

Reservation to Representation: Evaluating Women's Participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions

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Abstract

The institutionalization of women's reservation in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 marked a decisive shift toward inclusive and decentralized governance in India. By mandating at least one-third representation for women in local self-government bodies, the amendment sought to correct historical gender imbalances in political participation and promote grassroots democracy. Over three decades later, women constitute nearly half of all elected representatives in PRIs across several states. However, the transition from numerical reservation to substantive political representation remains uneven and contested. This paper critically evaluates women's participation in PRIs by distinguishing between descriptive representation and effective involvement in decision-making processes. Using secondary data drawn from Census reports, Ministry of Panchayati Raj publications, National Family Health Survey (NFHS) data, State Election Commission records, and peer-reviewed studies, the paper analyzes trends, challenges, and outcomes associated with women's leadership in local governance. The study highlights structural constraints such as patriarchal norms, caste hierarchies, proxy leadership, and administrative dependency that limit women's agency despite constitutional safeguards. At the same time, it documents positive governance outcomes associated with women's participation, particularly in social sector priorities. The paper argues that while reservation has been successful in ensuring entry, sustained institutional and socio-cultural reforms are essential to achieve meaningful representation and gender-responsive rural governance.

Keywords: Women Participation, Panchayati Raj Institutions, Reservation, Representation, Gender and Governance, Rural India

1. Introduction

Democratic decentralization has long been regarded as a foundational principle for inclusive governance in India. The idea that democracy must extend beyond electoral politics at the national and state levels to the grassroots found constitutional expression in the form of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, enacted in 1992 and operationalized in 1993, gave constitutional status to local self-government institutions in rural areas and introduced a uniform framework for their structure, powers, and functioning across states [1]. Among its most transformative provisions was the reservation of seats for women, Scheduled Castes (SCs), and Scheduled Tribes (STs), thereby institutionalizing social inclusion within local governance structures.

Women's reservation in PRIs represents one of the largest experiments in political inclusion globally. As per official estimates of the Ministry of Panchayati Raj, India currently has over 1.4 million elected women representatives in PRIs, accounting for nearly 46 percent of total representatives, with several states exceeding the mandated quota by providing 50 percent reservation [2]. This unprecedented scale of participation has drawn global scholarly attention, positioning India as a critical case for examining the relationship between gender quotas and democratic deepening. The central question, however, is not merely one of numerical inclusion but of substantive participation—whether women representatives exercise real authority, influence policy outcomes, and participate meaningfully in decision-making processes.

The distinction between reservation and representation is critical in understanding women's political empowerment. Reservation ensures entry into political institutions, but representation implies the capacity to articulate interests, exercise autonomy, and shape governance outcomes [3]. In the context of PRIs, several studies have pointed out that women's presence does not automatically translate into effective leadership. Phenomena such as proxy representation—commonly referred to as the “Panchayat Pati” system—where male relatives exercise power on behalf of elected women, continue to undermine the spirit of constitutional reform [4]. Additionally, entrenched patriarchal norms, caste-based hierarchies, low literacy levels, and economic dependency further constrain women's ability to function independently within local governance frameworks.

At the same time, empirical evidence suggests that women's participation in PRIs has generated positive developmental outcomes. Studies based on village-level data indicate that women leaders tend to prioritize social welfare issues such as drinking water, sanitation, education, nutrition, and health care—sectors traditionally neglected in male-dominated governance [5]. Data from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) and NITI Aayog reports suggest correlations between women's political participation and improvements in human development indicators, particularly in states with longer histories of women's reservation [6]. These findings challenge conventional assumptions about women's political capacity and underscore the transformative potential of gender-inclusive governance.

Despite extensive literature on women and Panchayati Raj, significant gaps remain. Much of the existing scholarship is either region-specific or based on micro-level field studies, limiting broader generalizations. Moreover, while several studies document challenges faced by women representatives, fewer systematically analyze long-term national trends using secondary data sources. This paper seeks to address this gap by offering a comprehensive, data-driven evaluation of women's participation in PRIs across India. By synthesizing data from government reports, census records, national surveys, and peer-reviewed research, the study provides a macro-level understanding of how women's reservation has evolved over time and the extent to which it has resulted in substantive political representation.

The paper adopts an analytical framework that views women's participation not as a static outcome but as a dynamic process shaped by institutional design, socio-cultural contexts, and governance practices. It examines patterns of representation, identifies structural and cultural constraints, and assesses the impact of women's leadership on rural governance outcomes. In doing so, the study contributes to ongoing debates on gender quotas, democratic decentralization, and inclusive development.

Ultimately, the paper argues that reservation is a necessary but insufficient condition for women's empowerment in Panchayati Raj Institutions. While constitutional mandates have successfully facilitated women's entry into local governance, the transition from reservation to representation requires sustained policy interventions, capacity-building measures, and socio-cultural transformation. Understanding this transition is essential not only for strengthening PRIs but also for advancing the broader goal of gender-equitable democracy in India.

2. Review of Literature

The scholarly discourse on women's participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) has expanded significantly since the enactment of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992. Early literature primarily focused on the constitutional and institutional significance of decentralization, while later studies examined the gendered dimensions of local governance. This body of work collectively explores whether political reservation has succeeded in transforming women from symbolic participants into substantive actors in rural decision-making.

One of the foundational strands of literature situates women's reservation in PRIs within the broader framework of democratic decentralization. Scholars such as Mathew [7] and Maheshwari [8] argue that the constitutional recognition of PRIs marked a paradigm shift in Indian democracy by relocating governance closer to citizens. Women's reservation, in this view, was intended not merely as a welfare measure but as a democratic corrective aimed at

redistributing political power. These studies emphasize that without women's inclusion, decentralization would remain incomplete and socially unrepresentative.

A substantial portion of the literature evaluates the impact of reservation on women's numerical representation. Government reports by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj consistently highlight a steady increase in women's participation, with several states surpassing the mandatory one-third quota and adopting 50 percent reservation [2]. Scholars like Rai [9] and Jayal [10] view this expansion as a landmark achievement, noting that India has created the world's largest cohort of elected women representatives. However, these studies caution that numerical presence alone cannot be equated with empowerment, stressing the need to examine qualitative dimensions of participation.

The distinction between descriptive representation and substantive representation has emerged as a central analytical theme in the literature. Drawing on Pitkin's theoretical framework [3], several scholars argue that true political empowerment requires the ability to influence decisions, articulate interests, and exercise autonomy. Chattopadhyay and Duflo's seminal empirical study [5], based on village-level data from West Bengal and Rajasthan, provides evidence that women leaders do make different policy choices, particularly by prioritizing public goods closely linked to women's everyday concerns. Their findings challenge the assumption that women's reservation merely results in tokenism and suggest that women's presence can reshape governance outcomes under conducive conditions.

At the same time, a significant body of research documents the constraints that limit women's effective participation. One of the most widely discussed issues is proxy leadership, often referred to as the "Panchayat Pati" phenomenon. Studies by Panda [4], Baviskar [11], and Sudarshan [12] reveal that in many cases, male relatives—husbands, fathers, or brothers—exercise de facto power while elected women serve as nominal heads. This pattern is particularly pronounced in regions with strong patriarchal norms, low female literacy, and entrenched caste hierarchies. These studies argue that proxy representation undermines both democratic accountability and the transformative potential of women's reservation.

Caste and class emerge as critical variables in shaping women's participation in PRIs. Research by Jodhka [13] and Guru [14] demonstrates that women from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes face intersectional disadvantages that compound gender-based exclusion. While reservation has enabled their entry into political institutions, social discrimination, economic dependency, and lack of social capital often limit their authority. Empirical studies from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh indicate that Dalit and Adivasi women representatives are more likely to experience intimidation, social boycott, and administrative non-cooperation [15]. These findings underscore the importance of analyzing women's participation through an intersectional lens rather than treating women as a homogeneous category.

Education and capacity-building constitute another major theme in the literature. Several scholars argue that low levels of literacy and political awareness significantly affect women's confidence and performance in Panchayati Raj roles. Studies by Kaushik [16] and Vidya [17] emphasize that women with higher educational attainment are more likely to participate actively in meetings, engage with officials, and resist proxy control. Government-sponsored training programs for elected women representatives have shown mixed results; while they improve procedural knowledge, their effectiveness is often undermined by irregular implementation and limited follow-up [18]. The literature thus highlights the need for sustained, context-sensitive capacity-building initiatives rather than one-time training sessions.

A growing body of research focuses on the developmental impact of women's leadership in PRIs. Studies using secondary data from NFHS and state-level surveys suggest that villages with active women leaders show better outcomes in sanitation, drinking water provision, school enrollment, and maternal health [6], [19]. These findings support the argument that women's participation enhances governance quality by broadening policy priorities and improving responsiveness to community needs. However, some scholars caution against overgeneralization, noting that positive outcomes are contingent on institutional support, administrative cooperation, and local socio-cultural contexts [20].

Another important strand of literature examines the role of institutional design and state-level variation. Comparative studies reveal significant differences in women's experiences across states, shaped by factors such as the duration of reservation, devolution of powers, and political culture [21]. States like Kerala and Karnataka, with stronger traditions of decentralization and social reform, exhibit higher levels of women's substantive participation compared to states where PRIs function primarily as implementing agencies for centrally sponsored schemes [22]. This variation underscores the importance of contextualizing women's participation within specific governance ecosystems.

Despite extensive research, several gaps persist in the literature. First, many studies rely on micro-level fieldwork, limiting their ability to capture national trends over time. Second, while qualitative insights into women's experiences are rich, fewer studies systematically synthesize secondary data from multiple official sources to evaluate long-term patterns of representation and participation. Third, existing literature often treats reservation as a static intervention, insufficiently examining how women's roles evolve over successive electoral cycles. This paper seeks to address these gaps by adopting a macro-level, secondary-data-based approach that integrates multiple datasets and analytical perspectives.

In summary, the literature on women's participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions presents a nuanced picture. Reservation has undoubtedly transformed the gender composition of local governance, creating unprecedented opportunities for women's political inclusion. However, the transition from reservation to substantive representation remains incomplete, constrained by structural inequalities, socio-cultural norms, and institutional limitations. By building on existing scholarship and addressing its gaps, the present study aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of women's political participation in rural India.

3. Research Methodology

The present study adopts a descriptive–analytical research design to evaluate women's participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in India, with a specific focus on the transition from constitutional reservation to substantive political representation. Given the macro-level nature of the research problem and the availability of extensive official datasets, the study is based entirely on secondary data drawn from authenticated government and institutional sources. This methodological approach enables a comprehensive assessment of national trends, regional variations, and structural patterns in women's political participation over time.

The study is exploratory in orientation, as it seeks to synthesize diverse datasets and scholarly insights to examine the qualitative dimensions of women's representation beyond mere numerical presence. At the same time, it is analytical in nature, as it evaluates the relationship between women's participation and governance outcomes, institutional constraints, and socio-cultural factors. The use of secondary data is particularly appropriate for this study, as Panchayati Raj Institutions operate across vast and heterogeneous regions, making large-scale primary data collection resource-intensive and methodologically restrictive [23].

3.1 Nature and Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is pan-Indian, covering trends in women's participation in PRIs from the implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in 1993 up to the most recent period for which official data is available. While the analysis is national in scale, state-level and regional variations are also examined to highlight differential outcomes shaped by political culture, administrative capacity, and social structures. The study pays particular attention to women's participation at the Gram Panchayat level, as it represents the most immediate interface between citizens and local governance.

Women's participation is operationalized across multiple dimensions, including numerical representation, leadership positions (such as Sarpanch/Pradhan), involvement in Gram Sabha meetings, engagement in planning and implementation of development schemes, and autonomy in decision-making. This multidimensional approach allows for a nuanced evaluation of representation as a process rather than a static outcome.

3.2 Sources of Data

The study relies exclusively on verified secondary data obtained from the following sources:

1. **Census of India (2001, 2011):** Used to analyze demographic patterns, literacy levels, gender ratios, and rural population characteristics relevant to women's political participation [24].
2. **Ministry of Panchayati Raj (MoPR) Reports:** Official publications and annual reports provide data on the composition, functioning, and performance of PRIs, including the proportion of elected women representatives across states [2].
3. **State Election Commission Data:** Election statistics from various states are used to examine trends in women's candidature, electoral success, and leadership positions at different tiers of Panchayati Raj.
4. **National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4 and NFHS-5):** These datasets are utilized to explore correlations between women's political participation and social development indicators such as sanitation, maternal health, nutrition, and education [19].
5. **NITI Aayog and Planning Commission Reports:** Policy documents and evaluation reports provide insights into decentralization, governance reforms, and gender-responsive planning [6], [22].
6. **UN Women and World Bank Publications:** These sources offer comparative perspectives and analytical frameworks on women's political empowerment and local governance [18], [25].

All data sources used in the study are publicly accessible, government-authorized, and methodologically transparent, ensuring reliability and academic rigor.

3.3 Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis employs a combination of qualitative interpretation and quantitative trend assessment. Descriptive statistical techniques—such as percentage analysis, ratio analysis, and temporal comparison—are used to examine changes in women's representation over time. State-wise comparisons are undertaken to identify patterns of variation and to assess the impact of policy differences, such as the adoption of 50 percent reservation in certain states.

Thematic analysis is applied to interpret qualitative information from government reports, policy documents, and existing research studies. Themes such as proxy leadership, caste-gender intersectionality, administrative dependence, and capacity-building are systematically examined to understand the barriers to substantive participation. Where relevant, correlations between women's leadership and governance outcomes are discussed using NFHS indicators and development indices, without making causal claims beyond the scope of secondary data analysis.

4. Analysis and Discussion

The analysis of women's participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) reveals a complex and uneven trajectory from constitutional reservation to substantive political representation. While numerical inclusion has expanded dramatically since the implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, the quality, depth, and autonomy of women's participation continue to be shaped by structural, socio-cultural, and institutional factors. This section critically examines trends in representation, patterns of participation, constraints faced by women representatives, and the governance outcomes associated with women's leadership, using secondary data and existing empirical evidence.

4.1 Trends in Women's Representation in Panchayati Raj Institutions

Since 1993, women's numerical presence in PRIs has increased consistently across India. Data from the Ministry of Panchayati Raj indicates that women constitute approximately 46 percent of elected representatives nationwide, with several states—such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Kerala, and West Bengal—implementing 50 percent reservation for women [2]. This expansion reflects not only constitutional compliance but also a gradual normalization of women's political presence at the grassroots level.

However, representation remains uneven across regions and tiers of Panchayati Raj. Women are more prominently represented at the Gram Panchayat level than at the Panchayat Samiti or Zila Parishad levels, indicating a vertical decline in women's leadership as the scale of governance expands [26]. Leadership positions such as Pradhan or Sarpanch show higher resistance to women's independent authority, particularly in states with strong patriarchal traditions. Furthermore, representation among Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) women, though constitutionally mandated, remains constrained by social discrimination and economic vulnerability [15].

4.2 Participation in Decision-Making Processes

A central question in evaluating women's participation concerns their actual involvement in decision-making. Studies based on government evaluations and academic research indicate that women's attendance at Panchayat and Gram Sabha meetings has improved over time, yet active participation varies widely [18]. In many cases, women representatives attend meetings but remain silent or defer to male members, reflecting limited confidence, lack of procedural knowledge, or social pressure.

Nevertheless, where institutional support and training are available, women demonstrate increasing engagement in planning and implementation processes. Evidence from MoPR reports shows that women representatives are more actively involved in committees related to health, education, sanitation, and social welfare [2]. This thematic participation aligns with findings from NFHS data, which suggest improvements in access to toilets, drinking water, and maternal health services in areas with active women leaders [19]. These trends indicate that women's participation, when substantive, contributes to more inclusive and responsive governance.

4.3 Proxy Leadership and the Panchayat Pati Phenomenon

Despite progress, proxy leadership remains one of the most significant challenges to women's substantive representation. The "Panchayat Pati" phenomenon—where husbands or male relatives exercise authority on behalf of elected women—has been widely documented across states [4], [11]. Secondary evidence suggests that proxy control is more prevalent among first-time women representatives, particularly those with low literacy levels or limited exposure to public life.

Proxy leadership undermines the democratic intent of reservation by transferring authority back to male actors, often reinforcing existing power hierarchies. Government reports acknowledge this issue, noting that administrative officials frequently interact with male relatives rather than elected women, further institutionalizing proxy practices [15]. However, longitudinal studies indicate a decline in proxy behavior over successive terms, suggesting that political experience and exposure gradually enhance women's autonomy [27]. This finding underscores the importance of continuity and repeated electoral participation in strengthening women's leadership.

4.4 Intersection of Gender, Caste, and Class

Women's participation in PRIs cannot be understood in isolation from caste and class dynamics. Intersectional analysis reveals that Dalit, Adivasi, and economically marginalized women face multiple layers of exclusion that limit their political agency. While reservation has enabled their entry into governance structures, social discrimination often restricts their authority and mobility [14].

Empirical studies from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh report instances of social boycott, verbal abuse, and even physical intimidation faced by Dalit women Pradhans when they assert authority [15], [28]. These challenges are compounded by economic dependence and lack of access to informal power networks that facilitate governance. Consequently, intersectionality emerges as a critical determinant of women's participation, necessitating differentiated policy responses rather than uniform interventions.

4.5 Education, Capacity, and Institutional Support

Education and capacity-building play a pivotal role in shaping women's effectiveness as local leaders. Secondary data indicates a positive correlation between literacy levels and active participation in Panchayat proceedings [24]. Women with basic education are more likely to understand administrative procedures, engage with officials, and resist proxy control.

Government-sponsored training programs for elected women representatives have expanded significantly in recent years. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj and UN Women have implemented capacity-building initiatives focusing on legal provisions, financial management, and leadership skills [18]. While these programs have improved procedural awareness, their impact remains uneven due to inconsistent implementation, language barriers, and limited follow-up. The literature emphasizes the need for continuous, localized training models that account for regional socio-cultural contexts.

4.6 Governance Outcomes and Developmental Impact

One of the most compelling arguments in favor of women's participation in PRIs is its association with improved governance outcomes. Empirical evidence from secondary data supports the claim that women leaders prioritize social infrastructure and human development sectors. Chattopadhyay and Duflo's study [5] demonstrated that women-led Panchayats invested more in drinking water and road infrastructure relevant to women's needs. Subsequent studies corroborate these findings, linking women's leadership to better sanitation coverage and school enrollment [19], [29].

NFHS-5 data indicates that states with higher levels of women's political participation show improvements in maternal health indicators and access to basic amenities [19]. While causality cannot be definitively established through secondary data alone, these correlations suggest that women's leadership contributes positively to governance quality by broadening policy priorities and enhancing accountability.

4.7 Institutional and Administrative Constraints

Institutional limitations continue to restrict women's participation in PRIs. Despite constitutional devolution, Panchayats often function as implementing agencies for centrally sponsored schemes rather than autonomous decision-making bodies [22]. Limited financial powers, bureaucratic control, and procedural complexity disproportionately affect women representatives, who may lack prior administrative experience.

Administrative attitudes also play a critical role. Studies indicate that officials often underestimate women's capabilities, preferring to interact with male members or relatives [12]. Such practices not only marginalize women but also perpetuate gender bias within governance institutions. Strengthening administrative accountability and sensitization is therefore essential for translating reservation into representation.

4.8 Regional Variations and Policy Environment

State-level variation significantly influences women's participation outcomes. States with longer histories of decentralization, stronger civil society engagement, and political commitment to gender equality exhibit higher levels of substantive participation [21]. Kerala, for example, demonstrates relatively higher women's involvement in planning and budgeting processes due to its participatory planning framework. In contrast, states where PRIs lack autonomy or where patriarchal norms dominate political culture show limited progress.

These variations highlight the importance of contextual policy design. Reservation alone cannot overcome deeply embedded social structures; it must be complemented by supportive institutional environments, political will, and sustained capacity-building efforts.

4.9 Discussion: From Entry to Empowerment

The analysis underscores that women's reservation in PRIs has been successful in facilitating entry into political institutions but less effective in ensuring empowerment. Representation, in its substantive sense, requires not only presence but also autonomy, influence, and recognition. While progress is evident in governance outcomes and gradual shifts in social attitudes, significant barriers persist.

The transition from reservation to representation is therefore best understood as a gradual, multi-dimensional process rather than an immediate outcome. Women's political empowerment in PRIs depends on cumulative experience, institutional support, and socio-cultural transformation. Secondary data suggests that over time, repeated participation and exposure contribute to greater confidence and leadership capacity among women representatives, indicating the long-term transformative potential of reservation policies.

5. Conclusion

The constitutional reservation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) represents one of the most ambitious experiments in democratic inclusion undertaken anywhere in the world. Over three decades since the enactment of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, India has succeeded in dramatically transforming the gender composition of local governance. Women now constitute nearly half of all elected representatives in PRIs, marking a historic departure from centuries of political exclusion. This numerical achievement, however, does not automatically translate into substantive political empowerment.

The analysis presented in this paper demonstrates that while reservation has been highly effective in ensuring women's entry into Panchayati Raj Institutions, the transition from reservation to meaningful representation remains incomplete and uneven. Structural barriers such as patriarchal social norms, caste-based hierarchies, economic dependency, limited education, and bureaucratic dominance continue to restrict women's autonomy and decision-making authority. The persistence of proxy leadership, particularly through the "Panchayat Pati" phenomenon, further undermines the democratic intent of gender quotas by transferring power back into male hands.

At the same time, secondary data and empirical studies provide compelling evidence that women's participation—where it is substantive—has positive implications for governance quality and development outcomes. Women leaders consistently demonstrate greater attention to social sector priorities such as sanitation, drinking water, education, health, and nutrition. Improvements in human development indicators in areas with active women's leadership suggest that women's participation enhances responsiveness, transparency, and accountability in local governance. These outcomes challenge deeply entrenched assumptions about women's political competence and reinforce the normative case for gender-inclusive democracy.

The findings of this study underscore that reservation is a necessary but insufficient condition for women's empowerment in Panchayati Raj Institutions. Sustainable political empowerment requires a supportive institutional environment, sustained capacity-building, administrative accountability, and gradual socio-cultural transformation. Women's representation must therefore be understood as a dynamic, long-term process rather than a one-time constitutional intervention.

6. Policy Implications and Way Forward

To strengthen the transition from reservation to representation, a multi-pronged policy approach is required—one that addresses institutional, social, and capacity-related constraints simultaneously.

First, **continuous capacity-building** of elected women representatives must be prioritized. Training programs should move beyond procedural knowledge and focus on leadership skills, financial management, digital literacy, and legal awareness. These programs must be localized, conducted in regional languages, and supported through mentoring systems that enable women to seek guidance throughout their tenure [18].

Second, **institutional mechanisms to curb proxy leadership** must be strengthened. Administrative accountability should be enhanced by mandating direct interaction between officials and elected women representatives. Legal provisions addressing interference by relatives should be strictly enforced, and grievance redressal mechanisms should be made accessible to women facing coercion or intimidation [4].

Third, **strengthening Gram Sabhas** is essential for deepening participatory democracy. Increased community engagement can enhance women's visibility, legitimacy, and confidence while creating collective pressure against proxy practices. Digital platforms and social audits may further improve transparency and accountability at the grassroots level [22].

Fourth, **intersectional policy interventions** are required to support women from marginalized communities. Dalit, Adivasi, and economically disadvantaged women face compounded exclusion and require targeted support through financial assistance, legal protection, and social mobilization programs [14].

Finally, **administrative sensitization and devolution of powers** are crucial. Panchayats must be empowered with real financial and administrative authority, and officials must be trained to engage equitably with women leaders. Without meaningful devolution, women's leadership risks being confined to symbolic participation.

In sum, transforming reservation into representation demands sustained political will, institutional reform, and cultural change. Investing in women's leadership at the grassroots is not merely a question of gender justice but a prerequisite for deepening democracy and achieving inclusive rural development in India.

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