Inferences and Implications

Involvement of the people is an essential part of the democratic process. This participation in the political process is crucial as it determines the success of a democracy. However, it is being felt now that democratic politics is not meaningful unless it ensures empowerment of women as they constitute fifty per cent of the population. The problems of empowerment of women are not being tackled effectively in India. It is not merely a legal or constitutional issue; it is also a socio-cultural issue. Legal and constitutional provision for empowerment of women may not serve the purpose in the political culture. In view of this, problems of empowerment of women can be analyzed or understood in various ways.

The concept of women’s empowerment is the outcome of several important critiques and debates generated by the women’s movement throughout the world, particularly by the third world feminists. Empowerment, in its simplest form, means the manifestation of redistribution of power that challenges patriarchal ideology and the male dominance. Empowerment is transformation of the structures or institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination. Empowerment is also the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power. It is a process that enables women to gain access to and control of material as well as information resources and make them aware of their interests. It enables women to participate in decision-making and influence decisions in and outside the family. Empowerment is an essential starting point and a continuing process for realizing the ideals of women’s liberation and freedom.
Empowerment of women can be activated through many strategies like promoting their education; providing them ample employment opportunities; enacting legislations to protect their rights and check gender discrimination; and ensuring political equality not only in the equal right to franchise but also the more important right to gain access to the formal institutionalized centres of power. From the point of view of last strategy, that is, political aspect of empowerment, its pre-requisite is that the women feel politically efficacious. Without the development of sense of political efficacy among them, they can neither assert themselves in various spheres of life nor can they cope with their problems. It is here that the crux of this present study lies.

The present study has three objectives—first, to determine the extent of sense of political efficacy and the manner in which it is expressed among Scheduled Tribe women; second, to find out the socio-political and other determinants of sense of political efficacy among Scheduled Tribe women; and third, to explain the consequences of differential sense of political efficacy and its interplay with empowerment among the Scheduled Tribe women in terms of gender equality.

To fulfil the above aims, a sample of 200 Gaddi women has been carved out randomly from two different Gaddi villages of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh, namely Pukhri and Bharyata. A comparable sample of 100 Gaddi men and 100 non-Gaddi women are also selected from same villages. Thus, 400 respondents selected constitute the universe of the present study. For the first objective sample of 400 respondents is used, whereas, for second and third only a sample of 200 Gaddi women is made use of. Data have been collected by administering an interview schedule to the selected respondents in 2006.
8.1 MAJOR FINDINGS

The ultimate aim of any investigation is to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the phenomenon under study and to explain such conclusions, where ever needed. The logical epilogue, then, consists in pointing out the implications of the research from theoretical, methodological and applied perspectives. An attempt has been made to briefly summarize the major findings of this study before the final stage of this exercise is undertaken to test the hypotheses in the light of the empirical evidence.

8.1.1 EXTENT OF SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBE WOMEN

First of all, we ponder over the issue of the extent of sense of political efficacy among Scheduled Tribe women. Historically, they constituted a stratum of tribal society which has been devoid of power as their social structure did not provide ample opportunities for political participation as well as in the process of decision-making. Consequently they had been alienated from the political process and reduced to a mass of apolitical segment. Not only this, they had to pay heavy price for the contact with outside world in terms of lowering of their social status.

After independence, Gaddis were classified both under Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Himachal Pradesh. This enabled them to enjoy protective discrimination in the form of special facilities for settled life, opportunities for enhancing education and employment as well as asserting themselves from local to national level politics through reservation of seats. This resulted in converting tribal women from apolitical stratum to political one and providing opportunities not only for political participation but also enjoying this status of heads at panchayat level in their own communities.
The empirical evidence shows that tribal women stand first in the total score of sense of political efficacy (495.00), which is much higher than the non-tribal women (355.00) as well as their own counterparts, i.e. tribal men (365.00). Not only this, they have also scored first rank on the scale of sense of citizen duty, political satisfaction and political socialization. Thus, tribal women no more form apolitical stratum of hill society.

8.1.2 DETERMINANTS OF SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBE WOMEN

Determinants are those factors which enhance sense of political efficacy of tribal women. The analysis of the determinants of sense of political efficacy carried in this study offers illuminating insights into its causation. At least, it helps us to identify and measure the antecedents of sense of political efficacy. Age ($X^2 = 33.54216^{***}$ DF=8; Significance value = >·01), marital status ($X^2 = 60.75534^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), respondents’ education ($X^2 = 48.87579^{***}$ DF=10; Significance value = >·01), size of family ($X^2 = 40.72505^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), family income ($X^2 = 55.06557^{***}$ DF=6; Significance value = >·01), occupation ($X^2 = 36.14719^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), organizational affiliations ($X^2 = 55.15971^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), membership of political parties ($X^2 = 55.15971^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), political awareness ($X^2 = 50.72535^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01), sense of citizen duty ($X^2 = 41.35472^{***}$ DF=2; Significance value = >·01) and mass media exposure ($X^2 = 49.49451^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = >·01) are found to be significant determinants or antecedents of sense of political efficacy. Regression analysis shows that education, income, political socialization, political awareness, sense of citizen duty and mass media exposure are highly significant determinants of sense of political efficacy among the tribal women.
Consequences of sense of political efficacy have been determined taking political efficacy as an independent variable and political participation, voting behaviour, political satisfaction and empowerment of women as dependent variables. The search for consequences shows many interesting facts. Firstly, sense of political efficacy increases one’s level of political participation ($X^2 = 48.11908^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = $>0.01$).

Secondly, consulting other family members while voting and views about voting are influenced by one’s level of sense of political efficacy ($X^2 = 25.68543^{***}$ DF=2; Significance value = $>0.01$ and ($X^2 = 33.10245^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = $>0.01$ respectively).

Thirdly, political efficacy does increase voting turnout ($X^2 = 12.20096^{**}$ DF=2; Significance value = $>0.01$).

Fourthly, sense of political efficacy inversely affects political satisfaction, that is, more the efficacy among women less is their level of political satisfaction ($X^2 = 26.09823^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = $>0.01$).

Fifthly, sense of political efficacy does influence behavioural patterns and definitely leads to equalitarian ethos. The inverse relationship between sense of political efficacy and political satisfaction needs some explanation. It is a well known fact that in a developing economy and polity, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have become highly aspirant due to political awakening and positive discrimination provided by government for their upliftment and improvement of socio-economic status. These measures go on increasing their aspirations. The system is not able to generate ample resources to meet such high aspirations. The gap between aspiration and achievement produces a sense of frustration among the tribal people, including women. Hence, they exhibit a low sense of political satisfaction and inverse relationship with sense of political efficacy. Thus, it may be...
concluded that political efficacy is important determinant of political participation, voting behaviour, political satisfaction and behavioural patterns.

8·1·4 INTERPLAY BETWEEN SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY AND
EMPOWERMENT AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBE WOMEN

Empowerment has been measured by a 9-point index including items on all its aspects, that is, legal, educational, economical, socio-cultural and political. Empirical evidence shows that more than two-third selected women fall under the category of high empowerment (67·5 per cent). A less than one-third (30·0 per cent) stand at medium level of empowerment and the remaining insignificant proportion (2·5 per cent) has low level. Thus, the women under study are achieving the goal of empowerment and number of factors are responsible for this. One of the most important is their level of sense of political efficacy.

Higher sense of political efficacy does lead to empowerment of women. All the women who have low level of empowerment also stand at low level of sense of political efficacy. A clear trend of decreasing proportion is also visible at moderate level of empowerment with the increase in the level of sense of political efficacy of women. The $X^2$ value ($25·94497^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = $>·01$) shows highly significant association between sense of political efficacy and empowerment of women.

8·1·5 DETERMINANTS & CONSEQUENCES OF EMPOWERMENT
AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBE WOMEN

Empowerment of Scheduled Tribe women is determined by many other antecedents like education ($X^2 = 45·72125^{***}$ DF=10; Significance value = $>·01$), occupation ($X^2 = 24·07407^{***}$ DF=4; Significance value = $>·01$), family income ($X^2 = 61·90476^{***}$ DF=6; Significance value = $>·01$),
exposure to mass media ($X^2 = 16.0000* \text{ DF}=4; \text{ Significance value} = >\cdot 01$), political awareness ($X^2 = 22.2727*** \text{ DF}=4; \text{ Significance value} = >\cdot 01$), sense of citizen duty ($X^2 = 30.0653*** \text{ DF}=2; \text{ Significance value} = >\cdot 01$), modernization ($X^2 = 22.2222*** \text{ DF}=4; \text{ Significance value} = >\cdot 01$) and political socialization ($X^2 = 22.05247*** \text{ DF}=4; \text{ Significance value} = >\cdot 01$).

Here also, regression analysis shows that education, family income, political socialization, political awareness, sense of citizen duty and mass media exposure are highly significant determinants of empowerment of tribal women. However, it must be noted that if sense of political efficacy is taken as intervening variable between antecedent variables (education, family income, political awareness, sense of citizen duty and mass media exposure) and consequent variable (empowerment), the contribution of each antecedent variables becomes more significant.

8.2 TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

The present study, having been specifically designed in the theoretico-empirical perspective, has attempted to hypothesize certain propositions and to test them empirically. 15 hypotheses were formulated for testing. Let us take these hypotheses one by one and put them before empirical evidence to find out their validity.

The first two hypotheses relate to relative sense of political efficacy among different sections. The first hypothesis, i.e. ‘the Scheduled Tribe women exhibit a higher sense of political efficacy than the women of other sections (Non-Scheduled Tribes)’ stands validated. We have already seen that tribal women have obtained a more score of sense of political efficacy (total points 495.00) than the non-tribal women (total points 355.00).

The second hypothesis that ‘the Scheduled Tribe women have a lower sense of political efficacy than Scheduled Tribe men’ stands rejected as tribal
women have scored more on sense of political efficacy (total points 495·00) than the tribal men (total points 365·00).

Hypotheses 3 to 9 relate to determinants of sense of political efficacy. The third hypothesis that the ‘middle aged tribal women exhibits a higher sense of political efficacy than the young and old tribal women’ stands validated as the middle aged tribal women (35 to 44 years) have shown more proportion of high sense of political efficacy as compared to other age categories.

The fourth hypothesis that ‘more educated among the Scheduled Tribe women have a higher sense of political efficacy than the less educated’ stands validated as education does influence their sense of political efficacy. But it is middle or more education which matters, specially for the category of women with higher sense of political efficacy.

The fifth hypothesis that ‘the more politically socialized among the Scheduled Tribe women have a higher sense of political efficacy than the less socialized’ is not validated. The relationship between the two seems to be inverse as with the increase in level of political socialization of tribal women, their proportion of sense of political efficacy at high level shows significant decrease. This is further supplemented from the data in medium category of sense of political efficacy, where the proportion of sense of political efficacy increases significantly with the increase in political socialization.

The sixth hypothesis that ‘tribal women with more organizational affiliation (i.e., membership of tribal associations and political parties) have a higher sense of political efficacy than those with no organizational affiliation’ stands validated. Data show that non-membership corresponds with low efficacy, whereas, membership corresponds with medium level of sense of political efficacy. Similarly, all the members of political parties have exhibited medium level of sense of political efficacy.
The **seventh hypothesis** that ‘tribal women with more political awareness among the Scheduled Tribes have a higher sense of political efficacy than those with low sense of political efficacy’ also stands validated. Political awareness makes tribal women more aware politically. There is direct and significant association between the two.

The **eighth hypothesis** that ‘tribal women with more exposure to mass media among the Scheduled Tribes have a higher sense of political efficacy than those less exposed to mass media’ stands validated. The empirical evidence shows that all the women having low level of sense of political efficacy are those who have low level of mass media exposure. Moderate level of mass media exposure is found to lead to high level of sense of political efficacy. None of the women having high level of mass media exposure exhibits low level of sense of political efficacy.

The **ninth hypothesis** that ‘family background influences tribal women’s sense of political efficacy, i.e., those from joint families, heads, higher income and occupation exhibit a higher sense of political efficacy than those from nuclear families, non-heads, low income and occupation’ stands partially validated. In fact, this hypothesis may be further sub-divided into four. First, type of family (joint or nuclear) and second, headship or non-headship are not found to be significantly associated with sense of political efficacy. On the other hand, third, i.e. size of family and fourth, i.e. income do influence tribal women’s sense of political efficacy. Women from large-sized families have low level of sense of political efficacy as compared to medium and small-sized families. Similarly, women’s individual income as well as their family income determines their level of sense of political efficacy. Higher the income, more is sense of political efficacy among tribal women.

Hypotheses 10 to 12 relate to consequences of sense of political efficacy among tribal women. The **tenth hypothesis** that ‘tribal women with a
high sense of political efficacy show greater political participation than those with a low sense of political efficacy' stands validated. Women with high level of sense of political efficacy have shown more participation than those with low sense of political efficacy. Their is direct and highly significant association between the two.

The eleventh hypothesis that ‘tribal women with a high sense of political efficacy are high in satisfaction with the present political system than those with a low sense of political efficacy’ stands rejected as there is no direct and significant relationship between the two. In fact, an overwhelming proportion of women are found to be politically dissatisfied irrespective of their level of sense of political efficacy. It may be stressed that the facilities given by state and central government have not been to their expectations.

The twelfth hypothesis that ‘tribal women with a high sense of political efficacy have a pattern of voting behaviour not found in those with low sense of political efficacy’ stands partially validated. Empirical evidence shows that sense of political efficacy does influence one’s voting decision significantly. Those women with less level of political efficacy take advice from other family members for voting. Three-fourth of the women consider it their duty to cast the vote. However, women having high level of sense of political efficacy have more proportion in the category of considering voting as one’s citizen duty. On the contrary, the proportion of those tribal women who view voting as their duty is less in low efficacy category as compared to medium and high levels of political efficacy. Sense of political efficacy is found to be influencing women’s voting frequency. High is the level of political efficacy, high is voting turn out.

The thirteenth hypothesis that ‘tribal women with a high sense of political efficacy enjoy more empowerment than those with low sense of political efficacy’ is concerned with interplay between sense of political efficacy and
empowerment of women. It stands validated. Empirical evidence shows that higher sense of political efficacy does lead to empowerment of women. As we move from low to high degree of sense of political efficacy, the proportion of women shows significant increase in high level of empowerment of women. All the women who have low level of empowerment also stand at low level of sense of political efficacy.

The last two hypotheses are again related to the consequences of sense of political efficacy. The fourteenth hypothesis that ‘tribal women with a high sense of political efficacy have different behavioural patterns than those with low sense of political efficacy’ also stands validated. The empirical evidence shows that the male members of the families having politically efficacious tribal women do help them in daily household chores than those who are not efficacious.

The last, that is, the fifteenth hypothesis that ‘tribal women with a high sense of political efficacy experience equalitarian ethos more than those with low sense of political efficacy’ again stands validated. Empirical evidence shows that tribal women with high sense of political efficacy call the male family members by names and have more gender equality.

8.3 FURTHER IMPLICATIONS: THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL, AND APPLIED

The search for the extent of sense of political efficacy among tribal women, vis-a-vis non-tribal women and tribal men, has led to certain valuable theoretical insights. It is felt that the concept of efficacy can be gainfully employed in the explanation of social facts in general. In fact, Durkheim (1961), one of the founder of modern sociology, pointed out that the idea of efficacy is clearly related to the principle of causality. In his famous work on The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (1961), Durkheim pointed out that “the first thing which is implied in the notion of causal
relation is the idea of efficacy, of productive power, of active force. By cause we ordinarily mean something capable of producing a certain change. The cause is the force before it has shown the power which is in it; the effect is this same power, only actualized.” He proceeded to explain religious rites by using this conceptual tool of efficacy. We feel that this concept of efficacy needs to reemerge in sociological theory. It has been found that the political behaviour, to a great, extent, can be explained with the help of the concept of efficacy. If Durkheim has used the concept of efficacy in explaining religious behaviour, political scientists have used it in explaining political behaviour, psychologists have found it useful in the analysis of personality, in the same way, it can also be used in explaining social process like empowerment of women.

Political efficacy belongs to the plane of affectivity and here lies the motive force for any action, including social action. The concept of sense of political efficacy assumes real significance in a transitional society like India, which is engaged in the process of nation-building. On one hand, the nation-builders should develop measures which can be called efficacious, while on the other, they can realize their goal only when Indian masses themselves feel efficacious in moulding their destiny. In this way, the concept of sense of political efficacy can’t be divorced from the analysis of the process of political development going on in our country.

This concept may also be applied in understanding the components, patterns and extent of politicization. Any valid theory of politicization has to take cognizance of three variables of political awareness, sense of political efficacy and political participation.

In the same way, the empowerment of women can also be analysed by using the conceptual tool of efficacy. If the generalization arrived at in the present research is proved valid by other researches also, it can safely be laid
down that increase in political efficacy would consolidate not only the legitimacy of our democratic polity, but also open way for empowerment of women.

To sum up, the concept of sense of political efficacy can be treated as a useful concept emerging in the field of sociological theory in a modern society, because modern society has come to a stage, where the interrelationship between polity and other sub-systems of the social system, has assumed an all pervading significance.

The exercise in hand has provided certain useful methodological insights. We feel that we have been successful in constructing a scale for measuring the extent of sense of political efficacy. The scale, containing seven items, has been duly tested for its reliability and validity. The results obtained by applying the scale stand the test of reliability as is evident from the foregoing discussion of hypotheses and the logical explanation offered for the striking variations. The constructed scale of sense of political efficacy is important in another sense also. The scales which existed and were available to use have been more or less constructed to measure the sense of political efficacy during an election-situation. But in our opinion the sense of political efficacy is neither tied with elections nor is it reflected in voting alone. The scale used here contains items which have a wider coverage on political matters, including of course, voting also. Thus, the scale can be used in normal political situation also, as has been done in the present study. Therefore, the scale can be used in further researches as a standardized scale for measuring the extent of sense of political efficacy.

The study has applied implications too. Here we have to address ourselves to the question: Why does one study the sense of political efficacy of tribal women or empowerment of tribal women? There may be several reasons for one’s interest in sense of political efficacy and empowerment. Sense of political efficacy and empowerment are known to be the predictors
of political participation, especially voting turnout. By knowing a person’s sense of political efficacy or empowerment, one can reasonably predict the extent of political participation or turnout at the elections. Sense of political efficacy is a measure of effectiveness in politics and this effectiveness is one of the main components of empowerment of women. By increasing sense of political efficacy among women, the process of their empowerment can be accelerated.

8.4 THE CONCLUDING REMARKS

It must be emphasized that empowerment of women is a complicated and uphill task. It is generally said that women’s empowerment will be, to a large extent, at the expense of the power that men enjoy. However, this argument does not seem to be convincing until men reconcile with losing a bit of their total power. Men will gain and not loose by the sharing of power with women in the long run. There is need for building new values for gender equality instead of strengthening the patriarchal values which are deeply rooted in Indian society. National Policy for the Empowerment of Women in India–2001 has to be made more effective to realize the goal. State has to take strict measures of positive discrimination in favour of women to grant equality to women which has been emphasized in Indian Constitution. Political parties and activist groups should come forward with concrete proposals for women equality and ensure honourable coexistence of women with men in society. The pending bill giving one-third seats to women in parliament should be given priority and enacted as law as soon as possible.
EMPOWERING SCHEDULED TRIBE WOMEN
(A Sociological Study of Political Efficacy among Gaddi Women)

Priyanka Kapoor

Involvement of the people is an essential part of the democratic process. This participation in the political process is crucial as it determines the success of a democracy. However, it is being felt now that democratic politics is not meaningful unless it ensures empowerment of women as they constitute fifty per cent of the population. The problems of empowerment of women are not being tackled effectively in India. It is not merely a legal or constitutional issue; it is also a socio-cultural issue. Legal and constitutional provision for empowerment of women may not serve the purpose in the political culture. In view of this, problems of empowerment of women can be analyzed or understood in various ways.

The concept of women’s empowerment is the outcome of several important critiques and debates generated by the women’s movement throughout the world, particularly by the third world feminists. Empowerment, in its simplest form, means the manifestation of redistribution of power that challenges patriarchal ideology and the male dominance. Empowerment is transformation of the structures or institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination. Empowerment is also the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power. It is a process that enables women to gain access to and control of material as well as information resources and make them aware of their interests. It enables women to participate in decision-making and influence decisions in and outside the family. Empowerment is an essential starting point and a continuing process for realizing the ideals of women’s liberation and freedom.
Empowerment of women can be activated through many strategies like promoting their education; providing them ample employment opportunities; enacting legislations to protect their rights and check gender discrimination; and ensuring political equality not only in the equal right to franchise but also the more important right to gain access to the formal institutionalized centres of power. From the point of view of last strategy, that is, political aspect of empowerment, its pre-requisite is that the women feel politically efficacious. Without the development of sense of political efficacy among them, they can neither assert themselves in various spheres of life nor can they cope with their problems. It is here that the crux of this present study lies.

1. **THE OBJECTIVES**

The present study has three objectives—first, to determine the extent of sense of political efficacy and the manner in which it is expressed among Scheduled Tribe women; second, to find out the socio-political and other determinants of sense of political efficacy among Scheduled Tribe women; and third, to explain the consequences of differential sense of political efficacy and its interplay with empowerment among the Scheduled Tribe women in terms of gender equality.

2. **THE METHODOLOGY**

To fulfil the above aims, a sample of 200 Gaddi women has been carved out randomly from two different Gaddi villages of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh, namely **Pukhri** and **Bharyata**. A comparable sample of 100 Gaddi men and 100 non-Gaddi women are also selected from same villages. Thus, 400 respondents selected constitute the universe of the present study. For the first objective sample of 400 respondents is used, whereas, for second and third only a sample of 200 Gaddi women is made
use of. Data have been collected by administering an interview schedule to the selected respondents in 2006 and processed through computer under SPSS.

3. **THE MAJOR FINDINGS**

The major findings may be summarized under four heads as follows:

3.1 **SPE AMONG GADDI WOMEN**

Historically, Gaddi women constituted a stratum of tribal society which has been devoid of power as their social structure did not provide ample opportunities for political participation as well as in the process of decision-making. Consequently they had been alienated from the political process and reduced to a mass of apolitical segment. Not only this, they had to pay heavy price for the contact with outside world in terms of lowering of their social status.

After independence, Gaddis were classified both under Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Himachal Pradesh. This enabled them to enjoy protective discrimination in the form of special facilities for settled life, opportunities for enhancing education and employment as well as asserting themselves from local to national level politics through reservation of seats. This resulted in converting tribal women from apolitical stratum to political one and providing opportunities not only for political participation but also enjoying this status of heads at panchayat level in their own communities.

The empirical evidence shows that tribal women stand first in the total score of sense of political efficacy (495·00), which is much higher than the non-tribal women (355·00) as well as their own counterparts, i.e. tribal men (365·00). Not only this, they have also scored first rank on the scale of sense of citizen duty, political satisfaction and political socialization. Thus, tribal women no more form apolitical stratum of hill society.
3.2 DETERMINANTS OF SPE AMONG GADDI WOMEN

Determinants are those factors which enhance sense of political efficacy of tribal women. The analysis of the determinants shows that education, income, political socialization, political awareness, sense of citizen duty and mass media exposure are highly significant.

3.3 CONSEQUENCES OF SPE AMONG GADDI WOMEN

The empirical evidence shows that political efficacy is important determinant of political participation, voting behaviour, political satisfaction and behavioural patterns. There is inverse relationship between sense of political efficacy and political satisfaction. This has to be seen in the light of developing economy and polity in India. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have become highly aspirant due to political awakening and positive discrimination provided by government for their upliftment and improvement of socio-economic status. These measures go on increasing their aspirations. The system is not able to generate ample resources to meet such high aspirations. The gap between aspiration and achievement produces a sense of frustration among the tribal people, including women. Hence, they exhibit a low sense of political satisfaction and inverse relationship with sense of political efficacy.

3.4 EMPOWERMENT AMONG GADDI WOMEN

Empirical evidence shows that more than two-third Gaddi women fall under the category of high empowerment (67.5 per cent). A less than one-third (30.0 per cent) stand at medium level of empowerment and the remaining insignificant proportion (2.5 per cent) has low level. Thus, the Gaddi women are achieving the goal of empowerment and number of factors are responsible for this. One of the most important is their level of sense of political efficacy.
Higher sense of political efficacy does lead to empowerment of Gaddi women. All the women who have low level of empowerment also stand at low level of sense of political efficacy. A clear cut positive and significant association is found between sense of political efficacy and empowerment of women. Empowerment of Gaddi women is determined by many other antecedents like education, family income, political socialization, political awareness, sense of citizen duty and mass media exposure. The contribution of latter factors increases significantly in case sense of political efficacy is taken as intervening variable.

The present study, having been specifically designed in the theoretico-empirical perspective, has attempted to hypothesize certain propositions and to test them empirically. 15 hypotheses were formulated and tested. Out of these 15 hypotheses, 11 stand validated, 2 partially validated and remaining 2 rejected.

It is concluded that ‘National Policy for the Empowerment of Women in India–2001’ has to be made more effective to realize the goal. State has to take strict measures of positive discrimination in favour of women to grant equality to women which has been emphasized in Indian Constitution. Political parties and activist groups should come forward with concrete proposals for women equality and ensure honourable coexistence of women with men in society. The pending bill giving one-third seats to women in parliament should be given priority and enacted as law as soon as possible.