

# Political Representation to women– the foundation to think beyond gender boundaries

Dr.K. R. Shani

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Mangalore University College, Mangalore, 575001

Email: shanraman26@gmail.com

**Abstract:** *The Political representation provides that all people should have the same opportunity to participate in politics regardless of gender, race and other identities. Thus, therepresentation of women in political institutions is primarily an issue of equality. There has been a larger debate on the nature representation required for the specific political system and its concerns on the welfare of its people. The political systems who are termed as the post-colonial have greater responsibilities in addressing the issues of representation as it is closely connected to democracy. The debate on to give and not to give representation to women clearly indicates that there is someone or something who has the power and enjoys the prerogative of giving some share to others. However, in the history of womens representation, many forces functioned as contributory factors, including “the Renaissance and the Enlightenment emphasizing women’s education and right, the socialist revolution expanding women’s role, the anti-colonial movements allowing women’s political participation.*

**Key words:** *Political Participation, Women Respresnetation, Views on Representation.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION :

The representation provides that all people should have the same opportunity to participate in politics regardless of gender, race and other identities. Thus, therepresentation of women in political institutions is primarily an issue of equality. There has been a larger debate on the nature representation required for the specific political system and its concerns on the welfare of its people. The political systems who are termed as the post-colonial have greater responsibilities in addressing the issues of representation as it is closely connected to democracy. The debate on to give and not to give representation to women clearly indicates that there is someone or something who has the power and enjoys the prerogative of giving some share to others.

This further also makes it clear that there is a male chauvinistic society where dominant male culture is exhibited and believes in giving to the other, especially to women. If the representation is seen from the perspective of the duty of the political system to integrate the nonintegrated then the representation looks to be democratic. In the post-colonial society, the representation is required as it can make women fight for the political share. Politics in post-colonial society is regarded as the primary act of people and it carries the power of ruling, hence the decision-making power gets its position high. The crux of the post-colonial societies lies in the political power where generally it is assumed that there is maximum participation of all. Thus, politics in the post-colonial societies are secular and democratic, on these two fundamental values the anti-colonial movement was said to have begun and ended with results..

It is often discussed that though women require representation to redefine the political system the fundamental question remained as to which factor has to be on priority to extend representation. Should it be the fact that they are treated as the second sex, is it because they are equal in number with men, is it because they were subjugated to be silent throughout the history or because they are economically dependent. The good result came out as a package of all the above and integrated them to the political process. They have the satisfaction to the fact that they are the voters today and they can exercise it as equally as men do. The other areas where women ought to be there are slowly changing and creating an impression that there are good days ahead for women.

The political representation is the result of large number of historical facts especially the women’s movement if not against the men but against the male chauvinism. Thus, their participation in the political process is crucial for strengthening the democratic traditions. As a result the representation has brought remarkable changes in the democratic practices as it nurtured the participation in public life in general and politics in particular in almost all post colonial societies.

However, in the history of women's representation, many forces functioned as contributory factors, including "the Renaissance and the Enlightenment emphasizing women's education and right, the socialist revolution expanding women's role, the anti-colonial movements allowing women's political participation, the expansion of agriculture and industry requiring a female labor force, the dissemination of gender inequality and organized protest of women demanding equal rights and end of discrimination<sup>1</sup>". On the basis of these values Women from different parts of world started movements and demanded for recognition of women in general and extend representation and provide opportunities for participation in various realms of society. Recognizing and extending women a share was a great gesture and remained a fact to prove that the societies are slowly and steadily changing from undemocratic practices to democratic ones. The foundation to think and act towards representation was also initiated at the intellectual level, of which few significant attempts are being taken to strengthen the issues raised above.

### **Hannah. F Pitkin on Representation to women.**

As a scholar and critique of the discrimination existed in society Pitkin established her arguments towards the representation and increased role of women in politics. Pitkin identified four dimensions of women representation which are formalistic, symbolic, descriptive and substantive representation. Each view provided a different approach on representation to women. While there are important differences among the four dimensions, but she maintains that the different dimensions are properly conceived as integral parts of a coherent whole.

The formalistic views of representation emphasis on women decision-makers ability to speak for other women as a matter of shared gender identity, even when they concede that there are differences among women. Women have to involve in decision-making bodies and to contribute different ideas and perspectives to debate and to decision-making. Especially about the women the formalistic theories often emphasize that women's interests are not merely a matter of objective circumstances or material conditions. The substantive representations focus on Women's underrepresentation in politics and the argumentation for increased or equal number of women in politics. The women's substantive representation any makes sense when embedded in feminist theory about changing of male dominance. According to Hannah, F Pitkin substantive representation is acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them. This definition puts forward three criteria for substantive representation<sup>2</sup>.

- Firstly, it is about representative acts as opposed to for instance, intentions or attitudes.
- Secondly, the results of these representation acts should be in the interest of the represented;
- Thirdly, the representation should be responsive towards the ones they represent.

Applying this to the substantive representation of women, Pitkin's definition implies that women's interest and female citizens are central to the representative process.

The question of women achieving descriptive representation therefore is simply about the number of women in political office and not examining what women representative is actually saying. Descriptive representation is a political resource along which social cleavages are stratified. Descriptive representation is to reduce representational inequality in many government offices, in political parties and in social justice advocates. Finally, Pitkin argues that "legislators should be judged by their actions and not just their closeness in characteristics to their constituents. Pitkin's theoretical framework is the standard that political representation scholars use when evaluating whether the presence of women or racial and ethnic minorities in legislatures results in greater responsiveness to female or minority interests<sup>3</sup>".

### **J.S Mill on Women's Representation**

J.S. Mill enjoys the status of being an eminent scholar and a political philosopher. He refined the utilitarian tradition of philosophy established by Jeremy Bentham and he reemphasized the primacy of individual liberty and self-determination against the inroads of the majority in democratic societies. The Mill is remarkable in breaking with the dominant "masculine assumptions of the liberal traditions by counting women as mature adults with the right to be free and equal individuals<sup>4</sup>". Mill wrote the "subjection of Women in 1861, though it was not published until 1869. In this, he argued for education of women and for perfect equality for them<sup>5</sup>". Even today, many feminists accept his argument and non-feminist historians rejected this argument.

<sup>1</sup>ShamsulHaque, "Representation of Women in Governance in Singapore: Trends and Problems", Singapore; Asian Journal of Political Science, Volume 8 Number 2 December 2000. Access date 07-05 2018. available from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02185370008434170>

<sup>2</sup> Karen Celis, "Substantive Representation of Women (and improving it): What is and should it be about?", Ghent; Paper for the 2008 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association Panel 31-18. Access date 07-05-2018. Available from <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/699205/file/702297>

<sup>3</sup> Michael D. Minta, "Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Political Representation in the United States", Cambridge; Journal of Politics & Gender., Vol. 8 Issue 4, 2012. P-542 Access date 05-05-2018. Available form <https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms>. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X12000578>

<sup>4</sup>Shubhra Pant Kothari, "The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue", Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>5</sup>Jone Johnson Lewis, "John Stuart Mill, Male Feminist: 19th Century Social and Political Philosopher", published by thought.co in online, updated 2 June, 2017. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://www.thoughtco.com/john-stuart-mill-male-feminist-3530510>

Mill argued that the “subordination of women is not only Wong in itself but one of the chief hindrances to human development, by denying women the same opportunities as men, he said, society not only impedes the development of roughly half of the population but denies itself the benefit of their talents”<sup>6</sup>. In addition to this Mill argued “that the progress of society requires all people, men and women, not be imprisoned in the fixed social position in which they are born but instead be given opportunities to develop their talents and to pursue their desires as long as they pose no threat to the right of others”<sup>7</sup>.

J. S Mill considered this to be one of the most fundamental principles for building a liberal and democratic society. His interest in “the emancipation of women was systematic and continuous. It is also very important to note that he worked on this issue not only theoretically and philosophically, but also as a publicist and political he actively supported the women’s movement as it developed during his period, and participated in various forms of women’s political struggle against subjugation and discrimination and for civil and political rights, especially Women’s suffrage, as well as social and political reforms aimed at improving their situation”<sup>8</sup>.

The relation between men and women was grounding on force and although some of its most atrocious features have softened up with time, the law of the strongest has been enshrined in the law of the land<sup>9</sup>. For Mill, only complete equality between Men and Women in all legal, political and social arrangements can create the proper conditions for human freedom and a democratic way of life. In 1861, Mill had published Considerations of Representative Government advocating for a universal but graduated suffrage. He argued that<sup>10</sup> all human beings have the same interest in good government; the welfare of all is alike affected by it, and they have equal need of a voice in it to secure their share of its benefits. If there be any difference, women require it more than men, since being physically weaker, and they are more dependent on law and society for protection.

Mankind has long since abandoned the only premise which will support the conclusion that women ought not to have votes. No one now holds that women should be in personal servitude; that they should have on thought, wish, or occupation but to be the domestic drudges of husband, father and brother. It is allowed to unmarried, and wants but little of being conceded to married women to hold property, and have pecuniary and business interests in the same manner as men. The whole mode of thought of the modern world is, with increasing emphasis, pronouncing against the claim of society to decide for individual what they are and are not fit for, and what they shall and shall not be allowed to attempt.

These were the rising steps that moved ahead in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century talking about the under representation of women in the public domain and especially in politics. Post this argument the liberal feminist demanded increasing participation of the women in politics and jobs. But later theories underwent change with the time and more and more vehement clique of liberalism came up.

### **Carole Pateman and Women’s Representation**

Carole Pateman both as a scholar and a victim of her time critiqued of Liberalism for maintain the subordination of women. “Pateman’s work has two particular issues; Firstly, the issue of legitimate political obligation and secondly the nature of political society, and distinction between the private and public sphere<sup>11</sup>”. The definitions of the political almost entirely in terms of the public sphere/civil society have affected the political rights of women. “The domestic sphere, reproduction, mothering, kinship, emotional bonds are seen as the women’s domain, in the area of particular and local interests. The public sphere is thus the site of reason, rationality, autonomy and creativity<sup>12</sup>”. This system therefore makes the entry of the women into the public sphere extraordinarily difficult.

Pateman argues that “the women’s domestication implies that she cannot participate in the public sphere with any great efficiency. The public sphere and the political require rationality and objectivity. The women by being represented irrational and emotional cannot therefore undertake such an office. The free and equal individual, the subject of liberal political theory is thus only the man”<sup>13</sup>. In addition, she is also argued that the role of women will

<sup>6</sup>Tom Shipka, “John Stuart Mill On Women’s Rights” Great Books in Philosophy Series, 1986. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://wysu.org/content/commentary/john-stuart-mill-womens-rights>

<sup>7</sup>Tom Shipka, “John Stuart Mill on Women’s Rights” Great Books in Philosophy Series, 1986. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://wysu.org/content/commentary/john-stuart-mill-womens-rights>

<sup>8</sup> Mariana Szapuova, “Mill’s Liberal Feminism: Its Legacy and Current Criticism”, Journal of Prolegomena, Vol. 5 Issue 2 2006. P-180. Access date 08-05-2018.

<sup>9</sup>Shubhra Pant Kothari, “The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue”, Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>10</sup>Jone Johnson Lewis, “John Stuart Mill, Male Feminist: 19th Century Social and Political Philosopher”, published by thought.co in online, updated 2 June, 2017. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://www.thoughtco.com/john-stuart-mill-male-feminist-3530510>

<sup>11</sup>NasrullahMambrol, “The Political Theory of Carole Pateman”, Published by online on literary theory and Criticism notes”, December 16 2016. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://literariness.org/2016/12/16/the-political-theory-of-carole-pateman/>

<sup>12</sup>NasrullahMambrol, “The Political Theory of Carole Pateman”, Published by online on literary theory and Criticism notes”, December 16 2016. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://literariness.org/2016/12/16/the-political-theory-of-carole-pateman/>

<sup>13</sup>NasrullahMambrol, “The Political Theory of Carole Pateman”, Published by online on literary theory and Criticism notes”, December 16 2016. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://literariness.org/2016/12/16/the-political-theory-of-carole-pateman/>

not change unless “the problems of the disorder of women begins to be seen a question of social life, not as a fact that confronts us in nature, the reality of the structure of our personal and political lives is beginning to be revealed within the appearance presented in liberal and patriarchal ideology, and the task has already begun<sup>14</sup>”.

In the participation and democratic theory Pateman established a convincing case against in empirical and realist theory of democracy and, therefore, against elitist accounts of liberal democracy. According to her, “liberal democracy in the form of representative democracy with huge bureaucratic system was nothing more than elite domination: in other words, the relationship between free and equal individuals was not realized. Pateman conceived that democracy which is based on consent among free and equal individuals consent among free and equal individuals can only be realized under participatory democracy because political obligation of citizens should be owed to fellow citizens and not to the state or representatives<sup>15</sup>”. She argued that “although women have been granted voting and other rights in contemporary liberal democracies, many people still believe they are unsuited for political life and it would be dangerous if the state was led and directed by women<sup>16</sup>”.

The view on Pateman, to increasing participation was to “increase political equality and therefore, minimize the effects of class and economic differences. In her critique of liberal democrats, Pateman regards Mill’s feminist prescription for equal legal treatment in the public sphere as insufficient to deal with the exclusion of women from democracy<sup>17</sup>”. Pateman’s work has been criticized also by both post-modernist and modernist. The primary concern of Pateman was that nothing has been done to improve or reform existing democratic process.

### **Iris Marion Young on Representation:**

Iris Marion Young was another major voice in the movement for equality and one of the major critique of the modern society . she focused on both political as well as social issues while addressing the issues concerning women. It is believed and argued that her works transformed the study of democratic theory, theories of justice, multiculturalism, nationalism, and group rights among others. This in addition to her contribution to feminist theory took her to a different intellectual level but as an advocate of equal rights and justice. She is one of the most important contributors to feminist theory that helped to develop an understanding of the concept of gender that enables a critique of social-structural injustice at a macro level, while simultaneously and equally acknowledging the political importance of group difference among women<sup>18</sup>”.

Marion Young provided a detailed proposal for group representation to enable different voices to influence our representative institutions and the policy making. Member of the group must meet together in democratic forums to discuss issues and formulate group positions and proposals. This principle of group representation “should be understood as a part of a larger program for democratic decision-making process. Public life and decision-making process should be transformed so that all citizens have significantly greater opportunities for participation in discussion and decision-making process. In such cases a more participatory democratic scheme, members of oppressed groups would also have group assemblies, which would delegate group representatives<sup>19</sup>”.

Iris Marion Young is responsible for the second feminist refinement about what needs to be represented. Young analyses Justice in the existing structural injustice, defined in terms of domination and oppression. Young defines domination as institutional constraint on self-determination and therefore directly opposed to democracy and participation. The Iris Young vision of an active and grassroots representation for oppressed looks a good deal more promising than the elitist practices of consociation democracies, but it still does not remove all problems.

Young made a great impact on the younger generation who took her very seriously while both understanding and expressing on the issues related to women. Unlike other scholars Young remains exclusively for that she raised all practical issues encountered by women in their daily life.

### **Representation and Anne Phillips**

Anne is said to have continued the journey where Young stopped. Anne almost spoke the same language spoken by Young and contributed differently to remain in the intellectual history of feminist traditions. She was arguing for three types of arguments for increasing women’s presence in politics. Firstly, “the justice arguments holds that because women comprise half the population, their relative absence from spheres of power and influence is unfair

<sup>14</sup> Tami L. Stainfield “Gender Equality and Social Policy”, 24th April 2007. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://tamistainfield.com/yahoo\\_site\\_admin/assets/docs/Book\\_Review\\_-\\_Carol\\_Pateman.7434807.pdf](http://tamistainfield.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Book_Review_-_Carol_Pateman.7434807.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Yamada, Ryusaku, “What is “the Democratic” in Feminist Political Theory? Mouffe, Pateman, Young and Citizenship”, Tokyo; Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_50497.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_50497.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> Shubhra Pant Kothari, “The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue”, Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>17</sup> Shubhra Pant Kothari, “The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue”, Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>18</sup> Laurel Weldon, “Difference and Social Structure: Iris Young’s Legacy of a Critical Social Theory of Gender”, online published by research gate, June 2007. P-312 Access date 09-05-2018. Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229839111>

<sup>19</sup> Yongxiang Wang, JingpingLi and ZhonghuaGuo “Constructing a Gender-oriented Mode for Modern Citizenship”, China; Journal of Cambridge Studies, Volume 7, No. 4, 2012. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from <http://journal.acs-cam.org.uk/data/archive/2012/201204-article3.pdf>

and ought to be rectified for reasons of justice alone. The second argument is women's interests. It claims that female representatives are more likely to promote issues that have been ignored in parliaments composed mainly of men. Finally, the revitalized democracy argument claims that, incorporating members of historically marginalized groups into politics challenges negative stereotypes about their unsuitability for political office, promoting more democratic outcomes overall<sup>20</sup>.

The both "Women interests and the revitalized democracy argument are linked and are similar to those made by Jane Mansbridge and Melissa Williams. In their view, increasing the presence of marginalized groups in political institutions especially representative ones increase the polity's de facto legitimacy in contexts of past discrimination. But precisely because these group members share a legacy of discrimination, it did further assume that this shared perspective permits greater knowledge about the groups interests, and at the same time imbues representative from the group with a proclivity to pursue those interests more vigorously<sup>21</sup>".

Phillips argues that eliminating formal barriers to inclusion by granting access to vote or equal rights is not enough. It is "necessary to explicitly incorporate marginalized groups into the political body. It is necessary, in short, affirmative action's, which are intended precisely to counter historical patterns of discrimination or more precisely, to counter a force contrary to the inertia generated by such standards, electoral or partisan quotas, in particular, would ensure the incorporation of women to the political elite, regardless of what might appear to be their will<sup>22</sup>". Moreover, they would make the search for competitive candidates somewhat of the interest of male party leaders as well.

The adoption of affirmative action policies in general and quotas in particular, is not without problems, starting with the definition of which groups should benefit. The "marginalized groups that have suffered state sponsored exclusion and or violence in particular, women, workers, ethnic or religious minorities, sexual minorities, disabled persons. Because there are groups whose political exclusion continues to be determined by state, but for which, in general, there are no demands for presence in the case of children and residents of another nationality<sup>23</sup>". That is there remains a discussion about rights and conditions of access to these rights.

Quotas for women are relatively easy to apply, since biological sex can be treated as dichotomous and discrete variable, with the proportion between groups in the population remaining more or less stable. Other significant social cleavages do not have such characteristics, generating problems related to the establishment of borders who belongs to the beneficiary group and the need to periodically recalculate the required quantum of presence.<sup>24</sup>

According to Phillips, "contemporary concerns over fair representation often translate into immediately achievable reforms as with the quota systems and contemporary concerns demands for political presence have often arisen out of the politics of new social movements and they all reflect inequalities other than social class<sup>25</sup>". Phillips is "very clear in advocating that the subsequent developments around race or gender or ethnicity lead more directly to the political level and not created by the class differences at the economic level<sup>26</sup>".

The political movements in such countries there after generated a more identity-based politics in 1960 and 1970's. During this period the new social movements quite generally tend to organize themselves around some premise. This Phillips say has "generated more identity-based politics which stress the self-organization of those most directly oppressed"<sup>27</sup>. In the development of the feminist politics, the question of who can best speak for or on behalf of another's has to be answered at all levels. Women had and have been provided with mediators more so men to speak on behalf of women. Indeed, men have been the decision makers too. The most debated arguments like women ought to be represented on one hand and women must represent were different in their own specific contexts. The first presupposes the other or a group and the second provides for women to represent themselves. Phillips visualized the fact that the segregation of this argument will continue until the chain of male chauvinism is broken.

<sup>20</sup> Susan Franceschet, "Measuring the Impact of Quotas on Women's Substantive Representation: Towards a Conceptual Framework", Boston; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2008. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet\\_Krook\\_APSA\\_2008.pdf](http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet_Krook_APSA_2008.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> Susan Franceschet, "Measuring the Impact of Quotas on Women's Substantive Representation: Towards a Conceptual Framework", Boston; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2008. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet\\_Krook\\_APSA\\_2008.pdf](http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet_Krook_APSA_2008.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> Luis Felipe Migue, "Social Perspectives and Symbolic Domination: The Political Presence of Women Between Iris Marion Young and Pierre Bourdieu", Curitiba, Journal of Sociology and Politics, vol.18 no.36 June 2010. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004)

<sup>23</sup> Luis Felipe Migue, "Social Perspectives and Symbolic Domination: The Political Presence of Women Between Iris Marion Young and Pierre Bourdieu", Curitiba, Journal of Sociology and Politics, vol.18 no.36 June 2010. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004)

<sup>24</sup> Luis Felipe Migue, "Social Perspectives and Symbolic Domination: The Political Presence of Women Between Iris Marion Young and Pierre Bourdieu", Curitiba, Journal of Sociology and Politics, vol.18 no.36 June 2010. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004)

<sup>25</sup> Shubhra Pant Kothari, "The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue", Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>26</sup> Shubhra Pant Kothari, "The Politics of Women Reservation bill issue", Delhi; Abhijeet publications, 2010. P-22

<sup>27</sup> Robert e. Goodin, "Representing Diversity", Australia; 2003. Access date 10-05-2018. Available from [https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/41768/3/Represent\\_Diversity.pdf](https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/41768/3/Represent_Diversity.pdf)



## CONCLUSION:

The foundation laid down and arguments raised by the above scholars travelled around and helped women to increase their political awareness very significantly. Most of the women groups began to demand for equal opportunities to work as a matter of right on one hand and for the policies to sustain equality. It has been noticed that every election fought were raising the issue of equal opportunity thus making representation as a most important political issue. The issues concerning representation travelled from being normative demand to political issue is not something easy to present but noticed almost in every modern political system. Instead of representation it became a political representation making it more important in modern society. The political representation aims at creating an opportunity to contest elections and if voted get a berth in the policy making bodies. Should elected women having elected and getting a chance in the policy making body represent only women or the entire constituency which they represent is a fundamental question. The very presence of women in the historically male dominated policy making body is itself a major trend as the appearance brings in a different perspectives on the composition of the legislature. According to the governing rules of the land the elected member be it a man or woman he or she has to only represent the entire constituency instead of one gender. But there is always a great opportunity to women representatives to focus and emphasize on the policies which help women to get their share which is not shared and but concentrated.

## REFERENCES:

1. Abha Singh, "Social Justice", Indian Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 14 Issue 4, October 1997. Access date 13-1-2018. Available from <http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/ipq/english/IPQ/21-25%20volumes/24%2004/PDF/24-4-5.pdf>
2. Anton M, "The Future of Liberal Democracy", Research Article, Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs, Vol. 5, issue 2, June 30, 2017. P-2. Access date 28-1-2018. Available from <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/the-future-of-liberal-democracy-2332-0761-1000267.php?aid=91263>
3. Arun Norge, "Theories of Democracy: (Liberal and Marxist Democracy)", Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 3, Issue No.2, 2012. Access date 28-01-2018. Available from <http://rjhssonline.com/HTMLPaper.aspx?Journal=Research+Journal+of+Humanities+and+Social+Sciences%3bPID%3d2012-3-2-4>
4. Achla Sharma, "Status of Women: A Socio-Historical analysis in different Ages of Indian Society", Research Journal of Language, Literature and Humanities, Vol. 1 issue 1, January, 2014. Access date 5-02-2018. Available from <http://www.isca.in/LANGUAGE/Archive/v1/i1/5.ISCA-RJLLH-2014-006.pdf>
5. Center for Reproductive Rights, "Substantive Equality and Reproductive Rights: A Briefing paper on Aligning Development Goals with Human Rights Obligations", Report, United States 2014. Access date 17-01-2017. Available from [https://www.reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civicactions.net/files/documents/Equality\\_Guide\\_Reduced\\_size.pdf](https://www.reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civicactions.net/files/documents/Equality_Guide_Reduced_size.pdf)
6. Dick Arneson, "John Rawls's Theory of Justice", San Diego; University of San Diego School of Law. 2008. Access date 27-01-2018. Available from <http://philosophyfaculty.ucsd.edu/faculty/rarneson/Rawlschaps1and2.pdf>
7. Dick Arneson, "John Rawls's Theory of Justice", San Diego; University of San Diego School of Law. 2008.
8. Equal right trust, "the ideas of Equality and non-discrimination: Formal and Substantive Equality", London; Equal right trust. Access date 23-01-2018. Available from <http://www.equalrightstrust.org/content/ideas-equality-and-non-discrimination-formal-and-substantive-equality>
9. Erkki Berndtson, "differences, compromises and democratic theory.: from pluralism to multiculturalism", Helsinki; Prepared for Presentation at the XXXIst Annual Meeting of the Finnish Political Science Association, Turku, Finland, January 14-15, 1999. Access date 29-01-2018. Available from <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/berndtso/Papers/DIFFERENCES.pdf>
10. Gregory H. Stanton, "Three Concept of Equality: Compensatory Discrimination in Indian and American Constitutional Law", Indian Journal of Political Association, Vol. 27, Issue. No. 1, January-March 1981 Access date 24-01-2018. Available from [http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/Three\\_Concepts\\_of\\_Equality.pdf](http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/Three_Concepts_of_Equality.pdf)
11. Harapriya Mohapatra, "Status of Women in Indian Society", Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science, Volume 3, Issue 6, April 2015. Access date 01-02-2018. Available from <http://www.questjournals.org/jrhss/papers/vol3-issue6/F363336.pdf>
12. International Women's rights Action watch Asia Pacific, Substantive equality: a Case Study on Equality", Malaysia; Report, 2001. Access date 23-01-2018. Available from <http://www.law.hku.hk/hrportal/wp-content/uploads/file/Session5.pdf>
13. John Rawls, "A Theory of Justice", Cambridge; Harvard University press, 1999.
14. Joyeeta Chandra, "Liberty & Activism: The Never Ending Confrontation Of Directive Policies Over Egalitarianism", New Delhi; Indian Journal of Law & Liberty Volume 1 Issue 1 2015

15. Karen Celis, “Substantive Representation of Women (and improving it):What is and should it be about?”, Ghent; Paper for the 2008 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association Panel 31-18. Access date 07-05-2018. Available from <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/699205/file/702297>
16. Luis Felipe Migue, “Social Perspectives and Symbolic Domination: The Political Presence of Women Between Iris Marion Young and Pierre Bourdieu”, Curitiba, Journal of Sociology and Politics, vol.18 no.36 June 2010. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-44782010000200004)
17. Monique Lanoix, “Liberal Democratic theory and the situated individual”. Access date 28-1-2018. Available from <http://www.yorku.ca/problema/Issues/Problematique0404.pdf>
18. Maurice Ayodele Coker, “The Marxist Theory of the State: An Introductory Guide”, Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 5 No 4
19. March 2014. Access date 30-01-2018. Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/295128072>
20. Nirupama Prakesh, “Status of Women in Indian Society: Issues and Challenges in process of empowerment, Working papers, Institute of technology and Science, India. Access date 01-02-2018. Available from <https://numeros.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/4status-of-women-in-indian-society.pdf>
21. Chandrakala. S. Halli, and .Shridhar. M. Mullal, Status Of Women In India” Status Of Ancient, Mediaeval And Modern”, imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research Vol-2, Issue-2 , 2016. Access date 5-02-2018. Available from <https://www.onlinejournal.in/IJIRV2I2/040.pdf>
22. Nitisha, “The Position of Women during the Medieval Period”, Published Your Article library online, Access date 05-02-2018. Available from <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/women/the-position-of-women-during-the-medieval-period/47394>
23. Puja Mondal “Changes in the Status of Indian Women during British Rule – Essay”, Published Your Article library online, Access date 05-02-2018. Available from <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/india-2/changes-in-the-status-of-indian-women-during-british-rule-essay/4400>
24. Raghavendra R.H., “Dr B.R. Ambedkar’s Ideas on Social Justice in Indian Society”, Contemporary Voice of Dalit, Sage, Volume: 8 issue: 1, page(s): 24-29 Article first published online: May 1, 2016; Issue published: May 1, 2016. Access date 1-12-2017. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1177/2455328X16628771>
25. Rhoden, “The Liberal in Liberal Democracy”, Journal of Democratization, Rutledge, Vol. 22, No. 3, 11 Dec 2013. Access date 28-1-2018. Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271625082>
26. Saroj Bohra, “Social Justice and Indian Constitution”, International Journal of Law and Legal Jurisprudence Studies, Universal Multidisciplinary Research Institute Pvt Ltd, Volume 2, Issue 1, 2015. Access date 23-11-2017. Available from <http://ijlljs.in/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/D04.pdf>
27. Sushma Yadav, “Reservation and Inclusive Growth”, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 2010
28. Shyam Chand, “Dr Ambedkar on Democracy”, Mainstream weekly, Vol. XLV, No 51, December 8, 2007. Access date 28-01-2018. Available from <https://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article467.html>
29. Selvaratnam, “Population and Status of Women”, Asia-Pacific Population Journal, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 2008. Access date 01-02-2018. Available from <http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/APPJ-Vol-3-No-2.pdf>
30. Susan Franceschet, “Measuring the Impact of Quotas on Women’s Substantive Representation: Towards a Conceptual Framework”, Boston; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2008. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet\\_Krook\\_APSA\\_2008.pdf](http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet_Krook_APSA_2008.pdf)
31. Tom Shipka, “John Stuart Mill On Women's Rights” Great Books in Philosophy Series, 1986. Access date 08-05-2018. Available from <https://wysu.org/content/commentary/john-stuart-mill-womens-rights>
32. Tami L. Stainfield “Gender Equality and Social Policy”, 24th April 2007. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://tamistainfield.com/yahoo\\_site\\_admin/assets/docs/Book\\_Review\\_-\\_Carol\\_Pateman.7434807.pdf](http://tamistainfield.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Book_Review_-_Carol_Pateman.7434807.pdf)
33. Yamada, Ryusaku, “What is “the Democratic” in Feminist Political Theory? Mouffe, Pateman, Young and Citizenship”, Tokyo; Access date 09-05-2018. Available from [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_50497.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_50497.pdf)
34. Yongxiang Wang, Jingping Li and Zhonghua Guo “Constructing a Gender-oriented Mode for Modern Citizenship”, China; Journal of Cambridge Studies, Volume 7, No. 4, 2012. Access date 09-05-2018. Available from <http://journal.acs-cam.org.uk/data/archive/2012/201204-article3.pdf>