RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The constitution of India is based on the principles of equality, liberty, fraternity and guarantees equality before law and equal protection to all its citizens. It not only guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms, but also prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth. However, these rights have remained de jure and have not been translated into de facto rights. As such, women have been denied social, economic, civil and political rights in many spheres.

An important area where women have been inadequately represented is in the political sphere. Articles 325 and 326 of the constitution of India guarantee political equality, equal right to participation in political activities and right to vote respectively. While the letter has been accessed and enjoyed by a large number of women, the former i.e., right to equal political participation is still a distant area. Lack of space for participation in political bodies has not only resulted in their presence in meager numbers in these decision making bodies but also in the neglect of their issues and experiences in policy making.

Statement of the Problem

The roots of women’s participation in politics can be traced back to the nineteenth century reform movement. The emerged as a result of conflict between the Indian bourgeoisies, trying to wrest control from the British. This class made attempts to reform itself mainly by campaigning against caste, polytheism, idolatry, animism, etc, perceived as elements of primitive identity. Raja ram Mohan Roy focused on two
issues, namely women’s education and abolition of sati. In the early 1856, this allowed widow remarriage. This bill though helped the situation of widows, denied them the right to their husbands are his family properties. Several eminent women reformers participated in this movement as well as in the religious reforms movement of this period.

Pandit Ramabai, Manorama Majumdar, Sarala Debi Goshal who started Bharat Stree Mahamandala for the education of women, Swarana Kumari Debi who started the women’s organization Saki samiti in 1886 for widows are few examples. These activities gave momentum to women’s participation in public spaces, which paved the way for their entry into the independent struggle.

Though the foundation for political participation of women was laid down during the nationalist movement, there was no follow up or concerted effort to Borden the political base by incorporating women into political processes after independence and their participation in politics has been limited to family connections rather than convictions and commitment. Women have been promoted to political positions only when there were no other male member available to continue the family’s distinctive place and thus, as a devise to perpetuate the privilege of the family. By putting women these positions, the family could still have control over the powers rested with the office.

The formers of the constitution perhaps believed that law would lead to social change and bring about equality between the sexes. Yet inequality and discrimination continues to persist in all spheres of public and private life. This is quite evident from the fact that the participation of women in politics and in other decision making bodies after attaining independence is very limited.
Given this situation, the state has to take some corrective actions to ensure that women participate equally in the political sphere. Also it is imperative to adopt certain affirmative action to eliminate the existing discrimination to ensure political equality as guaranteed in the constitution.

The government of India, noting the law participation of women in politics; acknowledging the recommendations of the committee for status of women report, 1974; and drawing from the pioneering experience of Karnataka which provided reservation for women in its three tier panchayat raj system in the year 1983; adopted an affirmative action for providing reservation for women in these institutions in the year 1993. The 73\textsuperscript{rd} constitutional amendment act introduced not less than 33 percent reservation for women in panchayat raj institutions in the rural areas. Similarly, the 74\textsuperscript{th} constitutional amendment act introduced similar reservation for women in nagar palika and municipalities in towns and urban areas. With these constitutional amendments, over three million women are now actively participating in shaping the policies and programs of the country, though only at the local levels of governance. However, such affirmative action is lacking at the higher echelons of governance act the state and central levels.

Prior to the 73\textsuperscript{rd} and 74\textsuperscript{th} constitutional amendments, only the state of Karnataka had reservation for women in institutions of local self-governance. The janata party government in Karnataka, in 1991 passed a bill to implement 25 percent reservation for women in local elections. This spurred a national debate on the issue of reservation for women in several other states. For example, shard pawar announced 30 percent seats in Municipal Corporation and the panchayat raj institution to be reserved for women in Maharashtra. Following these initiatives, the 73\textsuperscript{rd} and 74\textsuperscript{th}
amendments were passed. It became mandatory that elections to these bodies be held once every five years. However, many states have sought to and even succeeded in circumventing this provision. Assam, arunachal Pradesh, and Pondicherry have not held panchayat elections in since 73rd amendment came into force. In the case of Assam, where elections were due in 1997, they have been postponed first due to the budget session, then owing to the monsoons and finally, because of the law and order situation in the state. Until recently, even Andhra Pradesh and Bihar belonged to the same category and held elections only after the intervention of the high court and Supreme Court respectively. Further, states implementing the panchayat raj / nagarpalika acts show variation in their members as well as their participation.

**Objectives of the study:**

**The study has the following objectives;**

1) To identity the indicators and substantiate the existence of disparity and disadvantage women face in their political participation.

2) To highlight the causes and barriers that limit women’s political participation and its effect on women

3) To examine the obligation of the state to ensure and facilitate the participation of women in politics and the initiatives taken by the state in terms of legislative actions, policies and programs and their effectiveness.

4) To identify the lacunance in the initiatives of the state and evolve strategies to enhance the involvement of women in all activities of the political process.

5) The priorities short and long term advocacy strategies and build coalitions and networks to monitor the state in fulfilling its obligation.

6) Contribution of women in Indian politics, i.e. union, state, and local government.
Hypothesis of the Study

The following hypotheses are framed for the study:

1) Some constitutional provisions (reservations) should be provided to the women for effective political participation.

2) The Indian women were more contributed to Indian government and politics. And state as well as local government and politics.

3) There is less political participation of the women to the Indian government and politics.

Importance of the Study

The inadequate representation of women in decision making bodies is one of the major factors that have contributed to their low status. Political participation of women is essential to ensure that woman’s concerns and issues are integrated into main-stream decision making processes. This would be a major step in facilitating women to exercise and enjoy their rights guaranteed in the constitution, towards achieving substantive equality for women.

The number woman in political decision-making bodies is abysmally low in both the parliament and the state legislatures. Lack of space for women in these political institutions and decision making bodies has resulted in the perpetuation of inequalities and discrimination against women. The discriminative practices that persist in these institutions against those few women who were elected have the effect of impairing their effective functioning. Absence of affirmative action, lack of conducive environment in enabling the participation of women in state assemblies and parliament has the effect of nullifying the enjoyment and exercising the right to
political participation and addition to impairing the enjoyment of socio-economic
rights.

The affirmative action adopted by the government of India providing for
reservation of not less than one-third seats in local self governing bodies has
facilitated more number of women to participate in the decision-making arena equally
with men in these institutions. Further, these women are now in a position to access
resources and utilize the powers vested in them as elected members. This is a
significant step towards achieving the constitutional goal of equality. However, much
more needs to be done to provide an enabling and conducive environment in the
political institutions to enable women to participate effectively.

The political domain continues to be perceived as best suited for men and
therefore remains very male dominated. Today, the political environment is deeply
entrenched with corruption and criminalization. This situation needs to be changed as
women have the potential and mainstream political culture, by making it more
transparent, accountable and participative. They can also positively contribute to the
process of de-criminalizing politics, which in turn would provide a conducive
environment for their entry and effective participation in politics, thus facilitating the
achievement of substantive equality for women. A holistic approach based on human
rights of women and welfare of public at large can therefore remove the existing
inequalities and bring about gender equality in the political arena.

The discrimination against women in relation to their rights as full citizens is
not linear and is intersected with biological and social differences of caste and class
identities. Therefore, discrimination through the patriarchal institutions and feudal
systems needs to be examined. Though the Indian state has taken several measures,
the intention of the state to ensure equality has not been addressed in terms of substantive equality. Subsequently, satisfactory elimination of discriminative practices with regard to women’s political participation has not been fulfilled. The baseline report, through a substantive definition of equality has taken into account diversity, difference, disadvantage and discrimination and tries to specify those conditions needed to establish equal, effective and complete participation of women in political process. It also examines the obligation of the state in ensuring and fulfilling this equality under the national and state laws as well as in its international commitments.

**Methodology**

The present study is based on historical empirical and analytical in nature. Both primary and secondary data will be used in present study. The primary data consist of interview with the eminent women political leaders and local women political representations. Secondary data will be used here are in the form of published material that is books, articles, and internet broachers.

**Review of Related Literature**

There are number of works on women participation in politics that helps to understand the “The Role of women in Indian politics” they are;

Grosse,-Miriam-pillar, Miguel,-Sonia-Malheiros 2001 Analyzes official election results from 1996 and 2000 in Brazil and political discourse from federal parliamentary representatives and municipal representatives to examine the current state of women’s political participation.
Arora, Balwinder 1999, examines the political participation of females in India and their resistance against the forces of a patriarchal society that would exclude them from such involvement. Despite the fact that women have attained many important positions of power, their actual political influence has been quite marginal, and their political representation merely token.

Antic,-Milica-G.2000, discusses result of research on the position women holds in politics in the states of East-Central Europe. It is commonly asserted that political parties are the factor that most significantly influences both indirectly and directly, the possibilities women have for political activities. Increased participation of women in politics in most cases hindered by direct influence levers of parties.

Shastri, Amita;1992, In Sri Lanka, the position of women in society and politics unusually favorable by Third World standards, approximating, and in some respects even surpassing, that of women in more industrially developed societies. This situation has been directly linked to the ongoing process of modernization and in an optimistic but uncritical vein, has been expected to continue in the future.

Ghosh,-Bhola-Nath; 2000, with the passing of the 73rd Amendment to the Indian constitution, women became more numerous in strength in the Gram panchayats of West Bengal. This paper explores how far this amendment was able to empower women in political, social, and cultural milieu of rural society.

Deutch, Iva Ellen; 1985-86, studies of women and politics have suggested that women are underrepresented as political actors primarily because of sex role socialization and or institutional sexism. It is argued that power is the critical aspect
of politics, and to understand women’s political exclusion, gender-based differences in power orientations must be examined.

Nilankanta Sastri, B.A. Saletore, N, Venkata Ramanayya, are highlight political role of women in south Karnataka most of these works categorized women separately and talked about their conditions.

Devi,-Annapurna Women in politics: A Study in Political socialization an examination of women’s involvement in politics in Orissa state, India, focusing on the socio-political factors associated with public women and women’s general political motivations. Analysis of interview data collected from 44 political women, 46 women activists, and 100 in different women reveals that women of the “dominant social stratum” and politically influential families tend to dominate the political sphere.

Irving,-Helen in his article, thinking of England: women politics and the queen 1996, through the current database over republicanism In Australia emphasize independence from the queen mother. The queen, particularly Queen Victoria is symbolically significant to Australian women. Queen Victoria symbolizes the ability of women to occupy position of power and exercise sound political judgement.

Robert Sewell, in his work A Forgotten Empire gives a detailed translation of Portuguese’s chronicles of Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz, who visited Vijaynagara during 16th century. Though it is the first modern work which unearthed some of the aspects of contemporary Vijayanagara life, what the foreign travelers say cannot be accepted in Toto as they viewed Vijaynagara with their own cultural point of view.

The representation of women’s all 12 loksabha was found between 3.4 to 7.9 percent. On the average the number of women in lok sabha has nearly been same as the number of women in the Rajya sabha. The number of women candidates for these elections have been 51 to 267 including pre pendant candidates. It is also notable that mostly these women candidates belong to same political personalities as wife or daughter. Very few of them belong to political party worker class.

Susheela kaushik- women and panchayat raj: Hara Anand publication, New Delhi. 1993. The author examines that low participation of women in various aspects of politics, both as common citizens as well as decision makers of late, many non party oriented institutions have felt the need for channelizing the potentials and capacities of women, particularly in the context of political participation and exercise of political rights in order to promote women’s others rights and interests.

It is the middle of this increasing awareness for the women to be involved in political affairs and decision making process, that the 73rd constitution amendment on panchayat raj got enacted. Not merely has this given a boosting to the demands for decentralization of Indian polity, but has also inspired hopes for the participation of women as for the first time, it has provided women in the membership as well as chairpersonship in the panchayat raj institutions. This has sent waves of enthusiasm
and hopes among the weaker section of Indian society. The amendment has been followed by legislation and elections in different states of India.

Blola Nath Ghosh: “women in Governance in Tripura”; concept publishing company New Delhi 2008. In this book the study carried out by the author indicated that participation of women in panchayat decision making process in term of attendance opinion expressed and issue rose in the P.R meetings. Confidence repose and satisfaction for effective participation was not worthy. They were not mere mute spectators or ornaments in the decision making process rather or likely force to reckon with they maintained contacts with villagers, took villagers demand in cognizance and tried to deliver whatever was possible for them. The author also found that most of women members had no provisions, political exposure and experience. Most of political post and even they were not primary members of any parties. But at present women have joined various socio-political activities. It is also true that almost every where they are caught in the dilemma of role adjustment. As against women is likely to solve down only gradually.

Ranjana Kumara Anju Dubey: “Women Parliamentarian”. Har Anand Publication New Delhi 1994. Cover’s on women role and involvement in two different sphere and related area of the political process: namely the parliament and the political party. It focused on four trends: personals, party politics, and not voting behavior, parliamentary and grassroots.

Baseline Report on women and political participation in India: prepared by NIAS etal co-ordinate by IWRAW Asia pacific advanced unedited version: this report provided an overview of women political participation in India. Section 1st; Present history of women’s political participation in India and the statement of issues, the
concern and methodology and process adopted for the study. Section 2\textsuperscript{nd} outlines the disparities and disadvantages faced by women in the political arena. Section 3\textsuperscript{rd} examines the root causes and barriers that effect women’s political participation. Section 4\textsuperscript{th} presents the state obligations under the constitution and other statutes. The initiatives undertaken by the state in all obligation and effectiveness of the actions taken by the state. Section 5\textsuperscript{th} traced the initiatives of the women’s movement and NGOs in this regard. Section 6\textsuperscript{th} makes recommendations both short and long term, for prior ting the concerns that need to be addressed by the Government and the NGOs for the enhancement of women’s political participation.

Trijita Gonsalves, “Where are the Women?” A study of electoral promises in the west Bengal Assembly Election: Article published by the Indian Journal of political science. October-December 2011. PP981-996, covers since the independence the number of women voters and politicians has gradually increased both at the national and state level. In the West Bengal, the percentage of women voters and politicians has witnessed a remarkable increase. However, here women issues normally do not receive much priority, rather politically important groups like Muslims, SCs, STs, OBCs, formers, the urban poor’s, etc. are always more serious by targeted, addressed and promised benefits, than the women especially before election. This paper tries to find out whether the issue of gender given sufficient importance by the leader of the two main political parties in west Bengal. The CPI (a) and the Trinmula recently concluded elections, it analyses the contest of speeches of Budhadeb Bhattacharjee and mamata Benerjee from September 2010 to February 2011. As reported by two of the leading daily news paper of west Bengal.
L.G.Liklalleimadevi- “women wings of political parties and socio-economic and political problems of the society” a study of the Manipur Nupimarap of the CPI Manipur state council: article published by the Indian journal of political science 4th October 2011 pp 1031-1047. The author analyses the extension of equal voting rights to woman gave from the opportunity to participate on the political affairs of their country at par with their male counter parts with this their potential to decide political fortunes, mainly in the form of electoral outcomes also increased tremendously. Besides to empower women and bring about their overall uplift, their political participation is a must. This can be affected the real extent by recovering women to join party politics. Because of these considerations each and every political party worth its name tries to organize women under their banner. The present paper attempt to study the all Manipur Nupimarap which is the women’s wing of the communist party of India Manipur state. Its activities in connection with the social economic and political problems of the state.

S Waseem Ahmad, Gazal Parveen: “Women’s Political Participation and Changing pattern of leadership in Rural areas of UP”. The Indian Journal of Political Science Vol. LXIX, No 3, July-September 2008. The author explained here that, women, after being marginalized for long are being brought to the forefront through their involvement in decision making process. Passage of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment played a key role in it. Through reservation, leadership of women was given statutory status is a channel to address the issue of women empowerment and to wipe away inequality prevailing in the society. Leadership of women in the context of Uttar Pradesh is still at a growing stage. They are still in the learning process to take up leadership roles. The reservation alone can, however, not solve the problems. It may rather create its own problems. It is, therefore, necessary to
examine all aspects, which affect participation of women in political process. Today, panchayat raj institutions are the most important institutions to facilitate planning, participation, mobilization, of resources and to evoke people initiative. These institutions have brought governance closer to the people in general and women in particular.

Permela Paxton, Sheri Kunovich: “women’s political representation: the importance of ideology” social forces 82:1, September 2003, authors covered, women’s low rate of participation at the highest levels of politics is an enduring problem in gender stratification. Previous cross-national research on women in national legislatures has stressed three explanations for differences in women’s political representation: social structure, politics, and ideology. Despite strong theory suggesting the importance of ideology, it has not found support in previous cross-national statistical studies. But ideology has not been as well measured as structural and political factors. In this article, we demonstrate that gender ideology strongly affects the number of women in national legislatures. We do so by introducing a newly available measure of national gender ideology into a cross-national model of women in legislatures. We demonstrate that ideology, when measured more precisely, strongly predicts differences in women’s political representation.

S.S.Sree Kumar: “Representation of Women in legislature: A Sociological perspective in the Indian context”, the Indian Journal of political science Vol, LXVII, No.3, July-Sept, 2006. The paper on representation of women in legislature is a study of women reservation bill which is yet to be enacted by the parliament. The bill envisages reservation for women in parliament and state legislative assemblies. The arguments in favor and against reservation for women have been examined. The
author views that providing reservation through constitutional amendment may lead only to formal representation. If the bill is intended to empower women as a whole, this provision only will lead to formal empowerment. In this context it is suggested that women parliamentarians may not be mere nominees of women, their work should be made to empower women which in a multidimensional phenomena. Among others tasks, one major attempt by them is to spread education among girls especially informal education. This will lead to socialization of women mainly in rural areas. Thus, instead of form should take a value based approach.

Suman Pamecha and Ankinta Khatik: “Empowerment of rural women”, social Action vol.55, April-June 2005. Here author covers that, according to our ancient shastras, woman has regarded as the embodiment of Shakti. She equated with goddess in our religious pantheon of deities and worship as a symbol of fertility. However, Manu said that a woman had to be dependent before marriage on her parents and after marriage on her husband. This did great damage to the position of women in Indian society and they began to be regarded as inferior and were excluded from various fields of activity.

Dr. Kamini B. Dashora: “Emerging Women Leadership in India: Journey towards Empowerment” Empowering Rural Women towards sustainable Development, the author covers that, at present, women in India are becoming more and more conscious of their constitutional and statutory rights, including the rural and tribal women. The consciousness of rights has awakened in them as a sense of urgency in experiencing quality and social justice, because without equality and social justice, there cannot be democracy; which is the exercise of the general will of the people. Our constitution rather than leaving the women at the mercy of the law of
nature imposes upon the state a heavy responsibility to assure a dignified life to each individual irrespective of what she deserves on meritarian consideration. The rational of this assumption depends on the belief that state is obliged to perform the paternal role of looking after the interests of the weak and traditionally vulnerable members of the society. Such benign discriminating policy can be beneficial to women additionally, the self- actualization of freedom, availability of opportunity and satisfaction of primary needs to each individual in the society is imperative especially for women. It is also necessary that women must fight against all types of exploitation and oppression to attain equality.

Babita – “Empowering women in India- some issues and options” journal of political science, author tried to explain the women empowerment, gender budgeting and the care economy together would improve the rural development to the large extent which in turn would help in inclusive growth of Indian economy. The concept of “women and development” has been recognized widely across the world. However, this truth has been repeatedly denied in the corridors of power, in the developed and the developing nations. The development and the gender development, India occupied lower place. It ranked 114 amongst the 128 countries, as reported by Global Gender Gap report 2007. The sex ratio, considered as an indicator of gender discrimination, India ranked low. However, in context of political empowerment there is wide gap between political opportunities available at parliament and the state assemblies and the third tiers of governance in India.

D. Syamala Devi and P. Nalini- “the contribution of women chief ministers in India”, south Asian politics, January 2012, covers there are structural inequalities and power imbalances within the society but only a few women were able to make a room
for themselves in politics. An attempt has been made in this article to explain the leadership qualities, capabilities and services rendered by the women chief ministers in India. As Tagore said: “a woman is the builder and molder of Nation’s Destiny. Though delicate and as soft as a lily, she has a heart far stronger and bolder than of man. She is supreme inspiration for men on ward march. So is, no doubt, her commanding personality.”

S.N. Singh- Sonia Gandhi and Congress party (1998-2000), South Asian Politics May 2008, covers, before Sonia Gandhi’s decision to assume control of the party and its electoral campaign, the INC appeared to be reduced to an insignificant force. She gave a tremendous to its campaign by revitalizing a demoralized leadership and rank and file.

T.G.L. Lyer- “A time to Empower Women”, the Indian Police Journal vol. LIV No 3, July-September 2007, covers woman is dependent, first on father, then on the husband and later on the son. Woman should develop identity, dignity and status. Girls are considered as liabilities instead of assets. Education of women can lead to independent thinking and establish an identity. SEWA in Ahemedabad is a movement making woman self-reliant. 33 percent reservations for women will not work unless it is implemented in practice. The experience of insufficiency should be converted into self-reliance, courage and freedom; self esteem should be inculcated in women. It’s only the man who can empower the woman, instead of a fault-finder; man should be a good finder. The secondary position of the woman is society and home should become primary which is possible only when she is given a leading and positive role to play in the affairs of the community.
Smt.G.Leelavathi- “political empowerment of women in suvarna Karnataka”, parliamentary affairs, vol. 27-28 November 2006, covers, women constitute 50% of the population of Karnataka women literacy is about 57.5%. Women have been given adequate representation in the local bodies after the 73rd and 74th amendments to the constitution of India. Unfortunately, the representation given to women in the Karnataka ministry and other important posts in negligible. This is more so in the year of Suvarna Karnataka in which there is no women representation in the council of Ministers head by the chief minister Shri. H.D. Kumara Swamy.

Pooja Singh- “Representation of women in Indian Politics”, third concept, May 2014, covers, while dwelling on the theme of women’s participation and representation in politics in India, the author contends that the effectiveness of women’s participation largely depends on the local configuration of power and cultural environment apart from problems of poverty, illiteracy, lack of economic resources, negative social and legal environments, family and household pressures, male dominated bureaucracy and politicians that the women face. The suggested that in policy formulations, planning and implementation of various welfare and development programmers pertaining to women, instead of adopting a top down approach as is being done now, the approach should be bottom-up; and the macro should be a conflation, a fusion or aggregation of many micros.

From the analysis of the above works it becomes imperative that no exclusive book has been deft exclusively for the “role of women in Indian politics-with special reference to Karnataka 1950-2010”. It is in this context the present study intends to bridge the gap in the available literature by undertaking the present study.
Research Design

The present work is divided into six chapters and the content of the same have been explained as under. It includes the statement of the problem objectives of the study, Hypothesis, reviews of related literature, Methodology, significance of the study and research design.

Chapter 1st: Deals with contribution of women to the Indian politics – An overview. It covers the foundation for political participation of women was laid down during the nationalist movement, there was no follow up or concerted effort to broaden the political base by incorporating women into political process after independence. The space for women in the political arena has declined since independence and their participation in politics has been limited to family connection rather than convictions and commitment, women have been promoted to political positions only when there were no other male members available to continue the family’s distinctive place. The framers of the constitution on perhaps believed that the law would lead to social change and bring about equality between the sexes. Yet inequality and discrimination continues to persist in all spheres of public and private life. This is quite evident from the fact that the participation of women in politics independence to present day is may limited. The detailed information is covered in this chapter.

Chapter 2nd: It’s explained political empowerment of women in Indian legislature, In spite of constitutional provisions of gender equality. Only a few women have been able to make a room for themselves in the decision making process in legislative. The aim of this chapter is to present the political empowerment of women in Indian legislature with special reference to their involvement in decision making process and focus on their under representation in ministerial position. Political participation is a major path to women empowerment and participation in decision making process.
Chapter 3rd: Its cover’s the contribution of women as a chief minister of states- an attempt has been made in this chapter, to explain the leadership qualities, capacities and services related by the women chief ministers in India.

Chapter 4th: Deals with empowerment of women through political participation with special reference to Karnataka state.

Chapter 5th: Explains the ‘women Empowerment through panchayats’. This chapter summarizes participation of women in panchayat, a special reference to Karnataka. Which proved reservation for the women in its three tire panchayat raj system. In the year 1993 the 73rd constitutional amendment act introduced not less than 33 percent reservation for women in the panchayat raj institutions in the rural areas. With these constitutional amendments, over three million women are now actively participating in shaping the politics and programmers of the country through only at the local levels of Governance; in the present study measurement and evaluation of the empowerment has been looked in the base on several important dimentions.

Chapter 6th: Deals with summery, conclusions and suggestions. I.e awareness, participation, decision making perception etc.