



Women and Politics: Strengthen Women's Political Participation and Decision-Making Power

***Dr.Rabia Begum, Associate Professor, P.G.Dept of Political Science, Govt Women,s First Grade College, Kalaburgi.**

Abstract

This paper attempts to study how in India, women's engagement in governance empowers them via active political participation. The term 'political participation' has a very wide meaning. According to the WEF Global Gender Gap Report 2020, India ranks 18th in terms of political empowerment, far better than its rank in the other dimensions of the index: 149th in economic participation and opportunity, 112th in educational attainment, 150th in health and survival, and 108th in the overall index. The political empowerment ranking sits above the UK's ranking of 20th and significantly above the US rank of 68th.

The sub-index for political empowerment measures the gap between women and men at the highest level of political decision-making through the ratio of women to men in ministerial positions, the ratio of women to men in parliamentary positions, and the ratio of female to male heads of state in the past 50 years. India's positioning is strongly driven by the tenure of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister from 1966 to 1977 and then again from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. While Gandhi's role as a prominent female leader should not be overlooked, it does somewhat skew our interpretation of India's positioning in the index. The other two measures that constitute the index see India ranked 69th with 30% of women in ministerial positions, and 122nd with 17% of women in parliament. The sub-index also fails to factor in state-level leadership, where significant powers sit. Of India's 28 states, currently only West Bengal has a female Chief Minister. Besides, the political empowerment sub-index focusses entirely on leadership. In this post, we explore the evidence around a range of areas linked to women's political participation in India, including political representation at different levels of India's political system, women as political leaders, and women as active citizens. Women around the globe, but particularly in many developing contexts, remain absent and invisible in political institutions and dialogue. As of 2015, women's suffrage in democracies was nearly universal and more than 130 countries had gone so far as to implement political quotas for women (Hughes et al. 2019). Gender quotas, for example, have been shown to increase women's representation, shift policy towards women's interests, and improve gender equality

along other dimensions (Lott and Kenny 1999, Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004, Miller 2008, Beaman et al. 2009, Catalano 2009, Ford and Pande 2011, Clayton and Zetterberg 2018).

Key words: Participation, Governance, Women, politics, policy, India.

Introduction

Women's representation as citizens in political spaces is important on normative grounds of political inclusion and on political economy grounds because it is likely to cause policy change. We know that when women enter politics, policy changes. In India, women's representation in local elected offices increased the provision of certain public goods (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004). In Latin America, women's political movements have yielded the greatest impacts on policies aimed at combating violence against women (Htun and Weldon 2012). And in sub-Saharan Africa, women's representation in national office is associated with greater political engagement by women (Barnes and Burchard 2013). Yet, our understanding of women's decisions to participate in politics has for a long time failed to recognise that the constraint to doing so is not simply lack of resources, a household division of labour or the rules of divorce, but the combination of all of these with social norms that preclude extra-household political networks. Once we recognise this, it becomes possible to explain and respond to the persistent gender gap in political participation across developing democracies.

In 1993, India took an important step towards deepening democracy when it passed the 73rd Amendment that put in place the Gram Panchayat (GP) (elected village council) at the village level. An important feature of this Amendment was reservation for women in GP seats and sarpanch (elected head of GP) posts. This was indeed a crucial step considering the low status of women in India and their consequent low participation in public life. But what have been the impacts and implications of this policy? The anecdotal evidence in this context is mixed. While, on the one hand, it has been claimed that quite often, women sarpanchs are just a front for the male relatives; on the other hand, it has been argued that female sarpanchs are indeed proactive and bring about several positive changes in the village. The assurance of personal safety and fair treatment under the law are two of the most fundamental aspects of a civilised society. However, protecting these rights for disadvantaged groups, such as minorities and the politically underrepresented, has remained a challenge in many countries — exemplified by the recent horrific incidents of violence against women in India, which have generated widespread national and international outrage.¹ There has been much debate over how governments can intervene to avoid such outcomes. While a range of policies — from affirmative action quotas in education and jobs, to legal protection and better law enforcement — have been considered in the past, our research finds that there is another novel approach that can be effective: greater political representation for women.

In recent research with Prachi Mishra and Petia Topalova, (Iyer et al 2012), we study this link between political representation and crimes against women in the context of India's 1993 Panchayati Raj constitutional

amendment in 1993. Under this law, the central government mandated that one-third of all seats in local councils (village, intermediate and district levels), as well as one-third of all chairperson positions, would be reserved for women. This amounted to a dramatic increase in the number and fraction of women in political office.

In general, political representation of disadvantaged groups may reflect the changing preferences of the electorate, or the changing social status of such groups. These factors could also directly influence crimes committed against such groups, rather than the fact of political representation for such groups. So, to measure the impact of women's political representation on crime, we exploited two features of the 1993 reform: (i) that it was mandated and (ii) that different states in India implemented it in different years, for reasons largely unrelated to crimes against women.

Objective:

This paper intends to explore and analyze **women's representation** in government is critical, as is equitable access to participation and decision-making by women in the nation's **political**, social progress

Women Political Participation In Indian Politics

The status of women in India has seen many ups and downs since ancient times - from at par status in ancient history to be in veils (Parda System) during the Medieval period. In the post independent India, the status of women regained its strength and has been on a rise ever since. Women in post independent India have been participating in almost all types of economic activities, day-to day household chores, voting for a better governance and also in active politics. India has elected a woman prime minister, Indira Gandhi, and a woman president, Pratibha Patil. In the present central government, women comprise roughly quarter of the Indian cabinet with portfolios like external affairs, commerce and human resource development. At the ground level, India has a significant proportion of women in local level politics which has been achieved by reserving seat for women.

1. Indian Freedom Movement:- Women participated in the freedom movement with true spirit and undaunted courage and faced various tortures, exploitations and hardships to earn us freedom. Many great Indian women like Rani Lakshmi Bai, Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi, Vijayalakmi Pundit, Annie Besant need no introduction for their dedication and undying devotion to the service of India. Indian women who joined the national movement were initially from educated and liberal families. All changed with the advent of Gandhi who converted the freedom struggle into a mass movement involving all sections of society. He understood that true freedom cannot be achieved if all the sections of the society are not truly represented.

His most successful campaign against the imperial rule was fought on the issue of salt tax which brought Indian women to the forefront. Local issues started getting debated and women took center stage in this regard.

2. Women Reservation Bill:- Post Gandhi, India experienced centralization of planning which resulted in higher inequality in political decision making at the various levels. While Government was deeply concerned of issues of gender equality, women were not always a part of such decision making. Although, India has seen women participating in politics as the longest serving Prime minister, as chief ministers of various states, members in national parliament and state legislative assemblies in large numbers, yet the occurrence of such events has not been commensurate to their population. In order to enable better women participation in active politics, authorities had been trying to put in reservation for women but have not been successful in true terms due to non-support from some of the regional parties. Back in history, one of the prominent member of freedom struggle, Sarojini Naidu rejected reservation for women, citing that women are not weak, timid, meek. She claimed that the demand for granting preferential treatment to women is an admission on her part of her inferiority and there has been no need for such a thing in India as the women have always been by the side of men. The issue of women's reservation again came to limelight in 1973 with voices recommending reservation for women in at least one third of the seats and eventually statutory women's panchayats at the village level were recommended to take care of the neglect of women in rural development programs through 73rd & 74th constitutional amendments in 1993. Women's Reservation Bill or the Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill, is a pending bill in India which proposes to reserve 33 per cent of all seats in the Lower house of Parliament of India, and in Measurement of Women's Political Participation at the Local Level: India Experience _ 3 all state legislative assemblies for women. The seats to be reserved in rotation will be determined by draw of lots in such a way that a seat shall be reserved only once in three consecutive general elections. Women's Reservation Bill, was passed in Rajya Sabha on March 9, 2010 But Lok Sabha could not clear the bill due to resistance of some regional parties on certain provisions of the bill.

3 Panchayati Raj Reforms:- Indian Constitution made provisions relating to the establishment, powers, and responsibilities of the panchayats through the 73rd Amendment in 1993 with three tier system, viz, panchayats (village governance bodies) at the village, intermediate and district levels in every state, except provision of skipping intermediate level in states with less than twenty lakh population.

The states have been empowered through law for the composition of panchayats. The reform provided for reservation of both seats and leadership positions for the Scheduled Castes, tribes, and women. A normal duration of five years for panchayats has been provided with the authority of preparing the electoral rolls and conducting elections in the state Election Commission. The state government is also empowered to make laws providing criteria for disqualification of candidature from panchayat elections and also to legislate with respect to maintenance of accounts by the panchayats and their audit. Apart from providing political empowerment, the Panchayati Raj reforms endow the panchayats with necessary powers and authority to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon panchayats at the appropriate level for economic development and social justice under their jurisdiction.

This has helped all the sections of the society particularly the weaker sections including women to take part and to share the responsibility of governance and development at least at the sub-district levels. As the legislation provides for reservation for women, the number of women elected representative at local level has sharply increased. India has been maintaining the record of number of women representatives at the panchayat level and statistics indicate that 30-50% of local level elected representatives are women.

Constitutional Provisions

Adoption of our Constitution heralded a new era of equality for women of India. It guarantees equal political rights including the right to vote to women. Also, almost all the provisions contained in the UN Convention on the 'Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women' are there in the Indian Constitution. Not only does the Constitution guarantee equal political status to women, there is even a scope for 'positive discrimination' in their

favour as is evident in Article 15(3) of the Constitution. There are many other provisions in the Constitution which lay stress on equality between men and women. Article 14 provides for equality before law. Article 39(a), states that the State shall direct its policy towards securing equally to men and women the right to an adequate means of livelihood, and 39(d) enjoins the State to direct its policy towards securing equal pay for equal work for both men and women. Article 42 provides for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief and Article 51(A) (e) refers to the fundamental duty of citizens to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.

Representation of Women in Parliament/State Legislatures

Political representation was initially based on the premise that it deals primarily with individuals. It was believed that though very few women were actually joining politics at a given time; the overall improvement in terms of education and employment opportunities would necessarily percolate into the political sphere too and their representation would commensurately increase. During the first general elections, 66 women contested the elections to Parliament and 19 were elected to the House of the People. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was quite appalled at the low representation of women in Parliament.

In Lok Sabha

Even six decades after Independence, the representation of women in the Lok Sabha do not present an impressive picture. It has not crossed 10 per cent (Table 1). In the First Lok Sabha, there were only 22 women constituting 4.4 per cent of the House. It increased marginally over the years except in the Sixth Lok Sabha when the House had only 19 women members. In the Thirteenth Lok Sabha, there were 49 women members. However, in the Fourteenth Lok Sabha, the strength of women members is 51.

In Rajya Sabha

Similarly, in the Rajya Sabha, in 1952, the number of women members was merely 15 constituting 6.94 per cent of the membership of the House. Over the years, the percentage of women has increased and now, out of 242 members, 23 are women constituting 9.50 per cent of the House. In the Rajya Sabha, the representation of women has never crossed 12 per cent.

In State Legislatures

Women representation in State legislatures has also been equally dismal. At present the average percentage of elected women in State Assemblies is 6.94 per cent, the highest being 14.44 per cent in Haryana and the lowest being 1.34 per cent in Karnataka. States like Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Union Territory of Puducherry have no representation of women in their Assemblies. It is unfortunate that in India after 58 years of the working of the Constitution, women are still fighting for their empowerment; women's representation in Parliament is merely 8 per cent. It is not surprising that the Global Gender Gap Report 2007

of UNDP had placed India at a disappointing rank of 114 out of 128 countries studied, based on indicators, among others, of political empowerment.

Reservation for Women in Local Bodies — Encouraging trends

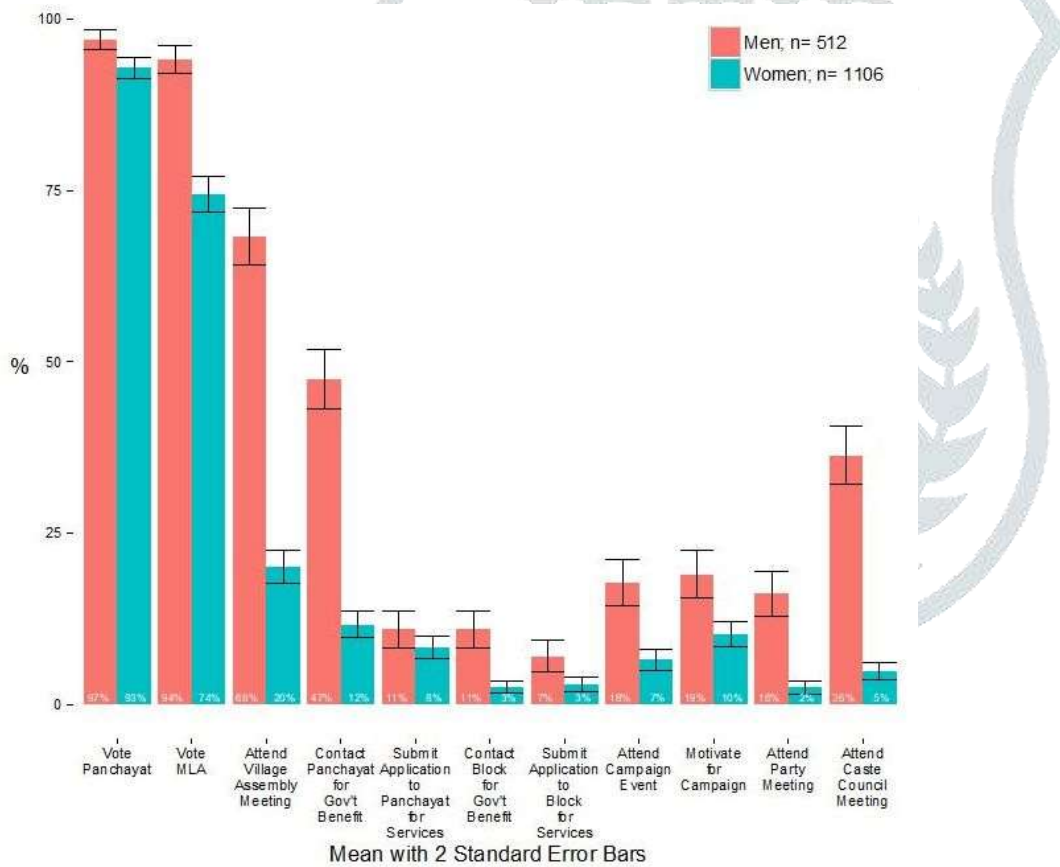
Given the low representation of women in politics, there has been a consistent demand for more meaningful ways to increase their representation in decision-making bodies. In pursuance of this notion of empowerment of women, the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1993 and the Constitution (Seventy-fourth Amendment) Act, 1993 reserved seats for women at the local level bodies, namely, the Panchayats and Municipalities with the hope that these measures will set the trend to provide women their legitimate place in public life. After these amendments, Articles 243 D and 243 T were added to the Constitution to provide that not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by the direct election in the local bodies (Panchayats and Municipalities) would be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in the local bodies. This, indeed, makes a historic beginning for the effective participation of women in the decision-making process at the grassroots level. In the elections to these local bodies, more than one million women were have been elected every five years. In 2006, 9,75,116 women were elected to Gram Panchayats; 58,094 women to Panchayats at Intermediate level; and 5779 women to Panchayats at the District level.⁷ It is but natural that a larger number of women have participated in these elections and this signifies a very encouraging trend for women's empowerment. Though it has taken time for women to translate their numerical strength into active participation in the rural and semi-urban areas, the results have been truly astounding. Before reservation, the percentage of women in this area was merely 4.5 per cent, which after reservation has gone upto 40 per cent. As per the Fifteenth Anniversary Charter on Panchayati Raj, "Today more than 26 lakh representatives stand elected to the three levels of Panchayats. Of these, over 10 lakh are women. The last fifteen years of Panchayati Raj, have thus succeeded in empowering marginalized groups who have gained political representation and valuable experience. Many of them have successfully taken on the challenge of governance and brought about enduring social change through their close links with the community."⁸ Women have prioritized issues of health, education and access to basic services and in some cases have been able to ensure a significant change in living conditions for the entire community.

For Dominance of women s over ULBs

Anecdotally there is a view that female political representatives in local government are merely a front for their male relatives. If this were so, we should see no difference in the policy choices made by political leaders based

on their gender – as these would be controlled by men even in the case of female leaders holding reserved seats, it is seen that the reservation of a council seat has a bearing on the provision of public goods, with female leaders investing more in public goods valued by women (for example, drinking water).

Other studies point towards the effectiveness of female political leaders – but experience is key. A survey conducted in Maharashtra in 2008 (Sathe et al. 2013) find that the availability of basic public services is better in female-headed villages, when the female head has been in the job for 3-3.5 years. While an IGC study by Afridi et al. (2017) find that women leaders with no prior experience initially under-perform, they rapidly learn and fully catch up with male leaders in unreserved seats. Hence, there is a need for capacity-building and institutional support to enhance the effectiveness of policies pertaining to affirmative action and women’s participation in politics.



Women as political leaders

Given the association of female political leaders with redistributive policies, one may think that they are less effective in promoting economic growth, at least in the short to medium term. In an IGC study, Bhalotra et al. (2018), provide evidence to the contrary. Examining data for 4,265 assembly constituencies in India for the period 1992-2012, they find that women legislators raise economic performance in their constituencies by about

1.8 percentage points per year more than male legislators. The researchers attribute this striking result to female leaders being less corrupt, more efficient, and more motivated than their male counterparts.

Whether females in power are actually less corrupt is, however, an open question. Based on an artefactual field experiment in rural Bihar, Gangadharan, Jain, Maitra and Vecci (2015) demonstrate that in villages that have previously experienced a female village chief, women show a greater tendency to appropriate resources when acting as a leader, vis-à-vis men. A possible explanation put forth by the authors is that female leaders expect to be treated poorly, leading to a self-fulfilling prophecy where they behave in a negative manner. Alternatively, in an environment with few opportunities for leadership, women act myopically and take one-off decisions when presented with an opportunity as they do not expect to be re-elected.

Nevertheless, the presence of women political leaders is found to have other positive social outcomes. Analysing data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Iyer and Mani (2012) note a large increase of 26% in the documented crimes against women, after the increased political participation of women as a consequence of the 1993 amendment. Digging deeper, the researchers find that this is driven not by a surge in the actual crimes committed against women, but by the increased reporting of such crimes. There is an increase in the responsiveness of the police under women political representatives, which encourages women to voice their concerns.

While it is commonly believed that female political leaders can serve as role models for girls and women in society, the mechanism does not seem to work for political candidacy. Analysing constituency-level data covering all state elections in India during 1980-2007, Bhalotra, Clots-Figueras, and Iyer (2018) find that there is a decline in the entry of new women candidates following a woman's electoral victory. This decline is most pronounced in states with entrenched gender bias and in male-headed political parties, which is in line with male backlash against women performing non-traditional roles (see for instance, Gangadharan et al. 2014).

Women as active citizens

The sex ratio of voters in India (number of women voters to every 1,000 male voters) has displayed an impressive increase from 715 in the 1960s to 883 in the 2000s, with the 2019 general election being the first time when women were more likely to vote as compared to men. Yet, women are less likely to participate in politically oriented public activities such as election campaigns or protests, or to identify with a political party.

The gender gaps are partially explained by factors such as women having significantly lower knowledge about political institutions and electoral rules; lagging behind men on self-assessed leadership skills; and needing permission to go outside. Exploring ways to enhance women's presence in the political space, an experiment in Madhya Pradesh (Prillaman 2018) shows that women who participated in a self-help group (SHG)[1] were twice as likely to attend village assembly meetings or make a claim on local leaders. It is suggested that the positive effect is largely the result of women's coordinated action to jointly demand representation and combat backlash from men. When the Pradhan is a woman, the percentage of women among participants in the Gram Samsad[2] is significantly higher (increasing from 6.9% to 9.9%). Women in these villages are also twice as likely to have addressed a request or complaint to the Pradhan in the last six months. The researchers note this as being consistent with the idea that political communication is influenced by citizens and leaders belonging to the same gender. They also put forth the possibility that this increased participation of female villagers in the policymaking process may play a role in the policy decisions of female Pradhans.

While there is still a long way to go for women's political representation in India, especially at higher levels of government, with more female political leaders and more women exercising their democratic rights, we can hope for policy change that may contribute towards India's improved performance on the other indicators of women's economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, and health and survival.

Conclusion

India has a rich history of measuring political participation of women since its independence. The decentralization of governance which is taking place for last two decades has increased the importance of measuring participation of women in decision making. Proper gender budgeting has already been worked out for inclusive growth of women & girls by ear-marking one third budget for the women in all the schemes. The Indian Government has a lot of emphasis on utilizing real time data for measuring different social indicators and using them for policy intervention. With more responsive data on women participation, better gender budget initiatives aim to move the country towards a gender.

India has a penchant for using technology for taking government schemes to the remote areas. The mobile penetration in India is even more than the penetration of electricity connections. The digital communication advancements may be introduced to capture the actual participation of women in Panchayat activities by counting their attendance and their vote share in passing a decision in the Panchayat. Portals and mobile applications may be developed to voice the women issues by calling response from general women.

References

1. Kabeer, Naila. "Gender equality and women's empowerment: A critical analysis of the third millennium development goal 1." *Gender & Development* 13.1 (2005): 13-24.
2. Mosedale, Sarah (2005-03-01). "Assessing women's empowerment: towards a conceptual framework". *Journal of International Development*. 17 (2): 243–257. doi:10.1002/jid.1212. ISSN 1099-1328.
3. Bayeh, Endalcachew (January 2016). "The role of empowering women and achieving gender equality to the sustainable development of Ethiopia". *Pacific Science Review B: Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2 (1): 38. doi:10.1016/j.psr.b.2016.09.013.
4. Oxfam (Forthcoming), "Women's Economic Empowerment Conceptual Framework"
5. Baden, Sally; Goet, Anne Marie (July 1997). "Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing". *Feminist Review*. 56 (1): 3–25. doi:10.1057/fr.1997.13. ISSN 0141-7789. S2CID 143326556.
6. Lopez, Alvarez (2013). "From unheard screams to powerful voices: a case study of Women's political empowerment in the Philippines". 12th National Convention on Statistics (NCS) EDSA Shangri-la Hotel, Mandaluyong City October 1–2, 2013.
7. "Innovation for women's empowerment and gender equality". ICRW | PASSION. PROOF. POWER. Retrieved 2021-05-20.
8. Deneulin, Séverine; Lila Shahani, eds. (2009). "An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach: Freedom and Agency" (PDF). Sterling, VA: Earthscan. Archived (PDF) from the original on 2016-06-16. Retrieved 2016-09-01.
9. Gupta, Kamla; Yesudian, P. Princy (2006). "Evidence of women's empowerment in India: a study of socio-spatial disparities". *GeoJournal*. 65 (4): 365–380. doi:10.1007/s10708-006-7556-z. S2CID 128461359.
10. Kabeer, Naila. "Contextualising the Economic Pathways of Women's Empowerment: Findings from a Multi-Country Research Programme." (2011).
11. United Nations Development Programme; Stephanie Chaban; Luis J. Consuegra; Hannah Elten; Karin Gardes; Olivia Greymond; Olga Martin Gonzalez; Mona Lena Krook; Liri Kopaci-Di Michele; Hien Thi Nguyen; Nika Saeedi; Safi Trabelsi; Catherine Woollard (2017). *Regional organizations, gender equality and the political empowerment of women*. Stockholm: International IDEA. ISBN 978-91-7671-140-8. Archived from the original on 2018-04-13. Retrieved 2018-04-08.
12. Rahman, Aminur (2013). "Women's Empowerment: Concept and Beyond" (PDF). *Global Journal of Human Social Science Sociology & Culture*. 13 (6): 9. Archived (PDF) from the original on 10 August 2017. Retrieved 11 December 2018.

13. Lamont, Michèle (June 2018). "Addressing Recognition Gaps: Destigmatization and the Reduction of Inequality". *American Sociological Review*. 83 (3): 419–444. doi:10.1177/0003122418773775. ISSN 0003-1224.
14. Corcoran, Mary (2000). "How welfare reform is affecting women's work". *Annual Review of Sociology*. 26: 241–269. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.241. ISSN 0360-0572. OCLC 46615910.
15. Abramovitz, Mimi (May 2006). "Welfare Reform in the United States: gender, race and class matter". *Critical Social Policy*. 26 (2): 336–364. doi:10.1177/0261018306062589. ISSN 0261-0183.
16. Power, Marilyn (November 2004). "Social Provisioning as a Starting Point for Feminist Economics". *Feminist Economics*. 10 (3): 3–19. doi:10.1080/1354570042000267608. ISSN 1354-5701.
17. Gutierrez, Lorraine M.; Lewis, Edith A. (1994-07-07). "Community Organizing with Women of Color:: A Feminist Approach". *Journal of Community Practice*. 1 (2): 23–44. doi:10.1300/J125v01n02_03. ISSN 1070-5422.
18. Duflo, Esther (2012). "Women Empowerment and Economic Development". *Journal of Economic Literature*. 50 (4): 1051–1079. doi:10.1257/jel.50.4.1051. hdl:1721.1/82663. JSTOR 23644911. S2CID 17267963.
19. Mehra, Rekha (November 1997). "Women, Empowerment, and Economic Development". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 554 (1): 136–149. doi:10.1177/0002716297554001009. S2CID 154974352.
20. Carr, Gloria (February 2011). "Empowerment: A Framework to Develop Advocacy in African American Grandmothers Providing Care for Their Grandchildren". *ISRN Nursing*. 2011: 531717. doi:10.5402/2011/531717. PMC 3169837. PMID 21994894.
21. Parker, Patricia (2003). "Control, Resistance, and Empowerment in Raced, Gendered, and Classed Work Contexts: The Case of African American Women". *Annals of the International Communication Association*. 27 (1): 257–291. doi:10.1080/23808985.2003.11679028. S2CID 154928053.
22. "World Survey on the Role of Women In Development". *Women's Control over Economic Resources and Access to Financial Resources, including Microfinance (PDF) (Report)*. New York: United Nations. 2009. Archived (PDF) from the original on 2017-08-29. Retrieved 2017-06-29.
23. Geleta, Esayas Bekele. "Microfinance and the politics of empowerment: a critical cultural perspective." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49.4 (2014): 413-425.
24. Parmar, A. (2003). "Microcredit, Empowerment, and Agency: Re-evaluating the Discourse". *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*. 24 (3): 461–76. doi:10.1080/02255189.2003.9668932. S2CID 154860254.

25. Ellis, Amanda. Gender and economic growth in Kenya: Unleashing the power of women. World Bank Publications, 2007.
26. Nussbaum, Martha C. (2000). "Introduction". Women and Human Development: The Capabilities to Approach. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1–33. ISBN 9781139459358.
27. UNESCO; EQUALS Skills Coalition (2019). "I'd blush if I could: closing gender divides in digital skills through education" (PDF).
28. Romeo, N. 2016. "The chatbot will see you now". New Yorker, 25 December 2016.
29. Shulevitz, J. 2018. Alexa, should we trust you? The Atlantic, November 2018.
30. Wong, Q. 2017. Designing a chatbot: male, female or gender neutral? Mercury News, 5 January 2017.
31. Emejulu, A. (2011-07-01). "Re-theorizing feminist community development: towards a radical democratic citizenship". Community Development Journal. 46 (3): 378–390. doi:10.1093/cdj/bsr032. ISSN 0010-3802.
32. Erbaugh, Elizabeth. "Women's Community Organizing and Identity Transformation". Race, Gender & Class. 9: 8–32 – via JSTOR.
33. Bradshaw, Catherine P.; Soifer, Steven; Gutierrez, Lorraine (January 1994). "Toward a Hybrid Model for Effective Organizing in Communities of Color". Journal of Community Practice. 1 (1): 25–42. doi:10.1300/J125v01n01_03. ISSN 1070-5422.
34. Brady, Shane R.; O'Connor, Mary Katherine (2014-04-03). "Understanding How Community Organizing Leads to Social Change: The Beginning Development of Formal Practice Theory". Journal of Community Practice. 22 (1–2): 210–228. doi:10.1080/10705422.2014.901263. ISSN 1070-5422.
35. Fisher, Robert; Shragge, Eric (2000-11-28). "Challenging Community Organizing: Facing the 21st Century". Journal of Community Practice. 8 (3): 1–19. doi:10.1300/J125v08n03_01. ISSN 1070-5422.
36. Christens, Brian D. (2010-08-03). "Public relationship building in grassroots community organizing: relational intervention for individual and systems change". Journal of Community Psychology. 38 (7): 886–900. doi:10.1002/jcop.20403.
37. Charmes, Jacques, and Saskia Wieringa. "Measuring women's empowerment: an assessment of the gender-related development index and the gender empowerment measure." Journal of Human Development 4.3 (2003): 419-435.