians are women, where as only four countries have 50 per cent or more women in parliament in single or lower houses. Out of 185 highest ranking diplomats in the United Nations, only seven are women. In terms of education, nearly one billion of the world's illiterate adults, two third are women. Two third of 130 million children who are not in school are girls. In terms of pay, majority of women earn about three-fourth of pay of males for the same work. Poverty around the world itself has a feminine face. (Narain, Sahu and Lakshmi, 2005, p.49)

Article 1 of the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women states that, "Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, without any discrimination". By the end of 20th Century, more than 95% of the countries have granted the two most fundamental democratic rights. In spite of many such international declarations one finds that in many societies women hardly enjoy any space in decision-making processes. During the Inter-Parliamentary Symposium on the Participation of Women in the Political and Parliamentary Decision –making Process held in Geneva in 1989 it was stated that "the political space belongs to all citizens, politics is everyone's business and affects the lives of each of us. There is no doubt that the more women are associated, in numbers corresponding to their percentage of the population, in the political decision-making process, in parties, in elected bodies in Government and in International bodies, the more they can be associated with this process as protagonists and the more

they can change the modalities and outcome of politics. Only then will the concept of democracy find concrete and tangible expression. Indeed it has been understood that democracy and participation of women go hand in hand and promote each other mutually”. (Narain, Sahu and Lakshmi, 2005, p.50)

Political status of women in any society can be defined in terms of equality and freedom with which they share power with men, but also the value that society places on the role of women in politics. Statistics available show that women’s representation in the Lok Sabha has not yet reached the world average of 10 per cent representation of women in the House of Representatives failing thus to acquire minimum representation required for influencing decision-making at the top legislative and executive level. Women continue to be marginalized in most of the prominent political parties in the country not only in terms of seat allotment in elections, but also within the party structure and hierarchy.

Women in India are exposed to greater insecurity, poverty, illiteracy, casteism, orthodoxy, traditionalism, hunger, malnutrition and much more. On the one hand women are being motivated to follow the path of development through various policies and programs. On the other hand they continue to be held within their communities, castes and tribes as bearers of tradition.

In the post-independence era women became marginalized in politics as compared to the earlier decades in the pre-independent period. This declining trend in the political participation of women was in contrast with their increasing trend in their presence in every other field. Percentage of women in parliament and state legislatures has remained extremely low.

Lack of an active and articulate mass participation of women is a major obstacle to political participation. Even where women are articulate and assertive, they are deliberately marginalized by a process of exclusion by men who are more powerful and dominant within the political institutions. Elected women representatives do not have a mass base of an organized electorate, in the form of women collectivities, NGOs and an informed and politically conscious women’s constituency to support them. (Krishna, 2009, p.171) Women are often given soft portfolios that are an extension of women’s stereotypical image. Access to resources and information, awareness, control over resources, organizational infrastructures and cultural barriers are major obstacles to

political participation of women. The emergence of women as a strong group would change the prevailing political practices, the nature and content of debate in Parliament and State Legislatures and women's issues can be projected from the feminist perspective both in policy formulation and implementation.

Elections in India have become more complicated, violent, dirty and expensive, involving thereby many legitimate and not so legitimate ways of finding and managing them. It is difficult for women to fit into this matrix comfortably. The participation cost in formal politics is too high for women, making it difficult for them to participate in politics at par with men.

Sarojini Naidu and Margaret Cousins led a small delegation of women to demand that women be given same right of representation in legislatures as men before the Montague and Chelmsford committee for constitutional reforms in the year 1919. (Kishwar, 1996, p. 2867) British government could not put down the demand openly, hence they left it up to the individual provinces to decide on women franchise rights. Most of the provincial legislatures had accepted the proposal, which was surprising for the British administration at that time. In the year 1931, during the Karachi session the Indian National Congress took a historic decision of committing itself to the political equality of women, regardless of their status and qualification.

Mahatma Gandhi played a crucial role in inspiring women to join the freedom struggle by stressing on the fact that struggle for women's equality is an important part of the movement for swaraj. His idea of non-violent satyagraha as a mode of struggle allowed women to play an active role, which was otherwise not possible in a masculine-oriented movement based on violence. (Kishwar 1996, p. 2868)

The constitution of India is based on the principles of equality and guarantees equality before law and equal protection to all its citizens. Constitution also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favor of women by way of legislation and policies. Most of the rights guaranteed in the constitution have remained *de jure* and have failed to become *de facto* in nature. Articles 325 and 326 guarantee political equality and equal right to participation in political activities and the right to vote respectively. While the right to vote has been exercised and enjoyed, right to equal political participation is a distant dream. (Krishna, 2009, p.147)

Reviewing women's participation in the political process the Commission on Status of Women in India concluded that "though women constituted a numerical majority they were acquiring a feature of the minority group because of inequality of status and political power. The report expressed concerns over the difficulties experienced by women in obtaining adequate representation and spokesmen of their cause in legislative bodies, and argued that if the process continues over a period of time, more and more women will lose faith in the political process and may will opt out of the political system and either become passive partners or rebels". The report stressed the need for improving the political status of women as an integral aspect of the overall problem of socio-economic change and broadening the elite political structure. (Sharma, 1998, p. 27)

Women must be aware of their rights and responsibilities, then awareness can lead to potential capacity. Women must use the acquired capacity to exercise their power more effectively and professionally for their own development in particular and society in general. The 73rd and the 74th Amendments to the Constitution have impacted nearly 600 million Indian people in 5,00,000 villages. Percentage of women at various levels of political activity has risen from 4-5% to 25-50%. More than one million women have entered political life actively due to reservation. (Arunachalam (ed.), 2011, p.159)

The question of reservation for women in representative bodies was taken up during the Constituent Assembly debates, but was rejected by the women representatives on grounds that it was unnecessary since working of democracy in normal course would ensure the representation of all the sections of the society. Women representatives felt that it would underestimate the strength of women to compete as equals. (Menon, 2000, p.3835)

It is worth noticing that the move to reserve one third seats for women has the formal endorsement of all the major political parties of our country. Although party members might not be happy to implement such promises made to public, but none of the politicians dare to openly oppose the move openly. It was noticed that during the parliamentary debates that very few members opposed the idea of women reservation and the ones who did were put down by their own male colleagues. (Kishwar, 1996, p. 2867) This is a well-known fact that male politicians will always hesitate to publicly oppose any measure related to women empowerment in public. It is comparatively easier in India to get any law passed that is related to women's rights. In the west women had to struggle for decades to get their basic rights. Usually the men who speak about women's

empowerment in public are the ones who actually sideline women within their own party. Party structure is itself so patriarchal, that it prevents women from taking up important positions within the political parties. Presences of few women as party leaders do not give us a true picture about position of women within the internal structure of political parties. Women in huge numbers are found as registered party members or workers, but when it comes to taking up important roles within the parties, women members are ignored by the party leadership.

India has also ratified various international conventions to secure equal rights of women, such as ratification of Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 1993. As per the report of the committee on the status of women in India there is no single homogeneous pattern in the political participation of women, it may vary from region to region, from class to class and from community to community and is further conditioned by the political culture of the area. Political awareness varies with the level of modernization in a given area. Literacy rate, education, exposure to urbanization has an impact on political awareness thus impacting political participation. Education can lead to awareness, but might not lead to participation every time. In terms of urban-rural variable there is no significant difference in participation. On an average, working women including professionals indicate a higher degree of awareness, but this is not necessarily reflected in their participation. It was found in the study that urban middle class women found their family responsibilities a handicap to political participation. The study speaks about apathy of professionals with high socio-economic status. Politics is of peripheral interest to women from this strata, though a significant number of legislators have come from this background.

Jharkhand 'The land of forests' is a state in eastern India, created on 15 November 2000, from what was previously the southern half of Bihar. It has an area of 30,778 sq. mi. As per the 2011 Census, Jharkhand has a population of 32988123. Sex ratio in the state is 948 female per 1000 males. Female literacy in the state is 55.42%, while male literacy being 76.84%. About 26.2% of the population belongs to the schedule tribe. The state has twenty four districts, highest proportion of tribal population has been recorded in Khunti, where 73.3% of the population belongs to the schedule tribe.

There are over 30 different Schedule Tribes in the region, the most numerically dominant of which are the Munda, Oraon, and Ho. Despite the fact that Jharkhand is often thought

of as the 'tribal region', its social structure has undergone tremendous changes over the last century. In many areas especially Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamu districts, the ethnic make-up of the population has become substantially less adivasi-dominated and the region as a whole now has a tribal population of around 30 per cent. The adivasi share a common cultural outlook with a variety of artisan castes or sadans who make up around 50 percent of the region's population and are classified variously as Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Caste and Backward Castes. (Stott and Sullivan, 2000, p.97)

The long standing demand for separate state was based on the demand to preserve the distinctive tribal heritage and culture of the region based on alternative administrative and political arrangements. The fact that Jharkhand accounts for a majority of India's mineral resources, question of tribal rights were always ignored in the larger picture of national development. Tribals of Jharkhand, through articulation of their social and political identity try to contest and counter the state's initiative to homogenize development. Development has created problems of displacement and rehabilitation. Tribals are denied any kind of informal consultation with the community. It leads to social isolation and fracture of community. Tribals are always at a higher risk owing to their higher dependence on the local environment. Situation of women is worse than that of men, tribal women depend on non-timber forest products more than men since families depend on women for food, fodder, fuel and water. Since they are less educated as compared to men, they are absorbed in the informal sector, often poorly paid without any infrastructural support mechanism. The proportion of tribal population in the region compared to total population has gradually declined

Tribal development talks about bringing the tribals into the mainstream. This mainstream has always been defined by the capitalist class, therefore characterized by the capitalist value system of the urban, educated, middle and upper class of the society. The outsiders want to exploit the resources to make maximum profit in quicker possible time. Development is not just basic needs for the mainstream society, but is all about satisfying needs born out of consumerism. (Shilee and Shailee, 2002, p.77) Tribals on the other hand are a self-content community that relies on the fulfillment of basic needs.

Adivasi versus the Jharkandi is an important aspect of studying the question of identity in Jharkhand. Outsiders may use the two terms interchangeably, but the tribals of Jharkhand find the two terms distinctly different from each other. The Jharkhand movement was not

only supported by tribals, but also the non-tribals living in the region. Since the formation of the state the non-tribals are also known as Jharkandis. The real identity of the tribals is based on their socio-cultural value system, being close to nature, social life characterized by a sense of equality that is expressed through dancing and singing together. This sense of equality is also seen in terms of gender relations among men and women in a tribal society. (Shilee and Shailee, 2002, p.80) The tribals of Jharkhand keep on insisting that their identity is closely linked to the natural resources around which they had developed their cultural tradition, economy, society, religious myth and techniques of production. They seek to establish a close link between indigenous identity, natural resources and their self-determination.

Agriculture forms the main source of subsistence for most Jharkandis, although there are important variations between the different tribal groups. On average, land holdings are small, soil quality is often poor and lack of scope of large-scale irrigation has limited the scope for large scale agricultural production in the state. Consequently, most household supplement what they grow with edible forest produce such as fruit, flowers, nuts, leaves and mushroom. Forests are also a very important source of firewood, timber for house construction, fodder, grazing and a variety of products vital for everyday life. Forest decline in many areas has limited the availability of these items and many tribal communities try to supplement their traditional subsistence strategies with activities such as seasonal migration, mining, agricultural labor, cash cropping and sale of forest produce. (Stott and Sullivan, 2000, p.99)

Increasing number of women are cutting fuel wood for sale to urban population. Gender relations in Jharkhand are relatively egalitarian with women enjoying quite a high social status and economic value as compared to their non-tribal counterparts. An important example being the concept of bride price being given to the girl's parents to compensate them for the loss of their daughter's labor. Adivasi society recognizes the responsibility of women in managing agriculture in the absence of a male family member. Participation of women in traditionally male-dominated village-level decision-making institutions has nevertheless traditionally been rather limited. There are social taboos related to ploughing, justifying men's control over the production process, women hunting and roof making as well. (Stott and Sullivan, 2000, p.100)

The discovery of coal and iron ore and other minerals in Jharkhand in the 19th and the early 20th Century ensured that this tribal homeland would be spoiled soon to meet the demands of the industry and the development needs of the country. Outsiders poured into the region from North Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal changing the ethnic composition of the region.

An increasing trend in the number of tribal middle class was observed since the 1940s after the tribal families involved in mining activities started making money and buying land from less fortunate tribal families in the rural area. This trend was not outlawed by the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908, which assumed that landed tribals only need to be protected from land transfer to the non tribals. Another group of tribal middle class emerged among educated Christian tribal communities, who resided in the urban areas and were the ones among the tribal elite to avail the benefits of reservation policy in public sector jobs. (Corbridge, 2000, p. 70) Another argument comes from this point that tribals were only involved in class IV and class III jobs, having poor access to higher positions in the decision making bodies. Tribal middle class in Jharkhand is not a unitary middle class and takes on different colors.

Another problem area identified is the mixing of the tribals with the outside world. Tribals in order to survive migrate to different places and come in close contact with the outsiders. The push to development since 1950s has brought factories, roads and outsiders to Jharkhand in huge numbers. The STs have been worked upon by various agencies of the state to secure the docile into the supposed mainstream of Indian society. A deconstruction of tribalness is a pre-condition for so called tribal people securing their real freedom and equality with other social group. State is seen as an agent that destroys the oneness and integrity of the tribal population, and imposes a model of development that offers nothing to them. This idea is not completely applicable to the middle class tribals in Jharkhand, who are inclined to seize the opportunities available to them by public and private sector sponsored industrialization. (Corbridge, 2000, p. 81)

Encroachment on tribal lands leads to indebtedness of the tribals and bondage under the industrial agents and money lenders. There seem to be a nexus between the money lenders, encroachers, merchants and government officials. The dominant community in the country debate about the uniform civil code within the framework of majority and the minority identity. The changes embedded in the national fabric are alien for the tribal

societies and considered inadequate. For the tribal women it is not merely a question of either/or between minority and majority. Women have to uphold the cultural heritage and values of the tribe while simultaneously struggling against new form of oppression imposed by the majority in the name of development and modernization. Tribal women not only face male domination within their own society but are victims of the modern system of governance that fails to cater to the needs of the minorities.

Interaction with the outside world with the colonial and post-colonial regime through the process of development, has led to introduction of new structures of oppression and control in the form of exploitation along class lines. Attempt to create political space has been thwarted. Patriarchy stems from the intention of non-recognition of women's worth and agency as significant social beings.

As per Mr. A.K. Pankaj the Jharkhand movement under the leadership of Adivasi Mahasabha and Jaipal Singh was often described as a conspiracy of the foreign Christian missionaries. Pankaj is rather dissatisfied with the fact that scholars have always seen tribal movement as a demand. He says the way of looking at the tribal society as a way of demand is in itself colonial. He argues that demand is made by those who are subdued under an owner or a master. He says that the tribal society already had a different socio-cultural system, even before the rise of the other civilization. He questions the fact that how can the tribals be a mere demand for some exorbitant external system, which is criminal and seeks to encroach. (Pnkaj (ed.), 2017, p.8) He goes on to argue that much of the discussion on tribals is based on fictional literature written by non-tribal writers instead of historical facts and primary sources, which can be scientifically researched. He goes on to criticize the media and adivasi writers for ignoring the adivasi voices in the form of memorandums, speeches and essays. Most of these voices have been used as the convenience of the non-tribals. Adivasis are still seen as a threat to national integrity and internal security, hence so called democratic government believes that the adivasis need to be civilized and mannered as per the norms of the non-tribal society.

Jaipal Singh Munda was the first leader to declare the term adivasi from the stage of Adivasi Mahasabha in Chhotanagpur of then in 1938. By declaring the identity as Adivasi, Jaipal Singh tried to ascertain the steady identity of the communities which have been named differently in different times and kept confused about their identity and hence, rights. Another purpose behind this assertion was to unite against the exploitation,

for the protection of their livelihood related to forests, river and land. Jaipal Singh had called the tribals as the 'Original People' of India, who have gone unnoticed from the pages of history. (Kero (ed.), 2018, p.125)

The publication of social and literary magazines, formation of social organizations and institutions led to assertion of adivasi identity in different forms, creating consciousness among the community. There has been a tendency among the non-adivasi organization to perceive adivasi assertion in the form of various movements as the separatist move. The non-Adivasi community, which includes the state apparatus as well always, tries to inculcate the 'civilized' way of life on the adivasis in the name of development. (Kero(ed.), 2018, p.130)

Review of Literature

Review of the existing literature was done to find out various theoretical dimensions of the concept of political participation. Madan Lal Goel in his book *Political Participation in a Developing Nation: India* identifies political participation as a dependent variable and makes an effort to find out various independent variables that are correlated and associated with it. He argues for a broad definition of political participation to include such conventional activities like voting and discussing politics as well as demonstrations, sit-ins and marches as well. Faulks Keith in his book *Political Sociology: A Critical Introduction* Chapter on 'Political Participation' explains the importance of countering the centralizing tendency by the State and concentration of power in few hands. The first part of the chapter reviews major theories of political participation i.e. democratic elitism, rational choice and participatory theory. Political participation is seen by A S Kabbur in the article '*Political Participation*' as a civic duty and a good sign of political health of a country. There are various types of political participation, active and passive as well as instrumental and expressive. The psychological and social variables have been playing an important role behind the political participation. According to Kabbur the operation of political variables very much depend upon the limitations posed by social and psychological variables.

The book *Behind the veil- Dalit Women in Panchayat Raj* by Sunita Dhaka and Rjbir Dhaka focuses on the status of SC women representatives in panchayat in the state of Haryana. The book focuses on a number of indicators reflecting gender inequality in the

country. It emphasizes awareness of common people in general and woman in particular about their participation and functioning women in the panchayat raj institutions. The author at the end comes up with various obstacles that hinder the smooth participation of women in panchayat raj institution. The article '*Feminism and Political Empowerment of Women at the Grass Root- The Karnataka Experience*' by B K Subha and B S Bhargava begins with the definition of Feminism and argues that the liberal feminism has a profound influence in building pressure on the government to give equal status to women.. Political participation as an important element of women empowerment is emphasized in the article and especially at the grass root level. The article studies the working of the reservation policy at the grass root level in Karnataka and identifies practical problems in the field which prevents women to actively participate in the decision- making process at the grass root level. The article does mention some of the positive impacts of political participation of women at a grass root level in terms of basic training and motivation of women to shoulder political responsibilities and broadening the base of women's representation in political institutions. One must not forget the role of local government in implementing policies that have direct impact on day to day aspects of a women's life, hence political participation of women at the grass root level is a major cause of concern in any society.

The article '*Do Electoral Quotas Work After They are Withdrawn? Evidence From a Natural Experience in India*' by Rikhil R. Bhavanani does a comparative study of two election results of BMC in the year 1997 and 2002. The author argues that the reservation largely work by introducing into politics a group of female candidates who can win elections and allowing parties to learn that women can win elections. The author gives a detailed account of various hurdles that a woman might face in terms of incumbency, family rules, approaches of parties and the general voters. The author found that the process of reservation did influence the women's chances of winning elections in a positive way and thus encouraged political parties to have more female candidate than before. The article '*One More Reservation*' by Anand Teltumbde begins with a criticism of the overall reservation policy for being a strategic tool in the hands of the ruling class to manipulate people. The author argues that the present reservation system only benefits the elite of the targeted section and thus benefits of reservation can hardly leads the majority. Women's reservation will only benefit the better placed amongst the target group. The author argues that women reservation would reinforce the domination of

traditional political structures and do not improve the condition of the oppressed women who are outside the elite political structure. The article '*Women in Power? Gender, Caste and the Politics of local Urban Government*' by Mary E. John studies the role played by reservation based on caste and gender in the municipal corporations of Delhi and Bangalore. The paper studies the socio- and political backgrounds of municipal councilors and its influence on the role of reservation. The author identifies the system of proxy representative as a means to enter into politics. This in turn hampers the capability of women to build up their distinct political identity. This must be pointed out that women share much less a common identity as women in the process of becoming local political leaders. The author comes up with the finding that women rarely came up with the women related issues nor did they focus on women's interest. The author goes on to say that 'self made' women are indeed an exception when it comes to the overall political participation of women.

The book *Kahani Jharkhand Rajniti Ki* by Balbir Dutt gives a detail study about Jharkhand movement since 1930s. The book is divided into various stages keeping in mind various developments in the movement since 1930s. The book discusses the rise and contributions of various leaders involved in the movement. The book gives details of electoral politics in the state till the year 2009. This helps analyze changing political dynamics since the formation of the state. The book *Kahani Adivasi Rajniti Ki* by Nirmal Minz gives an historical analysis of the Jharkhand movement. The book starts with information regarding the movements that were directed against the British since 1772. These revolts in the tribal area of Chotanagpur are treated as a predecessor of the modern movement started in the 20th century. The revolts in the 19th century help us analyze how the traditional tribal society was ruined by the outsiders. The book *Jharkhand Andolan Ke Dastavez : Shoshan, Sangharsh aur Sahadat* by Anuj Kumar Sinha gives us an idea about the contribution made by many people towards the Jharkhand movement, whose sacrifices has been ignored all these years. Author says that many people died in police firing and at the hands of the mafias, which went unnoticed in the larger picture. He also throws light upon sacrifices made by women at the grass root level during the movement.

The edited volume *The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples' Struggle for Autonomy in India*, edited by Ram Dayal Munda and S. Basu Mullick is a collection of various articles that deal with different aspects of the Jharkhand movement.. A few articles give a

firsthand experience of the members of the Jharkhand party and their grievances with Jaipal Singh. The volume also gives detail about various speeches given by Jaipal Singh during the initial phase of the movement. The volume gives a historical analysis of the revolts in the 19th century and how it led to identity formation among the tribals of the region.

The book *Jharkhand: Politics of Development and Identity* by Amit Prakash explains how the dominant discourse on development has been neglecting the needs of the peripheral areas. Jharkhand region has been used as a periphery since independence and denied the access to resources. Jharkhand had to pay the price for industrialization of other areas. Lopsided development led to the inflow of outsiders in the area, who exploited the locals. The book gives a detail analysis of the changing pattern of development profile of the region since the 1950s till the 1990s. The author argues that Jharkhand was a major source of revenue for the state of Bihar and mainly treated as an internal colony of the state.

The paper '*The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Jharkhand Movement*' by Seema Jha analyses the nature of Jharkhand movement from the perspective of a social movement. She argues that that in its early phase movement was mainly led by the tribals, but in the later stages it was not the movement of the tribals alone. A lot of non-tribals got involved in the movement in the later stages. The movement became regional in nature demanding regional autonomy for all those who stayed in the region, be it a tribal or a non-tribal. The relationship between the sadans and the adivasis has resulted in the creation of a composite culture. The paper '*Jharkhand from Separation to Liberation*' by A K Roy argues that Jharkhand has a composite culture, which is a result of mixing of different groups together. Jharkhand has been used as an internal colony in independent India. Jharkhand is not only rich in natural resources with its forest and mines, but also in human resources, which provided an opportunity for the outsiders to exploit the cheap labour available in the region.

Research Questions

- What is the theoretical understanding of various dimensions of political participation?
- What are the socio-economic and cultural dimensions of Jharkhand movement?

- What is the nature and extent of participation of women in the Jharkhand movement? \
- What are the factors that hinder active participation of women in politics at different levels?
- What shall be the effect of gender based affirmative action on nature of political participation of women in Jharkhand?
- Is there any major difference between performances of women representatives in urban local bodies and rural local bodies in Jharkhand?

It is within this framework that the ensuing analysis, based on primary and secondary sources, will try to study the underlying patterns and themes of women's political participation and their levels of inclusion and exclusion from the political process. Is there a link between quantitative representations of women in politics with their qualitative representation of women's interests in political space? It is important to find out why it is so difficult to accommodate women's interests at the decision making level.

It is important to know the resources available to women that can help them actively participate in politics. The costs are not the same for all, it often depends on social and economic resources that women are able to mobilize in order to access political life, participate in informal and formal processes and political institutions. Religion, caste, class, language and ethnicity all mediate with gender to influence the outcome of participation of women in politics. Lack of sufficient participation of women in politics and decision making levels are a result of their poor social and domestic status and their exclusion from certain position and levels of power. Power is the ability to influence the decision –making process and policies, to reverse the existing situation in favor of the disadvantaged and to bring about the necessary change. Mere participation in numbers cannot be effective, it has to be situated at levels which are significant and effective for exercising power and influence to formulate and implement policies for women.

Various indicators of nature of women's participation in politics are membership of various organizations at the local level. It is important to study the extent to which they attend meetings, take leadership roles to initiate programs. How frequently they travel, whether they speak in meetings, initiate to implement programs for needy sections of the society.

An analysis of political participation of women would combine the extent, nature and level of participation of women in formal and informal institutions, impact of significant of such participation on women in general and nature of issues raised by women during the course of participation.

Research Methodology

In order to find answers to the above mentioned research questions study was conducted following both qualitative and quantitative methods for the purpose of analysis. Entire research is based on use of both primary and secondary resources.

The researcher begins by understanding different theoretical dimensions of the concept of political participation. In order to understand the concept political participation review of the existing literature is done. Theoretical understanding of the concept formed the basis for further analysis of various dimensions of political participation of women in Jharkhand.

The researcher attempts to study the background of the prolonged movement that led to the formation of the separate state of Jharkhand. To situate my study in the historical context a review of the existing literature was done. For the purpose of studying the socio-economic and cultural dimensions of the movement a historical understanding of the existing secondary resources was done.

In order to understand the nature and extent of participation of women in the Jharkhand movement, the researcher uses various primary and secondary sources available on Jharkhand movement. Review of various secondary resources, mainly books and journals are done to highlight the contribution of women in Jharkhand movement. It was observed during the study that names of many women were ignored in the existing literature. The researcher undertook direct interviews of few women who were directly involved in the movement. Few interviews were also done over the telephone. Experiences of women were recorded through unstructured questionnaire consisting of open ended questions. The researcher had to depend on these oral narratives in order to identify the contribution made by women in Jharkhand movement.

The researcher collected government documents related to the details of the female candidates in local bodies in Jharkhand. Further study would require minimum number of

panchayats and municipalities to collect information from the target group. A field study was conducted across five districts of Jharkhand in order to study the nature of political participation of elected women representatives in local bodies of the state. Five districts covered during the field study were Ranchi, Hazaribag, Gumla, Lohardagga and Khuti. Representatives of the local bodies both in rural and urban areas of these five districts were interviewed during the field study. Separate analysis is done for the rural and urban local bodies, although the interview schedule was same for studying both rural and urban area. Interview schedule contained both open ended and closed ended questions.

During the Field study Mukhiyas of Gram Panchayat were interviewed from five districts of Jharkhand. From each district, two Blocks were selected randomly and women Mukhiyas of ten Blocks across five districts of the state were approached to conduct the study. Total eighty two women Mukhiyas across five districts were interviewed for the purpose of data collection and analysis.

For the purpose of the study Ward Councilors and Chairpersons of Five Urban Local Bodies were intervened. Elected representatives of Ranchi Municipal Corporation, Hazaribag Municipal Corporation, Gumla Nagar Parishad, Lohardagga Nagar Parishad and Khuti Nagar Panchayat were interviewed. Total seventy seven Councilors from these five districts were approached during the field study. Present and former Mayor of Ranchi Municipal Corporation, Deputy Chairperson of Khuti Nagar Panchayat and Chairperson of Lohardagga Nagar Parishad gave their valuable time and feedback for the purpose of analysis of the study conducted.

For the purpose of analyzing voting patterns among women voters in the state, primary data was collected from government websites and tabulated for further understanding. Interview schedule with both closed and open ended questions were used to collect data during the field study, which was conducted across five districts of the states in order to study the nature of political participation among rural and urban women in the state. Total 404 women were interviewed during the field study, 192 women from the rural area and 212 from the urban area across the five districts in the state. It must be noted that only those women were interviewed who belonged to the local constituencies where seats of a local Councilor or a Mukhiya was reserved for a woman. This was done in order to take valuable feedback regarding the performance of women who were local representatives of

their area. It is important to understand what women as ordinary voters think about women who are active in politics and part of local administration.

Polling percentage has been calculated by using the available data on total number of electors and voters during the elections held. Separate polling percentage has been calculated for men, women and women belonging to different categories. Overall polling percentage has been calculated for women along with separate polling percentage for tribal women and women belonging to the general category. It must be noted that for the purpose of studying voters turnout, a comparison is made between the tribal and non-tribal women. Voters turnout in four General Elections i.e. 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 and four Legislative Assembly Elections i.e. 2005, 2009, 2014 and 2019 have been analyzed for the purpose of the study.

For the purpose of the study details of women candidates from Jharkhand of four General Elections i.e. 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 and four Legislative Assembly Elections i.e. 2005, 2009, 2014 and 2019 has been taken from government websites as primary data in order to analyze the extent of participation of women in Legislative bodies in Jharkhand.

Chapters

Chapter One: Conceptual Analysis of the Concept Political Participation aims at understanding various theoretical dimensions of the concept of political participation and a feminist perspective on political participation of women. Political participation is the involvement of different groups and individuals at various levels in the political system. Political participation is complex phenomenon liable to be influenced by a variety of variables. Political participation can be defined as the involvement of members of the society in the decision making process of the political system. Participation is not just about exercising one's franchise but it involves active involvement, which in a real manner would influence the decision making of the government. Only in a decentralized decision making process can citizens have the opportunity to perform their responsibilities and make proper use of their democratic rights. Democratic form of government is that which encourages maximum participation in government processes. Political participation can be both professional and non-professional and there are various levels of political participation. Political participation can be divided into three types of activities mainly

gladiators, transitional and spectator activities. Protest participation is also a major form of political participation.

Chapter Two: History of Jharkhand Movement deals with the background of the Jharkhand movement in the historical context. Jharkhand as a state was formed on 15th November, 2000, after the bifurcation of Bihar. Jharkhand movement began as a protest against the outsiders in order to stop their intrusion into the tribal area and the exploitation meted out to the tribal people largely by the British administration. The Jharkhand leaders traced their struggle back to the tribal revolts of nineteenth century, which were sparked off by the oppressive land revenue arrangements under the permanent settlement. Jharkhand movement can be divided into three phases. First being the Formation Phase from 1900 to 1930, second being the Active Phase from 1939 to 1963 and finally the Revival Phase from 1963 to 2000.

Chapter Three: Role of Women in Jharkhand Movement attempts to find out the nature and extent of participation of women in the Jharkhand movement. Women remain an integral part of the economic activities like cutting of timber, clearing jungles, gathering leaves and harvesting crops. However it is very difficult to locate tribal women in these movements because of the scarcity of written literature. One has to depend upon oral sources and biased official records for our analysis. Women had to deviate from their traditional roles and perform extraordinary duties during anti-colonial struggle. During the anti-colonial movement as well as the Jharkhand movement one could see the beginning of politicization of women in a set direction where they were more concerned about their tribal identity and interests. Women's contribution towards the Jharkhand statehood movement is still not recognized as something which had a huge impact on the course of the entire movement. Women did emerge as leaders in smaller groups and local areas and gave direction to the entire movement.

Chapter Four: Political Participation of Women in Rural and Urban Elected Bodies is based on the report of the field study done on the women representatives of the urban local bodies and rural local bodies across five districts in Jharkhand. The field report helps us analyze various aspects related to the performances of women politicians at the local level. The study helps find out the extent to which women politicians take up women related issues within their area. The chapters seek to understand the impact of gender based affirmative action on nature of participation of women in active politics.

The study was an eye opener that helped in identifying few women politicians at the grass root level who became a role model for other women who wanted to join active politics. The researcher attempts to do a comparative analysis of the performance of women representatives in rural local bodies and urban local bodies.

Chapter Five: Participation of Women in Political Process in Jharkhand is based on the report of the study that attempts to analyze the nature of political participation of ordinary women voters in Jharkhand. The study also seeks to understand the common perception among ordinary women regarding women politicians in their respective constituencies. The study tries to find out factors that impacted political decisions made by ordinary women voters. Analysis of the election data helps find out the extent of participation of women as voters in the electoral process. A comparative study of tribal and non-tribal voters is done in the chapter. The chapter also studies the nature and extent of representation of Jharkhand women in legislative bodies. For the purpose of the study election data has been tabulated to find out the role played by political parties in bringing women in active politics.

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CHAPTER 1

Conceptual Analysis of the Concept Political Participation

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What is Political Participation ?

Political participation is the involvement of different groups and individuals at various levels in the political system. Political participation is complex phenomenon liable to be influenced by a variety of variables. Political participation involves a series of voluntary activities which have a bearing on the political process. Political participation can be defined as the involvement of members of the society in the decision making process of the political system. Hence it is clear that political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system.

State wants to centralize power so you need an alternative civic and political association to counter balance and control the power. (Faulks, 2011,p.143) Participation is not just about exercising ones franchise but it involves active involvement , which in a real manner would influence the decision making of the government. (Biswas, 1978, p.141) Involvement expresses itself in various kinds of overt and manifest political activities. (Ali and Sharma, 1995, p.140) Participation includes all behavior through which people directly express their political opinion. Participation is regarded as a defining attribute of democracy. Participation of citizens is often seen as a prerequisite for any democratic institution.

At the simplest level, participation represents the act of taking part, or having a share with others, in some action. This is however a minimal understanding of what is entailed by participation in a

Democracy. As Geraint Parry reminds us, in a democracy we are concerned with political participation and it is the use of the term political before participation that becomes a matter of concern for the students of political science. Political participation entails, at the very least, taking part in some 'political action'. But once again the word 'political action', requires further deliberation, since the meaning of political itself is not fixed. The word political itself may be used differently at different situations, thus political actions vary

from voting to having a major influence as a cabinet minister upon government policy or upon its implementation.

According to Almond and Powell participants are those individual who are oriented to the input structure and process and view themselves as politically engaging in the articulation of demand and making of decision. (Biswas, 1978, p.143) Political participants in democratic structures are aware of their roles in the input structures.

Political participants are those individuals who are oriented to the input structure and process and engage, or view themselves as potentially engaging in the articulation of demands and decision making. It is assumed that political participant of the democratic political system should be aware of his/her role in the political structure and more especially in the political input structure consisting of parties and interest and interest groups.

Sometimes many voters are not concerned with government policies, hence rate of political participation except election is not very high. So there is a huge difference between mass electorates and active participants Willingness on behalf of the people to participate in the governance of their lives and is central to civic society. Political participation is active engagement by individual and group with the government process that effect their lives. It involves both involvement in decision making and act of opposition. (Faulks, 2011, p. 143) McClosky defines political participation as those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of a ruler, and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. (Biswas, 1978, p.143)

Nie and Verba – Their definition of political participation includes the orbit of those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel or action they take. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 140) They excluded ceremonial support where no direct influence is involved, societal part that is not aimed at effecting the government and extra ordinary kind of action including protests and only includes all behavior intended to influence public behavior .

Huntington and Nelson – definition refers to political participation simply as activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision making. Students of political participation are interested in learning about popular attempts to influence the authoritative allocation of values for the society. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 140)

Webster defines participation as “to have a share in common with others, to participate” (Salisbury, 1975, p. 3241) Carol Patman tends to emphasis in the intrinsic value of participation, its educative and development effect on citizens. Participation is a beneficial activity in its own rights, increasing citizen’s political efficacy and understanding of their own interest and political responsibility. (Smith , 2005, p. 5)

Myron Weiner states that process of modernization itself creates a condition for increased political participation and if modernization continues to take place in a developing area we can expect both authoritarian regime and unrepresentative governments would be challenged by new participants who want to share power. (Goel, 1996, p. X)

Participation is an expression of citizenship and it shows a type of political culture. It fosters amongst citizens a sense of empathy for those with different interests thus enhancing shared political culture.(Faulks, 2011, p. 146) Political participation is not natural, it is in fact to be learned which can be done from the membership of groups he belongs to. Generally it is the groups that sets standards of right and wrong. (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.131)

Individual learn about himself from the group so it has a huge bearing upon his behavior. The culture of participation has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. Participation as a national culture bear a sub-culture of its own. (Krishna (ed.), 2008, p.2)

Certain groups may be legally or formally deprived from the right to participate in the democratic process, while many who have the right to participate might choose not to do so unless made mandatory. The extent of formal rights of participation in the political process which is concerned with the total whole, the actual facilitation and exercise of that right may be taken for determining the degree of political development a society has achieved. Level of participation and capacity is seen by Riggs as determinants of development of any political system. (Krishna, 1979, p.17)

Huntington sees tension between participation and political institutionalization, the clue to both political order and political decay. (Krishna, 1979, p.17) He relates political instability to political participation and inversely to political institutionalization. Political instability leads to political decay so he argues for less political participation.

David Easton says individual political act contributes as input into the process of decision making of territorial community.(Biswas, 1978, p.142) participation has been seen as civic duty and as a sign of political health. Political participation aims at influencing the exercise of political power and not its actual exercise. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.144) Political participation refers orientation of people to the political perspective and the political actors. Political participation can help in informing, educating and training people towards their rights and duties. (Kabbur, 1996, p. 13) It is much more than participating in the electoral process, it also implies peoples activities which directly or indirectly influence government machinery.

Political participation is the critical link between the nation, citizenry and the governing process. It provides mechanism through which citizens can communicate information about their interests, preferences and needs and generate pressure to respond. Political participation is effected by the context. Participation is considered as voluntary contribution by people in public programs that would lead to national development. Participation is concerned with organized efforts to have control over the resources and regulative institutions in a given social situation as a part of group interests of those hitherto excluded from such control. (Parfitt, 2004, p. 538)

Political participation can be means to end as well as end in itself. When participation is treated as a means it is indicative that power relations between those at the grass-root or the target community and aid and government agencies are left intact. It is politically neutral and it does not addresses any power differentials. (Parfitt, 2004, p. 538) Participation as a means is short term as once task is done participation evaporates.

Participation as an end suggests a power transformation in power relation between the donor and the recipient and the latter liberated from a dominated relation with the former. Participation as an end is emancipatory and it seeks to address unequal power relation. Participation as an end looks for empowerment approach. It is seen as a process of development in its own rights rather than a tool for achieving certain good.

Political participation is regarded as a legitimate act – as a citizen participate in government affairs, through voting and other means. They give their consent to decision and legitimize those decisions and the regime that make them. (Salisbury, 1975, p.325) Regime stability is a reasonable indication of high level of consent. Participation is

instrumental in the sense seen as necessary means of attaining political power. J. S. Mill and Rousseau associated participation as a solvent of social conflict. Rousseau contested that through active participation citizen would come to share a common conception of general good, and thus agree how resources should be allocated. (Salisbury, 1975, p.327)

Participation is seen as a learning process by Mill, and those outside the system will be prevented from learning the norms by which consensus judgments are reached. There May be conflict in the system but it may be between those who understood the common good by a sense of their active participation and those who do not take part. (Salisbury, 1975, p.327) At micro level issue of legitimization through participation involves stability of a system and broad compliance with the authoritative norms. At macro level compliance, trust and a sense of efficacy are results of high level of participation.

For Aristotle as well as Mill individual can attain full human potential as an active participant in the political community. Community participation may be regarded as a method of gaining both skill and information that will enhance one's ability to gain power in other area and other purpose. It is through participation in politics that we learn to exercise the skills of democratic citizenship. (Kelleber and Lowery, 2009, p. 71) Local political participation a venue that Dahl argues plays a crucial role in encouraging democratic citizenship

Political participation implies participation by the various people in the politics of the country. Political participation is a necessary ingredient of any political system Political participation may imply participation by the non-political people as well as the politicized one. The idea of political participations is highest in liberal democratic countries, and to some degree in totalitarian countries. Participation is the principle means by which ordinary citizens grant or withdraw their consent in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled.

Concept of participation cannot be neglected in any democratic theory. Effective form of participation has its own impact on the achievement of various social and political goals.. It represents a process by which goals are set and means are chosen in relation to all sorts of social issues and resources available. Indeed, this is why it is crucial to democratic theory and to political system in general. Through political participation, goals of society

are set in a way that are said to maximize the allocation of benefits in a society to match the needs and desires of the maximum number of people.

Theories Of Political Participation

Democratic Elitist by Schumpeter - they argue for less participation of masses because they are ignorant and uneducated. They believed that elite is of higher quality and act of governing is giving people not what they want but what they will learn to want. (Faulks, 2011, p. 43) Participation as a factor in politics for democratic elitists is only for those who govern. The masses are emotional so why give them any chance of periodic elections. Elitists make a difference between a competent elite and unreliable masses.

Rational Choice Theory by Olson and Downs - many people would often ask what I will gain from participation. Elites would get power and prestige. In order to participate, one must have to be motivated to get some or the other form of direct benefit. What emerges is limited representative democracy when we talk about rational self-interest. Both the theories are instrumentalist theories of participation. (Faulks, 2011, p. 43)

Pareto and Mosca say that elite or minority rule is inevitable and are critics of popular participation. (Kavanagh, 1984, p.173) Citizenship theorists are very optimistic about the greater public involvement in politics. They are Charles Merriam, T.V. Smith, Graham Wallan and A.D. Lindsay. They believe in individual autonomy. Individuals are best judge of their own interest and their political wisdom can increase given better education and certain socio-political changes. Participation would give better citizens and more responsible and public minded society. (Kavanagh, 1984, p.173)

Later in 19th century, John Stuart Mill stated that the only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which all the people participate. For him, any participation even in the smallest function is useful ; that the participation should everywhere be as great as the general degree of improvement of the community will allow, and that nothing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of all to a share in the sovereign power of the state. Mill maintained that the foremost benefit of free government is that education via politicization is carried down to the very lowest ranks of the people when they are called to take part in acts which directly affects the great interest of the country. He also viewed intrinsic merit of mass political participation as the

possibility for the individual's self-realization or self-development. (Clark and Elliot, 2001, p.476)

For proponents of participatory theory of democracy participation is more than a method of governing for them. It serves a wider purpose for them for connecting civil society together and educating citizens in the art of governance. Participatory theorists start with two guiding principles. First democratic system of governance must maximize the instances and intensity of participation by all members. Second it must increase the area of social life where democratic principles apply. (Faulks, 2011, p.145) If citizens are passive recipients then it is dangerous for democracy as participation is a pre-condition for freedom. Tocqueville. (Faulks, 2011, p.145) Political participation not only beneficial to the participants but also for the elites who want to maintain stability

The major functions of participation in the theory of participatory democracy are educative one in the very widest sense including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of democratic skills and political development and foster the very skills necessary for it. The more an individual participate the better able they become to do so. A combination of goals of inclusiveness, popular control, considered judgment, efficiency and transferability offer a powerful analytical to access citizen's participation in decision making. (Smith, 2009, p.5)

We don't want a thin democracy said Barker We need a strong democracy where politics is done by and not to citizens. In a strong democracy participation is not merely the defense of an entrenched interest instead is a deliberative and public process that does not lay claim to any truth above what can be agreed consensually by its citizens. Democratic theory considers people as rational and independent, which makes them capable to express their opinion about the government and people holding public office.(Biswas, 1978, p.141)

Unless citizens have faith in the institutions and they engage in large number with diverse process of self- governance, democracy might end up being no more than an empty shell, devoid of substance, and often producing thin covers of dictators and authoritative regimes.(Krishna, 2002, p. 445) Higher political participation does not always mean that democratic will flourish , but government can be more effectively held to account, constitutionally guaranteed rights can be enforced and individual and

community demands can be better represented within the policy process where ordinary citizens participate actively in the politics of their country.

As more are brought into the process of democratic decision making and fewer groups left out the democratic process becomes legitimized across a wider domain. Voting turnout can often overstate the extent to which citizens truly participate in public decision making or even people's participation in democratic self-governance. (Krishan, 2002, p. 446) Voting through threat, inducement or with no competing candidates has no positive effect for democracy. Other acts like campaigning, contesting, protesting needs to be done in a standard manner. Democracy implies citizens should participate on equal terms. At least a degree of equality in political participation is symbolically important for a legitimate political system. (John, 2009, p. 497)

Importance of political participation is much more in a democracy than any other form of government. According to Lipset democracy is a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible participation of the population to influence major decision by choosing among contenders for political office. Democracy provides ultimate power to the electorates and equal opportunity to participate in political activities. Stability of any democracy depends upon mass participation. Public participation in politics is basically considered to be a defining element of democratic citizenship. Unless citizens participate in the deliberations of public policy and choice structure against government policies the democratic process are meaningless. Democracy provides an avenue that poor people can utilize for overcoming years of domination and neglect.

Political participation in a liberal democracy is in a phase of transition. Citizens are becoming skeptical of existing political elites and institutions. They are more concern with the material issues. Growing importance of new social movements can be seen. Political parties need more creativity.

Democracy is the best way to reconcile the increased diversity of civil society through political participation. Only in a decentralized decision making process can citizens have opportunity to perform their responsibilities and make proper use of their democratic rights. Democratic form of government is that which encourages maximum participation government processes.

Lipset points out that high level of participation cannot always be treated as good for the democracy, it may indicate a sign of decline of social cohesion and breakdown of democratic process. Many are of the opinion that if majority in the society are contented then it leads to low participation and it indicates absence of cleavages. States should create opportunity for citizens to participate and even compel them to do so. Diverse interests that cannot be articulated by centralized party structure. New political agenda has replaced the old ones. State and civil society adopt to new demands of political participation from people. (Faulks, 2011, p.154)

Several trends in participation can be seen. Voter turnout is less because of choice offered. A more informed citizenry because of education and availability of information given by mass media. More effect of mass media through individualization. More unconventional form of participation, less importance of religious organizations like churches, less young people in politics, declining political trust due to the role of media. More stress on individualistic democratic values and little support for violence as a legitimate act of participation. (Faulks, 2011, p.1)

Declining loyalty to political party as questions arise as why are political parties important? What do they do? Do they increase citizens participation. They mobilize citizens for participation. Political parties are becoming shallow and less stable. Electorates are becoming more influenced by current political issues in casting their votes rather than voting out of a sense of loyalty to a particular party. Parties take help of the media and try to move to diverse social groups. Candidates also no longer follow any predictable or easily consulted pattern leading to falling electoral turnout. There is an increase in unconventional participation

Nie and Verba argue that psychological orientation and attitude towards participation and ones sense of efficacy and civic norms may be important as a source of participation and should not be confused with political participation per say. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.142) So you treat only the actual behavior of citizens in attempts to influence the government through political participation. Scope of political participation has expanded over time. Initially citizens participate in electoral process, voting, campaigning, attending party meetings, communicating others and collecting money for campaign was a part of political participation. Later concept was broadened to include activities in the period between elections when citizens try to influence government decision and all the

behavior through which people directly express their political opinion. Voting and campaigning are important but not the only form of political participation.

Rush and Althaff arranged political participation hierarchically

1. Holding political or administrative office
2. Seeking political or administrative office
3. Active membership of political organization
4. passive membership of political organization
5. active membership of quasi political organizations example interest groups
6. passive membership of quasi political organizations example interest groups
7. participation in public meetings and deliberations
8. participation in informal political discussions
9. general interest in politics
10. voting
11. apathy (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.142)

This distinction is based on the basis of professional and non- professional participation. A political professional is one who's primary calling is politics or government. They include political participation as part of routine job. Persons holding office within the government or in a party, political candidates and professional lobbyists are also political professionals. Those involved in contesting elections will also get involved in campaigning and protesting.

Non- professional political participation is included in the study of political participation by Huntington and Nelson (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 144) Their involvement in politics is a part-time activity and usually a vocational or secondary to their social roles (Borthakur and Sarmah, 2007, p. 73) Political participation may be formal and non-formal. Formal participation would include activities that involving exerting power over governmental entities and their allied groups like political parties and non-formal includes all other areas except that influences governmental entities. Formal participation is often linked with the ability to participate, where the ones with lesser ability are invisible.

Formal political participation is much more visible than the non-formal participation. (Pnda, 1990, p.23)

There are various levels of political participation. Electoral process highlights public interest through its various commitments such as political participation and recruitment. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.151) There is a concept of electoral maturity which includes political awareness, political involvement, political judgment and political adjustment. Some avenues of participation have a wider representation of population than others. Aim is to make participation less reliant on constitutional form of political engagement so that it better represents the population through more direct connection to excluded ones and population excluded from direct connection. (John, 2009, p. 497)

Woodward and Roger five ways of behaving taken together for promoting an operational definition of the concept of political activities

1. voting at the polls
2. Supporting pressure groups through membership
3. Participation in political parties actively
4. Emerging in habitual dissemination of political opinion through communication or word of mouth
5. Direct personal communication with legislators.

Nie and Verba gave four modes of political participation.

- a. Voting
- b. Campaigning activities
- c. Communal activities
- d. Particularized constraints

The model depends on certain dimensions the amount of initiative with time ,effort and resources required in the process. The scope of potential income, the amount of conflict raised by the act and the extent of influence of such act upon the leaders. (Kavanagh, 1984,p.181) political participation is cumulative in nature that is person who is engaged

in the top most behavior are very likely to perform those lower in rank as well. (Goel, 1996, p. 20)

Lester Milbreth divides political participation into three categories

- a. Gladiators Activities- represents that small number of party activists who's active association with political parties keep them engaged in a series of direct party activities like holding office, fighting the election as party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meetings and joining the party campaign
- b. Transitional Activities- includes attending party meetings as supporters or party sympathizers or just as neutral but attentive listener, making contributions to the party funds and coming in contact with public officials or party personnel.
- c. Spectator Activities- includes voting, influencing others to vote in a particular way, making and joining a political discussion, exposing oneself to political stimuli and wearing a button or showing a sticker.

Political participation can be both active and passive. Participation involves cost and time and so not all in the society can be active participants because you need time, energy and resources. (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.122) The number of participants varies with time, place and circumstances. More people discuss politics than vote and many more vote than join parties or work in campaigns. The attentive public is distinctly a minority. As Bryce observed, only a small group gives constant attention to politics, a larger group is interested but comparatively passive, while the masses are largely indifferent. (Halder and Phillip, 2020, p.3)

Political participation divided on the basis of purpose are instrumental and expressive. Instrumental political participation is directed towards achievement of a specific goal which is concrete in nature. Expressive concerns with some immediate satisfaction or a mere release of feelings. In actual practice both gets mixed up. (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.122) Pervasive participation is simply living in a democratic community where all government actions and policies are published in press, radio and the television.(Biswas, 1978, p.141.)

There is a new type of support participation through parade, development projects. Political mobilization of citizens in supportive demonstrations are common. Protest participation also includes demonstrations and marches.(Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 144) Riots and other forms of civic violence through which citizen of a country try to pressurize or intimate the government. Political theorists have accepted that movements, protests and struggles are legitimate expressions of political behavior. Some form of political participation represents vanishing point of political participation : apathy and anomie . apathy may occur because of satisfaction or helplessness. Apathy is sometimes due to personal reasons. Anomie is restlessness, loss of values, and lack of direction among individuals. Anomie involves violence and corruption and it is injurious for democracy but apathy may be functional for the democracy. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 147)

Political participation may be autonomous and mobilized. Mobilization can take place through cohesion, persuasion or with mutual interest. People are generally mobilized by others and not on their own will. Autonomous participation is mostly voluntary in nature and not directed by any forces. .(Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.147) In some countries participation is about exclusively in the form of group organized by the ruling apparatus.

Institutional and non-institutional political participation: Institutional political participation denotes those forms of participation propounded, regulated and encouraged by the state. Non-institutional political participation includes demonstrating, leafleting, petition writing etc. Institutional participation is rather more engaging and traditional mode of participation

Increased political participation is increases in occasions of participation were as intensified political participation is an increase in the scope of participation. Amateur start later and they depend on secondary stimuli such as issues and political heroes more sporadic and briefer career as activists in politics (Salisbury, 1975, p. 334)

Conventional political participation includes discussing politics, joining a political party , campaigning and being a candidate for public office. Support or protest participation is sending support or protest message to political leaders. Unconventional political participation is rioting and demonstrating. Miller explained the unconventional participation as elite changing or protest mode of participation. He says citizens tend to

see some of these options as supplements rather than alternative to voting, campaigning and lobbying. It can also be regarded as direct democratic action. (Halder and Phillip, 2020, p.2)

Political apathy

For a non- democratic system apathy works as a defense mechanism. In a democracy there are two types of apathy. Political apathy as a deliberative act, there are those who fail to participate and also lack enough opportunity to participate. There may be several reasons for deliberate political apathy. Political involvement might be considered to be less rewarding as compared to other activities. People are disinterested because they feel that they might not be able to change the existing state of things, so they don't go to cast their vote.(Mukhopadhyay,1980, p.122). Political apathy may also result from the fact that individual is too satisfied with the efficiency and efficacy of the political systems he belongs to. Political apathy might also be from too much frustration from the system. Sometimes political apathy might be due to ideological stereotypes.

Benefits Of Political Participation

Importance of political participation and its positive effect on the society and polity cannot be ignored It develops individual political competence and increases the quality of decision made. Without individual taking their citizenship obligations seriously the basis for our freedom within the political community will be ended. (Faulks, 2011, p.147) By involving the many in the matters of the state, political participation foster stability and order by reinforcing legitimacy of the political authority. (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.120) A society without participation is likely to be explosive. Participation is the principle means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled.

Expansion of mass participation leads to political development. Political participation may aim at changing the direction of current authorities, towards replacing or retaining those authorities and changing or defying the existing organizations or political system.(Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.144) Huntington ignores illegal act but says they become legal once end is achieved We argue that economic growth, development in education and science and technology, industrial development and socio-cultural development depend

upon political stability of a country, but it is quiet true that it is possible through political participation by the people. (Kabbur, 1996, p.13)

Political participation cultivated empathy between citizens. Helps them integrate them into a community, intensifies the identification within it, and in general enhances social solidarity. Social solidarity benefits the society by enabling the citizens to realize the collective goal, real solidarity is a desirable end for a polity to undertake. (Segall, 2005, p. 363) Elements of social solidarity are empathy, trust, integration and commitment

Equal opportunity, equal access to and capacity for political participation creates social solidarity. Endeavour to boost civic participation to rectify unequal distribution, it intensifies and expands participation, increases mutual concern, and solidarity within the political community. Political participation develops active involvement in a group and develops citizen's attachments and interest in group activities. According to Sybil Schwaczenback intensifies political participation would promote civic fields and generate communication amongst citizens. (Segall, 2005, p. 364) Political participation if conducive to social solidarity expands the sphere of democracy as well as intensifies even through compulsion, participate in the current existing sphere and is widely endorsed. (Segall, 2005, p. 363) Those who advocate intensified or expanded civic participation in politics are known as social democrats or proponents of expansive democracy. Instrumental republican are likely to seek political participation as a means to self- rule and individual autonomy. Proponents of participatory democracy are concerned with political equality.

Dagger- Active citizenship tends to wider individual horizon and deepen their sense that their lives are involved with others including people unknown to others. Participation decreases individualism and encourages active public spirited citizenship. Adrian Oldfield says that political participation enlarges the minds of individuals, familiarizes them with interests which lie beyond the immediacy of personal circumstances and environment and encourages them to acknowledge that public concerns are the proper ones to which they should pay attention. (Segall, 2005, pp. 364) Barker claims in his model of participatory democracy citizens are autonomous persons whom participation endows with a capacity for same vision. More frequent a citizen practices his citizenship the more he would identify and co- operate with the good of the community. Through political participation we stop thinking ourselves as self- sufficient individuals and began to see ourselves as

members of a collective, thereby learning how to make sacrifices for the sake of the community.

Patman stresses on educative effect of participation, which serve as a part of his justification for a participatory form of democracy. A sense of self-fulfillment and gratification that often follows political participation depends on whether citizens feel that their involvement is actually a means of furthering some genuine political end. Political participation cultivates in any individual a sense of self-efficacy and a belief in the responsiveness of the political system. It boosts solidarity in the body politic. Political participation gives better access to under-represented groups in the society. (John, 2009, p. 496) It is an indication of political development of a country. A modern state is distinguished from the traditional state by the extent to which people are involved in political activities. Political participation is beneficial for both the citizen and the State. It produces stability and order in the political system. Participation gives stakeholders more influence and control.

Participation is important not only because it communicates the citizen's needs and desires to the government, but because it has other more direct benefits as well. Participation is a source of motivation for the ones who are in power in relation to their own work. Furthermore, it is an educational device through which civic cultures are learned. The relevant consequence of participation for individual citizen is what he gets from the Government. For the system as a whole the relevant consequences is how governmental benefits are distributed among the people in judicious manner.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny the fact that a democracy having a high participation by members of a group normally has a higher potential for the maintenance of effective governance than the one where few people show interest or participate in the political process. So, in a democratic society, the greater the changes in the structure of society or organization that a governing group is attempting to introduce, the more likely the leadership is to desire and even require a high level of participation by its citizens or members.

Factors Effecting Political Participation

Political participation is effected by a sense of political efficacy. Political efficacy is effected by a person's income, his social position, political experience, educational level and personality.

There are basically three types of variables that impact political participation

- a. Psychological
- b. Social
- c. Political (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.126)

Psychological- Sometimes one tries to remove his loneliness through political participation and tries to understand one's environment in a better manner. People are motivated psychologically by a sense seeking power. Sometimes people try to move away from inner tensions through participation. Political actions have to be socially valued to lead to self-esteem of an individual.

Social- Political participation to a large extent depends on the social environment of an individual and his social status. It is generally high for people who are educated, professionally successful, male members and urban dwellers. Education plays a very important role as more educated tends to transfer and transmit their next generation and people around them. In general people who are educated participate relatively more often in various democratic activities and show stronger support for democracy. Sometimes similar level of education can lead to different levels of political participation due to different levels of income. (Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.127) One must understand that different variables work together and cut across each other. People who are professionally successful have higher willingness to participate due to their intelligence. More discussions related to identical problems lead to better participation. People in government jobs. Teachers, with higher income have wider opportunity to participate. National or State wealth and political participation are not related in the same way as individual wealth and participation. Less of information, remote location of villages and less government offices effect the level of participation. Educated people like to discuss politics but uneducated people are the ones who have high rate of participation. Political participation effected by geographical mobility. Lack of time and money and sometimes values associated with participation are poor which discourages people to participate.

Co-relation between status and participation can be effected by age and sex. Women in conservative societies are less liable to heterodoxy; less well informed about political issues and public figures are mostly less attentive to diverse issues around and hence have less interest in politics and are expected to be politically less independent.

(Mukhopadhyay, 1980, p.129) Married people participate more than single individuals because represents a more stable existence in the society and reduces chances of social and geographical mobility. Participation rate is higher in a society with more number of middle aged participants. More mobility of any kind leads to less political participation. In situation of conflicts and ambivalence there are poor chances of political participation. A society marked by high ethnic rivalry experiences more participation of conflicting ethnic groups. If people get a feeling of remoteness in a big country it effects participation a negative manner.

Only in a wealthy society where only few citizens are at the level of real poverty could there be a situation in which the mass of population intelligently participated in politics and develops self-esteem necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of the irresponsible demagogues. (Krishna, 2008, p.2) Hierarchy of need theory suggests that poor people support less of democracy.

Political- More open competition for power leads to greater participation. Easy electoral arrangements leads to more participation. Inefficiency of the government impacts political participation. Sometimes good performance gives a message that participation is not necessary. Crisis situation may foster political participation. Political party is a very important part of apolitical system and as a group it has to perform lot of important functions that would affect political participation. Political variables are effected by both social and psychological variables. Participation increases with political literacy and education. More political parties in a system leads to more participation with ideological polarization between them.(Biswas, 1978, p.156)

Of all political influences on participation, the role played by political parties is the most important one. Political parties are instrumental in furthering participation in any society by helping people express their needs and desires before the government. A political party performs a wide range of important functions. The political parties give people political instruction and encourage the people to participate by constantly supplying them information about the political world. In this way political parties impart political education to the people, helping in political socialization leading to political participation

Voting- is a symbol of participation in decision of all groups. It is collective event in the total political process and is considered time immemorial, a symbol of willingness to participate in the political process of the country and accept the decision arrived by the majority. (Biswas, 1978, p.158)

Reasons for high voting

- a. when people are interested in government policies
- b. depend on government as an employer
- c. general crisis situation
- d. some moral or religious values effected by government policies.

Direct visibility of effect of government policies (Biswas, 1978, p.161)

There are three main categories of group that participate:

- a. Categorical group- members of these groups possess one or more characteristics in common example teachers or persons belonging to the same sex. Without sharing any original political activity, goals or conscious group identification but their political behavior has all distinctive characteristics of a group behavior.
- b. Primary group- these groups are characterized by intimate face to face association and co-operation example family, playgroup, neighborhood or co-workers. The most powerful and direct influence on voting behavior are those exerted by primary groups especially family and friends.
- c. Secondary group- these groups are characterized by casualness of contact and lacking in intimacy example social class or status group, occupational group or racial group. The influence of secondary group depends upon individual's identification with the group, length of his membership and salience of politics for the group leaders. (Biswas, 1978, p.164)

A person is more likely to participate in politics the more he values reward to be gained as a result of such participation. If political participation is given more importance to other alternatives, then it will lead to broader participation. If one is confident enough to bring a change in the system. If an individual feels his non participation would lead to

unsatisfactory results. More knowledge and skills an individual possesses lesser barriers he to cross to act politically. (Biswas, 1978, p.148)

According to S Rokkan and A Campbell categorizes citizens participating in political life:

- Voters- no other political act
- Organizationally active persons
- Persons attending election rally or meetings
- Persons working for a political party or are themselves candidates

Some are more power seekers as they might be motivated by goals of collective good. Self-interest might make individual power seekers. Sometimes unconsciously behaves like a power seekers. Some become powerful and others remain power seekers because of resources and skills. (Biswas, 1978, p. 142)

While studying social and economic inputs and participation one cannot ignore role of political elites and policies of the government. Political participation depends on the norms set by the political elites. (Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p. 150) Active social workers promote mass participation. People residing longer in a community participate more. (Kabbur, 1996, p.13-16)

Micro level factors- includes wealth, status and educational qualification, operating at the level of community , groups and social networks and Macro level factors- include design of State institutions, over all freedom in the society, economic and political structure as well (Krishna, 2002, p. 438)

Whether citizens are alienated and cynical non-participants depends upon availability of social capital. Social capital provides not just glue that binds members together in collective action but also to gear, which directs community members towards participating in democracy building. (Krishna, 2002, p. 439) Nature of mediating agencies and organizational capacity with orientation of political party do effect the inclination of individual citizen. Social capital is a factor of social organization such as network, norms and trust that facilitates co- operation and co-ordination for mutual benefits. (Krishna, 2002, p.439) Formal organizations do not provide any reliable indication of voluntarism and co-operation among individuals.

Self-help through bottom up approach and people centered development takes place through participatory organizations. It reduces dependence, add to their power, help formulate policies and makes people more self-reliant. It changes the distribution of power with economic and social benefits. Participation increases accountability and efficiency of the political organizations. Within civic participation the informal network that determines who asks whom is one of the reasons the socio-economic bias is seen in participation. Participation may also be restricted by professionals who ask citizen to participate in case of state sponsored participation.

The kind of issues on political agenda, diversity of interest found in the community and the kind of elite that work to mobilize citizens impact participation. It is through organization that individual first engage with issues, linking them to their personal lives. More over organization provide individual with the crucial skills needed to participate in politics such as organizing ideas and public speaking. People with more attachment and efficacy tend to participate more. (Kellher and Lowery, 2009, p. 61) Issues of direct and immediate concern in people's lives can quiet efficiently promote political participation. Participation is higher in demographically homogeneous setting because of shared interests and socialization in same culture. Sometimes participation is high in diverse communities because of the competing interests.

How to Enhance Political Participation

We need some sort of institutional reforms to make participation more easy and spread across broader social groups. Help citizens increase their own awareness of politics. Information and communication technology help can be taken to remove the barrier of size, time and space and can help increase diffusion of information and create awareness. Information must pass more easily from the citizens to the government. Proper communication helps civil society groups to publicize themselves easily. Reduce passive dependence on mass media. Social services targeted to those who need the most (Faulks, 2011, p.158)

Communication through contact is necessary channel for political participation since informing the government that is legislature and the officials. Two types of communication have been identified Horizontal – citizen to citizen and Vertical- citizen to government official.(Ashraf and Sharma, 1995, p.144) Regular communication is an

important means of political participation and proper channel must be ensured in within a political system to enhance political participation through communication.

Compelling one form of participation mainly voting, leads citizens to take interest in another form of participation. While voting is related to other form of participation , it may not directly appear to cause them. Participation just for the sake of it has no use. We need forms of participation that has some political end. Social basis of participation partly derives from the manner of recruitment.

Individuals who belong to voluntary organizations are more likely to participate in politics that is write letters, attend meetings, sign petition. People are mobilized in groups by leaders or other members. Organization develops skills in individuals that are required to engage in political participation. (Leighley, 1996, p. 448) Individuals who belong to a group are likely to participate in politics beyond the group and transfer his skills gained in the group to beyond broader political realm. Individual with racial or occupational incentives do not participate beyond the group.

The extension of political citizenship rights to all accountable adults and equalization of all voters within a standardized system of electoral decision making were two of the several important facets of an overall process of political mobilization within a national territory. (Rammey (ed.), 1962, p.67) A process that brought about an increase in the participation of the territorial population standing in direct, unmediated communication with the central authorities. Institutional innovations leading to formally equal obligations and to the granting of formally equal rights to all independent adults, accountable, independent of difference of their established influence through role in kinship system, local bodies and other corporate bodies.

Basic inequalities in participation has remained and raised questions about the implication of the universal suffrage for functioning of modern political system. (Rammey (ed.), 1962, p. 71)) Participatory methodology requires the formation and adoption of a framework in which the micro is set against the macro, the marginalized against the center, local against the elites and the powerless against the powerful. (Partfitt, 2004, p.541)

Good citizens need to be informed sufficiently to exercise his participatory roles. Dahl and others have discussed access to information and free debate is essential to produce

meaningful democratic participation. Citizenship roles may shape our roles as participants in the political process and our image of the role of government and specific policy priorities. Participation is not 'natural' but must be learned, and for learning to occur, one must have capacity, motivation, and opportunity. In some strata of the society, all three preconditions are missing.

Women and Political Participation

Subordinate position of women in the society had its spill- over effect on the political arena as well. Women being almost half of the world's population are poorly represented in political bodies at different levels, leading to poor participation of women in politics everywhere. To exclude women reference was sometimes made to their nature, a nature that was in opposition to political culture, there- by keeping them away from politics. Reference was often made to their incompetency and ineptitude and to their role and function in a sexual division of sphere and tasks. (Rai. 2000 (ed.), p.30) Women's involvement in politics is not as intense and wide as men because of the societal environment which restricts women to come out of their private sphere and participate in public one. Adequate psychological resources are also needed for effective participation. The interplay of psychological resources and sociological factors are very important in shaping their participatory attitude in politics. (Panda, 1990, p.15)

It may be noted that women's low participation in politics is merely an aspect of their exclusion from other social processes. Certainly it is true that women are nearly as scarce at the upper level of the industry, church and education as in government in politics. The fact is that very few women participate in politics at the upper level where important decisions are made. An explanation for women's low participation must also account not only for the fact that only few women wield power, but that few women seek position of power as well. (Kirlpatrick, 1974, p.8)

For a long time political domain was defined as being opposite to the private domain. Women by nature were excluded from politics, a domain set up and controlled by men based on their self- interest. The demand for political rights has to do first of all with women's suffrage. Women mainly brought forward three arguments first the prerogative argument that they pay taxes hence have the ability to vote, the ability argument which stated that they are competent individuals and usefulness argument and asked is there a

radical difference between domestic and political tasks? (Rai (ed.), 2000, p.17) A new concept of politics allowed women's issues to be raised in a new way. " Everything is political " and the women's movements added the slogan "The personal is also political". This meant that private and everyday life, sexuality and relationship between men and women came to appear as political goals.(Rai (ed.), 2000, p.70) In early liberals, who began to question about socio-political injustices done to women and possible rectification were liberal feminist. The liberal clamor for empowerment of women in all walks of life so that they could take advantages of the legal constitutional equality provided to them by continuous reform process in recent times in democratic society.(Saksena (ed.), 2000, p.15)

One of the most enduring contributions of feminist thinkers is the challenging of the boundaries between the public and the private as defining politics. Feminist argue that public political life was built on the absence of women from it, exclusion of the private sphere was essential for the primacy of of the public. By expanding the definition of politics to encompass both the public and the private sphere and by asserting that the two are mutually constitutive, feminist have been able to challenge the dominant understanding of politics itself and democratic practice and discourse as well. (Rai, 2008, p.60)

When women are politically active, their political orientation is argued to be less authentic than that of men, and based on a relatively unsophisticated political understanding. Women's concerns and demands in institutional politics are regarded as reflection of moral and familial commitments, rather than an authentically more political stance. Women's engagement is regarded as more conservative and less radical than that of men.(Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984,p.91) Women are often blamed that they personalize politics, denying the political content. It is often believed that women's political competence is limited to local level rather than national.

Feminism is not a unified simple corpus of thoughts, but complex multidimensional discourse. Rosemarie Tong defined feminism as a struggle to end sexist oppression. Therefore, it is a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination. .(Saksena (ed.), 2000, p.14) The term women's movement and feminism or the feminist movements are often used almost interchangeably. In both cases we are talking about participation by women in collective activity through groups that are formed exclusively by and for women. These

are groups whose definition, content, leadership, development or issues are specific to women and their gender identity. In other words they do what they do consciously as women. (Stevens, 2007, p.144)

Political feminism began with the movements and constitutional efforts aimed at enfranchising women. Right to voting is considered to be the first step towards women's political position and status. United Nations reports state that women across the globe have the right to vote and make up almost half of the electorates but they rarely achieve office or have equal access to political career. They are blocked from top positions in political parties, governments, interest groups and high level politics. Women are poorly represented in the high level of the hierarchical structure of the government. (Kumari, 2006, p.15)

Demand for equal rights for women first came in France after the French Revolution and marked the beginning of feminist movements. French feminism posed the question of political power for women, that is, question of their full-fledged citizenship, which meant first time the right to vote. French revolution was a paradox, on one hand it claimed that all individuals were free and equal in rights, on the other hand it excluded certain categories of people from citizenship and particularly from the right to vote. (Rai, 2000 (ed.), p.13) Some women claimed the right to vote and to participate in public affairs. Most well-known among such women was Olympe de Gouges, who claimed exactly the same political rights for men and women, she is often quoted for stating "Women have the right to climb the scaffold, they have the right to speak publicly". Guizot an important statesman of the nineteenth century, would maintain that politics was too serious a matter to be left to 'feminine' saloons. Politics, he declared had to be the business of the competent, specialized, that is, professional men. . (Rai (ed.), 2000, p.14)

Wollstonecraft questioned the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, there was not a female equivalent of the French Declaration on the Rights of Man. She linked feminism to the general struggle for political and social reforms, arguing that the abstract rights of women were inextricably linked with the abstract rights of man, husband, king, primogeniture and hereditary privilege must all cease in the name of reason, a reason that both men and women possessed. Excluding women from modern public and political life contradicts the liberal democratic promise

of universal emancipation and equality.(Basu, Chatterjee, Bhattacharya and Chatterjee (ed.), 2012, p. 114)

Modern feminism is most often traced to the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792. She adumbrated what were to become inexplicable feminist preoccupations including, but no limited to, defense of political and natural rights. She challenged the received notion of distinctive virtues of the two sexes, argued for a transformed education for male and female, attacked martial images of citizenship, and celebrated an androgynous notion of rational self. (Bethke, 1997, 113)

John Stuart Mill in his *The Subjection of Women* (1869) looked for a society based on rational principles. Reasons he contends, requires nullifying differences of treatment based on considerations of sex. Granting women equality of citizenship and civic liberty in the public realm will bring about a deeper transformation in the social relations of the sexes. Liberalism has been attractive to feminist thinkers. The language of rights is the potent weapon that they use. Women as well as men are bearers of inalienable rights. Few early feminist pushed liberal universalism to its most radical conclusion by arguing that there were no justifiable bases for exclusion of adult human beings from legal equality and citizenship. One finds the case for greater female political participation argued in terms of women's moral supremacy. (Bethke, 1997, p. 114)

Mill observed that the progress of a country can be judged by the status of its women as she acquires a significant place in the family in particular and society in general. In this sense, the subject 'women in politics' cannot be viewed in isolation from the general picture of women in society. Political status of women refers to the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by them in shaping and sharing of power and its values given by the society to the role in the total development of society and polity.(Kumari, 2006, p.4)

The domination of patriarchy with the advent of civilization left no room for women to allow them to have life of their own choice. The shackles were so strong that very rarely some women of extra caliber could break them and very seldom women were visible in social and political life. Mill clamored for political rights of women and drew attention, within his liberal framework, to the consequences of women's deprivation of the right to vote. Mary Wollstonecraft strong defense of women's rights in '*A Vindication of the Rights of Women*' marked the strong beginning of feminist thought. (Saksena (ed.), 2000,

p.14) These two stalwarts of the champion of women's rights gave a push to a sort of movement, which at the end of the millennium has taken momentum and now women's issues have become important for socio-political thinkers, philosophers as well as women activists.

Feminist writers have challenged the view that women are politically naïve. A closer relation to caring and nurturing is suggested to enable women to retain and re-introduce in public life a commitment to the cultivation of peace and integrity in political affairs. (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984, p.104) The liberal interpretation of women's subjugation has mainly rested on the argument for the support of women's right to vote. This is asserted that the argument that equal political rights have been granted to women through universal suffrage, but voting is not a sufficient condition for gender parity in politics because of lack of political and economic power and women being new to an overwhelming male institution. (Saksena (ed.), 2000, p.14)

During the 19th century, an intellectual case for rights of women emerged very strongly. The notion of the equality before God of men and women and their responsibility as individuals for their moral stance and action. (Stevens, 2007, p.33) The growth of liberal ideas about individual rights also had an impact on political rights of women. According to Mill 'a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on one side, nor disability on the other' should prevail. (Stevens, 2007, p.34) The third strand of idea advocating the case for political rights for women was based in socialist thoughts. They upheld the claim for rights for women but argued in essence that, women's rights would only be secured when the oppressive capitalist system would be overthrown, so energies should be devoted to the achievement of socialism. In the early 20th century, the struggle for the right to vote became, for a few decades, a defining and crystallizing focus for the movement of women's rights. (Stevens, 2007, p.35s)

It was Mahatma Gandhi who believed that the freedom movement to be successful, had to be the movement of the masses and felt that 'swaraj' would be meaningless without the reform of the social structure and the upliftment of the weaker section and specially women to a position of equality with others. Thus it was Gandhi who inspired women to come out of their homes and participate in the freedom movement. (Pandey, 1990, p.4)

Efforts to enhance women's political participation have gained new urgency with the designation of number of women in politics as an indicator of women's empowerment as enshrined in the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal. Yet there is no straightforward equation between getting women into political office and the pursuit of policies of gender equality by these same women. (Cornwall and Marie, 2005, p.789)

The position of women in politics was analyzed a numbers of years ago in the well-known United Nation study, edited by Maurice Dwyer. The small part played by women in politics, he notes, merely reflects and results from the secondary place to which they are assigned by the customs and attitude of the society and which their education and training tend to make them accept as the natural order of things (Pandey, 1990,p.5)

During the International Year of Women in 1975, much was said, and written about the desirability of giving women equal status and opportunities in the political and economic sphere. The fact is that their role still remains traditional, being tied down to looking after the family and other domestic chores. Their role in politics has not been accepted in the same way as that of men. (Pandey, 1990,p.21)

In order to achieve gender equality, United Nations adopted a convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952. UN stressed in the declaration of Nairobi that women by virtue of their gender, experience discrimination in terms of denial of equal access to power structure that controls the society and determines development issues and peace initiative. UN asserted that for women the sharing of power on equal terms with men must be a major strategy for achieving equality. (Saksena (ed.), 2000, p.32)

If we define political women as members of the female sex who desire significant influence in the process of determining public policy, acquires the skill necessary to achieve influence, wield the influence in institutions where decisions are made and seek to preserve influence through continued participation in power processes. (Kirlpatrick,1974, p.218)

Political power plays an important role in the domination of women. The core of politics is the exercise of power. This exercise of power goes beyond government encompassing instead nearly every human grouping, where individual conflict over collective goals and means by which they resolve those conflicts. (Saksena (ed.), 2000, p.21) Politics belongs

to public sphere, where intrusion of women was forbidden. It was necessary to address the gender division of public and private sphere.

Politics is an exercise in power, and a participation in politics should lead to a meaningful say in the process that leads to the making of policies and decisions and an effective control over the apparatus of the state in getting the same implemented, as to preserve equality and justice. However such participation itself will very much depend upon the modicum of power, a group possess in the given social order, and how well it can organize itself. The extent and nature of participation depend upon the power status of a group. (Sankaram (ed.), 1992, p.35) There are several structural inequalities that prevent women from entering the formal political system of a country and do not accommodate or provide existence to the non-formalized means of political participation. It is often argued that women lack those traits or abilities needed to make a mark in the mainstream politics. (Sankaram (ed.), 1992, p.36)

Various literatures on women in politics has tackled three kinds of representation: descriptive, substantive and symbolic. Descriptive refers to the proportion of women present in the electoral political bodies. Substantive representation refers to when legislators pursue policy goals that are aligned with the interests of their constituents. Symbolic representation captures how legislator's presence shapes the belief and attitudes held by the elites and mass politics. (Tadroz (ed.), 2014, p.4) Participation in all the three forms can bring about a visible change in women's political attitude and perspective of the entire society towards their role in politics.

The question thus arises whether the shape of political life has changed, in changing and may continue to change because women's presence and voice are more important within it than before and because they, for whatever reasons, in practice behave differently from men. Changes might make politics less corrupt, policy might become more socially progressive and less aggressive and combative. (Stevens, 2007, p.169)

Women were always placed at the periphery of the political process. The very definition of politics had to broaden in many ways, which included bringing women into the study of formal politics as much as possible. Gendered nature of few neutral concepts like nationalism, citizenship and State must be demonstrated. Conventional definition of

political should be widened so that many of the activities undertaken by women be incorporated. (Afshar (ed.), 1996, p.2)

Politics do not have the same impact on women as men as is often assumed and true to a great extent. Political process often alters gender relations, thereby favoring a particular sex. Women are often treated as objects in any political process, and their participation as subjects in political activities, different from men is often ignored. The political is defined as masculine in a very profound sense, which makes it hard to incorporate women in the same terms as men and exclude many of those activities that women are involved in as not political. (Afshar (ed.), 1996, p.8) Identification of women as bearers of cultural identity has a negative impact on their image as full-fledged citizens and active political actors. (Afshar (ed.), 1996, p.15)

Feminist scholars have highlighted the importance of rethinking the way in which politics has been understood and defined without addressing the bias and its privileging the male experience. The distinction between the formal and the informal and the public-private divide, which the feminist sought to deconstruct on account of its rectification of categories that serve to entrench particular power hierarchies.(ed. Tadros (ed.), 2014, p.7) A bottom-up approach to women's political engagement suggest that more attention need to be paid to women's informal political activism. The question is how women transform informal political leadership into formal political power. Sometimes women might not wish to enter formal political process due to undemocratic process. (Tadroz (ed.), 2014, p.31)

You need more women in politics as a matter of justice to provide representation to the 50 percent of the population, who are kept away from politics. Men and women have different needs and interests, which might conflict with each other, hence they need to be separately represented in decision-making bodies. Political participation matters a great deal for women. It leads to potential gains of successful protests, mobilization around collective interests, advocacy or engagement in policy processes. It also offers women a form of political apparatus that enable them to recognize and articulate interests and build alliance. It enhances skills to influence others, to mount an argument and to debate effectively, to tolerate opposition and accept failures and setbacks. More women in political offices lead to a better, fairer and more responsive government. (Cornwall and Marie Goetz, 2005, pp. 792)

As the number of women in politics increase in many parts of the world, there has been an effort to get more females into formal political spaces as a part of the strategy to 'engender democracy'. (Cornwall and Marie Goetz, 2005, pp. 790) The idea is to bring about a change in the political system that makes them genuinely inclusive in nature.

For the purpose of the study political participation will be analyzed both as a means as well as an end itself. It is rather important to understand how political participation by women act as a means to improve over all position of women in Jharkhand. The researcher attempts to understand how women in politics try to impact lives of ordinary women in the society. Participation as an end can be seen in a way to change the existing power relations between men and women in Jharkhand.

Arguments given by the citizenship theorists in favor of greater public involvement in politics, based on individual autonomy is used by the researcher to lay stress on distinct identity and political wisdom of women. Active participation will bring out the best in women as citizens of the country. Participatory theory of democracy argues that democratic system of governance must maximize the instances and intensity of participation by all the members. Enhanced participation of women shall widen the social base of participation, there by applying democratic principles at social level. Democratic theory considers people to be rational and independent, capable to express their opinion about the government. Analysis is based on challenging the patriarchal assumption that women are irrational and incapable of being independent political actors.

Rush and Althaff's classification and hierarchical arrangement of political participation shall be used during the research to formulate various questions for the field study to analyze different aspects of political participation of women in Jharkhand at various levels. For the purpose of study professional participants are Councilors, Mukhiyas and women legislators are regarded as professional participants and women voters in the state are non-professional participants. Attempt has been made to bring out various forms of political participation by women in Jharkhand on the basis of Millbreth's division as gladiators, transitional and spectator activities. Concept of protest participation has been used to analyze the nature of participation of women in Jharkhand movement. Political participation as the basis of a democratic political system, thus it is indeed necessary to analyze the nature of political participation in a democratic country like India, where women exhibit limited political activism due to the patriarchal social structure.

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CHAPTER 2

History of Jharkhand Movement

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Jharkhand Movement And The Formation Of The Separate State

Jharkhand as a state was formed on 15th November, 2000, after the bifurcation of Bihar. It consisted of 18 districts which formally came under the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council. (Shakeed, 2004, p.227) The plateau region of Chotanagpur, Santal Pargan and few pockets of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are known as Jharkhand since long. It is a combination of Jhar meaning forest and Khand meaning land and hills. Name of the region can be attributed to the virgin forests and hilly tracks of the area. (Das, 1994, p. 41)

Jharkhand movement began as a protest against the outsiders in order to stop their intrusion into the tribal area and the exploitation meted out to the tribal people largely by the British administration. The local tribal population revolted against the cruel administration, which in course of time took the shape of the movement for a separate state. The Jharkhand region, due to its dense forest, inaccessible terrain and wild animals appeared never to have been completely subdued until the colonial period. Various adivasi or tribal communities of the region lived in the village peacefully in relative isolation until 16th century. (Kumar, 2010, p.1) The tribals are, by large, children of nature, their lifestyle being conditioned by their ecosystem. They are as human being very simple and close to Mother Nature.

People of Jharkhand greet each other with Johar, it is not a simple word in the tribal language, it is spirit, a feeling, a salutation, an expression of welcome, of gratitude, praise and oneness. It is a word that is common in nine tribal dialects of Jharkhand. It is a combination of three words jee, waar and haar, which combined together means that when they greet you with johar, they wish all the dirt of your soul be driven out. (Das, 1994, p. 37)

Linguistically there are two groups in which tribals of Jharkhand can be divided into. Austro-Asiatic or the Mundari group and the Dravidian-Oraon and Malpaharias group.

Out of thirty Schedule Tribes in Jharkhand, Oraon of Chotanagpur and Sauria Paharia of Santal Pargana belong to Dravidian Linguistic family and rest of them, with a few exceptions, belong to Austro-Asiatic family. The major tribes are Santal, Oraon, Munda and Ho. (Shakeed, 2004,p. 227) Mundari, Hor, Santhali, Kharia, Birnori etc. belong to the Austro family. Kurhu, Malto belong to the Dravidian group. Mundari, Santhal, Ho and Oraon are well developed languages and have their own literature as well. (Rekhi, 1988 39)

They had a simple life and pattern of economic activities. They heavily depended on land and forest over which they had the traditional rights, called khuntkatti or bhuinhari. In the middle of the 18th century the communitarian tribal system was thrown open to outside influence thereby ending the isolation. A Raja was appointed by the Munda and Oraon community jointly. People from outside the region were brought by the Raja for military and religious purposes. Outside influence contributed to the disintegration of the tribal communities by incorporating them into the social division of labor. (Rekhi, 1988, p. 2)

Pattern of transformation of tribal society is characterized by two distinct processes, traditional and modern. Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and tribal caste continuum were the important traditional processes and the modern processes are the ones related to Christianity, urbanization, industrialization, development and democratic experiments. Jharkhand witnessed both these patterns which transformed the tribal society. (Ghosh, 2015-2016, p. 98)

The Jharkhand movement is rooted in the poor socio-economic condition of the region and draws its political symbolism from tribal culture and tradition. The Jharkhand leaders traced their struggle back to the tribal revolts of nineteenth century, which were sparked off by the oppressive land revenue arrangements under the permanent settlement. (Prakash, 2001, p 21) Major revolts during the British rule were due to undermining of tribal economy and the loss of control over local resources, with the establishment of the colonial rule, and the advent of its non-tribal agents. The extension of British land revenue system had destroyed the autonomy of the tribals. The new forest regulations were fresh encroachment into their natural rights, land also went into the hands of the oppressive non-tribal moneylenders and zamindars. (Singh & Pati (ed.), 2014, p. 1)

The peculiar history of human settlement in the region is full of incidents of migration, making the identification of original inhabitants very difficult at times. Long years of close contact had brought the language, culture and social structure of different people closer to each other. To some extent cultural homogeneity is noticed over large parts of Chotanagpur. (Sengupta (ed.), 1984 p.4) The colonial expansion in the Jharkhand region began when The East India Company got the right to extract revenue of this vast natural zone of India. The expansion not only ruptured tribal traditional economy but also created a scope for other alien elements like the zamindars and money lenders to come and occupy this resource-rich land for their economic pursuits. Tribal chiefs were not only forced to pay fixed revenue to the British, thousands of acres of forest lands were converted to agricultural lands for more revenue after the Permanent Zamindari Settlement in 1793. (Ghosh, 2015-2016, p. 87)

In colonial times Jharkhand became the worst victims of non-tribal migration and became a suitable place for profit making and hunting ground for non-tribals. Money lenders, zamindars, Bengali merchants, Oriyas and Biharis came in large numbers and compelled them to sell their Bhuihari lands. Since 1793 there was continuous land alienation and this continued till Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed in 1908. (Ghosh, 2015-2016, p. 94)

There was one feature common to most of the revolts in the region during the colonial period, that they were all directed against the outsiders. The correspondence between the exploiters and the outsiders in the area was so evident that the tribal word 'diku' came to mean both the outsider and the exploiter. In Jharkhand region some regional and community names have already been assumed to be definite exploitative connotation. The term 'Bhojpuri' is almost synonymous with 'goonda element', a class of money lenders identified by their peculiar mode of operation. It is true that barring a handful of goonda elements most of the Bihari immigrants are workers and form the base of trade unions in the region. (Sengupta, 1980, p. 667) Diku in a Chotanagpur society is basically an exogenous group that threatened the socio-economic and cultural security of the insider group. The fear and hatred towards diku was quite deep rooted among the tribals. Some scholars say that diku is used for the Hindus especially for the upper caste Hindus. (Singh & Pati, 2014, p. 37)

In 1771, Jharkhand came under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. The Company initially subordinated the Maharaja of Chotanagpur in the same way as done by Mughals.

They introduced a permanent legal and administrative system to ensure regular and smooth collection of revenue. British administrators gradually introduced money economy, individual ownership of land and a police system to control tribal uprising. Traditional rights of the tribals over their land and forest slowly began to fade away. The Permanent Settlement Act of Lord Cornwallis in 1793 legalized the individual proprietorship in land and led to further alienation of tribal land. The indiscriminate destruction of forest and unplanned mining activities further aggravated the entire problem. The adivai population was divested of all possible means of production and transformed into the vast army of unskilled labors. (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1173)

By the beginning of the 19th century Chotanagpur came under a four-tier system of administration. The East India Company was at the top of the ladder, followed by the Maharaja of Chotanagpur, then a number of local rajas mostly of non-tribal origin and finally the thikadars appointed by the raja to collect rent directly from the peasants. Before 1772 Jharkhand region had multiple rajas ruling small pockets within the region. They were mostly free from the Mughal influence and had an independent army along with their own judicial system. Chero Raja of the Palamu, Raja of the Ramgharh Rajya, Raja of Ratu, Porahat of Singhbhum, Raja of Manbhum and Dalbhum and Raja of Saikela and Gharsava were brought under the British control with the help of the colonial army. (Minz, 2014, p.14)

The Chotanagpur region came under the British rule in 1765 as a part of the grant of diwani rights over Bihar, Bengal and Orissa after the Battle of Buxar in 1764. However the first real entry of the British in to this region took place in 1772 when the Maharaja called them for help in a revenue matter. In 1793 The Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis in Bengal was extended to Chotanagpur bringing the area under the colonial economy. This introduced the landlordism in the area and indebtedness among the tribal population thereby land getting into the hands of the money lenders. The new system of police and the court of law was established in the area in the year 1806. (Kumar, 2010, p. 3) The language of the court was Hindi which was not the language of the tribal people. The court officials did not know the language of the tribal people. The court officials as well as the tribals had to depend on the interpreters in order to understand each other which led to misinterpretations and perceptions regarding the tribals. (Kumar, 2010, p. 4)

The imposition of the Bengal Permanent Settlement Regulation Act led to factionalism and internal divisions which led to a series of uprisings that were initially ethnic in nature but eventually became pan-tribal and regional in character. The first Santal revolt of 1793 under the leadership of Tilka Manijhi, The Bhumij revolt of 1798, the Chero uprising of Palamu in 1810 under Bhukan Singh, the Munda uprising of Tamr in 1819-1820 led by Rudu and Konta, The Kol rebellion of 1833 led by Singhrai and Binrai Manki, second Bhumij revolt of 1834, second Santal rebellion of 1855 led by Santal brothers Sidhu, Kanu, Chand and Bhairao, the Sardar movement of 1875-95, the Birsa movement of 1895-1900 were some of the major revolts. (Munda & Keshari, 1992, p. 73)

Many are of the opinion that various revolts, uprisings and insurrections cannot be ignored while we study the long struggle of the people of the region. These movements were launched by the people of Jharkhand to protect their right over the land and the forest as well as their autonomy. These movements mostly directed against the British cannot be ignored as the demand for separate state is a continuation of these struggles to preserve the identity of the people of the region as a whole. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 1)

Few revolts during the 19th century can be considered as a predecessor of the Jharkhand movement in the 20th century, that help us understand the origin of the problems faced by the tribals with the infiltration of outsiders into the region. The Tana Bhagat movement (1914-1919) of the Oraon was mainly against the taxation system imposed on them and the zamindars. They refused to pay the “Harai” to the owner of the Rud jungle of Nowatoli in the Ranchi District. (Ghosh, 2015-2016, p. 100)

While the movement among the Mundas and Oraos all along has highlighted the socio-economic disparities between tribals and non-tribals, the movement amongst the Santal has been towards the agrarian problems of the people of the Santal Parganas. Tribes of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana can be grouped into four basic types: forest hunting type, plains-agricultural type, Single Artisan type and hill cultivation type. (Shakeed, 2004, p. 234)

Most of the movements that took place during the 19th century and early 20th century were mostly based on tribal interests that were local and regional in nature. Most of these movements were sporadic, isolated and unplanned in nature and had a mix character being economic, social, religious and political in nature. It was after 1910 one can say that

political elements began to emerge in the tribal movements. The Christian tribal elites began to realize the need of a pan-tribal organization, which would cut across all the tribal localities of the region, unify all the tribal communities under one banner, and fight for their grievances. (Rekhi, 1988,p. 49)

Jharkhand movement can be divided into three phases. First being the Formation Phase from 1900 to 1930, second being the Active Phase from 1939 to 1963 and finally the Revival Phase from 1963 to 2000. (Pandey, 1994, p. 347)

The advent of Christian missionaries in Jharkhand in the 19th century opened up the inaccessible hilly region to the dynamics of cultural change, setting the motion of new consciousness. The Christian missionaries of different denominations made tremendous progress in the region. The number of Christian converts continue to rise progressively in the Chotanagpur affecting the social and political life in the region and exposing the converts to the outside influence. They did a lot of pioneer work in the field of education and Medicare. (Rana, 1996, p. 466)

Rise of Christian missionaries in the region also gave rise to political consciousness in the region. In 1898 Chotanagpur Christian Association was formed by Lutheran Graduates with an objective to improve political and economic condition and promote education in the area. In 1917, Chotanagpur Students Union was formed with an objective to persuade the adivasis for college education. The Union Later took the form of the Adivasi Students Fellowship. The Christian organizations eventually merged with one another which cut across the differences of race, caste and religion. In 1919 the Catholics also joined it and it was renamed as Christian Students Union. Christian Students Conference was formed in Chotanagpur and its branches were spread at different places in the region. A branch of the Decca Students Union was opened in Chotanagpur by Bartholman to raise funds for Christian students. The spread of education in Chotanagpur led to growing consciousness and strengthening of pan-tribal sentiments. (Rana, 1996, p. 473)

At the turn of the 20th century, quite a number of institutions, led by Christian missionaries and students emerged to introduce social reforms and develop tribal life in general. Such movements were also designed to check the drinking habit among the tribals and to rescue them from the clutches of the moneylenders by forming co-operative societies. One such society, Roman Catholic Co-operative Society, was formed in 1906

and played a significant role in raising the standards of tribal life in the region. (Ghosh, 1991, p.1174)

Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha was formed with its headquarters at Ranchi. The membership of the organization was only limited to the Catholic converts. Its first president was Boniface Lakra and Ignace Beck was the Secretary. The Sabha had organized itself so well that two of its members who stood as candidates in 1935 elections were among the winners. Though its aim and objectives were socio-religious in nature but inter-church competition compelled them to enter the political arena. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 18)

J.Bartholmen and Anglican missionaries established the Decca Students Union in 1910 to deal with the problems faced by poor tribal students. It was a religious society, a cultural organization, a discussion forum and students' union, all rolled into one. A branch of this organization was also opened in Ranchi in 1912. (Prakash, 2001, p. 95)

Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was formed in the year 1915, was considered to be the forerunner of the Jharkhand Party. The Samaj was formed out of the Christian Students Organization. As per the advice of Bishop Kenedy, Bartholoman had formed the Samaj for the welfare of the tribal youth. Initially the membership of the Samaj was only restricted to the tribals only. (Dutt, 2014, p. 15)

Joel Lakra was one of the leaders of the Unnati Samaj, Rai Sahab and Bandi Ram Oraon had joined the Samaj on behalf of the Sarna Samaj. The Samaj had fought against the liquor consumption in the region. They also spread awareness regarding a lot of superstition and old rituals during the marriage. The Samaj had a huge contribution towards the social awakening, which was mostly led by the educated section of the tribal society. (Minz, 2014,p. 29)

The purpose of the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was to make the adivasis conscious of the fact that could not depend on the missionaries for long for their progress and protection. Hence, it was decided to make all efforts to enter Government service and occupy higher position from where they could protect their interests. During the World War I the Samaj demanded identical administration as it was in Calcutta. In 1920s the adivasi politics of Chotanagpur was dominated by the revised activities of the Samaj. An Adivasi middle class that emerged by then, played key role in re-organizing the Samaj. A meeting of the

Samaj was held in 1920 which elected C.P. Kaschap, Rai Saheb Bandiram Oraon and Alfonse Kujur as the President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively. The Samaj grew stronger within a short span of time. The Samaj revived Parhas the old village assemblies in village and also organized a Siksha Sabha at Ranchi. (Rana, 1996,p. 474)

Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj demonstrated a dual approach to the tribal areas of south Bihar. It sought the implementation of policies that would further the desirable aspects of western rationality in seeking education and self-governance. However, it also sought allowances to be made to the cultural distinctiveness of the region, in terms of promotion of local languages, local laws and customs. In short it wanted a system of governance that recognized tribal identity with its local needs. (Prakash, 2001, p. 59) The main slogan of Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was “ if we want to our own in India, we must hang together or else we shall be hanged separately”. By extending its membership to Christians as well as Non-Christians it contributed towards inter-tribal unity in the region. (Kumar, 2010, p. 23)

Some of the leaders of the CNUS were dissatisfied with the urban and middle class bias of their organization. They realized that unless the agrarian problem was given due importance in their activities, the peasantry could not be mobilized. This led Theble Oraon and Paul Dayal to form Kisan Sabha in 1931. The Kisan Sbha and the CNUS differed on the means to be adopted for solving the problems faced by the tribal population. Kisan Sabha believed in radical mobilization of the peasantry to force the government to act were as CNUS sought delivery through petitions and memorandums. (Kumar, 2010, p. 13)

Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj worked really hard to bring out the adivasis from their backward state. One of the slogan of the Samaj was “if we want to hold our own in India we must hang together or we shall be hanged separately”. The Samaj tried to unite all the tribals together and worked to achieve inter-tribal unity in the region. This organization was the first to raise the demand for a separate state in 1828 by submitting a memorandum to The Simon Commission when it visited India. N.E. Horo said that the demand was opposed by the landholders’ association that contended that it was a missionary hand behind the demand. (Sengupta, 1980, p. 17)

The word Jharkhand was coined for the first time in 1938, during the formation of the Adivsi Mahasabha. The leaders realized that adivasi did not mean all the people of the Jharkhand region, so they changed the name to Jharkhand Party in the year 1949 after the independence of the country..(Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.1)

The Munda Oraon Education Conference (Siksha Sabha) was founded by a non- christen leader, and Ranchi Union also worked towards promoting education mainly amongst urban tribals. In 1912, Chotanagpur Charitable Association was founded by all aboriginals, Christians and non-Christians to raise funds for students. (Kumar, 2010,p.10)

The 1931 Census was a defining moment for the tribal population, they got the official designation of “tribe” by the British administration. The tribal communities were described as isolated, noble savages and their primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity. Tribal people of Jharkhand prefer to be called adivasi instead of schedule tribe. (Kumar, 2010, p. 7)

In the Government of India Act 1935, Chotanagpur was described as a partially excluded area and was put under the special responsibility of the Governor under section 92 of the Act. The Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj opposed the provisions through a number of resolutions and held quite a few meetings, without much success, as the government stood firm about the provision. However when the elections were held in January 1937 in accordance with the provisions of the Act, all the candidate fielded by the Unnati Samaj and The Kisan Sabha were defeated, as Congress swept the polls. Only the Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha under the leadership of Ignis Beck and Boniface Lakra was able to win two seats in the election. (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1175)

In the initial phase the Jharkhand party showed four distinct traits. Their urban orientation and thinking, Christian domination and their close link with the churches, the party was predominated by the Mundas and Oraons, the two major tribes of the Ranchi area. It had sectarian behavior against non-tribal population in the name of tribal solidarity. However ethnicity was replaced by regionalism as the rallying point for the Jharkhand Party. The Jharkhand Party leaders were probably also influenced by the Congress Party that language, not ethnicity should determine the formation of provinces. A lot of moneylenders commonly known as the dikus joined the party during this period. (Ghosh, 1991,p. 1175)

Boniface Lakra nad Ignes Beck created The Cotanagpur Catholic Sabha in 1936 with the encouragement and support of the archbishop of Chotanagpur. The organization aimed at promoting the socio-religious and economic advancement of the tribals. Beck and Lakra both successfully contested the 1937 elections and was convinced that pan-India parties like Indian National Congress would not be able to serve the interest of the tribal people. The influence of the Christians missionaries in the intial stages of the movement was quiet evident. (Kumar, 2010, p. 14)

Adivasi commissioners mainly Jilophil Tigga as president, Psul Dayal as chairperson as chairman and Ignes Beck as vice-chairman took charge of the Ranchi Municipality in 1939 after INC decided to resign from all the government posts. The municipality which was in debt in 1939 had a credit balance at the end of 1943 due to efficient administration in the hands of the tribals. This success was an eye-opener for the tribal leaders that they had the required capacity to run the administration of the separate Jharkhand sate if it was granted to them. (Kumar, 2010, p. 15)

Ignace Beck tried hard to make tribals agree to form at least a temporary alliance to contest the Ranchi Municipal Election. He was successful in his endeavor, they had prepared well for the elections and won in a glorious way. The leaders further met to form a permanent and strong alliance to fight the so called dikus and work for the social, political and economic status for tribals and ultimately form a separate of Chotanagpur. This alliance was called the Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 19)

The annual conference of the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj was held at Ranchi on 30th May, 1938. In this conference Chotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha popularly known as the Adivasi Mahasabha was formed. The tribals were called upon to demonstrate the unity among them in the district board election, held at the end of that year. Addressing the conference, Paul Dayal, who became the Secretary of Adivasi Mahasabha appealed to the people to unite for their upliftment and fight against the outsiders who had snatched away their land. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 19)

Jaipal Singh came to Ranchi from Bikaner from Bikaner where he was a minister in Bikaner Estate. He addressed a huge rally at Chotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha at Hinpiri Ground and took up the leadership of the Adivasi Mahasabha. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p.

22) Most of the organizations till the early 1950s were formed by Christian converts and English educated students of Munda and Oraon tribes, the two major tribes of Ranchi area. Most of these organizations had urban orientation and thinking. These organizations often initiated sectarian behavior towards the non-tribals in order to establish tribal solidarity. (Sengpta, 1982, p. 29)

A memorandum was given to the Prime Minister of Bihar by the members of the Adivsi Mahasabha, which was prepared by none other than Jaipal Singh Munda. In the memorandum it was mentioned that the Adivsi Mahasabha was working for the economic and political freedom for the aboriginals of the region and it demands setting up of a separate Governor's province. The Adivasi Mahasabha was intimately connected with the Chotangpur and Santal Pargana Separation League and the objective of both were identical. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 24)

The Adivasi Mahasabha under Jaipal Singh Munda tried to unite all tribals under the category of adivasi. In the arena of parliamentary politics, demand for a separate state came up based on three important issues: exploitation of the tribals, minerals and forest resources by outsiders, ethnic distinctiveness and administrative unity of the region. Jaipal Singh had supported the British during the Second World War and supplies troops to the British army at that time. Tribal politics was criticized at that time of being pro-British at that time. (Minz, 2014, p. 42)

Indian independence ushered in an era of hope and enthusiasm among the tribals. Guarantees and protection under the new Constitution gave rise to fresh hope and aspirations among the deprived sections of the population. Formation of the Jharkhand Party immediately after independence and its participation in general elections marked the beginning of the new phase of constitutional participation in the movement. (Ghosh, 1993, p. 1788)

The Constituent Assembly approach to the tribal issue reflected a belief in the mainstream. Industry-led model of development for all ills of the tribal areas. Framers of the constitution believed that problems and discontent in the tribal areas existed due to their exclusion from the mainstream development pattern. By implication no need for special administration and development programs in the tribal areas was never given due

importance. There was a need felt to civilize the tribals at the hands of the super civilized people. (Prakash, 1999, p. 480)

Jaipal Singh differed on a number of issues. On August 24, 1949 he raised his voice for the tribal community in Jharkhand. He emphasized that the tribal people were the true and original inhabitants of India and emphasized that the reservation of seats for the tribals in the legislatures was absolute necessary. He emphasized that tribal identity was a part of the Indian identity yet separate from it. A notable feature of his speech is that he underlined the capabilities of the tribal people to take on the world but at the same time asked for concessions for them based on their economic and political isolation and consequent backwardness. (Prakash, 1999, p. 481)

According to Jaipal Singh adivasi society was the most democratic element in the country at that time. In adivasi society all are equal, rich or poor. Everyone has equal opportunity in a tribal society. He said it was necessary that the backward groups in the country be enabled to stand on their own legs so that they can assert themselves. He never desired that the advanced community should carry his people in their arms for the rest of eternity. (Prakash, 1999, p. 482)

Jaipal Singh during his speech in the Constituent Assembly mentioned that the tribal society was a democratic and egalitarian society since time immemorial and it was absolutely not necessary for the tribals to take lessons on democracy from the other communities. (Minz, 2014, p. 44) The dominant discourse in the Constituent Assembly undermined any suggestion of a separate tribal identity. They rejected the idea of a sub-national tribal identity that perhaps did not clash with the national identity. Jaipal Singh along with Yudhisthir Mishra demanded for greater role and power for the tribal advisory council. (Prakash, 1999, p. 484)

Jaipal Singh in his speech said adivasi society was no way inferior to non-adivasi society in upholding a democratic and egalitarian socio-political structure. He also emphasized on the linguistic aspect of the tribal identity during the debate. He asked for concessions for the tribals, as he believed that it would take time for the adivasis to come to the level of the rest of the population. (Ghosh, 2015-2016, p. 9)

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited Ranchi on 2nd January, 1952. He was addressing a rally at the Morabadi Ground in Ranchi. During his speech Nehru had criticized the

regional parties along with the Jharkhand party. Nehru while speaking to the audience had mispronounced the word 'Jharkhand' as 'Jhrkhnd'. Huge crowd that was present at the Morabadi Ground corrected him and shouted together and said' *Jhrkhnd nahi Jharkhand*'. It proved that people were very much conscious about their identity at that time, but the national leadership did not find the region to be of that importance for mainstream politics of the country. (Dutt, 2014, p.1)

Jharkhnd word was hardly used in the national politics at that time. Jharkhand party was also not that popular at the national level at that time. It was a common perception that Jharkhand movement was only a tribal movement. One thing must be clear that not all tribal community had joined the movement at that time. Political ideology of the movement was also not clear at that time. Nehru in his rally at the Morabadi Ground in Ranchi had mentioned that the region would not get any Jharkhand or Farkhand, as he was against any further political division within the country. (Dutt, 2014, p. 3)

It was during 1952 the Jharkhand Party was very popular in the rural belt of South Bihar. Party was also very popular amongst the tribals at that time, who mostly resided in the rural pockets of the region. People were made to believe that only possible solution to their problem was the formation of a separate state and Jharkhand Party was fighting for that cause. (Dutt, 2014, p. 52)

One can say that during the early 50s Jharkhand movement was at its peak. When the Thakur Sub-Committee visited Ranchi and Chibasa lakhs of supporters assembled in each place to tell that only the formation of Jharkhnd state could help them develop. MLAs of Jharkhand Party had submitted memorandum to the sub-committee demanding the formation of separate state. The issue was that the sub-committee before coming to south Bihar visited Patna, where Dr. Sachchindananda Sinha had advised him not to visit Dumka. The sub-committee got influenced by the idea of Dr. Singh that Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana should remain under one provincial government (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 27)

First general elections after the independence was held in 1952, Jharkhand party due to its popularity in south Bihar managed to grab 33 seats in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. Popularity of the Jharkhand Party continued till 1957, party secured 32 seats in the Bihar Assembly. Sushil Kumar Bage was the leader of opposition in the Bihar Assembly till

1962. Mr Bage was very close to Jaipal Singh during the Jharkhand movement. (Dutt, 2014,p. 55)

The first President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited Bihar in 1953. During his visit to Ranchi, representatives of the Chotanagpur and Santal region submitted a memorandum to the President. Representatives of the Chotanagpur and the Santal region met the President and gave him a petition, highlighting the demands of the people of the region. It was mentioned that the people of the region have been exploited and tortured since time immemorial. Unless fair share is not given to the people of this region, they cannot progress. They demanded setting up of the Chotanagpur-Santal Development Board and a fair share of the representatives of the region in the Bihar Ministry. They also asked for High Court at Ranchi and setting up of a Chotanagpur University for the youth of the region. (Dutt, 2014, p. 57)

The representatives of the State Reorganization Commission visited Ranchi on 5th February, 1955. The Commission had come to Ranchi from Purulia, which was given to West Bengal. Entire road from Purulia to Ranchi was full of protesters from all walks of life with the slogan ' Jharkhand Alag Prant, Alag Prant Jharkhand'. People had also gathered in a field in front of the Circuit House where the representatives of the SRC had to stay. It was a huge crowd that was protesting against the SRC. Representatives of SRC said that they would not change their decision on the basis of the protest gathering. (Dutt, 2014,p. 66)

SRC had stayed in Bihar from 29th January to 13th February,1955. During the visit the Commission visited several places in the region including Ranchi, Jamshedpur, Purulia, Dumka, Chaibasa and Dhanbad. During the visit representatives of several political parties as well as non-political organizations met the Commission. It was very much expected that representatives of Jharkhand Party under the leadership of Jaipal Singh would meet the Commission during their stay at Ranchi. Jaipal Singh was missing from the scene and it was initially it was told that he would meet the Commission at Jamshedpur, which unfortunately did not happen. Absence of a leader like Jaipal Singh was not expected at that time. It was thought that he was not serious for this matter and no one knew as to where he was at that time and why didn't he meet the Commission.(Dutt, 2014, p. 68)

Sushil Kumar Bage met the SRC at Jamshedpur and it was Ignés Beck who led the Jharkhand Party during the SRC visit to Ranchi. Jaipal Singh was missing on both the occasions, inviting serious criticisms from everywhere. (Minz, 2014,p. 46) The State Recognition Commission had rejected the demand for creation of a separate of Jharkhand due to several reasons. The SRC had stated that public opinion outside Bihar did not favour the division of Bihar. SRC mentioned the demand did not have support of other parties apart from those in south Bihar and related to Jharkhand. SRC had taken the view that the demand for the separation from Bihar was supported by only the tribals of Jharkhand region, who constituted a minority group. SRC had argued that industries of south Bihar and agriculture of north Bihar were complementary and feared that the separation of Chotanagpur will disrupt the economy of north Bihar.(Singh, 1994, p. 21)

It was felt that there was a huge change in the attitude of Jaipal Singh. He almost became a dictator in the party and imposed his decisions on all the party members. It was shocking for all to see that Singh was missing from the scene when SRC visited the region. He said that as a president of the party he would give a separate memorandum to the Commission, but he failed to do so. He did not even bother to sign the memorandum as a party president that was submitted by Bage and Deogam. The decision to merge Jharkhand Party was taken in the house of Jaipal Singh in Murabdi. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004,p. 34)

Jaipal Singh later often regretted the merger and he threatened that he would revive the Jharkhand party if the terms and condition of the merger were not fulfilled. He often said that he was cheated by Nehru. Many leaders of the party were against the merger. As a result of the merger a number of parties emerged each claiming to be the real Jharkhand Party. Soon after the merger Lal Harihar Nath Sahadeo formed a Jharkhand party Paul Dayal formed India Jharkhand party and became its president. In 1967 general election many candidates fought the election in the name of Jharkhand party, but none of them were given the cock symbol as they belonged to different factions. Many parties came and tried to represent the Jharkhand party, but most of them had disappeared by the end of 1970 so except the one led by N.E.Horo. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 37)

Jaipal Singh was elected as the member of the Parliament in the year 1952, due to which he started spending most of his time at Delhi. He was more occupied with the politics in Delhi. He went to Ranchi to attend any meeting of the party or for any rally, but slowly

and gradually started getting detached with the local people of the region and their needs. Period from 1952 to 1957 was the most lucrative phase for the party, but unfortunately the party failed to make the best use of it. The leaders were by then used to the luxury they got, they moved away from the mass politics, giving an opportunity to the outsiders to enter the region.(Minz, 2014,p. 45)

By the late 1950s there was a decline in the popularity of the Jharkhand Party, which could be attributed to few reasons. The split between the advanced Christians and relatively backward non-Christians tribe arising out of competition for better development inputs was one of them. The non-tribals started looking into other parties that appeared into the scene. Jharkhand Party did not have an agrarian base and it was mostly urban based and failed to understand the rural problems. (Rekhi, 1988, p.155)

It was after 1957 General Elections that some urban pressure groups came up like Birsa Seva Dal., Krantikari Morcha and Chotanagpur Plateau Parishad. Among them Birsa Seva Dal was formed on the suggestion of Jaipal Singh at Ranchi. It was an independent tribal organization engaged in uniting the tribals in a well-knit and socially conscious organization. After the Congress-Jharkhand Party merger in 1963, some of the leaders who had opposed the merger like Harihar Nath Sahadeo, Joyel Lakra, Paul Dayal and N.E.Horo made an attempt to revive the party and retain the old symbol of the cock. The symbol was frozen by the Election Commission as there were too many contenders claiming the same electoral symbol. (Das, 1994, p. 97)

As per Ignis Kujur, a member of the Jharkhand party believed that the year 1954 could not be forgotten from the history of Jharkhand movement, as it marked the beginning of end. All the leaders of the country at that time appeared before the SRC including Nehru, Jaipal Singh failed to be present before the committee nor did he submit his evidence before the SRC. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.18)

Maharaja Adhiraj of Dharbhanga and Shri Kameshwar Singh were given the party ticket to Rajya Sabha, which was a reason for increasing doubt and suspicion in the minds of the people against Mr. Singh's intentions. These candidates had no connection with the adivasis of the region. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p. 20)

Jharkhand Party won 32 seats in the Bihar legislative in the 1952 Elections, 28 in 1957 and 20 in 1962. Popularity of the party gradually fell down and ultimately it merged with

the Congress in 1963. Jaipal Singh by that time had become a dictator in the party, all the party decisions were taken by him without consulting anyone in the party. The decision to merge the party with Congress was his sole decision, without getting it passed in the working committee of the party, he signed the agreements for merger. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p. 73)

During 1970-75 the Jharkhand movement became passive under Jharkhand Party and its various splinters groups. Many independent Marxist groups came ahead to spread the movement under whom the tribal politics became somehow radical. The influence of the Naxalite movement and the inclusion of agrarian issue had radicalized the movement to some extent. (Rekhi, 1988, p. 188)

The demand for autonomy made by the Jharkhand movement did not make any significant success in its initial years on account of the fact that the movement was only such movement which began with a serious demographic handicap in terms of socio-cultural heterogeneity of the population. Only about a third of the population was a tribal origin in the 1950s. This forced the elite in Jharkhand to grapple with the rules of exclusion rather very early. By late 1960s, the Jharkhand identity that was demanding autonomy was already balancing the tribal heritage and culture argument with the region oriented development deficit. (Berthet & Kumar (ed.), 2011, p. 36)

Jharkhand movement was mainly for the formation of a separate state, for preservation and protection of the separate ideology, which could give the people their cultural and political recognition. They were divided into four different states with no different identity of their own. Land alienation has also been a major issue for the people. Land has both economic as well as social significance, khuntkti and bhuinbari land indicate their social status. The region being rich in mineral and forest resources has been a lucrative place for exploitation. Exploitation of mineral resources and setting up of giant industries, thereby displacing the tribals from their own land was a huge problem in the region. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 6)

Discovery of iron and coal in the area during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century meant that the homeland of the tribals would be soon exploited to meet the demands of the industry and modernizing India. Outsiders poured into the region from north Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh changing the ethnic composition of the area. The

tribals only managed to get class III and class IV category of jobs for themselves. Upper position was mostly held by the outsiders from north Bihar. It was often argued that this was done mainly to maintain the basic standards of efficiency in any organization. So the tribals were placed mostly at an inferior position when we talk about job hierarchy in the region. (Corbridge, 2000, p. 69)

The State in Jharkhand has always been criticized for being foreign. Regional development of Jharkhand was unsuccessful because it was primarily migrants, and not the locals, who benefited from the resources that came into the area. Very few tribals were employed in the expanding bureaucracy or high profile skilled jobs in the local industry. (Shah, 2007, p. 131)

Jharkhand contributed more than seventy percent of total revenue of Bihar, but only twenty percent of the total revenue was incurred in Jharkhand region. Jharkhand region contributed a lot to the total electrification of Bihar, but areas of South Bihar were far behind in terms of electrification. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p. 227)

Internal colonialism can be regarded as one of the main cause behind the Jharkhand movement, which is linked with the international economic colonial forces. America's involvement in Subarnarekha, Russia's involvement in Heavy Engineering plants in Hatia and Bokaro, Germany in Roulkela steel plant, Japan's in Bhurkunda and Britain's in Gomia explosive factory and glass factory were examples of foreign involvements. (Munda & Keshari, 1992, p. 84)

India is maintaining the underdevelopment of the tribal area by not attacking the oligarchy of the non-tribal rural elites as well as by treating the tribal areas as an internal colony. The value of the resources extracted from the tribal area overweighed the funds employed by the Central and state Governments for tribal welfare and development. There was a substantial flow of resources from the underdeveloped tribal periphery to developed non-tribal urban centers. (Corbridge, 1988, p.5)

Rapid pace of industrialization due to the presence of mines in the region along with other natural resources has led to urban growth and rise in the inflow of immigrants into the area. Development has led to land alienation, displacement and exploitation of the local people. It must be noted that most of the tribals live in rural belts and are denied the

benefits of development. Immigrates are mostly skilled professionals or big traders exploiting the inhabitants of the region. (Pandey, 1994, p. 342)

The Jharkhand community was clearly at the receiving end when it came to resource allocation. Owing to their weak political position in the legislature, the Jharkhand leaders were unable to effectively lobby for a better resource allocation and development investment in the region. People of the region had to depend on the plans that the State drew for them, instead of having a meaningful role in the development planning of the region. (Pandey, 1994 p. 37)

Jharkhand Party in the year 1972 had organized a protest rally at Delhi on 12th March, which was attended by at least 3000 people. After the demonstration the representatives of the Party met the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. They had placed the demand for a Greater Jharkhand that would include not only the districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana but also tribal majority districts of Orissa and West Bengal. (Dutt, 2014, p. 182)

Growing socio-economic exploitation of the tribals gave birth to a radical group Birsa Seva Dal, which became active in the urban area of Ranchi and Jamshedpur. Dal was founded by Lalit Kujur and Moses Guria was its secretary. The Dal took socialism as its basic economic goal, boycotted the elections and gave a new dimension to the movement. The Dal organized violent attacks on the non-tribal landlords and led mass demonstrations in urban area demanding a separate state. During (1969-70) under the initiative of Sibu Suren, a social reform organization Sonat Santhal Samaj was formed to fight against liquor, moneylenders and land grabbing by outsiders. The movement also started Gram Golas a village grain storage to help the tribals at the time of crisis. (Das, 1994, p. 146)

In 1969 Binod Bihari Mahto was emerging as an important leader of the Kurmi caste in the districts of Hazribag and Dhanbad, which was not until then was in the threshold of the movement. Socio-economic condition of both the Kurmis and tribals was almost the same, which brought them close to each other. B.B.Mahto organized the Shivaji Samaj in 1971 to initiate social reforms among the local poor. JMM under the leadership of Sibu Suren, B.B.Mahto also got support of Marxist Co-ordination Committee under the leadership of A.K.Roy. A.K.Roy asked the tribal peasants and workers of the region to join the issue and fight together to attain a separate Jharkhand state and end the

exploitation. Jharkhand movement became mass based drawing support from both the tribal and non-tribal peasants and workers. (Rekhi, 1988, p. 190)

JMM was formed on 4th February, 1973 in Golf Ground, Dhanbad under the leadership of Sibu Suren and Binod Bihari Mahto. On 4th February, 1973, Sonat Santhal Samaj and Shivaji Samaj merged together to form the most popular Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, with Binod Bihari Mahato as its president and Sibu Suren as its General Secretary. A.K.Roy also lent remarkable support and ideology to the Morcha. Some Naxalite groups operating in the region also provided moral support to the movement started by Morcha. In this way radicalism found a new way under the banner of JMM. Initially JMM projected itself as a radical Marxist part fighting against internal colonialism. It not only demanded separate state but also freedom from class exploitation. The leaders promised to make Jharkhand the first Lalkhand in India. The agrarian radicalism of JMM was combined with cultural revivalism. (Das, 1994, p. 147)

Jharkhand Diwas was celebrated on 4th February, particularly in 1973 and 1974. The celebration was jointly organized by the JMM and Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union- a workers' trade union. In 1974, about twenty thousand workers participated in the celebration along with forty thousand peasants demanding separate state. This had a huge impact on the morale of the backward peasants and gave a strong message that Jharkhand means a producer irrespective of caste, tribe or nation, residing in Jharkhand. (Sengupta (ed.), 1982, p. 37)

4th February, 1973 shall be a landmark event in the history of JMM and its struggle for the region. It was the first Foundation Day celebration of the Party, which was made a huge success mainly due to the efforts of two leaders Sibu Suren and Binod Bihari Mahato. Thousands of people from different districts had walked for around fifty miles to join the rally organized by the leaders. They stayed at the place for the entire night after listening to the speeches of the leaders. The gathering was an evidence of growing popularity of JMM in the region and its expanding support base amongst the people of the region. (Dutt, 2014, p. 347)

The JMM launched an operation to recover alienated land from money-lenders and big peasants in North- Chotnampur, an area which was not the threshold of the Jharkhand Party. There were 120 violent incidents including looting of crops or forcible harvesting

of crops, standing on lands under illegal possession of moneylenders, attacks on exploiters and murders. The largest number of incidents reported was 69 in the year 1974, since then the number has gone down.(Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003,p.96)

The Mahatos' alliance with Santhals given the JMM an extra ethnic dimension. JMM was also supported by Hul Jharkhand in its movement. Ancient tribal self-government was revived in few places by JMM, with the setting up of Baisi an assembly in the Santhal region, a volunteer force and tribal collective farming with preserving of jungles pastures and common land. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003,p. 96)

The trajectory of agrarian protest in Santal Pargana and Dhanbad area proved a fertile ground for emergence of the JMM. Association of JMM with the Marxist Coordination Committee (MCC), with A.K.Roy a renowned trade unionist as its leader. A.K.Roy had formed the Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union (BCKU). This helped JMM gain popularity among the industrial workers as well. The support of the backward peasants especially those belonging to the Kurmi community of Chotanagpur region to JMM also enhanced its popularity. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004,p. 41)

Sibu Suren believed that it was necessary to reform his own society before any movement could be started against the exploiters. He formed a social reform organization Santal Sonant Samaj. He started the literacy program among his people, as he believed education could transform the tribal society. He started a movement against consumption of liquor and raised the *slogan* ' *kalali toro, Jharkhand choro* ' which meant smash the liquor shops and quit Jharkhand. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p.42)

As the government did not initiate the process for the formation of Jharkhand state immediately, JMM threatened to resort to agitation if it failed to place the report of the COJM by 7th September 1990. To carry out its threat it organized a rally in Birsa Stadium, 27th October, 1990. During the rally it was announced that Jharkhand bandh would be observed on 8th October and economic blockade would be enforced from the following day. Jharkhand was also supported by AJSU. In the view of the agitation Central Government invited JMM and AJSU leaders to Delhi for a fresh round of talks. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 44)

JMM organized Amar Shahid Jyoti Rally at Ranchi on 15th March 1992 in memory of those who had laid down their lives for the cause of Jharkhand. Suren announced that if

required JMM Members of Parliament and Legislative Assembly would resign and take up arms for Jharkhand. Due to economic blockade industrial and mining activities in Bihar almost came to a halt. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p.45)

On the initiative of JMM, All Party Jharkhand State Action Committee was formed. In all the activities of the committee party played a leading role through this committee JMM could get the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council formed. Suren became its Chairperson. JAAC could not function properly due to lack of funds and proper administrative as well. Failure of JAAC compelled JMM and AJSU to organize a rally on 15th March, 1996, followed by economic blockade and extreme actions like blowing up of railway tracks as well. AJSU was formed on 22nd October, 1986 in the office of JMM, Sonari, Jamshedpur. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 53)

AJSU had laid down their chief objective, which was the formation of the Jharkhand state, where there would be no exploitation. AJSU aimed to unite the political and non-political organizations that were in support of the movement and all the students, youth, women, laborers, farmers and intellectuals. It aimed to strengthen the movement on the basis of collective leadership. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p. 56)

AJSU had a radical and pragmatic approach towards the solution of Jharkhand problem. They had raised the slogan “No Jharkhand, No Election”. They had urged political parties to boycott elections, but it was hardly followed by any parties. AJSU cadre had planned to create village akhra (dancing ground) so that common people could be brought together and linked to the Jharkhand movement. AJSU formed a political party, which was named Jharkhand Peoples Party. Ram Dayal Munda was made the chief head of the party, with Binod Bhagat its General Secretary. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p.64)

In order to extend their support base AJSU and JPP started ‘ Jharkhand Jagran Yatra’ from 1st November, 1992 from Bokaro and ended on 15th November, 1992 at Ranchi, where JPP and AJSU had held a large public meeting. They also celebrated the birth anniversary of Birsa Munda on that Day. JPP and AJSU could not get great success in the electoral field and literally went into hibernation after the formation of JAAC. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004,p.67)

The mid-1980s can be said to have set new trend in the development in the Jharkhand movement. A period of self-searched followed by the direct action movements which was

brutally crushed by the government forces. It was felt that all-inclusive effort with better planning was needed to launch an uncompromising and independent movement to liberate Jharkhand from its exploiters. This involved a series of seminars, symposia, workshops and orientation classes all over the Jharkhand region. During this period the Ranchi University opened the Department of Tribal and Regional Language in the year 1981 to promote teaching and research on the language, literature and culture of the Jharkhand region, this provided a rallying point and continuity in the movement. (Munda & Keshari,1992, p. 71)

A lot of social, cultural and literary organizations were formed in late 1980s, which organized a many conferences, meetings, seminars and conventions from time to time discussing issues related to the demand for a separate state. Few major conferences organized during the period were All Jharkhand Students and Intellectual Conference at Jamshedpur and a conference organized by Jharkhand Budhijivi Manch at Hazaribagh. These conferences provided an opportunity to demand Jharkhand on logical ground. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004,p. 74)

The department identified nine local languages, five of which were tribal and four as regional. With the linguistic identity being politically charged, the department was politicized from the outset. As Ram Dayal Munda said that it was from the beginning political potential of the department was crystal clear. Within just a few years, nine language programs had attracted hundreds of tribal and non-tribal students, who along with their teachers became a cadre of activists and leaders of a cultural, and eventually a political movement. In 1986, the All Jharkhand Students Union, led by Department students came to dominate the movement. The students formed a coalition with fifty-two other organizations of varied nature to form the JCC. (Babiracki, 2000 Autumn – 2001, Winter, p.38)

In 1982, quite a lot of educate tribals got appointed as lecturers and principals in different colleges in the region. Higher posts in the university administration, like that of registrar and deputy registrar were also filled up by tribal students. The student's hostels of the university was virtually converted into adivasi hostels, providing shelter to the tribal politicians and the agitators. During the visit of Chandra Shekar Singh, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, to Dumka in 1983, raids were conducted on adivasi hostels and as a

result, a number of arms were recovered and large number of activists were arrested. (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1177)

Dr. Ram Dayal Munda was dismissed from his post as a Professor and Head of Department, Tribal and Regional Language, Ranchi University. He was asked to resign from his post, which he refused. He was removed from his post as he was a active supporter of the movement at that time and most of the Vice-Chancellors worked at the pleasure of the Chancellors, who were mostly in favor of the Government sitting at Patna. Most of the Universities in Jharkhand were used to provide teaching jobs to people from north Bihar. The class III and class IV jobs were also filled up by north Biharis, depriving the local residents of the region of job opportunities. (Singh, 1994, p.11)

Few tribal organizations like Chotanagpur Santhap Pargana Sangharsh Vahini, Chotanagpur Intellectual Forum, Chotanagpur Teachers' Association used The Ranchi University and the Department of Tribal and Regional Language as their training center. (Ghosh, 1991, p.1177) To counter the various forces that are ready to devour this dream of the tribals, Ram Dayal Munda called for a coordinated effort to bring together the awakened tribals. The coordination efforts would have to be accomplished at all levels, that is, ethnic, social, linguistic, religious, political, economic and gender. Unless this is systematically undertaken Jharkhand movement itself would wither away. Thus, with the arrival of Jharkhand state if the tribal movement for self-determination, preservation of their *jal, jungle and zamin*, tribal self-rule wither away, then the Jharkandis would be once and for all be annihilated from Jharkhand. (Louis, 2000, p.4091)

Lal Ranvijay Nath Sahadeo had formed the Jharkhand Raj Morcha. He wanted to revive the old Jharkhand party by involving people, especially the intellectuals, in the Jharkhand movement. Hul Jharkhand Party was also formed after the merger of the Jharkhand party with congress, as the leaders like Edward Marandi and Sibu Murmu felt that there was no tribal party left to fight for the tribals. (Ekka & Sinha, 2004, p.106)

The World Council of Indigenous Tribal People founded in 1975 under the influence of World Council of Churches, provided another platform for the tribals in the Chotanagpur region when an Indian Council of Indigenous Tribal People appeared as a branch of the World Council. In the first week of August 1987, the council sent a delegation to Geneva to participate in the deliberation of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous

Population. The delegate included A. K. Kisku from West Bengal representing the Santal tribe, Bishop Nirmal Minz from Chotangpur representing Oraon tribe Samar Bramachoudhry, representing the Bodo tribe of Assam. The question of survival of adivasi in the face of exploitation of various kinds and their demand for the right for self-determination under a separate Jharkhand state was raised in the conference. The Indian Council of Indigenous Tribal People held a conference at Ranchi from October 17 to 18, 1987, where 150 delegates from eight states took part. It was decided in the conference to make a serious effort to bring all the tribal factions in India under one umbrella. (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1177)

A five member delegation went to Geneva in the first week of August in 1987 to present a memorandum to the UN working group on Indigenous People, to counter the statement of Government of India that India does not have any indigenous people. (Das, 1994, p. 202) A conference to bring different Jharkhand groups, irrespective of their nature and composition, on one platform was held at Ramgarh from September 11 to 13, 1987 and was attended by 438 delegates representing almost 50 political, cultural, students and women's organizations. Prominent among the participant groups were the Jharkhand Party led by N. E. Horo, the Binod Behri Mehto group of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, two factions of the Jharkhand Kranti Dal led by Santosh Rana and Satyanarayan Sinha, Indian People's Front, All Jharkhand Students Union, Jharkhand Liberation Front and others. (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1177)

Jharkhand Prant Samyukt Morcha was formed in the year 1978, it consisted of Jharkhand Party (Horo), JMM, CPI(ML), Hul Jharkhand Party, Forward Block, Birsa Seva Dal, Revolutionary Socialist Party and many more. (Ekka & Sinha, 2014, p.147) JMM had combined the idea of agrarian radicalism with cultural revivalism in its core activities. The Morcha had launched operations to recover alienated land by forcibly harvesting the crops in land that were illegally occupied by the money lenders and landlords. (Rekhi, 1988, p. 191)

Almost during the same period a social reform organization, namely Sivaji Samaj appeared in 1969 under the leadership of Sibu Suren to fight the evils of liquor, moneylending etc. Samaj soon took the shape of a movement and had spread over a large area of Jharkhand and parts of Purulia district of West Bengal. The movement reached even remote villages, fought against the exploitation of land and started '*Dhan Kato Andolan*' and 'Grain

Golas' to help the poor tribals at the time of crisis. Such measures made the movement very popular among the tribals and mobilized a large section of the landless tribals around the Samaj. (Roy, 2000, p. 46)

To quote the election manifesto of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, in 1980, "we want Jharkhand free from exploitation, a Jharkhand where those who work will eat and those who loot shall go". (Ghosh, 1991, p. 1180) The Communist Party of India also demanded regional autonomy for the pre-dominantly tribal areas of Chotangpur and Santal Pargana.

Jharkhand Coordination Committee called upon all political and non-political organizations working for the betterment of the people of Jharkhand. The response was overwhelming, all together 55 organizations comprising intellectuals, labor, women, teachers and students became members of the JCC. Members of JCC agreed to abide by 23-point joint declaration. Main points under the declaration were to gear up the age-old movement for the reconstruction of Jharkhand. To fight for autonomy in the form of a separate Jharkhand state, comprising areas where the Jharkhand culture persisted. To fight internal colonialism supported by international economic colonialism represented by multinational investment in the Jharkhand area, particularly in its large industrial and power projects. In order to demand recognition for Jharkhand languages by their inclusion in the 8th schedule of the constitution, to organize leadership training, workshops and camps from time to time to build a new generation of leaders dedicated to the cause of Jharkhand, to publish occasional bulletins to keep its members-organizations informed about the struggle of the people in different areas and to exchange ideas and share experiences. (Munda & Keshari, 1994, p. 77)

The formation of the JCC showed results. The rally of November 15, 1987 on Birsa Day at Ranchi was an immense success. This was followed by the Calcutta rally of January 31, 1988, the road blockage of Dumri on February 9, the Jharkhand Bandh of April 21-22, all in early 1989. This was sufficient to draw the attention of the Central Government. The Commissioner of South Chotanagpur was asked to have talks with the delegates, which did not work due to difference of opinion regarding probable solution to the Jharkhand problem. (Munda & Keshari, 1994 , p.77)

A joint rally of about 15000 people under the umbrella of JCC and with the support of JMM(S) was organized at Ranchi Morabadi Ground on 15th November, 1987. The rally

was addressed by Sibu Suren, N.E. Horo, Suraj Mandal, Ramvilas Paswan and many more leaders of the movement. (Das, 1994, p. 80) JCC submitted a memorandum to the President of India on 10th, December 1987 demanding the formation of Jharkhand state comprising 21 districts of Jharkhand area. The memorandum stated that Jharkhand region covered 12 districts of Bihar, 3 of West Bengal, 4 of Orissa and 2 of Madhya Pradesh. The memorandum criticized the report of the SRC which did not favor the creation of Jharkhand state at that time. (Das, 1994, p. 81)

JCC was actively involved with the negotiation with the government to find out solution to Jharkhand problem. These talks and negotiation with the government led to the formation of Committee on Jharkhand Matters. JCC disappeared from the scene due to ego of few top leaders that kept them from forging unity among them. JCC was represented by almost 42 different political parties and organization. (Das, 1994, p. 87)

JCC had criticized the arguments given by the SRC in 1954, on the basis of which demand for a separate state was discarded by the government. It was argued that demand for a separate state was not only for the adivasis, but for everyone living in the Jharkhand region, so it would be wrong to call it a minority demand. Fear of economic imbalance of the neighboring states was also a baseless argument by SRC. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p. 222)

N.E. Horo had drafted a memorandum and submitted it to the Prime Minister of India on 12th March, 1993. About 3500 people went to submit the memorandum with traditional musical instruments. In the memorandum party had demanded a new state carved out of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh for good and efficient management of neglected and backward region. (Das, 1994, p. 104)

Another round of talk, this time at Patna, on May 31, 1989 resulted in several significant conclusion. The Ministry of Home Affairs conceded that the Jharkhand movement stood on the realistic ground based on exploitation of the people of the area even after forty years of independence. The Jharkhand movement is not just an Adivasi movement, but a movement of both Adivasi and the Sadans and of everyone who belonging to the Jharkhand area. The Jharkhand movement is not an anti-national movement and the problem of Jharkhand is a national problem. The movement is not for economic development alone but also for the protection of its cultural existence and its

development. The problem of Jharkhand can be solved by providing the regional autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution. (Munda & Keshari, 1992, p.78)

Committee on Jharkhand Matters was formed by the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. The COJM consisted of all representatives of Jharkhand movement, representatives of the Central and State Governments, Experts and representatives of Sadan Vikas Parishd. COJM found that demand for Jharkhand was not limited to tribal population only but also supported by other social groups. COJM recorded opinions of political parties supporting or opposing the creation of separate state. (Singh, 1994, p. 23)

Committee on Jharkhand Matters had listed few important issues in their report “ The Malaise of Jharkhand”. COJM mentioned that Jharkhand region was a neglected backward area, where the indigenous people had been subject to exploitation and oppression. Tribal land has been alienated along with deforestation in the region. Unsatisfactory rehabilitation of displaced people along with low level of nutrition with dearth of hygienic drinking water was identified as a major problem in the area. COJM also mentioned that funds allotted for development was misused and diverted to other purpose other than tribal development. (Singh, 1994, p. 11)

The draft report given by the Committee on Jharkhand Matters on 14 May, 1990 considered the Jharkhand area as a distinct cultural unit, but it was not feasible for the Central Government at that time to give Jharkhand the status of a separate state or union territory. The committee proposed to give Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana area a special of Jharkhand Council. However, all the Jharkhand organizations including the Members of Parliament from BJP, Janata Party, Congress, Janata Dal and others broke their political boundaries and recommended separate statehood for the Jharkhand area. (Munda & Keshari, 1992, p. 80)

A rally of the All Party Jharkhand State Action Committee was organized on 11th march , 1993 at the Morabadi Ground in Ranchi. Slogan during the rally was “Jharkhand State, Now or Never”.it was attended by people in huge number and leaders of many political parties as well and called for an effective implementation of agitation program and economic blockade to achieve the goal of a separate state. Jharkhand Bandh on 15th

March 1996, which had been called by APJSAC was quite successful in spite of security measures taken by the administrative machinery. (Das, 1994, p.153)

First meeting of the Central Government, Bihar Government and Jharkhand leaders took place on 29th April, 1993. It was preceded over by Rajesh Pilot and Lalu Prasad Yadav. Mr. Yadav completely rejected the idea of Jharkhand autonomous territory and only agreed to concede Jharkhand Area Development Council Bill. The Jharkhand leaders demanded a Council that would be more powerful. The Jharkhand Area Development Council Bill was passed by the Bihar Legislature in August, 1991, it was sent back by the Central Government for modifications. In spite of pressure created by pro-Jharkhand leaders Mr. Yadav refused to place the bill, which was followed by a bandh by APJSAC ON 15th September, 1993. A delegation comprising Sibu Suren, Ram Dayal Munda and other members of APJSAC submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister, stating that Bihar Government was not serious about Jharkhand Autonomous Council and the Center should immediately declare Jharkhand region a Union Territory. (Das, 1994, p. 158)

During the Lok Sansad organized on 15th August, 1994 at the Morabadi Ground it was expected that a declaration on separate state would be announced by Rajesh Polot. Rajesh Pilot declared that the Central Government would make an announcement within a month for setting up of Jharkhand Autonomous Council. Pilot said that if Mr. Yadav did not withdraw the Jharkhand Development Council Bill, Center would introduce a fresh bill on Jharkhand Autonomous Council and take necessary steps to provide autonomy to Jharkhand region. (Das, 1994,p.165) Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council was set up on 9th August, 1995 with total 180 members.

With the weapon of Vananchal, BJP created division among the tribals in the name of non-Christian tribals and Christian tribals. In the course of time the Sangh Parivar entered the area with its Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram , Sanddepani Ashram, Birsa Seva Sadan and spread its influence. Building on the welfare work done by the Sangh Parivar, BJP entered in to the electoral fray. In the year 1990 by floating the concept Vananchal, it aimed at spiriting the Jharkhand movement and gaining political mileage out of it. It was an attempt to divide the tribals and the non-tribals as well. (Louis, 2000, p. 4089)

There were major ideological differences between the concept of Jharkhand and Vananchal. Jharkhand was the outcome of the self-assertion and protests of the tribals of

the region were as Vananchal was a super imposed term by a hindutva political party. Jharkhand denotes the original settlers who are the tribals, Vananchal meant forest-dwellers, that could also be derogatory in nature. Jharkhand identified itself with the culture, ethos, religion, social relationships, self-rule and over all the jal, jungle, zamin of the tribal communities. Vanchal projected political boundary of a limited area. (Louis, 2000, p. 4090)

The vast rack of mineral rich area in the heartland of India with its plains and plateau, hills and jungles is known as Jharkhand since long. Vananchal as a term had been in use in recent past only and had no relation with the long struggle of the region. (Roy, 2000, p.3631) RSS has been active in the region since 1960s to check the growing influence of Christianity in the region. Relief work done by RSS during the 1966-67 famine helped them win five seats in Assembly elections in 1967. The idea of Vananchal was a part of the hindutva ideology to establish a non-tribal, upper caste, socio-economic and political hegemony in the region and keep the tribals in a subordinate position. The creation of Vanchal would have been a clear negation of the ideology of the tribals. (Ekka, 2000, p. 4258)

Vanavasi Kalyan Kendra, a product of BJP and RSS had started the drive to convert the tribals to Hinduism. Their aim was to stop the inflow of foreign money as well as missionaries into the region. AVBP and RSS had aimed to convert the Lal Kshetra, which included Gaya, Jehanabad and Rohtas region into Kesaria Kshetra and organized padyatras in the region. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.183)

A draft report was submitted to the Home Minister, Mr. M.M. Sayeed on 14th May, 1990 by The Committee on Jharkhand Matters. The report considered the Jharkhand area as a distinct cultural unit, and recommended the status of a separate State be given to the area. However it was argued that it was not possible for the Central Government at that time to give Jharkhand the form of a state or union territory, instead it was recommended formation of a Jharkhand Cultural Development Authority for the entire Jharkhand area and formation of Jharkhand Council. All the Jharkhand organizations including the MPs of BJP, Congress and Janta Dal, broke their political boundries and recommended separate statehood for the Jharkhand area. There was a general consensus that the new state be called Jharkhand. The JCC considered this report a significant step in direction of attainment of statehood for Jharkhand. Three governments of Rajiv Gandhi, V.P.Singh

and Chandrashekhar changed since the report was finalized, but practically nothing was done to move forward with the proposals. One can say that the issue was kept alive to gain electoral gains from the region. (Singh & Pati (ed.), 2014, p.224)

Jharkhand Area Development Council Bill 1991 was passed in Bihar Assembly and was sent to the Central Government for approval. The JMM had surprisingly supported the Bill and at the same time they were supporting the Government in Patna. The JAOC was an apology for autonomy. Chairman as well as the Vice-Chairman was appointed by the Chief Minister and functioned at the pleasure of the State Government. it was as per expectation opposed by the supporters of Jharkhand movement.(Singh, 1994, p.26)

11th September, 1992 the Chief Minister of Bihar Mr. Lalu Prasad Yadav met the Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. After the meeting he attended a press conference where he said that the separation of Bihar and formation of Bihar shall happen on his dead body. This statement was repeated by him on several occasions. He said consequences of the partition of Bihar shall not be very good. He said that his government did not treat the tribals and non-tribals differently, which was only the policy of the Central Government. He said people who believed in the concept of development should understand that states like Arunachal and Meghalaya are not converted into heaven after their formation.(Dutt, 2014,p. 347)

The leadership of the Jharkhand movement despite ethnic divide, cultural barriers, political and factional cleavages has remained mostly confirmed to the tribals. Jaipal Singh, N.E.Horo, Sibu Suren, Ram Dayal Munda and many other leaders belonged to the tribal community. However later since 1970s people like B.P.Kesri, Santosh Rana, S. B. Mullick, M.I. Ansari and A.K.Roy and other leaders had joined the movement with a view to bring together the adivasis and Sadans to rejuvenate the with a broad based secular ideology. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.222)

Jharkhand region as per JMM in their 1996 election manifesto consisted of 18 districts in undivided South Bihar, 3 in West Bengal, 4 in Orissa and 2 in Madhya Pradesh. However, through the avenues of political negotiations, Jharkhand movement mainly concentrated on the 18 districts of South Bihar. These districts were Bokaro, Chatra, Deoghar, Dhanbad, Dumka, East Singhbhum, Gorhwa, Giridih, Godda, Gumla, Hazaribag, Kodarma, Lohardaga, Pakur, Palamu, Ranchi, Sahebganj and west

Singhbhum. Many political parties and other institutions laid stress on districts belonging to four states as well. It was the creation of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council Bill 1994 with its jurisdiction over 18 districts of Bihar gave a message that politically Jharkhand meant only the 18 districts of undivided Bihar. (Prakash, 2001, p.18)

The formation of the separate state could only be secured after the formation of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council was formed, followed by the Bihar Reorganization Bill 2000, which was passed by the Lok Sabha on 2nd August, 2000. the bill became a law and separate state of Jharkhand was carved out of eighteen districts of south Bihar. (Prakash, 2001, p. 21)

After several consultations with the Government of Bihar and Jharkhand leaders, the Central Government had advised to revise the Bill. An agreed agreement on the formation of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council was signed on 26 September, 1994 by Mr. Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State Government of India, Mr. Lalu Prasad Yadav, Chief Minister Of Bihar, Mr. Sibu Suren and MR. Suraj Mandal of JMM. The JAAC covered the 18 districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana with an area of 79714 square km. and a population of 21843911. (Singh, 1994 , p.26)

The leaders of the movement themselves have differed time and again regarding the area to be covered by the proposed state. The notional area of the proposed state varied with time and different phase of the movement over the last five decades of the movement. The initial proposed area of the separate state differed a lot with the new state that was formed in 2000. (Ghosh, 1993, p. 1788)

The ultimate aim of the Jharkhand movement was the creation of a separate state in order to protect the interests of the tribal and preserve the socio-cultural aspects of tribal heritage where ethnicity became the language of the protest against the rest. Jharkhand movement focused on protecting certain rights which were mainly being eroded by the entry of the tribals. These rights included land and forest rights, cultural and religious rights and right to inclusive development. (Kumar, 2010, p. 19)

Some people call it a communal movement because in its early phase the movement was led mainly by the tribals. There is common misconception that Jharkhand was for an adivasi or tribal state. Adivasis are actually less than 35% of the total population in the area. For the past few centuries, adivasis have lived in a symbolic relationship with

various people belonging to different communities other than the tribals, who now account for up to 50% of the population. This relationship has resulted in the creation of a composite culture. (Louis, 2000, p. 1336)

In course of time, tribal developed their own form of political participation. This is usually known as Adivasi Swashashan that is, tribal self-rule. This form of governance was based on the ideology "*hunare gaon mein humara raj*" (we rule ourselves, our culture, our economy, our religion and our society), which is both local and regional. But this well-knit and well integrated tribal society was brought under alien rule, who expanded into the tribal areas. (Louis, 2000, p.4087)

There are basically four different factors that led to the identity formation as tribals or Jharkandis. First, the fact of being a tribal united all the various tribal groups with several differences among them, yet the cultural and ethnic sentiments unified the tribals. Second, the sense of being adivasi or the original settler of the Jharkhand region also brought in a sense of being part of a confederation than of an individual tribal group. Third, Christianity in a latent way contributed in tribal identity formation by providing education. Finally, the ethnic sense of "we" tribals and "they" or dikus the outsider united the entire tribal population for a protracted struggle. (Louis, 2000, p.4087)

The extent to which new state succeeds or not, depends on a specific combination of few factors. The presence of a strong popular movement in favour of the new state, a history of systematic neglect of the region and the existence of a distinct socio-cultural identity. Indeed one can say that Jharkhand movement did fulfill all the above mentioned criteria that ultimately culminated into the formation of the separate state. There is a clear evidence of the systematic neglect of the south Bihar region, as compared to the rest of Bihar. The creation of the new state was precisely because there was enormous support among the people for creation of this state, which is evident with the history of the prolonged movement since the beginning of the 20th century. This was also evident from the data collected by in a survey by the Center for the Study of Developing Societies in Bihar during the Assembly Elections 2000. More than 50% of the people were aware of such a demand and more than 33 % were in support of the demand for new state. More than 73% of people of south Bihar had heard about such a demand and nearly 68% of people were in support of the new state. (Kumar, 2002, p .3756)

The indigenous groups involved in the movement were varied in class and culture. They all had their own preferences and demands. It was full of ethnic and socio-cultural complexities and contradictions. The movement was an indigenous movement, which was also a social movement with a marked political overtone against colonialism. From being a struggle of tribal masses to preserve, strengthen and assert their distinct ethnic culture, identity, values, history and independence, the Jharkhand movement in the course of its long existence has slowly but steadily transformed into a movement for the development of the tribals much on the same path as that of the non-tribals. Jharkhand movement in its later stages was no more the movement of the tribals alone, A large number of non-tribals had joined the movement there by widening its base to a large extent. This led to quantitative expansion but qualitative dilution of the movement to some extent.

It was quite evident that the ethnic bias of the movement had disappeared till the mid-70s, the movement could project quite a number of non-tribal leaders. Even the definition of the term “Jharkandi” was widened to include all those residing in the region, who observed local festivals and had a sense of belongingness towards the region.

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha embraced Marxism as its basic ideology and pledged not only to form separate state of Jharkhand but also free the state from class exploitation. The Morcha was successful in attracting a large number of workers to the movement and developed a class relationship between the workers and peasants of the region in their fight against the internal colonial exploitation. Agrarian radicalism found expression through the “*Dhan Kati Andolan*” in the Dhanbad and Santal Pargana. It was mainly due to the efforts of the JMM the recovery of the alienated tribal land from the mahjas nd the zamindars was made possible. It was hoped that Dhanbad would become first ‘Lalkhand’ in India. (Kumar, 2010, p. 1789)

It was always felt that imperialism had distorted the process of nation and nationality building by among other things, setting up arbitrary provincial boundaries. The tribes were the worst sufferers in this respect, divided up among various sates with exploiting class which could weld them together in the fight for nationality status. Jharkhand was accorded the position of “drawers of water and hewers of wood”. The extreme exploitation of the Jharkhandi workers is itself bound up with the depressed condition of the other major class in Jharkhand that is the peasantry. Peasantry is only in a few places a full-fledged peasantry, but otherwise continues gathering of forest products along with

agriculture. The *seths*, *mahajans* and the bureaucrats collectively sucks blood out of these producers. Deforestation has deprived them of their old world, and pushes them to the margin in the new world. The numerous dams and other projects have had much the same effect. It's an irony that number of dams in Jharkhand increased while the proportion of land irrigated in the state and gone down. (Rekhi, 1988, p.186)

Outsiders have been using the indigenous resources, both natural and human, available in the region. The people of Jharkhand have basic honesty, skill and work culture that can help any nation to prosper in long run. Jharkhand is liberated but it's still a long way for the people be liberated in the area. (Roy,2000,p. 3632)

Jharkhand movement was a prolonged movement, which ultimately culminated into the formation of the separate state. Movement itself witnessed different phases with different leaders who gave direction to the entire movement during the entire struggle. Leaders like Jaipal Singh Munda had set the stepping stone for the movement in the initial years of struggle. He is not only the first leader of the movement, but also the one who fought with the outside world for the tribal identity and gave an ideological understanding to the entire movement. He was an educated man, who became the voice of the tribal community in the initial phase of the movement.

With each passing phase movement witnessed the emergence of new leaders, one of them was Sibhu Suren. Suren gave a radical turn to the entire movement, taking the movement to the common people of the state. He inspired people at the grass-root level to fight for their own rights. Suren was a true leader of the masses, who was very popular among common people. His extremist activities had brought the administration at a standstill and ultimately led to formation of the state.

Jharkhand movement started as a movement of the tribals, but ultimately it became a movement of the people residing in the entire region, that included the non-tribals as well. In the later stage of the movement a lot of non-tribal leaders fought for the cause of the tribals against the oppressive state machinery. Jharkhandis is a very common word often used for the people of Jharkhand, which to a large extent represents the regional identity of the entire population of Jharkhand.

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CHAPTER 3

Role of Women in Jharkhand Movement

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Role of women have been always ignored while recording any major historical event since time immemorial. This has been true for our country as well, keeping in mind the deep rooted-patriarchy within the social structure. Events in the past have been recorded to glorify the ones who dominated the society. For a male dominated society it was an obvious choice to ignore the contribution made by women during major historical movements that had an important impact upon the lives of the people. Women are seldom glorified as heroes of any major revolts or movements in history.

Tribal society is a society that is known for being less patriarchal as compared to the non-tribal society. Women folk in a tribal society has have a very open and free working space in the agricultural-cum-forest based economy. Women remain an integral part of the economic activities like cutting of timber, clearing jungles, gathering leaves and harvesting crops. Violence against women during the colonial times have been considered an assault on the very base of their pride and key issue for tribal resentment during colonial period.(Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.),2010, p.59) Tribal society did not witness much violence against the women before the outsiders had entered their region during the British rule.

However it is very difficult to locate tribal women in these movements because of the scarcity of written literature. One has to depend upon oral sources and biased official records for our analysis. Women had to deviate from their traditional role and perform extraordinary duties during anti-colonial struggle. In a traditional tribal society women do not have any political role, this might have affected their orientation towards political issues.

In a traditional tribal society there is an existence of a marriage contract that involves bride price. Tribal women maintain a high participation rate in the agricultural field. Tribal men and women also share equal responsibilities in domestic life as well. This equality tough does not extend to public and political realm. (Corbridge, 1988, p. 43) Women in the tribal society are barred from thatching the roof and ploughing the field.

They do the maximum physical labor, but barred from inheriting land. A women is only entitled to maintenance from the land, they cannot own the land even if unmarried or widowed. (Das, 1992, p.77)

The traditional panchayat is virtually an all-male panchayat. All the head of the family were member of the panchayat, it was rarely that in the absence of any suitable male member that a female became a part of the panchayat. The panchayats mainly restricted women, youth those of subsidiary lineage from being members. There always lies a question whether women would go for the traditional panchayat being a part of the community's political institution or the state's gram panchayat, which gives them a scope for participation. (D.N &G.K., 1989, p.1506)

In a tribal society like Santhal, women have long been excluded from political councils. In Mundas some participation does exist but has been eroded with time. The Korwa have separate assemblies of men and women, in the event of any disagreements they met together to reconcile those differences. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.130)

Questions on property rights of women and women's political participation have figured in both the conferences of Jharkhand Mahila Mukti Samiti in the year 1987 and 1988. Leading women cadres in the movement have written about this. These rights are to be taken seriously within the realm of the movement. (D.N &G.K., 1989, p.1506)

Land and forest hold a very important part of Jharkhand movement. Land is very important for women as they depend on the sale of forest products and have a control over their own earnings. It is true that tribal women are better placed within their society as compared to the Hindu women. There are two crucial areas of inequality in a tribal society, property rights and political participation. In a tribal society property, particularly land passes on through the male line. Women perform a major part of social labor, that is mostly accumulated by the male. Widows do have right of their husband's land but only in the form of maintenance. (D.N &G.K., 1989, p.1506)

Ramanika Gupta says that in the history of freedom movement only those were acknowledged, who belonged to the royal family or were public figure at that time. It is worth noting that contribution of common women can never be neglected during the freedom struggle. Many women had sent their family members to participate in the

movement, stayed back at home and took care of the family and children. (Kiro, 2014 , p.5)

Tribal women's contribution to any movement is ignored as they use traditional methods of warfare like bow and arrow for putting up a fight. Their method of struggle was different from the mainstream. Rohtasgarh fort was attacked by the Turkish forces three times, each time it was defended by the women, who disguised as men and fought against the enemy bravely. It was after the festival of Sahrul that men were drunk or were in the forest. Women were headed by two daughters of the Raja, Singi Dai and Kadli Dai. Men had gone to the jungle at that time and women had put up a brave fight independently against the enemy.

Singi Dai, Kaili Dai and Champa Dai had collected other women in the region, these brave women had disguised themselves as men and fought against the enemy. The enemies were forced to run away from the area. In the year 1855, during the Santal revolt, which was led by Sidhu Kano and Chand Bhairav, two brave sisters Phulo and Jhano had killed twenty one English men. (Sinha, 2013, p. 284) Women took command of the situation, two sisters were trained in using traditional weapons. Today as well Oraon women do Jani Shikaar and celebrate this historic event. The festival of Jani Shikaar is celebrated in every twelve years in Jharkhand. Women treat animals, hen, cock or duck as enemy and hunt them as a symbolic enemy. (Kiro, 2014, p.22)

During the Birsa Munda movement a lot of brave women had displayed their courage. These names are hardly found in historical documents. Contribution of Nagi Thiggi, mahi, Lembu and wife of Bnkan Munda and Majhia Munda to the Birsa movement cannot be ignored. During the movement English men came to arrest Gaya Munda, who was very close to Birsa Munda, Gaya's wife Mki had attacked the police along with other men in order to save her husband. She was imprisoned for about three month for her act. (Sinha, 2013, p. 284)

During Birsa Movement stories of Maki, wife of Gaya Munda is well known. Maki was also imprisoned with her three daughters and daughter-in-law of Gaya munda were also imprisoned during the movement. Women and men kept long hair during the course of the movement so it was difficult for the enemy to recognize them. Two women Champi

and Sali were very close to Birsa Munda and saved him from the enemies. (Kiro,2014, p.36)

The factual report of Deputy Commissioner Mr. Streetfield had mentioned about encounter at Etkedib during the Birsa Movement when Maki, wife of one of the prominent tribal leader Gaya Munda and his two daughters-in-laws who fought with lathis, tangi and dauli. There are references of his three daughters Thigi, Nagi and Lembu fighting vigorously with sword, axe and tangi, according to Steerfield, Maki was an old but ferocious lady, who had injured the Daroga Altaf Hussain with an axe. (Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.), 2010, p.69)

Women had actively participated in Birsa Movement, but their presence was only mentioned as a part of the crowd. None of the names are recorded as such in historical documents. In the movement started by Jatra Tana, a woman named Devmani cum Badhni kept the movement alive after the arrest of Jatra Tana in the year 1914. She belonged to the Batkuri village, with the help of Jatra Orao she was actively involved in the satyagraha. (Kiro,2014, p.6)

During the Tana Bhagat movement more than 400 women had participated in the, under the leadership of Dev Mania who was also known as Bandhani. (Sinha, 2013,p.284) It is said that it was under the leadership of Dev Mani, wife of Jatra Bhagat took command of the Tana Bhagat movement and spread it till Ranchi and Hazaribag. On 12th February, 1921 about 8000 people attended a Sabha in Kuru under her leadership. She organized a non-violent, cultural and religious freedom struggle. British reports say that there were a lot of similarities between the Gandhian movement and the movement in Chotanagpur. (Kiro,2014, p.26)

Women were involved in the Santhal rebellion, which got popularised through folk songs. During the insurrection of 1855-56 or Santhal-Hul, the available official sources reflect a multi-dimensional role of women. The report of civil surgeon and magistrate of Beerbhum jail regarding the medical condition of Santhal women prisoners in a letter to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, throw light upon the kind of activities women were involved in. (Misra & Paity (ed.),2010, p.65) Entire women folk almost played the role of informers and providers for their men folk. Women have been daring and tolerating British torture, a lot judicial proceedings mention about long confinement of many

women in jail, which made their condition pathetic along with their small children who had to accompany their mother. Punishment pattern not only show the treatment done by the administration, but also show signs of intense involvement of women in the process. Convicts were of different age groups starting from teenagers as well. (Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.), 2010, p.66)

Role of Harimai during Baba Andolan is also heard. Participation of tribal women in Jharkhand movement actually started with their association with the Adivasi Mahasabha. (Kiro, 2014, p.7) Names of Rani Ronuelayani, Rani Pui Gadinlyu and Rani Durgavati were brave women who fought against the British rule in the tribal regions. Most of these names are missing from the historical records. (Kiro, 2014, p.9)

Rani Sheromani of Chuar Revolt in Jungle Mahel, was a brave lady who declared nonpayment of taxes or royalty to the British. She had maintained tight security at her forts in Karnagarh and Awasgarh. British had arrested her and captured both the forts, the news spread like a fire in the jungle and many protesters gathered near the fort, which compelled the British to leave. (Kiro, 2014, p.68) Rani Shiromani was the leader, she had organized the poor tribal farmers in the movement. (Kiro, 2014, p.10) Women also participated in the Kol revolt, dead bodies of women were found in huge numbers during the movement, but no names as such came up.

During the Budhu Bhagat movement, his daughters Runia and Jhunia played a very important role with his three sons Haldhar, Girdhar and Udaykaran. Budhu Bhagat had himself trained his daughters in the art of warfare like his sons. (Kiro,2014, p.62) Telanga Kharia and his wife Ratni Kharia were very active against the British rule. Both of them together organized people against the administration. Ratni was trained in art of warfare. She went in all the meetings with her husband and travelled to different villages with him. She continued the movement and organized sabhas even after the death of her husband in 1880. (Kiro, 2014, p.65)

Singi Dai, Kaeli Dai, Maki, Thini, Nagi and Lembu were few names who were very active during the Birsa movement. Phulo and Jhano were brave ladies who killed 21 soldiers during the Santhal rebellion. During the Jharkhand movement a lot of women organizations had built statues of Phulo Jhano and took inspiration from her and participated in the movement. (Kiro, 2014, p.13) During a camp in Berhat, soldiers were

sleeping. Phulo and Jhano had attacked them with their sword and killed 21 soldiers while they were asleep. Hul festival is celebrated in the honor of Sidhu and Kano and their sisters till today. Both the sisters were hanged on a mango tree after the movement. (Kiro, 2014, p.54)

There is a Santhali song on Phulo and Jhano

Phulo Jhano tumne hatho se talwar pkri

Tumne bhaiyo se badh kar veerta dikhai

Bhognadi se tum dono ne kasam e khai

Tumne mahajano sudhkhoro ke atyachar ko nai saha

Tumne dono hatho se talwar uthai

Angrez w daroga ke zulm ke khilaf awaaz uthai

Konaram-becharam ko tum dono ne sabak sikhai

Tumne 21 angrez sipahiyo kihatya ki

Tum dono ka naam amar ho gaya. (Kiro, 2014, p.49)

During the salt satyagraha led by Mahatma Gandhi a lot of women from the region had actively participated. Saraswati Devi and Mira Devi were among the first few women who arrested during the movement, they belonged to the Hazaribagh and Giridhi district of Chotanagpur region. During the non-cooperation movement 16th conference of the Bihar Students Association was held at Hazaribagh on 5th and 6th of October, 1921, under the strong leadership of Sarla Devi Choudhrani. She tried to motivate many women from Hazaribagh to participate in the national movement, as a result a lot of women started wearing khadi and using charkha in the region. (Madhulika, 2012, p.116)

In the Santhal Pargana, Shailbala Rai from Congress played a very prominent role in spreading the salt satyagraha in the region. She motivated women to break the salt law and boycott the use of foreign goods. During the movement Mira Devi, Saraswati Devi and Sadhna Devi were arrested from the region. In the year 1941, Javanti Devi and Prema Devi were arrested to bring out a protest rally against the atrocities of the government. (Madhulika, 2012, p.117)

The question of tribal women got submerged in the surge of growing Jharkhand movement gaining momentum in the wake of new political electoral process after the independence of the country. Regional parties came up, capitalizing on the growing resentment against the sun-colonial status of Jharkhand in the post-independence period. For women newly acquired constitutional rights were considered to be enough. (Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.), 2010, p.63)

During the anti-colonial movement as well as the Jharkhand movement one could see the beginning of politicization of women in a set direction where they were more concerned about their tribal identity and interests. Unlike anti-colonial movement, Jharkhand movement by following a peaceful constitutional methodology including electoral process encouraged and ensured women participation comparatively in significant numbers. The appeal for ethnic demand for them had strength too, which was expressed by the high voting percentage of women in spite of their illiteracy and lack of political training in the first general elections of free India. (Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.),2010, p.71)

The series of anti-colonial struggle of the nineteenth century did help to develop an ethnic consciousness, which was later used by regional political parties in struggle for autonomy. Since majority of women lived in rural area, colonial-feudal alliance induced oppression was felt the most. As women participation increased in anti-colonial movements, there had been a slow growth of consciousness about ethnic identity among them. Tribal women could relate more easily to the sun-national demand of separate state than the national demand. (Misra & Kumar Paity (ed.),2010, p.74)

March edition of the magazine of Adivasi Mahasabha gives a detail description of the huge sabha organized at the Morabadi Groung in Ranchi in the year 1939. In the magazine it was mentioned that women had really worked hard for the success of the rally. Many proposals were passes in the sabha, including that of opening a degree college at Ranchi. During the sabha lady captain was called on the stage. Miss A Tigga came to the stage and showed the entire world at that time that adivasi women did not stay behind the curtains instead they believed nothing can be greater than serving the country. (Dutt, 2014, p.9)

Miss Komla Tirkey writes in a magazine for the Adivasi Mahasabha, published in the year 1939 about the contribution of women towards the ssbha. Tirkey in her article says that the success of the sabha depended on the contribution made by thousands of volunteers both men and women, who shouldered the responsibility in making the sabha very successful. The entire task looked like a mountain she says, which was conquered by young volunteers. She says their contribution is worthy of have its place in history and appreciated by the next generation in the years to come. She specially mentions how young female volunteers had worked for the sabha, which challenged the entire country.

Tirkey says that initially more than thousand women and young girls came as volunteers who were eager to give their contribution and perform their duties towards Desh Mata. Women would often shout in their loud voices: Hum Sab Har Karya Karne Ko Tayaar Hai. Days passed and each locality or Tola strted forming their small groups of women volunteers, called the Giroh. Every Tola had selected their captains, who played an active role in uniting all the volunteers for the sabha. Tirkey mentions about Miss A. Tigga and says appreciating her is like showing an earthen lamp to sun. Tigga was a brave lady and made huge sacrifices for the tribal society. Women had prepared around twenty five thousand badges for the sabha in just two-three days. They had worked day-night to make the badges, without thinking about anything else. Women are soft she says, but in their shoulder lies the strength of the freedom movement. She quoted :The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, from William Ross Wallace's poem in her article. (Tirkey, 1939, p.11)

On 19th January, 1939 men and women were called and they had gathered at various railway stations in the region. It was all green at that time, looked like a local Mela. All women were wearing green sarees and men were in green shirts. Everyone together gathered at the station to welcome the great leader Jaipal Singh. Men, Women and even old people were part of the crowd that gathered at the station. Four thousand women volunteers had gathered at the station, who started singing folk songs in the honour of their leader. As Jaipal Singh came the entire station echoed with : Jaipal Singh Ki Jai. Tirkey says around one Thousand women had made garlands for Jaipal Singh that were used while welcoming him. The entire crow had accompanied Jaipal Singh till his house at Morabdi from the station. (Tirkey, 1939, p.11)

On 20th January, 1939 around ninety five thousand people had gathered for the first day of the Mahasabha near the Bada Talab at Ranchi. Since morning women were singing folk songs to inspire each other. The entire crowd along with the Leader or the Sabhapti went to the Adivasi Swarn Bhawan at Morabadi. Fourteen thousand women volunteers sat in the sabha with men in their own right of being a part of the movement. Women could be seen with small children as well. There was a proposal to open a degree college in Ranchi, which was supported by women , who shouted together in favour of the provision. (Tirkey, 1939, p.12)

The captain of the women's wing Miss A. Tigga was called upon the stage. Captain went to the stage showing the entire world that tribal women were not behind the curtains, unlike the non-tribal women at that time. Doing service to the country was considered to be the greatest job for them at that time. (Tirkey, 1939, p.12)

On 21st of January, 1939 the crowd gathered near the Grand Hotel in Ranchi, number of women volunteers had increased to almost twenty five thousand at that time. Jaipal Singh was in his vehicle and the rally crossed the Mail Road to reach the Adivasi Swarn Bhawan. Among twenty five thousand women volunteers there were about five thousand mothers with their small children. Jaipal Singh explained the entire course of action for the future and the sabha ended peacefully. (Tirkey, 1939, p.12)

The next day a meeting of the Separation League started at the Adivasi Swarn Bhawan, which was attended by both men and women. Devkinandan Singh had joined the meeting with Jaipal Singh as the Sabhapati. Both the leaders were welcomed by the female volunteers. Proposal related to the separation of the state was passed in the meeting, which was supported by women as well. Both the leaders had given special thanks to women, who would contribute towards the emancipation of the nation. Tigga ends her artice by saying: *Jo Desh Prem Ki Aag Me Jalte Hai Unke Gharo Me Alag Se Chulah Jalane Ki Zarurat Ni Padti*. (Tirkey, 1939, p.13)

About four thousand women and volunteers were present at the 1939 rally of Adivasi Mahasabha at Ranchi. Many women were pregnant and many were carrying small children on their back, but nothing could stop them from attending the rally. Commander Kumari A. Tigga was the leader of the women's front. Every locality had a captain, women had made lakhs tagmas and stitched the flags as well. Women were actively

involved in cultural activities like singing of songs to welcome the leaders. Commander Tigga was also supported by Captain Komla Tirkey. About 25 thousand tagmas were sold and funds were raised for the Mahasabha. Women welcomed Jaipal Singh with garlands and flowers. Komla Tirkey describes the entire event beautifully through her words. Success of the rally depended on the women, everyone one was talking about the sense of discipline among the tribal women. During that time participation of women in a rally in such a high number was something very unusual. It was a time when there were no proper roads with safety or modes of transport, women had cross the jungles and difficult terrains to and participate in the rally. (Dewan, 2004 (ed.), p.117)

Voices echoed in the rally with the slogans *hume apni matribhasha me shiksha do, hume degree college do, hume noukri do, hume kheto me sichai ke prabhandh, humara greater Chotanagpur alag karo* and many more. On 20th January, 1939 women had displayed their tribal art to decorate the Adivasi Swarn Bhawan Sabha Sthal. Women were dancing in their green sarees in a tradition way to encourage the crowd present in the sabha. (Dewan (ed.), 2004,p.18) About fourteen thousand women had attended the sabha that day. The number increased to twenty five thousand on 21st January. Devkinandan Singh after seeing the angry and determinant faces of brave tribal girls on 22nd January said such girls and elderly women soaked in love for motherland can liberate the country. In the year 1956 about one lakh women were a part of three lakhs crowd that protested in front of the members of the State Reorganization Commission from Purulia to Ranchi. (Dewan (ed.), 2004, p.18)

Jharkhand movement was also a struggle for *Jungle and zameen* (land). One must understand that women are very close to nature, hence issues related to forest or land affect them directly. Jharkhand movement was also a struggle by women for their natural rights as well. The movement was not just a movement for separate statehood, but focused on various aspects of basic rights of the indigenous people of a region.

A lot of women were involved in the Jharkhand movement, they attended a lot of rallies, meetings and dharna during the movement. A lot of women and young girls had to lose their lives during the movement. Whenever a police station was gheraod, gundas of the mahajans attacked or any protest occurred against the torture done by police, women and female students were always found in the forefront. Death of two school girls Bhilani Toppo and Jemma Toppo in Chainpur in the year 1968, due to police firing is a proof that

women were actively involved with the movement at the grass-root level. (Sinha,2013, p.285).In the year 1978, it was mainly because of Rahil Dang and Ajarmanu Lagoon's brave attempt to turn the police riffle away that lives of Shalendre Mehto and Thomas Bhuiya could be saved.

During the *Dhan Kato Andolan*, whenever the police or the mahjns attacked the agricultural fields, men ran to the forest or hills in order to hide themselves from the administration. Women were left behind and had to face a lot of atrocities in their absence. Their houses were set on fire and they were looted by the local policemen. Women were raped and tortured and few women died after being gang-raped. Incidents were very common in Baldeha, Pakaria and Parria. (Sinha, 2013, p.285)

When police in Kolhan had attacked damaged the houses and set it on fire, women had revolted and in return beaten up the police men. On 21st and 23rd January, 1983 police had brutally beaten wife of Rampurti and Sushila, wife of Barai Munda in Goelkera. Wife of Gutuva Munda was beaten up with the handle of the bullock cart. Women were brave enough to tolerate all the atrocities only for the separate state. (Sinha, 2013, p. 2016)

During the active phase of the movement whenever the police attacked, men ran into the forest, leaving behind the omen and the children. Women had to stay back and take care of the family and the land as well. Women use to carry children on their back and go for the rallies. They often attacked the policemen with bow and arrows. A lot of women emerged as leaders at the local level, they would often collect other women and encourage them to be a part of the local activities. Mariam Cheroba, Shakuntala Tudu, Jyotsna Tirkey, Kiran Minz and Malti Kichingia were some of the local leaders. Badoli Murmu was a brave lady from Tundi, she trated Sibu Suren like her son and gave him shelter in her house for two years, during the active phase of the movement in Tundi. (Sinha, 2013, p. 286)

A lot of women had tried to generate awakening with the help of folk songs and dances. A lot of women were members of Jharkhand Mazdoor Kisan Party, they were very active in Bhurkunda and Ramghar. Leaders like Ayeti, Meena and Seema Chowdhery were very active within the left parties. (Sinha, 2013,p. 287)

According to Dr. Ram Dayal Munda the new department in Ranchi University played a major role in spreading tribalness among the young people. He says that music and dance

performed by men and women together on a public stage is a non-individualized, uniform style, in village like custom, bare foot, with natural adornment with nature oriented rituals became the ideal expression of the qualities of tribalness for the Jharkhand movement. Important qualities of tribal dance form is its collectivity, gender equality, openness and inclusiveness, and engenders social and cultural ideology of the new Jharkhand. (Babiracki, 2000, p. 42)

When police had encircled the entire slum in order to arrest Dulal Bhiya in Jamshedpur, women had come forward to save him. Two women Sabita Bhuiya and Rangini Bhiya were injured to police firing, Sabita died while Rangini had to amputate her leg. If Sabita and Rangini didn't save Dulal, he would have surely died in police firing. Police had filed almost fifty to sixty cases against Dulal Bhuiya during the movement, who was an active JMM activist and member. Police had also attacked his wife Anjaana Bhuiya and beat her brutally in 1992 when she revolted against the police. (Sinha, 2013, p.291)

It was always felt that police did not fire on women, but an incident at Chainpur on 27th October, 1968 shocked everyone when two school girls were killed in police firing. After the merger of Jharkhand party Birsa Seva Dal was very active in Gumla, Simdega, Ranchi, Khunti and Lohardaga districts. A religious assembly was being held in front of a church in Gumla on 27th October. The assembly was also attended by five thousand students, both boys and girls. After the assembly was over the students were requested to head towards the police station by the Birsa Seva Dal. (Sinha, 2013, p.293)

Helena Lakra was only 17 when the incident took place, she tells the writer that they went to the police station to protest against the illegal arrest of few young boys. She said as they were heading towards the police station in a huge group, they were ordered not to move forward. They did not stop as a result police started firing on the gathering. Everyone ran to save their lives, she ran but bullets hit her on her leg. She lost her consciousness and came back to her senses in Ranchi and found herself in the hospital. (Sinha, 2013, p.293)

Young boys who were arrested were mainly members of students union, who were alleged of beating a local doctor for misbehaving with an old man. It became impossible for the police to handle a crowd of five thousand people including school students. Total seventeen rounds of firing were done from the police, which killed two young girls Bhilani

Toppa and Jemma. Few other young girls Katherien Toppo, Bakhla Toppo, Bimla Tirkey and Ajela Tirkey were also injured in the firing. The incident was exploited by Congress as an opportunity to criticize Birsa Seva Dal and its activities in the region.(Sinha, 2013, p. 294)

In Telai village under the leadership of local Jharkhand Mukti Morcha secretary, Radhe Sumbrai have formed a Kadkai Ban Sangarash Samiti of which Gangaram was the General Secretary. Gangaram was killed in police custody on April 4th, 1971. The organization had a very strong women front. They were protesting against the construction of the Kujumura dam. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.86)

On 22nd March a police party came with Bihar Military Police, surrounded the Beta village in Chaibasa-Jamshedpur road, they were looking for Sidiu Tiu and Sura Purty, members of the Sangarash Samiti. Police could not find them, instead they looted and completely destroyed their houses. Many women had come forward and protested, they were mercilessly beaten up by the police, including sister of Sibu Suren. A week later police had attacked Tuibena village and Barajaipur village. Whenever any village was in danger, drum was beaten up collecting thousands of men and women together, who protested against the atrocities of the police. (Munda & Mullick (ed.), 2003, p.87)

During 1978 while Jungle Andolan was at its peak in the Saranda, Porahar and Kolhan region, people were not permitted to enter the forest or even collect Datuns from the forest. A woman named Mariam Cherova was very active in the region. She was given the responsibility to train other women in the region to use bow and arrow. She believed that the forests belong to them and no one could take away their rights. She had trained other women in the region and her gang included Radi Surin, Chandu Surin, Nitima Phulmati, Dikri Cherova and many other women. Mariam herself walked down to Chaibasa to support the gheraon of the District Commissioner. (Sinha, 2013, p. 300)

On 25th November, 1978 at Sarangda, Shalendre Mehto and Thomas Bhuiya were arrested by police from the market place and kept inside the school. Both Mehto and Bhuiya were actively involved in the Jungle Andolan those days. Police was searching for both of them desperately. People had started gathering outside the school, where both of them were kept and protest was getting intensified. Police was about to fire and was in a mood to kill both Mehto and Bhuiya. Two women Rahil Dag and Ajarmani Logoon

displayed courage and presence of mind and turned the gun point towards the ceiling. The policemen were about to fire, firing was done but it hit the ceiling of the school. This created a lot of chaos, Mahato and Bhuiya took advantage of the situation and ran away from the place. (Sinha, 2013, p.296) Both Rahil and Ajarmani were very active during the movement and participated in various rallies and protests.

On 28th March there was a huge rally at Chandil, to protest against the Subarnarekha River Multipurpose Project. The huge rally of one lakh went to the dam site and ended in a public meeting with a fast-unto-death satyagraha from 23rd April. Police had attacked the camp, arresting the activists and taking them to Seraikela sub-jail. Next day a new camp was being built up by people in strong response of the arrest. About eight thousand people have gathered to start the satyagraha including six hundred women as well. Four men were killed during the police firing. (Das, 1992, p. 130) It is important to note that women in large number participated in the protest with men. In Tonto, 25th May, 1981, police had fired at a crowd of adivasi women and children protesting against the sub-divisional officer in Chaibasa. (Das, 1992, p.132)

Moti Birua, 25 years old from Bara Mouda village of Singhbhum district, was taken to the Manjhari police station on December 10th, 1985. Police had a day before raided the village in search of forest officers kidnapped by JMM. She was taken to the police station for interrogation of murder of Rjendra Sabaiya. Next day police had sent news to her relatives that she had absconded from the police station. On 13th she was found hanging from the tree near the police station. The story was created by the policemen, who raped her entire night and killed her having fear of another protest, if she informed everyone in the village. (Das, 1992, p.138) the incident shows that women were actively involved with the movement and in order to suppress their voices, police used sexual violence against them. This shows the brutality of Bihar police, who fearlessly committed such horrific crimes against women in the region.

Interestingly, tribal women too participated in large numbers in the campaign of JMM in seizure of land, harvesting of paddy, recovery of pawned articles and so on. They also participated in village councils that decided on these actions. At the peak of the movement in 1960s and 70s both men and women participated in the Baisis (village councils) in a democratic manner. (Das, 1992, p.148) It was specifically a women's

program against excessive use of liquor or wife beating or witch haunting. Whatever participation women did at the grassroots was because of the leadership of JMM.

Bihar police in order to get hold of the activists use to make false cases against them and file FIR on them. Police use to go inside the village to arrest the accused, in the mean while if villagers protested, they fired back justifying they were attacked with bow and arrows. It was on 7th October, 1980 police had entered the Kasijeva village of Chakardarpur. Women had taken the responsibility, while men were behind the trees and kept an eye on the policemen. The gang of women was led by Nandi Kui, they attacked the policemen with bow and arrows. Policemen could not move forward, they had to use tear gas and four rounds of firing to put up a fight against the group of women. Although no one was killed in the firing but women were strong enough to stand against the policemen.(Sinha, 2013, p.298)

Cases of mass rapes by CRPF and local mahajans as retaliation to Santhal attempt to e-appropriate land that legally belonged to them. The movement was fully supported by JMM and all the rapes were reported against the dikus. Santhal women were treated by diku men as whore. It was argued that the dressing of a santhal woman invited such remarks and gave an indication that they are easily available. A diku woman is covered from head to toe giving, creating two category of women a mother and a whore. (Sengupta (ed.), 1982, p.205) Dikus use rape as a weapon against the tribal women to break their confidence and as a weapon against the entire community. One must understand tribal treat rape not like the dikus. In a diku society rape is often treated as loss of honor for the women and the family and is linked with a women's purity. This is not in case of tribals, they don't have the concept of purity or family pride related to rape. Dikus try to construct their own idea of the tribal society and attack tribal women to degrade their community.

Lado Junko is a brave lady from the Singhbhum district of Jharkhand. She was not only involved in Jharkhand movement but was also a part of active labour movement. She is a resident of Chakardarpur, who stood beside mines labour and labours in the biri factory. She was associated with the Minerals Worker's Union since 1975 and took the responsibility as a General Secretary of the union. She had united the labours from Karampada, Rora, Jhikpani, Durdur, Bora, Nurda and Chiria mines and fought for their rights. Her work was also noticed in Sukurmini and Jamtara region of the state. She had

fought to stop child labour and rescued a lot of bonded labours in the region. In the year 1978 she joined the movement for separate state, Jungle Andolan had entered the Kolhan region, she played an active role in uniting the labour force to be a part of the movement. She stood for election from Kharsava twice and Chakardharpur twice after 1990 under the banner of the left parties. Although she could never win, but her contribution can never be forgotten. (Sinha, 2013, p.302).

During a short telephonic conversation Lado Junko said she had become active in the movement after the death of her husband and wanted to take forward his work and fight for the people of the region. She told that she had revolted against the murder of many women laborers, which was hardly noticed by any authorities. She had been an active member of the local Mahila Samiti in her region and tried to involve other women in the various movements throughout the region. She had stood for the poor farmers of her region and demanded proper supply of electricity for them. She said proper supply of electricity was very important to provide irrigation facilities to the farmers. She said the ultimate aim of the movements she started was to ensure autonomy of the people and that was only possible through the formation of the separate state. (Lado Junko, telephone interview, March 4, 2020)

The exploitation of rejas is a case of social exploitation of women in the region. Rejas are basically daily wage laborers generally working at construction sites. About 50% of the rejas are unmarried in the region. They are basically active earning member in the family, families choose to delay or avoid getting reja daughters married. Rejas are seen as socially derogatory, men do not prefer to marry rejas. Men have also deserted their wives for taking up the job of the reja. (Das, 1992, p.74)

According to Lado Junko most of the tribal rejas had to face exploitation. The police supported the brick kiln owners and the munshis, who sexually exploited young girls. The sardarnis, who were the lady chiefs of the rejas often forced them to go for prostitution. There was a general mentality that rejas would be ready to sleep with any one in return of small favours. Lado Junko was the president of Mahila Samaj in Chakradharpur, also worked with the brick kilns in West Bengal. (Das, 1992, p.75)

Sister Mary Jyotsna was a woman originally from Kerala, who came to this part of India and participated in the Jharkhand movement. It was felt that no news of the movement was

spread into other parts of the country, Mary had started a weekly newspaper named Singhbhum Ekta. She tried to awaken the tribals regarding their rights and wrote about daily activities and police atrocities in the newspaper. She started working in a school and did her best to educate tribal women and young girls in the region. She had also taken care of leprosy patients in the hospitals. She stood for the mines workers and united them against the atrocities of the mine owners. (Sinha, 2013, p.304)

Jyotsna Tirkey a young woman during the 1980s had given up the idea of becoming a doctor and joined the Jharkhand movement actively in 1988. She believed that nothing gave her more satisfaction than the formation of the new state. She was a student of St. Columbus College, Hazaribag. Her father was transferred to Chaibasa, she moved with him and got enrolled in a ITI college there. She became a member of the AJSU and was also a part of the central committee of the party. She as a college student tried to motivate other girls and women to be a part of the movement. She would often go for secret meetings of the party as well. She had Savita Sinku, Savitri Biruli and Mnju Tiu with her during the movement. (Sinha, 2013, p.306)

AJSU had encouraged a lot of women to come out and actively participate in the movement. Malti was an active member of the party. She mainly operated in Gumla, Lohardagga and Ranchi region. During the G.T. Road blockade program she stayed in the Jungle for the entire night and worked there, she was arrested by the police. She was also a part of various meetings with the Bihar government regarding the formation of the state. She was very close to Manti Kumari, who was also an activist in the movement. (Sinha, 2013, p.308)

Shakuntala Tuddu was a brave lady, who once slapped the bada babu of Sonari thana in Jamshedpur in 1988. She was slapped by the bada babu, which made her angry and she slapped him in return, people from the entire village had gathered to save her. She was an active member of AJSU party. She mostly worked in the Ghatshila and Jamshedpur area. She worked closely with Malti from Ranchi and Supriti from Jhargram. During the course of the movement Shakuntala and Supriti were hiding inside a house in Rairangpur, to avoid police arrest. They both had to run into the Jungle and spent the entire night there. She was alleged to be a part of a rally that was banned by the government. (Sinha, 2013, p.310)

Urmila Devi was an active participant in the movement, she started her political career from coal belt of the state. She became a member of the AJSU and participated in the movement. She joined JMM and was a member of Hazaribagh District committee of the party as well as the revolt committee. She stood beside workers in the coal fields. She was a part of road blockade during the 1970s and 1980s. (Sinha, 2013, p.311)

Congress party had a Mahila Sevadal in which Arnapurna Sinha and Preeti Sinha were very active. They were very active in the programs of the party which included using of the charkha, protest against the liquor, closing of shops and supporting the rallies. (Karketta, 2014, p.26) As a member of the Jharkhand party or other tribal parties, women were not found in the leadership roles. It was interesting to see that two sections of women one that was educated and working, were not involved in the movement and the who were uneducated but involved in agriculture, actively participated in the movement. It was interesting to see that benefits of the movement were mostly enjoyed by those not involved in the movement.

In the Netarhat Field Firing Range revolt women played a very important role. They tolerated all the torture, cruelty and sexual exploitation of the military forces to save the forest and the land from canons. Government had to stop the project under continuous pressure and firing that went for three years also ended with the collective effort if the people. Women often forced the military vehicles to retreat from their position during the movement. (Kiro, 2014, p.27)

Ramanika Gupta was a trade union activist, politician, social worker, dancer, writer and poet was born on 22nd April, 1929. She had travelled to different parts of the country with her husband. She led a protest for the land, water and forest produce for the adivasis. Ramanika Gupta was a part of the trade union movement in the region, especially for those who toil in the coal mines, challenging the proprietors, contractors, goons and musclemen in the field. She was deeply influenced by Gandhiji and started wearing khadi at a very early age. She had been a part of the strike against the arrest of the members of the Azad Hind Fauj in her college. (Gupta, 2016, p.5) She resigned as member of the Congress in the year 1967, she believed that women activists were being used in the party for their entertainment, men thought that women could not rise in the party without their support. Ramanika was against such an idea as she was not accustomed to go ahead with the help of male relatives, she believed in taking her own decisions. In the same year she

joined the Samyukta Socialist Party. (Gupta, 2016, p.23) She stood in the legislative Assembly elections for Samyukta Socialist Party from Mandu in the year 1968.

Ramanika had challenged the Tata company to start construction of a school, the company did not want to build a school of worker's children on the allotted land. She went from village to village to gather people together and gave the company a notice for one month. She forcibly started the construction with the help of ten thousand workers who gathered to lay the foundation with her. (Gupta, 2016, p.89) She had also revolted against the company on various issues related to employees.

She had fought for the rights of the workers in the mines and help them fight against the exploitation of the contractors. She formed a union and named it Koyla Shramik Sanghatan. Office of the union was opened at Kheda. She also started a fast unto death to fight for the rights of the workers of Kheda mines and Jharkhand colliery in the year 1970. (Gupta, 2016, p.114) A lot of people were displaced due to the mining activities in the region. She demanded jobs for them in lieu of land. She also demanded a regularized job and opposed the contractual jobs.

On becoming the member of the Vidhan Parishad , she raised questions on the illegal mine owners and tabled calling-attention motion. A committee was formed to look into the matter. She also launched a campaign at the local level against the illegal mines. During this period she was a part of the congress party. (Gupta, 2016, p.232) She also met Snjay Gandhi and spoke to him regarding the illegal mines operating in the region. She told that the local adivasis and the dalits are being exploited with very poor wages and cruelty done on them by the mafias. She requested an amendment in the Nationalization Bill in order to stop labor exploitation and make the mines profitable. (Gupta, 2016, p.236) In the year 1977 she again resigned from congress and became independent. She joined CPI (M) in the year 1978, through her membership in Lok Dal. She entered the Vidhan SSabha after winning the election from Mandu in the year 1980. (Gupta, 2016, p.282)

Ramanika believed that men tried to discourage women to join politics, shaming women in politics was a common thing done. She while being the member of the Vidhan Sabha and Vidhan Parishad was pressurized and threatened due to her womanhood. She often

received a lot of threat from the mafias but nothing could stop her till the end. She says men often refrained from attacking her as that would lead to poor public image.

Ramanika shares her experiences with the journalists in her book and their attitude towards women politicians. They exploited their desire to figure in the newspapers, she herself have seen many lady politicians, ministers and legislators being blackmailed and pressured by the journalists. Newspaper people use to pair women leaders with male leaders as they did with film stars. (Gupta, 2016, p.350) Journalists often tried to find out personal connections of the women leaders and often make up their own stories as well.

In the politics of bourgeoisie parties Ramanika says that men often take women for granted. In public they praise their courage, they construct high rises of compliments to their faces, but once the back is turned, things changed. Men often prevented ladies of their families to mix with women leaders for the fear that they might be corrupted. She said most women in politics are from feudal families, protected by men of their families, and had direct access to highly placed leaders. Women who came from lower class families were unable to resist exploitation even at the hands of small grade leaders. It was astonishing for her to see that it was considered a normal path to success with no guilt what so ever. (Gupta, 2016, p.355)

Malanch Ghosj had joined the Indian People's Front in the year 1982. Indian People's Front was formed the same year in the month of May during the Delhi convention. Her husband Tridivesh Ghosh was a member of JMM and she became a member of IPF. She started reading books like Lalkhand written by A.K. Rai and books written by Lenin, to decide the direction of the movement. She told the movement was all about the right to self-determination of the tribals. She read books written by Karl Marx as well in order to get a clear ideological understanding of the struggle. She started supporting the concept of another state for Jharkhand. (Malanch Ghosh, personal interview, January 5, 2020)

When CPI and CPM were part of the IPF they didn't support the demand for separate sate, but later on they demanded separate state as well. In the year 1985, IPF merged with the CPIM – L (Liberation) led by Vinod Mishra. She did not support the merger, hence was no longer a part of IPF after the merger. She was not a part of CPIM-L and thought that IPF had lost its activeness in the movement after the merger. She along with Mr. Ghosh and Birsa Oraon represented Jharkhand in the central committee of the IPF and

always argued in favor of a separate state. (Malanch Ghosh, personal interview, January 5, 2020)

She was a part of the Calcutta convention of the IPF in the year 1984 and supported the cause for the separate state. In the same year IPF had organized its first women's ally in Bihar at Patna in the month of April. As per Prof. Ghosh young Vashvi was a part of the rally. The rally was also attended by Kavita Singh from Palamu, Ainty, Munni, Shanti, Mina from Jamshedpur. She motivated a lot of women to be a part of the mass movement. She started her speech in the rally with a song by Vibhuti Patel- Rasta Hai Lamba Behen, Manzil Hai Door, Himmata Naharege, Kisan Aur Mazdoor. (Malanch Ghosh, personal interview, January 5, 2020)

She joined the Janvadi Mazdoor Kisan Sangh with Birsa Oraon in the year 1986. She was a part of their rally in Dhanbad and Bundu. The organization demanded the separate state based on the demand for *Jan-Jungle aur Zameen*. She was in the 1990s part of Visthapan Virodhi Manch and the movement for the *Jan-Jungle aur Zameen* led by Daya Mani Barla

In the year 1986, around April-March a huge rally took place in Ranchi, which was attended by almost five thousand people from Bihar and Jharkhand the rally was organized to support the demand for separate state. Bihar IPF committee also supported the demand for separate state at that time. Prof. Ghosh was one of the chief organizer of the rally. She managed to bring many women from Beru, Itki and Hehal to join the rally. Those places although being near to Ranchi were not that very well connected and were backward areas. Women also came from Ranikharnga, Palamu, Bokaro and Dhanbad as well. As per her more than two hundred women came and participated in the rally. She could recall a few names like Sunita Yadav, Urmila from Aurangabad, Sashi and her mother, Nirjala Yadav, who travelled a long distance in order to participate in the rally. She could also recall young Vashvi Kero as a part of the rally. The rally was followed by a mass meeting at the Jaipal Singh Stadium and identified the demand for separate state as the first and foremost objective. It is very interesting to note that the names that are mentioned by Prof. Ghosh are mostly non-tribal women, mostly Biharis. This gives us an idea about the participation of non-tribal women in the movement. Prof. Ghosh is herself from Bengal and a non-tribal lady. (Malanch Ghosh, Personal interview, January 5, 2020)

She believed that cultural revivalism could give strength to the movement. She joined the Jan Sanskriti Manch Jharkhand Nagpuri songs supported the cause of the Jharkhand movement. Janvadi Geet cassettes were out in the market. Jharkhand oriented songs started being popular among the people. She was the founder of the Jharkhand unit of the Jan Sanskriti Manch in the year 1986-87. (Malanch Ghosh, personal interview, January 5, 2020)

She was also a member of the Mahila Utpiran Virodhi Evam Vikas Samiti formed in the year 1985. The meetings of the Samiti were attended by a lot of women activists. They use to organize conferences during the summer vacations from the year 1986 to 1988. In a three day convention of the Samiti they decided to start Naari Samvad, initially in the form of pamphlets in very easy language. She along with Dt. Renu Dewan and Kanak started to encourage writings on women issues and local movements in easy language. (Malanch Ghosh, Personal interview, January 5, 2020)

In 1986 Jharkhand Mahila Mukti Samelan was organized at Ranchi with the help of few women from Delhi. Problems of illiteracy, witchcraft, unemployment and lack of participation in decision making were discussed. It was decided in the conference to create small women groups at village level. Next conference of Jharkhand women held at Murjuli near Mnder Thana the next year. Role of women in Jharkhand movement was discussed in the conference along with Issues related to women's liberation. Third conference was held at Gomia in the year 1988. After nine years in 1997 sixth National Women's Liberation Struggle Conference was held at Ranchi. Issues related to property rights of women in Jharkhand was disused in the conference. (Dewan (ed.), 2004, p.11)

In the year 1986 Jharkhand Mahila Mukti Samiti was formed with its first conference held at Ranchi. Discussion on various issues like domestic status, exploitation at wrk place, health, socio-political status took place in the conference. The conference was attended by women from Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh. In the year 1988 with the support of women in leftist organizations and those involved in J.P. movement started a magazine on women named Naari Samvad. Fourth conference of Mahila Mukti Sangarsh Samelan was held at Patna under the leadership of Clara Kujur. In the year 1989, a women's conference was held at Murjuli near Ranchi. It was decided to form women's organizations at each district level and continue with the struggle. (Karketta, 2014, p.27)

Sixth National Mahila Mukti Samelan was held in the year 1997, which was attended by about five thousand women from all over the country. Revolutionary women from Manipur had taken out a protest march with torch in their hand. The conference was also attended by Tibetan women. (Karketta, 2014, p.28) Due to industrialization and huge Multi-purpose River Valley projects a lot people had to lose their agricultural land. This had a gendered impact as men were mostly absorbed in industries as workers, women were left with nothing, and they had to lose their traditional way of life.

Dr. Sushari Tigga was a Professor at the Ranchi Women's College. Her father Samuel Bhengra was actively involved in the Jharkhand movement. Her father was a member of the Jharkhand party and was very close to Jaipal Singh. Her aunty Naumi Bhengra, who was her father's sister was very active in the movement. Aunt Naumi use to have her own bicycle, she use to travel independently everywhere. Her elder sister Sumanti Bhengra was a nurse at the St. Stephens Hostel. During her stay at Delhi her sister regularly met the leaders from Jharkhand and discussed about the movement. Women at that time were not educated; her sister along with Jaipal Singh tried to put some of them into the nursing courses. Women once educated had joined the movement with full awareness. (Sushari Tigga, personal interview, November 9, 2019)

Her aunty and her elder sister use to attend meetings with her father and other volunteers. Dr. Tigga could recall how enthusiastic her sister and aunty was towards the cause of the movement, they by all means wanted to save their cultural identity. Both her aunt as well as her sister use to make banners for the rallies and make garlands for the leaders and she as a child use to help them, with little knowledge about the movement as a child. Dr. Tigga could recall Hanna Bodra, a lady who was very active during the initial phase of the Jharkhand movement and closely worked with Jaipal Singh. Amani Shetal, who was sister of Prof. Silvia Bage's father was very active in the movement from Takra village in the Khuti district. (Sushari Tigga, personal interview, November 9, 2019)

Prof. Silvuia Bage was a professor in geography at the Ranchi Women's College. Prof. Bage is wife of Mr. Sushik Kumar Bage a leader from the Jharkhand party, who was very close to Jaipal Singh. Prof. Bage stays at Ranchi near Kata Toli with her family, at the age of ninety six she can still recalls how Jaipal Singh use to tell her to complete her studies. She said how once Jaipal Singh scolded her in public, in return she told him to not to shout at her in public and she would definitely complete her studies. Prof. Bage

completed her Masters in Geography from University of Calcutta. Her husband and Jaipal Singh belonged to the Takra village in Jharkhand. She says she got her inspiration from Jaipal Singh to fight for the separate state. (Silvia Bage, Personal Interview, November 8, 2019)

Non-tribal men were against the formation of the separate state. According to Prof. Bage she usually heard them saying *dekhlenge kaise lete hai Jharkhand*. She often replied them with slogans : *Dena hoga Jharkhand, Le Ke Rahege Jharkhand*, along with other women. She said it was their right, not a favour. People from outside came and interfered with their lives. She says today adivasis are a minority in the region with inflow of outside population. Most of the political leaders are silent regarding this, which makes her really sad. (Silvia Bage, Personal Interview, November 8, 2019)

As a member of the Bihar Legislative Council, she had to face discrimination at the hands of Bihari men, who often thought would silent her as she was a women. She recalls a statement by ex-Chief Minister of Bihar Lalu Prasad Yadav: *Jharkhand Banegi To Meri Laash Par Hi Banegi*. She herself had witnessed Laluji saying these words not once but a number of times. She often replied him: *Aap Dekh Lijiyege Aap Is Tarah Se Bol Rahe Hai Na, Kisi Na Kisi Din Jharkhand To Banegahi, Humlog Le Ke Rahenge, Apko Denahi Pdega*. While attending other meetings she often shouted: *Dena Hoga Jharkhand, Le Ke Rahege Jharkhand, Lar Ke Lenge Jharkhand*. According to Prof. Bage, Biharis were the major reason behind the delay in forming the state. She said Biharis were major opponent in the movement. Whenever the question of Jharkhand came up all the Biharis got united, be it of any political party. They never wanted to give a separate state. (Silvia Bage, Personal Interview, November 8, 2019)

She use to talk to everyone who ever came to meet her husband, she use to give her valuable suggestion to her husband, whenever he consulted her. She use to go to various meetings with her husband, she recalls presence of few women as well in those meetings. She use to ask them to come in public, not necessarily in politics, but be aware about their rights and their culture. She says tribal although not educated and not politically aware were in support of separate state.

She said maximum work was done in the Simdega district. Simdega district was her husband's base, where maximum work was done to mobilize people into the movement at

the grassroot level. She often travelled to Simdega with her husband. They did not worry about day and night; all that they wanted at that time was a separate state. She also visited Delhi with few women, during her visit she met Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi did not give her any positive reply. She got a chance to speak to her during 1970s, long with two-three other women. Prof. Bage recalls how Jaipal Singh's marriage with Jahan Ara was a political move as some people were after him. (Silvia Bage, Personal Interview, November 8, 2019)

Dr Rose Karketta was a Professor of tribal language at the Ranchi University. Her father, Kyara Karketta was involved in the movement with Jaipal Singh, later they were separated after the Ramgarh congress. Her father later joined Congress in the 1940s. Her father was a part of the missionary school, but later he left for the rural area with the family. She went to Jaspur and Sarhuja with her father and stayed there. These places she says were mostly filled with dense forests. Later on her family settled at Simdega. She often saw women coming in the political meetings, but hardly spoke anything, they mostly welcomed the leaders and served food to everyone. (Rose Karketta, personal interview, December 29, 2019)

In the year 1947 her father joined Adim Jati Seva Mandal under the banner of Congress Party. She could recall how women were involved in weaving by making threads that could be used in the production of fabrics. She remembers how women were being educated about the fair wages, and what must be done if fair wages are not given to them. They fought for the rights of people who cultivated *biri* leaves and Mahua in the Chaibasa district. *Munshis* were involved in the selling of the *biri* leaves, had appropriated the products of the workers and exploited them. There was a movement in Daltanganj against the *munshis* as well. Dr. Karketta said tribals who were involved in the selling of *mohua* were often cheated in the local *haats* and did not have any organization to get fair prices for them. Tribals were often told that the *mahua* is Khota or of bad quality. Tribals were bad with calculations, they had no idea of savings or long term planning, which was a major reason behind their exploitation. She says she grew up seeing the struggle people had to go through at the grass root level, which molded her entire thought. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Later she shifted to Ranchi in the year 1982. Leftist were very active at that time in the movement, she joined the movement with Malanch Ghosh. She was oriented towards the

Left parties, worked with them in Mander and Bero area. She mentioned an organization in Beru named Chotanagpur Sanskritik Sangh that was very active among the tribals. She also mentions about an organization called Vikas Maitrayee, with its head office at Baryatu, Ranchi. Women from Mander were brought under this organization. A huge conference of the Leftist organizations was held in the year 1984, which was attended by both the Oraons and Mundas. The tribals went to Patna in a train together to attend the conference. Dr. Karketta also attended the conference. These people from the villages who went to the conference, realized that big leaders actually talked to common people. This was the huge quality of the Leftist leaders she said. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Dr. Karketta talked about Sister Jyotsna, who worked in the Chaibasa region under the banner of the Leftist organizations. She was very active in the movement and it was due to her efforts that a lot of people were released from the Jamshedpur jail. She said in most of the industries including Tata locals were given casual positions, and all the permanent posts were grabbed by the immigrants from North Bihar. This was revolted by the Leftist organizations at that time. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

She wanted to end gender discrimination at the rural level, wanted women to be aware of their rights and make best use of government facilities like men. She said it was very difficult for convince young girls and keep them safe. Many young girls came under the trap of the *Dalals*, she said. She had saved a lot of young girls from the *Dalals*. She said outsiders were sharp enough to exploit the tribals. Tribals are not money minded, they fail to do business professionally. Inter-personal relationship matter a lot for the tribals. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

She said tribal women had access to public life, they often went to the local haat for shopping with other women. They had the liberty to spend money, they were involved in the agricultural production from start till the end. Women were allowed to spend, but the entire finances were controlled by men, they were answerable to them for the spending they did. Women whatever they earned gave it as a part of the family earning, but men kept a portion of their earning for themselves and then contributed towards the family. Women were also cheated by bank officials, she said. Many fake loans were issued on their names with their signatures taken. Dr. Karketta along with her organization tried to bring awareness among the women about the bank officials as well. She said the

thekedars in the construction industry often instigated men against the women laborers, saying women were taking away their jobs. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Women in the mining areas got engaged with the drivers, who were mostly outsiders. These women were often exploited by them and left behind with children after the male partners left them and went away. A property right of women was a major issue in the region. Women were not given land as it was thought that if women were given land, they would marry the non-tribals and land would move out of the tribal ownership. The very idea of losing the tribal land instigated a lot of political parties to move back from their stand related to land rights of women. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

She mentioned about the national conference of the Mahila Mukti Samiti held in the year 1997, which was attended by about five thousand women at that time. Next conference was held at Kolkata after two years. At the Kolkata conference, maximum participation was from Ranchi along with the North-East. Dr Karketta and not only participated in the delegations to various conferences, but also worked at the grass root level with the women. In the Chaibasa road, forest was exploited and trees were cut down in huge numbers. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

She worked with the worker's movement in Kiriguru. It was a movement where people had danced and sang all through the night. Culture was an important part of the movement. Tribals were beside other issues keen to protect their cultural identity. Vandana says she had joined a drama group in Chakardharpur, they spread their ideas among people through street plays. Later on she joined her mother and started writing as well. Vandana had actively joined the movement since 1984. A lot of meetings were conducted in their house as well. Dr. Karketta became pro-active in the movement in the year 1982, after being posted at Ranchi. Her mother was in Sisei and Simdega before coming to Ranchi. They were worried about representation of women after autonomy was attained, focused was on autonomy and effect of that autonomy on the condition of women in general. Political parties even if kept women in the forefront, failed to address basic women issues in their agenda. (Rose Karketta, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Jharkhand movement was a political as well as cultural movement says Vandana Tete, it was a movement for *Jan, Jungle and Zameen* as well. Vandana is an independent researcher and writer, working hard to preserve the tribal language and culture. She says her mother had worked at the grass root level to bring awareness among the women, solve their problem at the grass root level and link it to the bigger movement, the separation of the state. Her mother worked at the grass root level as well as with the activist and was a part of different delegations during the course of the movement. Dr. Karketta also participated in the workers movement in the Chaibasa region and Kiriburu. Movement in Chaibasa and Kiriburu were for the rights of the workers working in the mines. Vandana had herself joined the worker's movement with her mother. Vandana Tete along with her mother was working for the Jharkhand Mahila Mukti Samiti. Vandana says women from the Torpa block of Khuti district were very active in the movement. Vandana talked about Malanch Ghosh, Prabhati, Lado Junko, Clara and Anjali Bose, who were actively involved in the movement from different districts of the state. They together conducted a national conference in the year 1987 at Morabadi. (Vandana Tete, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Vandana Tete talked about those women who went out of their house to earn money in order to repay the loan and get back their confiscated land. She says some of them were trafficked to different places. If they any how managed to return back home, they were treated with disrespect. One who sacrificed everything for the family could not find a place of honor in the society and the family. Vandana says language, culture and women were a part of the bigger movement for the separate state. She says all these things are ignored till date after the formation of the state. Core of the movement was cultural identity she says, which is being neglected right now. Women were economic backbone of the adivasi society, but were denied property rights with the concept of private property coming in. Dr. Karketta and her fellow activists were abused and often told mad when they talked about property rights for tribal women. Today at least because of their efforts, government declared officially that names of women had to be enrolled in the *Parcha-Patta* of the tribals. She says just because displacement is a major issue in the region, normally compensation for the land is given to the person who's name is registered in the Patta. It was always an unanswered question whether the compensation would be shared with a unmarried women, widow or an old age women. So property

rights especially land rights are very important for tribal women. (Vandana Tete, Personal Interview, December 29, 2019)

Dr. Vasavi Kiro was a career journalist from 1987 to 2003. She belongs to Uraon and Kharia tribal group. She lost her father at a very young age and had to struggle a lot since her childhood. Since a very young age she had started working with women's organizations and fought for the women related issues in Jharkhand. She was engaged in a wide range of activities mainly focusing on different aspects of the tribal life. She had organized a lot of rallies and went as speakers in many conferences and seminars organized by different political parties like CPI(ML)(L), AJSU, Congress and Jharkhand Vikas Morcha during the Jharkhand movement. Vasavi had championed the cause of the separate state through her writings and active involvement in movements against exploitation of the tribals by the capitalist class along with the State. Vasavi also contested from the Hatia Constituency during the 2019 Jharkhand State Assembly Elections as an independent candidate.

She now writes on special issues in newspapers and magazines in Jharkhand and other parts of the country. She has a rich experience of working among tribal and non-tribal women in Jharkhand, and in issues of tribal health, ethno-medicine, forest, land, environment, herbs and traditional food heritage. Winner of many national awards for journalism, Vasavi Kiro received the Chameli Devi Jain Award in 1998. She shared the award with Pamela Philipose and Homai Vyrawalla. She often represent Jharkhand in national and international forums on issues of women, at times become for part in women delegations from India for international women forums. She had conducted an all-party rally in Morabadi maidan in 1998 on separate statehood movement of about two lakh people.

She began her career in journalism during the struggle for the separate state for Jharkhand. One of her major assignments was to cover the rallies and strikes called by different outfits fighting for the cause of statehood. She later turned her focus on the role of women in the movement. This stimulated much debate in intellectual circles and artistes portrayed women who had died in the campaign. Then followed important contemporary issues -water, forests, wildlife and the Forest Rights Act on which she has concentrated for the past twenty years.

Reporting from remote villages in Jharkhand was no easy matter then. Rarely did any journalist venture to do so. However, she persevered and began writing on tribal issues when she came to mainstream journalism.

The topic of displacement came to the fore in the coverage of the Koel Karo Jan Sangharsh Samiti that fought against the possible displacement, by the proposed Koel Karo hydel power project, of a large number of villages in the Torpa area. Police-firing on a gathering in Torpa triggered debate on what constitutes 'development'. She also gave voice to the struggle of the tribal people against the proposed field-firing range in Netarhat. This was literally a battle for survival and for keeping ancient repositories of Oraon identity, culture and tradition alive. Had the proposed firing range been established, it would have displaced as many as 245 Oraon villages. The firing range has not been approved to this day and Netarhat remains a pretty little hill station that can compare with Darjeeling and Simla. Her reporting on tribal issues again stimulated much debate and Harivansh, chief editor of Prabhat Khabar, for which she wrote, supported the cause. Tribal development has now become part of the agenda of mainstream society. (Vasavi Kiro, email Interview, March 17, 2020)

She also wrote extensively on the migration of tribal girls to metro cities, especially Delhi, and of their physical, mental and even sexual exploitation at the hands of their employers. These girls are lured to Delhi by middlemen with the promise of good jobs, and this phenomenon, in a sense, constitutes what can be termed trafficking. But this is a complex issue and has to be seen against the socio-economic background of tribal families in the villages of Jharkhand today.

During the period of her KK Birla Fellowship, she wrote a book. Taben Jom, (Taben Jom is a customary law which designates land for daughters which her husband cannot lay claim to) on the rights and place of women in tribal society. Slowly realized in her career that she needed to work in villages. Following this, she created a Trust and is presently working on issues such as the preservation of medicinal herbs, the food habits of tribal people, traditional healthcare practices, preservation of bio-diversity and the like. She was a member of the Jharkhand State Commission for Women from 2000 to 2013 and her priority there was to ensure that the state government soon comes up with a women's policy to ensure the overall development of women in the state.

We are situated in the dense forest. Women have their spiritual, social, economic, mental, psychological, medicinal connections all in the forest. She focused on women and children to organize them and make them aware of ecological issues like biodiversity and traditional seeds. She wants to empower women. In our Adivasi society she said the tradition is that women carry the culture and the whole family and whole human activity. If the woman is educated then the whole family can be educated- this kind of thinking is in our society. Women have indigenous knowledge and preserve so many things in her hut and her mind when she starts work on any issue, like this life saving medicinal plant. Women in our society, in large numbers, go to the forest every day. This is their daily routine. Women in the forest have very good relationships. Where there is no forest women have so many health problems. (Vasavi Kiro, email Interview, March 17, 2020)

She said in the 60s after Indian independence the first Prime Minister started the development process. With the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority he laid the first stone in the valley. Thousands of tribals were displaced and now they are struggling for their rehabilitation. There is no rehab policy, only in draft form. In parliament the Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy has been introduced but not discussed. Nobody is interested. Our Jharkhand state government has made so many ‘memorandums of understanding’. Mysteriously, the government did not reveal the MOU between government and the capitalists. We know from various sources that Arcelor Mittal, the largest steel giant in the world, wants 25,000 hectares of land to establish a steel plant in Ranchi and Khunti districts.

In the 21st century, we are living in a high-tech era, and people want to live with dignity. The tribal people and women want to believe in a dignified life. The way is to convince corporate sectors and to communicate the ideas held by the tribals about their own life. The corporate sector makes choices with selected people from civil society – they never talk to the effected people. They never talk to the suffering women, they never want to talk to the people who are involved in the movement: educating, struggling. We are running this kind of seed bank. They do not want to contact us, they do not want to dialogue with the tribals.

She said Arcelor Mittal, the largest steel giant in the world, came to Jharkhand area with his private plane from London and landed in our state. Mittal talked to the chief minister. The ‘Corporate Social Responsibility Unit’ organized a meeting with selected NGOs

from civil society – but they never called the Tribals. They talked to the town people who do not know anything about the traditional way, the seed bank and traditional indigenous knowledge. They are serving in the university and they are running small NGOs based in the town areas.

She said the tribal want to go into the dialogue process. We want to give our message of what we are thinking, and what we are thinking for the welfare of our country and the ecological balance. Because of the degradation of forest there is climate change. The NGOs are not concerned with the forest. Adivasi and indigenous people were not participating in the discussion.

Tarshila Khalkho is a brave lady from Amba Toli Mahuadar in Jharkhand, who gave leadership to the Netarhat field firing range protest. She is addressed as *Ma* by the other activists involved in the movement. Since last 25 years she has continued to give disciplined leadership to women involved in the movement. She along with other women stood strong in front of the army and compelled them to move back from the region. Women shouted '*Jaan Denge Zamin Nahi Denge, Sainik Bhaiyo Wapas Jao, Jal, Jangal, Zamin Humara Hai*' and opposed the army vehicles, their voice echoed in the entire environment. She is not just an inspiration for Netarhat movement, but other revolts as well. (Rose Karketta (ed.), 2018, p. 42)

Dayamani Barla is a well-known tribal activists in Jharkhand. Born in Arhara village of Jharkhand, for the last 25 years, Barla has been fighting the state and several multinationals over the issues of land rights and the identity and culture of tribals. Barla has received national and international recognition for her activism and journalism. Barla is also at forefront of the Adivasi Mulvasi Astitva Raksha Manch, a people's movement that unites thousands of Adivasis, Dalits and farmers across Jharkhand. Barla founded the Hak Patrika in the year 1997 in order to focus on the issues related to Adivasis, Dalits and women in Jharkhand.

Her life has been full of struggles. She saw people snatch away the piece of land her parents owned. Her parents were then forced into bonded labor. When people took away the land from them, the entire family got dispersed. They couldn't afford food, but she did not give up her education. She continued it even when she had to fund it by working as a coolie. She has seen times when she pined for a piece of bread.

It was in 1995 when she formally entered into full-time activism. The government had announced its plan to build a dam at Koel Karo in Torpa. The dam threatened the existence of 245 villages. Around 2.5 lakh people would have been displaced and 27,000 acres of jungle land would have been submerged. I knew what it meant to lose your land. You lose your culture, your heritage, your identity. It affects your personal life adversely. Since then, I have seen and been a part of many movements against displacement, for tribal rights, in Jharkhand and outside.

In those heady days of the Koel Karo movement, resonant voices like Faisal Anurag, a veteran reporter of tribal issues and struggles, were urging Adivasis to write their own stories. It was a novel and bold idea for those times. So, joining hands with some other activists, she took a loan to launch Jan Haq in order to focused on tribal issues, people's movements and state inaction and it became quite popular.

Meanwhile, the demand for a tribal state in east India was gaining momentum. In the writings, they were calling this proposed state Jharkhand. The name embodied the vision of luminaries such as Birsa Munda, the freedom fighter and tribal folk hero. It carried the hope of tribals having their own state, which would protect their traditional rights over *jal, jungal, zameen*, and preserve their language and culture. Statehood, it was hoped, would also allow Adivasis to benefit from mainstream economic development. However, since the formation of Jharkhand in 2000, successive rulers have changed the narrative from rights of Adivasis to bringing in corporations for industrialisation and profit.

In 2005, chief minister Arjun Munda signed a MoU with steel manufacturing giant Arcelor Mittal. Barla received notice from across the world for her fight against a proposed Arcelor Mittal steel plant which would have taken over around 12,000 acres of jungle land, and, many argued, harmed the sensitive ecosystem of the area around Gumla. It emerged that some landed middle class people were negotiating not only the sale of their own land with the company but of Adivasi land as well. The project was worth Rs. 50,000 crores thus very lucrative for the state government. The media, too, was projecting an impression that local people were eager for Arcelor Mittal to buy their land.

She filed an RTI request for the precise location of the land being given away. She was told the government didn't have as much land as promised, so it will acquire it from the villagers. She went to the villagers. They had no idea what the state was planning but said

they won't part with their land at any cost. She decided to start a movement. The villagers were initially scared; they did not know how to fight the powerful government-corporate nexus and asked her for help them to fight with the situation. She asked the people to unite with each other and then identified the villages that the company was eyeing and visited them to spread awareness about what was coming. More and more people joined the movement, and it gathered the required momentum.

Most of Jharkhand falls under the Indian Constitution's Fifth Schedule, which prohibits transfer of tribal land to non-tribals. Yet, both the central government and several states are trying to amend the laws under the Fifth Schedule in order to allow private players to take over tribal and forest lands she said. Out of the 104 MoUs that the Jharkhand government has signed with small and big companies in the past few years she said, nearly 98% are in blatant violation of the Fifth Schedule. Every project is being sold as a public-private partnership. The state has even convinced the courts that these projects are being built to serve the public interest. In the 1997 Samta judgment, the Supreme Court ruled that all leases to private mining companies in the scheduled areas are null and void. It also gave gram sabhas clear authority to decide what constitutes public interest.

The Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 also enables gram sabhas to self-govern their natural resources. Yet, the gram sabhas are rarely consulted on projects in their areas. Today, all natural resources are being handed on a platter to corporations. And people's movements that resist this are branded anti-national. She says she would like to save the natural resources for the future generation at any cost. Barla till date continues to fight for the right of indigenous people over their land.

She contested for the Khunti Lok Sabha seat under the banner of the Aam Aadmi Party in the year 2014, Khunti is the center of the Pathalgadi movement in the state and Barla is closely associated with the movement. She again contested for 2019 State Assembly Elections from Khunti under the banner of Jharkhand Vikas Morcha. Barla could not get much success in the political field. During a personal interaction with her sitting in her office very close to her tea shop in Ranchi, Barla expressed her will to continue with her struggle for the rights of the tribal in the state.

Women did not provide direct leadership to the entire movement, neither they are recognized as popular heroes of the movement. Participation of women in Jharkhand

movement can be seen as a form of protest participation. Women were both followers as well as fighters in the entire movement. The nature and extent of their participation has been generally shaped by the needs and concerns of the mainstream movement. Women's issues have been addressed to the point they went in line with the dominant ideology of the movement, primary focus was always on the progress of the tribals as a whole.

Few areas of participation like preparing a garland, flag or pamphlets, singing in honor of the leaders or for that matter welcoming them with flowers may be considered to be mere ceremonial, focusing upon the feminine characteristics of a woman. But any form of participation in the early phase of the movement cannot be ignored keeping in the socio-economic condition of women in the country. Any minor contribution made by women towards the progress the women is worth being appreciated.

Women's contribution towards the Jharkhand statehood movement is still not recognized as something which had a huge impact on the course of the entire movement. Women did emerge as leaders in smaller groups and local areas and gave direction to the entire movement. Leadership role displayed by Ramanika Gupta and Lado Junko among the mines workers cannot be ignored by the historians at any cost. The two women were working at the grass root level among the common people. Ramanika had fought hard to make her way to the Vidhan Parishad and speak for the common people while she had an access to political power.

Women as leaders motivated other women to come and participate in the movement. Women like Rose Karketta and Malanch Ghosh had organized women into different groups and tried to link the demand for separate statehood with the different forms of exploitation faced by tribal women due to the presence of the outsiders in the region. We are aware about the problems faced by the rejas and the other women laborers in the region. Women leaders came up during the course of the movement to protect the land rights of the tribals men and women.

Industrialization has been a major issue during the course of the movement. Indigenous people of the region were and are still being denied the fruits of development, instead they being robbed of their natural rights over the land and forest. Leaders like Vasavi nad Daya Mani Barla are still fighting hard to deal with issues related to displacement and

land rights in the state. Both Barla and Vasavi had emerged as a powerful activist in the movement through their writings as a journalist as well.

One cannot forget the contributions made by those women who were part of several rallies and meetings during the course of the movement. We would never know their names due to absence of any record, but their contribution to the mass movement cannot be denied. Many women had fought against the police, faced their atrocities during the movement. Many brave women had to sacrifice their own life, which usually went unnoticed in the historical records. One must also understand that many non-tribal women had also actively participated in the movement. Malanch and Ramanika Gupta were non-tribal women, but had deep concern for the tribal society and the entire region. However it would be wrong to say that the movement was popular among the urban non-tribal women in the region. Mass participation of women in the movement came from rural belt of the region which mostly included tribal women.

Women were also active members of many political parties during the course of the movement. Many political parties like the AJSU and JMM had included a lot of women in their party cadre during the course of the movement. JMM had mobilized a lot of women and encourage them to participate in the grass-root struggle throughout its involvement in the movement. Women had actively participated in the anti-liquor movement initiated by Sibu Soren during the movement.

During a personal interview, Shree Sibu Soren said that although many women were unable to participate publicly in the movement, their contribution cannot be ignored. He said women are leaders at home, they take care of the family and children when men are outside the house. Soren said he never had to bother about his family as his wife took care of them in his absence. He had to stay away from home for month but his wife never complained, instead supported him completely. He said in the absence of women men had to engage in agricultural activities and take care of the land holdings. Soren said his wife had accompanied him in political meetings as well and was the leader of the house. He thinks more women should come in politics and he encourages female members of his family to join active politics as well. He promised that once his son Hemant Soren comes in power would try to encourage more women to join politics and support reservation of seats for women in the Legislative Bodies. (Sibu Soren, personal interview, November 2, 2019) Many women might not be a part of the movement actively but as mentioned by

Soren we cannot ignore their contribution to any movement in the society. It is indeed not an easy task for women to care of the family and agricultural production without being supported by men, one who does this independently is a true leader of the house.

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CHAPTER 4

Political Participation of Women in Rural and Urban Elected Bodies

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The constitution of India guarantees equal political rights including the right to vote to women. Almost all the provisions contained in the UN to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women are there in the Indian constitution. Not only does the constitution guarantee equal political status to women, there is even a scope for positive discrimination in their favor as is evident in article 15(3) of the constitution. (Biju, 2008,p.44) There are many other provisions in the constitution which lay stress on equality between men and women. The constitution guarantees equal rights and opportunities to women through the fundamental rights and Directive principles of the state policy. To safeguard the interest of women the government has enacted several legislatures and the landmark being the passing of the 73rd and the 74th amendment Acts which introduced one third reservation of seats for women in local administrative bodies.

The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India provide the legal basis for direct democracy at the local-level, both in rural and urban areas. The amendments stress the need to bring people belonging to marginalized groups into the political process by reserving seats for women and for people belonging to the Scheduled Castes (SC)¹ and Scheduled Tribes (ST). It is envisaged that by mandating not less than one-third of the seats for women in local government bodies, the governance process at the local government level will reflect the voices of women and the concerns and issues that confront them. This has resulted in 247,115 elected Panchayats (locally elected self-government bodies) in the country, which contain more than 2.8 million elected representatives. Of these elected representatives, more than 1 million are women³. However, this aggregate figure tells only part of the story. While representation is adequate (as per the norm of one-third of all seats) participation is less than adequate. While it is relatively easy to legislate representation, it is more difficult to create conditions suitable for participation. Experience indicates that representation does not automatically lead to participation.

The provision of reservation came as an exception to the fundamental right to equality in favour of the scheduled castes , who suffered deep and entrenched social prejudice against them and the scheduled tribes , who were physically detached from the

mainstream society and potentially faced the same fate as the . The prejudice against them was such that no matter what attributes they possessed, the society would not accept them anywhere other than where they were traditionally supposed to be.

A feminist case for reservations is made in terms of the need for affirmative action to redress the situation of women. This argument comes from Left parties and women's groups. A characteristic statement of this kind is that made by Vasanth and Kalpana Kannabiran, long-time activists of the women's movement. "Women's participation in the political process is critical both to the strengthening of democratic traditions and to their struggle against oppression." But they are obstructed such participation by "power relations that... operate at many levels of society from the most personal to the highly public". (Bose, 2010, p.11) It is necessary therefore to appropriate spaces in mainstream political arenas and reshape them. The feminist argument for reservations is thus made in terms of creating equality of opportunity in order to make real the formal equality given by the constitution.

A field study was conducted across five districts of Jharkhand in order to study the nature of political participation of elected women representatives in local bodies of the state. Five districts covered during the field study were Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Gumla, Lohardaga and Khunti. Representatives of the local bodies both in rural and urban area of these five districts were interviewed during the field study. Separate analysis is done for the rural and urban local bodies, although the interview schedule was same for studying both rural and urban area.

Analysis of the Rural Elected Representatives

A million women have been elected at the village, block and district levels, following the landmark 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India (1992), reserving 33 percent of the seats in *Panchayati Raj* Institutions for women. The process of decentralization has provided representation but representation does not necessarily lead to participation. Women still face a number of challenges for their engagement in political spaces such as inadequate education, lack of financial independence, burden of productive and reproductive roles and opposition stemming from entrenched patriarchal views.

Jharkhand Panchayat Raj Act, 2001 is an Act to provide regulating provisions for the establishment of Panchayat Raj in State of Jharkhand. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Jharkhand in the fifty second year of the Republic of India. Three tier Panchayat Raj Rule under section (11), a Panchayat Raj Rule has been established by setting up Panchayat at three levels. With the establishment of an important foundational unit of Gram Panchayat under the Panchayat Raj system as per law and with the establishment of Gram Sabha comprising the area thereof, co-operation of the specified village in its administrative and developmental work has been assured under the Panchayat Raj system, and Gram Panchayats have been connected with a Panchayat Samiti, and Panchayat Samities with a Zila Parishad. But, they have independent entity and separate statutory bodies, and have different functions.

Section 17 of the Act deals with the Reservation of seats in the gram Panchayat - (A) For members of the Gram Panchayat provisions are as follows:

1. In every Gram Panchayat seats shall be reserved for (a) Scheduled Castes and (b) Scheduled Tribes, the number of seats so reserved shall bear as nearly as may be the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled up by direct election in that Gram Panchayat as the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the said Gram Panchayat area bears to the total population of that area, and such seats shall be allotted by rotation in the prescribed manner to different territorial constituencies (wards) in the Panchayat by the State Election Commission.
2. In case of the overall reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes being less than 50 percent of the total number of members in a Gram Panchayat, the reservation falling short of 50 percent shall be made for other Backward Classes in proportion to their population provided that overall reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes shall not exceed 50 percent of the total number of posts.
3. In every Gram Panchayat, out of the seats reserved for Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, 3[not less than fifty percent] seats shall be reserved for women belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, as the case may be.

4. In every Gram Panchayat, out of the total number of seats to be filled up by direct election, at 3[not less than fifty percent] seats (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes) shall be kept reserved for women and such seats shall be dully allotted by rotation by the State Election Commission.

5. Such territorial constituencies (wards) having no population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or other Backward Classes, shall, as the case may be, excluded from allotment of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes 2[in the prescribed manner.

During the Field study Mukhiyas of Gram Panchayat were interviewed from five districts of Jharkhand. From each district, two Blocks were selected randomly and women Mukhiyas of ten Blocks across five districts of the state were approached to conduct the study. Total eighty two women Mukhiyas across five districts were interviewed for the purpose of data collection and analysis.

Field Report

Table 4.1: Age Group of Mukhiyas

Age	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
25-30	1	1	0	0	1	3	3.6
30-35	2	3	5	5	3	18	21.9
35-40	10	3	3	9	6	31	37.8
40 and above	4	10	7	4	5	30	36.5
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your age madam? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Age is an important variable in the study conducted on women Mukhiyas, it can be seen that women join politics at a later age. Women above forty form 36.5% of the Mukhiyas interviewed, were as those who fall within the 35-40 age group form 37.8% of the Mukhiyas. Women from the age group 25-30 form only 3.6% of the total respondents. It is clear that rural women prefer to engage themselves in domestic work and child care till they are thirty. One must understand that looking after the children is primarily considered to be a women's responsibility in Indian society, making it difficult for

women to enter politics at a young age. In a rural society too much involvement of young women in public life might lead wrong notions about their character. Thus women after the thirty five are not considered to be young in a rural society as most of them get married at a young age and don't have very small children once they are in their late 30s or 40s.

It was found during the field visit that Mukhiyas who had very small children, although educated had no idea about their work. Most of the work was done by their husbands or other male relatives. One such Mukhiya was Megha Tirkey, the Mukhiya of the village Senha, part of the Senha block of the Lohardaga district. Megha was a young women with masters in history and worked as a teacher in a private school. Before she contested for the post, her husband was the mukhiya. She was asked to stand in the election as the seat was reserved for a women. Megha had no idea about the work she is supposed to do and the entire work was done by her husband. Talking to the locals of the village it was discovered that Megha's husband is very powerful in the village and Megha was merely a rubber stamp, having no connection with public life.

Table 4.2: Marital Status of Mukhiyas

Marital Status	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Married	17	17	15	18	15	82	100
Unmarried	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you married madam? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the Table 4.2 one can see that all the Mukhiyas interviewed in the five districts are married. It must be remembered that marriage as institution gives social acceptance and respect in India, it is indeed hard to find unmarried women in a rural society after a certain age. Post-marriage women find themselves in a safe and secure position with higher degree of stability in life. This sense of security and stability leads to greater involvement in public life. Too much involvement of an unmarried women in public life, which would definitely include meeting other men is not highly appreciated in a rural society. Marriage definitely leads to more respect and acceptance among the common people, increasing the chances of success in political career.

Table 4.3: Educational qualification of Mukhiyas

Level of Education	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Pre-primary	0	0	1	0	1	2	2.4
Primary-VIII	0	5	0	0	1	6	7.1
VIII-X	7	6	9	3	8	33	40.2
XII	3	4	3	6	2	18	21.9
Graduate	6	2	2	7	2	19	23.1
Masters	0	0	0	2	1	3	3.6
Ph.D.	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your educational qualification I madam? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the Table 4.3 it is clear that it is almost all the women Mukhiyas were literate in the five districts covered during the field visit. Only 2.4% of the Mukhiyas did not have primary education. Two women, one from Gumala district and one from Lohardaga district were identified during the field visit, who did not have primary education. However with personal interview it was clear that the two women were literate and were helped by the locals in the discharge of their duties. About 7.1% of Mukhiyas were non-matric in the five districts covered. Most of the Mukhiyas who were non-matric belonged to the Hazaribagh district. The Hazaribagh district has a very low percentage of Tribal population, hence it must be kept in mind that most of the Mukhiyas interviewed in the district were non-tribal women.

It was a good sign to see that about 40% of the Mukhiyas had completed their matriculation, while 21.9% had completed their Higher Secondary education. About of 23% of the Mukhiyas being graduate in the state is a very positive sign and signifies that women with Higher Education are present at the grass-root level institutions in the state. It is always expected that more women with higher education are in a better position to understand the problems faced by people and women in particular at the grass-root level. Three Mukhiyas had completed their master's degree and one of them from Ranchi district had completed her Doctorate. One need not be very highly educated in order to discharge their duties as a Mukhiya, but it is always expected that women who have at least completed their school education are more efficient, and in a better position to discharge their official responsibilities. Khunti district had 83% of women Mukhiyas with Higher Secondary degree, being the highest among all the five districts.

Table 4.4: Profession followed by Mukhiyas

Working/N on-Working	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Working	2	1	10	10	11	34	41.4
Non-Working	15	16	5	8	4	48	58.6
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a working women madam? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.5: Nature of occupation

Nature of work	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Formal Sector	1	1	1	6	1	10	29.4
Non-formal Sector	1	0	9	4	10	24	70.6
Total	2	1	10	10	11	34	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Where do you work madam? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 4.4 it is clear that about 41.4% of the respondents interviewed in the rural area were working women. However ratio of non-working women is higher being 58.6% in the rural area. Among the working women one can clearly see that majority of them are working in the non-formal sector with only 29% of them working in the formal sector. Maximum women working in the non-formal sector were from the Gumla and Lohardaga district. During the field visit it was found that many Mukhiyas worked as Rejas prior to contesting elections. Many Mukhiyas also told that they use to sell Haria in the local haat. However Khunti had maximum Mukhiyas who worked in the formal sector among all the five districts covered. It can be assumed that women who are working shall perform their duties efficiently as compared to the ones who are not working. Having some experience of public life shall help them discharge their duties in a more responsible manner. It Is very difficult for a homemaker to come out of their housed for the first time and perform their duties. This lack of experience is a reason for their dependence on male relatives.

Table 4.6: Involvement of Male Family Members in Politics

Do you have any family member active in politics? (Male)	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	6	7	7	5	2	27	32.9
No	11	10	8	13	13	55	67.1
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you have any male family member involved in active politics? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.7: Male Relative Involved in Active Politics

Male relatives in politics	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Husband	3	7	6	3	2	21	77.7
Father	1	0	1	0	0	2	7.4
Father-in-law	2	0	0	2	0	4	14.8
Total	6	7	7	5	2	27	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Which of your male relative is involved in active politics? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is always believed that most women in politics are from families with political connections. However from the field study covering rural belt of five districts it was found that only 32.9% of the respondents have male relatives in active politics. It can be seen that 67.1% of the women had no male relatives in politics. This clearly shows women in the rural area did not depend upon the political identity of their relatives to come out and join politics. It is a positive sign to see that Panchayat Raj Institution has given an opportunity for rural women to come out and be a part of grass-root administration. These women did not belong to any politically influential families. Most of them had built their own identity in the local area through their own work.. However it was found that respondents who had male relatives in politics, mostly husbands, were elected due to their family reputation.

Table 4.8: Female Relative in Active Politics

Do you have any family member active in politics? (Female)	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.2
No	17	17	15	17	15	81	98.8
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you have any female relative involved in active politics? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the above table it is clear that only one respondent had a female member from the family who is active in politics. It gives us a clear idea that new generation of rural women has taken the Panchayat Raj Institution as an opportunity to enter active politics. Most of them as it is evident from the table are first women in their respective families to join active politics. This to some extent has altered the rural social structure, bringing more and more into public life.

Table 4.9: Previous Nature of Participation in Politics

Nature of political participation before being elected.	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Only as a voter	14	16	11	15	14	70	85.3
Member of a political party	3	1	4	3	0	11	13.4
Holding a post in a political party	0	0	1	1	0	2	2.4
Attending regular campaigns and rallies organized by political parties	0	0	2	1	1	4	4.8
Active participation in any socio-political movements	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political apathy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What was your nature of participation in politics before becoming a Mukhiya? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 4.9 it is clear that about 85% of the respondents participated in the political process only as a voter. It can be seen that only 13.4% of the respondents were registered members of any political party. About 4.8% attended political campaigns and rallies organized by political parties. Only 2.4% of the women Mukhiyas held any post in the political parties prior to being elected and none of them were involved in any socio-political movements. This gives us an idea that most of the political parties did not reach out to these rural women for their membership. Low rate of participation in election rallies signifies poor exposure to political agendas and a tendency to avoid public space by women in the rural area. One thing must be kept in mind that Panchayat elections in Jharkhand do not take place under the banner of the political parties. Hence too much involvement with political parties cannot be expected from the candidates as well as elected representatives.

Table 4.10: Number of Times Elected for the Same Post

No. of times elected for the present post	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Once	11	14	10	10	12	57	69.5
Twice	4	3	5	8	3	23	28.1
Thrice	2	0	0	0	0	2	2.4
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How many times you are elected for the same post? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Many Mukhiyas have become popular in their respective villages, creating an identity for themselves through their own work as elected representatives. About 69.5% of Mukhiyas were elected only once to their respective posts, which was also the first time for most of them. What is worth noticing that about 28.1% of the Mukhiyas were elected for their second term. Some of them said that they were elected from the general seat that was de-reserved the second time they were elected. Although only two respondents were elected for the third time, it is an indication that Mukhiyas are able to leave a mark of the work being done by them. With majority of them being the first women in the family to join politics, might encourage other women in their families to join active politics.

Table 4.11: Participation in Non-Governmental Organizations

Are you a part of any non-government organization working for women	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	6	2	5	5	3	21	25.6
No	11	15	10	13	12	61	74.4
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you work with any NGO that work for women? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is always expected that as women, Mukhiyas would work for women empowerment in the village. They are expected to work with different organizations, working for social emancipation of women in the rural areas. From the above table it is clear that only 25.6% of the Mukhiyas are associated with Non-Governmental Organizations working for women. Although 74.4% denied any kind of involvement with NGOs, most of them had their own Mahila Samiti, Mahila Mandala, Mahila Samuh and Self Help Groups operational at the community level.

Table 4.12: Support During the Election Campaign

Who supported you during the election campaign	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Male members of the family	13	16	12	9	6	56	68.2
Female members of the family	0	0	1	1	0	2	2.4
People of the locality	10	4	6	8	11	39	47.5
Members of any political party	1	0	2	3	0	6	7.3
Members of any social organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Did not receive any help	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who supported you during the election campaigns? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is impossible to contest elections without the support of the family and the community. Family support can give us strength, while community support is a sign of acceptance and popularity of any candidate. From the table it is found that 68.2% of the candidates contested election with the support from their male relatives. One must understand that it is quite impossible for women in a village to contest elections without being supported by men in the family. Mobility is a major issue in rural area along with physical security, hence women depend on men in order to go to different places. Women are mostly unaware of the local navigation and unavailability of public transport increase their dependence on the male members of the family. Experience during the field visit it was found that maximum women from the Hazaribagh district were primarily supported by their male relatives during the campaign with very few of them being supported by the local people. This shows poor involvement as well as popularity of Mukhiyas at the community level in the district.

As compared to men only 2.4% of women in the family supported the Mukhiyas during the campaign. This shows that women in rural area do not come out in public. It is indeed very important for elected Mukhiyas to bring more women into public life and support each other.

47.5% of the respondents were supported by the people of the locality. This is indeed a very good sign as it shows us how women are accepted by the society for leadership roles at grass root level. It is important for the community to identify potential leaders and promote them. Panchayat elections in Jharkhand are not under the party banner directly, hence only 7.3 % of the Mukhiyas claimed of having party support during the campaign. Any kind of support from political parties is merely due to personal relation of a candidate with the party member and did not have much impact on the popularity of a particular candidate.

Table 4.13: Inspiration Behind Joining Politics

What inspired you to join politics	No of Women (Ranchi)	No of Women (Hazaribagh)	No of Women (Gumla)	No of Women (Khunti)	No of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Family Support	1	0	8	9	5	23	28
Reservation of Seats for Women	9	15	4	0	4	32	39
Any Political Leader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over all Condition of Women in the Country	2	0	1	0	1	4	4.8
Political Circumstances Within the Country	3	2	0	1	0	6	7.3
Wanted to Work for the Development of the Village/Locality	1	2	4	8	8	23	28
Social Work	3	0	0	0	0	3	3.6
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What inspired you to join active politics? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women in rural area mostly stay away from public life. It is indeed a task to motivate them and encourage them for such leadership roles in the community. As per the table about 28% of the Mukhiyas said that they were inspired by their family members to join politics. Although the personage is not that high, but it is important that at least families are encouraging women to join politics in the rural areas. Without family support it is impossible for rural women to start a political career.

It is a fact that reservation of seats for women in the Panchayat Raj Institutions played a major role in bringing rural women into grass root politics. About 39% of women accepted that they were inspired by the reservation policy to come into politics. Most of them said it is an opportunity given to them by the government and they wanted to make best use of it. They found it easier to compete with women rather than men. From the table one can clearly understand that women in Hazaribgh district contested elections only because the seats were reserved. With only two of them inspired to work for the

development of the village, it is well understood that most of them just officially contested the elections and major work was done by someone else on behalf of them.

Only 4.8% of women said they joined politics seeing the overall condition of women in the country. This clearly gives us an idea that only few women entered politics thinking they would do something for other women in the society. As women, Mukhiyas are expected to understand problems faced by women in their day to day lives better than men. About 28% of the women were however inspired to work for the development of their village. A few respondents i.e. 3% are inspired to work for the society, while 7.3% of them wanted to change the existing political circumstances within the country. If one is willing to bring about a change in the existing political circumstances within the country, it shows their dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs.

Table 4.14: Participation in Committees at the Administrative level

Are you a part of any committee at the administrative level	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	8	3	5	5	1	22	26.8
No	9	14	10	13	14	60	73.2
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a part of any committee at the administrative level? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is not only important for women to get elected as Mukhiyas, but their involvement in the decision making process is also very vital. From the above table it can be seen that only 26.8% of the Mukhiyas are a member of the administrative committees at the block level in the rural area. More than 70% of them are not a part of the decision making process at the block level. It is important to give women more space within the decision making structure. One can say that women at the Panchayat level are mostly involved in the process of implementing policies, rather than being actively involved in the formulation of such policies.

Table 4.15: Frequency of Attending Meetings with other Mukhiyas in the Area

How Often do You Meet Other Mukhiyas/Councillors in Your Block /Village	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Once a Week	0	0	2	0	1	3	3.6
Twice in a Month	2	1	1	0	0	4	4.8
Once in a Month	15	13	11	18	12	69	84
Once in Two-Three Months	0	3	1	0	0	4	4.8
Once or Twice a Year	0	0	0	0	2	2	2.4
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How often do you meet other Mukhiya in your block/village? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

All the Mukhiyas in a particular Block are very well connected to each other. From the field study it was clear that they meet each other usually during the meetings at the Block level. About 84% of the Mukhiyas said they meet each other during the Block meetings, held once in a month. Mukhiyas who met each other usually in two-three months or even more, did not attend the Block meetings regularly and had no proper idea related to their work.

Table 4.16: Level of Independence While Performing the Duties

Are you accompanied by any male members while discharging your duties as an elected representative	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	3	13	6	0	5	27	31.7
No	14	4	9	18	10	45	68.3
Total	17	17	15	100	15	82	82

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are You Accompanied by any Male Members While Discharging Your Duties as an Elected Representatives? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women empowerment through reservation is only possible if elected women perform their duties independently. From the table we can find that about 68% of Mukhiyas are not accompanied by any one while they go out to discharge their duties. From the field study it was found that most women Mukhiyas from the Torpa Block of the Khunti district had their own scooters. They usually used their own scooters to go to different, without depending on anyone. If women are accompanied by someone during their official work, their chances of learning and delivering for the community gets reduced.

It was found that about 31.7% of women depended on male relatives to go to different places and perform their regular duties. About 76.5% of women Mukhiyas in the Hazaribagh district were accompanied by their husbands during their official work. Most of them were completely dependent on their husbands to perform their duties as a Mukhiyas. They could not independently perform their duties, poor knowledge of official work done by a Mukhiya.

Table 4.17: Frequency of Meeting Other Women in the Area

How often do you meet local women in your ward/village	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Daily	11	4	3	13	7	38	46.3
Once in a Week	4	13	11	5	5	38	46.3
Twice in a Month	2	0	0	0	3	5	6
Once in a Month	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.2
Once in two-three Months	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Once or Twice a Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How Often do you meet local women in your village? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

During the field trip many Mukhiyas accepted the fact that it was much easier for local women to come and share their problems with them. They said it was comfortable for them to reach out each other women, enter the house and talk to them comfortably. Meeting each other quite often and help the Mukhiyas closely understand the day to day problems faced by women. About 46.3% of the Mukhiyas meet their local women on

daily basis and another 46.3% met once in a week. Women who meet other women daily actually went out for field visit on daily basis or had a personal office where people can directly come and approach them. Mukhiyas who meet other women once in a week, usually had meetings of Mahila Samitis on Sunday or the Self Help Groups in the locality. About 6% meet local women twice in a month and 1.2% once in a month. If a Mukhiya is unable to meet other local women at least once in a week it would be impossible for them to understand their problems and solve them. Since they are working at the grass root level one to one contact on regular basis is an absolute necessity to perform their duties.

Table 4.18: Level of Domination in Debates and Discussions at the Administrative level

Who dominates or initiates various debates and discussions in various meetings at the administrative level	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Male	0	5	0	0	0	5	6
Female	17	12	15	18	15	77	94
Both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who Dominates or Initiates Various Debates and Discussions in Various Meetings at the Administrative Level? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

About 94% of respondents said that women dominated most of the debates and discussions during the meetings at the Block level. They said that as women are in huge numbers, they initiate discussion on number of issues during the meetings. However it would be important to what kind of issues are raised by women during the meetings. Mere discussion cannot help, it is important to know much their words are taken seriously by the higher authorities.

Table 4.19: Interest of Women in Initiating Debates and Discussions on Various Issues Related to Women

Who initiates various debates and discussions on issues directly related to women	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	17	17	15	18	15	82	100
Total	17	17	15	18	15	81	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who Initiates Various Debates and Discussions on issues related to women in Various Meetings at the Administrative Level? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the above table it is clear that only women Mukhiyas raised issues related to women during different meetings. it is indeed shocking to see that men hardly talk about women issues in public meetings. Women often said” Aurto ke problems ke bare me admi log kyo baat karege, hum aurate hi apni problem ke bare me bolte hai”. It was understood that it was not even expected of men to speak on issues related to women. This was always and is treated as something normal in rural area.

Table 4.20: Different Aspects of Women’s Life Mukhiyas deal with

Different aspects of women’s life that elected representatives deal with	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Education	3	2	2	4	5	16	19.5
Social Security	10	2	5	9	2	28	34.1
Physical Security	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.2
Economic Security	14	5	11	13	6	49	59.7
Liquor	3	0	0	0	0	3	3.6
Health	3	0	2	5	0	10	12.1
Witch Craft	0	0	0	4	0	4	4.8
Domestic Violence	0	2	2	0	0	4	4.8
Differently abled persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Did Not Have Any Idea About Issues Related to Women	3	9	2	0	5	19	23.1
Did Not Have Any Idea About Their Work	1	7	0	0	3	11	13.4
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What are the different aspects of a women’s life you deal with? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

The above table is based on a discussion with the Mukhiyas on the kind of work they are doing. They were asked how they are trying to help local women after being elected to the post they hold right now. It was found that about 59.7% of the Mukhiyas are working to make towards making women economically independent. Most of them have Self Help Groups through which training programs are conducted. These training programs are conducted to encourage women to be engaged in skill based jobs or self-employment.

About 34.1% of the Mukhiyas agreed they work for the social security of women. The ratio is very less considering the availability of social security schemes like widow pension, old age pension, insurance and other social security schemes. Implementation of these schemes do not require much efforts or leadership qualities from a Mukhiya. Implementations of these schemes are almost a part of routine task of the Mukhiyas. However it is their duty to popularize the schemes among those who are uneducated and have limited access to any kind of information. It can be seen that there is a lack of will to popularize these schemes among the rural women by the Mukhiyas.

About 19.5% of the Mukhiyas were working on education and merely 12.1% of them were working on health related issues. The ratio is pretty disappointing considering the fact that illiteracy is a major issue in rural India and especially among women. We all know that basic awareness related to health related matters is pretty low in the rural area. Health and education being basic issues deserve more attention at the grass root level.

From the field study it was found that only four Mukhiyas in the Khunti district were involved in spreading awareness on issues related to witch craft. Witch Craft has been a major issue leading to violence against women in rural India. As seen from the table domestic violence and physical security are definitely not in the priority list of the Mukhiyas, which definitely needs to be put up high in the agenda.

It was disappointing to see that about 23.1% of the Mukhiyas did not have any idea about any women related issues in their area. They believed that women in general do not have any problem in their area. It only reflects that some Mukhiyas are not aware about problems faced by women in their area. About 13.4% of the Mukhiyas did not have any idea about their work. They either did not perform their duties or entire work was done by their husbands. Maximum Mukhiyas with no idea about women related issues or about the entire work to be done by them were from the Hazaribagh district.

Table 4.21: Pattern of Response

Pattern of Responding	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Completely Themselves	17	12	15	17	11	72	87.8
Prompted by Male Relatives	0	3	0	1	2	6	7.3
Answered by Male Relatives on Behalf of Them	0	2	0	0	2	4	4.9
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher and pattern recorded based on the response personally observed by the researcher. The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

During the field study it was found that a lot of Mukhiyas were unable to answer the questions that were asked, although 87.8% of the Mukhiyas responded independently. About 7.3% of them were prompted during the interview by their husbands and in 4.9% cases women were hardly able to respond and questioned were mainly answered by their husbands. However their ratio was quite less in number compared to the ones who actively responded.

Table 4.22: Future Plans of Contesting Elections

Do you want to contest elections in future	No of Respondent (Ranchi)	No of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No of Respondent (Gumla)	No of Respondent (Khunti)	No of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	13	6	14	18	10	61	74
No	4	11	1	0	5	21	26
Total	17	17	15	18	15	82	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you want to contest elections in future? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.23: Post Desired by Mukhiyas

Which post would you like to aim in future	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Same Post	13	5	11	18	8	56	91.8
MLA	0	1	1	0	2	4	6.5
Mayor/Chairperson	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.6
Deputy Mayor/Wise Chairperson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	6	14	18	10	61	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: For which post would you like to contest elections in future? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.24: Reasons for Lack of Further Interest in Politics

Why are you not interested in contesting elections in future	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Would Like to Look After the Family	0	1	0	0	1	2	9.5
De-reservation of Seats	4	10	1	0	4	19	90.5
Did Not Like Politics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Faced Gender Discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lack of Financial Resources	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Why are you not interested in contesting elections in future? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is not just important for women to enter politics, but what is important is their ability to continue their involvement for a longer period. About 74% of the respondents expressed their willingness to continue with their political career. Among women who wanted to continue their involvement in politics, 91.8% wanted to contest for the same post in future. This shows that they are satisfied with the power and responsibilities given to them and would like to continue with the same for a longer period. About 6.5% of the Mukhiyas wanted to contest for the Legislative Assembly seat while only one woman wanted to be the Chairperson in the Block. Women aiming higher posts reveal the fact that they are gradually becoming ambitious in politics, although the ratio is very low right now.

About 26% of the respondents did not want to continue with their political career. Among them about 90.5% said that they would not contest elections once their seats are de-reserved. Most of them accepted that their husbands or other male relatives would contest election on the same seat after getting de-reserved in the next election. Only 9.5% of them wanted to take care of their families, hence wanted to discontinue with politics. Looking after the family is considered to be the basic responsibility of a woman in India. It is even

more difficult for rural women to give up their family responsibilities and be a part of active politics.

Findings from the field study

Field study was an eye opener as it changed all wrong notions about rural women. Mukhiyas in the villages were not that educated, but were quite aware about their responsibilities. Most of them had made Toilets for people in their village along with houses under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna. Most of the Mukhiyas had engaged their local women in some or the other training programs depending on the nature of business done in their respective districts. Most of the Mukhiyas were more independent and self-confident as compared to women Councilors in town.

Mani Oraon is the Mukhiya of the Turimba Village from Bharno Block of the Gumla district. Mani has been the Mukhiya since the year 2010 for two consecutive terms. Her husband is a retired army man. She is the head of the Mukhiya Sangha in the Block. She along with her husband had initiated Shanti Sena in the village. They had through their efforts had taken away guns from the young men and given books in their hand. The couple had played a major role in bringing back young boys in the village from the hands of the Naxalites in the region. They tried to bring a revolution in the village through education. She has worked really hard to bring peace and development in her village. She is associated with the Kaushal Vikas Yojna and conducts training programs for women through the Mahila Samuh in her village.

Shanti Kumari Munda is the Mukhiya of Nevri Vikas Village from Kanke Block of Ranchi district. Shanti had done her master degree in sociology and was elected for the first time in the year 2015. Shanti aims to make her Panchayat a model Panchayat in the entire Block. She runs her Mahila Samiti, through which she provides training for self-employment and provides loan facilities to women to start their own business. She started an active movement against liquor shops in the village. Liquor was the root cause of all the major problems faced by women in the village including domestic violence she said. She said people could engage in other business other than selling liquor, which was broken so many families in the village.

Anju Kujur was the Mukhiya of Bardam village of the Namkom Block of Ranchi district. Anju was a Mukhiya since the year 2005. She aimed at stopping domestic violence in the

village. She initiated Kaushal Vikas Yojna in her village. She has started stitching classes and mushroom cultivation in the village in order to make women self-dependent. She is a member Of the Adivasi Jankalyan Samiti and started Alp Aahar Bhojan for children below five years of age along with two teachers to educate them. She has organized Samuhik Vivah for girls of underprivileged section of the society. She runs evening classes for women in order to make them literate. She has initiated and founded Awasiya Kasturiya Vidyalaya for children of the underprivileged section. She is running the school successfully with the help of government funding and donation. Most inspiring fact about her was that she had an ambulance stationed outside her house to help the locals in times of emergency.

Sushma Devi is the Mukhiya of Kuru Navatoli village of Kuru Block of Lohardaga district. She was a labour in the brick factory before becoming the Mukhiya in the year 2015. She runs her Mahila Mukti Mandal in the village. She has given training to local women on cattle rearing and poultry farming, making a large number of women economically independent in the village. She is a National Level Award winner for cow and cattle rearing herself. She is an icon in the entire district and she is still inspiring other women to area to have their own dairy firm and sell milk products. She has been praised by the National Dairy Development Board. She has also started training for mushroom cultivation in her village. She is a tribal lady who won the election from a tribal seat, but not reserved for women. She along with her husband takes care of cows in her firm. Many people in the village said that she is a real hero and a true inspiration for many other women.

Lalita Oraon is another Mukhiya of Udumudu Village of Kuru Block of Lohardaga district, who was a Reja working during the construction of Block office in the Block. Lalita lost her husband at a very young age and had to struggle a lot to reach this position. She is the Mukhiya since the year 2010, elected twice for the same post. She is an inspiration for women with no family support and financial resources. Lalita runs a lot of training programs for women in the village and working hard to fight with the problems related with liquor in the village.

Sumanti Devi is the Mukhiya of Bududihi village of the Khunti District. Sumanti is very active among other women in the village. She has initiated a lot of training programs for women in the village which includes stitching, poultry farming, mushroom cultivation

and goat rearing. Sisir Toppa , Mukhiya of Diyakel village of Khunti district is an independent lady and an inspiration for many young women like her. She has helped a lot of women in her village to engage in horticulture and production of pickles and Horlicks. Mango cultivation is also done by women in her village in the season. Pig farming and goat rearing is also being done by a lot of women in her village.

Sofia Sultana, Deputy Chairperson of the Torpa Block of Khunti district is an inspiration for many women in the district. Sofia is basically a teacher by profession, completed her master degree in English from Ranchi University. Originally from Ranchi, she is a true example as how a educated women bring a revolution, if they desire to do so. She has started a Mahila Vikas Kendra to impart education to adult women in the Block. She herself visits local schools regularly to keep a watch on their performances. She has initiated installation of solar lights in her Block. She closely monitors functioning of local Health services in the Block. Sofia shared an incident how she had rescued a young girl of thirteen years from her father. The girl had lost her mother and was sexually exploited by her father once he returned home after consuming alcohol. Sofia had personally rescued her twice and now finally the girl is sent to a Home, from where she can continue her further studies. She has also rescued a lot of women their husbands who were victims of domestic violence. Sofia believes that if contacted personally a lot of women will come up with such problems. All that women representatives can do is be more easily accusable and approachable to local women.

Analysis of Urban Elected Representatives

The 74th Amendment was passed to enable the Municipalities to function as institutions of self-government in the country. The 74th Amendment envisaged that functions, funds and functionaries should be transferred to municipalities so as to make them units of self-government. That is the essence of the Amendment. State governments need to amend their municipal laws to make that happen. Moreover an attitudinal change is called for in the state governments to look at an urban local body as means to strengthen governance in their state and not as their adversary. The report of the National Committee to Review the Working of the Constitution suggested the following reforms in the Municipal laws:

- 1.The term of the Mayors/Chairpersons should be co-terminus with the term of the municipality. Provision for this should be made in the Constitution itself.

2. The procedure for removal of Mayor/Chairperson through motion of no confidence should be uniform. Here again, a provision should be made in the Constitution requiring majority of the House and two-thirds majority of those present and voting.
3. Articles 243D and 243T contain identical provisions so far as reservation of seats in panchayats and municipalities for SC/STs and women are concerned. However there are some ambiguities about the rotation of such reserved seats. The Constitutional provisions do not specify the frequency of rotation. To remove ambiguities, articles 243D and 243T should be suitably amended to provide for rotation and allow changes only at the time of delimitation and not in between.
4. Wards Committees should be mandatory for each of the ward in all Municipal Corporations with a population of three lakhs or more, to comprise of persons chosen by direct election from the territorial area of the Ward. The Chairman of the Committee should be the Councillor elected from the Ward.
5. The State laws may determine the number of persons to be so elected but there should be parity within the city in the ratio between that number and population of a ward.
6. State laws may also enable Wards Committees to co-opt such residents of a ward who are knowledgeable and can assist the work of the Committee.
7. In all Corporations with a population of six lakhs and more Zonal Committees at a level between the Wards Committees and the Corporation Council should be formed. State laws may determine the number and area of such Zonal Committees. The Councilors of all the municipal wards represented in that area shall be members.
8. State laws may determine the manner in which elections to the Ward and Zonal Committees are to be held, their functions and responsibilities and the allocation of funds to carry out the same.
9. The 12th Schedule should not be illustrative only, but should be mandatory. It should be on par with the lists in the Seventh Schedule in status and in the exercise of Legislative and Executive powers, which should be co-extensive with the subject, listed in the Schedule.

10. The laws should also provide for the transfer to the Municipalities of organisations, funds and staff who were previously responsible for discharging the functions being assigned. The local bodies should have full control over its staff including those transferred to them. Functions, functionaries and funds should go together.

11. The concept of a distinct and separate tax domain for municipalities should be recognized. This concept should be reflected in a list of taxes and should form part of the common schedule of functions and responsibilities for local bodies or in the event it is decided to continue with the 11th and 12th Schedules as separate, the tax domain should figure in the relevant schedule.

Jharkhand Municipal Act, 2001 is an Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the Municipal Governments in the State of Jharkhand in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of India as amended by the Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992, based on the principles of participation in, and decentralization, autonomy and accountability of, urban self-government at various levels, to introduce reforms in financial management and accounting systems, internal resource generation capacity and organizational design of municipalities, to ensure professionalization of the municipal personnel, and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto. It gives various definitions, criteria of declaration of a municipal area, manner of declarations, constitution of different committee and councils etc.(Gangwar, June 2018, p. 7405)

During the Field study Ward Councilors and Chairpersons of Five Urban Local Bodies were intervened. Elected representatives of Ranchi Municipal Corporation, Hazaribagh Municipal Corporation, Gumla Nagar Parishad, Lohardaga Nagar Parishad and Khnuti Nagar Panchayat were interviewed. Total seventy seven Councilors from these five districts were approached during the field study. Present and former Mayor of Ranchi Municipal Corporation, Deputy Chairperson of Khunti Nagar Panchayat and Chairperson of Lohardaga Nagar Parishad gave their valuable time and feedback for the purpose of analysis of the study conducted.

Field Report

Table 4.25: Age Group of Councilors

Age	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
25-30	2	1	1	1	1	6	7.8
30-35	1	2	0	2	1	6	7.8
35-40	5	3	3	6	5	22	28.5
40 and above	13	12	9	3	6	43	55.8
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your age madam? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Age is an important factor impacting political participation of women in urban area, it can be seen that very few women join politics at a very young age. Women above forty form 55.8% of the Councilors interviewed were those who fall within the 35-40 age group form 28.5% of the Councilors. Women from the age group 25-30 form only 7.8% of the total respondents were as age group 30-35 also form 7.8% of the total respondents. It is clear that women in urban area as well prefer to engage themselves in domestic work and child care till they are at least thirty five. One can see that about 84% of the women Councilors are above 35 years.

Young women in urban area have a lot of things to get involved in, besides looking after the family. Joining politics is definitely not in their list. Being a Councilor might not be a matter of status symbol for young women in urban area. It is also true that a sense of responsibility along with the notion of being matured comes at a later age in a urban society. At a young age women in cities would rather prefer to engage themselves in other recreational activities than joining politics. One must also understand that cities provide us with wider career options, politics might not be one of a favorites option for young women.

Table 4.26: Educational qualification of Councilors

Level of Education	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Pre-primary	0	0	0	0	1	1	1.3
Primary-VIII	0	3	0	0	1	4	5.2
VIII-X	4	9	4	0	5	22	28.5
XII	4	2	6	6	2	20	26
Graduate	9	2	3	6	4	24	31.1
Masters	3	1	0	0	0	4	5.2
Ph.D.	1	1	0	0	0	2	2.6
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your educational qualification madam? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the Table it is clear that it is almost all the women Councilors were literate in the five districts covered during the field visit. Only one Councilor did not have primary education. About 5.2% of Councilors were non-matric in the five districts covered. About 28.5% of the Councilors had completed their matriculation, while 26% had completed their Higher Secondary education. About of 31.1%% of the Councilors are graduate. This is mainly due availability of more centers for higher education in an urban area. It is always expected that more women with higher education are in a better position to understand the problems faced by people and women in particular in their respective areas. 5.2% Councilors had completed their master degree, while during the field study it was found that two Councilors, each from Ranchi and Hazaribag had completed their Ph.D.

Most of the Councilors who were non-matric belonged to the Hazaribagh district. The Hazaribagh district also has a very low percentage of women Councilors who were Higher Secondary. Ratio of graduates was highest from the Ranchi district. Total 93.5% of the Councilors had passed their matriculation, including ones with higher degree as well. Women without matriculation might not be accepted in a urban society as their Councilor. People are more educated in a urban area and would definitely expect their representatives to have basic educational degree in order to perform their duties.

Table 4.27: Marital Status of Councilors

Marital Status	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Married	21	18	13	12	13	77	100
Unmarried	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you married madam? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the Table one can see that all the Councilors interviewed in the five districts are married. We saw that about 84.4% of the Councilors are above thirty five years of age in the urban area. It is always expected that most women shall be married by this age in an Indian society. Marital status do have a strong effect upon the chances of winning an election in India. During the field visit it was found that most of the women Councilors were addressed as Bhabhiji instead of Madam. Councilors being addressed as Bhabhiji not only signifies respect, but also informal relation with the people of the locality. However any kind of informal conversation with an unmarried women might not be acceptable to all in the society. One must understand that married women are more respected and taken seriously in our society than those who are unmarried, as married women are thought to be more matured and responsible towards their duties.

Table 4.28: Profession followed by Councilors

Working/Non-Working	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Working	5	1	3	3	0	12	15.6
Non-Working	16	17	10	9	13	66	84.4
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a working women madam? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.29: Nature of occupation

Working	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Formal Sector	5	1	3	3	0	12	100
Non-formal Sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	1	3	3	0	12	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Where do you work madam? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table it can be seen that only 15.6% of the Councilors are working women. Majority of them are non-working i.e. 84.4% of the respondents. We can see that all the working women are a part of the Formal sector. The fact that none of the Councilors are a part of the non-formal sector gives us an idea that they do not belong to the poorest section of the society. Basic education as well as money is required to contest election in cities and town.

One must understand that politics might not be an attractive career for working women in cities and town, with proper pay scale, stable career and long working hours women it is not easy to take out time for active politics. However ratio of non-working women being high among the Councilors do indicate that women Councilors have less experience of public life, making them dependent on other family members for their day to day work as Councilors.

Table 4.30: Involvement of Male Family Members in Politics

Do you have any family member active in politics? (male)	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total%
Yes	13	11	4	9	6	43	55.8
No	8	7	9	3	7	34	44.2
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you have any male family member involved in active politics? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.31: Male Relative Involved in Active Politics

Male relatives in politics	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Husband	12	9	4	9	6	40	93
Father	1	2	4	0	0	7	16.2
Father-in-law	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	11	4	9	6	43	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Which of your male relative is involved in active politics? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table it is evident that more than half of the Councilors interviewed i.e. about 55.8% of them have male members in the family, who are active in politics. About 44.2% of them did not have the advantage of having a family member active in politics. Councilors who belong to families with political background are unable to make a separate identity for themselves. They are mostly identified as wife or daughter of so and so family.

About 93% of Councilors with political connections had their husbands active in politics and 16.2% of them got support from their fathers. It was seen in many cases that male Councilors often asked their wives to contest elections in the next term once the seats were reserved for women candidates. These Councilors were merely official names in the list, but work was done by their husbands. Many women with no family members in politics contested elections, but most of them won due to their family reputation in the locality.

Table 4.32: Female Relative in Active Politics

Do you have any family member active in politics? (Female)	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	1	0	1	0	0	2	2.6
No	20	18	12	12	13	75	97.4
Total	20	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you have any female relative involved in active politics? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is very much clear that reservation of seats have made it possible for women to enter politics and compete with other women on equal terms. From the table we can see that only two respondents said that they were not the first women in the family to join active politics. About 97% of them were first women in their respective families to join active politics. Women are expected to inspire other women not only in the family but also in the society at large to join politics. Politics is all about being powerful and influential, it is clear from the above table that women have been denied access to power and influence within the socio-political structure since so many years.

Table 4.33: Previous Nature of Participation in Politics

Nature of political participation before being elected.	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Only as a Voter	15	17	10	10	10	62	80.5
Member of a Political Party	6	1	3	2	3	15	19.4
Holding a Post in a Political Party	2	0	3	0	2	7	9
Attending Regular Campaigns and Rallies Organized by Political Parties	0	0	3	0	2	5	6.5
Active Participation in any Socio-political Movements	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political Apathy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What was your nature of participation in politics before becoming a Councilors? The respondents are Mukhiyas from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the above table it is clear that about 80.5% of the respondents participated in the political process only as a voter. It can be seen that only 19.4% of the respondents were registered members of any political party. About 6.5% attended political campaigns and rallies organized by political parties. Only 9% of the women Councilors held any post in the political parties prior to being elected and none of them were involved in any socio-political movements.

The is clearly evident that majority of these women had no exposure to politics other than voting in the elections. Although elections of these local bodies were not under the party banner, membership of any political parties reveal their actual interest in politics. Poor membership of these Councilors in political parties is a reminder of their low interest in politics. The fact that only a few of them hold any post in a political party, gives us an idea that women have very less access to political power and position in party politics.

Reluctance on part of women to go to political rallies and campaigns is an indication of lack of political awareness among them with no political opinion of their own.

Table 4.34: Number of Times Elected for the Same Post

No of times elected for the present post	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Once	7	17	7	9	9	49	63.7
Twice	8	0	4	2	4	18	23.3
Thrice	6	1	2	1	0	10	12.9
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How many times you are elected for the same post? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Reservation of seats for women is a policy to help women enter politics on equal terms. However it is important for women to utilize the opportunity to the fullest and develop their own political career beyond reservation. From the above table it can be seen that about 63.7% of the Councilors are elected for the first time. About 23.3% of them were elected twice and 12.9% were actually enjoying their third consecutive term as a local Councilor. During the field study it was found that a lot of Councilors had gained local popularity through their work. Many of them who won the election twice or thrice, contested from unreserved seats. Reservation can help a women start their political career, but how far they can sustain themselves in the long run depend upon their capabilities and commitment.

Table 4.35: Participation in Non-Governmental Organizations

Are You a Part of any Non-Government Organization Working for Women	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	3	0	2	0	4	9	11.7
No	18	18	11	12	9	68	88.3
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you work with any NGO that work for women? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is very important for Councilors to have awareness about major problems faced by women in our society and help raise awareness among them. From the table it is clear that only 11.7% of the Councilors were involved with NGOs working in the field of women empowerment or social upliftment of women for that matter. Nearly 88.3% of them denied having been associated with any NGOs related to women. This reveals the fact that majority of the Councilors are not involved in any kind of social work in general and activities that have a direct impact upon lives of women in particular. It raises questions as how far these women in power shall have an impact upon the lives of other women in the society.

Table 4.36: Support During the Election Campaign

Who supported you during the election campaign	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Male Members of the Family	20	18	9	10	11	68	88.3
Female Members of the Family	1	1	1	0	0	3	3.9
People of the Locality	7	5	4	4	6	26	33.8
Members of any Political Party	2	0	2	4	0	8	10.4
Members of any Social Organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Did not Receive any Help	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who supported you during the election campaigns? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is impossible for any candidate to contest elections with having support from the society and family in particular. Family support is a must for any women candidate, which might not be the case with male politicians. From the above table we can see that about 88.3% of the Councilors got full support and help from the male members of their families during the election campaign as expected.

About 33.8% of the respondents were supported by the people of the locality, proved that they were popular among the people of the locality. This popularity and support might be due to their family reputation as well. However if a Councilor is supported for two to three consecutive terms by the local people, it proves that they have been able to gain popularity based on their own work. Only 10.4% of Councilors claimed that they got support from a political party. This might be due to family connections with the party or the candidate herself as member of a party.

Only 3.9% of Councilors received help and support from other women in the family. This gives us an idea that too much involvement of a woman in politics might not be liked by other women in the family. One can also say that women are themselves not in a position to support other women during the election campaign. It is very important for women to come out and support each other in achieving political power that can be utilized for the empowerment of women in general.

Table 4.37: Inspiration Behind Joining Politics

What Inspired You to Join Politics	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Family Support	5	1	10	3	2	21	27.3
Reservation of Seats for Women	13	18	0	9	11	51	66.2
Any Political Leader	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.3
Over all Condition of Women in the Country	3	0	3	0	0	6	7.8
Political Circumstances Within the Country	3	0	0	1	0	4	5.2
Wanted to Work for the Development of the Village/Locality	1	0	2	0	0	3	3.9
Social Work	1	1	0	0	0	2	2.6
Local People	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What inspired you to join active politics? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Life in cities and towns is quite busy and women are engaged in different kind of activities. Politics might not be one of the favorite career options for an urban woman. From the table one can see that about 66.2% of Councilors decided to contest election because the seats were reserved for women. Reservation of seats played a major role in inspiring and motivating women to join politics with special provisions given to them by the constitution. Women understood that it would be rather easy for them to compete only with other women rather than everyone in general. Reservation of seats gave women a closer access to political power at the grass root level.

About 27.3% of the Councilors were inspired by their family members to join politics. Family support here can be linked to reservation of seats, as reservation of seats meant that men from the family shall not be able to contest from a particular seat if reserved for women. Families often encouraged women to contest election, convincing them that they need not worry about the duties and official procedures, as it would be handled by the male members of the family.

About 7.8% of women were worried about overall condition of women in the country and wanted to work for the upliftment of women in our society. The ratio of such Councilors is very low and most of them fail to understand that more women are being encouraged to join politics so that they can empower other women in the society. About 5.2% of the respondents joined seeing the political circumstances within the country. About 3.9% of them wanted to work for the development of the locality and 2.6% wanted to do social work after attaining political power. One must understand that working for the local development is the prime responsibility of these Councilors. Development of the locality not being one of the reason behind joining politics is a major cause of concern. Only one respondent was inspired by women leaders in the country.

Table 4.38: Participation in Committees at the Administrative level

Are you a part of any committee at the administrative level	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	16	3	2	2	2	25	32.5
No	5	15	11	10	11	52	67.5
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a part of any committee at the administrative level? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women Councilors are about fifty percent of the total Councilors in the urban bodies in the state. With presence of women in such large numbers in these local bodies it is also expected that more women shall be a part of the decision making bodies at the administrative level. About 32.5% of the Councilors interviewed are a part of important committees at the administrative level. From the table one can see that about 67.5% of women denied access to major decision making bodies at the local level. Women are expected to be involved in the formulation of policies rather than merely implementing those policies at the grass root level.

Table 4.39: Frequency of Attending Meetings with other Councilors in the Area

How often do you meet other councilors/ mukhiyas in your city/block	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Once in a Week	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twice in a Month	0	0	0	3	0	3	3.9
Once in a Month	21	0	13	5	5	44	57.1
Once in two-three Months	0	18	0	4	8	30	40
Once or Twice a Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How often do you meet other Mukhiya in your block/village ? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Councilors in the cities and town did not meet each other pretty often. They often meet during the meetings called upon by the Chairperson or the Mayor of the local bodies. About 57.1% of the Councilors meet each other once in a month. From the table one can see that 40% of the Councilors meet each other once in two-three months. All the Councilors who meet each other once in two-three months were from the Hazaribagh district. During the field study it was found that these Councilors in the Hazaribagh district were unhappy with their Chairperson, they complained that the Chairperson did not organize regular meetings with them. About 3.9% of the Councilors meet each other twice a month.

Table 4.40: Frequency of Meeting Other Women in the Area

How often do you meet local women in your ward/ village	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Daily	10	1	5	0	1	17	22.1
Once in a Week	6	14	8	8	5	41	53.2
Twice in a Month	4	0	0	0	0	4	5.2
Once in a Month	1	1	1	4	7	14	18.2
Once in two-three Months	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Once or Twice a Year	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.3
Never	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.3
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How Often do you meet local women in your ward? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

More women are being encouraged to join grass root administration as they are in a better position to reach out other women and take care of day to day problems faced by them. If women Councilors at local level are easily approachable, local women can freely come with their problems and get immediate assistance. From the above table it can be seen that only 22.1% of the Councilors meet local women on daily basis. The ratio is quite low knowing the fact that Councilors are a part of the locality and reside in the same area. About 53.2% of the Councilors meet local women once in a week. About 5.2% of the Councilors meet other women twice in a month and 18.2% once in a month. One must clearly understand that it is almost impossible for a Councilor to work for women empowerment in any locality if they meet them once a month. This is not what is expected from them by the people of the locality. This gives us an idea that these Councilors do not have any idea about basic women issues in general and their locality in particular. If any special program is being run it would definitely require regular monitoring, at least once in a week.

Table 4.41: Level of Independence While Performing the Duties

Are you accompanied by any male members while discharging your duties as an elected representative	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribagh)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khunti)	No. of Women (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	9	12	6	9	10	46	59.7
No	12	6	7	3	3	31	40.3
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are You Accompanied by any Male Members While Discharging Your Duties as an Elected Representatives? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

In an urban area public transport and local communication are readily available. There is no logic behind women being accompanied by their husbands and other relatives while visiting different places related to their work. From the table we can see that about 59.7% of the Councilors are being accompanied by their male relatives while performing their duties as a local Councilor. About 40.3% of them discharged their responsibilities independently without being accompanied by any relative.

If Councilors fail to perform their duties independently, they would never inspire other women in the locality to come out of their houses and have an active public life. It must be kept in mind that the reservation of seats in these local bodies are measures to make women self-dependent. If women continue to depend on their male relatives, without learning how to take up responsibilities, the very idea of women empowerment gets diluted.

Table 4.42: Level of Domination in Debates and Discussions at the Administrative level

Who dominates or initiates various debates and discussions in various meetings at the administrative level	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribag)	No of Respondent (Gumla)	No of Respondent (Khuti)	No of Respondent (Lohardagga)	Total	Total %
Male	4	17	0	2	9	32	41.6
Female	14	1	13	10	4	42	54.5
Both	3	0	0	0	0	3	3.9
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who Dominates or Initiates Various Debates and Discussions in Various Meetings at the Administrative Level? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is very important for women to speak up on various issues during meetings held with the higher authorities. During the field study about 54.5% of the Councilors said that mostly women dominated the debates and discussions during the meetings and 41.6% of them said that men dominated them during any discussion in the meetings. After meeting the Councilors it was clear that Councilors in the Hazaribagh district were mostly quiet during the meetings and did not actively participated in the discussions held. It is important that both men and women equally participate in the meetings and discuss on various local issues.

Table 4.43: Interest of Women in Initiating Debates and Discussions on Various Issues Related to Women

Who initiates various debates and discussions on issues directly related to women	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No. of Respondent (Gumla)	No. of Respondent (Khunti)	No. of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	21	18	13	12	13	77	100
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who Initiates Various Debates and Discussions on issues related to women in Various Meetings at the Administrative Level? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the above table it is clear that only Women Councilors were bothered to speak upon issues related to women during various meetings with the higher authorities. If men do not speak on women issues does that really mean that women do not face any problems in localities where men are Councilors. It is just that women issues are not being prioritized by men who are local representatives. If women Councilors are expected to work on general issues like water supply, cleaning, drainage and road, men are also expected to speak on women issues in their locality.

Table 4.44: Different Aspects of Women's Life Councilors deal with

Different aspects of women's life that elected representatives deal with	No. of Women (Ranchi)	No. of Women (Hazaribag)	No. of Women (Gumla)	No. of Women (Khuti)	No. of Women (Lohardagga)	Total	Total %
Education	4	0	1	0	2	7	9.1
Social Security	5	2	5	2	1	15	19.5
Physical Security	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic Security	9	6	8	7	3	33	42.9
Liquor	2	0	0	1	0	3	3.9
Health	1	0	2	5	0	8	10.4
Domestic Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Differently abled persons	1	1	0	0	0	2	2.6
Did Not Have Any Idea About Issues Related to Women	7	12	3	5	5	32	41.6
Did Not Have Any Idea About Their Work	3	10	0	2	2	17	22.7
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What are the different aspects of a women's life you deal with? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

The elected women representatives of the respective localities are expected to work on various aspects of women empowerment in the society. From the table we can see that about 42.9% of the Councilors were working to provide economic security to women in their area. During the field study it was found that various training program were run by the Councilors to create opportunities for self-employment for women. In few districts women were given training on mushroom cultivation and pig farming training.

About 19.5% of Councilors were working to provide social security to women and 9.1% were concerned about women education in their localities. Considering the fact that social security schemes are known to everyone and is a part of routine job done by the councilors, failure on part of the Councilors to implement such schemes on regular basis proves that they do not perform their basic duty. Education also needs to be prioritized by these Councilors.

About 10.4% of the Councilors were working to provide better health facilities for women were as 2.6% of them working to make life easier for differently abled persons in the locality. Only one Councilor in the entire field study told that she arranged for health insurance for women in her locality. Only 3.9% of Councilors were working to stop the consumption of liquor in their locality. None of the respondents were working on issues like domestic violence and physical security in their area. Domestic violence is a very common issue faced by women along with their security outside their home. It is indeed the basic responsibility of these Councilors to provide women more security both inside and outside their home with awareness program at the local level. Liquor is associated with domestic violence and women security, hence requires more attention from these local representatives.

About 41.6% of the Councilors interviewed did not have any idea about issues related to women in general. This is highly unexpected as women themselves they do not know what the day to day problems faced by women. This proves inefficiency and irresponsibility of the Councilors. It is quiet understood that their level of social awareness is very poor and they are diluting the very purpose of having more women in politics at the grass root level. Majority of the Councilors from the Hazaribagh district belonged to this category. About 22.7% of the Councilors did not have any idea about their own responsibilities, few of them didn't work at all and few had their male relatives working on their behalf.

Table 4.45: Pattern of Response

Pattern of Responding	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No. of Respondent (Gumla)	No. of Respondent (Khunti)	No. of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Completely Themselves	17	12	8	9	9	55	71.4
Prompted by Male Relatives	2	4	3	3	3	15	19.5
Answered by Male Relatives on Behalf of Them	2	2	2	0	1	7	9.1
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher and pattern recorded based on the response personally observed by the researcher. The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

A local representative must be prompt and quick while answering these basic questions. After winning an election proper communication skill with self-confidence is a must for any local Councilor. During the field study it was found that about 71.4% of the Councilors responded to the questions themselves, about 19.5% of them were prompted by their relatives or other people surrounding them. About 9.1% of the Councilors did not answer anything, most of the questions were answered by their husbands and other people around them. This lack of confidence reflected the fact they lacked basic skills to be a public representative.

Table 4.46: Future Plans of Contesting Elections

Do you want to contest elections in future	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No. of Respondent (Gumla)	No. of Respondent (Khutni)	No. of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Yes	12	4	5	2	4	27	35
No	9	14	8	10	9	50	65
Total	21	18	13	12	13	77	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you want to contest elections in future? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.47: Post Desired by Councilors

Which post would you like to aim in future	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No. of Respondent (Gumla)	No. of Respondent (Khutni)	No. of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Same Post	4	2	4	1	2	13	48
MLA	5	0	0	1	1	7	26
Mayor/Chairperson	3	2	1	0	1	7	26
Deputy Mayor/Wise Chairperson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	4	5	2	4	27	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: For which post would you like to contest elections in future? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 4.48: Reasons for Lack of Further Interest in Politics

Why are you not interested in contesting elections in future	No. of Respondent (Ranchi)	No. of Respondent (Hazaribagh)	No. of Respondent (Gumla)	No. of Respondent (Khutni)	No. of Respondent (Lohardaga)	Total	Total %
Would Like to Look After the Family	2	2	1	2	0	6	12
De-reservation of Seats	6	14	7	7	9	43	86
Did Not Like Politics	0	4	0	1	0	5	10
Faced Gender Discrimination	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Lack of Financial Resources	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total	9	14	8	10	9	50	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Why are you not interested in contesting elections in future? The respondents are Councilors from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 4.46 it is clear that about 65% of women Councilors do not want to further continue with their involvement in politics. About 35% of them wanted to continue their political career as a local Councilor and aimed at higher posts as well. Reservation of seats give women an opportunity to enter politics at the grass root level and prepare themselves for leadership roles at higher level as well. Reservation of seats didn't mean that members of influential families would project women in their families as candidates for a short while and restrict them from participating once seats are de-reserved.

Among women who wanted to further continue with their political career, 48% of them wanted to contest for the same post. They said they wanted more time to work for the locality as of now. About 26% of them wanted to be the Mayor or the Chairperson if given an opportunity and 26% of them wanted to be members of the Legislative Assembly. Among women who did not want to continue with politics, 86% of them did not want to continue as the seats would be de-reserved. It was a different experience during the field study as most of these women believed that they could not compete in a general seat as that was meant for male candidates only. Few of them said “*Are Gents Seat Se Kaise Electio Larenge, Mahila Seat Hoga Tabhi To Lar Payenge.*”. We all know that de-reserved seats are meant for both men and women candidates. About 12% of them

wanted to quit politics as they wanted to look after the family and 10% of them did not like politics. Only one respondent complained of facing gender discrimination and while one of them lacked financial resources to contest elections in future.

Findings from the field study

The field trip would have been incomplete without meeting few Councilors across five districts, who are an inspiration for a lot of other women who want to join grass root politics. They were confident about their work and had contributed a lot towards the development of their locality in general and women empowerment in particular. After a lot of informal conversation with the locals as well as the Chairperson of the respective districts, it was found that some of the women Councilors stand out from the crowd when we talk about their performances.

Rama Khalkho was the first Mayor of Ranchi Municipal Corporation from the year 2008 to 2013. An interview with Mrs. Khalkho was conducted during the field study, giving us an idea about the experience of not only the first women Mayor, but also the first Mayor of the city. Elections to the Municipal Corporations were held after twenty years and first time after the formation of the State. Rama said it was very challenging for her as a Mayor as 75% of the women had joined politics due to reservation of seats in the Corporation. Women also came into public life from the minority community. She said initially women would hardly speak up during the meetings, she often encourage them to speak according to her men were scared and insecure because of presence of so many women. (Rama Khalkho, personal interview, November 4, 2019)

Rama had initiated the concept of Mahila Thana in the city, and spread awareness about the function of Mahila Ayog, that was non-functional those days. She arranged for regular health checkup camps for women free of cost. She was a member of the All India Mayor Council and attended several conferences organized all over the country related to the working of the Local Bodies. She took a lot of women Councilors to different places throughout the country to attend these conferences. She had involved a lot of women in the city with Jharkhand State Livelihood Promotion Society. She had organized trade fair in the Town Hall to exhibit products made by women of various self-help groups. Rama is an active member of a national political party and has contested election from the Legislative Assembly twice. (Rama Khalkho, personal interview, November 4, 2019)

Asha Lakra is the Mayor of Ranchi Municipal Corporation since 2013. During the field study an interview with Asha Lakra was conducted despite her busy schedule. Asha had been an active member of student's wing of a national political party. She wanted to join academics as a career before joining active politics. She has travelled to different parts of the country and participated in student's politics as a part of the student's wing of a party. (Aasha Lakra, personal interview, November 6, 2019)

She mentioned names of a lot of women Councilors who were elected more than once from their locality and are very efficient with their duties. She said that women in large number across the city are being linked to the self-help groups for various training programs. Women are also being involved as Safai workers in the entire city. They have initiated the concept of Rani Mistry to involve women in the construction of toilets and houses under the Awas Yojna. She also organizes a lot of fair in the city to market the products made by women. (Aasha Lakra, personal interview, November 6, 2019)

Mrs. Arpana Horo from the Khuti District is the Ward Councilor for Ward No. 18 in the Khuti Nagar Panchayat. Mrs. Horo is a tribal lady, who was also a Mukhiya from 2000 to 2015. She is a member of the Standing Committee at the Nagar Panchayat. Mrs. Horo has won the election from a seat that was reserved for the schedule tribe, but not for a woman. Being a graduate she knew the value of education and believed that women were poor because they were uneducated. She is trying her level best to spread education among young girls in her area. Liquor is a huge problem in the region, she has often tried to close liquor shops in her area and spread awareness among the people. She was disgusted with the fact that husbands of many Councilors entered the Nagar Panchayat and disturbed the regular proceedings. She had revolted against this kind of disturbance and it was due to her efforts women Councilors come alone in the meetings without being accompanied by anyone. She said now no one other than the Councilors are allowed to attend the meetings in the Nagar Panchayat.

Mrs. Sujata Kaschap is the Councilor of Ward No. 7 of the Ranchi Municipal Corporation and a member of the Zila Yojna Committee in the Corporation. She is winning the election for the last three terms i.e. 2008, 2013 and 2018. She is working hard to spread education among girl child in her locality. She has initiated the Eklavya Yojna in her locality. She has started the training program for Rani Mistri in her locality. She has also launched a Nasha Mukti Andolan in her area. She had distributed wheel chairs and along

with other equipment for the differently abled persons. She has also tried to give employment to people with special needs. She has arranged marriages of girls of poor families as well as persons with special needs. After losing her husband she thought she was helpless, but looking at the society at large she realized her problem was nothing as compared to others. During an interview with the present Mayor of Ranchi, Smt. Asha Lakra had praised Mrs. Kaschap and said that she was one of the best Councilors in the city.

Mrs. Urmila Yadav is the Ward Councilor for Ward No. 41 of the Ranchi Municipal Corporation and a member of the Standing Committee as well. She was elected for three consecutive terms since 2008 to 2018, she also won from an unreserved seat in the year 2013. Mrs. Yadav has been in social service since last thirty years. As per the conversation with the locals of her area it was found that she was very efficient with her work and contributed a lot towards the development of her area. She was a member of a national political party but resigned from the membership of the party as she felt that none of the political parties were willing to give tickets to women candidates. She formed her own political party Nagrik Adhikar Party and wanted to give more than 50% of tickets to women candidates in the Legislative Assembly Elections. Slogan for her party was “*Abkibar Mahila Sarkar, Apki Vote Apki Note Apki Sarkar*”.

Mrs. Lalita Gupta is the Councilor of Ward No. 20 of the Gumla Nagar Parishad. Mrs. Gupta had won the elections twice and once on an unreserved seat. She runs her own Beauty Saloon in the town and is economically independent. Locals of the area gave excellent feedback related to Mrs. Gupta. She is an active member of a national political party and regularly attend the party meetings and rallies. She has worked a lot for the development of slums in her locality. She has initiated Kaushal Vikas Yojna for women in her locality. She has also started training programs for pig farming and goat rearing in her locality to make women economically independent. Hemlata Devi was another Councilor from Gumla who won the election thrice from 2008 to 2018. Being a teacher by profession she is very active in spreading education among girl child in her locality. She is very well connected with Lalita Gupta and runs most of the training programs as run by Lalita. Mrs. Shail Mishra, another Councilor from Gumla, a member of the Standing Committee as well. Mrs. Mishra is the head of Mahila Morcha of a

national political party. She has been twice elected for her seat because of her dedication towards the people of the locality.

A field study of both rural and urban elected representatives across five districts was a learning experience. It was found that Mukhiyas from the rural area were far more responsible as compared to the Councilors from urban area. Councilors were far behind the Mukhiyas when it came to performance of the duties as local representatives. Mukhiyas command a huge respect in the rural society and were well connected with the local women in the village. Mukhiyas have become huge backbone of grass-root governance in rural India. Majority of the tribal population live in the rural area in Jharkhand, hence most of the Mukhiyas interviewed during the field study were tribal women. Better performance of the Mukhiyas can be attributed to the fact that majority of them were tribal women. Position of women in a tribal society is far better as compared to the non-tribal society.

After the study conducted across five districts it was found that local representatives from the Hazaribagh district were not at all up to the mark when performance of their duties is concerned. Majority of the Councilors from Hazaribagh did not have any idea about their work, they were mere rubber stamp placed before the public due to the compulsions imposed by the reservation of seats. Mukhiyas from Torpa block of Khunti district and Kuru block of Lohardaga districts are role models as local representatives in the functioning of the grass-root democracy. Mukhiyas from Torpa and Kuru do indicate that political participation of women can act as a means of women empowerment in any society. Broader participation of women in grass-root politics can definitely help alter the existing power relations in our society.

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CHAPTER 5

Participation of Women in Political Process in Jharkhand

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Political participation is a fundamental requisite of gender equality in the society. In order to ensure smooth functioning of a democratic political system based on the principles of equality, women must actively participate in all forms of political activities. Political participation is not only restricted to women who seek political power and aspire to be a part of the decision making bodies. It is equally important that women voters across the country actively participate in the political process in a more informed manner having individual opinion of their own.

A field study was conducted across five districts of the states in order to study the nature of political participation among rural and urban women in the state. Total 404 women were interviewed during the field study, 192 women from the rural area and 212 from the urban area across the five districts in the state. It must be noted that only those women were interviewed who belonged to the local constituencies where seats of a local Councilor or a Mukhiya was reserved for a woman. This was done in order to take valuable feedback regarding the performance of women who were local representatives of their area. It is important to understand what women as ordinary voters think about women who are active in politics and part of local administration.

Women voters Rural Urban

Table 5.1: Age group of women voters interviewed

Age	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
18-25	4	2	63	29.7
25-30	6	3	8	3.8
30-35	27	14.1	32	15
35-40	32	16.7	21	9.9
40 and above	123	64.1	88	41.5
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your age madam? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

During the field study an attempt was made to reach out women from all age groups in rural as well as urban area. It was observed that young women in the rural area were hesitant to response to the questions asked, most of them were very shy and ran away once approached during the data collection. From the above table we can see that only 2% of the respondents fall within the age limit 18 to 25 and only 3% fall within 25 to 30. About 14.1% fall within the age limit 30 to 35 and 16.7% fall within 35 to 40 age limit. About 64.1% of the respondents were above forty years of age.

Women interviewed from the cities and towns were distributed across all the age groups. Students, working women, domestic help and house wives were interviewed during the field study. About 29.7% of women interviewed were from age group between 18 to 25 years, who mostly students from different colleges. About 3.8% of women were from age from 25 to 30, about 15% from 30 to 35 age and 9.9% from 35 to 40 age group. Highest proportion of respondents were from the age group above forty i.e.41.5%.

Table 5.2: Educational qualification of Women Voters Interviewed

Level of Education	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Pre-primary	68	35.4	2	0.9
Primary-VIII	69	35.9	18	8.5
VIII-X	38	19.8	12	5.7
XII	14	7.3	12	5.7
Graduate	3	1.6	162	76.4
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What is your educational qualification madam? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

There is a huge difference between the educational standards of women interviewed from the rural and urban area. About 35.4% of women interviewed did not have access to primary education were as 35.9% of them had primary education but did complete their matriculation. About 19.8% of women passed class ten and about 7.3% of them had secondary degree. Proportion of graduates was the least i.e. only 1.6%. of the total respondents.

In the cities and towns majority of the respondents were educated. From the table we can see that only 0.9% of them had no primary education, 8.4% studied till class VIII and 5.7% had only completed their matriculation. About 5.7% had completed their Higher

Secondary maximum respondents i.e. 76.4% were graduate. One must understand women in urban area have greater access to higher education as compared to women in rural area.

Table 5.3: Marital Status of Women Voters Interviewed

Marital Status	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Married	184	95.9%	116	54.7
Unmarried	8	4.1%	96	45.3
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you married madam? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 5.3 we can see that about 95.9% of the respondents in the rural area were married and only 4.1% of them were unmarried. It is much expected in a rural area considering the fact that all the respondents were above eighteen years and about 95% of them were above thirty years. It is very difficult to find an unmarried woman in a village who is above thirty years of age. In the urban area one can see that about 45.3% of the respondents were unmarried and 54.7% of them were married. Most of the unmarried women interviewed during the field study were students or working women.

Table 5.4: Profession followed by Women Voters Interviewed

Working/Non- Working	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Working	154	80.2	93	43.9
Non-Working	38	19.8	119	56.1
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a working women madam? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Table 5.5: Nature of occupation of interviewees

Working	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Formal Sector	0	0	62	66.7
Nom-formal Sector	154	100	31	33.3
Total	154	100	93	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Where do you work madam? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 5.4 we can see that about 80.2% of the rural women are working and only 19.8% of them are non-working. Among the working women in rural area all of them are involved in the non-formal sector. Most of the women interviewed in the rural area were either working as rejas, temporary laborers in agricultural fields, vegetable sellers and ones involved in mushroom cultivation and pig farming. It is very difficult to find women sitting idle inside their houses in rural area, most of them are involved in some or the other economic activities.

In the urban area about 43.9% of the respondents were working and a bigger proportion was non-working i.e. about 56.1%. Most of the non-working women were wither house wives or students. Among the working women about 66.7% are working in the formal sector and 33.3% are working in the non-formal sector. Those working in the non-formal sector mostly included the domestic help working in the towns and cities. Proportion of working women is definitely more in the villages as compared to cities among these respondents.

Table 5.6: Acquaintance with the local Councilor/ Mukhiya

Who is your Councilor/ Mukhiya/Village Pradhan	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Could Answer	184	95.8	43	20.3
Couldn't Answer	8	4.2	169	79.7
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Who is your Councilor/Mukhiya s? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

One must understand that it is still very difficult for a woman in India to have an independent identity of her own. Her identity is often linked to her family, she has to carry the weight for her entire life. It is even true for women involved in politics, it is very rare we find that women are able to build an independent political identity for themselves in our country. Most of the local representatives are often known to everyone in the locality due to their family reputation.

Mukhiya has a very important role to play in the rural society. As evident from the table we can see the during the field study about 95.8% of the women interviewed in the rural area could easily recognize their Mukhiya and majority of them knew their house as well. Only 4.2% of them could tell us the name of their Mukhiya. In a village the locals are

highly dependent upon the Mukhiyas to get a access to most of the government schemes. Most of the women are engaged in some or the other training programs organized by the Gram Panchayat or Gram Sabha. Most of these women interviewed said that Mukhiya often played a very active role in solving family problems in the village and was seen as someone belonging to the same community. This sense of having the belief that the Mukhiya is someone who can be related to, gives us an idea about one to one relation of the Mukhiya with the local women.

Councilor in an urban area is expected to engage with the people of the local community to ensure more participation of people at the grass root level. It was very disappointing to see that only 20.3% of the women respondents in the urban area knew their ward Councilor's name. About 79.7% of them could not give us the name of their Councilor. During the field study it was ensured that only those women were interviewed who could confirm that they had a women Councilor in their locality. So this is clear that respondents knew that they had a women Councilor. Some of them could tell their caste, family, profession, but not their exact names. Some of them said wife of so and so uncle but could not recall their names. Few of them were able to locate their house, but didn't bother to know their names.

Name is something that is the basic part our identity, it is definitely not respectful and acceptable to see that individual identity of the Councilors are not being given that importance. One can also say these Councilors are unable to leave a mark of the work done by them on other women in the area. it is also worth noticing that most of the urban middle class women interviewed did not depend on economic and social help provided by various government schemes, reducing their interaction with the Councilors. Most of the young students said that they hardly meet their Councilors as it was not required. Women who had to depend on the Councilors for government schemes recognized their Councilors along with few women who were involved in local politics.

Table 5.7: Frequency of Meeting Local Councilor/ Mukhiya

How Often Your Councilor/ Mukhiya Come to Meet Women in the Locality/Village	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Daily	95	49.5	3	1.4
Twice in a Month	64	33.3	7	3.3
Once in a month	28	14.6	31	14.6
Once in Two- Three Months	2	1	1	0.5
Once or Twice in a Year	3	1.6	1	0.5
Never	8	4.2	169	79.7
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: How often do you meet your Councilor/Mukhiya s? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is very important for any local representative to meet local women on regular basis in order to reach out to them and understand their problems in a better manner. It was found that the Mukhiyas in the rural area did make an attempt to meet local women on regular basis. About 49.5% of the Mukhiyas meet the local women daily. About 33.3% of them meet twice in a month and 14.6% meet once in a year. 1% of the respondent said their Mukhiya meet them once in two-three months, 1.6% said once or twice a year and only 4.2% said that their Mukhiya never came to meet them. It is clear from the above data that more than 80% of the respondents said that their Mukhiyas meet them at least once in two weeks. This gives us an impression that most of the Mukhiyas were approachable in villages which led to one to one contact with other women in the village.

Most of the respondents didn't know the name of their local Councilor, so one can hardly expect that they meet them on regular basis. About 1.4% of the respondents from urban area said that their Councilor meet local women on daily basis, 3.3% of them meet local women twice in a month. About 14.6% of the respondents said that Councilors meet them once in a month. One respondent said that the Councilor meet other women once in two-three months and one said that Councilors meet them once or twice in a year. What was disappointing to find out that about 79.7% of the respondents in the cities and towns said that their Councilors never came to meet them.

There was no one to one contact between the local women and the Councilors. One can understand that it is not possible for the Councilors to know local women personally like the Mukhiyas due to the high density of population in the urban area and less people to

people contact in cities and towns. As a local representative it is the duty of the Councilors to meet women more often and develop a sense of solidarity among them. Many respondents said that the Councilors only favored people of her community or caste in the area, claiming that they had won because of the support from their own community. Local wards are not a small area, it was observed during the field study that the Councilors were only concentrating on people close to their own residence while ignoring other areas within the ward. Many respondents complained that forget of women related, many Councilors ignored different parts of a ward when it comes to basic facilities like garbage disposal as well.

Table 5.8: Support System Behind Female Councilors/ Mukhiyas

Male Relatives /Local Men Accompanying Your Councilor/ Mukhiya During the Election Campaign	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Husband	149	77.6	190	89.6
Father	31	16.1	2	0.9
Father-in-law	6	3	5	2.4
Brother	11	5.7	7	3.3
Other Women	10	5.2	4	1.9
Local Men	29	15.1	22	10.4
Other Male relatives	22	11.5	10	4.7
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Did any Male relatives /local men accompanied your Councilor/ Mukhiya during the election campaign? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women in our society often lack an independent identity of their own, hence role of the family becomes very important when they want to enter public life. This is similar for local representatives in both rural and urban areas. In the villages about 77.6% of the respondents said the local representatives were accompanied by their husbands during the election campaign. About 16.1% was accompanied by their fathers, 3% by their father-in-laws and 5.7% by their brothers. About 15.1% were accompanied by local men and 11.5% by other male relatives. It was an eye opener to see that only 5.2% of the candidates were accompanied by other women during the campaign. Campaigning is a rigorous activity that involves travelling to different places and meeting people, which is not possible for women in a village if they are not supported by family members.

About 89.6% of women Councilors were accompanied by their husbands during the election campaigning as per the respondents. 0.9% were accompanied by their fathers and 2.4% by their father-in-laws. About 3.3% of Councilors were accompanied by their brothers and 4.7% by other male relatives. About 10.4% of the Councilors were accompanied by local men. This is clear from the data that it is the family that is introducing women into politics. Most of the women are married hence important role is played by in-laws during the entire process. In both rural and urban areas respondents could hardly recall any women or female relatives of Councilors accompanying the candidates during the election campaigning. Only 1.9% of the respondents said they saw other women with the candidates during the campaign. It is not possible for respondents to give details of those women as most of the candidates were introduced as wives of so and so or daughter-in-law of a particular family. Other women hardly spoke anything during the campaign as per the respondents. It is understood that men took charge of the entire campaigning. Women candidates also depended on men and understood that it was not possible for other women be it their relative or friends to help them.

Table 5.9: Reasons for Voting in Favor of a Particular Councilors/ Mukhiyas

Why Did You Vote for Your Candidate	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Good Campaigning	36	18.8	36	17
Caste	31	16.1	80	37.7
Family Background of The Candidate	3	1.6	126	59.4
Education	2	1	14	6.6
Personal Relation with The Candidate	96	50	71	33.5
Previous Record as a Social and Political Worker	54	28.1	35	16.6
Family Member Persuaded You to Vote for the Candidate	13	6.8	59	27.8
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Why did you vote for a particular Mukhiya/ Councilor? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women form almost half of the voter's list of any constituency. It is very important to analyze on what basis they elect a candidate, considering the fact that all the candidates are women. One must see what motivated women to vote for a particular candidate in the absence of male contenders. Least important criteria while voting for a particular

candidate in the villages was their educational background, only 1% of the respondents said they voted for a particular candidate because they were educated. Family background of any candidate didn't matter to the voters as only 1.6% of them voted looking at the family background. It was also discussed in the previous chapter that many Mukhiyas did not belong to affluent families in the village and had to struggle a lot, it was with the help of local people they got elected.

Most important criteria for voting for a candidate was some sort of personal relation with the candidate. Here one to one equation played a very important role, about 50% of the respondents said they voted for a particular candidate as they knew the candidate personally from before. About 28.1% of the voters voted keeping in mind the previous record of the candidates as social and political worker. This specially applies to those candidates who were elected for more than one term because of the work done by them for the village. About 18.8% of the respondents voted for candidate as they were convinced after their good campaigning. This gives us an idea that voters in the village had individual capacity to judge a candidate based on their campaigning.

Caste as a criteria mattered for about 16.1% of the voters, while voting for a candidate in the rural area. Caste plays a major role in a rural society but did not have much impact on the voters owing to the fact that majority of the respondents were tribal and caste is embedded in a Hindu society not in a tribal society. Only 6.8% of the respondents said they voted because they were persuaded by a family member to vote for a particular candidate. This shows that majority of the women interviewed in the villages had their independent thinking when it came to taking political decisions.

After the field study one could get an idea that women in the cities were not that active when it comes to political decisions. Women Councilors in cities lacked independent identity of their own and mostly dependent on the overall reputation of their families. About 59.4% of the voters from urban area voted for a candidate keeping in mind their family background. It is clear that actual work was done by male relatives of the many Councilors and the voters were also very well aware of the fact. It is also true that most of the Councilors had first time entered the public life so it is impossible for the voters to judge their individual efficiency or capability. Caste was a major criterion for about 37.7% of the voters while voting for any candidate in the election. Many urban colonies are resided by people of the same community, having a strong impact upon the minds of

the voters as well. Social solidarity based on caste affiliations is nothing new to the Indian society.

About 33.5% of the voters voted based on the personal relation with the candidate. This might not always mean a one to one contact with the candidate in a urban setting. Many voters said they voted because the candidate was known to one of their family member or they personally knew any relative of the candidate. Instead of voting for a completely unknown face they preferred voting for someone with some acquaintance. About 17% voted based on good campaigning and 16.6% voted based on the past record of the candidate.

About 6.6% of voters voted keeping in mind the educational background of the candidate. This is quiet disappointing as most of the respondents were educated. Women in urban area have more access to education and it is not easy for an uneducated woman to function properly as a local representative in a urban area. About 27.8% of the respondents voted for a particular candidate just because they were persuaded by their family members to vote for them. Most of the young students interviewed during the field study, who were mostly unaware who their local councilor was voted as per the suggestion given to them by the family members. It is unacceptable to see that women still lack the ability to make political decisions on their own with no political opinion of their own.

Table 5.10: Reasons Behind Success of a Particular Councilors/ Mukhiyas

What Was The Reason Behind The Success of Your Councilor / Mukhiya in The Election?	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Most Deserving	113	58.9	45	21.2
Family Influence	54	28.1	78	36.8
Money	23	12	64	30.1
Political Connections Direct/Indirect	2	1	144	68
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What was the reason behind the victory of a particular Mukhiya/ Councilor? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

It is very important know the common perception among the women voters as why did a particular candidate win the seat in a particular locality. About 58.9% of the voters in villages said that the most deserving candidate won the election. About 28.1% believed

Mukhiyas won because of their family influence and 12% felt monetary status played a major role in deciding the winning candidate, however their proportion is very less. Only 1% said that the candidate won because of their political connections. One can get an idea that most of the voters were happy with the Mukhiyas as they believed that the most deserving candidate won the election.

In the rural area about 68% of the voters felt that their Councilor won the election won due to their direct or indirect political connections. These elections are not run on party lines in the state. Many voters said that winning candidates had access to powerful people in the area. this gives us an idea that voters those close to the powerful people had greater chances of winning in the towns and cities. About 36.8% of voters said that the Councilors won because of the family reputation in the local area, giving an impression that individual Councilors did fight the election based on their own identity.

About 30.1% of the voters felt that financial resources played a major role in deciding the winning candidate. It is impossible for any candidate to contest election without proper financial resources. If a voter thinks that the Councilor won because of availability of financial resources, they might have doubts about the intentions of their Councilors and their ability to work for the people. Only 21.2% of the voters believed that deserving candidates had won in their respective localities. Majority of the voters believed that the deserving candidates did not win as other factors played a decisive role in the elections.

Table 5.11: Help Received from a Particular Councilors/ Mukhiyas

What Kind Of Help You Receive From Your Councilor/ Mukhiya?	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Economic Independence	167	87	36	17
Social Security Schemes	131	68.2	21	9.9
Physical Security	17	8.9	2	0.9
Family Matters	74	38.5	4	1.9
Health Schemes	27	14.1	18	8.5
Did Not Get Any Help	13	6.8	152	71.7
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: What kind of help or assistance did you receive from a particular Mukhiya/ Councilor? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Women in the villages were mostly dependent on a Mukhiya for all sorts of help be it economic or social. About 87% of respondents receive economic help from the mukhiyas and 68.2% received the benefit of various social security schemes run by the government.

Economic help was in the form of training to take up various jobs for economic independence. About 38.5% of the respondents agreed that the Mukhiya helped them solve their family issues. This gives an impression that most of the Mukhiyas are respected in the rural families and they act like a community leader for the people. About 14.1% of the were give benefits of health schemes by the Mukhiyas were as 8.9% said physical security of women were ensured by the Mukhiyas. Physical security and health being one of the basic women issues do require more attention at the local level. Only 6.8% of the respondents said that they did not receive any help from the Mukhiyas, most of them were from rural middle class families who said they did not need any help from the Mukhiya as they are self-sufficient.

In the town and cities 71.7% of the voters said that they did not receive any help from the local Councilor. It is not true that all the respondents did not need any kind of help. Many of them said that the Councilors were not approachable and did not help them. 17% of the respondents received economic help, 9.9% received benefits of social security schemes and only 8.5% received benefits related to health care. Only 0.9% said that Councilors were working for physical security of women and another 0.9% said they received help to solve their family matters. Over all respondents from the urban area were not happy with the Councilors, while many respondents like young students and middle class house wives said they hardly needed nay help from the Councilors. As compared to a Mukhiya, a Councilor does not command that much respect in the respective areas.

Table 5.12: Capability of Women Councilors/ Mukhiyas to deal with Women Related Issues

Do You Think a Women Councilor / Mukhiya Is Able to Deal With Issues Related to Women In a better manner?	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	171	89	126	59.4
No	9	4.7	14	6.6
May Be	12	6.2	72	34
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you think Mukhiya/ Councilor is able to deal with women related issues in a better way ? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

More women are being inspired to join politics so that they can improve the lives of other women once they come to power. In the rural area it was found that about 89% of the voters believed that women Mukhiyas were able to deal with women issues in a better manner. The respondents said that they were far more comfortable to discuss their

problems with a woman Mukhiya. They had to face no social barriers while talking to a women, which made things much easier for them. About 4.7% of them did not have confidence on a woman Mukhiya were as 6.2% were not sure about their opinion whether women were better than men.

In the urban area 59.4% felt that more women Councilors could work for women in a better manner. This gives us an idea that although disappointed with their Councilors women still believe that women Councilors could work for women in a better manner. About 6.6% did not have faith on the women Councilors and 34% were not sure who would be better men or women. There is an expectation among urban women that women Councilors could work for the good of other women.

Table 5.13: Interest in Joining Active Politics

If Given an Opportunity Would You Like to Join Active Politics?	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	47	24.5	16	7.5
No	145	75.5	196	92.5
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: If given an opportunity, would you like to join active politics? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Politics is all about power and women have been denied access to power since ages. However one must understand that socialization of women is done in such a manner that most of them do not desire to be powerful. Most of them prefer to stay away from public life and give maximum time to their families. Women are made to believe that their first priority is the family and the children.

About 24.5% of the rural women said that they would like to join politics if given an opportunity were as 75.5% of them said they were least interested in joining politics. About 7.5% of urban women wanted to join politics if given an opportunity were as 92.5% of them did not want to join politics. Many women also believe that politics is meant for the corrupt people and it was not a respectable profession in our society. Many women were so busy with their other career that politics was never in their mind. Some of them believed that in order to rise in politics women had to compromise with their character, which was unacceptable to them.

Table 5.14: Awareness About Reservation Policy

Are You Aware About Reservation of Seats For Women in the Local Administrative Bodies?	Number (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	Number (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	171	89.1	168	79.4
No	21	10.1	44	20.6
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you aware about the reservation of seats for women in local bodies? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

From the table 5.14 we can see that about 89.1% of the rural women were aware about the reservation of seats for women in the local bodies were as 10.1% were not aware about the reservation policy for women. Most of the women identified the reserved seats as ladies seat for their locality. On the contrary about 79.4% of the urban respondents were unaware of the fact that seats are reserved for women in the local bodies. About 20.6% of them had a clear idea about reservation. These respondents knew that women were their local Councilor but did not have an idea about the overall picture as why there are so many women Councilors in their city or town. Majority of them were least interested in the grass root politics and functioning of the local bodies in the urban areas. This finding came up as a surprise during the field study conducted among urban women.

Table 5.15: Membership of a Political Party

Are You a Registered Member of Any Political Party?	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	36	18.8	19	9
No	156	81.2	193	91
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Are you a registered member of any political party? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Political parties often claim that they are registering more women as their active party members, but the reality is something very different. Among the rural respondents only 18.8% of them were registered members of any political party were as 81.2% were not members of any political party. In the urban area about 9% of the respondents were registered party members were as 91% were not a part of any political party. Proportion

of rural women registered as party members is more than the urban women as evident from the table.

Table 5.16: Interest in Attending Political Rallies and Campaigns

Do You Attend Political Rallies and Campaigns?	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	79	41.1	13	6.1
No	113	58.9	199	93.9
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you attend any political rallies and campaigns? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Attending political rallies and electoral campaigns can play a major role in forming individual political opinion. In the villages about 41.1% of the respondents attended the political rallies and campaigns were as 58.9% of them did not attend any rallies. In urban area only 6.1% of the respondents attended political rallies or campaigns were as 93.9% of the preferred to stay away from such political involvement. Participation of rural women is much higher than the cities. Most of the urban respondents were hardly interested in attending any political campaigns and they said that these rallies were mostly attended by women from poor families. Middle class women found it demeaning to attend the political rallies and campaigns were as young students were scared to be directly involved with any political party.

Table 5.17: Interest in Political Debates

Do You Listen to Political Debates on the Television?	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	44	22.9	37	17.5
No	148	77.1	175	82.5
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you attend listen to political debates on television? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

Political debates and speeches can also help us form political opinion. Only 22.9% of the rural women listened to political debates on the television were as 77.1% of them did not listen to any debates on the television. Although television is found in most of the rural

household, but it is hardly possible for rural women to listen to political debates on television due their household work along with their regular job. Life is not that comfortable for a rural women and they hardly find much time for leisure.

Women in cities have a comfortable life and spend a lot of time watching television. It is known to all that majority of the women are interested in watching entertainment shows as they believe that it is beyond their cognition to understand politics. Only 17.5% of urban respondents listened to political debates and 82.5% were not interested in political debates on television. Many urban women said they did not listen to the debates on their own, they mostly heard political debates if the news channels were put up by other family members mostly men.

Table 5.18: Expectations with Women Politicians

Do You Think More Women in Politics Can Improve the Condition of Women in The Country?	No. of Respondent (Rural)	Percentage (Rural)	No. of Respondent (Urban)	Percentage (Urban)
Yes	148	77.1	132	62.2
No	18	9.4	8	3.8
Not Sure	26	13.5	72	34
Total	192	100	212	100

Source- Interview taken by the Researcher on: Do you think more women in politics can change the overall condition of women in our country? The respondents are ordinary women voters from Ranchi, Hazarinagh, Gumla, Khunti and Lohardaga districts in Jharkhand (From October 2019 to December 2019).

About 77.1% of the respondents believed that more women in politics can change the improve the condition of women in the country. About 18% of them did not support the idea that more women in politics could do good to other women were as 13.5% of them were not sure about the impact of presence of more women in politics. About 62.2% of women in urban area supported presence of women in politics and its positive impact on women empowerment. 3.8% did not support the participation of women in politics and 34% of the respondents were not sure about the impact of greater participation of women in politics on the overall condition of women in the country.

Political Participation of Women as Voters

Indian Constitution grants equal voting rights to all its citizens irrespective of their socio-status based on the principle of universal adult franchise. Women in India enjoy equal voting rights since independence. Women are casting their votes more in greater numbers

across different parts of the country during the state and general election held in the country. State institutions have been trying to encourage more women to come out and vote by removing various barriers to their active participation as voters.

Polling percentage has been calculated by using the available data on total number of electors and voters during the elections held. Separate polling percentage has been calculated for men, women and women belonging to different categories. Overall polling percentage has been calculated for women along with separate polling percentage for tribal women and women belonging to the general category. It must be noted that for the purpose of studying voter's turnout a comparison is made between the tribal and non-tribal women. Voter's turnout in four General Elections i.e. 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 and four Legislative Assembly Elections i.e. 2005, 2009, 2014 and 2019 have been analyzed for the purpose of the study.

Table 5.19: 2004 Lok Sabha Elections Electors- Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	5712141	678391	2523632	8914164
Women	4924405	610922	2362848	7898175
Total	10636546	1289313	4886480	16812339

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.20: 2004 Lok Sabha Elections Voters - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	3572511	397464	1591081	5561056
Women	2354385	244060	1203341	3801786
Total	5927066	641567	2794730	9363363

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.21: 2004 Lok Sabha Elections Poll Percentage -Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	55.69
Poll Percentage (Men)	62.38
Poll Percentage (Women)	48.13
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	50.93
Poll Percentage (General Women)	47.81

Source- Election Commission of India

From the table we can see that average polling percentage for the 2004 general elections was 55.69% for Jharkhand. Voter's turnout was quite less as far as women are concerned i.e. only 48.13%. Compared to women polling percentage was higher among men i.e. 62.38%. Performance of tribal women as a voter was higher than general women. Voters

turnout among tribal women was also higher than over all voters turnout among total women i.e. 50.93%.

Table 5.22: 2009 Lok Sabha Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	6060109	754804	2669254	9484167
Women	5240317	662571	2547040	8449928
Total	11300426	1417375	5216294	17934095

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.23: 2009 Lok Sabha Elections Voters -Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	3171869	381609	1554432	5107910
Women	2434891	269958	1328210	4033059
Total	5605397	651262	2879159	9135818

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.24: 2009 Lok Sabha Elections Poll Percentage -Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	50.98%
Poll Percentage (Men)	53.83%
Poll Percentage (Women)	47.73%
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	52.15%
Poll Percentage (General Women)	46.66%

Source- Election Commission of India

From the table we can see that over polling percentage for Jharkhand in the general elections for the year 2009 was 50.98%. It can be seen that polling percentage among men is 53.83%, which is higher than women voters in the state. Voters turnout among women in average was 47.73%, which was lower than average voter's turnout among tribal women. Poling percentage among tribal women is 52.15%, which is higher than voting percentage of women who belong to the general category.

Table 5.25: 2014 Lok Sabha Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	6743239	889932	3077473	10710644
Women	5950436	756024	2932666	9639126
Total	12693691	1645957	6010148	20349796

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.26: 2014 Lok Sabha Elections Voters - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	428640	523108	2068153	6885691
Women	3699649	453494	1969689	6122832
Total	7900470	959036	3932507	12792013

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.27: 2014 Lok Sabha Elections Poll Percentages - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	63.82
Poll Percentage (Men)	64.29
Poll Percentage (Women)	63.52
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	67.16
Poll Percentage (General Women)	62.17

Source- Election Commission of India

Polling percentage for men and women in the 2014 general elections was more or less same in Jharkhand, 64.29% for men and 63.52% average percentage for women. Voters turnout among tribal women was much higher than women who belong to the general category and higher than average voting percentage among total women as well. Polling percentage among tribal women was 67.16%, which was even higher than the average polling percentage across the state.

Table 5.28: 2019 Lok Sabha Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	7387035	1015908	3334614	11737557
Women	6577626	865533	3223910	10667069
Total	13964859	1881441	6558556	22404856

Source- Election Commission of India

Table-5.29 2019 Lok Sabha Elections Voters - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	4711877	626122	2304332	7642331
Women	4413916	579847	2287281	7281044
Total	9049386	1203939	4519268	14772593

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.30: 2019 Lok Sabha Elections Poll Percentage - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	66.8
Poll Percentage (Men)	65.11
Poll Percentage (Women)	68.26
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	70.95
Poll Percentage (General Women)	67.11

Source- Election Commission of India

In the 2019 general elections we can see that voter's turnout was highest among the tribal women i.e. 70.95%. Average voter's turnout for the state was 66.8%. Polling percentage was 65.11% for men and 68.36% for women in the state. Voters turnout among women belonging who belong to the general category was 67.11%, which was less than the participation shown by tribal women of the state.

Table 5.31: Comparative Study of Lok Sabha Elections since 2004

Lok Sabha Elections	2004	2009	2014	2019
Overall Poll Percentage	55.69	50.98%	63.82	66.8
Poll Percentage (Men)	62.38	53.83%	64.29	65.11
Poll Percentage (Women)	48.13	47.73%	63.52	68.26
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	50.93	52.15%	67.16	70.95
Poll Percentage (General Women)	47.81	46.66%	62.17	67.11

Source- Election Commission of India

There has been a rise in the voter's turnout in Jharkhand during the Lok Sabha elections since the state was formed. Total voters turnout rose from 55.69% in the year 2004 to 66.8% in the year 2019. A decline can be seen in the year 2009 in the overall voters turnout in the state along with voters turnout among women. However there is a continuous increase in the participation of tribal women in the voting process, which rose to about 70.95% in the year 2019 from 47.81% in the ear 2004.

Table 5.32: 2005 Legislative Assembly Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	5754557	1124964	2544099	9423620
Women	4941646	987809	2413127	8342528
Total	10696203	2112773	4957226	17766202

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.33: 2005 Legislative Assembly Voters Electors - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	3570922	650022	1597517	5818461
Women	2580558	436750	1295724	4313032
Total	6151556	1086780	2893431	10128820

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.34: 2005 Legislative Assembly Elections Poll Percentage - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	57.03
Poll Percentage (Men)	61.74
Poll Percentage (Women)	51.70
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	53.69
Poll Percentage (General/ Women)	52.22

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2005 Legislative Assembly elections in the state overall voter's turnout was 57.03%. Polling percentage was highest among men being about 61.74%. Average voters turnout among total women in the state was 51.70%, which was less than the voters turnout among the tribal women. Polling percentage among tribal women was 53.69% and among women belonging to the general category was 52.22%.

Table 5.35: 2009 Legislative Assembly Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	5819348	1150919	2561576	9531843
Women	5029402	1039416	2444977	8513795
Total	10848750	2190335	5006553	18045638

Source- Election Commission of India

Table-5.36: 2009 Legislative Assembly Elections Voters - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	3384068	635426	1616681	5636175
Women	2697766	502013	1442786	4642565
Total	6081325	1137475	3060209	10279009

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.37: 2009 Legislative Assembly Elections Poll Percentage - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	56.97
Poll Percentage (Men)	59.12
Poll Percentage (Women)	54.53
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	59.01
Poll Percentage (General/ Women)	53.64

Source- Election Commission of India

Polling percentage on an average for the 2009 Assembly elections was 56.97%. Voters turnout among men was 59.12%, which was higher than the total voter's turnout among women. Voters turnout among tribal women was the highest among all being 59.01% in the state. Voters turnout among women belonging to the general category was 53.64% and among women in total was 54.53%. Participation of tribal women in the voting process was even better than men in the state.

Table 5.38: 2014 Legislative Assembly Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	6585326	1371090	2999438	10955854
Women	5774368	1223168	2899288	9896924
Total	12359718	2594260	5898830	20852808

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.39: 2014 Legislative Assembly Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	4300547	852394	2067165	7220106
Women	3882055	764203	1985002	6631260
Total	8096356	1573086	3963744	13633186

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.40: 2014 Legislative Assembly Elections Poll Percentage - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	66.53
Poll Percentage (Men)	65.90
Poll Percentage (Women)	67.00
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	68.47
Poll Percentage (General Women)	67.23

Source- Election Commission of India

Voters turnout during the 2014 Assembly elections in the state was 66.53%. Voting percentage continued to be highest among the tribal women i.e. 68.47%. Polling percentage was higher among tribal women as compared to women belonging to general category. Voters turnout among men was 65.90% were as among women it was 67%. Participation of women in the voting process was higher than the men in the state.

Table 5.41: 2019 Legislative Assembly Elections Electors - Jharkhand

Electors	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	7242546	1507339	3232129	11982014
Women	6517014	1369265	3189453	11075732
Total	13759798	2876614	6421623	23058035

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.42: 2019 Legislative Assembly Elections Voters - Jharkhand

Voters	General	SC	ST	Total
Men	4525733	925321	2167287	7618341
Women	4346264	894599	2170994	7411857
Total	8796686	1785107	4262065	14843858

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.43: 2019 Legislative Assembly Elections Poll Percentage - Jharkhand

Overall Poll Percentage	64.38
Poll Percentage (Men)	63.58
Poll Percentage (Women)	66.92
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	68.07
Poll Percentage (General Women)	66.70

Source- Election Commission of India

Over all voters turnout in the 2019 Assembly elections in the state was 64.38%. Participation of tribal women in the voting process was highest i.e. about 68.07%. Voters participation among men was 63.58%, which was less than total women participation in state. Voters turnout among women belonging to the general category was 66.70% and total women participation was 66.92%. Tribal women were ahead of both women from non-tribal communities and men as well.

Table 5.44: Comparative Study of Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections since 2005

Legislative Assembly Elections	2005	2009	2014	2019
Overall Poll Percentage	57.03	56.97	66.53	64.38
Poll Percentage (Men)	61.74	59.12	65.90	63.58
Poll Percentage (Women)	51.70	54.53	67.00	66.92
Poll Percentage (Tribal Women)	53.69	59.01	68.47	68.07
Poll Percentage (General/Women)	52.22	53.64	67.23	66.70

Source- Election Commission of India

From the table we can see that over all polling percentage has increased since 2005 with a slight fall in the year 2009. There is a constant increase in the participation of women as voters in the Legislative Assembly Election since 2005. Total participation of women voters rose from 51.70% in the year 2005 to 66.92% in the year 2019. Participation of tribal women in voting process rose from 53.69% in the year 2005 to 66.70% in the year 2019. By the year 2019 we can see that voting percentage among women both tribal and non-tribal is higher than men in the state.

Women in Legislative Bodies

Representations of women in the Parliament and State Assemblies have been very poor in the country since independence. Women are not only poorly represented in legislative bodies, but also denied access to top ministerial level posts in the State and Central Governments. Political parties are reluctant to invest their resources on women candidates, only women belonging to families with political influence are taken into consideration. Political parties do claim that they are giving more representation to women within the party structure, but when it comes to giving tickets men are always the front runners. Many women candidates are forced to fight elections independently if they fail to get the support of any political party. From the study we can find that women candidates are not only less popular among political parties but also among the common voters.

For the purpose of the study details of women candidates from Jharkhand of four General Elections i.e. 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 and four Legislative Assemble Elections i.e. 2005, 2009, 2014 and 2019 has been taken into consideration. Women from Jharkhand are poorly represented in the Lower House of the Parliament, with only three women elected since 2004 to the Lok Sabha. Sushila Kerketta was elected in the year 2014 while Annapurna Devi and Geeta Kora elected in 2019. Mabel Rebello was the only women who represented Jharkhand in the Rajya Sabha from the year 2006 to 2012. No woman

politician from Jharkhand has been a part of any important Ministry in the Central Government till date.

After the formation of the State representation of women in the state legislature has not been very satisfactory in Jharkhand. State had witnessed political instability since its formation. Most of the government failed to complete their full term resulting in President rule in the state due to absence of stable government. First government to complete its full tenure was under the leadership of Raghubar Das formed in the year 2014. In spite of the instability a few women were able to grab a position for themselves in the Council of Ministers. Joba Majhi, Neera Yadav, Annapurna Devi, Geeta Shree Oraon, Vimla Oraon and Sudha Choudhary are few women politicians who were a part of the ministry under different government formed in the state since the year 2000.

Table 5.45: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2005-List of Women Candidates

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Mary Baski	Barhait	ST	BSP	L	2103	2.28	92190
Nirmala Bharti	Deoghar	SC	BSP	L	8345	5.73	145746
Sheela Devi	Poreyahat	G	IND	L	2116	1.54	137635
Nadra Begum	Ramgarh	G	CPI	L	28970	19.16	151233
Savitri Chaturvedi	Ramgarh	G	IND	L	2507	1.66	151233
Subo Devi	Ramgarh	G	IND	L	1055	0.70	151233
Tetri Alias Shila Devi	Hazaribagh	G	BSP		1106	0.73	150929
Sneh Lata Devi	Hazaribagh	G	IND	L	625	0.41	150929
Nirmala Das	Jamua	SC	BSP	L	3275	2.41	135735
Anima Hansda	Giridhi	G	IND	L	1887	1.78	106024
Bani Mondal	Giridhi	G	IND	L	790	0.75	106024
Lalita Devi	Gomia	G	JKP	L	444	0.37	121315
Gayatri Devi	Bokaro	G	SPL(L)	L	890	0.40	222623
Punam Shrivastav	Bokaro	G	IND	L	701	0.31	222623
Meera Kishore	Chandankiyari	SC	IND	L	4056	3.72	109069
Savitri Lal	Chandankiyari	SC	AITC	L	1146	1.05	109069
Meera Devi	Sindhri	G	CPI(M L)(L)	L	5440	3.62	150086
Aparna Sengupta	Nirsa	G	AIFB	W	50533	31.72	159325
Jayanti Sinha	Nirsa	G	LIP	L	2172	1.36	15923
Neelam Singh	Dhanbad	G	BSP	L	2261	1.20	188087

Kunti Devi	Jharia	G	BJP	W	62900	43.41	144897
Shakuntala Devi	Jharia	G	SHS	L	662	0.46	144897
Saraswati Devi	Baghmara	G	MCO	L	1903	1.29	146994
Sarala Mahato	Baharagora	G	IND	L	2515	1.85	136068
Jawa Rani Baskey	Baharagora	G	IND	L	710	0.52	136068
Menka Sardar	Potka	ST	BJP	L	40001	30.19	132509
Gitali Patra	Potka	ST	NCP	L	1581	1.19	132509
Padmini Habsda	Potka	ST	IND	L	895	0.68	132509
Rakhi Roy	Jugsalai	SC	AJSU	L	6225	4.43	140514
Alpaana Bose	Jamshedpur East	G	JKPP	L	908	0.74	122947
Shrimanti Shashi Bose	Jamshedpur East	G	IND	L	453	0.37	122947
Ayesha Ahmad	Jamshedpur West	G	INC	L	19269	13.12	146863
Asha Singh	Jamshedpur West	G	JVC	L	410	0.28	146863
Chami Murmu	Seralkella	ST	IND	L	2000	1.34	149745
Sunita Sundi	Jaganathpur	SY	IND	L	4875	6.66	73162
Joba Majhi	Manoharpur	ST	UGDP	W	26810	30.68	87386
Albina Topno	Manoharpur	ST	IND	L	833	0.95	87386
Ladu Jonko	Chakradharpur	ST	CPI	L	2284	2.74	83494
Kunti Soy	Kharsawan	ST	INC	L	19453	17.80	109308
Malti Purti	Kharsawan	ST	IND	L	599	0.55	109308
Dimple Lamay	Kharsawan	ST	IND	L	354	0.32	109308
Ranji Kandulna	Torpa	ST	IND	L	4239	5.16	82152
Vayalet Kachchhap	Torpa	ST	RJD	L	1876	2.28	82152
Ani Bela Gorla	Torpa	ST	AJSU	L	1035	1.26	82152
Asha Lakra	Torpa	ST	JD(S)	L	525	0.64	82152
Manjula Oraon	Khunti	ST	IND	L	2788	2.93	85289
Sheela Kacchap	Khunti	ST	IND	L	756	0.79	95289
Bimla Horo	Khunti	ST	IND	L	564	0.59	95289
Dhara Devi	Silli	G	IND	L	459	0.43	107069
Sundari Devi	Khijri	ST	RJD	L	6813	4.63	147024
Pushpa Devi	Khijri	ST	IND	L	3040	2.07	147024
Vina Munda	Khijri	ST	IJP	L	1004	0.68	147024
Minaxi Kujur	Khijri	ST	JKKP	L	631	0.43	147024
Rani Kumari	Ranchi	G	LJP	L	537	0.37	143936
Pushpa Toppo	Ranchi	G	IND	L	362	0.25	143936
Sushma Devi	Hatia	G	BSP	L	579	0.35	165837
Rita Devi	Hatia	G	IND	L	376	0.23	165837
Sulekha Devi	Kanke	SC	IND	L	1538	0.90	151013

Meera Devi	Kanke	SC	IND	L	1153	0.76	151013
Sita Devi	Kanke	SC	JKP	L	927	0.61	151013
Poonam Bala	Kanke	SC	LIP	L	549	0.36	151013
Jeeta Ekka	Mandar	ST	JKP	L	831	0.59	140230
Folen Kujur	Sisai	ST	RJD	L	1445	1.41	102477
Drthia Tirkey	Gumal	ST	BSP	L	2815	3.00	93766
Salomi Barha	Gumla	ST	JVC	L	968	1.03	93766
Manju Devi	Kolebira	ST	IND	L	2247	2.27	99157
Shila Devi	Kolebira	ST	JVD	L	739	0.75	99157
Suchita Toppo	Lohardaga	ST	LIP	L	1526	1.08	106767
Anjali Oraon	Lohardaga	ST	IND	L	1154	1.08	106767
Meri Teresa Lakra	Manika	ST	IND	L	1200	1.42	84310
Pushpa Devi	Chhatarpur	SC	RJD	L	23234	22.94	101270
Sudha Chaudhary	Chhatarpur	SC	IND	L	10399	10.27	101270
Usha Devui	Hussanabad	G	LIP	L	9379	8.55	109656
Sogra Biwi	Bhawanathpur	G	CPI(M L)(L)	L	7379	4.78	154360

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.46: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2005-Success Rate of Candidates

2005 Legislative Assembly	Contested	Elected
Men	1296	78
Women	74	3
Tribal women	30	1
Non -tribal women General	34	2
SC	10	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2005 Legislative Assembly Elections held in Jharkhand about 1296 male candidates were as 74 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 5.40% candidates were women in the election. Out of total women candidates about 40.54% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 13.51% was from the schedule caste category. About 45.95% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.45 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus only 34 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 1370 total candidates, which is only 2.48% of the total candidates. About 30 women were independent candidates for the election. About 40.54 women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 3 women were successfully elected in

their respective constituencies out of 81 Members of the Legislative Assembly. Thus only 3.70% of the MLAs were women in the 2005 Assembly Election in the state.

From the table 5.45 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 33 candidates i.e. 44.59% of women candidates could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 74 candidates 29 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, 4 of them secured between 5% to 10%, another four secured between 10% to 20%. Only 1 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%, 2 candidates secured between 30% to 40% votes and only 1 women could secure more than 40% of total votes secured.

Table 5.47: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2009-List of Women Candidates

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Prabhawati Baskey	Borio	ST	CPM	L	3111	2.73	113973
Mndakini Murmu	Borio	ST	LIP	L	995	0.87	113973
Sunita Hansda	Boria	ST	IND	L	3114	2.73	113973
Meri Salomi Murmu	Barhait	ST	SHS	L	763	0.75	101448
Beena Pani Hansda	Barhait	ST	AITC	L	847	0.83	101448
Mnjula Hansda	Pakhur	G	IND	L	992	0.59	169148
Ameliya Hansda	Maheshpur	ST	RSP	L	1807	1.59	113529
Pramodini Hembrom	Maheshpur	ST	IND	L	1193	1.05	113529
Munni Hansda	Shikaripara	ST	AITC	L	4641	4.31	107668
Amita Rakshit	Nala	G	INC	L	10048	8.27	121478
Nuramani Hansdak	Nala	G	IND	L	682	0.56	121478
Baby Sarkar	Jamtara	G	BJP	L	9228	6.85	134741
Louis Marandi	Dumka	ST	BJP	L	32460	28.63	113376
Nirmala Murmu	Dumka	ST	RSP	L	555	0.49	113376
Meena Soren	Dumka	ST	IND	L	535	0.47	113376
Sona Murmu	Dumka	ST	IND	L	597	0.53	113376
Vijaya Pahan	Jama	ST	RJD	L	2323	2.37	98012
Sita Soren	Jama	ST	JMM	W	38550	39.33	98012
Parbati Hembrom	Jama	ST	IND	L	660	0.67	98012
Sushila Devi	Jarmundi	G	IND	L	431	0.37	116078

Aamina Khatoon	Madhupur	G	IND	L	870	0.59	147564
Babita Rao Patel	Madhupur	G	AJSUP	L	1102	0.75	147564
Rakhi Devi	Deoghar	SC	CPI (ML)(L)	L	1307	0.96	136267
Buniya Devi	Poreyahat	G	RJD	L	2655	1.91	139137
Annapurna Devi	Kodarma	G	RJD	W	46922	31.85	147339
Shobha Kumari	Kodarma	G	JKP	L	551	0.37	147339
Pramila Warnwal	Barkatha	G	AITC	L	1768	1.24	142062
Sunita Devi	Mandhu	G	LIP	L	996	0.59	168825
Sheela Devi	Hazaribagh	G	BSP	L	1073	0.73	147234
Snehlata Devi	Hazaribag	G	IND	L	950	0.65	147234
Devanti Bharti	Jamua	SC	IND	L	1322	1.05	126346
Kanchan Hari	Jamua	SC	JKP	L	731	0.58	126346
Punam Prakash	Gandey	G	BJP	L	21865	16.88	131067
Meenakshi Devi	Gandey	G	RJD	L	2428	1.85	131067
Anima Hansda	Gandey	G	AJSUP	L	2540	1.94	131067
Pramli Devi	Gandey	G	IND	L	1109	0.85	131067
Salini Devi	Gomiya	G	BSP	L	8745	6.49	134839
Sabi Devi	Gomiya	G	IND	L	19023	14.11	134839
Chinta Devi	Bermp	G	AITC	L	592	0.42	140304
Gayatri Devi Mahato	Bokaro	G	IND	L	673	0.34	199452
Durga Devi Tapadiya	Bokaro	G	IND	L	285	0.14	199452
Fulava Devi	Chandankyari	SC	BSP	L	463	0.39	120167
Aparna Sengupta	Nirsa	G	AIFB	L	17597	11.17	157469
Kiran Hembram	Dhanbad	G	CPI (ML)(L)	L	564	0.36	158851
Hamda Khatoon	Dhanbad	G	BSA	L	478	0.30	158851
Abo Devi	Jharia	G	RJD	L	9207	7.59	121527
Kunti Devi	Jharia	G	BJP	W	49131	40.52	121527
Lalmati Devi	Jharia	G	JKM	L	259	0.21	121527
Pratima Devi	Tundi	G	BSP	L	1658	1.22	135427
Joba Rani Basley	Bharagora	G	JKP	L	1360	0.99	137462
Menaka Sardar	Potka	ST	BJP	W	44095	33.36	132181
Anjali Singh	Potka	ST	IND	L	844	0.64	132181
Sharda Devi	Jugashlai	SC	RJD	L	2894	1.94	149549
Rakhi Roy	Jugashlai	SC	BJP	L	39328	26.30	149549
Ritika Mukhi	Jugashlai	SC	INC	L	17087	11.43	149549
Alpana Bose	Jamshedpur East	G	JHJAP	L	328	0.29	111679

Madhulika Mehta	Jamshedpur East	G	IND	L	603	0.54	111679
Baby Mahato	Jamshedpur West	G	AMB	L	194	0.16	122873
Bhawani Mahato	Ichagarh	G	UGDP	L	882	0.62	141662
Sarita Hembrom	Saraikella	ST	RJD	L	1654	1.11	149082
Manju Munda	Chaibasa	ST	BSP	L	1196	1.16	102983
Geeta Balmuchu	Chaibasa	ST	UGDP	L	3401	3.30	102983
Laxmi Pingua	Majhganon	ST	IND	L	1810	1.87	96767
Geeta Kora	Jaganathpur	ST	JBSP	W	37145	45.21	82127
Parwati Samanta	Jaganathpur	ST	ABHM	L	937	1.14	82127
Hiramani Kui	Jaganathpur	ST	INNPT	L	1434	1.75	82127
Navami Oraon	Manoharpur	ST	JMM	L	21091	21.71	97147
Joba Majhi	Manoharpur	ST	UGDP	L	20828	21.44	97147
Sushila Toppo	Manoharpur	ST	IND	L	2639	2.72	97147
Nitima Bodra Bari	Kharasawan	ST	RADP	L	6035	5.39	95040
Cecilia Merwar	Torpa	ST	RJD	L	828	0.98	84721
Ani Bela Guria	Torpa	ST	UGDP	L	607	0.72	84721
Shanti Hembrom	Torpa	ST	IND	L	1355	1.60	84721
Basanti Munda	Khunti	ST	AJSUP	L	723	0.76	95040
Sushila Ekka	Khijri	ST	JMM	L	1723	1.20	143421
Pushpa Devi	Khijri	ST	LIVM	L	4190	2.92	143421
Meenakshi Kujur	Khijri	ST	IND	L	1234	0.86	143421
Sundari Devi	Khijri	ST	RJD	L	3313	2.31	143421
Leelawati Gupta	Ranchi	G	IND	L	498	0.43	116328
Arti Behera	Hatia	G	LTSD	L	623	0.41	150164
Urmila Yadav	Hatia	G	BSP	L	1226	0.82	150164
Pratima Kumari	Kanke	SC	SVKP	L	567	0.39	144559
Shanti Devi	Kanke	SC	AJSUP	L	9091	6.29	144559
Nirasho Kumari	Kanke	SC	IND	L	702	0.49	144559
Prem Lata Tigga	Mander	ST	IND	L	613	0.40	154805
Geeta Shree Oraon	Sisei	ST	INC	W	39260	34.37	114232
Asha Josephine Minj	Gumla	ST	IND	L	371	0.36	103327
Kalawati Devi	Bishunpur	ST	LTSD	L	842	0.70	120214
Rameshwari Devi	Bishunpur	ST	AJSUP	L	2190	1.82	120214
Padma Baraik	Bishunpur	ST	IND	L	1023	0.85	120214

Rojneet Tirkey	Bishunpur	ST	IND	L	1143	0.95	120214
Vimla Pradhan	Simdega	ST	BJP	W	38476	33.18	115975
Aashamani Devi	Lohardada	ST	CPI (ML)(L)	L	2238	1.92	116556
Vijay Laxmi Khalko	Lohardaga	ST	LTSD	L	1372	1.18	116556
Sushila Devi	Manika	ST	BSP	L	1537	1.81	84825
Anita Devi	Latehar	SC	LJVM	L	1062	1.01	105054
Kavita Singh	Panki	G	CPI (ML)(L)	L	6921	6.23	111139
Fuleshwari Devi	Daltonganj	G	IND	L	1534	1.04	146920
Indu Devi	Daltonganj	G	RSWD	L	522	0.36	146920
Meena Devi	Daltonganj	G	JKP	L	481	0.33	146920
Geeta Devi	Bishranpur	G	IND	L	1038	0.84	123308
Sudha Choudhary	Chattarpur	SC	JDU	W	24854	28.23	91585
Jasmati Devi	Chattarpur	SC	RLD	L	988	1.08	91585
Sumitra Paswan	Chattarpur	SC	RASD	L	938	1.02	91585
Sunita Devi	Chattarpur	SC	IND	L	1841	2.01	91585
Kumari Archana Bhagat	Garhwa	G	IND	L	851	0.57	150022
Sogara Bibi	Bhawanathpur	G	CPI (ML)(L)	L	20901	13.25	157697

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.48: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2009-Success Rate of Candidates

2009 Legislative Assembly	Contested	Elected
Men	1384	73
Women	107	8
Tribal women	47	5
Non -tribal women General	45	2
SC	15	1

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2009 Legislative Assembly Elections held in Jharkhand about 1384 male candidates were as 107 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 7.18% candidates were women in the election. Out of total women candidates about 43.93% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 14.01% was from the schedule caste category. About 42.06% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.47 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 76 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 1491 total candidates, which is only 5.10% of the total candidates. About 31 women were

independent candidates for the election. About 40.54 women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 8 women were successfully elected in their respective constituencies out of 81 Members of the Legislative Assembly. Thus only 9.88% of the MLAs were women in the 2009 Assembly Election in the state.

From the table 5.47 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 50 candidates i.e. 46.73% of women candidates could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 107 candidates 33 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, 7 of them secured between 5% to 10%, another 5 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 5 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%, 4 candidates secured between 30% to 40% votes and only 3 women could secure more than 40% of total votes secured.

Table 5.49: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2014-List of Women Candidates

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Krishna Mahato	Rajmahal	G	JVM	L	1617	0.63	195105
Manju Snehlata Hembrom	Borio	ST	INC	L	2673	1.69	158169
Sonoti Soren	Borio	ST	SAP	L	1042	0.66	158169
Violet Miru Murmu	Borio	ST	BMUP	L	1004	0.63	158169
Monika Kisku	Barhait	ST	INC	L	7151	5.28	135382
Asmannara Khatun	Pakur	G	JVM	L	2776	1.18	235341
Benazeer Haseena	Pakur	G	IUML	L	524	0.22	235341
Gamlina Soren	Maheshpur	ST	CPM	L	8798	5.47	160831
Munni Hansda	Shikariapara	ST	MCO	L	2644	1.80	147195
Lois Marandi	Dumka	ST	BJP	W	69760	44.65	156222
Sita Soren	Jama	ST	JMM	W	53250	39.80	133778
Parwati Hembram	Jama	ST	IND	L	904	0.68	133778
Arunima Sinha	Madhupur	G	IND	L	725	0.36	199051
Jimoli Soren	Sarath	ST	IND	L	2509	1.35	185656
Gajala Perveen	Sarath	G	BMUP	L	648	0.35	185656
Nirmala Bharti	Deofghar	SC	JMM	L	23459	10.81	216691

Neebha Jaiswal	Poreyahat	G	BSP	L	4314	2.39	180310
Hasina Ansari	Godda	G	IND	L	1660	0.93	178916
Dr. Neera Yadav	Kodarma	G	BJP	W	84874	42.88	197934
Annapurna Devi	Kodarma	G	RJD	L	71349	36.05	197934
Sabi Devi	Barhi	G	JMM	L	39255	22.50	174446
Manju Gautam	Barhi	G	CPI	L	3412	1.96	174446
Nirmala Devi	Barkagaon	G	INC	W	61817	29.24	211410
Dropadi Devi	Barkagaon	G	IND	L	688	0.33	211410
Manju Joshi	Ramgarh	G	IND	L	1015	0.50	201750
Sarita Rana	Hazaribagh	G	BASAPA	L	1441	0.71	201708
Sheela Devi	Hazaribagh	G	BSP	L	791	0.39	201708
Rajkumari Devi	Simaria	SC	JMM	L	6671	3.61	184693
Manorma Devi	Chatra	SC	JMM	L	3041	1.67	181904
Puja Chatterjee	Bagodar	G	INC	L	3281	1.71	192177
Manju Kumari	Jamua	SC	JVD	L	2074	1.31	158642
Lalita Ray	Gandey	G	IND	L	1833	1.08	169016
Ruma Singh	Giridhi	G	INC	L	26665	17.80	149834
Shobha Devi	Gomia	G	CPI (ML)(L)	L	794	0.45	177018
Llita Devi	Bokaro	G	IND	L	744	0.28	263513
Sita Devi	Bokaro	G	IND	L	371	0.14	263513
Geeta Devi	Chandankyari	SC	IND	L	997	0.62	160084
Kalidasi Bauri	Chandankyari	SC	SUCI	L	853	0.53	160084
Rekha Mondal	Sindhri	G	JVM	L	3980	1.97	202044
Sita Devi	Sindhri	G	IND	L	450	0.22	202044
Aparna Sengupta	Nirsa	G	AIFB	L	23633	11.75	201060
Anita Gorai	Nirsa	G	IND	L	11123	5.53	201060
Durga Das	Nirsa	G	INC	L	2216	1.10	201060
Usha Kumari	Baghmara	SC	JPS	L	749	0.45	167662
Cindrella Balmunchu	Ghatsila	ST	INC	L	36672	22.69	161635
Gita Murmu	Ghatsila	ST	JVM	L	1953	1.21	161635
Menaka Sardar	Potka	ST	BJP	W	68191	36.69	185859
Dukhni Mai Sardar	Potka	ST	INC	L	14227	7.65	185859
Dipali Sardar	Potka	ST	IND	L	1710	0.92	185859

Sushma Hembram	Potka	ST	APOI	L	1696	0.91	185859
Kamaljeet Kaur Gill	Jamshedpur East	G	JVM	L	3987	2.37	168237
Alpana Bose	Jamshedpur East	G	RJSP	L	684	0.41	168237
Pushpa Boypai	Jamshedpur East	G	ABM	L	209	0.13	168237
Reshma Mahato	Jamshedpur West	G	JKP	L	368	0.19	191225
Mala Singh	Jamshedpur West	G	SP	L	217	0.11	191225
Rekha Mahato	Jamshedpur West	G	AMB	L	206	0.11	191225
Sabita Mahato	Ichagarg	G	JMM	L	33384	18.82	177346
Bhuwneshwar i Mahato	Ichagarh	G	IND	L	1000	0.58	177346
Geeta Sundi	Chaibasa	ST	JVM	L	4096	2.90	141266
Sukhmati Barjo	Chaibasa	ST	BSP	L	2422	1.71	141266
Geeta Kora	Jaganathpur	ST	JBSP	W	48546	42.84	113318
Joba Manjhi	Manoharpur	ST	JMM	W	57558	45.16	185511
Navami Oroan	Chakradharpur	ST	BJP	L	37948	52.38	122951
Salomi Tuti	Tamar	ST	JMM	L	2821	2.11	133957
Lakhimani Devi	Tamar	ST	CPI (ML)(L)	L	2228	1.66	133957
Asrita Tuti	Tamar	ST	AKBJHP	L	1272	0.95	133957
Clementia Hembrom	Torpa	ST	AITC	L	2324	2.23	103993
Pushpa Suren	Khunti	ST	INC	L	17544	14.64	119825
Snehlata Kandulna	Khunti	ST	BMUP	L	1206	1.01	119825
Rangowati Devi	Silli	G	CPM	L	3279	2.29	143156
Sundari Devi	Khijri	ST	INC	L	29669	16.46	180239
Amrita Kujur	Khijri	ST	IND	L	1495	0.63	180239
Asrita Khalkho	Khijri	ST	SUCI	L	1414	0.78	180239
Mary Tirkey	Khijri	ST	CPI (ML)(L)	L	653	0.36	180239
Fullo Mena Munda	Khijri	ST	IND	L	639	0.35	180239
Mahua Maji	Ranchi	G	JMM	L	36897	24.81	148737
Kumari Rakhi	Ranchi	G	IND	L	238	0.16	148737
Seema Sharma	Hatia	G	BJP	L	80210	36.77	218129
Punam Singh	Hatia	G	IND	L	699	0.32	218129

Aklima Khatoon	Hatia	G	BSP	L	627	0.29	218129
Sumitra Oraon	Hatia	ST	IND	L	235	0.11	218129
Cndra Rashmi	Kanke	SC	SAP	L	434	0.21	207623
Gangotri Kujur	Mander	ST	BJP	W	54200	28.50	190147
Sukhimani Tigga	Mander	ST	SP	L	8055	4.24	190147
Hemlata Oraon	Mander	ST	IND	L	5320	2.80	190147
Geetasree Oraon	Sisai	ST	IND	L	26128	18.22	143378
Kiran Bara	Sisai	ST	JKP	L	8648	6.03	143378
Sushila Minj	Gumla	ST	AITC	L	809	0.62	129793
Gulab Kujur	Gumla	ST	AKBJHP	L	677	0.52	129793
Boby Bhagat	Bishunpur	ST	INC	L	11781	8.01	147161
Vimla Pradhan	Simdega	ST	BJP	W	45343	33.38	135852
Menon Ekka	Simdega	ST	JKB	L	42149	31.03	135852
Deepa Kumari Baraik	Simdega	ST	JVM	L	4882	3.59	135852
Melani Ekka	Simdega	ST	IND	L	1680	1.24	135852
Madhri Soreng	Kolebira	ST	JVM	L	1510	1.22	123701
Anita Minz	Lohardaga	ST	JVM	L	4123	2.81	146657
Jaiwanti Bhagat	Lohardaga	ST	IND	L	1285	0.88	146657
Neera Devi	Manika	ST	AITC	L	6326	4.95	127845
Shilpa Kumari	Manika	ST	JMM	L	5975	4.67	127845
Anita Minj	Manika	ST	IND	L	4750	3.72	127845
Rajmuni Kumari	Manika	ST	BSP	L	1583	1.24	127845
Kavita Singh	Panki	G	CPI(ML) (L)	L	1810	1.15	156962
Indu Devi	Daltonganj	G	IND	L	1167	0.59	198767
Anju Singh	Bishrampur	G	IND	L	24064	14.39	167269
Sudha Chaudhary	Chattarpur	SC	JDU	L	10096	7.06	143077
Renu Devi	Chattarpur	SC	BSP	L	2768	1.93	143077
Pramita Devi	Chattarpur	SC	BSUD	L	1077	0.75	143077
Kanchan Kesari	Garhwa	G	NSAM	L	797	0.39	203496
Vijay Laxmi Devi	Bhawanathpur	SC	JMM	L	1012	0.48	211904

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.50: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2014-Success Rate of Candidates

2014 Legislative Assembly	Contested	Elected
Men	1025	69
Women	109	9
Tribal women	51	7
Non -tribal women General	48	2
SC	10	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2009 Legislative Assembly Elections held in Jharkhand about 1025 male candidates were as 109 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 9.61% candidates were women in the election. Out of total women candidates about 46.79% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 9.17% were from the schedule caste category. About 44.04% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.49 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 85 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 1134 total candidates, which is only 7.50% of the total candidates. About 24 women were independent candidates for the election. About 22.02% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 9 women were successfully elected in their respective constituencies out of 78 Members of the Legislative Assembly. Thus only 11.54% of the MLAs were women in the 2014 Assembly Election in the state.

From the table 5.49 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 46 candidates i.e. 42.20% of women candidates could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 109 candidates 37 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, 6 of them secured between 5% to 10%, another 7 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 3 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%, 5 candidates secured between 30% to 40% votes and only 4 women could secure more than 40% of total votes secured, while 1 candidate secured more than 50% oth the total vote.

Table 5.51: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2019-List of Women Candidates

Name of Candidate	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Valid Votes
Nasima Khanam	Rajmahal	G	AIMIM	L	862	0.41	210394
Goresti Soren	Borio	ST	RTMP	L	1199	0.73	163232
Sheela Tudu	Barhait	ST	AITC	L	891	0.65	137822
Mary Nisha Hansdak	Barhait	ST	IND	L	971	0.7	137822
Lili Hansda	Barhait	ST	IND	L	1302	0.94	137822
Fulmuni Marandi	Littipara	ST	IND	L	1115	0.77	144199
Surji Devi	Pakur	G	SHS	L	1083	0.44	247227
Munni Hansda	Shikaripara	ST	AITC	L	1950	1.27	153333
Rekha Hembrom	Shikaripara	ST	RJPB	L	588	0.38	153333
Joba Rani Pal	Nala	G	AITC	L	1107	0.63	175462
Pushpa Soren	Nala	ST	JVM	L	2592	1.48	175462
Chameli Devi	Jamtara	G	AJSUP	L	4780	2.25	212451
Sunita Hansda	Jamtara	G	RTMP	L	629	0.3	212451
Anjula Murmu	Dumka	ST	JVM	L	3156	1.9	165779
Lois Marandi	Dumka	ST	BJP	L	67819	40.91	165779
Miru Hansda	Dumka	ST	AAAP	L	461	0.28	165779
Sita Murmu	Jama	ST	JMM	W	60925	42.43	143591
Steffy Teresa Murmu	Jama	ST	AJSUP	L	3351	2.33	143591
Arpana Kumari	Jarmundi	G	JD(U)	L	669	0.41	162951
Babita Rao Patel	Jarmundi	G	SAP	L	485	0.3	162951
Fulkumari Devi	Jarmundi	G	IND	L	17313	10.62	162951
Sushila Devi	Jarmundi	G	IND	L	692	0.42	162951
Pinki Kumari	Sarath	G	IND	L	5666	2.65	213882
Nirmala Bharti	Deoghar	SC	JVM	L	9970	4.28	232865
Phool Kumari	Godda	G	JVM	L	1728	0.9	191478
Babita Devi	Godda	SC	NCP	L	899	0.47	191478
Deepika Pandey Singh	Mahagama	G	INC	W	89224	45.49	196119
Bibi Nishat Zia	Mahagama	G	NCP	L	1159	0.59	196119
Gouri Priya	Mahagama	G	IND	L	4136	2.11	196119
Shahnaz Khatoon	Mahagama	G	IND	L	618	0.32	196119
Dr. Neera Yadav	Kodarma	G	BJP	W	63675	31.35	203121
Shalini Gupta	Kodarma	G	AJSUP	L	45014	22.16	203121
Chhathi Devi	Barhi	SC	RTMP	L	599	0.33	180319
Amba Prasad	Barkagaon	G	INC	W	98862	44.13	224045
Salma Khatoon	Barkagaon	G	AITC	L	508	0.23	224045
Geeta Devi	Barkagaon	G	JKPS	L	448	0.2	224045
Anju Devi	Barkagaon	G	IND	L	1862	0.83	224045
Mamta Devi	Ramgarh	G	INC	W	99944	44.7	223577

Sunita Choudhary	Ramgarh	G	AJSUP	L	71226	31.86	223577
Zoya Parween	Ramgarh	G	BHAZS	L	398	0.18	223577
Suvo Devi	Ramgarh	SC	IND	L	255	0.11	223577
Babita Devi	Mandu	G	JMM (U)	L	1732	0.73	238894
Sajada Khatoon	Mandu	G	PSPL	L	1251	0.52	238894
Sneh Lata Devi	Hazaribagh	SC	IND	L	784	0.36	216223
Rajani Kaur	Bagoder	G	JVM	L	8749	4.11	212795
Manju Kumari	Jamua	SC	INC	L	40293	23.21	173627
Karmila Tudu	Gandey	G	IND	L	9056	4.83	187343
Lalita Ray	Gandey	G	IND	L	2076	1.11	187343
Sima Kumari	Giridih	G	AITC	L	833	0.5	167822
Shweta Kumari	Giridih	SC	AAAP	L	1182	0.7	167822
Yashoda Devi	Dumri	G	AJSUP	L	36840	19.36	190289
Babita Devi	Gumla	G	JMM	L	60922	32.13	189588
Sabita Devi	Bermo	G	JKPS	L	1806	0.95	189734
Nitu Singh	Bermo	G	IND	L	1136	0.6	189734
Shweta Singh	Bokaro	G	INC	L	99020	36.51	271225
Uma Kumari	Bokaro	G	IND	L	914	0.34	271225
Jayanti Kumari	Bokaro	G	IND	L	2226	0.82	271225
Renu Sharma	Bokaro	G	IND	L	351	0.13	271225
Lalita Devi	Bokaro	G	IND	L	445	0.16	271225
Aparna Sengupta	Nirsa	G	BJP	W	89082	42.21	211063
Lakshmi Devi	Dhanbad	G	IND	L	831	0.36	230233
Usha Devi	Jharia	SC	AITC	L	348	0.22	158509
Purnima Niraj Singh	Jharia	G	INC	W	79786	50.34	158509
Ragini Singh	Jharia	G	BJP	L	67732	42.73	158509
Janki Devi	Jharia	G	APoI	L	513	0.32	158509
Sahjadi Khatoon	Jharia	G	JSVP	L	652	0.41	158509
Indu Devi	Baghmara	G	IND	L	306	0.17	179134
Kanchan Singh	Baghmara	G	IND	L	284	0.16	179134
Asha Rani Paul	Baharagora	G	SUCI (C)	L	366	0.21	171017
Dr Sunita Debdoot Soren	Ghatsila	ST	JVM	L	1738	1.02	170041
Bulu Rani Singh	Potka	ST	AJSUP	L	5735	2.88	199150
Menka Sardar	Potka	ST	BJP	L	67643	33.97	199150
Sunita Murmu	Potka	ST	IND	L	915	0.46	199150
Debjani Biswas	Jamshedpur East	G	AMB	L	263	0.15	173618
Hema Ghosh	Jamshedpur West	G	AITC	L	347	0.18	192476
Sabita Mahato	Ichagarh	G	JMM	W	57546	29.25	196729
Chandmani Balmuchu	Chaibasa	ST	JVM	L	6808	4.94	137944
Pushpa Sawaiyan	Chaibasa	ST	AAAP	L	447	0.32	137944

Pushpa Sinku	Chaibasa	ST	IND	L	4510	3.27	137944
Roshni Sinku	Majhganon	ST	AAAP	L	1116	0.85	131352
Jaya Rani Pareya	Jagannathpur	ST	IND	L	2489	2.19	113558
Laxmi Suren	Jagannathpur	ST	IND	L	6617	5.83	113558
Joba Majhi	Manoharpur	ST	JMM	W	50945	42.12	120962
Sushila Toppo	Manoharpur	ST	JVM	L	3557	2.94	120962
Dimpal Munda	Manoharpur	ST	JD(U)	L	1674	1.38	120962
Pushpa Munda	Chakradharpur	ST	IND	L	698	0.59	119203
Jingi Hembrom	Kharasawan	ST	JKP	L	1001	0.66	152311
Sumeriyan Kandeyang	Kharasawan	ST	IND	L	739	0.49	152311
Reeta Devi	Tamar	ST	BJP	L	18082	12.78	141476
Soni Orey	Tamar	ST	RTMP	L	1289	0.91	141476
Abinashi Mundu	Torpa	ST	LJP	L	1121	0.96	116993
Dayamani Barla	Khunti	ST	JVM	L	20726	15.66	132392
Meenakshi Munda	Khunti	ST	BTP	L	1623	1.23	132392
Seema Devi	Silli	G	JMM	L	63505	40.01	158708
Priya Barike	Khijri	ST	NAGA DHP	L	588	0.27	215267
Marcella Xalxo	Khijri	ST	RTMP	L	1190	0.55	215267
Sion Tirkey	Khijri	ST	LJVM	L	1296	0.6	215267
Sarita Tirkey	Khijri	ST	IND	L	4324	2.01	215267
Neha Soni	Ranchi	G	BSP	L	563	0.33	170276
Mahua Maji	Ranchi	G	JMM	L	73742	43.31	170276
Barsha Gari	Ranchi	ST	AJSUP	L	2603	1.53	170276
Jyoti Bhengra	Ranchi	ST	RTMP	L	165	0.1	170276
Shobha Yadav	Hatia	G	JVM	L	3470	1.38	251815
Urmila Yadav	Hatia	G	NAGA DHP	L	752	0.3	251815
Swastika Kumari	Hatia	G	PPID	L	427	0.17	251815
Dr. Basavi Kiro	Hatia	G	IND	L	264	0.1	251815
Arti Kumari Nayak	Kanke	SC	CPIM	L	846	0.33	254259
Hemlata Oraon	Mandar	ST	AJSUP	L	15708	6.99	224785
Geeta Orain	Mandar	ST	RTMP	L	983	0.44	224785
Muktilata Toppo	Sisai	ST	RTMP	L	360	0.22	161997
Sunita Topno	Sisai	ST	JKP	L	1048	0.65	161997
Saroj Hemrom	Gumla	ST	JKP	L	1228	0.87	140598
Kripa Lata Devi	Bishunpur	ST	JD(U)	L	732	0.45	164401
Pushpa Panna	Bishunpur	ST	IND	L	1101	0.67	164401
Fulmani Bara	Bishunpur	ST	IND	L	2214	1.35	164401
Ireen Ekka	Kolebira	ST	JKP	L	18700	14.69	127264
Neru Shanti Bhagat	Lohardaga	ST	AJSUP	L	39916	22.9	174312
Luwanti Kumari	Panki	G	RTMP	L	523	0.29	177902

Vijeta Verma	Daltonganj	G	NCP	L	1208	0.55	217999
Anju Singh	Bishrampur	G	JVM	L	24851	13.2	188207
Pushpa Devi	Chattarpur	SC	BJP	W	64127	39.39	162802
Sudha Chaudhary	Chattarpur	SC	JD(U)	L	8794	5.4	162802
Sumitra Paswan	Chattarpur	SC	JPJD	L	1650	1.01	162802
Sogra Bibi	Bhawanathpur	G	BSP	L	56914	22.28	255498
Rekha Chowdhry	Bhawanathpur	G	LJP	L	3625	1.42	255498
Shakuntala Devi	Bhawanathpur	G	JD(U)	L	2666	1.04	255498
Priyanka Devi	Bhawanathpur	G	IND	L	346	0.14	255498

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.52: Jharkhand Legislative Assembly Elections 2019-Success Rate of Candidates

2019 Legislative Assembly	Contested	Elected
Men	1088	71
Women	127	10
Tribal women	47	2
Non -tribal women General	74	6
SC	6	2

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2019 Legislative Assembly Elections held in Jharkhand about 1008 male candidates were as 127 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 11.20% candidates were women in the election. Out of total women candidates about 37% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 4.72% were from the schedule caste category. About 58.27% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.51 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 95 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 1135 total candidates, which is only 8.37% of the total candidates. About 32 women were independent candidates for the election. About 25.29% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 10 women were successfully elected in their respective constituencies out of 81 Members of the Legislative Assembly. Thus only 12.35% of the MLAs were women in the 2019 Assembly Election in the state.

From the table 5.51 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 69 candidates i.e. 54.33% of women candidates could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 127 candidates 28 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, 4 of

them secured between 5% to 10%, another 5 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 4 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%, 6 candidates secured between 30% to 40% votes and only 10 women could secure more than 40% of total votes secured, while 1 candidate secured more than 50% of the total vote.

Table 5.53: Lok Sabha Elections 2004-List of Women Candidates-Jharkhand

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Sona Murmu	Dumka	ST	IND	L	9132	1.46	625118
Champa Verma	Kodarma	G	JMM	L	211712	25.64	825710
Kiran Raj	Giridhi	G	LINSP	L	3631	0.51	714378
Rita Verma	Dhanbad	G	BJP	L	236121	25.08	941478
Shakuntala Mishra	Dhanbad	G	SHS	L	4042	0.43	941478
Miloni Madi	Dhanbad	ST	IND	L	2090	0.22	941478
Abha Mahto	Jamshedpur	G	BJP	L	290423	37.40	776519
Dimple Lamay	Singhbhum	ST	IND	L	13526	2.60	520155
Sushila Kerketta	Khunti	ST	INC	W	218158	44.45	490772
Nita Sinha	Khunti	ST	AD	L	3000	0.01	490772
Punam Khalkho	Lohardaga	ST	IND	L	3987	0.85	466464
Gyanti Devi	Palamu	SC	IND	L	5699	0.89	641543
Snehlata Devi	Hazaribag	SC	IND	L	11223	1.59	705439

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.54: Lok Sabha Elections 2004-Success Rate of Candidates- Jharkhand

2004 Lok Sabha	Contested	Elected
Men	139	13
Women	13	1
Tribal women	6	1
Non -tribal women General	5	0
SC	2	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2004 Lok Sabha Elections held about 139 male candidates were as 13 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 8.55% candidates were women among total candidates from the state.. Out of total women candidates about 46.15% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 15.38% were from the schedule caste category. About 38.46% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.53 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 7 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 152 total candidates, which is only 4.61% of the total candidates. About 6 women were independent candidates for the election. About 46.15% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 1 women was successfully elected in the respective constituency out of 13 Members of the Lok Sabha. Thus only 7.69% of the Lok Sabha members from Jharkhand was a woman in the 2004 General Elections.

From the table 5.53 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 6 candidates i.e. 46.15% of women candidates from the state could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 13 women candidates 3 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, another 7 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 2 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%, 1 candidate secured between 30% to 40% votes and only 1 woman could secure more than 40% of total votes polled.

Table 5.55: Lok Sabha Elections 2009-List of Women Candidates-Jharkhand

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Aameliya Hansda	Rjmahal	ST	RSP	L	13702	2.13	64450
Nirmala Murmu	Dumka	ST	RSP	L	5097	0.82	622012
Bitiya Manjhi	Dumka	ST	CPI(M L)(L)	L	7790	1.25	622012
Geeta MAandal	Godda	G	CPI(M L)(L)	L	5180	0.65	797622
Indu Singh	Dhanbad	G	SAP	L	4469	0.55	813483
Aarti Behra	Ranchi	G	IND	L	3959	0.55	724106
Suman Mahato	Jamshedpur	G	JMM	L	199957	28.34	705568
Nitima Bodra Bari	Khunti	ST	JKP(N)	L	30028	5.88	510343
Rama Khalkho	Lohardaga	ST	JHJAM	L	32219	6.17	522378
Parvati Devi	Palamu	SC	MMM	L	8839	1.36	651262
Sushma Mehta	Palamu	SC	CPI(M L)(L)	L	22237	3.41	651262
Snehlata Devi	Hazaribag	G	IND	L	13701	1.98	690943

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.56: Lok Sabha Elections 2009-Success Rate of Candidates- Jharkhand

2009 Lok Sabha	Contested	Elected
Men	235	14
Women	12	0
Tribal women	5	0
Non -tribal women General	5	0
SC	2	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2009 Lok Sabha Elections held about 235 male candidates were as 12 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 4.86% candidates were women among total candidates from the state.. Out of total women candidates about 41.67% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 16.66% were from the schedule caste category. About 41.67% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.55 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 10 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 246 total candidates, which is only 4.05% of the total candidates. About 6 women were independent candidates for the election. About 16.67% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Not a single women could win the election, thus there was no women parliamentarian from Jharkhand during the 2009 General Elections.

From the table 5.55 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 4 candidates i.e. 33.33% of women candidates from the state could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 12 women candidates 5 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, another 2 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 1 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%. No candidate could secure more than 30% of the total votes secured in their constituencies.

Table 5.57: Lok Sabha Elections 2014-List of Women Candidates-Jharkhand

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Chhaya Kole	Dumka	ST	CPI	L	26442	2.93	903060
Bitiya Manjhi	Dumka	ST	CPI(ML) (L)	L	5813	0.64	903060
Gita Mondal	Godda	G	CPI(ML) (L)	L	4344	0.41	1049442
Nilam Devi	Chatra	G	JVM	L	104176	14.61	712971
Sima Chandravansi	Chatra	G	AAAP	L	17980	2.52	712971
Manju Kumari	Kodarma	G	AITC	L	12785	1.25	1024906
Kanchan Kumari	Kodarma	G	IND	L	20669	2.02	1024906
Hemlata Mohan	Dhanbad	G	AJSUP	L	21277	1.86	1143902
Ritu Rani Singh	Dhanbad	G	IND	L	3814	0.33	1143902
Suman Banerjee	Dhanbad	G	IND	L	2104	0.18	1143902
Sajiya Halder	Ranchi	G	IND	L	2195	0.12	1049783
Geeta Kora	Singhbhum	ST	JBSP	L	215607	27.11	795286
Dayamani Barla	Khunti	ST	AAAP	L	11822	1.60	736955
Asrita Tuti	Khunti	ST	IND	L	4349	0.59	736955
Sushma Mehta	Palamu	SC	CPI(ML) (L)	L	8386	0.86	977323
Sheela Devi	Hazaribag	G	BISP	L	8159	0.84	967152

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.58: Lok Sabha Elections 2014-Success Rate of Candidates- Jharkhand

2014 Lok Sabha	Contested	Elected
Men	222	14
Women	16	0
Tribal women	5	0
Non -tribal women General	10	0
SC	1	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2014 Lok Sabha Elections held about 222 male candidates were as 16 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 6.72% candidates were women among total candidates from the state.. Out of total women candidates about 31.25% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 6.25% were from the schedule caste category. About 62.5% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.57 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 11 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 246 total candidates, which is only 4.62% of the total candidates. About 5 women were independent candidates for the election. About 31.25% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Not a single women could win the election, thus there was no women parliamentarian from Jharkhand during the 2014 General Elections.

From the table 5.57 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 8 candidates i.e. 50% of women candidates from the state could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 16 women candidates 6 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%, another 1 secured between 10% to 20%. Only 1 candidate secured votes between 20% to 30%. No candidate could secure more than 30% of the total votes secured in their constituencies.

Table 5.59: Lok Sabha Elections 2019-List of Women Candidates-Jharkhand

Name	Constituency	Category	Party	Status	Total Votes Secured	% of Total Votes	Total Votes Polled
Mary Nisha Hansda	Rajmahal	ST	BMUP	L	2948	0.28	1047657
Monika Kisku	Rajmahal	ST	AITC	L	17427	1.66	1047657
Thakuroon Soren	Dumka	ST	IND	L	5571	0.54	1025968
Probina Murmu	Dumka	ST	IND	L	2230	0.22	1025968
Asha Makade	Godda	G	PSPU	L	6580	0.55	1194036
Annapurna Devi	Kodarma	G	BJP	W	753016	62.25	1209541
Kanchan Kumari	Kodarma	G	AITC	L	14119	1.17	1209451
Simmi Suman	Giridhi	G	IND	L	4173	0.38	1106918
Sunita Tudu	Giridhi	ST	IND	L	9077	0.82	1106918
Lakshmi Devi	Dhanbad	SC	IND	L	8235	0.66	1252817
Sunita Munda	Ranchi	ST	APol	L	6667	0.54	1234926
Anjana Mahata	Jamshedpur	G	AITC	L	9542	0.83	1144226
Panmani Singh	Jamshedpur	ST	SUCI(C)	L	2471	0.22	1144226
Sadika Kaivarto	Jamshedpur	G	AHNP	L	6272	0.55	1144226

Sarita Anand	Jamshedpur	G	IND	L	1191	0.1	1144226
Geeta Kora	Singhbhum	ST	INC	W	431815	40.89	879329
Pushpa Sinku	Singhbhum	ST	IND	L	9154	1.04	879329
Indumati Munda	Khunti	ST	BSP	L	7663	0.92	832337
Sibil Kandula	Khunti	ST	RTSG P	L	3895	0.47	832337
Abinashi Mundu	Khunti	ST	HBP	L	2373	0.28	832337
Meenakshi Munda	Khunti	ST	IND	L	10989	0.91	832337
Sushma Mehta	Palamau	SC	CPI(M L)(L)	L	5004	0.41	1209747
Anjana Bhuiyan	Palamau	SC	BSP	L	53597	4.43	1209747
Rajni Devi	Hazaribag	G	JPJD	L	2137	0.2	1080929

Source- Election Commission of India

Table 5.60: Lok Sabha Elections 2019-Success Rate of Candidates- Jharkhand

2019 Lok Sabha	Contested	Elected
Men	204	12
Women	24	2
Tribal women	13	1
Non -tribal women General	8	1
SC	2	0

Source- Election Commission of India

During the 2019 Lok Sabha Elections held about 204 male candidates were as 24 female candidates had contested for the seats in different constituencies across the state. We can see that only 10.53% candidates were women among total candidates from the state.. Out of total women candidates about 54.17% candidates were from the schedule tribe category, 8.33% were from the schedule caste category. About 33.33% of women candidates belonged to the non-reserved category.

From the table 5.59 we can see that many women candidates failed to get any party ticket for themselves. Thus 16 women were able to contest election on a party ticket out of 228 total candidates, which is only 7.01% of the total candidates. About 6 women were independent candidates for the election. About 33.33% of women candidates were unable to convince political parties for election tickets. Only 2 women were successfully elected in the respective constituencies out of 14 Members of the Lok Sabha. Thus only 14.28% of the Lok Sabha members from Jharkhand were women in the 2019 General Elections.

From the table 5.59 we can make an idea about the popularity of most of the women candidates in their respective constituencies during the election. About 18 candidates i.e. 75% of women candidates from the state could not even secure 1% of the total votes polled in the constituency. Out of 24 women candidates 4 candidates secured votes between 1% to 5%. Only one woman secured more than 40 % of the votes polled and one of them secured more than 60% of the votes, both the candidates were among the winning candidates from the state.

Political participation of women in various political processes in Jharkhand gives us an impression that women in Jharkhand are unable to climb the political ladder. Poor presence of women in legislative bodies is an indication that women need to go a long way in order to reach at any parity with their male counter parts. Political parties are more or less reluctant to give party tickets to women candidates in the state. Having women as party workers and giving them tickets for elections are completely different things. Active women party workers are encouraged to register maximum number of women in the party, focusing on the female vote bank. Mere participation by women as voters or party members cannot alter the existing power structure between men and women. Lack of interest in active politics among ordinary women in Jharkhand can also be attributed to the fact that very few women politicians in Jharkhand have been able leave an impact on the minds of ordinary women voters.

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CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Political participation is a complex phenomenon liable to be influenced by a variety of variables. It involves both decision making and acts of opposition. Only in a decentralized decision making process can citizens have the opportunity to perform their responsibilities and make proper use of their democratic rights. Initially citizens participated in electoral processes through voting, campaigning, attending party meetings, communicating with others and collecting money for campaigns. It was a part of political participation. Later the concept was broadened to include activities in the period between elections when citizens tried to influence government decisions. The nature and extent of political participation is affected by psychological, social and political factors.

The Jharkhand movement is rooted in the poor socio-economic condition of the region and draws its political symbolism from tribal culture and tradition. Jharkhand movement can be divided into three phases. First being the Formation Phase from 1900 to 1930, second being the Active Phase from 1939 to 1963 and finally the Revival Phase from 1963 to 2000. Internal colonialism can be regarded as one of the main causes behind the Jharkhand movement. Jharkhand movement during the initial years in the post-independence period was mainly led by elite leaders like Jaipal Singh Munda, who had mass appeal but was not close to the masses in general at the grass root level. During the final stage of the movement, leftist organizations had a huge impact on the movement along with grass root leaders like Sibu Suren, who were very close to the masses and were able to successfully mobilize the common people against the repressive state authorities.

Women's contribution towards the Jharkhand statehood movement is still not recognized as something which had a huge impact on the course of the entire movement. Women did emerge as leaders in smaller groups and local areas and gave direction to the entire movement. Participation of Women in Jharkhand movement can be seen as a form of protest participation. The leadership role displayed by Ramanika Gupta and Lado Junko among the mine workers cannot be ignored by the historians at any cost. The two women were working at the grass root level among the common people. Ramanika had fought

hard to make her way to the Vidhan Parishad and speak for the common people while she had an access to political power.

Women as leaders motivated other women to come and participate in the movement. Women like Rose Karketta and Malanch Ghosh had organized women into different groups and tried to link the demand for separate statehood with the different forms of exploitation faced by tribal women due to the presence of the outsiders in the region. We are aware of the problems faced by the rejas and the other women labourers in the region. Women leaders came up during the course of the movement to protect the land rights of the tribal men and women.

Industrialization has been a major issue during the course of the movement. Indigenous people of the region were and are still being denied the fruits of development, instead they are being robbed of their natural rights over the land and forest. Leaders like Vasavi nad Daya Mani Barla are still fighting hard to deal with issues related to displacement and land rights in the state. Both Barla and Vasavi have emerged as powerful activists in the movement through their writings as journalists.

One cannot forget the contributions made by those women who were part of several rallies and meetings during the course of the movement. We would never know their names due to absence of any record, but their contribution to the mass movement cannot be denied. Many women had fought against the police, faced their atrocities during the movement. Many brave women had to sacrifice their own life, which usually went unnoticed in the historical records. One must also understand that many non-tribal women had also actively participated in the movement. Malanch and Ramanika Gupta were non-tribal women, but had a deep concern for the tribal society and the entire region. However it would be wrong to say that the movement was popular among the urban non-tribal women in the region. Mass participation of women in the movement came from the rural belt of the region which mostly included tribal women.

Women were also active members of many political parties during the course of the movement. Many political parties like the AJSU and JMM had included a lot of women in their party cadre during the course of the movement. Women were not just followers, but also real fighters in the entire movement.

Field study was an eye opener as it changed all wrong notions about rural women. Mukhiyas in the villages were not that educated, but were quite aware about their responsibilities. Educational qualification might have a positive impact on the nature of political participation of women, but is not the deciding factor for political participation. Regular attendance in meeting and interaction can add to experience and grow interest in politics. Experience from the study proves that women who are fighters in personal life do take up welfare measures seriously. Most of them had made Toilets for people in their village along with houses under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna. Most of the Mukhiyas had engaged their local women in some or the other training programs depending on the nature of business done in their respective districts. Most of the Mukhiyas were more independent and self-confident as compared to the women Councilors. Networking among women in rural areas at the panchayat level has led to collective strength, a feeling of solidarity and learning experience for women.

Grass root organizations are vital instruments in providing women with collective strength, bargaining capacity and proper channels for collective articulation of their strength. Women who have been active in local organizations, movements, Mahila Mandals, literacy campaigns, anti-liquor movements and self-help groups have been exposed to various sensitization activities, training and mobilization, have both the political will and energy to take on the challenge and withstand counter pressure. These experiences of leadership and collective action need to be channelized and directed towards political action.

The field trip would have been incomplete without meeting few Councilors across five districts, who are an inspiration for a lot of other women who want to join grass root politics. They were confident about their work and had contributed a lot towards the development of their locality in general and women empowerment in particular. After a lot of informal conversation with the locals as well as the Chairperson of the respective districts, it was found that some of the women Councilors stand out from the crowd when we talk about their performances. Quantitative and qualitative aspect of participation is important along with leadership roles. Reservation of seats has helped improve the quantitative aspect of political participation, providing learning experience and a training ground for women in the state there by improving the qualitative aspect of participation in

long run. Reservation cannot be an end rather it is a means to achieve participation at the grass root of democracy

During the study it was found that Hazaribagh was the worst in terms of performances of the local representatives both in rural and urban areas among the five districts. Performance of the women representatives in rural areas was far better as compared to women councilors in urban bodies. Mukhiyas did command a respectable position in the rural society. It is indeed important to mention that tribal women performed much better than the non-tribal women. Socio-economic structure of the tribal society helped tribal women in the state to grab the opportunity given by gender based affirmative action. Reservation did help a lot of women at the grass root level to enter into active politics.

During the study it was found that women voters in the rural areas were much more close to their local representatives than women in the urban areas. It was found that rural women had much more interaction with the local women representatives. Majority of the respondents in the urban area were unable to recognize their local women councilor. Although majority of the respondents supported reservation of seats for women but most of them did not have any intentions of joining active politics. Interest in politics has an important impact on the actual participation of women in politics. There is a belief that interest in politics can only be generated through exposure to the media, but experience from the field study shows that rural women having lesser exposure to the media were more interested in politics as compared to women in urban area. Social interaction among rural women through proper networking through self-help groups and Mahila Mandals play a crucial role in motivating rural women.

Women politicians at different levels fail to take up women issues at the discussion tables and hardly cut across party lines to speak for women in general. This lack of interest has led to criticism by women outside the circle of active politicians that women who are political elites are not much concerned with the problems faced by the majority of women in the country.

There has been a rise in the voters turnout in Jharkhand during the Lok Sabha elections ever since the state was formed. Total voters turnout rose from 55.69% in the year 2004 to 66.8% in the year 2019. A decline can be seen in the year 2009 in the overall voters turnout in the state along with voters turnout among women. However there is a

continuous increase in the participation of tribal women in the voting process, which rose to about 70.95% in the year 2019 from 47.81% in the year 2004.

Women's participation in the political process has shown an increase both in elections and their readiness to express their views on different issues. But their ability to produce an impact on the political process is still limited, because of poor mobilization of women by political parties and women's organization. Formal participation of women in active politics reveals that there has been a marked increase in voting turnout and election campaigning among women. While there has been a significant increase in these areas of political participation, they continue to be excluded from legislative bodies at the national and state levels and are deprived from key decision-making positions in government and political parties.

Women from Jharkhand are poorly represented in the Lower House of the Parliament, with only three women elected since 2004 to the Lok Sabha. Sushila Kerketta was elected in the year 2014 while Annapurna Devi and Geeta Kora elected in 2019. Mabel Rebello was the only woman who represented Jharkhand in the Rajya Sabha from the year 2006 to 2012. No woman politician from Jharkhand has been a part of any important Ministry in the Central Government till date.

Primary data from government sources do indicate that political parties in Jharkhand are reluctant to give party tickets to women candidates in both central and state elections. More than half of the women, who stood as candidates from different constituencies had to fight elections independently. Percentage of votes secured by women candidates during elections since 2000 give us an impression that women candidates are not popular among the voters of the state.

Political parties if seriously interested in seeing more women in politics must begin by activating women's front at every levels and recruiting more women to take up decision making roles within the parties. A low proportion of women in the inner party structure further erode women's effort to lobby for greater resources and support for nurturing and building their political constituencies as well as mobilizing financial and human resources required to meet the demands and aspirations of their constituencies. These inevitably results in women being perceived as weak representatives and are generally unaccepted as political leaders by people in their constituencies. At times being in insignificant numbers

puts them in a vulnerable position resulting in seeking alliances along caste, religion and regional identities rather than along common gendered interests.

After the formation of the State representation of women in the state legislature has not been very satisfactory in Jharkhand. State had witnessed political instability since its formation. Most of the government failed to complete their full term resulting in President Rule in the state due to the absence of a stable government. The first government to complete its full tenure was under the leadership of Raghubar Das formed in the year 2014. In spite of the instability a few women were able to grab a position for themselves in the Council of Ministers. Joba Majhi, Neera Yadav, Annapurna Devi, Geeta Shree Oraon, Vimla Oraon and Sudha Choudhary are the few women politicians who were a part of the ministry under different government formed in the state since the year 2000. It proves that majority of women participate in political activities only at a lower level and it is difficult for them to climb higher in politics.

As per Milbreth's classification majority of the respondents from the field study were either involved in Gladiator activities or Spectator activities. Very few respondents were involved in transitional activities. It was found that only few women aspired to be involved in Gladiators activities. Majority of the women respondents from urban area were mere spectators when it came to political participation. One must understand that greater political participation can only be achieved if majority of women start getting involved in transitional activities, instead of being mere spectators.

Mere reservation can only lead to quantitative increase in women's representation in politics. Quality of participation leading to feminization of politics can be achieved only through proper electoral reforms that will curb the role of muscle and money power in politics and democratize decision making in the party. Women are not a socially homogeneous group, be it Jharkhand or any part of the globe, hence impact of reservation policy cannot be the same for women belonging to different parts of the state. Reservation of seats in general has created new opportunities for women at the grass root level, but rural women, especially those belonging to the tribal community have been able to make best possible use of the reservation policy In Jharkhand.

In urban areas, mostly among the non-tribals, reservation of seats was seen as a compulsion for men to give up their candidature in constituencies with reserved seats,

barely having any qualitative impact on political participation of women. Due to rotation women remained in office for a brief period, hardly getting any opportunity to contest elections once the seats got de-reserved. Some women were belied by the false impression that they could not contest for general seats as it was only meant for male candidates.. Access to proper information, general awareness, control over various resources, and cultural barriers are not similar for all women, hence one cannot expect uniformity when it comes to qualitative aspect of political participation.

We need a mass movement initiated by women activists that would sensitize both men and women towards gender equality. An increased role of women within political parties along with better partnership with civil society can help motivate women for a more informed participation in politics. The present style of politics has to be altered to be more accommodative in nature by incorporating silent voices. More participation will not only remove the gender gap in politics, but will also help reduce gender disparity at the societal level. Hence the presence of women in politics is desirable in proportion to their presence in society, leading to women's empowerment in a broader sense of the term.

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ANNEXURE

ANNEXURE 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE VOTERS

Name-

District-

Municipality/ Panchayat-

Ahe-

- 18-25
- 25-30
- 30-35
- 35-40
- 40 and above

Education-

- PRE-PRIMARY
- PRIMARY-VIII
- VIII-X
- XII
- GRADUATE

Marital Status-

- MARRIED
- UNMARRIED

Working –

- YES
- NO

If Working--

- FORMAL SECTOR
- INFORMAL SECTOR

What is your Councilor's/ Mukhiya's Name?

Does she regularly meet you?

- YES
- NO

If yes, then how often -

- DAILY
- TWICE IN A MONTH
- ONE IN A MONTH
- ONCE IN TWO-THREE MONTHS
- ONCE OR TWICE IN A YEAR
- NEVER

Did any relative accompany your candidate during the election campaign?

- YES
- NO

If yes, then who-

- HUSBAND
- FATHER
- BROTHER
- FATHER-IN-LAW
- OTHER WOMEN
- LOCAL MEN
- OTHER MALE RELATIVES

Why did you vote for your candidate-?

- GOOD CAMPAIGNING
- CASTE
- FAMILY BACKGROUND OF THE CANDIDATE
- EDUCATION
- PERSONAL RELATION WITH THE CANDIDATE
- PREVIOUS RECORD AS A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL WORKER
- FAMILY MEMBER PURSUADED YOU TO VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATE

Why do you think your candidate won the election-?

- MOST DESERVING
- FAMILY INFLUENCE
- MONEY
- POLITICAL AFFILIATION DIRECT/INDIRECT

Help received from a particular Councilor/ Mukhiya-

- ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE
- SOCIAL SECURITY SCHEMES
- PHYSICAL SECURITY
- FAMILY MATTERS
- HEALTH SCHEMES
- DID NOT RECEIVE ANY HELP

Do you think a women Councilor or Mukhiya is able to deal with issues related to women in a better manner?

- YES
- NO

If given an opportunity would you like to join active politics-?

- YES
- NO

Are you aware about reservation of seats women in the local bodies-?

- YES
- NO

Are you a registered member of any political party-?

- YES
- NO

Do you attend Political Rallies and Campaigns-?

- YES
- NO

Do you listen to political debates on television-?

- YES
- NO

Do you think more women in politics can improve the condition of women in our country?

- YES
- NO

ANNEXURE 2

INTERVIEW – POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES

Name-

District-

Municipality/ Panchayat-

- MEMBER
- OFFICE BEARER

Age-

- 25-30
- 30-35
- 35-40
- 40 and above

Education-

- PRE-PRIMARY
- PRIMARY-VIII
- VIII-X
- XII
- GRADUATE
- MASTERS
- Ph.D.

Married-

- YES
- NO

Working –

- YES
- NO

If Working-

- FORMAL SECTOR
- INFORMAL SECTOR

Do you have any male family member involved in active politics ?

- YES
- NO

If yes, then who-

- HUSBAND
- FATHER
- FATHER-IN-LAW
- OTHER MALE RELATIVE

Do you have any female involved in active politics within your family?

- YES
- NO

Your previous nature of participation in politics-

- ONLY A VOTER
- MEMBER OF A PARTY
- HOLDING A POST IN A PARTY
- ATTENDING REGULAR CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES ORGANIZED BY POLITICAL PARTIES
- ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN POLITICIPATION IN ANY SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENT
- POLITICAL APATHY

Number of times elected for the same post-

- ONCE
- TWICE
- THRICE

Are you presently a member of any NGO working for women -

- YES
- NO

Who supported you in your campaigning?

- MALE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY
- FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY
- PEOPLE OF THE LOCALITY
- MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL PARTY
- MEMBERS OF ANY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
- DID NOT RECEIVE ANY HELP

What inspired you to join politics-?

- FAMILY SUPPORT
- RESERVATION OF SEATS
- ANY PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURE
- OVER ALL CONDITION OF WOMEN IN OUR COUNTRY
- POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES WITHIN THE COUNTRY

- WANTED TO WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE/ LOCALITY
- SOCIAL WORK

Are you a part of any committee at the administrative level-

- YES
- NO

How often do you meet other Councilors/ Mukhiyas in your area-

- ONCE IN A WEEK
- TWICE IN A MONTH
- ONE IN A MONTH
- ONCE IN TWO-THREE MONTHS
- ONCE OR TWICE IN A YEAR

Are you accompanied by any family member while discharging your duties as an elected representative-?

- YES
- NO

How often you meet other women in your area?

- DAILY
- ONCE IN A WEEK
- TWICE IN A MONTH
- ONCE IN A MONTH
- ONCE IN TWO-THREE MONTHS
- ONCE OR TWICE IN A YEAR

Who dominates and initiates debates and discussions in various meetings you attend as a local representative?

- MALE
- FEMALE

Who initiates various debates and discussions on issues directly related to women?

- MALE
- FEMALE

Different aspects of a women's life that you deal with

- EDUCATION
- SOCIAL SECURITY
- PHYSICAL SECURITY
- ECONOMIC SECURITY
- LIQUOR
- HEALTH

- WITCH CRAFT
- DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
- DIFFERENTLY ABLED PERSONS
- DID NOT HAVE ANY IDEA ABOUT WOMEN RELATED ISSUES
- DID NOT HAVE ANY IDEA ABOUT THEIR OWN WORK

Pattern of response-

- COMPLETELY THEMSELVES
- PROMPTED BY MALE RELATIVES
- ANSWERED BY MALE RELATIVES ON BEHALF OF THEM

Do you want to contest elections in future?

- YES
- NO

If yes then what is your target post

- SAME POST
- MLA
- MAYOR/ CHAIRPERSON
- DEPUTY MAYOR/ VICE CHAIRPERSON

If no then why

- WOULD LOOK AFTER THE FAMILY
- SEAT GETTING DE-RESERVED
- DID NOT LIKE POLITICS
- FACED GENDER DISCRIMINATION
- LACK OF FINANCIAL HELP