Chapter – I

Political Participation:
A Theoretical Framework
Political participation has acquired new and dynamic connotation under the Behavioural revolution in fifties and sixties of twentieth century. The demand for participation in decision-making process at every level came on the fore from different quarters. Many minority groups and deprived sections started crying for share in democratic functioning of political system. The right to participate is an important and inseparable element of democratic government. Whereas in traditional monarchies, the right of participation was restricted largely to the aristocrats and their agents, but the present democratic systems transformed these prerogatives into right enjoyed by every person. All these changes in attitudes and orientations of people changed the prevailing political culture.

"The concept of political culture can be seen as a natural evolution in the growth of the Behavioural approach in political analyses."

Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political system. These orientations may have three distinct dimensions cognition, affective and evaluative. The nature and extent of these orientations may vary from society to society and so the political culture. Almond and Verba classify political culture into parochial, subject and participant. The central characteristic of parochial political culture is in it individual has no cognition of the political system and as a result, they do not also have any affective and evaluative orientations towards political system. Here the individual is involved in his family and community and least concerned with the central institutions. Indian traditional society is a good example of this type of political culture. In the Subject political culture, the individual position "is essentially a passive one. He sees no possibility of influencing the system as it stands, and acquiesces by accepting as authoritative and"
unchallengeable decisions of office holder. In participant political culture, the individual is seen, and sees himself as an active participant in the political process. Here his cognitive, affective orientations are all very high with regard to the political system as a whole.

These three types of political culture are, however, only the ideal types, none of them can be found in its pure form in any society. Almond and Verba list out the following mixed type of culture:

1. The parochial-subject political culture
2. The subject-participant political culture
3. The parochial-participant political culture
4. The civic culture

In parochial subject culture an individual has knowledge about a variety of governmental roles, although he is virtually unaware of the ways in which they can influence the political system. In subject participant type is represented by a society where some of the citizens are very much politically aware and also active and the rest are relatively passive. Here the average citizen knows that he must be active and be a participant, but given a little opportunity to participate in decision-making. In the parochial participant type the input institutions are relatively local like tribal or caste associations although national output institutions are quite well developed. But the performance of both input and output keep institutions greatly affected by the parochial interest. The civic culture combines all the characteristics of the three ideal types of political cultures. It is a synthesis of directive and acquiescent, participant and passive attitude. Here the subject orientations and the participation orientations are equally strong.

In a society different groups of people may have different type of orientations towards the political object, which may or may not form an
integrated and coherent culture. These are clearly distinguishable from one another, we call them political sub-cultures, political sub-culture make grow on the basis of the region, religion, social class, caste, language, generation and occupation etc. These sub-cultures play a significant role to understand the character of political system of a nation.

In India sub-cultures have immense relevance to the working of political system. Usually a sub-culture does not pose a threat to the major structural arrangements of a system, but it happens so, the stability and integrity of a political system is challenged which impels the political authority to use force to cope with the situation.

In general, political culture is a sub-culture as it is nothing but an integral part of the more general culture of a society. Hence, to study the political culture of a society, one has to know about the general cultural pattern of the society. The relation between the political culture and general culture of a society is not always complementary but may be antagonistic. India provides a very good example on this point. In India, political values growing in the context of liberal democratic institutions are quite different from the general culture orientation developed in traditional rural society. Again, not only general culture influences the political culture but also the later may influence the former. The political beliefs and values generated by the political culture go beyond political boundaries and affect the social culture.

By the study of political culture we may know whether the members of a political system have been able to arrive at a consensus that ensures the stability of the system. When members of a political system mostly share certain values and beliefs, the society assumes a coherent and fairly homogeneous shape and harmony is maintained. By that way, members arrive at a certain agreements. The growth of this consciousness is highly
important for the working of a democratic political system. It is intimately connected with the question about the degree of congruence between the political structure and the political culture. The higher is the level of the congruence, the stronger would be the foundation of consciousness. Another aspect of this congruent participant culture is high levels of interpersonal trust that facilitates political cooperation and political environment. The British political culture is characterized by a widespread interpersonal trust. An equally important aspect is the people's subjective sense of political competence. This sense of political competence is measurable by the extent to which a citizen feels that he can influence and participate in the decision-making process. This type of political competence is usually determined by the various socio-economic variables like level of education, occupation and sex. If one individual has more education, he shall be capable of influencing the decision-making process. Similarly, the sense of political competence is often found to be relatively higher in case of male members of the society. As Almond and Verba report "whether or not one believes himself capable of influencing a local or national regulation depends a lot on who he is within his own country. If he has more education, higher status, or is male, he is clearly more likely to consider himself competent."  

Every society reveals a fundamental distinction between the culture of rural and that of the culture of masses. Those who wield power and regulate the decision-making process, naturally develop political attitude and beliefs different from those people who are at the receiving end. The higher congruence between the two cultures the greater is the homogenization of political culture that ensures the stability of the system.
Participation in politics is a pre-requisite and minimal requirement for a successful democratic political system. It is this feature that distinguishes a democracy from any other form of government. A democratic society in principle is a participant society in which power is shared and the representatives of the citizens make authoritative decisions concerning the society. The ordinary citizens are expected to take part in the process of governing the country, irrespective of the sex, caste, class, religion or any other consideration.

Political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system. Although political power in every society is monopolized by a few, the political incumbents in every system are found to be quite keen on ensuring political participation by the people. The reason is quite understandable. By involving the many in the matters of the state, political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. The idea of this participation naturally assumes greater importance in a democratic system, which indeed, demands it. After all “participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled.” This however, does not mean that rates of political participation are always very high in modern stable democracy. Indeed a democracy no mean by any accepted standard like the U. S. A. reveals a rather poor rate of political participation in comparison with the corresponding rates in other democracies like Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain.

Citizens “participation in political affairs is also important because a situation which results in high participation by members of a group normally has higher potential for democracy.” Jan Leghley is of the view that “participation in national problem solving and campaign activities
enhances political conceptualization (individual's information about politics); as individuals are exposed to the conflict of ideas, through participation they develop more abstract understanding of the political system. Political democracies require some minimal level of citizen's participation in decision-making. The most effective method of institutionalizing such participation has been through some form of representative government.

**PARTICIPATION IN THE PAST:**

The history of political participation of citizens in the past can be known from the accounts of the democracies of the ancient world like Greece, Rome, Switzerland etc. The Greek City States encouraged the entire body of their free citizens, because of the small size of the states to develop acquaintance and interest in local politics and granted them political rights and privileges. Plato and Aristotle had written the merits and demerits of such participation in Athenian democratic states. In Athens, every adult male citizen irrespective of their economic status was a member of the General Assembly of the citizens in which all power was vested. The citizen also enjoyed the right to act as member of judicial bodies. The political consciousness was developed with a view to make the identification of the people with the community perfect and it was based on the customs and ideals of the Greek society. In Rome, the participation of people in political affairs was limited to the city of Rome. The popular Assembly of Rome enjoyed only some specific power in relation to the laws of war and peace. Certain legal concepts of the Roman like concept of natural law, individual rights and the law of people later on contributed to the development of democratic theory. The practice of direct democracy, which is treated, as the ideal form of
people’s participation in politics has long been known in Switzerland. Increasing participation of the people in politics marked the transition of states from monarchy to democracy. In countries like England, America, France, India etc., People revolted against the centralization of all powers in the hands of the monarchs. For instance, French Revolution of 1789 can be mentioned as one of the major events in the history of the world, which helped the growth of democracy. This revolution proved the supremacy of people over government. If the people want, they can change the form of government. The people of America, particularly those of Boston, also used the methods of meetings, demonstrations, riots, and pamphlets as vehicles of people’s participation in politics. Moreover, the meaning of the participation changed with the changes of the time and the changing role of state. The role of participation was confined only to law making functions in the days of Laissez faire. The nature and awareness of participation had widened with the emergence of socialist state and the increased role of the state. Marx argued about universal political participation as a means and end of the manifestation of human freedom. Political participation is an educational process; it is the means for the establishment of the just social order.

In India, people become interested in political matters after National Liberation Movements was launched by Indian National Congress; under the leadership of Mahatama Gandhi, to make the country free from the British rule. This movement unlike these mentioned above was peaceful, and proved the effectiveness of non-violent method such as Ahimsa, Satyagraha in revolution.

Political participation is a broader and complex term, expresses itself in various kinds of overt and manifest political activities. It is not confined to the selection of decision - makers only but also to affect their
political behavior and hence the societal decisions at large. Generally speaking, political participation is the involvement of individuals and groups in the political process of a political system at various levels. Norman D. Palmer defined political participation as the involvement of citizens in such political activities, which directly or indirectly influence the behavior and actions of decision makers. This not only empowers the representatives to form a government but also makes them accountable.

Nie and Verba include in political participation “those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take.” Thus, they do not include the activities of professionals and of those who are regularly involved in public affairs in political participations. Like Nie and Verba, Milbrath and Goel exclude the activities of professional and regular public officers in it but unlike them, they include not only the active roles that people pursue but also the ceremonial and support activities. According to them, political participation may be defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics.

While Nie and Verba consider ‘protest participation’ outside the orbit of their study because they consider it an illegal activity. On the other hand, Ali Ashraf and L.N. Sharma argue that irrespective, of its nature, political participation refers to the activities that are designed to affect governmental decision making and actions. International Encyclopedia of social science refers political participation to those voluntary activities by which member of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. It excludes from the scope of political participation such involuntary
activities as paying taxes, serving in the armed forces and performing jury
duty.¹⁰

Political participation denotes a series of voluntary activities,
which have a bearing on the political process that involves issues like the
selection, or election of rulers and the various aspects of the formation of
public policy. These activities are voting at the polls, being a member of
pressure group, and personally communicating directly with legislators,
participating in political party engaging in habitual discrimination of
political opinions through word of mouth communication of citizens.

Lester Milbrath brings these activities under following three
categories. Gladiatorial activities, Transitional activities and Spectator
activities.¹¹ Gladiators represent that small number of party activists
whose active association with party keep them engaged in a series of
direct Party activities like holding party offices, fighting the elections as
party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meetings and
joining the party campaigns.

Transitional activities include attending party meetings as party
supporters or just as neutral but attentive listeners, making contribution to
the party personnel. Spectator activities include voting, influencing others
to vote in a particular way, making and joining a political discussion,
exposing oneself to political stimuli and wearing a party sticker. We can
classify in two types. According to Milbrath political participation,
basically is of two types, Active and Passive. This distinction is a
necessary outcome of the most common fact that political participation in
every society has cost that involves time, energy and resources. All the
people are not equally willing to bear these costs and hence all are not
direct and active participant. Political participation may also classify in
terms of its purpose Instrumental and Expressive. Instrumental means
society. The authority or relationship of influence among these grouping leads to the development of political system. Without this relationship society cannot exist for long time. Participation of people in matters related to politics and also their role and standard of loyalty are related to political development in the country. Political awareness of the people, which turns them into supporters of the regime and make them active, was considered in some former colonized countries as an aspect of political development.

There are many individuals who neither concerned nor participate actively in the political system. These people can be called, as non-participant constitute the apolitical stratum of the society. They have a feeling of apathy towards politics. In a democracy one usually comes across two types of apathetic. One who fail to participate because of lack of information about and interest in political world that result from their political indifference and incapacity and also from a lack of opportunity to participate. This kind of political apathy which is far from deliberate is usually found among uneducated, inarticulate, parochial and isolated and also among those whose very roles operate only on the basis of kind of political passivity as is to be found in case of women in society heavily dominated by men. The second type of political apathy is deliberate. It is to be found among those who decide not to participate politically because of their own thinking.

Participation is not a uni-dimensional phenomenon. Citizens can participate in different and alternative ways to influence the government. However, these alternative ways depend upon the types of citizens who engage, time at their disposal, kind of pressure they want to exert and the government's response towards their activities. Participation is more than the vote and more than an activity in the electoral system. Verba and Nie
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grouped the alternative activities by which citizens can participate in politics into four broad modes of participation, i.e. voting, campaign activity, co-operative activity and citizens initiated contacts. Milbrath and Goel add protest and communication to these modes mentioned by Verba and Nie, which relate individuals to the polity. They are also of the view that political acts could be hierarchically organised from the least difficult to the most difficult, if a person performed a more difficult act, he was likely to perform those that are less difficult as well.

Schonfeld has mentioned ten types of activities, which are often cited in the literature on political participation. These includes:

running for holding public or party office,

(i) Belonging to a party or other political organisation,

(ii) Working in an election,

(iii) Attending political meetings or rallies,

(iv) Making financial contribution to a party or a candidate,

(v) Contracting a public official,

(vi) Publicly expressing a political opinion to convince others,

(vii) Taking part in political discussion,

(viii) Voting and

(ix) Exposing oneself to political stimuli.

Voting is the simplest and least demanding political activity, which does not require much information, initiative and motivation, as do most other political activities. Since vote determines who holds elective office, it exerts a great pressure upon the leaders and is called the blunt instrument of control over the government. Though it imparts less information of citizens’ preferences to the political leaders, yet people take part in voting frequently because its results affect almost all. On the other hand, campaign activities require more initiative and are
difficult than the voting, but these activities have more collective effect upon the decision-making process than voting. These also demand active, conscious and tactful participation. Verba and Nie have included the following items in the campaign activity: persuade others how to vote; actively work for party or a candidate, attend political meetings or rallies, contribute money to party or candidate and membership in political clubs.¹⁷

Membership in political party or voluntary organisation is the cooperative mode of political participation. People involve in group or organisational activity to deal with social and political problems. It is very significant because it can combine information about citizen preference with pressure.¹⁸ However; this mode of participation requires much initiative on the part of private citizens. Contesting election is the highest and most serious form of political participation than the other modes of political participation.

Protest activities—marches, demonstrations and other such direct actions—which are also called the ‘unconventional’ political participation, are generally considered illegitimate, non-constitutional and unhealthy for democracy. On many occasions, these acts culminate in widespread unrest and violence resulting in the loss of life and property and threaten the existence of elected government and the democratic system.

But this is a conservative view associated with the status-quo behaviouralists of liberal democracies. In the third world the situation is entirely different and so-called conventional methods are rarely effective in decision-making process. Here the inputs are very high and diverse but the resources are small. So, unless the political mainstream is obstructed, governments do not pay any heed to the citizen’s demands and
aspirations. To have an early and serious influence upon the decision-making process and the system as a whole, rallies, gheraos, demonstrations, strikes, etc. have become part and parcel of the political process and the most effective mode of political participation. These are used as viable means to achieve political ends. One goal of political participation is to effectively communicate the demands to political leaders. Protest activities even while are engaged in by a small percentage, have an immediate effect, because they speak very proudly and attract media attention.

Political environment is no less important in influencing political participation. This applies as much to the constitution and institutional arrangements found in a particular political system as it does to its less formal aspect such as the nature of party system, regional differences, and factors affecting particular events. In the same way the legal requirement of an electoral system may influence political participation the societies characterised by fairly rigid class divisions are more likely to give rise to class based parties and the existence of such parties usually increased participation among lower classes.

VARIABLES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is a complex phenomenon, a dependent variable that depends upon many factors such as the psychological, socio-economic and political, which orients the individuals towards or away from political participation. Psychological variables refer to the degree to which citizens are interested in and concerned about politics and public affairs. Persons who are more interested, concerned about political matters and are surrounded by political conflicts are more likely to be active in politics than those who are totally occupied in their
private lives. Those who have some preferences for party and candidate have feeling of efficacy and have some political goals, participate more actively in political affairs.

Persons with high education and higher socio-economic status generally have more easy access to politics than the uneducated and the persons of lower status. According to a prevalent opinion men are more psychologically involved in politics because they have more ‘sense of civic duty’, ‘feeling of efficacy’ and above all they regard politics as their respective sphere, while women are generally unfortunate in these matters. But voting is only marginally dependent upon psychological involvement in politics. Many individuals cast their vote because of patriotic sentiments, traditional commitments and group or party pressures rather than personal involvement. Psychological variables have, however, greater say in the most complex modes of political participation.

Socio-economic variables include education, occupation, income, age, race, religion, sex, family background, residence, etc. Political participation, says Robert Lane, is function of age, sex, education and status. In general, participation tends to be higher among better educated members of the higher occupational and income groups, middle aged, the dominant ethnic and religious groups, people with political family background, settled residents, urban dwellers and members of voluntary associations. However, the correlation between participation and some of these socio-economic variables may vary from culture to culture with different political contexts and their effect on political participation may not be stable.

If the social environment is important for understanding the character of political participation so is the political environment. If the
political map of country is too large, if the machineries for political communication do not properly function, if the government institutions are enmeshed in highly rigid and complicated rules, people are likely to develop somewhat a feeling of remoteness that seriously affects the rate of their political participation. The more open is the competition for power in a society and the more is this competition based on established and accepted norms of procedures, the greater will be the tendency to participate. Open and effective communication system is not only a correlate but also a prerequisite of large-scale participation.

People will take part in elections more if the election rules are simple and the voting arrangement are not unnecessarily cumbersome. The overall governmental performance is also important. A very good system performance, however, sometimes develops a feeling among the people that their participation is not really all that necessary. Crisis in national and international political arena also sometimes boost the impulse of participation. But sometimes gave problems in national politics tend to paralyse the voters, as may be seen in the wartime. Existence of party system and its nature (competitive or non competitive) also affect the level and nature of political participation to a great extent. Party campaigning, its issues and ideology and the existence of pressure tactics also weigh heavily in political participation.

The three sets of variables are closely linked and intermingled. A change in any of them can, therefore, increase or decrease participation. An analysis based on only one of them would be misleading and incomplete.
WOMEN PARTICIPATION:

The present study is concerned not with political participation in general, but it is micro-level study concerned with political participation of women in general and Muslim women specifically. Because woman herself is an important variable which affect the nature and scope of political participation and consequently the political system as a whole. The study of political participation of women is also important as women have become today more beneficial to political parties and political leaders due to their natural qualities of honesty, affection and sense of duty and above all they comprise about half of the vote power. If half of the voters are women, we have to know their attitudes. Without knowing this we would not be in a position to frame right policies, strategies and laws for their welfare and upliftment.

A lot of studies on women’s behavior started in 1960 with the advent of feminism in the U.S.A. with a premise that there prevails a gender discrimination and women’s lot in the society is not what it should be. In India, we started using the term more frequently after the International women’s year, i.e. 1975. Thus, studies on women’s political behaviour are of recent origin. While there is a rich volume of studies on political participation in general in the academic world of political science, it is not much rich in respect of women’s political participation. We have little specific literature on the political aspect of women. However, we can find references in some articles and studies made upon the status of women on political grounds, though very few scholars have tried to enquire the political position of women and their participation in political affairs in a society.
The concept of participation is closely linked with the concept of power. It also involves political capacity to influence the decision making process, primarily for promotion of women’s interest. Any study of women’s political participation has to be done covering the following aspects:

A. Extent, nature and level of women’s political participation in formal and non-formal institutions.

B. The impact of such participation on women’s status and conditions.

C. Types of women related issues rose in the course of their participation.

Traditional women have been house bound on account of variety of reasons. In India, women never participated in state affairs except few women like Razia Sulatna, Jijabai Rani Sindan and others. During the freedom struggle, women came out when Gandhi called to participate in the movement. That was the remarkable phase of participation of women in politics. B.B. Curry, Raj Kumari, Sarojini Naidu, Sucheta Kripalani, Vijay Laxmi Pandit, Aruna Asaf Ali, Amrit Kaur, Kasturba Gandhi are some well known women who participated in freedom struggle but we have to remember that all these women belonged to urban, educated families and these are the men who invited them to participate. Annie Besant’s Home Rule Movement and women leaders like Radhabai Rameshwari Nehru and Be Amman initiated women’s political movement. However, there never was any organized and well-articulated campaign. The participation of women in the freedom movement was combined with the concept of Swadeshi movement and constructive work. The women who participated in freedom movement, they continued their social work even after independence through various
institutions and agencies for emancipation of women, children and weaker sections of society. Some of them were nominated and some were engaged in politics. Some, though not in large number, have been associated with political parties as Indira Gandhi was the president of All India Congress Committee. P. S. Margret Alva, Mrs Sheela Kaul its general secretaries. From them this chain of participation is continuing. Moreover, now, women has got franchise, right to equality and laws in their favour without much struggle unlike women in other parts of the world. And this is very interesting that it is the man who fought for the women’s right like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwer Chandra Vidhya Sagar, Mahatma Gandhi etc.

In 1909, women had setup the Prayag Mahila Samiti and Vijay Lakshmi Pandit leading “Sollas Sangathan” was instrument in women conference being held in Prayag. The Mahila Sangh was set up in 1923 and in 1925 and Sarojini Naidu was elected president of congress. 22

Women’s participation does not mean only the mobilization of power to solve their problems. It is much more, it is necessary to apply the women’s point of view in policy making bodies will at least make a mark in male dominated patriarchal politico-cultural structures. It will also hit the age old sex stereotyping; present alternative role models for aspiring girls and women will put an end to open resistance against women entering politics.

Our constitution recognised the unequal social position of women and some special clauses empower the states to make special provisions for women. The special attention has given to needs and problems of women, as one of the weaker sections of Indian society and the recognition of political equality was undoubtedly a radical departure from the norms prevailing in traditional India.
The special provisions for women in Indian Constitution were a result of social reform movement, which began in 19th century emphasizing improvement of women’s status. The social reformers agreed that no substantial change could be achieved as long as women were deprived of opportunities of self-development and participation. It is true that 73rd amendment in the Constitution ensure thirty percent representation of women in Gram Panchayat but Constitutional provision have proved limited help.

A woman’s economic status, political awareness and ideology invariably determine their place. Moreover, social mores and values affect mankind’s attitude towards women. J. L. Nehru was of the opinion that the conscious women is essential for general consciousness of mankind.23

He finds that women nowhere make use of their vote to the same extent as the men do. This difference in voting frequently between the two sexes in recent years seems to have amounted to about ten percent. The political status of women is reflected in the extent to freedom granted to women in regard to their participation in political activities.

In India, women have enough political rights constitutionally but it has failed to make any profound impact on women’s participation in the actual decision-making process. There is a difference in the standard of values and norms of behaviour, which are somewhat traditional. In the article “women and democracy in India.” Anuradha Bhoite finds a wide chasm between def jure and def acto enjoyment of political rights by women in India.24 On the one hand women cast their votes in large number, take part in agitational activities but on the other hand they leg behind in enjoying prestigious political offices. Naturally as political field is the important field of power hunting and women are kept out of power race.
Studies carried out by UNESCO in seven South East Asian countries i.e. Australia, India, Bangladesh, Nepal Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines saw that in terms of awareness, party membership, contesting elections, voting, women’s participation has not been satisfactory. Women remain in periphery of the spheres of power and influence. In fact, women who are leaders at the local, state and national levels generally came from well educated, well to do and influential families. A large number of women have either husbands or other relatives already in politics, which provide them a wide network of support. Mostly we see two categories of women one, who are powerful leaders as Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi. They are taking part in decision-making process. On the other side, A large number of female masses, poor, illiterate and often veiled.

In developing countries, a large number of women have been leading a government or opposition as Benazir Butto, Hasina Wazed, Khalida Zia, Indira Gandhi etc. But it should be remembered that all of them however get into politics through their family connections. Women participate more in political struggle in crises period, in reform movement than in simple game of distributing power.\(^25\) And in this process sometimes women who are related to rural and poor back ground come in politics but this level is marginal. Thus, the women of South Asia have political rights but in reality they have yet to make their existence felt. The women of developing countries living in pressure of prevalent socio economic conditions and these conditions have kept them busy in their homes and women politicians found little time and energy to follow their professional path.

Gerald Pamper draws an accurate and contemporary portrait of changing nature of women political participation in America. Women’s
liberation movement changed the character of their political behavior. The women of America is not bound in traditional boundations. She became politically ideological and conscious and more female participation can be expected in future because of education becomes more widespread.

Ultimately it finds that discrimination against women is deep rooted in the structure of society and in sexual division of labour, which restricted females primarily to the domestic field of life. Political behaviour takes place in particular socio-culture milieu and it is affected by some factors. Analysis of sex differences in political behavior usually focuses on differences in early childhood socialization. Women are less politically expressive on account of domestic environment and women have not time to take part in politically relevant matters. Tedin suspect that "socialization and situational factors have feed back loops that strengthen each other. Female situational factors, which led to less political expressiveness become institutionalized and passed on to future generation through socialization process, which in turn makes it more difficult for women to overcome situational disadvantage. There is another aspect too which is very interesting that most of women who are able and educated especially from the middle class background do not wish to get themselves involved in political activities due to use of muscle power and crime in politics they consider it as dirty game.

The main concern of study is Muslim women especially because Muslim women's participation is very low. She is less educated and conscious rather than Hindu woman and there are several reasons for that condition but it would be much better if we through a focus on the status of women in Islam, and Quranic teachings. Muslim women are victim of
an oppression that works in two ways, one as women two as members of minority community.

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