



# Blending the Concerns

## Gender and Governance

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**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDIES**

Indian Institute of Science Campus  
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Bangalore

**Project Team**

Dr. N. Shantha Mohan

Ms. Asha Ramesh

Ms. Piush Antony



## **Introduction**

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The recently held Grama Panchayat (GP) elections in Karnataka were an extremely important marker in the country's political trajectory. The elections were being held after the threshold of two terms, a climacteric period, when initial teething problems are expected to give way for the emergence of newer, mature patterns of local level leadership and governance. For all those who favour decentralisation and the political empowerment process it initiates for the marginalised groups, including women, it had been a moment much waited for. The GP elections held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of February were documented as part of the ongoing longitudinal research and action project on 'Decentralised Governance' undertaken by the Gender Studies Unit (GSU) of the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS). The study was carried out in two stages: pre-election processes and the election-day dynamics.

A one day consultation on Gender and Governance was organised on March 8, 2000 to share the insights of this research work and evolve strategies in joint consultation with a larger audience. It comprised of panchayat members,

government officials, NGO's working in the field of decentralisation, partner organisations, academicians, media representatives and so forth. Efforts to bring together various actors on a common platform, were indeed worthwhile. It comprised of over sixty panchayat members from five districts in Karnataka, representatives of approximately twenty NGOs working in the field of decentralisation, media persons, researchers, academics and government functionaries.

The Honourable Minister for Rural Development and Panchyati Raj, Mr. M. Y. Ghorpade, inaugurated the consultation. The Minister's two hour long interaction with the members validated amply the advocacy potential of such research for intervention at the policy and panchayat levels. A noteworthy outcome of this meeting was that the Honourable Minister assured all support to the Gender Studies Unit and agreed to meet and interface at regular intervals in the future with all stake-holders in governance. This write-up provides a detailed reporting of this consultation.

In welcoming the participants, Prof. R. Narasimha, Director of NIAS, referred to this meet as a historic event for NIAS, 'as never before in these corridors of academia were seen together NGOs, researchers, media, bureaucrats, the Minister and most importantly the newly elected practitioners of local governance, the panchayat members'. He added that it was very appropriate that the meeting had been arranged on the International Women's Day.

Following the welcome address, Dr. Shantha Mohan, head of the GSU set the tone with a few introductory remarks stating the purpose of the consultation and the objectives of the longitudinal research on 'Women and Decentralised Governance.' She made the following observations:

The previous study conducted by the unit on the 'Status of Rural Women in Karnataka' reveals that despite the Panchyati Raj Act providing access to women in the political arena, their effective participation is lacking. Therefore, the present research began with a pilot study to identify the nine panchayats in three selected districts of Mysore, Udupi and Koppal and to finalise the aspects that need research attention. The mission of this action research cum advocacy study is not just to document what impedes or enables women's effective political participation, but to catalyse the panchayats to be effective units of local governance. With women panchayat members becoming effective, the local political scenario would undergo a change that will 'engender governance'. This is the challenge before us and we believe that women can transform and develop an alternate political climate that can be people-friendly and community-healthy.

The Honourable Minister Mr. M. Y. Ghorpade in his keynote address stated "there are many studies which concentrate on highlighting aberrations, since these are more attractive and

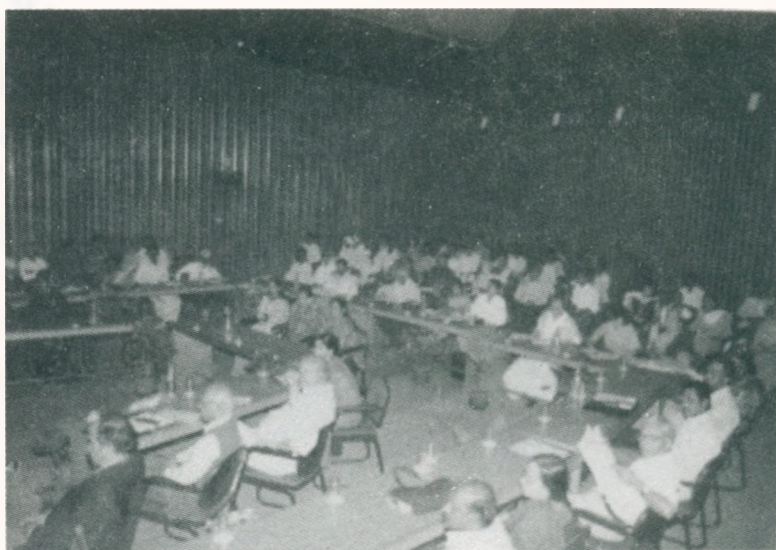
eye-catching to read. But along with the aberrations, what is more important to know, is the essential holistic change that is happening in the country so that these aberrations can be seen in the right perspective.” He also said that the role of the National Institute of Advanced Studies is very commendable in that the Institute is an apolitical body interested in social goals. The Minister commented that the meeting was most appropriately timed, one week after the results of the Grama Panchayat elections were declared.

He also added that the Gender Studies Unit was making a significant contribution through its research. He emphasised that it is important to conduct research at the village level over a long term so that the changes that take place at this level can be charted and documented. The State government should also regularly interact with Institutions such as NIAS to be informed of the ground-level changes that are occurring. This is necessary so that progressive governments can structure their policy based on the findings of these studies. He assured the participants:

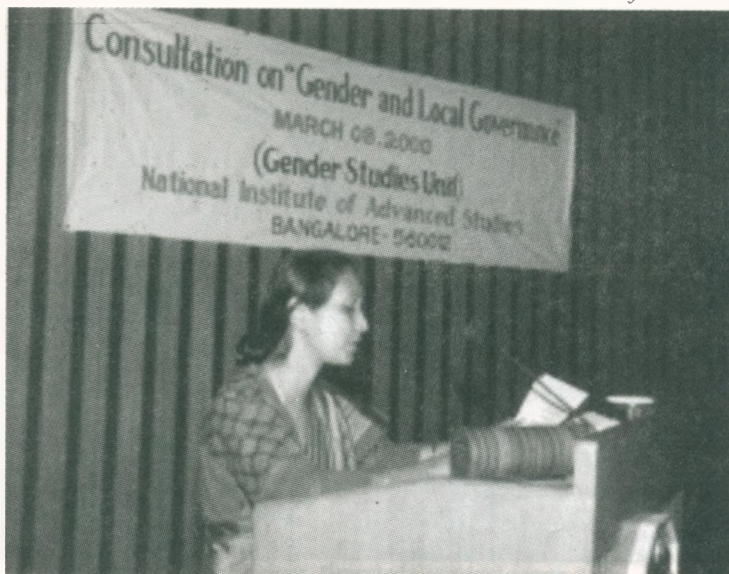
“I, for one, would like to benefit by what you have seen and will try to contribute in some small measure of whatever experience I have. I have first-hand experience of knowing all that happened in my part of the world ever since independence till this day i.e. Sandur in Bellary district, and that gives me I think, a



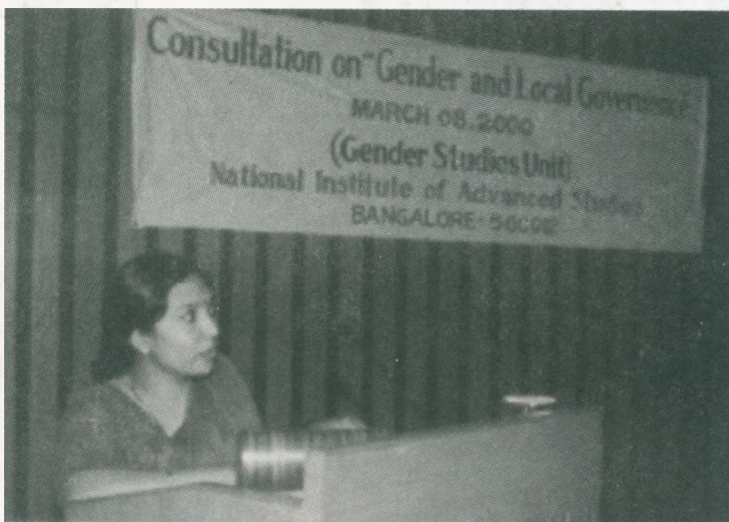
*Hon'ble Minister delivering the inaugural address*



*Audience keenly listening to the study findings*



*Asha Ramesh on the KPRA Implementation  
(Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act)*



*Piush Antony on the 'Local Dynamics'*

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certain advantage of looking at development in a holistic way and not in a compartmentalised manner”.

He suggested that one area in which concerted effort can be made would be in resolving controversy regarding the toilet-rule. He opined that “rural development has to be a movement and cannot be forced into rural areas by using threats such as the ‘toilet-rule’ where an aspiring grama panchayat member who did not have the facility was automatically disqualified”. Expressing deep concern on this issue, he went on to state that “there are hundreds of ways in which sanitation can be popularised but to say that a candidate will be disqualified if he doesn’t have a toilet, can be politically misused.” He also spoke at length about his political vision based on Gandhiji’s ‘Pancha Suthras’ and urged that these principles be adopted for effective local governance.

Ms. Nagamani translated the speeches and later the presentations into Kannada.

Ms. Asha Ramesh and Ms. Piush Antony then made presentations of the findings. The first part dealt with the implementation of Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act and the second part detailed the local dynamics in panchayat elections.

## **Summary of Study findings**

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Concerns emerging from the field: Excerpts from the presentations.

The study on women and decentralised governance was initiated in the year 1998 with a pilot study to identify the panchayats in the selected districts of Mysore, Udupi and Koppal. The pilot study highlighted the following points:

- In spite of the proven lack of political experience and other pre-requisites, the presence of a critical mass of women has positively affected the functioning of the panchayats.
- Education and previous social and political experience contribute to better performance and participation among women members.
- The presence of NGOs and training facilitate women's better participation in panchayats.
- The elected women members are more committed and perform relatively better than the uncontested members.

Drawing strength from the pilot study, we share an unfailing optimism in the potential of women candidates in effecting a change and, thereby, transforming the system by initiating an alternative political culture. With the recent elections to the Grama Panchayats, the state has entered into the third term of reserving seats for women across categories. For, both the

supporters and critics of the potential transformatory process of empowering women through political participation, this election was crucial. With the longest history of reservations, there is a widespread hope that this election will witness better participation of women and the reserved categories.

It is in this context that we initiated a longitudinal action-research to document the whole process of selection of candidates, pre-election dynamics, the election processes and the post-election functioning of the members, using a gender perspective. The study began in 1998 with the earlier tenure of Grama Panchayats, wherein the individual capabilities of members and the overall achievement of the panchayats was noted. The study also focused on other factors that influence the functioning of the panchayats. With the announcement of the elections, the second phase of the study began in which the pre-election processes were documented. Our preliminary analysis of the pre-election dynamics attempts to highlight the issues that were observed so far. It simultaneously draws from the research insights of the first phase of the study to explain the change and continuities.

The three districts of Koppal, Mysore and Udupi were selected because of their representation of the different geographical zones and for their developmental status. Koppal, a district belonging to the North-Karnataka also falls into the lowest cohort of both the HDI and GDI rankings for the state. Udupi,

a coastal Karnataka district has a higher position vis-à-vis HDI and GDI and Mysore, a middle-ranking district represents the South Karnataka region. From each district three panchayats have been selected based on the following criteria:

- Women headed panchayat
- NGO intervention
- Geographical proximity to taluk headquarters
- Economic status

An unstructured interview schedule was used in our interaction with those who filed nominations, withdrew their candidature, contested the elections, were involved in the decision-making process at the local level and so forth.



*Participants viewing the election material on display*

## **Part I: Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act and its Implementation**

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The much awaited but unexpected announcement of the elections was received with an overwhelming response in the state. But there have been drawbacks. Following is an outline of some of the drawbacks observed. Invariably, these drawbacks have affected the less informed and less political individuals.

1. The period between the announcement of the election and the last date of nomination was very short. Consequently, women and men, especially those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, were unable to garner support for their candidature.
2. The Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act decrees that an aspiring panchayat member needs to comply with the 'toilet rule' which states that an individual who does not have a latrine facility for his/her family members will automatically be disqualified. This was contested and the court allowed for a conditional relaxation of this rule on the February 9, 2000. However, this date coincided with the last date for filing nominations. In some cases, the court verdict and the emergency message to the Deputy Commissioners did not even reach the panchayats in time. As a result many aspirants were prevented from filing nominations.

3. Rotation of reserved seats has been detrimental to potential candidates from the reserved categories, especially women. In other words, though the spirit behind the principle of rotation is to give representative opportunities to those constituencies with a lower population of reserved categories, the manner in which the rotation of seats was undertaken defeats this purpose. In actuality, it has in some places resulted in a misrepresentation of the population in the constituencies. In practice, this has meant that the candidates selected do not belong to the 'reserved ward'. Not only did the local party leaders and community see an 'unreserved' seat as a general male or reserved male seat, the officials too use this terminology to legitimise this false conception. Seats termed 'General', 'OBC', 'SC' and 'ST', when not reserved for women were interpreted as a seat for which only a male candidate can contest. This was glaringly evident since in all the panchayats, the official letter listing the reservation of seats per ward stated the reservation for the General Seat as '*Samanya Purusha*' (a general male).
4. It was interesting to note that while few sitting male members could ensure nominations for this term too, none of the female sitting members were re-nominated. Repeatedly, it was pointed out that the rotation of reserved seats was the single most important reason behind this. The male members have managed to retain their

nominations by shifting their 'constituencies' or contesting as general candidates. For women, the situation is very different. First, women did not contest the general seats. Second, even in cases wherein their efficiency as a member has been established in the previous term, they have been denied a nomination on the grounds of providing opportunity to other persons.

5. On an average, most of the wards had three seats to which members are elected. Also, in a majority of the panchayats, these seats were listed as follows: a general seat, a reserved OBC seat and in some cases, a scheduled caste / tribe / woman seat. In the panchayats where the community was unaware of the ways to circumvent the Act with respect to who should be contesting for the general interpreted as 'male' seat, there was an election for all the seats and even the general male who had earlier planned to win uncontested had to contest, as we evidenced in Koppal district.
6. The lack of clarity in categorising caste and community groups has resulted in the overlapping of categories under which one could contest elections. There were some communities who were fortunate to be listed under two categories. For instance, in Koppal district, the Gaanigaru community, a sub-sect of the Lingayats, was listed as both OBC 2A / OBC 2B. This ambivalence eventually lead to the over-representation of these communities in the

panchayats. Further, there were implementation problems due to the lack of clarity among the Tehsildars, with respect to the positioning of caste groups. For instance, in Dotihal Panchayat, Parana Gowda, a person belonging to the Lingayat community, with the help of an income certificate could contest under the category of OBC (B). However, normally Lingayats should contest under the general category.

## **Part II - Issues Emerging from the Local Dynamics of Panchayats**

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- 1 It was observed that in all the panchayats the percentage of seats reserved for women was more than the mandatory 33 %.
- 2 A large number of the members were unanimously elected across our sample panchayats.
- 3 Also interesting is the fact that in all the sample panchayats, with the exception of one, a much higher proportion of women members were elected unanimously. Two questions emerging from this were:
  - Is it a healthy trend for communities to elect members in this manner?
  - Should we be concerned about the higher percentage and see its link to the uncontested elections for the women seats?

These questions were of deep concern specially when we juxtapose them against our findings in the first phase of the study, wherein we found that uncontested candidates tended to be less accountable and less committed to their constituencies. Further, they failed to develop a constituency of their own even after the completion of the term.

- In spite of this being the third term, most of the women candidates are political novices. It is noteworthy that irrespective of the developmental status of the districts, this is one area where there is no inter-district variation.
- Most male candidates too can be classified as politically inexperienced. However, male candidates have had informal political training. Many of them have had some kind of experience campaigning for Parliamentary and State elections. Others have actively participated in the organisation of local level social and religious functions.
- The Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act 1993 clearly states that the Grama Panchayats are apolitical units of local governance. Further, it decrees that the elections to these bodies have to be conducted on a non-party basis. However, our field level experience proved the contrary. The influence of national level political parties on the Grama Panchayat elections was visible at many levels.

- ❖ The contestants showed no hesitation to reveal their party affiliations. Many of the independent contestants had earlier attempted to gain party support.
  - ❖ In all panchayats, political parties convened meetings at the local level, soon after the announcement of elections.
  - ❖ Invariably meetings were attended by local party leaders and supporters, who finalised the candidates to be fielded. In fact, many of the candidates the parties eventually decided to support did not attend these meetings. This is especially applicable to the women members and in a few cases to the Scheduled Caste and Tribe male candidates too.
  - ❖ In many panchayats, Taluk and Zilla level party leaders and in some cases even the MLAs also played an active role in finalising the list of candidates. In this process various strategies were used to force a substantial number of potential candidates to withdraw their candidature in favour of party supported persons.
  - ❖ Though party symbols were not used, panels of candidates were formed on party lines. The party sponsored the printing of pamphlets wherein the names of the party supported candidates were mentioned ward-wise.
- Most of the women got their nominations to contest either due to their family's influence or affiliation with political

parties. Not only were all the women contestants put up in reserved seats, often, their nominations were seen as a reward for the 'good' party work that their male family members rendered over the years. In contrast, the men were nominated for the following reasons:

1. having a close relationship with a local leader
  2. being leaders in their individual capacity
  3. being an articulate member of a particular caste group
  4. a popular organiser at the village level for social and religious functions
  5. a benevolent landlord
- While a comparatively higher number of sitting male members could ensure nominations for this third term too, there were only two women sitting members from Udupi district being re-nominated to contest elections. In fact, we found instances, where women members with proven efficiency levels were denied the opportunity to a ticket this time, even after requesting their parties.
  - There is a general lack of interest among the women members, especially those belonging to the reserved categories. This is mainly due to the fact that they perceive themselves as not having lived up to the expectations of the community/constituency they represent.
  - We also observed that several sitting women presidents were not inclined to recontest. For them, recontesting meant

either a choice of losing or being elected as an ordinary member, which, for them, was a demotion and a situation that they opted out of.

- Another reason for opting out that is often quoted by women members is the fear of failure and the almost total absence in them of being a political entity. Many women were unable to develop their own constituencies, therefore could not bargain for their candidature on the basis of it. This is more so in the case of women members who were unanimously elected for the earlier tenure.
- Most of the uncontested women candidates of the earlier tenure, though they were efficient as members, were apprehensive of facing an election.
- Though education is often portrayed as the primary hurdle against women candidates being selected, our field experience does not substantiate this. The education factor did not arise in cases where women were selected because they belong to families that can afford the expenditure of elections and that allow mobility and can provide an escort.
- Women's involvement in the whole pre-election process was very minimal, almost insignificant.
- However, we would like to emphasise that even when the involvement was very partial and limited, we observed a remarkable change in the levels of confidence of the women contestants. Many women candidates, who shied away from

being interviewed in the first round of fieldwork i.e. immediately after the last day of nominations, came forward to share their experiences in the second round i.e. the day before the election and on the day of the election.

- Generally speaking, the interplay of caste, class and party alliances play a very important role in both the selection of candidates for particular wards or villages as well as in the calculations for winning elections. There are three types of arithmetic at work:

1. caste/community: population of the particular caste/ community in a given ward.
2. village population : in a given ward, there can be two/ three villages. So when candidates are being selected from particular villages, it is the population of the village that determines the winning ability.
3. affiliation to a political party determines the victory.

Based on these calculations, we can understand the factors that determine the local dynamics of winnability. Caste, village, party and family politics and combinations of these play a crucial role in the selection of candidates.

- Amongst the number of issues that have emerged from the field, we would like to highlight certain pointers.
1. We are in a paradoxical situation. In spite of being a non-political governing body, we see large scale party interference at all stages.



*Members have a word over tea with the Hon'ble Minister*



*Mr. M. Y. Ghorpade and Prof. Roddam Narasimha with the newly elected members of Panchayati Raj at NIAS*



*G P member, Krishna  
raising an issue*

2. Even in a non-political body, the calculations seem to favour political personalities.
3. The simultaneous phenomena of very few sitting members being re-elected and the large-scale unanimous election of candidates to the panchayats needs to be juxtaposed against the larger political culture prevalent in the society, which in fact favours a repeated re-election of political persons.
4. Grama panchayats provide the space for formalisation of the informal system of patronage that has so far been in existence.
5. We need to re-examine the viability of the prevailing intervention strategies – in terms of training and the like given that there is a trend in the above mentioned

system of patronage which favours a new set of clients in each subsequent election.

6. In spite of all our apprehensions, we need to re-emphasize the monumental contribution of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment in that it has allowed the disadvantaged sections, especially women, access to both an institutional and socio-political space.

### **The Interactive Session**

Following the presentation of findings, the floor was opened for discussion. The chairperson of the session, Dr. K.S Krishnaswamy (former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India, in 1989, and Chairman of the Panchayati Raj Evaluation Committee of Karnataka, 1988-89) invited the newly elected representatives to share their concerns and queries with the Minister.

The issues raised by the members ranged from clarifications about Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act, anomalies in the implementation of the Act, especially in the distribution and rotation of reserved seats to request for special schemes and amendments to the Act. The queries by the members and other participants and the replies by the minister are briefed below.

*Referring to the distribution of presidential and vice-presidential seats, Mr. Krishna, a second time member of N-Belthur Panchayat, Mysore district, sought*

*clarification on the category-wise distribution of seats in the HD Kote Taluk. He pointed out that for a total of 33 Panchayats, there are only two presidential seats for the category of BCM-B.*

Citing the Seventy-Third Amendment and KPR Act the minister replied that the one-third reservation for women and one-third for OBC and minimum reservation for SC/ ST have to be representative of their proportion in the population. For SC/ST reservation, constituencies are allotted to panchayat with higher percentage of SC/ST population. However, due to the rotation of these seats every five years, allotment cannot be given to the same constituency for the same category, but to the constituency with the next highest population. But for the category of OBC, the census does not have clear figures of their population. Nevertheless, one-third reservation is worked out for the OBCs. Again, when it comes to the allotment of reservation of seats for Presidents, one-third of the panchayats should have Presidents belonging to the category of OBCs. Unlike in the past where the concerned State ministry handled this, at present, this responsibility is with the Election Commission. The Election Commission is allotting the OBC reservation for Presidents to those Panchayats where the OBC members are in a higher number. If there are more such panchayats than the required number, they draw lots. As of now this is deemed to be the best way to ensure a fair distribution. It is to be noted that out of this one third of OBC

Presidents, 80 per cent is reserved for OBC-A and 20 per cent for OBC-B. This would therefore be the reason why only two seats are reserved for OBC-B in the H.D. Kote Taluk case.

*Mr. Jagadish of Mydololu G.P. Shimoga district also raised a similar question. The highest SC population in Mydololu is in Mydololu ward. During the last term, therefore the reservation for SC was given to this ward, but this time the seat was given to Mallapura where there is only one SC household. Similarly, the last time ST reservation was given to Kallajinala, where there is no ST population.*

*During the times of the mandal panchayats, powers were given to the panchayats to decide about the beneficiaries as well as issuing of the title deeds. Now the GP does not have powers to do the same. Instead, the beneficiaries are expected to approach the Taluk and Zilla Panchayat members.*

*Further, he requested the minister to increase the sitting fee claiming that it was not enough since they have to visit various government offices. He also said that such inadequate remuneration was one reason for corruption.*

Emphasising the principle behind rotation, the minister reiterated that reservation for SC's cannot continue for the

same constituency. However, he instructed the secretary to look into the issue of reservations in Mydololu Panchayat. While he agreed to consider an increase in the sitting fees, he differed on linking it with corruption saying that 'as the salary increases, bribe may also increase. (Response to the mandal panchayat issue was not given).

The issue relating to rotation of seats was also raised by another member from Jaalige GP, Devanahalli taluk, Bangalore Rural district.



*G P Zamrud Unnissa  
has a query*

*When reservations are given to those constituencies, where the representative population is totally absent, candidates are brought from other constituencies. This results in less accountability and strained interaction between members and the voters.*

*He added that lack of proper guidelines for reserving seats have resulted in many manipulations. In his taluk, the seat that was announced as BCM-woman was later changed to a general seat.*

Regarding reserving seats to constituencies where that particular category of people are not found, the Minister in his reply, elaborated certain cases to prove his point. In few places like old Mysore, the ST population is very less. Therefore, the 18 per cent of reservation for STs is now changed to at least one seat for them. If there are no STs it can be given to SCs. Though it is very rare to find any constituency where both the categories are absent, such instances if any, can be taken up for policy changes.

*Mr. Mallikarjuna Gowda Mali Patil of Herur G.P, Koppal district informed the minister that the annual grant of one lakh for the Panchayats is grossly insufficient to take up any development work since they have to incur expenses such as, electricity charges and other staff salaries from this amount.*

The response of the minister was that the government has already increased the grant to 2 lakhs for all the 5,600 GPs, although this increase would mean an additional expenditure of 112 crores for the Govt. per annum

*While Ms. Zamrud Unnissa, (N. Belathur, Mysore district) and Ms. Sharada Karve (Marawanthe, Udupi district), Ms. Puttamma (Udburu, Mysore district) requested the minister to increase the number of schemes that are given to the Panchayats, Ms. Lakshmi of Udburu made a strong case for prioritising schemes for drinking water and toilets for panchayats.*

In his response to these requests, the minister said that he too feels strongly that more development schemes should be channeled to panchayats. He utilised the occasion to emphasise the basic philosophy of decentralisation as the building of self-sufficient governing units at the local level. Therefore, decentralisation becomes real only when panchayats, taluks and districts can address their own developmental needs. This calls for local level resource mobilisation. However, he assured the participants that the government is making efforts to provide more programmes for panchayats. He mentioned that the government's target is to provide a minimum of 55 litres of water, per head per day within the next 5 years. He asked Ms. Lakshmi of her opinion about the kind of facility she would recommend for water and toilets, and what would be best –

bore well, mini water supply scheme or individual toilets/ community toilets. On expressing her preference for bore wells and community toilets, the minister informed his secretary to find out from the CEO whether these schemes could be granted to her panchayat.

*Ms. Lakshmi, an ex-member of the all women's panchayat of Mydololu, Shimoga district, reprehended that rotation of reserved seats deprives aspiring women candidates of their chances of contesting the election. Narrating her own case, she said that she could not contest this year, as there was no reservation in her constituency. However, the last term she was nominated as a member, representing the reserved constituency for SC women.*

*Ex G P member,  
Ms. Olivia raising her  
concern*



Recalling his previous replies, the minister emphasised that reservations cannot be permanent to particular constituencies, as it would be denying opportunity to others. He suggested that she could have either contested from another constituency reserved for SC this time, or from a general constituency and urged that reserved candidates should not restrict themselves to vote banks of their own communities but try from the larger geographical area they belong to.

*Ms. Olivia, ex president of Maravanthe G.P, Udupi district, informed him that capable women candidates are not given seats and village level politics tend to support party candidates, against an independent women candidate. Supporting Ms. Olivia, Dr. Usha Rao, an NGO representative argued that rotation of seats defeats the very purpose that it has to serve. By the time woman candidates learn the know-how of a panchayat and gain experience, the term gets over. Therefore, she requested that the term given to women members be extended, so that they can continue effectively. She also took up the issue of community toilets for panchayats. Community toilets without proper water supply would be a source of many diseases, she cautioned the minister.*

*Quoting from the findings of the NIAS study, Dr. Poornima Vyasulu argued that the process of*

*allotment of ticket is a complex process wherein party politics plays a major role and 'general' seats are interpreted as 'general-male' seats. Posed against this finding and the experiences shared by some of the women members about losing the opportunity to contest, she contested the suggestion given by the minister to the women members to change constituencies or to contest in general seats.*

While agreeing with most of the contentions, the Minister opined that as long as politics exists in the society it is very difficult to get rid of political influence on elections. But, the government's effort to remove party based elections at the GP level, is that no one then needs to go to any party to get tickets or party symbols. Further, there will be no fear of getting ousted by a party for contesting against the official party candidate. This also helps in facilitating people getting into different parties. He also stated that if the entire society was in agreement for non-party based elections for Taluk and Zilla panchayats, the government would be willing to depoliticise those bodies too. However, in a democracy it may be difficult to depoliticise totally because people identify themselves with one or the other party.

*Mr. Jawarappa Nayaka, Udburu G.P, Mysore district, had a different experience to share with the minister. His was the case wherein the 'toilet rule' was used*



*Jawarappa Nayaka  
voices his woe*

*against him by the opposition parties with the connivance of government officials to discourage him from contesting. Further, the nexus between the secretary and certain party members denied him of the opportunity of even filing his nomination.*

*Supporting this contention, Mr. Mahadevaswamy from the same panchayat informed the minister that six candidates were unanimously elected because the ex-president, with the help of the election officer, prevented people from filing nominations.*

As this comes under 'election dispute', the minister asked both of them to file their complaints to the Election Commission. However, he asked his secretary to take complete details so that further action could be taken.

Dr. Shivanna, while congratulating the NIAS team and reiterating the validity of the findings, wanted to highlight certain points.

*Emphasising the need to extend the tenure of reserved seats by one more term, he drew the attention of the participants to the financial position of the Grama Panchayats in Karnataka in comparison with other states. For instance, in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan the governments give matching grants. He requested the minister to look into the possibility of adopting the same system for Karnataka as this would not only benefit the panchayats, but would encourage members to collect their own revenues.*

*Further, he said that Grama Sabhas should be made the forum where people can exercise their right to information. He requested all the GP members in the audience to take the responsibility of assembling people for the grama sabhas.*

Reflecting on the significance of Grama Sabhas, the minister said that though the Act insists that Grama Sabhas should be held once in every six months, there are complaints from various quarters that it is not followed. According to him, the present government had already sent the circular to CEOs that the date of the GS be announced and see that all the people of the village participate in this.

On the issue of matching grants to panchayats, the minister commented that such a practice was in existence even as early as 1959 where schools and roads were constructed through matching grants. Subsequently such system of grants where the villagers and the government contribute equally for local infrastructure has disappeared. The minister informed that if there is a demand for the same from the members of the PRIs, it could be reintroduced as he himself was personally in favor of the matching grants system.

Replying to a majority opinion on the rotation of seats once in ten years, the minister has mentioned that it requires a constitutional amendment.

*Dr. Vijyalakshmi requested the minister to react to one of the findings of NIAS study that there is an increase in the number of candidates elected unopposed and unanimously, as this reflects the domination of elite and faction leaders more than the consensus of the people.*

*Ms. Sandhya Rao brought to the minister's attention the report that in Malavalli taluk some seats to the GP have been auctioned. Also to the NIAS study, that shows some GPs having manipulated unanimous election of candidates by quoting the state incentive of Rs. 1 lakh to GPs that have unanimous elections.*

Reacting to the above questions the minister categorically stated that the information regarding an incentive of Rs. 1 lakh is really a mis-information. And about the increase in the number of unopposed and unanimously elected candidates he was of the opinion that democracy is a process of building up consensus wherever it is possible and elections are adopted when such a consensus is not possible. Therefore he disagreed with the argument that unless there is faction and contest in elections, it is not democracy. He also added that it was not of much concern for him that many candidates were being elected unanimously because such a practice would decline when people become more aware and politically active and volatile. On the Mallavalli incident he agreed that it was an undemocratic practice – however the trouble with such cases is that it is difficult to conduct an inquiry.

Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy, the chairperson, in his concluding remarks made the following observations: There was obviously a wide divergence between the government's assessment of the recent GP elections and that of the panchyat members. Though GP elections are presumed to have been on a non-party basis, the situation at the ground level is that both men and women candidates are put up and supported by political parties. This leaves very little space for truly independent candidates, especially if they are women from backward communities.

In some cases, all members of the panchyat have been elected unopposed. Shri Ghorpade observed that such “consensual” approach is a good thing. However there is no evidence that this is a Grama Sabha decision. In actuality these are decisions taken by village ‘elders’- persons who are locally powerful due to economic status, caste hierarchy, patriarchal conventions or political connections. This is not necessarily a democratic process. To break this power of vested interests, and ensure gender equity and equality, many kinds of economic and social changes have to be brought about.

Whatever be the Government’s objectives of rotation of reserved seats, it has to be noted that there is considerable dissatisfaction about the way it affects women candidates/members. This is also the case with regard to the rotation of the office of the Adhyaksha and Upadhyaksha for every 20 months period. These issues have to be re-examined to redress the injustice to women and SC/STs.

Also we know that a vital institution for people’s participation, the Grama Sabha, remains ineffective and the grama panchyats have little resources of their own and even less authority, to take decisions on the basis of local needs and priorities. Further there is no

## **Group Discussion**



*Women's Group*



*Men's Group*

mechanism for disseminating adequate, timely and useful information to panchayats on both administrative and developmental matters. All these require both an amendment to the KPR Act 1993 and a basic change in the attitude towards decentralisation.

He concluded saying that against this background and from the findings of the NIAS study, it is not surprising that effective women's participation in PRIs is hampered. He hoped that now at least, efforts will be made to ensure that women's effectiveness in local governance is enhanced, and this in turn will pave the way for their all-round empowerment."

## Group Discussion

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The afternoon following the interactive session was dedicated for group discussions. In order to facilitate interaction and cross learning among the members; to initiate the participatory methodology that has been adopted for the longitudinal study; and to incorporate the insights of the members as the primary stakeholders to strategise future action, the following questions were taken up for discussion and presentation.

- In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a good panchayat?
- What are the impediments faced by the members in discharging their duties effectively?
- What are the factors that facilitate effective functioning of members? and
- In the coming two years, what kind of inputs can help members implement their plans for the panchayat?

*Panchayat members were formed into four groups, two each of men and women. Other participants too joined these groups. After an exhaustive discussion of over one and a half hours, the groups presented the highlights of their discussions. Dr. Poornima Vyasulu and Ms. Asha Ramesh facilitated this session.*

An analysis of the presentations (as made by the groups) to bring out the difference in perspectives, priorities and awareness between men and women, to understand the lacunae they feel in the existing system and to draw strength from the limitations of their aspirations for further action is given below:

### **Characteristics of a Good Panchayat**

<b>Women GP members</b>	<b>Men GP members</b>
<b>Work</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Should be discussed in the Grama Sabha</li><li>● Should be towards the development of the poor people</li></ul> <b>Schemes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Should be distributed equitably</li><li>● Should address basic amenities</li><li>● Should be need based</li></ul> <b>Members</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Should have unity</li><li>● Should prioritise needs</li><li>● Should allocate resources based on priority</li><li>● Should generate and utilise local resources</li><li>● Should undertake monitoring of the functioning of basic services</li><li>● Should be aware of budgetary allocation, etc</li><li>● Should be aware of schemes and its utilisation</li></ul> <b>Panchayat</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Should revitalise Nyaya Panchayat to settle local disputes.</li><li>● Should conduct Grama Sabhas regularly and beneficiaries be identified in the GS</li></ul>	<b>Panchayat</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Should have capable/ knowledgeable and disciplined members</li><li>● Members should not indulge in giving or taking bribes</li><li>● Members should be aware and reactive to the loopholes in GP</li><li>● Should have a vibrant civil society</li><li>● Should have members with unity</li><li>● Should conduct regular Grama Sabhas</li><li>● GP officials should interact with the people</li><li>● Should be no discrimination among the members</li></ul>

It can be discerned from the above table that both men and women members have articulated very clearly their perspective of what constitutes a good panchayat in terms of the services that need to be rendered, the characteristics its members should possess and the quality of governance. Both have emphasised unity among members as one of the most important aspects of a good panchayat. However, there were some differences in the perceptions between the women's and men's groups. While women members emphasise the collective conscience of a panchayat in delivering good work, male members dwelt upon individual qualities of members. Similarly, male members seem more system-oriented whereas the women members were community oriented. Moreover, the holistic perspective that the women's groups presented for a good panchayat stands out from the technically sound 'good panchayat' that male members presented. For example during the presentation, women were more articulate about issues such as health and education that require attention to develop a healthy and enlightened community; and the increasing alcoholism that is destroying the village environment and wrecking families. For men the issues were more tangible and visible such as infrastructure development. It needs to be emphasised here that there were many experienced male members when compared to women members. The technical know-how of the functioning of panchayats therefore becomes an easy arena for men in articulating a good panchayat. While women members who are novices and the few who were experienced

could articulate their perspective more in terms of the outcomes of the panchayat, as mentioned above.

### **Impediments**

<b>Women GP members</b>	<b>Men GP members</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Many schemes are not need-based and are not sensitive or relevant to the priorities of the people</li><li>● Women members are not respected and are not given opportunities to discuss and take decisions</li><li>● Lack of information about schemes, planning process, resources, budget etc.</li><li>● Scarcity of land available for basic amenity services</li><li>● Lack of sufficient funds to undertake development activities</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Fewer schemes and more number of beneficiaries and therefore difficulty in distributing the schemes equitably.</li><li>● Schemes do not meet the needs of the people and are often delayed</li><li>● Superstitions, illiteracy and lack of knowledge about social problems among people</li><li>● Interference of village elders and politicians in Panchayat affairs.</li><li>● Absence of GP members in the meetings and lack of interest in the implementation of schemes</li><li>● Lack of awareness and training among the members</li><li>● Lack of information about schemes</li><li>● Lack of proper direction/ guidelines to collect tax or revenue</li><li>● Lack of sufficient funds</li></ul>

Coming to impediments, both men and women unanimously pointed out the lack of funds as the single most significant impediment to meeting the needs of the people. Ill-designed and inadequate programmes and schemes, mis-targeting and lack of sensitivity among development officials constitute the spectrum of hurdles that the members face being in the lowest tier in the system. At the same time, issues like illiteracy, lack of awareness and information inhibit the members and affect their involvement in GP activities.

Though the concerns shared by the groups are more or less the same, certain points articulated by the women's groups require emphasis. According to them, as women members, they are not respected as individuals who can contribute, by their male colleagues. Further, they lack information and opportunities to be involved in decision making. There is scarcity of land available for basic amenity services. These points throw light on the gendered nature of constraints that women members face and the high priority they set for basic amenities.

### **Promoting Factors**

<b>Women GP members</b>	<b>Men GP members</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Support from the family members, community, party, secretary and other government officials</li><li>● Leadership qualities</li><li>● Sensitivity towards the needs of the people</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Knowledge about schemes and capability for equitable implementation</li><li>● Co-operation of the secretary</li><li>● Co-operation from Zilla and Taluk level members/officials</li><li>● Revenue generation from various sources</li></ul>

It is to be noted that for women members, the most important promoting factor is the support from the family and community. Women are still struggling to find their space in the Panchayats and be recognised as political entities. They are still trying to cope with the newly acquired leadership status and the new terrain, which is from the private to the public. On the other hand, for male members who have had public exposure, even if not in the panchayats, co-operation of the secretary and other officials in their work is very important. They are explicit about establishing their vertical connection

with members in the upper tiers of the panchayat system. The need to generate revenue was cited as an important concern by the male members.

Support from the family is a non-issue for the male members. This substantiates the earlier point that women members identify gender constraints as the most important impediment to their effective participation.

### **Inputs Required**

<b>Women GP members</b>	<b>Men GP members</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pending works to be completed</li><li>• Provision for Anganwadis, street lights, ration cards and ensuring proper functioning of schools</li><li>• Programmes to address the special needs of the SCs and STs</li><li>• Initiate economic empowerment programmes for women</li><li>• Address the development needs of the panchayat</li><li>• Poorest of the poor to be identified</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Increase in funds</li><li>• Generation of more local resources</li><li>• To facilitate educational and health related and population control programmes</li><li>• Training in sports for youth</li><li>• Training for women members</li><li>• Decisions to be taken in GS</li><li>• Priority to drinking water, sanitation, transportation and electrification</li><li>• Promote cottage industries and handicrafts</li><li>• Encourage women to form sanghas</li><li>• Identification of beneficiaries from below the poverty line for the implementation of schemes</li></ul>

Though the question for discussion was about the kind of inputs required for the panchayat members to fulfill their plans for the coming two years, all the groups articulated their own plans for the years. Nevertheless, their observations reveal that there are a number of initiatives that are required to

enhance their participation, which include sensitisation among the members, officials and households on the role of women members in the panchayats.

All the groups feel that training can solve the problems of 'lack of information and awareness' among the members. It is interesting to find that the majority of the members are open for training and they attribute a substantial role to training and capacity building in enhancing the effective participation of members. Conceptual and technical inputs are also required in order to help the members discharge their duties. This is applicable for both men and women members. Though all the members are aware of grama sabhas as an integral part of the functioning of the Panchayats, they conceive its role mostly in identifying the beneficiaries for various schemes. As documented by many studies, there is misconception among the members to the extent that grama sabhas have been given the nomenclature – 'Loan Mela or Loan Fair'. This lack of conceptual clarity resulting from the diluted and convoluted interpretations and practices, can be extended to the role of Panchayats too. The functioning of panchayats are often perceived as extension counters of the public works department and works under its purview therefore remain limited to maintenance works and other tangible infrastructure-improvements wherein resources are provided by the higher tiers of governance and administration. However, the recognition that development needs to be promoted through



*Dr. Poornima Vyasulu making her concluding remarks*

various strategies including the promotion of income generation activities for women, cottage industries and investing in basic infrastructure development in a simultaneous manner is a welcome change.

Dr. Poornima Vyasulu in her concluding remarks urged the members who participated in the discussion to keep up their spirits and take part in training and other individual capacity building efforts and thereby fulfill their commitment to the community. She also shared with them her conviction that if each member takes it upon himself/ herself to bring people, Grama Sabhas would not be poorly attended and represented. Dr. Poornima also distributed the Kannada version of our study

on the 'Status of Rural Women in Karnataka' to the women members representing each of the panchayats to use in their micro-planning exercises and in developing gender sensitivity among the members and the community.

Maj. Gen. M.K. Paul, Controller of the Institute delivered the vote of thanks. He stated that "the meeting had opened up the scope for a continuous interaction in the future between the elected members, government, NGOs, academics, researchers and NIAS. This is decidedly a mighty force for development and empowerment of women. We are sure that the results of today's deliberations will benefit everyone as far as good governance is concerned".

### **Conclusion**

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We are indeed delighted that the media gave wide coverage to the consultation (clippings annexed). The media highlighted the assurance of the Minister to incorporate the concerns voiced by the participants, particularly in relation to the "toilet rule". One must mention here that, as assured by the Minister, the Amendment to the Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly on March 23, 2000, which amended the clause relating to the toilets. This certainly evinces the strength of such a consultation for advocacy. It also gives us the hope that areas that are discriminatory and impede the political participation of elected members can be addressed successfully to work towards engendered governance.

## **'Toilet rule' threat will not develop rural areas: Ghorpade**

BANGALORE, March 8 (DHNS)

Rural development has to be a movement and cannot be forced into rural areas by using threats such as the 'toilet rule' where an aspiring gram panchayat member who did not have a latrine facility was automatically disqualified. Minister for Rural Development and Panchayat Raj M Y Ghorpade said here today. Inaugurating a consultation meeting on 'Gender and decentralised governance' organised by the Gender Studies Unit of the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), he said that there are hundreds of ways in which the sanitation can be popularised but to say that a candidate will be disqualified if he doesn't have a toilet, can be politically misused.

He said that since his government was new it had passed only

two ordinances, just enough to protect the Panchayat Raj Act, 1988 and thought that minor things like toilet should not be put in an Ordinance.

Mr Ghorpade said that rural development has to be a movement which means that all non-governmental organisations, thinking people, intellectuals have to get together to promote programmes like 'Panchasutra' or five essentials of basic living. He said that the 'Panchasutra' includes paving of streets in the villages so that there is no stagnation of water; drainage; toilets - individual, community and school toilets; smokeless chula which can be fitted in every home and removal of manure pits scattered all over the village giving an unhealthy atmosphere and put into allotted space.

Mr Ghorpade said that there is

nothing very political in gram panchayat goals as there is no scope for party politics and therefore his government had ensured that at least the gram panchayat elections were free of party politics. Drinking water, road and other civic amenities are a basic necessity and there is no political colour in it, he added. He said that there was a time when gram panchayat elections were held on party lines and it created unnecessary ill will to the extent that people started talking in terms of Congress marriages and Janata marriages, Congress Jatra and Janata Jatra. Dr N Shanta Mohan, Fellow, Gender Studies unit of NIAS said that according to their study despite the Panchayat Raj Act providing access to women to political spaces their effective participation is lacking.

## **They contested GP elections on 'reward' seats**

**Staff Reporter**

BANGALORE: Third term of political initiation and most of them are still political novices. Almost all of them have contested elections on reserved seats, the nominations being seen as a reward for the 'good' party work that their male family members have done over the years. Their participation in the pre-election process was minimal.

These are some of the findings of the Gender Studies Unit (GSU) at the National Institute of Advanced Studies which conducted a field study on recently concluded gram panchayat (GP) elections in some of the panchayats in nine villages in the districts of Mysore, Udupi, Koppal and the all women panchayat in Mydolalu in Shimoga.

The findings were released at the 'Consultation seminar on gender and local governance' here on Wednesday amidst a mixed gathering of 30 newly-elected members, about half of them women, social scientists and private organisations. Minister for Rural Development and Panchayati Raj M.Y. Ghorpade was also present.

Though Karnataka has the longest history of reservation for women under Panchayati Raj, a microscopic look at the local dynamics of GP elections reveals, without inter-district variations, that party politics are very dominant.

Some of the disturbing observations are: Even in a non-political body, the calculations seem to favour political personalities; gram panchayats provide the space for formalisation of the informal system of patronage that has so far been in existence; though education is portrayed as the primary hurdle in women candidates being selected, field experience showed many cases where women had been selected because they belonged to families that could afford the expenditure of elections and that allowed mobility and provided escort.

# Toilet rule to head amendments list: Ghorpade

**Continued from Page 9**

presented in his list of amendments to the toilet rule could not be put in those ordinances.

Calling upon the newly-elected gram panchayat heads to adopt the "Pancha Sutras" for rural development, Mr Ghorpade said rural development has to become a movement and development could not be achieved by money alone. He said, "We have to do something to make up their minds to treat this as a relevant social rule," he said.

"I expect all new y-elected

members of the panchayats to go for it and adopt the 'Pancha Sutras' formula on hygiene and good living in the villages," he added.

"There is no scope for party politics in the panchayat level and nearly 80,000 people have been elected on non-party lines in the recent gram panchayat elections," he said.

Ghorpade said that the basic necessities have no political colour.

The 70 per cent voter turn

out in the recent elections is a clear indication that people at the grassroots level have voted for decentralised governance, he said adding that for the first time, every section of the society, including SCST, women and OBCs have been properly represented in the gram panchayats.

Mr Ghorpade called upon the research units to have a continuous and close study with the villages over a long term so that they can chart out changes that take place at this stage of the development.

Dr N. Shantha Mohan, fellow Nias said a study undertaken by Nias on the status of rural women in Karnataka

revealed that despite the Panchayat Raj Act, providing access to women to political areas and their effective participation is lacking.

Group discussions between representatives from non-governmental organisations, newly-elected gram panchayat heads and members of the research units of the department of reservation of seats would go a long way in equal distribution of power and opportunity for all.

## Toilet rule to head amendments list

The toilet rule of the gram panchayat elections will top the list of amendments in the Panchayat Raj Act, said minister for rural development and panchayat raj M.Y. Ghorpade.

Addressing a meet on gender and local governance organised by the National Institute of Advanced Studies on Wednesday, Mr Ghorpade said the present government does not share the view of the previous Janata Dal government on the toilet rule. "We would have amended the rule earlier but at that time our government was still new and we passed two ordinances to protect the Panchayat Raj Act," he said, adding that minor issues like

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44. Ms. Devi  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District

# *Blending the Concerns : Gender and Governance*

45. Ms. Gowri  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District
46. Ms. Kuppu khrur  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District
47. Ms. Olivia Crasta  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District
48. Mr. Mohan Karvi  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District
49. Mr. Poorna Chandra Shetty  
Panchayat Member  
Maravanthe G.P.  
Udupi District
50. Mr. Chandra karvi  
Panchayat Member  
Marav anthe G.P.  
Udupi District
51. Mr. N.S. Krishna  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
52. Ms. Jamrud Unnisa  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
53. Ms. Akkajamma  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
54. Ms. Shivamma  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
55. Mr. Putta Shetty  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
56. Mr. Basavaraju  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
57. Mr. Cheluvayya  
G.P. Member  
N.Bellathur G.P.  
H.D. Kote Taluk  
Mysore District
58. Mr. Srinivas Purohit  
Talakeeri G.P.  
Yalburga Taluk  
Koppal District
59. Sangeetha Purushotham  
# 1, Palm Grove Road  
Victoria Layout  
Bangalore – 560 047  
Phone: 5368319
60. Ms. Puttamma  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
61. Mr. Kumaraswamy  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
62. Ms. Boramma  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
63. Ms. Chikkamma  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
64. Ms. Lakshmi  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
65. Mr. G. Murthy  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District

*N. Shantha Mohan, Asha Ramesh, Piush Antony*

66. Mr. Jawarappa Nayaka  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP, Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
67. Mr. Nataraj  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
68. Mr. Mahadevaswamy  
Panchayat Member  
Udboor GP  
Mysore Taluk  
Mysore District
69. Ms. Sandhya Rao  
Hengasara Hakkina Sangha  
# 1353, 32 E Road Cross,  
4<sup>th</sup> T Block, Jayanagar,  
Bangalore - 560 041  
Phone: 6632322
70. Ms. Veena S. Kumar  
Hengasara Hakkina Sangha  
Bangalore
71. Ms. Nagamani S.S.  
VISTHAR, Dodda Gubbi Post  
Via Bagalur  
Bangalore - 562149  
Phone: 8465294
72. Ms. Meera M.  
Associate Director  
Institute of Social Studies Trust  
Bangalore
73. Dr. G.H. Govinda Raju  
BLISS, Bangalore - 68
74. Mr. B. Suresh  
Udyoga Pradha, 1<sup>st</sup> Cross,  
KK. Lane, Cottonpet  
Bangalore - 53  
Phone: 2258932
75. Dr. Indira Jai Prakash  
Bangalore University  
Bangalore
76. K. Muniraju  
Beltenahalli, Jalige Panchayat  
Devanahalli
77. K. Padmavathi  
Gangawati Taluk, Babureddy Camp  
Velur Post  
Koppala Jilla
78. N. Vijayalakshmi  
Gangawati Taluk, Babureddy Camp  
Velur Post  
Koppala Jilla
79. Mr. M.M. Ramesh  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
80. Mr. Yellogi Rao  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
81. Mr. D.Y. Basappa  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
82. Mr. Jagadish  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
83. Mr. Manjunath  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
84. Mr. Gurumurthy  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
85. Mr. Nagaraj  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
86. Mr. Marappa  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
87. Ms. Shantamma  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
88. Ms. Manjamma  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243
89. Ms. Shantha  
G.P. Member  
Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,  
Shimoga District - 577243

*Blending the Concerns : Gender and Governance*

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| <p>90. Ms. Sakamma<br/>G.P. Member<br/>Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,<br/>Shimoga District – 577243</p> <p>91. Ms. Lakshmi<br/>G.P. Member<br/>Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,<br/>Shimoga District – 577243</p> <p>92. Mr. Nandyappa<br/>G.P. Member<br/>Mydololu G.P. Bhadravathi,<br/>Shimoga District – 577243</p> <p>93. Mr. Aminuddin<br/>G.P. Member<br/>Heerur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>94. Mr. Mallikarjuna Mali Patil<br/>Heerur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>95. Mr. Gopi Anjanayalu<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>96. Mr. Virupanna Bavikatti<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>97. Mr. Virupaksha Gowda<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>98. Mr. Sharana Gowda<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>99. Mr. Venkanna Gowda Police Patil<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>100. Mr. Nagappa<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>101. Mr. Nageshwara Rao<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> | <p>102. Mr. Mallikarjuna Gowda<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>103. Mr. Sharanagowda Police<br/>Patil<br/>Herur G.P., Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>104. Mr. Sankappa Chakkarasali<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>105. Mr. Srinivas<br/>Herur G.P.<br/>Gangavathi Taluk<br/>Koppal District</p> <p>106. Prof. S. Rajagopal<br/>Homi Bhabha Chair<br/>International and Strategic Studies<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>107. Prof. B.V. Sreekantan<br/>S. Radhakrishnan Chair<br/>Philosophy of Science<br/>National Institute of Advanced Studies<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>108. Prof. C.V. Sundaram<br/>Honorary Visiting Professor<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>109. Prof. K. Ramachandra<br/>Honorary Visiting Professor<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>110. Dr. A.R. Vasavi<br/>Fellow, Sociology and Social<br/>Anthropology<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>111. Dr. P.K. Shetty<br/>Fellow, Environmental Studies<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> <p>112. Dr. Sangeetha Menon<br/>Research Fellow,<br/>Philosophy of Science<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> |
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| <p>113. Dr. M.G. Narasimhan<br/>Research Fellow, Philosophy of Science<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p>                     | <p>120. Dr. P. Pugazhendi<br/>Research Officer,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>  |
| <p>114. Mr. Arvind Kumar<br/>Research Associate<br/>International and Strategic Studies<br/>NIAS<br/>IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 560 012</p> | <p>121. Mr. H.R. Rajendra<br/>Research Officer,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>  |
| <p>115. Dr. B.K. Anitha<br/>Research Fellow<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>                             | <p>122. Mr. H. Venugopal<br/>Project Assistant,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>  |
| <p>116. Ms. Asha Ramesh<br/>Research Associate,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>                         | <p>123. Mr. Mahesh Kumar P.B.<br/>Project Assistant,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>   |
| <p>117. Ms. Piush Antony<br/>Research Associate,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS, IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>                        | <p>124. Ms. Renu Mukund<br/>Community Devp. Expert<br/>JSS consultants<br/>"Shiva Kripa" # 384<br/>24<sup>th</sup> 'B' Cross, 9<sup>th</sup> Main<br/>BSK II Stage<br/>Bangalore - 70</p> |
| <p>118. Ms. Sudhamani<br/>Research Officer,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS<br/>IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>                          | <p>125. Ms. Seema Singh<br/>Times of India<br/>Bennett, Coleman &amp; Co. Ltd.<br/>S &amp; B Towers, # 40/1,<br/>M.G. Road,<br/>Bangalore - 560 001<br/>Phone: 5587287</p>                |
| <p>119. Dr. K.J. Parameswarappa<br/>Research Officer,<br/>Gender Studies Unit<br/>NIAS<br/>IISc Campus<br/>Bangalore – 12</p>                | <p>126. Ms. Jayashree Alladi<br/>The Hindu<br/>Bangalore</p>  |

