

Manipur Election 2022: Issues Of Women Representation And Participation

Dr. Nameirakpam Bijen Meetei^{1*}, Ngasepam Cinthoibi Chanu²

¹*Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Manipur University, Imphal, Manipur.*

²*Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Manipur University, Imphal, Manipur.*

**Corresponding Author: - Dr. Nameirakpam Bijen Meetei*

**Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Manipur University, Manipur, Pin-795003, India.*

Abstract

Most of the political parties in India use issues of women empowerment as their electoral planks to mobilize women voters. Not only that, all landmark international agreements contain provision or guidelines to take steps to achieve gender equality. Yet in reality women are under-represented in the decision-making bodies. By employing observation, explorative methods with secondary sources the present paper aims to study the issues of political representation and participation of women in Manipur. Women in Manipur are generally assumed to be empowered based on the resistance narrative history of the state. This paper seeks to give an insight into how Manipuri women participate and represent in the recently held 12th Manipur Legislative Assembly election 2022. It argues that a number of women are actively engaged as voters, campaigners, party members or what can be considered as foot soldiers. Though, the recent assembly elections witnessed higher representation of women and the number of elected women representatives increased to five, their representative is still low and marginal. It further argues that one of the reasons for such marginal representation of women in the state assembly is the patriarchal structure of the society where dominance of men over women has been the norm, and thus most of the parties are reluctant to suggest women candidates.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Women Representation, Political Participation, Electoral planks, Election.

Introduction

Political participation and Representation are indispensable parts of a successful functioning of Democracy. Political participation and representation just for namesake carry little meaning. What is required is the effective role played by its citizens to give real feedback to the system through the medium of participation and representation. According to Verba and Nie, political participation is defined as *“all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system”*. Political Participation does not mean only exercising its franchise, it encompasses many things like freedom to express its opinion, holding public protests and rallies, campaigning for a candidate, joining a political party, contesting elections and so on.

In a democracy, it is essential that no one is restricted and barred because of their gender, caste, class, or ethnicity to participate and represent in the whole electoral process. The active engagement of women in the political decision-making bodies is crucial for achieving gender equality. The women representatives will bring different interest and

priority in the decision table. It is known from various reports, women tend to focus on issue which were overlooked by the male politicians. According to Kathlene (1995), women legislator tends to focus more on introducing bill associated with crime prevention or victim's rights while male legislator pay more attention towards bringing bills related to stricter sentencing and longer prison terms (cited in Kunovich, Sheri L; Paxton, Pamela; and Hughes, Melanie M., "Gender in Politics" (2007). However, women are under-represented at the top decision-making bodies be it at international, national, or state level.

Traditional discourse on Manipuri women comes with a romanticized construction which has been refuted in the modern discourses. Modern reading of women hints to the need for emancipation from traditional feminizing projection of women. It is said that Manipuri women are held high in society. Because of their active economic participation. They are renowned all over the world because of the historical experience of First Nupi Lal 1904 and the Second Nupi Lal. Moreover, in the contemporary times, women organized themselves into what is commonly called as Meira Paibis (women torch bearers) to challenge various social

malaise, to curb drug usage and stop any unlawful activities.

In short, women have a high sense of existence in the resistance narrative history of the state. It looks like that woman in the state have a strong voice and have been actively engaged in all spheres be it private or public. The Ima Markets have been associated with every noted political event in the society. The mothers of the Ima Markets have been in forefront in protesting against the government. So, it is generally assumed to be empowered based on the resistance narrative history of the state.

However, on the ground there is a different scenario. The state has recorded the worst sex ration (757) as per the 2018 report on, "vital statistics of India based on the Civil registration System. Crime against women has been increasing from 46 reported case in 2015 to 148 reported case in 2018. In the political arena as well, women's presence in formal politics is low despite the extensive numbers of women presence in ground level politics. The present paper is an attempt to examine women political participation and representation in the context of 12th Manipur Legislative Assembly Election.

Contextualizing Women Representation: The History

Half of the world's population is women yet history shows that women are mostly excluded from the public sphere. Women have been relegated to the private sphere since the earlier times confining them to the four walls of home. In ancient Greek, men were citizens so they served polis (state) while women can only serve in oikos (household). They cannot own property and must be dependent on her father before marriage and to her husband throughout her life. Women were not regarded as citizens. There was a clear cut private and public sphere dichotomy in the earlier time in which private spheres were the arenas of women while that of public sphere belonged to the male.

In the late 18th and 19th century, women started demanding its legal rights such as the right to vote, rights to own property. It is rightly known as the Suffragettes movement. Eventually the suffragette movement became successful and women got the right to vote. New Zealand became the first country to grant the right to vote to women in 1893. Followed by Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913 and Saudi Arabia became the latest country to grant suffrage rights to women in 2012. The feminist movement have evolved since the Suffragettes movement and now it is not only fighting for political equality but rather it is encompassing many other problems in specific to

contemporary times. Some of the international landmark agreement that include the provision for gender equality are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (articles 1 and 2), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (articles 25), the UN convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against women (articles 1 and 2), Sustainable Development Goals (SDG-5), 1995 Beijing Declaration and so on. Even with all these efforts to achieve gender equality, women are still under-represented throughout all levels of taking decisions worldwide.

As of 1st February 2022, the global average of women in the national parliament is at 26.1 %. As per the Inter Parliamentary Report, the country with the most female parliamentarians is in Rwanda. It has a female majority parliamentarian with 61.3 % in the lower house. It is followed by Cuba with 53.4%, Nicaragua with 50.6% and Mexico with 50 %. India was ranked 144 with only 14.9 female parliamentarians in the lower house. Altogether Indian Parliament has 110 women Members of Parliament which is segregated into 81 members at the Lok Sabha and another 29 at Rajya Sabha. According to Global Gender Gap, India was ranked at 140 from among the 156 nations. It affirms that in arenas of political empowerment, the country does the worst, decreasing from 23.9% to 9.1 %.

Manipur Election: Past trend and pattern

In the VIII Manipur Legislative assembly election 2002, the total male voters were 7,18,538 which was less than that of total female voters 754381 while that of voter turnout was 90.27% and 90.49% respectively. Altogether there were 368 total candidates in which 7 were women candidates and only one woman was elected. In the IX Manipur Legislative Assembly election 2007, there were 8,82,835 female voters which were more than that of 8,24,369 male voters while the voter turnout was 86.82% and 85.88% respectively. There was a total of 12 female contestants from 308 total candidates and no women candidates were elected.

In the X Manipur legislative assembly election 2012, the total male voters were 8, 57,513 while that of female voters were 8,90,886 in which female voters exceeded 33,373 from the male voters. There were 279 contesting candidates from which 15 were only women whereby 3 (5%) women were elected. The male turnout was 76.94% while that of female turnout was 81.36%. In the XI Manipur legislative assembly election 2017, the total voters were 19,14,547 while that of total male voters was 9,37,483 and total female voters was 9,77,064. It was also outnumbered by 39,581 female voters. There were 266 contesting

candidates but only 11 women candidates from which only two women (3.64%) candidates were elected. The female voter turnout was 87.99% whereas male voters' turnout was 83.65% in this election.

In the Lok Sabha election, the same trend was also seen with the state female voter turnout was 80.54% and 84.19% in 2014 and 2019 election respectively more than that of male voter turnout which was 78.66% and 81.41% sequentially. There have been six women MLA from 1972 to 2017. Even this small percentage of women representatives have not been free from controversial allegations. The past trends show that women voters have outnumbered the male voters. It is not only that even the gap of voter turnout between male and female voters have been widening based on the data provided by the election commission. In spite of all these, there is low presence of women in the State Assembly.

From 1972 to 2017, Manipur had nine women representatives. They are Hangmila Shaiza, Okram Landhoni, Akoijam Mirabai, Nemcha Kipgen, Keisham Apabi Devi and Wahengbam Leima Devi. Three new women representatives were added to the list. They are Ss. Olish, Kimneo Haokip Hangshing and Sagolshem Kebi Devi. It is alleged that most of them won the election because of their husband, sympathy or backed by some powerful group. Hangmila Shaiza became the first woman to be elected to the state assembly in 1990. Hangmila Shaiza was the wife of the former chief minister Yangmaso Shaiza. It was alleged that she won the election because of the sympathy wave due to the assassination of her brother-in-law.

Same goes with K Apabi Devi (Oinam AC) whose husband K Bira (MLA) was killed during the Thangjing plane crash in 1991. Nemcha Kipgen (Kangpokpi AC), W Leima Devi (Naoriya Pakhanglakpa AC) and O Landhoni (Khangabok AC) were mounted victoriously because of their powerful husband. The inclusion of these few women representatives in the cabinet is also low. W Leima Devi became the first women cabinet minister in the state. Nemcha Kipgen held the position of Social Welfare and Co-operative ministry in the Biren Singh led government in 2017. Nevertheless, there are representative like AK Mirabai (Patsoi AC) and Kim Gangte did not belong to any political family or backed by powerful groups. Ak Mirabai (Patsoi AC) was the minister of Social Welfare and Co-operative in the Ibobi Singh Government in 2012.

It is not new that political parties are fielding fewer women candidates in the elections. In the 2002 elections to the 2017 elections, BJP has fielded only two, one, two, three candidates consecutively

while that of INC was three, three, two and four successively. O Landhoni, Ak Mirabai, W Leima Devi, K Apabi Devi belong to INC while Hangmila Shaiza belongs to JD (Janata Party) and Nemcha Kipgen to MSCP (Manipur state congress party) in 2012. There has been only one-woman MP till now from 1972 which is Kim Gangte from the Manipur people party in 1998.

Formal politics: Women and Society

In Manipur, it seems that women have been emboldened to actively engage in the economic and social sphere. Several women have been the sole earners of their families. So, they have economic responsibility along with taking care of the household chores. Furthermore, they were the ones who came out in the social sphere to maintain societal norms, such as Meira Paibis. Even in ground-level politics, one might see many women participate as ground-level political workers. However, it seems that society is not conducive for women entering the political sphere and contesting the election.

One of the reasons behind the lack of women representative in formal politics is the patriarchal structure of the society. Even though women in the state have not been extremely relegated to private sphere. The socialization process since childhood that the politics is not for women. It is the arenas of male. Women should support their husband behind the curtains playing the role of a gentle and kind women who is always ready to help her husband and family. The patriarchal structure of the society idolized a specific visionary image of women. It has mirrored that a women should always act as a mother who would spring out and challenge any injustice faced by her husband or sons. The society seems to neglect a women individual ambition to taste political power. The others member of the family is not ardent to support women.

There is a pattern that women representatives in the state tend to belong to a political family. They come into politics when their husband or father is assassinated or dead. D'Amico (1995) termed this pattern as the 'widow's walk to power,' as they came into politics following their husband's political legacy. This type of substitution of power by women is most common where attitudes toward women are especially traditional as per Burn (2005) (cited in Paxton, Pamela Marie. & Hughes, Melanie M. (2016). Women, politics, and power: a global perspective).

The allegation is that most of the elected women representatives are proxies, dummies, related to political families, or backed by powerful groups. This illustrates the deeply entrenched patriarchal

mindset of people. Maybe it is true, but nobody points out when a male candidate won the election that it was due to nepotism or backed by a powerful group. He is believed to win by his personality and ability to influence money and muscle power. This difference in treatment shows that male and female candidates are looked at from different angles, and presumed that women could not stand alone and need back from some powerful forces.

Some also believe that if women want to enter politics, it is better to remain a spinster than a married woman. In an interview, Akoijam Mirabai said that she remained a single woman because she knew that she wanted to join politics since her younger days. However, single women are not appreciated in society. They were looked upon from a negative perspective.

Manipur Election 2022: Women and Political Parties

Political parties have a major role in bridging the gap of lack of women political representatives at the higher-level decision-making table. The common justification that most of the political parties have said is that women candidates have a low chance of winnability and women as a general are not that interested in joining Politics. But it would be wrong to assume these propositions. For example, data have proved that in every Lok Sabha election from 1957 to 2019, women are winning at a higher rate than they are being fielded. In the 2022 election campaign in the state, political parties mainly focussed on territorial integrity, roads connectivity, agriculture, tourism, skill, and personal attack.

Nevertheless, almost all the political parties mention the steps that they are going to take up for women once they come into power. It was a conventional thing to talk about women to appease women voters. Even in the manifesto also, there seems to be talk about some freebies and sops for women like giving free scotty to all meritorious college going girls of the state, providing 2 free LPG cylinders. JD (U) also promised to give 50% reservation to women in Local authorities' election, 35% reservation to women in state governmental jobs and 33% seats in professional colleges. One point to be noted here is the NPP action document 2022 was wholly prepared by only women thus there seems to be specifically focus on gender justice like giving provision for paternity leave for up to 3 months, inclusion of gender sensitivity education in school and college curriculums.

By reading the manifesto of some major political parties in the state, it seems that political parties do not seem to look at women voters as a collective

vote bank rather it looks as individual voters linking to family, clan and kins. In West Bengal, it was women vote banks that enabled Mamta Banerjee to win the race against the BJP in the recent election in their state. It is believed that women do not vote as a single individual rather they are influenced by her husband, family, and peer pressure. It is only when one has a collective voice that they would be able to make a voice to be heard by the government.

It is a well-known fact that most of the time people are not well informed about the issue and policy mentioned in the manifesto. A majority section of the women voters in the state do not vote based on the issue, policy and programme envisioned in the manifesto rather they are influenced by some other factors. Still, the party took up steps to illustrate that they are working towards the paths of women empowerment. For instance, the appointment of Adhikarimayum Sharda Devi as the BJP party president in the state was hugely appreciated by the people all over the state. It was the first time a woman led a major political party in the state.

In brief, women are involved by the parties for campaigning during election times. Women take part in electoral campaign in large number. Even "women empowerment" is used by all parties as their electoral planks. However, when it comes to giving ticket parties often reluctant to give out ticket to women. The possible reason is that parties often presume that their winnability is low. However, looking at the statistics of the elections it comes to light that if women are provided enough resources, then their winnability is higher than those male counterparts.

Manipur Election 2022: Vote share and Winnability of women

In the recently held XII legislative assembly election, the female voters outnumber the male voters by 64,520 in which 265 candidates are contesting for 60 seats while there are only 17 (6.42%) women candidates from which 5 women were elected. It has the highest number of women elected at the state assembly but it is very slow and not proportionate to the women population. From the very first election in 1972 to the XII Manipur Legislative Assembly election 2022, there were 10 women representatives in the state assembly. They are Hangmila Shaiza, O Landhoni, AK Mirabai, Nemcha Kipgen, K Apabi Devi, W Leima Devi, I Nalini Devi, S Kebi Devi, SS. Olish and Kimneo Haokip Hangshing.

Congress has given ticket to four women candidates, NPP and CPI (M) fielded two women candidates each while that of JD (U), KPA, NCP

has fielded one candidate each in the 2022 assembly election. In the context of Manipur, BJP and KPA had a 100% winning rate of women candidates in the recent election. The last one comes from the NPP. From the BJP side, Nemcha Kigpen, SS Olish and Soirasam Kebi secured 57.37%, 79.06% and 25.38% of vote share respectively. Nemcha Kigpen's vote share had been 23.11%, 44.82% and 57.37% respectively from the last three elections respectively. This shows that being a woman had not reduced her competence and acceptance of her as leader by the people rather it indicates that her popularity had surged over the terms. Further, it may be mentioned here that Nemcha Kigpen's vote share had been 23.11%, 44.82% and 57.37% respectively from the last three elections. Nemcha Kigpen has won three terms, AK Mirabai and W Leima Devi have won two terms, S Kebi, I. Nalini and Kimneo Haokip Hangshing won in their first attempt. This illustrates that with the right resource and tactic women have an equal chance with male contenders to win an election.

Unfortunately, the senior leader Ak Mirabai had lost this time. She lost by the margin of 687 votes. The first time she got elected in 2012 was greatly influenced by her gender. She played her gender card efficiently and there was a yearning to vote for her as people wanted to elect a women candidate seeing her consistent effort in election despite being a woman. This time 'gender' does not play a positive card on her side rather the wave of anti-incumbency and sympathy for her rival candidates were high. This recent election is a great achievement in regards to women representation. This is the highest number of women candidates that had been elected in the electoral history of the state.

The real question should be: are those women representatives breaking the glass ceiling of formal politics and making a name for themselves and what factors have enabled this time to achieve this highest number of women elected representatives in the state assembly. Some of the factors that influenced the 2022 election results was the popularity of BJP. In Manipur politics, ideology has no place in it. What matters is the muscle and money power which is abundant with BJP. Not only this, they have a well-organized election strategy to mobilize voters be it hills or valleys. Not only linking with affluent families, but supporting by a major national party is necessary for a woman to increase her chance of winning. That's why BJP has 100% winning rate this time.

Despite all this prejudice and stereotyping against women, one cannot ignore the fact that the rise of influence of women politicians in the state in the

political arenas. Janata Dal United which was never heard in the last decade in the state secured 6 seats in the recently held election. The success of this party can be partially credited to super cop turned politician Th Brinda Devi. It was only when Brinda joined the JD (U) that the party's name became familiar with the people and subsequently many fellow politicians also joined the party. Being associated with her name gave credibility to the public. However, her popularity cannot be reflected in the numbers. Regrettably, she lost the elections by securing only 18.93% vote share.

Her decision to join the JD (U) was not positively looked upon by people. Majority of people wished that she would fight the election as an independent candidate which would illustrate her ideas of fighting against the government. Many believed that JD (U) was plan B of BJP. So, it goes in contrast with her path of fighting against the ruling BJP government. It was a right tactic for JD (U) to recruit Brinda as their party candidate. They benefit from her popularity. From her perspective, it was a right decision to join a resource-abundant political party because to win an election, a candidate needs money and muscle power. She had her image but needed some support which was filled by the JD(U).

In a nutshell, her image and popularity were utilised by the JD (U) which showcased the influence she had in the state irrespective of her gender. So, the proposition that women candidates lacked winnability is wrong. If the right tactics are followed and backed by the national party, the chances of winning are high. It is also illustrated by the election victory of Soirasam Kebi. She did not come from a political family and was not backed by any powerful group but she won with the right tactics and was supported by a national party. There is a misconception that women are not interested in politics. But if they are not interested in politics then how come women voter turnout is more than the male voters. In the 2022 legislative assembly elections, the women voter turnout was 90.5% while that of male voters was 87.9%. It is not only in the times of voting day that women are seen in massive numbers. Women have been present all along the whole electoral process.

They attend election meetings and rallies, actively working as campaigners in door-to-door canvassing, party members and present at the feast organized by the candidates in their locality. Some candidates organized a large feast ceremony calling all the women be it young or old in their constituencies and gave presents as a way of showing regards and wishing for their blessing in the coming election. An important part of the election campaign is flag hoisting ceremony in

which many women from their respective constituencies bring fruits, vegetables, rice and flowers to the contending candidates' home which is also popularly known as 'Athenpot Thinba'. One can observe massive numbers of women proactively participating in these ceremonies.

Women are an indispensable part of the whole election campaign. It is not that women only participate during the election campaign. When election results are out, it is mainly middle-aged women that one saw going viral in social media doing 'Thabal Chongba' happily and eagerly for winning elections by their respective candidates. Women have high awareness that elections are going to have an effect in their life. That's why women eagerly and earnestly participate in elections not only as voters but enjoying every part of the whole electoral process. But the problems come when women participate only at the ground level.

It is much needed to have a gender-based perspective when policies are framed. It is clearly shown that women in the state are interested in politics. If a girl child was encouraged from the very beginning that they could have a voice in the public sphere and were given necessary skills and experience to be a leader then one can see a large number of women leaders in the state. And it is also very necessary for the national political party to support women candidates and frame the right strategy to win the election without discriminating based on gender. It is the need of the hour for the government to pass the pending Women Reservation Bill in the Parliament which will reserve 33% seats for women in the Lok Sabha and state assembly.

According to a report published by United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, women legislators significantly bring higher economic growth about 1.8% points per year in their constituencies more than male legislators in India. Women led nations are doing much better in dealing with Covid 19 like New Zealand and Taiwan. So, there is no question concerning the efficiency of women politicians leading the way. Even if there is no legislation to make political parties give more tickets to women, political parties can voluntarily field more women candidates like Trinamool Congress fielding 41% of seats to women in Lok Sabha elections. It is also necessary that women must try to be a consolidated base because one can influence the government only when it is a collective force.

Concluding Remarks

This study proves that it is wrong to presume that women have a low chance of winnability and they are not interested in politics. It is slow but women's space in the formal political arenas are increasing steadily. This time, the number of elected women representatives in the state assembly increased to 5 which itself is a milestone because this is the highest number of elected women representatives in the state so far. The study found that women in the state exercise their voting rights more than their male counterpart. Women are actively working as campaigners, active workers and participate in every process of election as well. Though it is often seen that political parties are reluctant to field women candidates because of the social norms and stereotyping against women entering into formal politics. Looking at the performance of women candidates, it comes to light that the voting share of women candidates increased over the terms.

At the same time political parties use the popularity and image of women candidates in creating parties' image signifying supporting women empowerment. This has been one of the election strategies to mobilize voters. Still, political parties do not view women voters in the state as a collective vote bank. One possible reason is that women do not vote as individuals taking rational decisions rather it is influenced by their family or social conditioning. It is also true that a large section of people does not vote based on the policy or programme mentioned in the manifesto rather what convinces them to vote is based on the closeness with the contending candidate, personality of candidate and its workers, sympathy wave, muscle and financial power and so on.

Therefore, even if the winnability of the women candidates is high and women participation is also increasing, there is a lot to be done to bring women empowerment in the true sense of the term. It is high time to pass the pending Women Reservation Bills which were lapsed in the Lok Sabha and initiated awareness, policy, scheme for bringing gender equality in the state. The success of a democracy depends on how well its citizens express their opinion and exercise its right. Manipur is a state which prides itself for the rich history concerning the roles played by the women in the state. It is ironic to see that proudness does not reflect on the formal politics which will ultimately affect all the women in the state. So, it needs to rethink women's political participation and representation so that women are represented proportionally to their population bringing gender perspective in the decision-making table.

Reference

- [1]. Bean, C. (1991). Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence. *Political Behavior*, 13(3), 253–283.
- [2]. ¹Paxton, Pamela, Sheri Kunovich, and Melanie M. Hughes. "Gender in Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 263–84. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737763>.
- [3]. ¹Meitei, Leitanthem Umakanta (2016) Voyages of Women in Manipur: Towards a peaceful society, PRIO Paper. Oslo: PRIO.
- [4]. The Quint, "Arunachal Records Best Sex Ratio in India, Manipur Fares Worst", November 16 2020, <https://www.thequint.com/news/india/arunachal-pradesh-records-best-sex-ratio-in-india-manipur-worst>. Retrieved on 1-03-2022
- [5]. Imphal free press, "Manipur records 148 incidents of crimes against women in 2021", 12 January 2022, <https://www.ifp.co.in/ifp-breaking-point/manipur-records-148-incidents-of-crimes-against-women-in-2021>. Retrieved on 15/03/2022
- [6]. ¹Kandawasvika-Nhundu, Rumbidzai. (2021). The Role of Political Parties on Women's Participation and Representation: International IDEA Technical Paper 4/2021.10.31752 /idea .2021.99.
- [7]. IPU Parine, "Monthly ranking of women in national parliament" (as of 1st Feb 2022). <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=3&year=2022>. Retrieved on 08/03/2022
- [8]. The times of India, "The 1-in-31 issue: House committees reflect larger male bias", January 7, 2022, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/toi-editorials/the-1-in-31-issue-house-committees-reflect-larger-male-bias/>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [9]. Mint, "How Indian fared in Global Gender Gap Report 2021", 07 April 2021. <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/how-india-fared-in-global-gender-gap-report-2021-11617726598143.html>. Retrieved on 08/03/2022
- [10]. Election commission of India, "Statistical Report on General Election, 2002 to the legislative Assembly of Manipur", August 17, 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3710-manipur-2002/>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [11]. Election commission of India, "Statistical Report on General Election, 2007 to the legislative Assembly of Manipur", August 17, 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3711-manipur-2007/>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [12]. Election commission of India, "Statistical Report on General Election, 2012 to the legislative Assembly of Manipur", August 17, 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3712-manipur-2012/>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [13]. Election commission of India, "Statistical Report on General Election, 2017 to the legislative Assembly of Manipur" August 17, 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3713-manipur-general-legislative-election-2017/>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [14]. Election commission of India, "Assembly constituency wise voter turnout for 17th Lok Sabha election 2019" <https://ceomanipur.nic.in/Documents/LS2019/VT/Final%20Voter%20turnout%20for%20AC%20Wise%20for%20LSE-2019.pdf>. Retrieved on 7/03/2022
- [15]. The Sangai Express, "Women in the Assembly : From 1990 to 2012" March 12 2012, http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.editorial.editorial_2012.Women_in_the_Assembly_From_1990_to_2012_TSE_20120321. Retrieved on 14/03/2022
- [16]. E pao, "A brief biographical Sketch of Hangmila Shaiza: First Women MLA in the Manipur Legislative Assembly", March 28, 2017. http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=features.Profile_of_Manipuri_Personalities.Hangmila_Shaiza_First_Woman_MLA_in_Manipur_By_Pamkhuila. Retrieved on 14/03/2022
- [17]. Devi, Th Binarani. Electoral Politics and Women: With a special reference to Manipur, India. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies (IJIMS)*, 2014, Vol 1, No.4, 68-74
- [18]. Outlook, "The Curious case of women in Manipur politics", 23 March 2022, <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/the-curious-case-of-women-in-manipur-politics--news-184161>. Retrieved on 20/03/2022
- [19]. Ibid
- [20]. Ibid
- [21]. Paxton, Pamela Marie. & Hughes, Melanie M. (2016). *Women, politics, and power : a global perspective*. Washington, D.C : CQ Press
- [22]. The wire, "Female Parliamentarians at a Historic High, but Parties Must Do More", 11 august 2020, <https://thewire.in/women/women-parliament-lok-sabha-rajya-sabha-political-parties>. Retrieved on 19/03/2021
- [23]. Bharata Janata Party. Manipur Manifesto. Imphal: M/S Sur Photo Studio, Sangakpham Bazar, 2022
- [24]. Janata Dal (United). Party Manifesto. Imphal: Manipur Press 2022

- [25].National people's Party. People's Action Document 2022
- [26].The Indian Express, "Her due opportunity", 10 May 2022,
<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/woman-voter-bengal-elections-mamata-banerjee-lok-sabha-elections-schemes-for-women-7308646/>. Retrieved on 15-03-2022
- [27].Deccan Herald, "Women outnumber males voters in Manipur, but hard to find them among candidates in the fray", 20 February 2022,
<https://www.deccanherald.com/election/manipur/women-outnumber-male-voters-in-manipur-but-hard-to-find-them-among-candidates-in-the-fray-1083312.html>. Retrieved on 01-03-2022
- [28].The Hindu, "Manipur elections 2022 | 100% strike rate by BJP's women candidates, new tribal party". March 11, 2022. Retrieved on 14/03/2022
- [29].Ibid
- [30].Election commission of India, "Get Election to Vidhan Sabha Trends and Result March-2022",
<https://results.eci.gov.in/ResultAcGenMar2022/ConstituencywiseS1450.htm?ac=50>. Retrieved on 15/03/2022
- [31].The Morning bell, "State sees 89.30 pc voter turnout, stage set for counting"
<https://themorningbell.in/state-sees-89-30-pc-voter-turnout-stage-set-for-counting/>. Retrieved on 17/03/2022
- [32].The Indian Express, "Explained: Manipur's tradition of flag-hoisting by candidates", February 22, 2022,
<https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/manipurs-tradition-of-flag-hoisting-by-candidates-7784588/>. Retrieved on 9/03/2022
- [33].The Print, "In India, constituencies that elect women show significantly higher economic growth", May 30, 2018 ,
<https://theprint.in/opinion/in-india-constituencies-that-elect-women-show-significantly-higher-economic-growth/64121/>. Retrieved on 15/03/2022
- [34].The Hindu, "Trinamool Congress includes 41% women candidates in list for Lok Sabha polls" June 09, 2020,
<https://www.thehindu.com/elections/lok-sabha-2019/trinamool-includes-41-women-candidates-in-list-for-lok-sabha-polls/article26509865.ece>. Retrieved on 9/03/2022