CHAPTER-II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

2.1: Introduction

A study of the past literatures would help the researcher to understand the various dimensions of the present research problem clearly and would act as a guideline for carrying out the present study. Therefore, in this chapter an attempt has been made to review the literatures relating to objectives of the study in both thematically and chronologically.

2.2: Objective-One (Socio-economic Determinants of Tribal Women towards Political Participation)

The socio-economic condition of Tribal Women is one of the major determinants of political participation and assessed the political attitudes of the women voters based on socio-economic background in association with the shift in voting preference, their knowledge about candidates and major political issues as well as their reactions to propaganda, attendance at election meetings, political involvement and party affiliation. Studies conducted by Sirsikar (1965), Mc Closky (1968), Majumdar (1984), Pameche (1985), Ross (1986), Manikyamba (1989), Khan (2001), Bakshi and Bala (2000) Neema (2003), found that the reasons behind low political participation and decision making process of tribal women are attributed to illiteracy, patriarchy and lack of clarity in government policies. Meaningful participation of tribal women can be ensured through public awareness, monitoring of women status and research activities on women participation. Further, Snehalata (2008) argued that due to lack autonomy due to high responsibilities in household work, rearing children and other allied wage earning works. Majority of them were employed in agriculture and inequality in wages between men and women exists due to physical power and superior status of men. The role of women in decision making is substantial and they are marginalised in the community. Many studies have been conducted by different scholars in different aspects to high light the various problems confronted by women for political participation in the state.
Gassah and Passah (1998) have further argued that even in Jaintia society in relating to inheritance of property and descent is followed in the mother’s side. The principle of descent and residence puts heavy responsibilities on the mother to ensure the welfare of the family. In social and family life women are treated as the fountain head of a clan. She occupies quite a distinct and respectful status in familial, social and economic spheres. The birth of a female child is hailed for the simple reason of being sure of the continuity of the family and the clan and their position is treated with high respect. When she grows up, she is meticulously initiated and trained in adult responsibilities of keeping home. Their status in the family in particular and the society in general are therefore respectable and distinguished.

Further Bakshi and Bala (2000) have opined that in the social and economic sphere, the status of tribal women is determined on the basis of land holding, food security, allocation of resources and their role in decision making in different tribal societies of India. They enjoy comparatively low status due to social hierarchy and economic deprivation.

Neema (2003) explains that engineering elections through gender quotas is a crucial component of strategies that seek to empower women through increased participation in the political system. In the south Indian state of Karnataka, this experiment has shown mixed results: it has made women more visible, decreased levels of corruption in Panchayati Raj institutions, and increased self-efficiency of women representatives. According to the author, it was more difficult, however, to claim a substantive change in institutional priorities and state accountability. The important fact was that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) provided significant training and support for change through increased participation by women.

Bhasin (2007) has explained about status of tribal women in North-East play a vital role in the field of economic activities. They take part joint decisions along with the male counterparts. The study further reveals that the women power is not extended to either societal or political sphere. Their economic power is not translated into corresponding community authority. Women supremacy is restricted with household domain and due
credit and importance is not given at the various institutional level. Thus tribal women hold secondary position in both public affair and community decision making.

Another study conducted by Snehalata (2008) on ‘Socio-Economic Status and Domestic Violence against Tribal women in Odisha’. She explains that tribal women in Odisha lack autonomy due to high responsibilities in household work, rearing children and other allied wage earning works. Majority of them were employed in agriculture and inequality in wages between men and women exists due to physical power and superior status of men. The role of women in decision making is substantial and they are marginalised in the community.

In another study Pandey (2011) in his article ‘Socio-economic status of tribal women: A study of a transhumant Gaddi Population of Bharmour in Himachal Pradesh explained that the status of tribal women is hardly reduced by any disabling stigma as practiced in the society. Women in the Gaddi tribal society enjoy special economic power and their social status and authority are almost equal to men. However there are certain domains in which men continue to dominate as is culturally required. Moreover, community authority still is in the hands of men. There is a kind of duality observed there. Men dominate in public and community affairs and continue to play the role of the head of the family and bread winner where as women enjoy greater say in family life. Great deal of social freedom and several actions of women are condoned and tolerated.

Ramesh and Suresh (2011) have attempted to analyse the political socialization process among gram Panchayat Sarapaches in relation to social backgrounds such as: age, sex, religion, caste, education and its influence in role perception and decision-making in both family and community. The researcher found that the role of various agencies such as family, community, peer groups, education, mass media and political parties in shaping political attitudes of an individual differs from family to family and community to community.

Further Bharat (2012) in his article on “Work participation and Status of women in Manipur” explained that due to improvement of the economic conditions, the tribal women is increasingly marginalised in terms of the decision-making process in both family and community level.
Sivanna and Gayathridevi (2012) examine the situation of elected women representatives at various levels such as political, social, economic and personal. The paper also critically looks at the participation and performance of women and attempted to understand the process of their attaining confidence in undertaking responsibilities in the public sphere.

Balakrishnan (2013) in his article examines the socio-economic background of the people and its impact on electoral participation in the Panchayati Raj institution. The study revealed that no significant difference exist between males and females on political awareness and participation at Gram Pachayat level. A general trend in age-wise electoral participation at Gram Panchyat was higher in between the 25-40 age group. The study has pointed that education definitely leads to greater awareness and meaningful participation of women in politics. The voter’s turnout in Gram Panchayat election marks very high level of political awareness and the left out people also had interest to participate in election. Thus the study shows that Panchayat Raj Institution as an agency has a greater role in political participation of women promoting leadership development at grass root level.

Critically examining the low socio-economic conditions of tribal women Marak (1998) argued that due to the impact of Christianity and education, new means of communication, mobility of individuals, employment opportunities etc. the traditional pattern of family (Gassah,1998); new work culture, urban living and contact with other cultures (Syiem, 1998) tribal women had liberated from tyranny. They are now in a better position than ever before to fight against prejudices and conservatism. In the last two decades women have come to the forefront of their community. Women’s positive attitude is seen in their increasing participation in leadership and decision making at various levels.

Saeed (2015) in his study on ‘Role of Socio-economic Status and Political Participation in Construction of Apathy among Youth’ explained that the youth are considered an important segment of a country’s population. This article explores the effect of socioeconomic status on apathy among youth. It also tries to determine the association between apathy and political participation. Data were collected from four universities through a self-structured questionnaire given to students. A field survey was used to collect 882 questionnaires. Data were entered in SPSS, and data analysis was done by using
ordinal regression analysis. A medium level of apathy (75.5%) and political participation (46.0%) was prevalent among educated youth. Results revealed a significant effect of number of siblings, age, gender, education, father’s education, and mother’s education on apathy. An association was also found between apathy and political participation.

From the above literature review, there is no denying the fact that the socio-economic conditions did not exhibit their influence on political behaviour in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya State.

2.3: Objective Two (To study the level of awareness of Tribal illiterate and Neo-Literate women on political issues)

Political participation is associated with political awareness i.e., actual knowledge of political affairs. Milbrath and Goel (1977) observed that it is tradition in almost all societies that politics is mainly an affair of men and that women should fall in line with them politically. The political behaviour of human beings is affected by social structure, economic development and historical factors joining together. In every state there is a wide gender gap that exists in political system. Thus political awareness is one of the major elements of study in political participation. In order to understand the level of awareness among the tribal women in India in general scholars such as Singh, 1985; Lyngdoh, 1996; Bareh, 1985; Singh, 1985 Passah and Gassah, 1998; Sen, 1992 explained that traditionally women have always played a secondary role in the society.

The adverse impact on Coal trade and its ban summarized beautifully by Henry Lamin, in his book ‘Pnar Economy and Society in Meghalaya’ (1995), that unlike tribal’s in other parts of India, the tribal’s of Meghalaya - the Jaintias in particular - didn't suffer from land alienation and exploitation from outsiders. While that may be true, trends reveal that poor people here too have lost their lands to rich local coal merchants or, as the NGT call them, the coal mafia. Any resource beneath the ground is considered public property but local people believe that, because of the Sixth Schedule status of the state, they have exclusive access to these. The Schedule also gives the community a right to distribute land to landless tribals. But the lure of coal has led to incidents of land grabbing in many parts of the state. Coal mining and the easy disposable income also hiked prices of essential
commodities. The rich people send children for higher study either foreign or in any parts of India. Further the author narrated that gambling, alcoholism and prostitution had increased in coal-trade towns like Lad Rymbai. There has been a rise in domestic violence in the state. The number of single mothers is going up in the Jaintia communities. For every 1000 sex workers we work with, around 600 turn out to be single mothers. However, most of the coal businesses are owned and run by male members. Coal barons spend heavily on consumer goods, automobiles and also on property. Due to NGT Ban, many people became bankrupt, sold their trucks and houses, the local market which once was swarmed by people holds a deserted look, and many coal mine workers have lost their livelihood. (From Reporter, Hindustan Times, On 2\textsuperscript{nd} March, 2015 New Delhi).

**Manuela (2006)** draws on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in northern India on historically marginalised women's political participation and critically examined the role of women party activists in Dalit politics and their possibilities of existence in feminist politics. The author argued that these women presented a theoretical impasse: labeling their practices as non-feminist would negatively connote the subjectivity and agency of those women who were engaged in different political affairs, even when they replicate dominant structures or embodied traditions not exclusively based on the gendered individual as an actor or beneficiary of politics.

**Naik, et al. (2010)** in their study on ‘Impact of Industrial Environment on Socio-economic Conditions of Mine Workers: A study of Coal Industries in the State of Odisha’ examine the Impact of Industrial Environment on Socio-economic Conditions of Mine Workers in Coal Industries in the State of Odisha and suggest appropriate policy measures towards the problems. The researchers identified occupational hazards includes negligence, carelessness, vanity and Safety measures includes unguarded and defective machinery, industrial and chemical explosives, defective equipment and hand tools are the dependent variable and age, religion, caste, marital status and income are independent variables. The researchers found that out of the total workers, 77 percent engaged in heavy and strenuous work in the coal mines leading to frequent illness, 23 percent are doing light jobs. Because of which, it showed that, 69 percent of workers remain absent from duty, 31 percent absent
due to participating in religious ceremonies, attending marriages and paying visits to their native places. Often changing the posture of work and rotating the work shift reduces the work efficiency and productivity of the labour. The researcher again found that 78 percent of the workers working in standing and changing conditions and 57 percent workers attended their jobs in rotation shift. Out of 71 percent accident cases, it was reported that 54 percent accidents are due to poor safety measures.

Hendryx, et al. (2011) conducted study on ‘Self-Reported Cancer Rates in Two Rural Areas of West Virginia With and Without Mountaintop Coal Mining’ was to examine the impact of Coal mining on Cancer patients in Rural Areas of West Virginia. It is a survey research. The Sample size of the study is 2679 households. The researcher adopted Regression, Chi-Square, t-tests for the statistical analysis. The investigators found from their study that the two community groups did not differ significantly on current or former smoking status, smokeless tobacco use, age, family size, or percent family members with cancer. The groups were different on three variables. First, respondents in the Coal River area were more likely to have had occupational experience as a coal miner. Second, respondents in Coal River had lived on average in Coal River for more years than respondents in Pocahontas had lived in Pocahontas. The bivariate correlation between age and years living in the community was 0.67 and so only age was used as a covariate in the regression models reported below. The third difference between the two groups was that Coal River respondents reported personal diagnoses of cancer at higher rates: 14.4% (N = 59) of respondents in Coal River compared to 9.4% (N = 34) in Pocahontas (v2 = 4.47, df = 1, P<0.035). There was no significant difference in age at cancer diagnosis between the two groups. Of the 59 Coal River respondents with cancer, only two (3%) were not living in Coal River at time of diagnosis; in Pocahontas, 7 of the 34 respondents with cancer (21%) were not living in Pocahontas at time of diagnosis (Fisher’s exact test for small samples two-sided P<0.02).

Azad, et al. (2013) conducted study on ‘Health Effects of Coal Mining on Coal Mine Workers of Baluchistan’ was to determine occupational health impacts includes Routine headache, irritation in throat, noise and eyes drowsiness, shortness of breath, Nausea, pneumoconiosis, Ulcer, Diarrhea, cholera, Hepatitis B&C on coal workers of Baluchistan.
The researchers identify the emission and prevalence of Methane, Carbon monoxide as the dependent variable and age group of the worker, sex as the independent variable. The researchers used secondary data with the sample sizes of 228 coal workers and 120 non-coal workers. They adopted regression method and Cronbach Alpha co-efficient for the statistical techniques. They found that due to the high concentration of coal dust the coal workers of Baluchistan are experiencing the disease like tuberculosis, chronic obstructive bronchitis, heart problems, reproductive and fertility problems, respiratory irritation, asthmatic and even lung cancer problems. The coal water and slurry being the residual of coal mining are disposed off in an unconfined area which become the source of water contamination which is used by coal workers and has several health impacts like Ulcer, Diarrhea, cholera, Hepatitis B&C etc on coal workers of Baluchistan. However, the mitigation measures as adopted in the rest of the mining world in the shape of new techniques, methodology to reduce the emission of gases and other coal effluents, used of personnel and mine safety equipment, disposal techniques of coal effluents and other allied facilities have neither been adopted by the government of Baluchistan nor appreciated by the coal mine owners.

Alavi & et al., (2013) in their works entitled ‘Prevalence of Pulmonary Tuberculosis Before and After Soil Dust in Khuzestan, South West Iran’ was to investigate the effect of Dust Soil on Pulmonary Tuberculosis prevalence in Khuzestan of the South West Iran. The researchers identified the cause of suffering in Tuberculosis is dependent variable and age, place of residence, nationality, sex, imprisonment, family history in HIV, family in suffering tuberculosis disease are the independent variables. The study was conducted on the basis of secondary data collected from the medical files of Khuzestan Health centre from 2005 to 2010 in south western province of Iran. 712 samples collected from those suffering in tuberculosis diseases by the investigators. Chi-Square test as statistical techniques was used in the above study. The researchers from their study found that the mean age of control and case group was 42 (18-80) years and 40 (13-99) years, respectively. The prevalence of pulmonary tuberculosis in control and case group was 537 (12.5) per 100000 population) and 465 (11.0 per 100000 population), respectively. The dust did not increase the prevalence of tuberculosis. More women than men, more children
than any other age group, more urban habitants than rural settlers have become ill. Although soil dust had no significant effect on tuberculosis prevalence, but showed a significant effect on age, sex, residential area, and closed contact.

Dabhadker, et al. (2013) conducted study on ‘Nutrition of Coal Mine Workers: A case study of Korba Coal Mines in the state of Chhattisgarh’ to examine the Nutrition assessment of the Coal mine workers. The researchers identified the Nutritional Diseases of Coal mine workers is the dependent variables and the calcium intake, Iron intake thiamine intake, calorie intake, protein intake, riboflavin intake, niacin intake, vitamin C intake, zinc intake are the independent variables. The sample size was 517 male mine workers in 2007-2008 collected from the Korba coal field in the north eastern part of the Chhattisgarh. The simple statistical techniques such as Average and percentage are used for the above study. They found that the average intake of calorie in all coal areas is 3372.2 kcal which is 11.7 percent less than standard requirement per day. The average per day per worker protein intake is 36.29 grm, the highest protein intake is observed in Surakachhar 43.71 grm. While lowest in Dilwadih with 28.56 grm. Average fat intake among mine workers is 18.1 grm which is 1.9 grm lesser than standard norms. Among all mine workers of Korba coal region there is moderate calcium deficiency. Intake of Iron is very less (12.23 mg) which is 56.3 percent of recommended value. In the study area Thiamine intake is more than recommended standard. The average intake of Thiamine in all Korba area is 2.9 mg per day it is 81.25 percent more than recommended standard. The Riboflavin intake is little more than standard in all Korba regions. The average Niacin intake is 28.0 mg per day, vitamin C average intake is 48.2 mg per day per worker, and Zinc is 8.39 mg which is 1.2 mg less than recommended value of 9.5 mg. In study area 14.3 percent of workers are having chronic nutritional deficiency and 25.4 percent of workers are facing the problem of obese grade VII.

Goswami (2013) conducted study on ‘Challenges of Environmental Management in Indian Coal Mining Sector’ aims to study the impact of coal mining on its surrounding Environment. The researcher identified environmental degradation includes drilling, cutting, blasting, loading, transport, health hazards, mine fire are the dependent variables and noise pollution is the independent variables. It is a qualitative research. The field study
was conducted from the Coal India Headquarters in the year 2012. The researcher collected both primary and secondary data collected from Indian Institute of Coal Management, through interview scheduled with the officers and workers of Coal India Ltd. They found that due to the silica dust presence in the air which resulted in rise to difficulty in breathing, reduction of chest expansion, and susceptibility to tuberculosis, bronchitis or emphysema, pneumoconiosis amongst miners. Further, the researcher pointed that due to the concentration of these hostile gases that are often create negative impact over the surface and the people living in the nearby villages. In keeping with the views reported from different stake holders on NGT ban on Coal mining, the researcher wants to study the perceptions of illiterate and Neo-literate tribal women’s on NGT ban on coal mining in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya State.

**Pakem (1986)** argued that this was another blow which had actually started during the colonial administration on the part of those institutions and chiefs who had the privileges of serving and supervising the administration of their own people according to the traditional customs and usages of the land. The majority of the traditional institutions were retained by the British authorities but their powers were greatly reduced. In Jaintia society the priest was the presiding officer over the destiny of the Jaintia rulers but was reduced by the Britishers and subsequently his role was then confined to the religious matters. By the time the British left the country, the power of the secular authorities was drastically reduced and the District Council assumed power over them. The powers and functions of the traditional institutions were curtailed by the District Council under the 6th scheduled of the constitution of India. The District Council interfered within the jurisdiction of the village council and Durbar Raid (Census Report, 1961). Further the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council established in 1952 passed a number of Acts, Rules and Regulations from time to time and this further reduced the powers and functions of the traditional institutions and chiefs in the area. These chiefs were treated as sub-ordinate officials and controlled and supervised by the District Council. Again the paragraph 3 (1) (g) of the sixth schedule in 1959 the appointment of chiefs, headmen, confirmation of chiefs and dispute regarding election of chiefs etc. were under the purview of the District Council. The Jaintia District Council Act of 1973, the
District Council had power to remove the post of acting chief. The executive committee of
the District Council has a power to appoint any person as an acting Syiem in office until the
appointment of a new chief or until he is removed from the executive council. Also in the
District Council Act of 1975 inserted a new section forfeiting the right to cultivate and
enjoy services of puja lands by chief of headman who has been suspended or removed
from office. From the above analysis the effects of modern political institutions on
traditional institutions becomes much more visible (Choube, 1973).

The Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council Act of 1980, in its Fifth Principal
Act of 1956 passed an act that the Chief, Deputy Chiefs, Acting Chiefs should be debarred
in taking part in politics and election. This is applicable only in Khasi Hills. Further the
District Council has a power to suspend the traditional chiefs on the grounds of
insubordination, malpractices and disobedience (Pakem, 1973). Thus the above analysis
clearly reveals that the traditional institutions and their leadership have undergone different
microscopic changes under the modern political institution like District Council. Under
such a precarious situation, frontal leadership in the area or for that matter in the whole
state of Meghalaya is slowly being passed into the hands of the emerging elite (Rymbai,
1987).

After analysing the traditional political set-up of the Khasi society, we can now
examine the role played by women in these political institutions. As mentioned earlier the
Durbar or Council is considered as a sacred institution of the Khasis. Singh (1985)
explains that the Khasi have tried to maintain it as the sole electoral body, the sole
legislative, administrative and judicial body in the state, Ka Hima. Even the Syiem is below
the Durbar, strict rules of conduct are imposed. An interesting issue here is that though the
political institutions are democratic in nature they had some limitations. Lyngdoh (1996)
points out four factors in this regard. Firstly it is the kur or clan and not the individuals
who form the political unit. The second factor is that the Syiem or chief elects only from
the Syiem clan. Thirdly smaller kurs or clans have no voice in the Syiem’s election and
lastly women have no share or role in the political and administrative set-up of the Khasi
society. In general the traditional political institutions of the Khasis have been eulogised as
being very democratic. According to Bareh (1985) women are in no case elected to the
councils. Total adult male franchise was followed where they were both voters as well as candidates. A woman was also not allowed to hold the office of the Syiem (chief) nor could she speak up in the Durbar or council (Singh, 1985). All Durbars (councils) have only male members. Administration was and still is regarded as a burden for men while home is the domain of women.

Traditionally women have always played a secondary role in the society. True development of a nation is not possible if half of the population is ignored or marginalised. Therefore the constitution of India has many rights and acts in favour of tribal hamlets. The subjugation of tribal women and their lack of political consciousness are attributed to factors like traditional outlook, illiteracy, superstition and submissive role in decision making, social evils and cultural factors. However the introduction of non-formal education and literacy programmes has brought certain changes among illiterate tribal women.

Passah and Gassah, (1998); Sen, (1992) have argued that tribal women in Meghalaya do not participate effectively in political and administrative affairs which they feel are men’s concern and profession. They do not enjoy voting right in elections to the village councils and offices of the Hima (kingdom). At the same time they are not allowed even to sit in any public council or village Durbar. However without enjoying the privilege of voting rights, in the last two decades women have come to the forefront of their community leadership. Women’s organisations in many villages have come forward to redress their grievances concerning women’s issues. Therefore women’s positive attitude is seen in their increasing participation in voting and decision making at various levels of district council, state legislature and Parliament. Now however there are number of women although few in urban areas elected as members of village executive in village Durbar. They have started to participate in the meetings of village Durbar (Marak, 1998). Today it is much more prevalent in urban areas where the people are more educated and more politically conscious than rural women.

Gassah (1998) in his book ‘Traditional Institutions of Meghalaya: A Case study of Doloi and his administration’ explained that the Jaintia society is a society in transition. In between this transitional period the society still keeps its tradition, its traditional social and
political institutions, its culture, usages and such other varied institutions that exist since time immemorial. Even the British rulers could not but retain some of the fine traditional institutions of the Jaintias. They had of course abolished the office of the Jaintia Syiem since the 15th March, 1935 but had to retain the traditional institutions such as Doloi, Pator and Waheh Chnong. From the beginning of Independence the powers of the traditional chief had been threatened by the new administrative set up especially due to the introduction of the district council under the Sixth Schedule of the constitution since 1952. Today the emergence of new power structure has radically reduced the power of the chief and moreover in many occasions there have tussle between the traditional elite represented by the chiefs and headmen and the modern elites represented by the popular elected MDCs.

Rosie and Winters (2008) have explained that women generally have lower levels of interest in politics than men is a well rehearsed political fact but less is known about the underlying causes of these differences. In this connection Elizabeth and Sabik (2010) have pointed out that femininity makes women unsuited for political participation which has roots in feminist theory and political science. The study investigated the desirable and undesirable dimensions of femininity.

Ciotti (2012) argues that there exists an interlocking relation between the resurgence of seva and the process of upward class mobility that was a precondition to both the creation of the BSP and women’s political participation within it. Further, it suggests that women activists appropriate and re-enact gender idioms and models coined in colonial India, refashioning them for the exigencies of contemporary politics. In turn, these points to the presence of shared structures of gendered political agency cutting across time, class, and caste among Dalit / low-caste communities usually considered as ‘other’.

Nandinideo (2012) in his article “Running from elections: Indian feminism and electoral politics” explains that the first wave of feminism in India was closely connected to electoral politics, while the second wave turned them away from party politics. This resulted in a growing marginalisation of feminist concerns from the public agenda. There was also strong relationship between movement success and electoral engagement. This
article reviews the history of feminist interventions in electoral politics and demonstrates that early victories for women depended on their participation in party politics.

**Pandita (2017)** in his study on ‘Participation and Performance of Women Candidates in the General Elections of India: An Analytical Study (1951-2009) found that participation of women in the electoral process of India as contestants has been very abysmal since the inception of the electoral process of the country. Present study has been conceived in view of the demands raised by various political parties and different women organizations about introducing and passing of women’s reservation bill in the parliament so as to secure at least 33% seats for women candidates across the country. In the present study attempt has been made to see how far women candidates have been given representation by national and state level political parties during all the general elections held in India since independence. The other areas covered in the study include the distribution of political parties during all the general elections held, female candidate fielded by parties in proportion to male candidates, their success rate, votes secured, forfeited deposits etc. the study is purely based on secondary data, retrieved from the official website of the Election Commission of India on October 21, 2013. The multiparty system in India has somewhere become the areas of concern, which in fact has heralded an era of coalition politics in country, where the number has grown exponentially and as of now more than 2000 political parties stand registered with the Election commission of India. On average mere 6.90% women candidates have been chosen to parliament during each general election, while as on average 4.49% women contestants have been fielded in each general election. Scenario of state political parties is more worrisome and in case of independent contestants the situation is quite displeasing.

Thus, Political participation is broad and complex terms. It express itself in various kinds of overt and manifestation of political activities. It is not confined to the selection of decision makers only but also to affect their political behavior and hence the societal decision at large (Jharta, 1996). Political participation are basically voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy (Mc Closky, 1968). Political participation includes activities like voting, seeking information, discussing, attending meeting, contributing financially
and communicating with representatives. The more active forms of participation include informal enrolment in party, canvassing and registering voters, speech writing and speech making, working in campaigns and competing for public or party office. Again political participation is a complex phenomenon and a dependent variable that relies upon many factors such as psychological, socio-economic and political which orient individuals towards political participation.

After analyzing the various political issues argued by the social scientists that have an influence for either political party or candidate win or lose in the election. As a researcher, I therefore try to identify the number of political issues that affect the voting behaviour in the state of Meghalaya from the Newspaper from the January, 2015 to December, 2015.

2.4: Objective Three (To study the electoral behaviour of the Tribal illiterate and Neo-Literate women)

Political participation is associated with political awareness i.e., actual knowledge of political affairs. Awareness is highly connected with interest. In every society, the number of citizens who can be described as 'aware' is extremely small. Awareness affects both the quality and amount of participation. Democratic thinkers have generally linked liberty to the people by the process of political participation. Participation is maximized in local government due to the processes of education and of building up of a capacity for governing the new society. It is in fact that woman herself is an important variable capable of determining the nature and scope of political participation. The attempt to assess and evaluate the level and extent of political participation of women become very much relevant as to the nature and functioning of the political system a whole. It is particularly more beneficial to political parties and political leaders to the natural qualities of women such as honesty, affection and sense of duty. The mobilization of women in large numbers weakened the bondage of tradition and encouraged them to develop a perspective on the wider socio-political problems. Article 1 on Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted on December, 1948 proclaimed that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”. It states that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms without
distinction of sex." It is considered as a clarion call for the cause of women empowerment. It is not an argument for feminism. "Feminism is the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of colour, working class women." Milbrath and Goel (1977) observed that it is a tradition in almost all societies that politics is mainly an affair of men and that women should fall in line with them politically. The political participation the political behaviour of human beings just like any other aspects of human behaviour takes place in a given socio-cultural setting. It implies that the political participation is affected by social structure, economic development and historical factors joining together. In every state there is a wide gender gap that exists in political system. There are various factors such as the nature of the state, its stage of development, mode of production; overall political situation and type of electoral system are contextual factors that control the participation of common people in politics. The women are more susceptible to these factors (Verma, 1996). It is generally accepted that the implementation of a proportional representation system rather than plurality-majority system helps women in achieving success (Kunovich & Paxton, 2005). Besides the electoral system the overall political atmosphere in the country discourages women from participating in politics. In rural India the ruling elite have undermined the importance of women in politics. Women relatively have less ability to use money, muscle power and other forms of influence in the public sphere (Kishwar, 1990). Criminalization of politics and the rising tide of violence have further discouraged the women in political participation. This exposure to greater insecurity, corruption and criminalization has resulted in their aversion for the political scene.

The political landscape in India is dominated by political parties. They are the primary organisations through which citizens contest elections. Before the elections, the parties put forth their principles in their manifestoes and spell out their policy perspectives. The manifestoes of all political parties contain promises of taking up programmes for the welfare of people in general. These have however, not been able to bring about a change in the conditions of women (Verma, 1996). A gender gap is witnessed even in contestation. Political parties have always been reluctant to give tickets to women. The parties usually
avoid taking risk of putting up women as candidates because of the social attitude which
disfavour women’s entry into politics (Kaushik, 2000). The experience of over sixty-three
years shows the inability of parties to make a place for the women. Even the presence of
women does not result in any significant changes in either the nature of women’s
functioning or in the party approach to women and women issues. In a democratic state
casting of one’s vote is one of the significant aspects of political participation. Voting by
the citizens’ leads to the formation of government and ultimately takes decisions for all the
citizens. It is however noticed that the percentage of women voters has increased by
approximately 6% as compared to men from 1952 to 2013 (www.election
commission.ac.in). This increase in the number of voters has led various political parties
paying greater attention to organise the women. In the past such efforts were made only at
the time of elections in the form of certain ‘popularistic and opportunistic short term’
 promises. In accordance with the changed circumstances the parties have established
regular party forums and cells for mobilizing women and seeking their support (Kaushik,
1993).

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examine the role played by women in these political institutions. As mentioned earlier the
Dorbar or Council is considered as a sacred institution of the Khasis. Singh (1985)
explains that the Khasi have tried to maintain it as the sole electoral body, the sole
legislative, administrative and judicial body in the state, Ka Hima. Even the Syiem is below
the Dorbar, strict rules of conduct are imposed. An interesting issue here is that though the
political institutions are democratic in nature they had some limitations. Lyngdoh (1996)
points out four factors in this regard. Firstly it is the kur or clan and not the individuals
who form the political unit. The second factor is that the Syiem or chief elects only from
the Syiem clan. Thirdly smaller Kurs or clans have no voice in the Syiem’s election and
lastly women have no share or role in the political and administrative set-up of the Khasi
society. In general the traditional political institutions of the Khasi have been eulogized as
being very democratic. According to Bareh (1985) women are in no case elected to the
councils. Total adult male franchise was followed where they were both voters as well as
candidates. A woman was also not allowed to hold the office of the Syiem (chief) nor could she speak up in the Dorbar or council (Singh, 1985). All Dorbars (Councils) have only male members. Administration was and still is regarded as a burden for men while home is the domain of women.

Passah and Gassah, (1998); Sen, (1992) have argued that tribal women in Meghalaya do not participate effectively in political and administrative affairs which they feel are men’s concern and profession. They do not enjoy voting right in elections to the Village Councils and offices of the Hima (Kingdom). At the same time they are not allowed even to sit in any public council or village Dorbar. However without enjoying the privilege of voting rights, in the last two decades women have come to the forefront of their community leadership. Women’s organisations in many villages have come forward to redress their grievances concerning women’s issues. Therefore women’s positive attitude is seen in their increasing participation in voting and decision making at various levels of District Council, State Legislature and Parliament. Now however there are number of women although few in urban areas elected as members of village executive in village Dorbar. They have started to participate in the meetings of village Dorbar (Marak, 1998). Today it is much more prevalent in urban areas where the people are more educated and more politically conscious than rural women.

According to Jharta (1996) psychological variables refers to the degree of interest of citizens about politics and public affairs. Here people who are more interested about political matters and are surrounded by political conflicts are likely to be more active political participants than those who are occupied with their private lives. Those who have preferences for a party and a candidate have feeling of efficacy and have some political goals. Thus they are likely to participate more actively in political affairs.

Gassah (1998) in his book ‘Traditional Institutions of Meghalaya: A Case study of Doloi and his administration’ explained that the Jaintia society is a society in transition. In between this transitional period the society still keeps its tradition, its traditional social and political institutions, its culture, usages and such other varied institutions that exist since time immemorial. Even the British rulers could not but retain some of the fine
traditional institutions of the Jaintias. They had of course abolished the office of the *Jaintia Syiem* since the 15th March, 1935 but had to retain the traditional institutions such as *Doloi, Pator* and *Waheh Chnong*. From the beginning of Independence the powers of the traditional chief had been threatened by the new administrative set up especially due to the introduction of the district council under the Sixth Schedule of the constitution since 1952. Today the emergence of new power structure has radically reduced the power of the chief and moreover in many occasions there have tussle between the traditional elite represented by the chiefs and headmen and the modern elites represented by the popular elected MDCs.

**Gassah and Passah (1998)** have further argued that even in Jaintia society in relating to inheritance of property and descent is followed in the mother’s side. The principle of descent and residence puts heavy responsibilities on the mother to ensure the welfare of the family. In social and family life women are treated as the fountain head of a clan. She occupies quite a distinct and respectful status in familial, social and economic spheres. The birth of a female child is hailed for the simple reason of being sure of the continuity of the family and the clan and their position is treated with high respect. When she grows up, she is meticulously initiated and trained in adult responsibilities of keeping home. Their status in the family in particular and the society in general are therefore respectable and distinguished.

**Joshi (2004)** in his article ‘Traditional Institutions and leadership in transition’ argued that due to oncoming forces of new administrative set up and modernization process in the field of constitutional administration, the old traditional institutions were in severe stress and strain. These changes had brought immense effects on the power and functions of the traditional institutions and the traditional chiefs. The old traditional values are being replaced by the modern democratic values and ultimately they are being pushed away under the overall control and supervision of the District Council.

**Manuela (2006)** draws on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in northern India on historically marginalized women's political participation and critically examined the role of women party activists in Dalit politics and their possibilities of existence in feminist
politics. The author argued that these women presented a theoretical impasse: labeling their practices as non-feminist would negatively connote the subjectivity and agency of those women who were engaged in different political affairs, even when they replicate dominant structures or embodied traditions not exclusively based on the gendered individual as an actor or beneficiary of politics.

Jyoti (2006) in her article discusses efforts to promote women's effective participation in electoral politics in rural India. She argues that feminist rethinking of politics and democracy can catalyze women's effective participation and challenge the structures of patriarchy that limit political action and social mobility. The opportunity for women's widespread participation in local elections came as a result of the 73rd Amendment of the Indian Constitution in 1993, reserving 33 percent of elected seats in village councils for female candidates. That alone, however, is not enough, as women are limited by a variety of social, cultural, economic, and political factors, such as traditional gendered expectations of the role and position of women in the family and community, caste and class inequalities, lack of education, and lack of knowledge of the laws. In the article the author also analyses the role of social movement organisations engaged in participatory action research, training, advocacy, and networking with women at the grassroots level.

Kumar (2006) argued in sociological perspective about Women Reservation Bill and expressed his argument that passing mere an enactment will only achieve formal empowerment but efforts should be made to empower women in economic sphere. Among other tasks one major intervention suggested was to spread education among girls, especially informal education. This will lead to political participation of women mainly in rural areas.

Similarly Mitra (2007) again argued that the same tribe in different regions shows significant differences in their fertility patterns, educational attainment, labour force participation and other important variables. He attributes this to their migration pattern, different environmental and ecological circumstances that force tribal women to change
their modes of behaviour and social customs. So the author argued that these above factors are responsible for retarding the political participation of tribal women in the rural areas.

**Smitha (2007)** in her article has commented that entry of women into leadership positions is hindered by socio-economic factors in terms of their age, occupation, family, income, land holdings and education. The author has suggested that periodical training and orientation will help women leaders to perform the assigned role in a much better way.

**Bhasin (2007)** has explained about status of tribal women in North-East play a vital role in the field of economic activities. They take part joint decisions along with the male counterparts. The study further reveals that the women power is not extended to either societal or political sphere. Their economic power is not translated into corresponding community authority. Women supremacy is restricted with household domain and due credit and importance is not given at the various institutional level. Thus tribal women hold secondary position in both public affair and community decision making.

**Rosie and Winters (2008)** have explained that women generally have lower levels of interest in politics than men is a well rehearsed political fact but less is known about the underlying causes of these differences. In this connection Elizabeth and Sabik (2010) have pointed out that femininity makes women unsuited for political participation which has roots in feminist theory and political science. The study investigated the desirable and undesirable dimensions of femininity. Thus the present study is to Study the Electoral Behaviour of the Tribal illiterate and Neo-Literate Women at the grassroots levels of political functioning in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya.

**Eulau and Janovitz et al. (1956)** in their edited book on ‘Political Behaviour’ pointed out that voting behaviour is a community phenomenon and to understand it one must analyze the interaction of many factors like social, political, economic, religious and so on. They opine that mass media influence the voting behaviour of lower class, middle class, higher social class and higher educational class. **Maurice Duverger (1963)** has emphasized the importance of electoral system that influences the political life of the country. According to him political parties provide the electorates with political direction.
Mukhi H.R. (2003) in his book titled ‘Political Science’ explained that voting behaviour is influenced by caste, religion, region, cultural reasons (Viramani, 2004) and several other factors such as price-raise, kinship, government role, party performance in running Government, party loyalty, demagogies, slogans, personality to the candidate, economic status etc. (Sachdeva, 1983), personality of the leader, religion, regionalism and muscle power (Arora, Prem; 2008). Supporting the argument, Sharma K. Rajendra (2004) pointed that the caste association has played an important role during election. According to him caste associations persuade the members of their caste vote a person belonging to their own caste and he may be of any political party. Sharma Kumar Yogendra (2001) in his book on ‘Bhartiya Rajnitik Vicharak’ suggested that due to the absence of education as a big handicap in creating a truly democratic state as result it was noticed that during election the ignorant people are persuaded to vote the wrong person. Again, it was noticed that community decides unanimously to vote for a particular party or individual particularly in tribal areas (Kini, N.G.S., 1974). Norman D. Palmer (1975) in his book on ‘Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience’ is a survey of elections and political development in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The author tries to explore the general principles in relating to elections that may be stabilizing or destabilizing, linked to development or decay. The survey data reveals that due to uncertainty of the balance between alienation and commitment of the voter which emerges with some forces such as elections raise expectations; and raised expectations radicalize.

Gordan Marshall (1988) in his book on A Dictionary of Sociology’ points out that there are four kinds of approaches to study the voting behaviour. They are structural, ecological, social psychological and rational choice approaches. Structural approaches concentrate on the relationship between individual and social structure, place the vote in a social context and examine the effects on voting of such variables as social class, language, nationalism, religion, rural-urban contrast. Ecological approaches relate voting patterns to the characteristic features of a geographical area. Social psychological approaches relate voting decisions to the voter’s psychological predispositions or attitudes. Lastly, Rational-choice approaches attempt to explain voting behaviour as the outcome of a serious of
instrumental cost-benefit calculation by the individual, assessing the relative desirability of specific electoral outcomes in terms of issues addressed and policies espoused by the different parties.

Shell, C. Nana (1989) in her book on ‘Spatial Fragmentation of Political Behaviour in India’ has pointed out character of political parties influence the voting behaviour. A political party capable of handling the sentiments of the people by exploiting low level of social integration, primary associations based on caste and community and the existing socio-cultural and ethnic diversity is able to influence the voters in its favour.

Das, Yudhisthira (1991) in his article on ‘Parliamentary Democracy: The Indian Experience’ opines that there are various factors such as the role big money players, corruption and distortion of political process of the electoral system determines the voting behaviour of voters. Similarly, Agarwal, R.C. (2007) in his book on ‘Political Theory’ stated that people cast their vote for the party whose programmes and policies impress upon them. Thus policies and programmes of the political parties are the important factors responsible for voting behaviour.

Kachroo, J.L. and Kachroo, Vijay (1999) in their work on ‘General Sociology’ expressed that voting is the means to select the legislators who perform the decision making function in a democracy. Voting has a pattern of its own. Generally educated and urban electorate feels more involved. The illiterate and lower classes are sometimes apathetic to it. Some people traditionally vote the same party.

M. Roy (2000) in his book on ‘Electoral Politics in India: Election Process and Outcomes, Voting Behaviour and Current Trends’ observed that India is one of the vibrant Democratic states has witnessed many challenges as observed by the author in the last twelve Lok Sabha Elections. For some time India has come to settle with the coalition politics. Many a time elections have been forced upon the country without the Government at the centre completing its full term. Elections had been forced upon the country by the Congress when it withdrew support from the Central Government. Due to coalition of many parties, more so by the regional parties, the Governments at the centre
have fallen by the way side. But coalition politics have come to stay and it seems to be now a permanent part of the system. The Bhartiya Janta Party also seems to have come to stay in power for some time to come. It has been able to make inroads in the South and the East. The book is sincere attempts for an in depth studies of all aspects of the elections-electoral behaviour, caste politics, regional influences, defections, etc, which usually are the very basis of the battle of ballot.

Similarly, Ghoshal, H.D.(2000) in an edited book on ‘Theory and Government and Politics’ points out that some voters are manipulated by local influential or a political brokers and some others are influenced by subjective state of feeling and understanding of why he should participate in the election. In the first case rewards and benefits provided to the voters decide the voting behaviour. In the second case Government and political parties decide the voting behaviour.

Roy, Meenu (2000) in her book attempted an in-depth study of all aspects of the elections such as electoral behaviour, caste politics, regional influences, defections, etc. which usually are the very basis of the battle of ballot. She opines that voters have no choice in selecting candidate. Powerful political parties impose their candidates from above. So the voters do not show the interest in casting vote. There are other two categories of non-voters. Firstly the privileged people do not vote because they know they will get what they want any way and the second stay away because they know they will never get what they want.

S.R. Sharma (2000) in his book on ‘Major Issues in Indian Elections 1999’ reviews all the major issues related to elections in India, in special context of the 1999 elections. In this book he has pointed out that most people vote either because they are strongly against some candidate or party or because they feel themselves under a personal obligation to someone to vote.

The book edited by Partha Chatterjee (2000) is a collection of contributions by eminent scholars on the subject of the sociological roots of Indian politics. The papers focus on the ways in which modern politics has affected and has been affected by recent
changes in caste structure, religious communities, and other types of identity. According to the author for the most people voting is a habit. The children tend to inherit their parents and grandparents politics and reflect upon the voting behaviour.

The book by Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (2003) examines the consequences and results of the 1999 general elections in light of the recent developments in Indian politics and the Indian party system. They reveal that national politics are increasingly reflective of state politics; and examines a whole range of important electoral issues including changes in party alliances; the role of social factors such as caste, ethnicity and religion, and the increasing communalization of politics. India's 1999 national elections continue with the trends of the 1990s at both the national and state levels. Political parties, capable of winning a parliamentary majority on their own, no longer exist at the national level, and are becoming rarer at the state level. Elections in 1996 and more emphatically in 1998 and 1999 have reduced the role of the Congress Party and its control on the national government. On the other hand, the authors observe that a third front functionally equivalent to a third major party no longer exists. The Janata Dal has splintered into regional parties, each of which pursues its own tactics. Efforts to reconstitute a third alternative to the BJP and the Congress are likely to succeed in the foreseeable future. Regional political parties at the state level continue to make inroads into larger political entities in turn making coalition politics essential. Power considerations, rather than ideology or specific issues, tend to dominate alliance choices and the reluctance to merge with a larger party. The editors in this book have brought together a collection of essays that offers rich and comparative analysis of the major political strands and trends that have emerged in the last elections. According to the authors Tamil Nadu’s electorate prefer an alliance including the Congress or Congress off shoot in all the parliamentary elections, although the Dravidian parties are the major forces in the State level competitions. They imply that alliances of political parties have affected the voting behaviour of Tamil Nadu voters.

Das, Hari Hara (2003) in his book on ‘Comparative Politics’ has pointed out that factors like religion and race significantly determine the voting behaviour of the
electorate. He also opines that voter’s choice gets distorted by electoral corruption which means rigging, booth capturing, use of governmental machinery and such other methods. The use of terror tactics in order to prevent hostile voter to come to the polling booth is a very subtle method which affects the voting behaviour of the electorate. Political polarization on these lines may pose great danger to the stability of the political system.

The book edited by B.B. Goswami and Jayanta Sarkar (2003) comprises of articles titled Ethnicity, Politics and Political System in Sikkim by S.Ghosal, Ethnic Politics in a Matrilineal Situation by S.K.Mukherjee, explained that after independence of India the democratic political system has been extended from the Parliament to village panchayat. The system provides scope to the eligible citizen of India to elect representatives of one's own choice in order to annex political power. The nature and extent of association of ethnic sentiment in acquiring political power and usefulness in understanding the political behaviour of the tribes have been discussed threadbare in the seven essays; based on the anthropological studies conducted in the predominantly tribal areas stretching from the north-east to the western parts of India. The sense of insecurity in respect of their cultural identity is still being maneuvered in the north-east India that generates a strong sense of ethno-centricism. The tribal people in this region classify the electorate and aspiring candidates into two categories; the 'insider' and the 'outsider'; a mechanism which, however, gradually becomes weaker and does not operate so effectively in the central and western parts of India. In the last, the authors have pointed out that election manifesto and money are used by the political parties for buying votes from the people and for motivating electors the political parties express the plans and programmes which they want to fulfill if they come to power.

Dhal, Padma Chandran (2004) in his book on ‘Indian Polity: Structure and Process’ has pointed out that in a political democracy the polity keeps changing in keeping with the times. Accordingly, voting behaviour has two principal dimensions such as preference and activities. Preference refer to the degree of approval or disapproval of particular political parties, candidate, laws, policy proposals or what so over. On the other hand, activity implies what they do about their preference.
Sarma, Manoj (2004) in his book on ‘Indian Government and Politics’ views that caste, religion, regionalism, ideology and community are the important factors that influence the behaviour of voters. According to him seat to a candidate contesting to the Parliament and State Legislatures is decided on the basis of the caste dominance. He opines that particular percentage of people is swayed by religious slogans created by the communal parties for their selfish ends. The communalist voters have voted for particular communal parties in India and influenced by religious considerations. Again he explained that voting behaviour in India is very much influenced by regionalism. Certain persons may be committed to ideology but he votes for a candidate who is related to him irrespective of ideology he follows. In the same manner invariably a person votes for a candidate of his own community caring little for the political party to which he belongs. Thus caste, religion, regionalism and community are the important factors that influence the voting behaviour of the people in India than the ideology of the party to which he belongs.

Dipali Saha (2005) in her edited book on ‘Political Behaviour’ comprises of introduction, reasoning voters and multi-party systems, institutional and experiential approaches and tradition and transformation. In this book, the author has carefully examined the converging models of democratic citizenship, voting behaviour and multi-party electoral systems in modern behavioural research in applied politics. Here she has tried to convey the analytical application of applied research methodology in political behaviour which has contributed to the central importance concern in this discipline. She opines that political information, media, psychological perception and individual opinions create complex patterns of social communication which affect the voting pattern.

N.K. Sahu (2006) in his book on ‘Electoral Politics in Federal India, Members of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme’ has done an in-depth analysis of Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme which was launched by the Narashima Rao government in 1993. He has narrated various aspects of the scheme such as its thrust areas, implementation strategies, log frame for project formulation, monitoring and evaluation procedures, and the scheme's correlation with the winning and losing chances of the
Members of Parliament. The Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme has been a much discussed topic since its inception. According to the author, the Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme is different from other centrally sponsored schemes in many respects and two distinct of them are, almost every year, the Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme guidelines are changed in order to accommodate the operational stake holder's requirements and the fund functions within a logical framework with components of Objectively Verifiable Indicators and the Means of Verifications, which has been explained in detail in the second Chapter of the book. In the third chapter, the author has envisaged that the eight principal actors have substantive stake in the Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme. They are the Members of Parliament, the people of the constituency, the executives at the union, state and district level; the political parties, the political workers, the political representatives (Members of Legislative Assembly and representatives of Panchayati Raj Institution); the work contractors and the order suppliers. In the fourth chapter, the author has expounded that in the federal politics, conflict of interest between different levels of political power holders i.e. at the central level, the Members of Parliament; at the state level, the Members of Legislative Assembly and at the grassroots level the Zilla Panchayat, Intermediate Panchayat and Village Panchayat members, hampers the smooth implementation of the scheme. The finding shows that the fund utilization under Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme is relatively less in case of opposition party Members of Parliament in comparison to the Members of Parliament of ruling party of the state. Lastly, the author observed that under previlaged citizens do not want to vote as they perceive no change in their living conditions. He points out that people judge a candidate from many angles. A local candidate is mostly favoured over an outsider and sometimes the voters ignore the outsider issue.

Sanjay Kumar (2006) in his edited book ‘Indian Polity, Constitution and Parliament’ has pointed out that political factors play a significant role in voting behaviour. The important factors are ideology, family and party association. In every society quiet a number of people are committed to certain ideologies and values like capitalism, socialism,
conservatism, liberalism, secularism, fundamentalism, etc. Their voting behaviour obviously is determined by their commitments to their ideologies. He has also pointed out that local issues such as caste, dissatisfaction with general performance of party in power, role of charismatic leader and local equation, all combined in many ways determine the voting behaviour.

The book tilted on ‘Indian Politics, Contemporary Issues and Concerns’ by Singh and Rekha (2008) explained that there are three sets of factors that influence the voting behaviour in India. The first set consists of social factors such as patron client networks, caste, class, tribe, language and religion. The second set comprises of political factors such as party identification, leadership image, issues and government programmes, inter-party alliance and seat adjustment, candidate etc.,. The third set of factors include mass media money and muscle power.

Braham Singh (2008) in his book on ‘Political Development in India’ has pointed out that a voter can say yes or no to only one proposition in multi-party system. This means that the differences are not integrated. Every vote is given not for the whole but for a particular cause. Public opinion thus remains distorted. Similarly, Shiv Lal (1978) in his book on ‘Lok Sabha Elections Since 1952’ has discussed about Indian Parliament, Lok Sabha Elections and Elections in India since 1952. According to the author communal and caste factors undoubtedly have weighed heavily with the voters in Tamil Nadu. The communal bias has been evident even in the selection of candidate.

Arun Kumar (2009) in his book on ‘Political Marketing in India’ has analyzed in detail the meaning and concept of political marketing, mapping of political marketing, political marketing practices in other parts of the world, management of elections and perception of voters, perception of media personnel on election issues, political parties and election strategies; management of elections, composite viewpoint of voters, media personnel and political parties and lessons and basis for future strategies. He considers that education, income, media exposure, political information, party identification and electoral involvement have an impact on the voting behaviour. He also considers that change in the
environment, increase in literacy, gender consciousness, assertion of voting rights by the deprived sections of people, uncanny discern between the propaganda and discretion to exercise one’s franchise also have impact on voting behaviour.

The book written by Judith Bara and Mark Pennington (2009) analyzes the role of key factors, such as voters and parties, interest groups and social movements, the bureaucracy and the judiciary. In this book the authors have indicated that leadership image, policies image, party identification, ideological perspectives and classes are the important factors of voting behaviour. There are number of interrelated reasons as to why people decide not to vote in many countries. Among them the main reasons are modernization, social change and dissatisfaction with political parties or government.

Jyoti (2014) in her study on ‘Voting Patterns among Scheduled Tribes’ stated that the emergence of regional parties in various parts of India in 1990s have led the tribal communities to support the Congress party in large numbers. However, in the 2014 Lok Sabha election, the BJP surpassed the Congress in attracting larger number of Scheduled Tribe (ST) voters. The BJP saw an increase of 13 percentage points in its vote share compared to the previous Lok Sabha elections; whereas the Congress saw a decline of 10 percentage points. The Congress’s performance was no better in constituencies that were reserved for the STs. It won only 3 ST reserved constituencies in this election compared to the 2009 Lok Sabha election, where it won in 20 ST reserved constituencies. On the other hand, the BJP secured 24 seats, an increase of 14 seats from the 2009 Lok Sabha election. The States where the nature of the contestation is mainly bi-polar, i.e., the Congress and BJP are in straight contest (Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan), the BJP has won all seats in the ST reserved constituencies. The post-poll data from seven States with moderate to high tribal populations reveals that in four of them the BJP outperformed the Congress in terms of tribal support. These are Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand. In fact, the gains for the BJP in Maharashtra and Rajasthan among the ST community were massive. Whereas only two in ten STs had voted for the BJP in Rajasthan in 2009, the figure this time jumped to six in ten. Meanwhile in Gujarat where the Congress had a huge lead over the BJP among tribals in
2009, the battle between the two parties for the tribal votes was very close. In Odisha, it was the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) which led the Congress among the tribal voters with the BJP in third place. Only Chhattisgarh with a tribal population of 31 per cent saw the Congress making gains compared to the previous election, but here too the contest with the BJP was close.

Kuotsu (2016) in his study on ‘Political Awareness and Its Impact in Political Participation: A Gender Study in Nagaland’ is to identify gender gap in political awareness and aim to analyze the factors underlying the gender gap in political awareness, whether media exposure, political interest, political discussion and Socio Economic Status (SES) factors have an impact on their level of political awareness. Simultaneously, whether any impact on political awareness influences their participation in electoral activities. Findings of the study indicate that majority of women are insufficiently informed about politics and related issues whereas, majority of men have moderate awareness about politics. The voter’s level of political awareness is accounted for, by their level of interest in politics, paradigm of media use and frequency of political discussion, indicating that, women in Nagaland have low level of political information and could be able to strengthen their political presence only as voters. In this mode of activity, women have surpassed men by voting at a large number. However, engagement with other modes of political activities remains very much a minority pursuit for women in Nagaland. As compared to men, women’s representation in elected bodies is almost invisible. Amongst the socio-economic factors only education, place of residence and gender has positive relationship with the level of political awareness. Therefore, the result reports a high impact of political awareness on men voters’ participation in electoral activities but a limited impact of political awareness on women voters.

P Sindhuja and KR Murugan (2017) in their study on ‘Factors impeding women’s political participation - A literature review’ explained that Gender equality in political participation is a fundamental aspect of modern democratic governance. Under international standards, both men and women should have equal rights and opportunities to
participate fully in all aspects and at all levels of political processes. Although, women have made great strides forward in obtaining a vote and right to be elected to political offices in many countries, they comprise less than 11 per cent of the Members of Parliament. Though the various legislative enactment and different commissions established for promoting gender equality, gender disparity still exists particularly in political arena too. Promoting women’s participation in politics is one of the core areas of women empowerment. The presence of women in the decision-making levels not only enhances their social, political and economic status, but also strengthens democratic institutions by making them more inclusive and meaningful. Though women have achieved greater strides still they are unable to participate in politics due to political, socio-economic, ideological and psychological factors. To have strong democratic governance, women’s equal participation is must and therefore their contribution to this processes needs to be analyzed in the appropriate context. There cannot be a real democracy if the voices and issues of women that constitute half the population of the country are ignored or sidelined. Thus this paper analyzes the challenges and issues of women in participating at national and local governance.

2.5: Objective Four (To study the institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of political participation of Illiterate and Neo-Literate women)

The social scientists have demonstrated the various effects that membership in a voluntary association has a significant role in development of political attitudes such as young people become socialized with political decision-making, to develop politically relevant attitudes and to acquire politically relevant skills (Hanks and Eckland, 1978; Knoke, 1986 and Bekkers, 2005). Thus the voluntary organizations are considered as a school of democracy (Putnam, 2000; Teorell, 2003; Flanagan, 2004). In associations, people develop political attitudes that are relevant in political participation, i.e. attitudes about political efficacy, social trust and political knowledge. For instance, being active in these organizations influences people towards feeling they can influence political decisions (e.g. political efficacy), and consequently more likely to engage in politics (Verba et al., 1995; Badescu et al., 2004; Macedo et al., 2005).
Young people feel more efficacious through their participation in youth councils, environmental groups, youth forums, etc. (Verba et al., 1995; Eden and Roker, 2002). Voluntary associations also create social trust, which stimulates political participation (Fennema and Tillie, 2001; Togeby, 2004). Organizations provide competencies and broaden members’ perspectives (Flanagan, 2004) and enlarge their circle of acquaintances (Teorell, 2003). Voluntary membership gives individual extra information about politics and policies through communication and personal networks (Parry et al., 1992), makes people more knowledgeable about politics, so that they are more likely to participate (Zaller, 1992; Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996). At the same time it encourages the development of skills that are useful in political participation (Verba et al, 1995; Putnam, 2000). Examples of skills that can be enhanced by associations are: deliberation, compromise, speaking in public, expressing an opinion, learning to work in groups and assimilating other people's opinions (Verba et al., 1993; Clark, 2000; Eden and Roker, 2002; Torpe, 2003; Checkoway et al., 2005). Thus political participation encourages development of personal and social competence and also improves one's sense of political attitudes. Further Stolle and Rochon (1998) have also argued that different types of organization have different effects in different countries on the basis of social capital skills and virtues (Warren, 2001).

Callaway (1987) in his study on ‘Women and Political participation in Kano City’ examine the role and importance of Islam in Kano politics during the First and Second Nigerian Republics and the nature of women’s participation in the two dominant political parties. It is a qualitative study. The author found that two dominant political parties such as Northern people’s Congress (NPC) and National Party of Nigeria (NPN) argued on equality and justice within the domain of Islamic religion. The Islamic conception of equality for women and their basic understandings about their role and place in society is set forth in the Quran and in the Sharia (Islamic Law). Muslim scholars maintain that the Quran explicitly demands the same standard for men and women and thus they are equal before God. In Islamic law, women are afforded explicit rights and protections, particularly in regard to inheritance, marriage and support but the general thrust of references to
women in the *Quran* is that women are dependent on men and are fulfilled only through subordination to them and their roles of wives and husbands are viewed as complementary rather than ‘unequal’. It is quite clear that relationships within the family are hierarchical in nature. The role of women is complementary to that of men, but it is not equal in any literal sense of the word. While ‘women’ have the same rights in relation to their husbands as is expected in all decency from them, men stand a step above them.

Again the author found that there was a misconception that ‘only prostitutes are involved in politics’. In later years, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and its Successor, the People’s Redemption Party (PRP) had genuine concerns about the role and social position of women and advocated public policies most especially education for them. But this advocacy was couched in the language of Islamic justice rather than the feminist revolution. They justified women’s education due to women’s role in the family. It had nothing to do with abstract political rights. Any change in the position of women must be legitimized by the needs of the society and not by the rights of women as individuals equal to men.

Further the author explained that in Kano today, there is great pressure to conform to the prevailing interpretations of Islamic doctrine. Women function in effect as minor wards of their husbands and fathers. Girls marry young, generally at the onset of puberty. Upon marriage, most women enter *kulle* or seclusion. They do not go out to shop, trade or go to market. They confine their activities to the domestic side of human relationships. They observe postures of deference and service toward men. Any discussion of public roles for women takes place in relation to Islamic concepts of justice and equality.

*Djupe and Grant (2001)* in their study on Religious Institutions and Political Participation in America explored the role of religious institutions that promote the political participation in the state of America. It is a survey research. The independent variables are age, family income, Education status, Gender, Priority of Religious/ Political Action, Active in Church to Influence Government Policy, Active in Church to better the Nation, Political Expectations, Church holds political meetings, Co-religious recruitment,
Church gained civic skills, Non-religious recruitment, Folded Partisanship and Religious Traditions and dependent variables are voter’s turnout, contacting Government officials and protesting and participating in community politics. The study was conducted on the basis of 1990 data taken from the Citizen participation Study (CPS) collected by the researchers such as Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie. The researcher adopted seven hypotheses such as Skill building in church, Recruitment to Politics, Clarity in Political Expectations, Political Clergy, Preferred Activity, orientation to Church Activity and Religious Tradition in order to prove the stated objective. The researcher used ‘t’ test as the statistical tool. The researchers found that 32 percent more of those who were recruited by Co-religionists participated in politics than of those who were not recruited. In regard to the partisan orientation of the church, 66 percent were active in politics and of those who did not know the partisanship of their congregation, only 40 percent were involved in a political activity. Further it is observed from the above study that 82 percent of the Parishioners participated in politics who attended churches that held meetings with reported political content as compared with only 56 percent who participated while attending churches without such meetings. Twelve percent of the sample stated that they were active in church in order to change the Government policy and 32 percent were active to better the nation. Regarding religious traditions, it was found that Mainline Protestantism with 75 percent of members participating which was 14 percentage points higher than Evangelicals, African-American Protestants and Catholics were the least active with each having only about 55 percent of their members active in politics. Lastly, members are more likely to become politically active if they view their church activity as a vehicle to influence the political process. It was found that those who are active in church to better the nation but not to influence policy are not more likely to participate than those who are not active for such a purpose. That is a mere civic but not policy and its orientation do not motivate people to become involved politically. Secondly, those who are active in church in part to influence government policy are more likely to be active in the political arena. These parishioners are likely to engage the political process directly as a natural extension of their church involvement or perhaps only because their political activity is tied closely to church activity.
Gleason (2001) in her article ‘Female Political Participation and Health in India’ tries to investigate the determinants of political participation in India. It is a survey research based on 1981 census of India in couple with electoral returns from 1979-80 to examine the factors influencing participation of both genders. The Independent variables are income, education and constituent culture and dependent variables are voter’s turnout and candidacy. The researcher adopted Mean, Standard Deviation and Regression for analysis of the study. The study found that both literacy and income have the anticipated effects for voting. The latter has a positive association with the voting gender gap. On the other hand, both female labour force participation and household obligations are important, but in the opposite direction from their influence in developed countries. Thus the history of acceptance of women in roles of political power is essential in promoting female candidacy for the State Legislature. In addition, the level of government provision of resources also plays some role. Finally, the characteristics of the political and economic atmosphere common to all districts within the state are important determinants of female political participation. Regarding health outcomes, the researcher found in very disappointing. It was found from the above study that there was no impact of female participation on child survival. In order to find out the causes of child mortality, the research study shows that there was no effect of female participation on health outcomes and thus may result from the aggression necessary to match census districts and voting constituencies.

Alence, Rod (2004) in his article on ‘Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa’ addresses the question of whether, or under what conditions, democratic institutions contribute to ‘developmental governance’ in sub-Saharan Africa, in forms such as coherent policy formulation, effective public administration, and limited corruption. In order to study on the impact of political institutions on governance quality, the researcher had chosen a sample of 38 sub-Saharan African countries. The study found that there is a combination of democratic contestation and institutional restraints on governments’ discretionary authority substantially improves
developmental governance. Judged against liberal democratic ideals, Africa’s emerging democracies have many shortcomings.

**Joshi (2004)** in his article ‘Traditional Institutions and leadership in transition’ argued that due to oncoming forces of new administrative set up and modernisation process in the field of constitutional administration, the old traditional institutions were in severe stress and strain. These changes had brought immense effects on the power and functions of the traditional institutions and the traditional chiefs. The old traditional values are being replaced by the modern democratic values and ultimately they are being pushed away under the overall control and supervision of the District Council.

**Prabhat and Payel (2009)** in their article examined the question of empowerment of women through their participation in urban local bodies. The authors argued on the basis of field experiences that women have not been able to participate effectively due to number of constraints such as lack of political will and the dominance of patriarchal social structure. This calls for an organised and sustained mass movement to adequately represent women's interests. The researcher found that due to periodic training, orientation and sensitisation by institutions like the Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), women's organisations and the political parties helped women representatives to perform their assigned functions in a better way.

**Sakshi and Shradha (2009)** explored that Panchyati Raj Institutions have always been considered as a means to good governance and 73rd Constitutional Amendment was effected in the hope that it would lead to better governance and provide political space to the disadvantage section of the society like schedule caste, schedule tribes and women. The study revealed that due to presence of women in the Panchyat more sensitive problems have come up related to the village women. Further the women who were elected were not always treated with due respect. Many elected women complained that their suggestions were not considered seriously nor were they consulted while decisions were taken. Some felt that their views were ignored only because they are women. At times they were pressurized by their husbands to approve their decisions made by the male dominated Panchayats.
However Mohapatra (2009) brought another picture about the status of tribal women in relation with community vis-à-vis feminist theories perspective in the state of Orissa in his article on “Theory of Feminism and Tribal Women: An Empirical Study of Koraput”. According to him they are primitive in their outlook. Majority of them lack formal education and their economic life dwells around the forest. They are marginalised and sustain themselves below the subsistence level.

Klesner (2009) conducted study on ‘Latin American Politics and Society’ and determine different modes of participation and suggests that are the most important factors driving political participation such as voting, communal activity, petitioning, direct action and political organization membership in Mexico’s new democracy. The researcher identified political attitudes, Social capital, political efficacy and political engagement as the dependent variables and the independent variables includes Socio-economic and Demographic factors. The study was conducted on Social survey programme’s on citizenship in the year 2004 and was administered in 40 countries around the world. The researcher found that participation rates in Mexico is more as compare to the Latin American countries in terms of individual contacting of politicians or civil servants, contacting the media to express one’s view and in the share of the population that has donated money or raised funds for social or political activity. Again it was found that rates of attendance at political meetings and rallies exceed in Mexico than those of long-established democracies. However in the conventional forms of participation such as signing petitions, joining boycotts, donating money and discussing politics, the researcher found that the Mexicans take part in considerably lower rates than the citizens of long-established democracies. Further it was stated that In Latin American context, Mexico has moderately higher participation as recorded by the 2004 ISSP survey. Electoral participation in Mexico’s turnout in its July 2006 presidential election was only 5.6 percent and found that almost 40 percent of the Mexicans were attending meeting at least once as reported. More than 53 percent Mexicans engaged in some types of petitioning activities. It was further found that among the various occupational groups, the peasants participate at higher level in all modes of political involvements and the self-employed people participate more in petitioning and political
organization membership as expected. It was again found that the Industrial workers have lower rates of participation as compare to the bosses participates more than expectations.

**Jyoti (2006)** in her article discusses efforts to promote women's effective participation in electoral politics in rural India. She argues that feminist rethinking of politics and democracy can catalyse women's effective participation and challenge the structures of patriarchy that limit political action and social mobility. The opportunity for women's widespread participation in local elections came as a result of the 73rd Amendment of the Indian Constitution in 1993, reserving 33 percent of elected seats in village councils for female candidates. That alone, however, is not enough, as women are limited by a variety of social, cultural, economic, and political factors, such as traditional gendered expectations of the role and position of women in the family and community, caste and class inequalities, lack of education, and lack of knowledge of the laws. In the article the author also analyses the role of social movement organisations engaged in participatory action research, training, advocacy, and networking with women at the grassroots level.

**Kumar (2006)** argued in sociological perspective about Women Reservation Bill and expressed his argument that passing mere an enactment will only achieve formal empowerment but efforts should be made to empower women in economic sphere. Among other tasks one major intervention suggested was to spread education among girls, especially informal education. This will lead to socialisation of women mainly in rural areas.

Similarly **Mitra (2007)** again argued that the same tribe in different regions shows significant differences in their fertility patterns, educational attainment, labour force participation and other important variables. He attributes this to their migration pattern, different environmental and ecological circumstances that force tribal women to change their modes of behaviour and social customs.

**Smitha (2007)** in her article has commented that entry of women into leadership positions is hindered by socio-economic factors in terms of their age, occupation, family,
income, land holdings and education. The author has suggested that periodical training and orientation will help women leaders to perform the assigned role in a much better way.

**Anupma (2010)** explains that the participation of Indian women in the freedom movement led by Gandhi as well as enlightened leadership of India ensured that Indian women get equal political rights in the constitution of free India; however, in reality despite some successes, the majority of Indian women were left far behind these rights. Hence the need for bringing women in political sphere through reservation was felt and 33 percent seats were reserved for women in the local self-governing bodies. This brought hundred thousand women into active politics but questions were repeatedly raised regarding their competence.

**Niranjan and Kumar (2011)** explains that ‘Gram Panchayat’ requires exploring the knowledge about empowerment of rural poor and weaker section of the community particularly the women as Gram Panchayat itself symbolises power at the grass root level and have offered a new position of prestige & power at the local level and provided channels through which local tribal women and leaders can participate in the new political order (**Chetana, 2011**).

**Christopher (2012)** tries to explain that citizen’ participation in developmental schemes by large democratic states of the global South relies on in what he defines as Redistributive Direct Democracy (RDD). RDD institutions devolve formal authorities and create political opportunities for participants to themselves allocate and claim development benefits. Within India’s approximately two million local governments, a permanent RDD institution called the Gram Sabha offers all participants the formal, constitutional authority to directly select recipients of state benefits such as public housing and latrines. Drawing on fixed-effects, multivariate OLS analyses demonstrates strongly positive and highly significant effects of women’s Gram Sabha participation on local development and a contrasting absence of support for longstanding explanations. These findings suggest that women’s participation in RDD can make these new and popular, but poorly understood institutions matter for development outcomes.

**Ejrnaes, Anders (2016)** ‘Deprivation and non-institutional political participation: analyzing the relationship between deprivation, institutional trust and political activism in
Europe’ examines how the relationship between perceived economic deprivation (PED) and non-institutional forms of political activity interacted with institutional trust during the economic crisis in 24 European countries. Using multi-level regression analysis, two broad questions are addressed: (1) does PED have an impact on the level of non-institutional political participation among European citizens? And (2) does the level of institutional trust within countries have an impact on the relationship between PED and political activity among European citizens? The empirical analyses are based on data from the European Social Survey Round Five 2010. Two important conclusions can be drawn. First, on the aggregate level, countries suffering from a high level of PED display fewer instances of non-institutional forms of political activity than countries with a low level of PED, while we find the opposite correlation on an individual level within the countries. Second, the analysis provides evidence that the institutional context shapes the connection between PED and political participation on the individual level. In countries with a high level of institutional trust, economically deprived citizens seem more prone to engage in non-institutional forms of political activity.

2.6: Objective Five (To study the impact of media in political participation of the illiterates and Neo-Literates)

The present study explores the relationship between mass media and political participation for understanding and influencing the prospects of political development in India. Presently there is an urgent need to uncover the various ways in which mass media and more particularly Doordarshan might facilities the quest of political leaders for democratic development. Lucian W. Pye (1956) in his book ‘Communication and Political Development’ suggests that the mass media or communication process as a whole transforms ‘man sized’ acts into ‘society sized’ acts. Further he emphasized the necessity of mass media and stated that without a network capable of enlarging and magnifying the words and choices of individuals there could be no politics capable of spanning a nation.” Essentially, politics calls for calculations about the nature or character of political leaders and prediction about their behaviour after critical interpretations of important events in the country. The mass media, to a great extent, informs the public that it has the right to question the motives and intentions of the political leaders. In fact, the whole progress of
country depend upon mass media because unless people are exposed to new ways of thinking and led to adopt new attitudes, the country cannot make “progress towards economic development, social modernization, and political maturity”.

According to Harold Lasswell (1971) there are three major functions of mass communication. First, surveillance of the environment, i.e., collection and distribution of information concerning the events which happen; second, the interpretation of the information and prescription for conduct in relation to these events; and third, transmission of the social heritage from one generation. The positive sides of women’s progress and their contribution for national development have not been adequately discussed in the media of communication. The emphasis on stories about women, about their struggle for recognition is only the surface trimming. The actual message to audience still is that society opposes the liberation of women. R. Akhileshwari (1988) makes a scathing attack on the negative aspects of the portrayal of women in Indian mass media. Thus for instance, the image of the educated woman is typecast as arrogant, insensitive, and self-centered; wily or the economically independent woman is shown as domineering, hard, ruthless and the cause of all the suffering around her. Perhaps the most damaging portrayal of women is in advertisements and commercials.

The print media which include newspapers, periodicals, newsletters and other channels are relied upon by the people as credible source of information, education and entertainment. The print media are known for fearless criticism and service. According to P. Kumar (1955) the media effects events taking place in society and provide a platform for dialogue and debate on issues which can generate social changes. While electronic media carries more immediate weight on focusing attention on various issues, it is print media which has more persistent and lasting effect. It is felt that the way women are being projected in the print and electronic media is a reflection on the whole society. According to Guru (1996) the vast majority of Indian Magazines are known for the portrayal of women as sex objects, consumers and slaves. Women journals are mostly elitist and sexist. They are not in a position to advocate the course of women and rejuvenate our socio-political economic and cultural orders. The targeted readerships of these magazines are the
upper and lower middle classes living in cities. A study carried out for the Second Press Commission of the contents and performance of women’s journals say that, most of women’s energies into a narrow channel to define their concerns, pre-occupations and aspirations with an arbitrarily imposed ‘feminine framework’. The study says that the impression created is that the outside world belongs to men and the issues which arise there do not affect women except indirectly through the men related to them.

**M. Fergusen (1983)** in her book entitled ‘Women Magazine and Cult of Feminist’ has said that women’s magazine collectively comprise a social institution which serves to foster and maintain a cult of feminist. This cult is manifested both as social group to which all those born female can belong, and as a set of practices and beliefs, rites and rituals, sacrifices and ceremonies whose periodic performance re-affirms a common Feminist. In promoting feminism, these magazines are not merely reflecting the female role in society; they are also supplying one source of definitions of and socialization into that role.

Though there is no authentic research done in this area it is estimated by those working in this field that print media, both daily and weekly, that only about 7 to 10 % of the total coverage on women’s issues and about half of these are related to sex, prostitution, glamour, entertainment and crime. In the past few years there has been an improved and increased reportage of issues related to women in the media particularly in the print. News related to women though still marginal have started to occasionally occupy important slots like the editorial, features news, front-page news etc. however, women’s visibility in the news is still dominated by sensational stories of glamour, sex domestic violence and other forms of violence. Stories like women coping with adversity or building their lives are largely missing. Issues affecting women, their vast experiences and their lives, barely find their way into the mainstream media. Similarly, very few informative pieces or feature columns are published for women informing them about their legal rights, or about their potential for political activity. Many other studies have also established that when women appear in the news, they are mostly projected as passive victims or passive reactors to public events in news media. They hardly appear as speakers or participants in public events. Thus, there have been several studies of print media with regard to women which have found the print media guilty of sexism, distortion of image of women and
propagation of sex stereotypes: mothers, housewives, dependant, passive, etc. the other side of such misinterpretation is that in most popular print media women are seldom shown as working women capable professionals, labourers, farmers. Rather the predominant image is that of the self-sacrificing housewife. Many researchers examined that educational media like children’s books, adult literacy primers for women shows that they are sexist and they perpetuate sex-stereotypes. **According to Dua (1995)**, the regional language press has its compulsions to be biased, inflammatory, sensational, communal and partisan. This is so, as it serves only a small segment of readers who are ‘conservative’ and ‘traditional’ and read such papers only to replenish and refresh their established beliefs and credos.

Literacy creates quest for information, self learning and reading, thereby generating a demand for print media (Batla, Grover; 1994). Inspite of the boom in electronic media, coming of the satellite televise and high-tech information explosion, the traditional print media remain unvanquished. It carries credibility and weight and still moulds the opinion of many. While the Audio-visual medium is largely a medium of entertainment, magazines and newspaper are medium of information. The written word still has an aura surrounding it, particularly in India, where they have always been considered as gospel truth.

Radio and Television combined with satellite channels provide wide coverage on almost important aspects of life. Doordarshan and all India Radio have captured good audience size not only in cities but also even in semi-urban and rural areas. The program contents of both all India Radio (AIR) and Doordarshan give priority mainly to entertainment based programmes. Women issues and their development programmes are reflected poorly in both the media. Lack of adequate planning and importance to women’s programmes loses the target audience group. The Indian television programmes on women are generally based on the lives and cultures of urban society. In quantity there have been very few, in quality very poor programmes are concerned with the problems of women in rural areas. The main reason behind this is the commercial nature of Doordarshan, commercial sponsors and advertisers do not prefer women issue programmes, which they think are not very popular and or are liked by few audiences **(Dhar, Pattnaik; 1996)**.
After this initial examination of characteristics and functions of mass media and their relationship with the sphere of politics many researchers have been taken up in the West on media with particular reference to its role in society. Marshal McLuhan’s *Understanding Media (1964)* is a significant book on mass communication. He explained about the media in terms of man himself and constitutes his immediate environment. He believed that the common denominator in all types of mass media is that they all relate to the experience of life in contemporary technological mass society. Hence according to him, some media are in art forms, others are means of transportation, still others are forms of self expression and still some others are technical supports for personal and mass communication.

Norman Swallow’s *Factual Television (1966)* is also an important contribution which discusses the social and political policies that modify or temper the presentation of news and controversies in a democracy. It also brings out the advantages and defects of news by television and examines the extent to which television influences the world of politics.

While studying the influence of television on politics in *Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influence*, Jay G. Blumber and Dennis McQuail (1970) report that television is now a more pervasive force in democratic politics than any other means of communication. The authors approach the subject from two perspectives. The first is that of the viewer’s own feeling and opinions about political knowledge bearing upon popular attitudes towards the political parties and their leaders and awareness of current issues. The significance of this study lies in the analysis of the relationship between a viewer’s motives for following politics on television and his susceptibility to be influenced by what he has been.

Lasswell (1948) who has conducted significant researches in mass communication noted three major functions of the media in his articles which appeared in 1967 in Reader in Public opinion and Communication and Encyclopedia of the Social Science, viz, collection and distribution of information, the correlation of the part of society in responding to the environment and transmission of social heritage from one generation to another. Focus on social functions of the media however gained currency with the
development of liberation theory of the press. The libertarian theory recognizes six functions of mass media, which are as follows: Public enlightenment, Serving the political systems, Safeguarding civil rights, Profit making, Serving the economic system and providing entertainment.

Pye (1956) is another significant study which speculated that the communications process is a critical variable governing the different possible patterns of political development. It explores relationship between mass media and political development and attempts to discover the possible relevance of modern mass media research for understanding and influencing the prospects of political modernization in transitional societies.

Mass media has an expanding role in political and public campaigns. Public Communication Campaigns (1981) define the scope and improve the understanding of the operation of public campaign. A successful campaign requires: adequate needs and goals assessment, systematic planning, continuous evaluation, careful selection of appropriate media for target audience and an optimal blend of mass media and interpersonal communication. Nowadays, the usefulness of public communication campaigns in communication efforts to improve the general quality of life.

In India mass media function in relation to actual events, policies and programmes and in terms of the need and objectives set forth by the government. Therefore, it is an extremely live subject but very few Indian studies have been taken up to explore the complex dimension of the mass media operating in a prismatic society like ours.

Roy & Rogers (1969) in their study on ‘The Impact of Communication on Rural Development, an investigation in Costa Rica and India’ made a comparative study of two different cultures. It analyses how different channels of communications can bring about better knowledge and adoption of desirable innovations in rural areas.

Damle (1969) studied the diffusion of modern ideas and kinds of knowledge in seven villages in communication of modern ideas and knowledge in Indian Village. His findings highlight some important ideas. In an era, which believes in mutual aid, both material and non material, the problem of communication assumes greater significance. The pattern of communication, both national and international, in no small way determines
the awareness of the people, about the national political scene, national policies and world political structure, modern ideas of recreation, the movie, the radio, sports, newspapers, lectures and political propaganda.

**M.R. Dua’s** programming potential of Indian Television (1979) with special reference to education, economic growth and social change describes how television programmes can be made relevant in tackling problems of illiteracy, public health, casteism, regionalism, etc, it pinpoints those areas where television programming has the greatest potential scope of effecting transformation, for instance, in the standard of living of the people in general, and helping the country’s progress in particular. One of the empirical studies: Impact of T.V. in India: A Sociological study (1980) conducted by Karve institute of Social Service, Pune, tries to measure the impact exposure to T.V. on the masses. It is measured in terms of changes in their personal life, family life and social life. The study deals with the viewership patterns with reference to region, age, sex, education, occupation and social-economic background of the viewers. The study has been conducted in five states: Maharashtra, Gujarat, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. The study has made recommendations to policy makers for the conduct of the media in the national interest. **Ila Joshi’s Women Dimension on Television (1981)** is an attempt to find out whether there is discrimination and exploitation of women by the television encompassing three aspects: Policy, personnel and programme. The chief value of the study lies in developing the basic design of data collection and interpretation out of which emerges the distressing conclusion that “Indian television is definitely caught in a dangerous flux indicative of erratic transition from a traditional value system to a modern one, without achieving modernity in the true sense of the word because of the lack of fuller commitment on the part of policy makers and programme personnel.”

**Media Communication and Development (1987)** is an empirical study taken up in rural Rajasthan, dealing with the relative effectiveness of different media of communication. The author S.C. Sharma shows how media can be effectively used for increasing literacy and socio-economic status in rural and urban sectors. In fact, the study brings out the role of communication and media in development. The basic purpose is to
see the role of different media of communication as an instrument of social change in motivation and in perception and value orientation.

Media Utilization for the Development of women and Children (1989) edited by B.S. Thakur and Binod C. Agrawal is based on the proceedings of a national seminar on the same subject which was organised in September 1984 by the Indian council for communication Training and Research in collaboration with UNICEF to mark the completion of 25 years of the existence of television in India. The book brings into focus the needs and problems of women and children in India and deliberate upon the role, television and other media have played and can play, to improve the status of these two neglected segments of the society. D.O. Pattanayak, the then President of ICCTR, made a significant point that “Source credibility is an important factor in bringing about societal change. Traditional media, friends, relatives and satisfied change agents exert greater influence in India today than the mass media. Unless software production is indigenized so as to reflect the Indian ethos and language used which communicate personally to each group, mass media programmes will saturate elite communication and provide at best entertainment and curiosity satisfaction to the masses.”

Sunanda Arya’s (1989) Mass Media and public opinion in India is another significant empirical study specially focused on the role of all India Radio during Bangladesh Crisis. The book studies the impact of mass media in the articulation, formulation and expression of public opinion. While analyzing the role of mass media in sustaining the political and social fabric of a democratic society it discusses the concepts of mass communication and the communication process it has highlighted the major issues pertaining to the role of all India Radio as a means of political communication.

Media and Rural Development (1995) is another volume that discusses the various aspects of the role of mass media in the socio-economic advancement of the rural community. C.M. Jain, Cangan and Bhanawat believe that the problems deeply entrenched at the grass roots level to be prioritized so that the process of development could be initiated at the media level. They felt that there is an urgent need for proper planning in the projection of rural programmes. Moreover, the rural programmes currently telecast are more information based and then recreational.
Gopal Saxena’s Television in India changes and challenges (1996) gives a critical account of the development of television in India and analyses the stresses and strings attached. The study denotes that T.V. as a mass media in the Indian context is something beyond mere glamour or show biz. Issue like autonomy for the electronic media, balancing if investment on hardware and software, fuller realization of the potential of the medium in the wake of cluttering channels and similar such issues agitating the public mind are objectively discussed by bringing different views.

Media and communication: New information order (1997) Volume I & II, provide different dynamics of information whether it is creation a gathering of dissemination. The authors Mridula Menon and Ved Prakash Gandhi have taken up critical issues such as changing dimension of mass communication, media’s search for identity, media and the implications of press freedom, television and social communications. The study provides useful insights into an interactive discipline of Media and Communication. Other corollaries extend to areas like telecom technology and new information systems constrains and critiques of mass communication, communications industry and private enterprise audio-visual revolution and the educational challenge, telecommunications and the digital revolution, mass communication and individual privacy, media and transborder, data flows and international relations and communication policy. U.K. Singh and K.N. Sudershnan in Media Education (1996) mainly focus on ‘state’ of the art’ information at the same time providing useful insight into topics like improving the media, freedom of access to broadcasting, motion pictures in relation to social control and social functions of the press. Education and Electronic Media (1996) by Mrunalini discusses as to how television viewing leaves a strong impact on children’s behaviour, particularly at early childhood stage. The author feels that the intensity on variety of the impact of televiewing differs in relation to the type of programme children watch. Communication by Design: The politics of information and Communication Technologies (1996) is another study focusing mainly on the relationship between the rise of information and the economic, political, and cultural significance of communication and information. The study reveals how the innovation process gives rise to the diverse and dynamic advance information and communication technology based system that are so central to all aspects of industrial and
social change. Another study by D’Souza, mass media: today and tomorrow (1997) takes a closer look at the concept of social change and how mass media can bring about positive social change in India. Amrita Sha’s Hype and Hypocrisy Television in urban India (1997) is another interesting study on television in India who caste her eyes on the sweep of changes, events and controversies brought about by television over the last fifteen years. She comes to the conclusion that “that tendency to invite and resist change with equal fervor ensures that in India, the more things changes the more they remain the same”.

In another such study, modern communication and information system (1997) Jagdish Vachhani attempts to bring into focus the several aspects and applications of communication and information systems that have bearing on the dissemination of knowledge and information. He iterates that communication and information are together the corner stone of the functioning of all systems in all domains of life – public or private. Efficient and optimal functioning of systems calls for availability of information in appropriate form, immediate response and correct application. Degree of efficiency and optimal utilization, therefore, are directly of value to communication becomes obvious. The question between communication and information systems determines the degree of efficacy of individuals and organizations. Broadcasting reform in India: Media Law from a global perspective (1998) is another study on media focusing on revising media laws, trends in Indian media and prospects for broadcasts reform and various bills on comparative media law and a challenge to the power of central Government. Depankar Sinha in Communicating Development in the new world order (1999) gives a critical analysis as to how media plays a significant role in communicating the whole development in the new world order. The book reveals that the effort to relocate the third world Development problematic in the new world order is integrally linked to the analysis of the contemporary dynamics of transnational communication. The study focuses on the political and social implications of the modes of communication and of the changes in these modes in the specific context of global development. It is felt, that there is a need for research and study in the potential role of transnational communication.

The influence of media on elections, political participation and voting behavior has been studied in the United States, but in India it is still in pre-stage. In India, there have
been several studies on the nature and functions of the media (Fernandez, 2000; Johnson, 2001; Kluver et al., 2007; Prasad, 2006; Sonawalkar, 2001). In fact much of these studies have focused on the role of the Indian media in the post liberalization period (Fernandez, 2000; Johnson, 2001; and Sonawalkar, 2001). However, these studies mainly focus on the cultural impact of the media. For instance Fernandez (2000) in her article ‘Nationalizing the Global: Media Images, Cultural Politics and the Middle Class in India’ argues that the social as well as the cultural images emanating from the process of economic liberalization in India is a result of the interaction between the global and the national. Johnson (2001), on the other hand, focuses on the influence of television on rural India. Sonawalkar (2001) looks at the imperialistic tendencies of Indian television channels on South Asia from a cultural context. An overview of the Indian media literature suggests that there has been very little research on the impact of the media on political participation in general and voting behavior in particular.

The mass media scene becomes pretty alive during elections in India, especially with the coming of satellite channels. Opinion polling has become a regular feature around the election time, discussions based on poll results have also become popular in media. However, serious empirical research in the field especially aimed at gauging the impact of mass media on the voting behaviour of the electorate is still at a nascent stage in India. Such research studies assume importance in a country like India- the largest democracy with over 800 million voters.

**Satpathi & Roy (2011)** in their study on ‘The impact of the electronic media on the modern Indian voter: A study of the post liberalization era’ observed that the increasing influence of electronic media in India was stimulated by economic liberalization in early 1990s. It gave citizens access to numerous news sources as opposed to the sole government regulated news channel of the pre–liberalization era. In the 21st Century, the electronic media was reenergized by the internet revolution. As citizens started looking at the internet as an additional source of information, they began voicing their opinion through blogs; opinion polls and social networking websites. The authors adopted qualitative analysis for studying the impact of the electronic media on political participation in general and voting behavior in particular.
Radhika Kumar (2014) in her study on ‘Electoral campaign as a performative plebiscite: Mapping the changing nature of political communication in India’ observed that political communication through the electoral campaign in India displays use of multiple media. The 2014 general elections saw political parties conduct an aggressive virtual campaign through social and mass media including robot-calls, holographic presence of the leader at various meeting venues matched by extensive use of traditional modes of campaigning such as rallies, foot-marches (pad-yatra) and mobilising a large number of young volunteers to undertake door-door campaigning to court the voters, reflecting what may be called “proximity” electoral campaigning or “retail politics” (Norris 2004) Classifying the 2014 campaign as one which was a performative plebiscite, the same may be defined as a campaign that capitalises on ‘popular sentiment’ and particular moment which sets and shapes the mood of the nation’. While both virtual and real world campaigning allow for personalisation of the campaign, this paper argues that political communication is of the non-deliberative kind. Professionalization of the campaign through the use of advertising experts and campaign managers makes political communication of the performative kind, high on theatrics and rhetoric and low on substance. It is ironic that while politics is going local, the idea of development that sets the agenda is not just national but actually comes from universalisation of free market economy prototypes. A ‘thin idea of development’ manifests itself in ‘thinning of politics’ as political contestation and deliberation are replaced by unidirectional flow of ideas. Hence the purpose of this paper is to map the contours and changing nature of electoral and political communication from the perspective of the issues and techniques used by political parties and affiliate groups and suggesting the non deliberative nature of the campaign which also reinforces the divide between what Manuel Castells (2000,p 446) calls the “the space of flows” and the “space of places”.

Arshad Ali, Anam Nawaz and Syed Ali Hassan (2014) in their study on ‘Impact of Cable/T.V on Modern Lifestyle: A Study of Women’ found that the demographic characteristic of the respondent, women exposure towards electronic media and its impacts on the adoption of modern lifestyle. Researcher was also checkout the impact of
cable/TV on modern lifestyle. Electronic media is an influential tool for bringing noticeable change in the views, outlook, attitude and interest of people. This study intends to emphasize the role of electronic media and its impact on minds of the women, and the environment in which it function. Researchers used the cultivation theory and face to face interview used as data collection method. Results reveal that electronic media really impact on the modern lifestyle of women who had exposure towards electronic in their daily life and watching cable/TV.

Rahul K (2016) in his article on ‘Use of New Media in Indian Political Campaigning System’ explained that from e-mailing and e-commerce to e-governance, internet has brought us all at a single platform leaving the constraints of time and space far behind. The social engagement in socio-politico activities and people’s proactive participation in political agenda is also increased through social media and viral usage of networking. However, our communication process is still in its evolution and in turn its effects can be traced on the socio-economic-political life of the ‘Information Society’. Nonetheless, in a country with cultural complexity and striking inequalities in terms of access and reach, literacy, linguistic and spatial differences, it would be essential to make a study of various aspects involved while discussing the use of social media in political campaigning at a large canvas.

Thus many studies have been conducted in this direction in the West, but in the Indian context one comes across very few studies which seek to explore the impact of mass media on political participation in transitional society like Meghalaya State are still faced with complex problems.

2.7: Objective Six (To assess the impact of adult education programmes on the illiterates and Neo-Literate tribal women towards political participation)

Traditionally women have always played a secondary role in the society. True development of a nation is not possible if half of the population is ignored or marginalised. Therefore the constitution of India has many rights and acts in favour of tribal hamlets. The subjugation of tribal women and their lack of political consciousness are attributed to factors like traditional outlook, illiteracy, superstition, and submissive role in decision making, social evils and cultural factors. However the introduction of non-formal
education and literacy programmes has brought certain changes among illiterate tribal women.

Aslam and Asif (2009) in their article on ‘The impact of non-formal education for the development of political consciousness among the Neo-literates and Semi-literates women’ have been explored by different scholars throughout India. Basu (1987) in his study on ‘Rights of married women and attitude towards them- An Evaluation of Awareness and attitudes’ found that the non-formal education brought awareness to the illiterate women about their rights.

Singh (1989) found that there was a significant improvement in the level of worker’s awareness relating to methods of work and hygienic conditions. Devi (1995) in “A case Study of Neo-literates of Mawroh-Mawlangniang and Urkhli villages of Nongstoin in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya” found that there was a marked improvement in their economic prospects in the field of agriculture, family welfare programmes and developmental programmes, piggery, poultry and cattle rearing.

Kaur (1997) conducted a study on “Motivation of Rural Female Adults to participate in Adult Education Programme” found that the 60% of rural female adults were motivated in panchayat elections and acquired knowledge about functioning of Panchayata. Majority of the rural illiterate women became aware about their rights and duties as citizen of state. Around 35% knew about the political conditions prevailing in the country and the state. Further the researcher argued that there was no significant difference between younger and older adults regarding the following three factors: (1) To be able to elect good political leaders. (2) To know about the political conditions prevailing in the country and (3) To know about the political conditions prevailing in the state.

Again Kaur (1999) conducted another study on “TV viewing behaviour of Non-illiterate Rural Adults in the state of Punjab” and found that adult education programme brought a significant change in their attitudes on TV programmes that 75% Neo-literates and 25% illiterates had motivated both children and younger adults to view TV programmes such as serials, news, issues relating to health and agriculture. The author found that there was no significant impact of TV viewing on illiterate women as compared to Neo-literate women. The illiterate women were not able to answer the questions relating
to TV programme. However the adult education programmes created awareness among Neo-literate and Semi-literate women for increasing participation in the community development programme in the community.

**Pesses (2000)** study revealed that the reservation policy of 73rd Amendment has created a favourable environment for taking decision on community development programmes by women. Mangathai, 2001; Upadhaya, 2002 and Santosh, 2003 conducted a study on factors responsible for low literacy among Tribal’s of Durgapur District in Rajasthan and found that adult education brought a sea change in the attitudes of their parents to provide education to the female child despite social and economic problems. This is a step towards eliminating gender disparities at the grassroots level.

**Steven E. Finke (2000)** in his study of, ‘Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies’ examines the effect of adult civic education programs on political participation in two developing democracies, the Dominican Republic and South Africa, on the core democratic value of political tolerance. I first develop hypotheses about the effects of civic education on participation from theories of political culture and recent work on recruitment and group mobilization. Using survey data collected on participants in numerous civic education programs as well as control groups in both countries, I then show that civic education has significant and substantively meaningful effects on local level political participation in four of the seven programs studied in South Africa and the Dominican Republic, and that the results hold after controlling for potential biases related to the individual is self selection into the programs. Moreover, the effects of civic education on participation are largely conditional in nature, dependent on variables such as the frequency and nature of the civic education treatment and the individual is store of prior political and participatory resources. The results suggest that civic education and other group mobilization processes are highly complementary in both countries; civic education training stimulates individual political behavior in such a way that participation in other kinds of secondary group activities.

**SRC-NEHU (2006)** conducted ‘A study on knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Small Family Norm at Nongtalang Village in Meghalaya’. The main objective of the study was to assess the knowledge and practice of small family norm among the village women
and to identify the reasons behind the phenomenal population increase in the village. The study shows that most of the respondents from the village have favourable attitudes towards small family norms. Majority of the respondents were aware of different family planning methods but the actual adoption of contraceptives, general and specific knowledge of birth measures for spacing or for terminal purpose is comparatively low. Only 13 respondents out of 213 have accepted the birth control methods as per the study. Rani (2009) brought another picture in his study on ‘Involvement of Literate women in decision-making’ and found that 15% literate women can take their own decision regarding politics and 65 % are dependable on their husband’ wish & 20 % are dependable on their elders. Thus the study signified that the majority of the illiterate women were unable to take decision in politics independently.

Yet in another study by Das (2012) in his article ‘Autonomy and decision making role of Tribal women: A case study of Santoshpur village in Sundergarh District of Odisha’ examined the decision making role of tribal women and its impact on their socio-economic status. The researcher found that the tribal women enjoyed autonomy at their household level especially in social aspects and enjoyed equal rights along with their husbands in economic matters but their community participation was passive and autonomy level was very low. The major reasons were attributed to low literacy rate and unemployment. The author argued that the development of tribal community cannot be accelerated without women participation. Therefore the government should focus on developing the literacy rate among the tribal women which would facilitate their economic upliftment. This would result in their qualitative participation and decision making among all aspects of their living. Kumar (2003) argued that the adult education can help in certain extent to aware illiterate women about women empowerment. Failendra (2007) has remarked that women have great potential and if provided with assistance like micro-financing and giving them full autonomy in their work can result in their increased income and improved livelihood.

The voluntary participation in literacy programmes has greatly influenced to empower tribal women in the society. The SRC-NEHU (2004) conducted a research study on ‘Literacy Status and Volunteer’s Participation in different Literacy Programmes of
Shillong during the Decade 1991-2001’ found that about 95% of the students were willing to participate in the literacy campaign. The study suggested that non-formal education campaigns like TLC needs to compliment the city’s formal education. It will serve the purpose of engaging students in socially useful activities as part of their citizen training and provide the much-needed literacy skills to Non-literates and Semi-literates.

Akanbi, Murtala (2013) in his study on ‘Impact of Adult Literacy Programmes on Political Empowerment of Women in Kwara State’ examined the impact of adult literacy programmes on political empowerment of women in Kwara State. It specifically, examined politically related issues in the contents of the programmes and impact of the programmes on the political empowerment of women in the State. The study adopted Expost Facto research design. The sample of 380 women adult literacy beneficiaries were selected through snow-ball sampling technique. Data was collected through Adult Literacy Programmes and Women Political Empowerment Questionnaire (ALPWPEQ) and documentary analysis. The questionnaire was validated by the adult literacy expert and its reliability was determined through test-re-test method and 0.76 co-efficient was obtained. The data was subjected to documentary analysis; mean scores statistics, simple tabulation and chi-square. The findings of the study revealed that the contents of literacy programmes for women are politically related, the literacy programme had impacted politically on the status of women in Kwara State. The literacy programmes have not been able to develop in women political leadership confidence. The study recommends that a more ideological literacy programme such as literacy for Conscientization should be adopted. And rule of law, seeking information about candidates in an election and political accountability should be part of adult literacy contents for women in Kwara State.

Dash (2014) in his article on ‘Impact of non-formal education in development of political consciousness among the women neo-literates in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya’ tries to explore the present position of Neo-literate and Semi-literate women’s political condition in the West Khasi Hills District in the state of Meghalaya. There is common perception that they are free from the control of patriarchal structure of both the society and the polity due to matrilineal system. The subjugation of tribal women and their lack of political consciousness are attributed to factors like traditional outlook, illiteracy,
economic backwardness, superstition and submissive role in decision-making, social evils and cultural factors. However, the introduction of non-formal education and literacy programmes has brought certain changes among illiterate tribal women’s political condition. Therefore, the researcher tries to examine the impact of non-formal education towards political consciousness of Neo-literate and Semi-literate women in West Khasi Hills District of Meghalaya.

Pradhan (2014) in his article on ‘Changing concept of adult education in India: a historical perspective’ explore the idea of adult education in ancient period and explains about how it become a concept of study in different academic and institutional world for pursuit of knowledge in seeking to the vast illiteracy masses as alternative to the formal education system in pre-colonial and post-colonial period. The policy-makers in different plan periods in independent India highlighted the various policy measures in order to make more effective means for promoting the education to the illiterates particularly to the tribal women.

Caroline et al.(2015) in their study on ‘Political Empowerment of Women through Literacy Education Programmes in EDO and Delta States’ examined the political empowerment of women through literacy education programmes in Edo and Delta States in the South-South Geopolitical zone of Nigeria. A sample of 1022 women was randomly drawn from the different levels of literacy classes organised by the Agency of Adult and Non-formal Education and non-governmental and private organisations in the area under investigation. Psychological empowerment scale and socio-political scale were used for data collection. These were complemented by four sessions of Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The results of the study revealed that literacy education programmes correlated with women participation in political activities and leadership roles. Women were able to participate more actively in decision-making processes and social interactions at home, in a public gathering and in the community at large. The FGD result showed that women gained self-esteem and self-confidence as a result of their participation in literacy programmes.

Jinn and Maikano (2014) in their study on ‘The role of adult education in national development’ found that adult and non-formal education has been apparently much
neglected aspect of educational activities in the country. This neglect could be traced to our colonial heritage where the British colonial masters and the early missionaries who pioneered education in the African continent paid attention only to formal education to train clerks and interpreters in Government service and commercial houses; and catechists in the church. The complication and the problem of organizing and administering non-formal education is yet another reason for the neglect.

Finkel (2014) in his study on ‘The impact of adult civic education programmes in developing democracies’ examines about the impacts of adult civic education programmes and in what extent it strengthen democratic political culture in developing democracies. The study was conducted by four US Agency for International Development since the late 1990s in states such as Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. The researcher found that civic education have meaningful and relatively long-lasting effects in terms of increasing political information, increasing feelings of empowerment, and mobilizing individuals, even in contexts beset by political and ethnic violence. However, these interventions are much less likely to affect ‘deep-seated’ democratic values such as political tolerance, support, and trust.

Thus, the adult education programmes provide explicit instruction to ordinary citizens about democratic institutions, values, and procedures. They include voter’s education programmes, programmes that provide instruction about the social and political rights of women, neighbourhood problem-solving programmes that bring individuals in contact with local authorities and promote local collective action, programmes combating election violence and vote-buying, and programmes promoting tolerance and the peaceful resolution of political disputes in post-conflict settings. Many of these programmes consist of individual NGOs providing information to voters related to national or local elections, but an increasing number encompass issues such as constitutional reform, political decentralization, alternative dispute resolution, and the rights of women, minorities, and other marginalized groups. From the above literature reviews, it is observed that adult education programmes do contribute to the development of a democratic political culture amongst participants. These programmes have been found to significantly increase
individuals’ political information, feelings of empowerment, and levels of political participation. At the same time, few weaker effects have been found from these programmes on fundamental democratic values, such as political tolerance, support, and trust are indispensable components of stable democracies than on the empowerment and engagement factors mentioned above. Moreover, the impact of adult education depends critically on how programmes are designed, the kinds of teaching methods employed, and the quality of the programme’s facilitators or trainers.