

**INSTITUTIONAL EXCLUSION AND DELIBERATE
INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL BODIES IN HARYANA:
A CASE STUDY OF MODERN PANCHAYAT AND KHAP
PANCHAYAT IN KAITHAL AND JIND DISTRICTS**

Thesis Submitted For the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Political Science

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Ph.D. Thesis entitled “**INSTITUTIONAL EXCLUSION AND DELIBERATE INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL BODIES IN HARYANA: A CASE STUDY OF MODERN PANCHAYAT AND KHAP PANCHAYAT IN KAITHAL AND JIND DISTRICTS**” in Lovely Professional University, Phagwara Punjab was carried out by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Rajeesh C.S.. The interpretations put forth are based on my reading and understanding of the original texts and they are not published anywhere in the form of books, monographs or articles. The other books, articles and websites, which I have made use of are acknowledged at the respective place in the text. For the present thesis, which I am submitting to the University, no degree or diploma or distinction has been conferred on me before, either in this or in any other University.



Place: Phagwara

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Date:



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the work incorporated in the thesis **“INSTITUTIONAL EXCLUSION AND DELIBERATE INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL BODIES IN HARYANA: A CASE STUDY OF MODERN PANCHAYAT AND KHAP PANCHAYAT IN KAITHAL AND JIND DISTRICTS”** submitted by Reetu bearing registration no. 41800884 is an original piece of research work done under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of PhD. in Political Science to the school of Arts and Languages, Department of Political Science, Lovely Professional University, Phagwara Punjab. The candidate has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for the submission of this thesis. Such materials as has been obtained from other sources have been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Place: Phagwara

Research Guide

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Aam Aadmi Party
ADR	Association of Democratic Reforms Aam Aadmi Party
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CDP	Community Development Programme
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFC	Central Finance Commission
CM	Chief Minister
DPSP	Directive Principles of State Policy
ECI	Election Commission of India
EPP	Enterprises Promotion Policy
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
INLD	Indian National Lok Dal
JMI	Jamia Milia Islamia
KYC	Know Your Customer
LPG	Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization
MC	Municipal Council
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly

MP	Member of Parliament
NCR	National Capital Region
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OBC	Other Backward Class
PESA	Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas
PM	Prime Minister
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institution
RS	Rajya Sabha
RTI	Right To Information
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SC	Scheduled Caste
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Science and Cultural Organisation
UN	United Nations
WLS	Women Leadership School

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ABSTRACT

The modern era has witnessed diverse episodes across the globe that range from hunger, educational backwardness and institutional exclusion of women. Women, particularly those living in the developed world, are adversely affected by development challenges. Different conventions and standards of United Nations emphasize the crucial significance of women's political involvement in all respects and call on UN Member countries to take steps to encourage women's engagement in government and to eliminate obstacles that marginalize women. Moreover, as per the UN People, as of this year only 11 people have served as heads of state, just 23 per cent of all state parliamentarians are female, and there are still 27 countries where women account for less than 10% of parliament seats. Focus continues the need to increase the representation of women in governance. The Sustainable Development Goals make this plain, with "goal 5.5" ensuring "women's maximal and successful engagement and equitable incentives for representation at all the spheres in socio- economic and political arena.

The foundation for women's political participation was laid during India's nationalistic struggle. However, there were little follow-up or actual attempts to broaden the political base by involving women in political processes after independence. Since independence, women's space has diminished, and their participation has been limited to familial ties rather than commitment and convictions. The framers of the Indian constitution anticipated that the document would bring gender equality to the country. However, discrimination and inequality continue to exist in many aspects of public and private life. This is obvious in the fact that after independence, women's participation in politics and other decision-making bodies is severely limited. Given these worries concerning women's political participation, the government must take action to ensure that women are treated equally in politics. In addition, as required by the Constitution, affirmative action measures must be implemented to eliminate existing discrimination and promote political equality.

From political perspective, female political representation in Indian parliament is ranking 20th from the bottom of the hierarchy. In India, women have occupied higher posts such as President, Prime Minister, Governor, and Chief Minister, though in tiny numbers. "Women voter turnout in 2014 general elections was 65.63 percent, compared to 67.09 percent for men," according to Election Commission of India data in 16 Indian states, more women voted than males." Because India is a federal state with devolved responsibilities, just

10.9 percent of women were elected to the national parliament in 2012. As a result, India enacted reservations in the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments in 1994, reserving 33 percent of seats in local governments for women in order to perk up and supplement women's participation in election-related activities. In addition, the "Women's Reservation Bill (108th Amendment)" was introduced in parliament, which would set aside 33 percent of Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha seats for women. The bill, however, has yet to be enacted by the Lok Sabha and signed into law.

In the above context, the present research work aims to fulfil the following objectives; the first objective is 'To analyse the women's empowerment in terms of their participation in local governance structure and the issues cum problems associated thereby in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Kaithal and Jind Districts of Haryana'. The second objective is 'To compare the participation of women with respect to the local governance structures in context to modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Haryana'. The third objective of the study is 'To study and also make a comparative analysis of role of women in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Haryana'. The research work will also 'canvass the relationship of Women in Governance within the larger question of gender discrimination in State of Haryana'. Also the study aims "To discern significant legal initiation for the inclusion of women in the local governance process of Kaithal and Jind District's" and "To suggest measures in order to better the performance & participation of women in Local Governance structures."

To fulfil the objectives of the study, the present study is an exploration into the women's Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion in the local level governance structure in the Kaithal and Jind District's of Haryana. This study is exploratory & descriptive in nature and intends to analyse and employing the qualitative techniques as well as analytical methods in order to arrive at academic conclusions. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, primary sources of data such as books, Journal Papers, newspaper articles, government archives & already published thesis were used. Also primary data has been utilized to fulfil the objectives of the study. The primary data has been collected from 400 respondents from Jind and Kaithal Districts of Haryana. Questionnaire was administered to collect the first hand data from respondents by adopting Simple Random Sampling technique. To arrive at the academic conclusions, all the findings of the study have been presented under various tabular and graphic forms.

Haryana is India's 20th largest state, with a population of 2.5 million people. The state was formed on November 1, 1966, when it was detached from the state of Punjab due to linguistic differences. Haryana is completely landlocked, with Himachal Pradesh and Punjab to the north, Rajasthan to the west, and Uttarakhand to the south. Haryana is generally flat, despite its location at the end of the Aravalli Mountains, with the exception of a few scattered hills and ridges in Gurgaon. It is located between the latitudes of 27°39' and 30°35' north and the longitudes of 74°28' and 77°36' east. Haryana's elevation varies from 700 and 3600 feet above sea level. The state's entire tropical vegetation forest cover is around 1,553 km².

In Haryana, as in other Indian states, the history of local government development has two categories: urban local government and rural local government. Municipal corporations/councils are the most important institutions in the Urban Local Government, while nagar Panchayats are the least important. Zila Parishads, Panchayat Samitis, and Gram Panchayats are the major units of the Rural Local Governments. These organisations are governed by legislation and function within the framework of a state government. These are staffed and administered by people chosen by election from the general population, with the goal of achieving harmonious coordination in order to keep the administration running smoothly. The primary goal of these self-government organisations is to provide civic amenities to citizens while also instilling a sense of responsibility and willingness to participate in local governance.

The Punjab Municipal Act of 1867, which established the Panipat Municipal Council, marked a key step forward in the formation of local government in what is now the Panipat district. The Samalkha Municipal Committee was created on August 20, 1981. Accordingly an act was passed in 1992, which created an inclusive governance structure at local level. In the similar act, 33% of reservation was accorded to women at the representational level. In India, women are treated equally to men in all civil and legal affairs, including contracting, administering property, practising in the courts, and dispensing justice. The Indian Constitution, which took effect on January 26, 1950, serves as the country's fundamental law. In recognition of women's contributions to the country's freedom effort, the Indian constitution listed them as a special concern. As a result, the architects of the constitution committed to improve women's status, and the administration recognised it as one of the country's major concerns from the start.

Post independence era has revolutionized the socio-economic and political aspects of life in India. There were gigantic changes in the governance mechanism of the country in the

form of inclusive participation of all the sections of society including women. Women became active participants in the legal governance structure of country and occupied higher positions including Prime Minister and Presidential posts. With the enactment of the 73rd and 74th amendment acts, a space has been created for the disadvantaged parts of society in the form of a reservation system. The reservation system was established to enhance women's status in society and provide them with equal access to state matters. However, several natural inclinations, ranging from patriarchal culture to economic restraints, have hindered women's participation in controlling the affairs of state. In this context the present chapter will present an overview of governance mechanism of Haryana and role of women in the affairs of state at the local level.

In terms of local governance, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments have significantly increased women's political engagement in grassroots democracy (1992- 1993). The 73rd and 74th amendment acts established new democratic institutions for local government and provided women with reservation in the Panchayati Raj system in two ways. In India, the Panchayati Raj system is not a foreign concept. Panchayats (five-person councils) were established in ancient India to deal with the state's socio-economic and political concerns. The empowerment of local Panchayats was considered important for rural government by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. As a result, the Constitution architects inserted a provision for Panchayats in Part IV of our constitution, acknowledging their importance in India (directive principles of state policy).

The traditional style of social administration known as khap panchayat is practised predominantly in the north-western states of Haryana, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. Khap is an extrajudicial, non-constitutional entity that originated as ethnic organisations in the tribal age but has plainly converted into kangaroo courts. These Khaps run mostly "retrogressive and alternative law enforcement entities" in Haryana villages. In both rural and urban areas, these Khap Panchayats are gaining popularity. The role of the Khap Panchayat is not limited to restricting the right of women to choose or select her matrimonial spouse, which can take the form of "honour killings" or "forced marriages," but also includes limiting her personal liberty. However, their effect may be seen in the manner in which people dress and the types of garments they wear in social situations.

These Khap Panchayats are powerful because of the inherent vulnerability of democratically elected Panchayati dominion organisations. In addition, the Jat community, who make up the 25 percent of Haryana's populace, are the state's principal caste faction,

making Haryana the geographic epicentre of the most severe form of honour killings in rural communities. The current governments have largely failed to take adequate measures to counter this menace. Because no legal action has been taken against these Khaps, their authority is still uncontested in some villages. Khap judgments, which refer to the notification of Enders' death, have such a tremendous force and impact on people in rural hamlets that still the law enforcement; have a propensity to ignore them over time.

The findings of the study have discovered that women have been assigned multiple roles in a family setting. These roles include mentor to children, cook to family and caretaker to old people. However, the modern era has witnessed the dawn of institutions based on Liberty, equality and integrity. Liberty in political terms includes freedom to make. Attempts are being made to bring inclusivity in the local level governance structure by including women in the affairs of state. However, in present times, it was found that women are participating actively at par with male in the local level governance structures of the country. While as in certain circumstance, family exerts the huge impact upon the choice and freedom of women in political affairs. Thus, it can be said that participation of women in local level governance is progressive in nature. And the scope of factors that limit the political participation of women has been limited due to modernization and digitalization.

PRI's have paved the way for inclusion of women in the local level governance mechanism by proving 33% reservation. Despite the reservation mechanism in place, women are not able to participate freely in the local level governance affairs. There are factors such as patriarchal nature of Haryana society, financial independence and family support that hinder the participation of women in local level governance mechanism. Haryana being the patriarchal society has greater influence upon the choices pertaining to votes, political parties and party candidates in the political matters. Male members determine the utility of female voters in the family. Thus, the choices of female members in a family are being restricted. However, due to the dawn of media (most importantly social media), the political arena has been revolutionized by educating women with respect to their political rights.

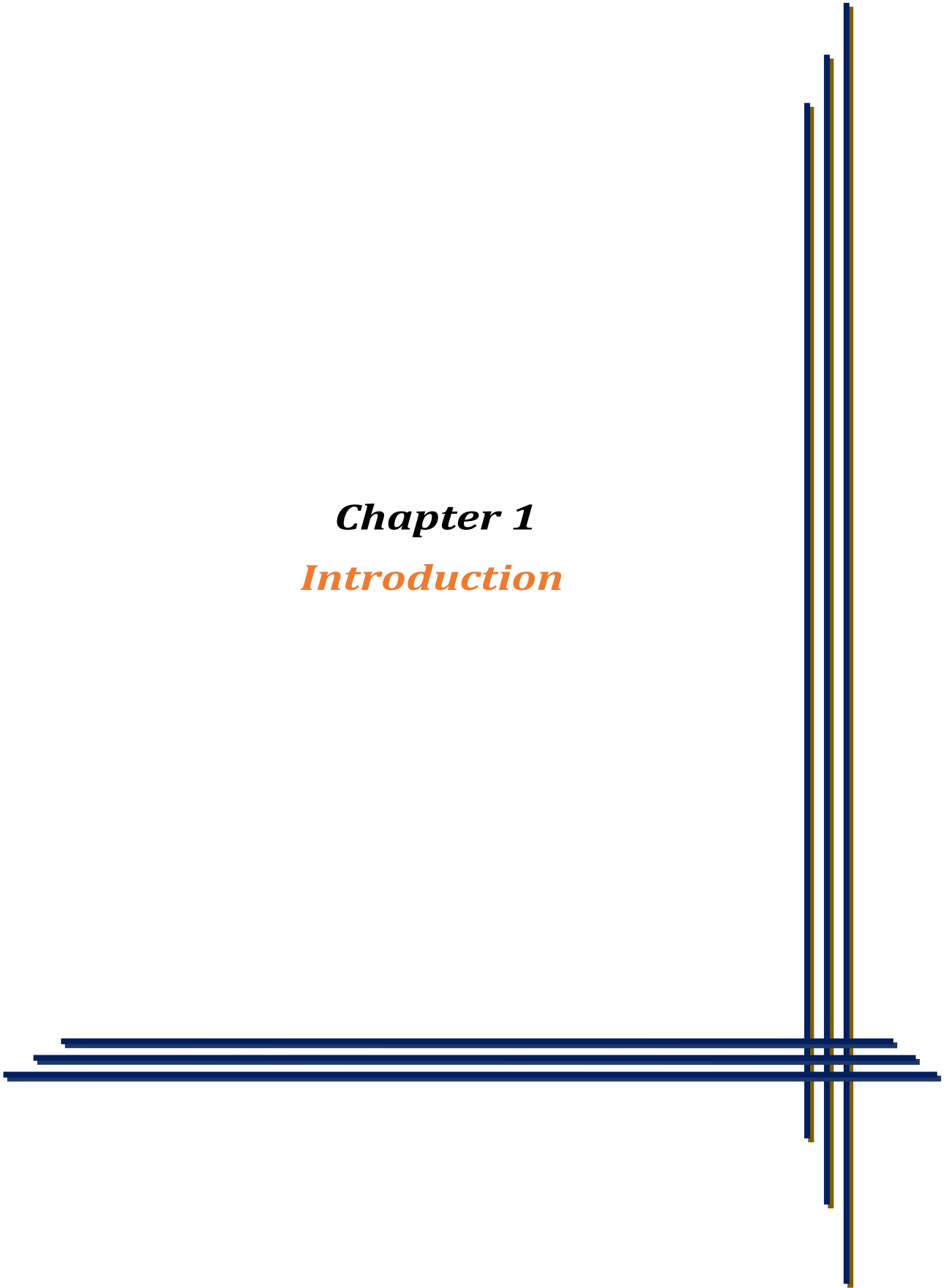
The findings have also revealed that there exist huge dissimilarities between the Modern and Khap panchayats. Modern panchayat is based on constitutional ideals, while as Khap panchayat is based on social customs. In modern panchayat, people's participation by democratic means is vital, while as Khap panchayat mostly includes elder members of the society. Modern panchayats have reserved seats for disadvantaged sections of society including SC's, ST's and Women, while as there is no reservation mechanism in Khap

panchayat. In recent times, the proceedings of Khap panchayats are in line with the modern panchayats. All the decisions in Khap panchayats are being taken on the basis of consciousness and majority vote. In place of reservation, Khap panchayats are also encouraging women to participate in the Khap proceedings.

Haryana being a patriarchal state was restricting women to join the formal politics, however the dawn of modernization and digitalization has paved the way for women to join both formal and informal politics. However, there exists a need to reform the PRI's structure by including the elements of modernity and digitalization. Also, initiatives should be undertaken by Khap Panchayat's that will streamline the participation of women in its operations and proceedings. However, there are certain inherent limitations including Covid-19 pandemic, time related issues, ambiguous answers by respondents etc. have limited the scope of the study.

Chapter 1

Introduction



INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Institutions are "mechanisms that regulate the behaviour of a group of people in a community." "Institutions are integrated systems of norms that structure social interactions," writes Geoffrey M. Hodgson (2006). Under a democratic set up like India, the political environment comprises three vital institutions namely; legislature, executive and judiciary. The legislature is meant to making laws, while as executive implements the laws made by the legislature. The judiciary checks the validity and constitutionality of the laws made by the legislature. India holds the record of being largest democratic nation in the world is based on the democratic ideals enshrined in the constitution in the form of equality and justice. The ideals of constitution envision the India which will adapt the inclusive approach meant for bringing an end to the colonial injustices. The inclusion should be based on vertical and horizontal approach in socio-economic and political institutions.

The contemporary era has witnessed diverse episodes across the globe that range from hunger, educational backwardness and institutional exclusion of women. Women, particularly those residing in the developed world, are adversely affected by development challenges. Different conventions and standards of United Nations emphasize the crucial significance of women's political involvement in all respects and call on UN Member countries to take steps to encourage women's engagement in government and to eliminate obstacles that marginalize women. Moreover, as per the United Nations, as of this year only 11 people have served as heads of state, just 23 per cent of all state parliamentarians are female, and there are still 27 countries where women account for less than 10% of parliament seats. Focus continues the need to increase the representation of women in governance. The Sustainable Development Goals make this plain, with "goal 5.5" ensuring "women's maximal and successful engagement and equitable incentives for representation at all the spheres in socio- economic and political arena.

As a result, the country's legislators have put in place a variety of purposeful measures, including constitutional and legislative measures with the intention to bring the inclusion of women in the political affairs of state. The representation of women at the central, state and local level politics is minimal, thus there exist a vacuum in their due

representation at the political helm. Therefore, to bring the inclusion of women in the political set-up of the country and more specifically in Haryana, certain issues need to be addressed in a systematic approach. It is in this context the study has been proposed to analyze and explore the 'Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion of women in local level governance structure' of the country.

The present chapter deals with different aspects of the research work like definitions and meaning of "institutional exclusion and deliberate inclusion of women in local governance structure". The chapter also presents an overview of status of women in the governance structure of the country including Panchayat's and Khap Panchayats of Haryana. Objectives of the study have been discussed in this chapter. Also detailed account of the research methodology has been presented in this chapter including research tools and techniques to be used to conduct the present research work. The chapter also presents a brief account of Chapterization that presents an overview of different chapters of the study.

1.2 Political Participation of Women in India

Political participation of all the sections of the society is an important aspect. The term "political engagement" has a broad definition. The connotation of political participation has two aspects including; right to vote and engagement in political activities such as decision making, political activism and political knowledge. In Indian context, the political participation of women in both the aspects is very less as compared to the male counterparts. However, the participation of women in political activism and voting is quite impressive as compared to men.

From political perspective, female political representation in Indian parliament is ranking 20th from the bottom of the hierarchy. In India, women have occupied higher posts such as President, Prime Minister, Governor, and Chief Minister, though in tiny numbers. In the 2014 General election, the women voter turnout was 65.63% which is quite similar to the male turnout of 67.09%. According to Election Commission of India 2014 election statistics in 16 Indian states, more women voted than males. Because India is a federal state with devolved responsibilities, just 10.9 percent of women were elected to the national parliament in 2012. As a result, India enacted reservations in the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments in 1994, reserving 33 percent of seats in local

governments for women in order to improve and correct women's participation in election-related activities. In addition, the "Women's Reservation Bill (108th Amendment)" was introduced in parliament, which would set aside 33 percent of Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha seats for women. The bill, however, has yet to be enacted by the Lok Sabha and signed into law. Reservation for women at local level governance structure has been established under the shadow of 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment act that has pegged the 33% reservation for women in the local level governance bodies. The statistics have revealed that reservation at local level has increased the participation of women from 4-5% to 25-40%. Thus paved the way for women in the political sphere and serve as leaders in the local level governance structure of the country.

Statistical and official figures of political participation of women have stated that “gender representation in formal politics shows that the turnout of women has increased substantially. However, their due representation in line to their population is very less as compared to men. Exclusionary practices of political parties and other stakeholders have limited the space for women as decision makers in the central and state level decision making process. Field based studies have revealed that “interest in politics is the prime factor and primary predicator that supplements the political participation of women. In recent times, exposure to modernity and media has created political awareness among the women populace and more specifically media has acted as a vibrant mechanism to play an important role to supplement the political participation of women. Thus to create a decisive platform to women in the political arena, inclusive measures in line with constitutional ideals and affirmative initiatives should be undertaken.

India created a multiparty system after independence, and all political parties have improved their appeal to women voters as the Indian party system has become more competitive. As a consequence, women's wings have emerged in the nation's biggest political parties. However, the involvement of women in political affairs and political parties has primarily tended to supplement their demand for equal rights. In the decade of 1990's, the political participation in political parties was very low as women only constitute 10-12% of members. While Indian women have taken the initiative to start their own political organisations, the 'United Women Front' party was established in 2007. The aforementioned party has proposed for a 50% increase in the "reservation of seats for

women in parliament." However, in the years 2013, women constitute 11% of total members of Lok Sabha and 10.06% of members in the Rajya Sabha.

1.3 Modern Panchayat

The population of women is at par with the male population in the Indian context. Being half of total population, they lie at the mid way of education, employment, political and social avenues. Women are being marginalized and neglected as the case of disabled population. However certain socio-economic factors and societal regulations also limit their participation in the societal affairs at the larger scale. The constitutional ideals have paved the way for equivalent and just society where equal opportunities to be provided to women in the governance affairs of state, however there is a long way to go. "A country prospers if its women prosper," it is true and has been proven. Therefore, in this context, the empowerment of women is vital for the growth and development of the society. "Empowerment" refers to the ability to become active participants in the state's socio-economic and political issues.

In terms of local governance, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments(1992-1993) have significantly increased women's political engagement in grassroots democracy. The 73rd and 74th amendment acts established new democratic institutions for local government and provided women with reservation in the Panchayati Raj system in two ways. The in India, the Panchayati Raj system is not a foreign concept. Panchayats (five-person councils) were established in ancient India to deal with the state's socio-economic and political concerns. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of nation has termed, these local Panchayats as important and prime institutions for rural government and rural transformation. Considering the importance of Panchayat's, the architects of Indian Constitution have place in a provision for Panchayats under the aegis of Part IV namely Directive Principles of State Policy.

At first, Balwant Rai Mehta Committee in 1957 has recommended the official recognition and composition of PRI's in India. After this, another committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta in December 1977. The said committee has recommended various provisions for strengthening and restructuring the Panchayati Raj Institutions of the country. Followed by this, another committee was constituted under the chairmanship of L. M. Singhvi in 1986. The committee

recommended that PRI's should be accorded constitutional status. Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sponsored a bill in 1989 to grant PRIs constitutional status in accordance to Singhvi's recommendations. The bill, however, was not passed by the Rajya Sabha. Following its defeat in the Rajya Sabha, the V. P. Singh government introduced a bill of similar character. The measure was eventually repealed when Singh's government fell apart. Finally, in September 1991, P. V. Narshima Rao's ministry proposed the law, which was passed by both chambers. In 1992, the law was passed as the Seventy third constitutional amendment act and it went into effect on April 24th, 1993.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act increased India's democratic framework in two ways: (i) strengthening democracy at the grass-roots level, and (ii) increasing involvement of excluded groups such as SCs, STs, and women. Thus, the act was endowed to serve as a catalyst to bring the inclusion of women population in political arena and governance structure at the local level. It was a deliberate attempt of the policy makers since last few decades to represent all the communities/sections in decision making process of the country. The Constitution of India has enumerated certain moral guidelines in the form of "Directive Principles of State Policy" to the policy makers for creating a society that should be just and equitable. But the just and equitable society should be created in all aspects; social, economic and political. Accordingly, the 73rd CAA has created an equitable society in terms of political sphere by according 33% reservation to women. However, the presence of women in these local decision-making organisations, will determine the efficacy of the reservation.

1.4 Khap Panchayat: An Analytical Perspective

Khap Panchayat is an assembly of elder members of a community that has presence in northern states such as Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The members of Khap panchayat belong to the same caste or clan. Khap oversees all the affairs across villages that range from settling of dispute, oversee water sources and decide on the sanctity of marital unions in the society. Khap could be as little as a hamlet or as large as 360 settlements. Khap Panchayats are powerful entities that are used as a last resort in matters concerning the village and its residents. Even there are minimal chances that there will be opposition or challenge against the rulings of Khap Panchayats due to the fear of social boycott (Makkar, 2013). These Khaps have evolved into quasi-judicial organisations that hand down harsh judgments based on long-standing societal practises

and traditions. The Khap adjudications are patriarchal in nature, and numerous horrible crimes are committed in the name of family, clan, village, or caste honour. These bodies are male dominated and have minimal/no presence of female members (Sadiq and Khan, 2018).

The traditional style of social administration known as khap panchayat is practised predominantly in certain north-western states of Indian Union namely; Haryana, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. Khap is an extrajudicial, non-constitutional entity that originated as ethnic organisations in the tribal age but has plainly converted into parallel courts. These Khaps run mostly "retrogressive and alternative law enforcement entities" in Haryana villages. In both rural and urban areas, these Khap Panchayats are gaining popularity. The role of the Khap Panchayat is not limited to restricting the right of women to choose or select her matrimonial spouse, which can take the form of "honour killings" or "forced marriages," but also includes limiting her personal liberty. However, their effect may be seen in the manner in which people dress and the types of garments they wear in social situations.

Khap Panchayat's have tremendous power in society, particularly in areas where Jats are the majority caste, and the institution has drawn criticism for enforcing sanctions to protect caste orthodoxy from societal change. The term 'Khap' is most commonly associated in the public domain with phrases like 'honour killing,' which refers to the brutal, cold-blooded murders of couples who have attempted to go for marriage outside their caste or within the clan (Gotra), whose members are considered consanguineous by the Khaps either by actual kinship or historically close ties. Considering the non-constitutional case of Khap Panchayat's and regressive nature of its proceedings and decisions, the Supreme Court of India deemed the Khap Panchayats "illegal," stating that no assembly has the authority to interfere in a marriage between two consenting individuals (Outlook Web Bureau: 27-March 2018). Caste or Khap Panchayat's, wield considerably supplementary authority than constitutional Panchayats in areas like Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, require harsh punitive acts against women (Yadav, 2013).

The term 'Khap' refers to the village territory of a clan. Thus, Khap denotes an institution that has dominion over a specific territory, moreover in the name gotra or clan. These Khap Panchayats originated in a variety of regions and were shaped by a variety of socio-economic factors. Apart from these factors, caste and ownership played a role in the

formation of these Khap Panchayats (Ritupriya, 2016). Khaps are known as caste or community organisations in villages that make severe judgments and operate as quasi-judicial authorities, enforcing unsympathetic chastisement based on regressive and age-old norms and traditions. They are the village's self-proclaimed courts of caste lords, and they have exclusive legal authority over that segment of the population. The primary purpose of these Khaps is to implement the traditional culture based viewpoints. Khap Panchayat's being a commune organisation that represents a clan or a set of related clans, has a significant impact on how a society runs. However, there are certain factors that have supplemented and strengthened the position and role of Khap Panchayat's. These factors include:

- There is a sense of community feeling and cooperation among the members of same clan, caste or village.
- The “Traditional value system” is an integral part of a society. It exerts tremendous impact upon the behaviour of individuals and the social setting at large.
- There exists a “feeling of togetherness” among the members of same clan or gotra that acts as a binding force between its members.

The primary function of Khap Panchayats is to promote harmony and peace among their communities, and the entire community respects and trusts their senior leaders. As a result, it states that the top leader's decision affects all members of society. The Khap Panchayat's authority, however, is unchecked due to politicians' lethargy and vote-bank politics. As a result, no political party or candidate can ignore the power of Khap Panchayats, as these leaders have a significant impact on whether or not people support a certain political party or candidate during election season. These Khap Panchayat's wield tremendous impact upon the voting behaviour of the community members. They also send an influential message to their people by voting in favour of someone rather than voting against them. By this time, Khap Panchayats had evolved into quasi-judicial bodies with the goal of issuing punitive judgments based on age-old conventions and traditions. The Jat community erected these Khaps in the 14th century to solidify their dominance and position (Rajpurohit & Kaur, 2017).

Khaps Panchayats have their presence in a number of states across the country, including Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana. Khaps in these states are notorious for bizarre edicts such as calling married couple's siblings, ostracising families, and other

horrific crimes. The reasoning behind these heinous convictions is to avoid squandering the society's so-called honour and culture. Who are Khap Panchayats, you might wonder? Who gave them the authority to award verdicts on old age traditions? In certain circumstances, these Khaps are an affront to human rights, thus, there must be a mechanism that will streamline their operations as it is not possible to do away with these Khap Panchayat's in one go.

These Khap Panchayats govern the families in the village that are part of the same gotra (sub-caste or clan). These Khaps are calling for a revision to the "Hindu Marriage Act 1955," with the purpose of prohibiting weddings between members of the same gotra, or even between members of the same village. Episodes such as Love marriages, on the other hand, are forbidden where these Khap Panchayats function. Khaps wield significant power in society when Jats are the majority caste, and as a result, the institution has drawn criticism for imposing sanctions to protect caste orthodoxy from societal change. What Ambedkar has visualized in 1948 is the contemporary state of affairs in India's villages, where organisations such as the Khap/Caste panchayat not only exist and grow, but are also cultivated by our country's political class. In India, villages form the social unit that requires significant social reform. However, the process of enlightenment in India's society and countryside was only partially realised. From the beginning, the enlightenment mission in this country was doomed to fail. As a result, those "caste panchayats will continue to follow a special code that is practised by them", all the way through which they salt away and defend their honour, which is referred to as culture.

These Khap Panchayats are powerful because of the inherent vulnerability of democratically elected Panchayati dominion organisations. In addition, the Jat community, who make up the 25 percent of Haryana's populace, are the state's principal caste faction, making Haryana the geographic epicentre of the most severe form of harsh judgements/verdicts in rural communities. The current governments have largely failed to take adequate measures to counter this menace. Because no legal action has been taken against these Khaps, their authority is still uncontested in some villages. Khap judgments, which refer to the notification of Enders' death, have such a tremendous force and impact on people in rural hamlets that still the law enforcement; have a propensity to ignore them over time.

The exact genesis of Khap Panchayats is unknown to this day. However, it is said that they have started around 600 AD. Villages were rapidly forming in ancient times,

when man was living a nomadic existence, and man was on his way to civilization and greater living standards. Throughout the past millennia, the Indian subcontinent's society was organised in a variety of ways, including cluster villages, monarchical or republican governments, and a five-member council known as a Panchayat. A Gohand is a collection of villages that have banded together. A group of Gohands created a 'Khap,' and a group of Khaps formed a 'Sarv Khap,' which encompassed the entire province or state. As a result, all Khaps were represented by the Sarv Khap Panchayat. At the helm of elections, these Khap Panchayat's elect their leader to send their delegates to Sarv Khap level that represent the Khap. In practicality, these Khaps are made of various clans that came together from all the associated casts and communities. Essentially, they are the legacy of tribal councils, which were founded by diverse tribes to facilitate the resolution of intra-tribal conflicts and inter-tribal relations. Previously, these Khaps were thought to be multi-caste. However, they are now purely a Jat institution. These Khaps are frequently accompanied by influential members of the dominant caste. They require good support at both the local and provincial levels (Bhinder).

Bhinder, M. has quoted Ranbir Singh in his research work, accordingly following submissions have been made with respect to the sources of strength of Khap' Panchayat's:

- The Khap Panchayats' greatest covert strength is the survival of deep kinship feelings among many clans.
- The concept of bhaichara (brotherhood) is prevalent among clans in neighbouring villages as well as among different gotras in the same hamlet.
- No one speaks out against Khap's decision because they agree with it.
- The Khap's sustained strength is due to the lack of streamlined and strengthened Panchayati Raj institutions.
- In recent times, the Khap panchayats have been converted into vote banks, making them almost untouchable.
- All of the major political parties have been wary about speaking out against them.

However, there is no doubt that Khap Panchayat's are unconstitutional and undemocratic. However, Khap's have still presence in states like Haryana due to reasons like: feeling of brotherhood, friendly relations among different villages, Khap Panchayats as vote banks. Also these Khaps have minimal presence of women representatives due to

the gender biasness. Thus, to bring inclusion of women at par with their population, a strong political will and political consciousness is must among all the political parties, government and other stakeholders. The political will act as a catalyst to implement constitutional ideals for inclusive growth and will strengthen the democratic structure of the country (Rajpurohit, & Kaur, 2017).

1.5 Inclusion of Women: A Political Perspective

Inclusion is an act or practice of including or accomidating people who have historically been excluded because of their gender, ethnicity, ability etc. There are different sections of people that are being excluded from the mainstream political structure of the country. However, different measures are being undertaken by the central and state government's to offer them an opportunity to became active participants of different institutions of the state.

In a vibrant social setting, there is always a debate with respect to the political inclusion and exclusion of women. Political participation is seen positively, just as it was during the Cold War. A development of civic organisations and social movements has occurred in tandem with a fall in interest in traditional ways of engagement through political parties. In recent times, the participation of women in political affairs is the vital for bring the inclusivity in the governance structure of the country. Political participation enables the women to engage in wide range of activities including political activism and decision making. Political mobilization allows for the expression of interests, the contestation and refashioning of interpretations, and the assertion of claims alongside the state governance institutions.

The foundation for political participation of women was laid during India's nationalistic struggle. However, there were little transcribe or actual attempts to enlarge the political foundation by linking women in political processes after independence. Since independence, women's space has diminished, and their participation has been limited to familial ties rather than commitment and convictions. The framers of the Indian constitution anticipated that the document would bring gender equality to the country. However, discrimination and inequality continue to exist in many aspects private cum public life. This is obvious in the fact that after independence, participation of women in the decision making process has shrieked. Given these worries concerning women's

political participation, the government must take action to ensure that women are treated equally in politics. In addition, as required by the Constitution, affirmative action measures must be implemented to eliminate existing discrimination and promote political equality.

The constitution of India was drafted on the basis of equality and a just value that assures to facilitate all citizens is treated equally in the eyes of the law. It protects fundamental freedoms and rights while also prohibiting discrimination based on religion, race, caste, gender, or birthplace. However, in recent decade these rights have remained de jure and have not been given practical shape. As a result, numerous social, economic, civil, and political rights have been denied to women. Women have historically been underrepresented in the political sector. In context to political participation, Articles 325 and 326 were added to the Indian constitution that provide political equality, equal right to participate in political activities, and equal right to vote irrespective of gender, case, place of birth and religion. While many women have obtained access to, exercised, and enjoyed the latter, the former, namely equal political involvement, remains a distant dream. However, due to a lack of space for political participation, they were underrepresented in decision-making bodies and their concerns were neglected in policymaking.

In contemporary era, the inclusion of women in the decision making process is the vital aspect to deal with. However, the affirmative action's in the form of reservation have been proved successful tools for the empowerment and growth of women in the decision making process. The inclusion of women is considered as pre-requisite for their inclusive growth and sustainable development of the country. However, women need to be mobilized for their participation in the local level governance with the intention to redress successive challenges at the lower rung of the administrative setting. Positive discrimination in the local level governance structure has resulted in the creation of platform for better and effective political participation of women.

Recognizing that women's lives are profoundly and consistently shaped by a set of societal conventions and standards suggests that a meaningful analysis of socially constructed gender and governance will consider governance in a wider way than is common in any of the earlier studies. The main facets of governance as understood were transparency, responsibility, the legal system and knowledge. Politics as such did not

feature in the record. Therefore, the multiple ways in which democratic people decide the form of their cultures have not been taken into consideration. Newer governance accounts also adopted a wider view of sustainability priorities. Governance is generally known to encompass a broad variety of aspects in which a society's financial, social and institutional system influences its citizens' exposure to essential resources and skills. The participation of women in governance institutions has been hampered since the long times, thus gender and politics become an important subject matter to do the realistic research. Previous studies on gender and politics have revealed that higher participation of women in parliament and state legislatures have exerted a vibrant focus upon the issues related to women.

Women's political participation has two faces: (i) political participation (right to vote) and (ii) representation in decision-making. Because representation does not flow immediately from participation; thus participation is a pre-requisite for creating a platform for representation. While women all around the world have actively participated in political movements at crucial times, however they have been downgraded to the domestic realm of politics once the crisis has passed. Their involvement in local politics is changing the game. "Women can do it," is the current buzzword for them, as several luminaries from various fields have demonstrated emphatically.

Empowerment is a societal progression that enhances the capability and ability of marginalized individuals, groups and organizations to confront and transform the prevailing power relations that have placed them in subservient positions in political, social, and economic concerns. Women's reservation has immensely empowered women in this setting, particularly at the grass-root level decision-making. Women have been active participants in political events all across the world, albeit their numbers are still small. Despite their roles as legislators, CEOs, and top administrators, they are relegated to the margins of politics, unable to have a significant impact on policy and decision-making process.

Panchayati Raj Institutions are tied to the empowerment of impoverished groups, notably women, and are considered as a solution to all rural development challenges. With the passage of the 73rd amendment, women were guaranteed a 33% reservation in local self-governing bodies. In a very patriarchal society, this policy was intended to empower women and increase their representation. However, there was concern that some

would run as proxies for strong husbands, earning the moniker "pradhanpati" (husband of the chief). Women candidates in Haryana (Rohtak or Mewat) have one thing in common: their husbands and father-in-law establish their identity. Every election poster contains a portrait of a woman candidate who is either accompanied by her husband or father-in-law. Affirmative action, on the other hand, appears to have greatly boosted the participation of women representatives, including members of marginalised groups, throughout time. In a patriarchal and caste-ridden culture, women's political paths are difficult, and women members of the local panchayat face significant hurdles. Previous studies have revealed that women representatives are less comfortable in working at panchayat level with their male counterparts due to issues of male dominance. Also the women representative took longer durations to demonstrate their capacity in decision making as compared to male representatives.

Women's representation has seen an upward trend in the Indian context due to various legislative measures at place. It is a significant step forward for women to be able to make decisions on par with males. However, representation alone is insufficient unless it is accompanied with involvement. Women's effective participation is hampered by institutional and social impediments, according to the International Centre for Research on Women. As a result, strengthening women's capacity to participate actively will necessitate structural cum institutional reforms and revolutionizing the power structure including patriarchy, physical barriers and emotional abuse against the women. However, special needs associated with women including bridging educational gap, revising gender roles and responsibilities, gender based division of labour should be addressed in a systematic approach.

As a result, despite half a century of experimenting, the non inclusion of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions should be a key worry for all those who want India's democracy to thrive. This could be due to public apathy caused by ignorance and illiteracy, or institutional flaws that force people to operate outside the system. Local leadership patterns and structures, on the other hand, are rapidly evolving. As a result, women leaders must be included in all aspects of government in order to be empowered. Also, the participation and representation of women in political affairs of state will address the issues pertaining to their socio-economic backwardness.

1.6 Institutional Exclusion: An Outlook

According to *Oleinik (2012)* 'Institutional exclusion' refers to regular people's alienation from governance institutions and their inability to rely upon the official and legal procedures in their routine lives. There exists a systematic and structural exclusion of women in governance structures including PRI's. The exclusion of women from political affairs is not an outcome of the socio-economic backwardness or their minimal ability in participating in government mechanisms, but due to politic-economic procedure strategically imposed upon them. Therefore, there exists a vicious circle which limits the participation of women in governance structure and on the other side; inability (less expertise) of women has further supplemented their political exclusion.

However, official statistics from Election Commission of India have revealed that participation of women in formal politics is gaining momentum as it is evident from the increasing voter turnout of women. The women are also actively participating in election campaigning, but they are still excluded from legislative bodies in proportion to the population share. Thus, women are being deprived of key roles in decision making process. However, previous studies have revealed that 'interest in politics' is the prime factor for women to undertake the political roles and political activities. In recent times, 'media exposure' is the major factor that enhances the participation of women in the political realm. Also certain key issues need to be addressed that will further enhance the political participation of women and their inclusion. Affirmative actions should be implemented in systematic way and women should be given due political representation (Kumar & Rai 2007).

Therefore, Institutional Exclusion denotes the barring of women from decision making process in the country. The exclusion ranges from central level to the grass root level decision making. There are different reasons that range from lack of political will, male domination society and effective implementation of constitutional and legislative measures that exclude the women from becoming the active participants in decision making process of the country. The exclusion of women from governance structures deprive them of various facilities and all round development. Thus, these issues need to be addressed for active political participation of women in political sphere.

1.7 Deliberate Inclusion: A Political Perspective

Deliberate inclusion is also known as intentional inclusion. It denotes that inclusion is a condition that exists deep within a group where differences are accepted, valued and respected. India being the largest democratic establishment on earth is also the home to second largest population on the globe. Participation and representation of all citizens in democratic institutions and processes are essential to democratic values. Election Commission of India, other Constitutional bodies, political parties, and parliaments are examples of these institutions and processes. However, the due representation of all the sections of society paves the way for just and equitable society. The population of India is 1.34 billion; it also accounts approximately half women. Thus, there should be due representation of women in decision making process in proportion to their population share at every governance sphere including local level. Therefore, to create a just and equitable society the constitution makers of India have place in certain Articles in the constitution that are aimed to create a just society. Accordingly, the governments at both levels (centre and state) have undertaken deliberate parliamentary measures for the effectual due representation of women in governance mechanism. These deliberate measures include:

- *Article 243 D (3)* has clearly stated that not below the 33% of seats should be kept reserve for women and other disadvantaged sections including SC's and ST's in every panchayat. However, such reserved seats should be rotated uniformly in the constituencies in the successive elections.
- Also *Article 243 D (4)* has visualized the not less than one-third of seats at upper rung of the panchayat hierarchy should be reserved for women, SC's and ST's.
- In the similar fashion *Article 243 T (3)* has stated that one third of seats should be reserved for women, SC's and ST's in every Municipality. Also, such reserved seats should be rotated uniformly in the constituencies in the successive elections.
- *Article 243 T (4)* has stated that reservation in the office of chairman of Municipalities for women, SC's and ST's should be provide as mandated by the legal framework.

1.8 Rationale and Scope of the Study

The political participation of women is considered as the vital factor for empowering the women in the governance perspective. Gender equality and equity are serious problems all around the world. 'Democracy is not the aim of progress; it is the fundamental method of development,' says Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen. As a result, women's political engagement is critical for building democracy and fighting marginalisation, trivialization, and oppression. Women are seen as vital in the process of change in rural communities. Women's participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions has given them a say in how the country makes decisions. Their participation in PRIs has become a crucial tool for allowing people to participate in the country's decision-making process. Women, on the other hand, have a variety of problems in carrying out their responsibilities and roles. Proxy participation in meetings, role conflicts as they deal with family, community, and government grievances, societal hurdles, male dominated governance institutions, lack of political knowledge, information, and educational backwardness, and so on are some of their issues. As a result, research on institutional exclusion and deliberate inclusion of women in local decision-making processes in Haryana is critical.

1.9 Research Objectives

Objectives are the goals that specify how they will be attained. Every research project must have a goal for which all efforts have been made. There can be no research and no results if there are no objectives. The entire study process is carried out in accordance with predetermined objectives. Every study's main focus is its objectives. The study's goal directs how you should approach the research challenge. It directs and keeps the researcher on track. Women empowerment is an ongoing debate in a country like India. The women in the society are occupying a subordinate position to men. Thus, there is need to empower them politically, socially and economically. The Governments at both levels (state and central level) have undertaken bold attempts to overcome their subordination, but despite these attempts women are not able to become the active participants of the local level governance in the country. The present study intends to focus upon the various aspects of women's functioning in the local level governance and their impact on the overall governance structure of the country. The research will examine

the various dimensions of women's inclusion in governance through local governance initiatives on the basis of empirical investigations in the state of Haryana.

Accordingly, the present research work aims to fulfil the following objectives; the first objective is 'To analyse the women's empowerment in terms of their participation in local governance structure and the issues cum problems associated thereby in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Kaithal and Jind Districts of Haryana'. The objective aims to explore the structure of local governance structure in Haryana and the problems associated thereby. The second objective is 'To compare the participation of women with respect to the local governance structures in context to modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Haryana'. The said objective intends to make a comparative analysis of constitutional and unconstitutional body like Khap panchayat. The third objective of the study is 'To study and also make a comparative analysis of role of women in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Haryana'.

The research has also 'canvassed the relationship of Women in Governance within the larger question of gender discrimination in State of Haryana'. Also the study aims "To discern significant legal initiation for the inclusion of women in the local governance process of Kaithal and Jind District's" and "To suggest measures in order to better the performance & participation of women in Local Governance structures."

1.10 Research Questions

After post-independent era in India, when the country undertook objectives of socio-economic and political development through various inclusive measures, there was the need to bring the institutional inclusion of all the sections of people in a deliberate way. India being a largest democratic establishment in the world has brought in certain legal and constitutional measures that were meant for bringing inclusivity of women in decision making process of the country. However, the inclusivity should include both; horizontal and vertical dimensions. Despite various deliberate measures in place, the women in the state of Haryana are unable to become the active participants in decision making process at the local level. It is evident from the statistics that participation of women is gaining momentum in local level governance in Haryana, but they face several issues pertaining to socio-economic conditions. It is in this context, the present study will answer the important questions.

The most important questions are what is the status of women empowerment in local level governance in terms of their political participation in the state of Haryana? What are the various issues and challenges faced by women in political participation and decision making process in the Kaithal and Jind district's of Haryana? What are the different inclusive measures undertaken by the Governments at both the levels to amplify the political participation of women in the state? What kind of gender relationship exists when it comes to women's political engagement in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats? What are the administration's numerous legal steps to encourage women to actively engage in local governance structures? What are the best practises for improving the role of women in local governance in Haryana's Kaithal and Jind districts, as well as India in general? Hence, the present study discusses issues pertaining to Modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Jind and Kaithal districts of Haryana.

1.11 Research Methodology

Research methodology is an orderly technique and method for carrying out a task in a systematic approach. It can be thought of as a science that studies how scientific research is conducted. The best strategy for choosing a research methodology is determined by the nature of the job, the amount of time and resources available, and the desired level of accuracy. The research technique section of the thesis is essential for highlighting the study's method and procedure. The present study is the combination of both qualitative and quantitative research.

The present study is an exploration into the women's Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion in the local level governance structure in the Kaithal and Jind District's of Haryana. This study is exploratory & descriptive in nature and intends to analyse and employing the qualitative techniques as well as analytical methods in order to arrive at academic conclusions. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, various books, Journal Papers, newspaper articles, government archives & already published thesis constitute the secondary sources of data.

In order to quantify the objectives, Quantitative methods have been employed that includes questionnaire and interview tool as well. Interview and Group discussion were employed in the research work to derive the inferences from the respondents. The sample of the study is 400. This has been divided into qualitative & quantitative portion. The

Universe of the study is Kaithal and Jind District's of Haryana. Simple Random sampling procedure has been used to collect the data from the Kaithal and Jind District's of the Haryana state. The unit of the study is the State of Haryana and more particularly the Districts of Kaithal and Jind. Kaithal is one of the 22 districts of State of Haryana. It has a literacy of 69.2 percent. Kaithal has 4 tehsils namely Kaithal, Gulha, Pundri, & Kalayat and 3 sub-tehsils namely Dhand, Rajound & Siwan and has a population of 1074304. Jind district has seven revenue tehsils namely Jind, Safidon, Julana, Pilukhera, Alewa, Uchana & Narwana and has population of 1334152.

In the present study Census method and Probability Sampling Method has been used to select the respondents. The field survey has been conducted in the state of Haryana. Three tehsils from each Kaithal and Jind district's of Haryana were selected for the study of local level governance structure by using lottery method of Simple Random Sampling technique. The simple random technique has also paved the way for women to become the active participants in the study. All the women Sarpanches of Village Panchayats from Kaithal and Jind districts were contacted for data collection by using census method. Thus the number of the respondents for the present study is 400.

The data collected from primary and secondary sources and other information has been organised in synthesized and systematic manner to infer conclusions and insights using the statistical tools. The data are coded, edited and revised before their presentation in tables, figures, boxes and photographs. Consequently, the data are analysed and interpreted to explore and explicate the results and findings. However the data processing shall pass through the following processing operations: (1) Editing, (2) Classification and (3) Tabulation. The analyzed data shall be displayed in tables, graphs, figures, diagrams, charts and maps etc.

1.12 Scope of the Study

The present study has been done around the District's of Kaithal and Jind. The study is an exploration into the role of women in Political Institutions & Governance structure of the Haryana state. There are good enough suggestions for other Local Level Governance Institutions in the State of Haryana. Haryana being one of the States of India that has very poor gender participation in decision making and stereotypical society generally, this study shall work out best things in Kaithal and Jind District's and

highlights the need and importance of women in Political Institutions & Decision making. This will come as a role model study for other Districts as well.

Khap institutions being the effective and powerful decision making bodies at local level in Haryana are facing diverse issues that range from dearth of female participants to lack of constitutional validity. Thus, in this context the study will be helpful to craft awareness regarding the origin, powers and role of Khap panchayats. The study will also explore various issues pertaining to the participation of women in these Khaps.

1.13 Proposed Hypotheses

Hypothesis is an assumption or concession made for the sake of argument. It presents a tentative answer to a research problem. The hypothesis should be validated by using data from primary and secondary sources. The hypothesis may prove right or wrong. Thus, in consistency with the previously cited objectives, the following hypotheses were framed to guide the data collection and analysis:

- An active political participation of women in local self-governance system enhances the decision-making capability of women and their role in developmental plans.
- The familial roles and cultural responsibilities assigned on women deteriorate the nature and level of women's participation in local self-governance.
- Khap panchayats being unconstitutional and undemocratic have more powers over the socio-economic aspects in Haryana as compared to the modern panchayats in the state.

1.14 Limitations of the study

It is not convenient for the researcher to analyze and elaborate all the aspects of the research work in detail. Thus, there may exist a vacuum in the research work. The research work may be limited by certain personal, physical and geographical factors. Accordingly, the present research work may meet with following limitations.

- 1) It has been assumed that the Information furnished by the many respondents may not be authentic, bona fide and genuine.
- 2) The respondents may not furnish the exact picture of their opinion in the neutral manner.

- 3) The time period for conducting the study is inadequate as the sample size covers only the districts of Kaithal and Jind.
- 4) The sample size of the research work is 400 only as it is not convenient to collect the data from the whole population.
- 5) Also the COVID-19 pandemic has affected the collection of qualitative data from outside the Kaithal and Jind districts.
- 6) Also the interview schedule meant for furnishing the information from respondents is more suitable for collecting data for the present day.

1.15 Chapterization

Considering the magnitude of the research theme and the essentiality of the research components, the research work **“Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion of Women in Local Bodies in Haryana: A Case Study of Modern Panchayat and Khap Panchayat in Kaithal and Jind Districts”** is divided into six chapters with due regard to the coherency and chronology of matter, as given below:

1. Chapter I is titled as ‘INTRODUCTION’ and focus on some aspects of the Inclusion and Exclusion of women in Panchayat’s in Haryana state including meaning, features, and their role in strengthening the democratic structure in the state at the grass root level preceded by objectives, hypotheses and research methodology.
2. Chapter II is titled as “LITERATURE REVIEW” and deals with extensive review of literature of existing works preceded by inferences drawn from literature review and research gap.
3. Chapter III is titled as “LOCAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF HARYANA STATE: ROLE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE” and deals with evolution and prospect of local governance structures including Modern Panchayats and Khap Panchayat’s in Kaithal and Jind district’s of Haryana. The chapter also deals with the role of women in local governance structure in Haryana.
4. Chapter IV is titled as ‘INSTITUTION EXCLUSION: AN ANALYSIS OF ROLE OF INCLUSIVE MEASURES FOR POLITICAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN AT LOCAL LEVEL IN HARYANA’. The chapter analyses the role

of different inclusive measures in bringing the institutional inclusion of women in local level decision making process in the state of Haryana.

5. Chapter V is titled as “DATA INTERPRETATION AND DATA ANALYSIS” presents the data in tabular and visual form. The chapter evaluates and analyses the role of Inclusive measures in bringing the institutional inclusion of women in local governance structure in Haryana on the basis of analysis and interpretation of collected data.
6. Chapter VI is titled as ‘FINDINGS OF THE STUDY AND MAJOR POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS’ and delves into major findings of the study. The chapter also presents recommendations for improving the working Modern Panchayat’s of Haryana state.

1.16 Conclusion

India after independence has adopted the ideals of just and equality in the constitutional and democratic set-up. After gaining independence from Britain, India opted for representative democracy, where all the communities and groups could be represented in uniformity. However, India being a diverse nation is the home to different groups and communities that constitute the “Unity in Diversity”. While as all the communities are not getting due representation in the decision making and governance structure of the country. Considering the case of women, they are under-represented in the political sphere of the country. Their share in decision making is minimal as compared to their population share. Thus, there exists a need to bring uniformity in the affairs of governance.

Women's political empowerment can begin with inclusive policies, as their confidence and understanding of the polity will enable them to vote in state legislature and Parliament elections, paving the way from Panchayat to Parliament. It's just the start of a journey toward empowerment. However, it is imperative that they be addressed in the open and effective policy implementation process at the local level. The reservation for political participation should come into existence in the transparent manner, so that women can play at par role in PRI's for policy formulation and implementation.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

An article review is a type of literature review. It involves a search and evaluation of the existing literature on the chosen study topic. It summarises what is currently known about the subject or topic. Article review reflects the recent and updated information cum data on a particular subject including the methodologies and sustentative results. A literature review is a secondary source of information that does not contain any new or original material. A literature review establishes the work's credibility by demonstrating familiarity with a body of knowledge. It integrates and summarises what is known about the issue and reviews earlier studies.

Literature review intends to showcase the readers an overview of the sources used while researching on a particular subject matter. It also denotes how a particular research fits under the suitable themes of the research. A literature review, in essence, identifies, analyses, and synthesises significant literature in a certain field of study. An extensive review of literature explores and highlights the aspects that have been explored, what is emerging and what the present state or research is. Review of literature also explores the research gap (under discovered and unexplored regions) and articulates how the present research work will bridge the gap. Therefore, review of literature provides a direction in which the researcher has explore new knowledge.

The review of literature is a vital task of research enterprises, because it hones the intellectual skill of the researcher and keeps him or her away from confusion and inconsistency. That is why the review of literature is called as light house which acts as a guide for confounded scholars. It is also useful to bridge the gap between knowledge and practice. As, the present study is undertaken to know the efficacy of a watchdog institution in Haryana, so the researcher accessed to available and existing literary sources, both online and offline. The review of literature acts as a gateway to expand knowledge and context to analyze the research problem deeply and sharply. The available literature in this research domain is too much bulky to review; hence, brief overview of the literature is undertaken. In the light of objectives of research problem, the relevant

works on “Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion of Women” are investigated and analyzed.

Thus, literature review is an integral part of a research work. It presents an overview of the existing research works in a concerned subject matter. It also presents the relevant facts and figures that help to uphold the validity of primary data. The present research work is a multidimensional work, that covers wide range of concepts like inclusion of women in political arena, Khap Panchayat’s and Modern Panchayat’s etc. Thus, considering the length and dimensions of research, the review of literature has been presented under following sub-titles:

- Political Inclusion of Women at National Level
- Political Inclusion of Women at State Level
- Position of Women at Panchayat Level in Other States
- Position of Women at Panchayat Level in Haryana State
- Position of Women in Khap Panchayat’s in Haryana

2.2 Political Inclusion of Women at National Level

According to the website of **UN Women Asia & Pacific**, the increasing share of women in governance institutions continues to boost their public openness, but this cannot be the end. All that is required are government changes that are gender-sensitive, allowing all political leaders to be more successful in promoting and enforcing gender equity in public policy. UN Women's work focuses on promoting women's democratic engagement and good governance, by ensuring that governance institutions are inclusive in nature and are participatory, sensitive, and fair. The focus is on critical entry points that can help women increase their responsibilities by catalysing broad-based, long-term consequences. United Nations supports the women's political participation in Timor-Leste through a variety of programmes aimed at improving women's ability to hold positions of power. Women are under-represented in political and decision-making positions in Aceh. While Aceh is proud of its history of female leaders and heroines, the country's dominant cultural and societal traditions regard politics as a male sphere.

Devaud (1968) argues that it is interesting to notice that very few tests have been done on the history of women's political rights in Western Europe, as well as their actions as senators and electors. Indeed, with the exception of a report undertaken in 1955 by

Maurice Duverger, at the behest of the United Nations Economic, Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), on four main western European countries, very little work of science significance has been found to date. Nevertheless, Mattei Dogan and Jacques Narbonne, in their analysis "French people are coming to terms with governance," conducted in the light of the UNESCO inquiry, argued that "Without the support of women, the democracies in Western Europe may have become quite different from those we have seen in the years after the Second World War. Such scholars have shown that in France, as in Germany or Italy, only the presence of a female vote has stopped the creation of Communist regimes. It would be appropriate to recognize the importance of women's electoral involvement in Western Europe and to determine if the roles they bear explicitly relate to their general success and the impact they have had on elections in 1967.

Schmidt (1977) argues that with the shifts in agriculture, women will first come to the assistance of their husbands, and will then be totally removed from development. It has also been suggested that the introduction of other societies into conventional structures also introduces "behind," perhaps European, ideas about the position of women, which precipitate a re-definition of the prevailing ethic of society. Colonialism thus introduced, among other horrors, a fresh and encumbering conception of the position of women. Similar methods have given rise to some periods of industrialisation, such as the transition from cottage style manufacturing to mechanized industry in the less developed world. Beyond this relatively favourable perception of the position of women in capitalist regimes, it is a reality that the educational standard of women, their job conditions, legal rights, political involvement, remuneration for jobs, autonomy and so on vary greatly across communities. Such innovations are listed here in order to further highlight the complexity, overlaps and inconsistencies involved in the topic of women's roles in growth. Women and growth are diverse and wide-ranging field in finance, politics and culture, and a fertile area for academic studies. Considerations on the past of women and progress in these areas have been examined and multitude of connections has been produced with respect to their economic and political involvement. Also an investigation into women's political behaviour and voting behaviour has been presented; accordingly an exploration into their social status consequences have been analyzed in relation to their political participation.

Medoff (1986) has argued that recently, significant focus has been given to the roles and responsibilities of women in the American political structure. The decade of the seventies was characterized by an expansion in women's public office rivalry. Around 1970 and 1980, the increased number of women made substantial improvements at all stages, with the most notable changes in the department. Since 1968, the number of females elected to state legislatures has increased substantially, from 303 in 1968 to 992 in 1987. While state legislatures are overwhelmingly male, the degree of male dominance differs considerably from state to state. Because, while in state legislatures, women, unlike males, are less inclined to hold higher position, and because their relative representation is significantly higher in state legislatures than in Congress, the state legislature is especially important field for study. Political scientists have offered different theories as to why women have a lower rate of representation as public officials than males. Such theories include (1) physiological restrictions (women lack the psycho-social traits synonymous with political leadership) (2) patriarchal limits (policy is man's work); (3) gender limitations (women have been socialized in the gender of wife / mother); (4) male manipulation (men attempt to maintain their positions of authority by placing limits on women's entrance to arrangements of governance).

Rando (1991) has given an exploration into the women and Gender issues. The argument is that the “Essential Representation of Women is quite diabolical”. Feminist philosophy has given us the perspective that gender is both a systemic part of culture and a means of learning. Sex, orientation, the human body and the perception of individuals have a conceptual sense and cannot in any manner be interpreted as normal, unmediated by ritual. Recently, the question raised by "women" has been formulated as a dispute between two classes. In the one side, American women are classified in different forms as empiric, progressive, or traditional feminism. In the other side, French post-structural thinkers, usually described by Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida and Julia Kristeva, whose study appears to bring into doubt also the legitimacy of xenophobia as a political phenomenon? How does the idea of gender as a connection tell the feminist practice in art history and theory? (Will the awareness of the interaction that produces gender allow one to move past the fact that, in Western art, the portrayal of "women" is sometimes objectified for sexual gratification?)

In light of the fact that women's marginalisation in our party politics is inextricably linked to the marginalisation of all decent citizens, According to **Kishwar (1996)**, India needs broad-based democratic changes that reduce the dominance of money and coercion in the political scenario and pave the way for democratizing the decision making in political parties as well as proportional representation that allows marginalized people or communities to participate. Women who had lobbied for a constitutional amendment in early years to create a 33 percent reservation arrangement for women participants in the Lok Sabha and respective state assemblies were outraged when the bill was not passed the same day it was tabled and the topic was referred to a Parliamentary select committee. They viewed the demand for a more in-depth debate of the initiative as an effort to undermine it, as evidence that our people are already riddled with oppressive anti-women ideals.

While as there is no question that some male lawmakers felt confused by the possibility of having to give too much ground to women all of a sudden? The strangest fact regarding the marginalization of women in Indian politics is that this is occurring amid mainstream popular sentiment in support of women's successful political involvement. The latest country-wide opinion survey conducted by the Centre for the Analysis of Emerging Societies for India Today confirms most encouragingly and unequivocally that there is no real gender gap in India on this issue. In general, Indian people do not appear to feel intimidated by women in positions of authority, even those who do not give their own wives or daughters the ability to do so. In our world, women such as Kiran Bedi or Indira Gandhi who are considered to be greater than men can be worshiped as virtual goddesses. They are almost never exposed to mockery and animosity.

Omevedt (2005) argues that although South Asia boasts some of the world's most influential woman leaders, while as women's overall political representation remained bleak. The barriers to equitable involvement of women in government in these nations are ingrained in the socio-cultural ways of social existence and extremely competitive nature of politics. Asia provides us with a mystery. It's seen more influential woman leaders than any other group of countries in the world. Females became prime ministers, members of the political groups, heads of government and provincial governments. Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Chandrika Kumaratunga in Sri Lanka, Sonia Gandhi in India and Khaled Zia in Bangladesh are the prominent examples. However, women's total electoral engagement is

disappointing. The representation of women in the parliaments of these countries has risen from 6 to 8 per cent during the past few decades; the predominance of woman elected figures at the highest level appears to have little effect on even the marginally lower level of elites that usually send representatives of Parliament. Reservations of women in urban self-government bodies have been in service for a little more than a decade. Training projects have been coordinated by NGOs and often funded by the government; in certain instances, they have served to put together elected panchayat women to offer guidance on local government problems, as well as some limited feminist philosophy.

Rai, M. S. (2005) has stated that the participation of women can be reviewed from different field of enquiry:

- Participation in Political institutions: women can be active participants in decision making process through bureaucracy, policy making bodies and representative organisations.
- Participation in formal and informal political venues, such as women's movements, human rights organisations, and self-employed women's associations (SEWA), among others.
- Academic and research bodies that feed policy institutions and dialogues build political and knowledge networks. These networks outline and support equality discourses in different settings.

According to the researcher, following initiatives will be supportive to enlarge the political participation of women: Quotas, Educational and Economic empowerment, Family, In-law and community support.

Hazarika (2006) has demonstrated empirically that Gross lack of knowledge and misinformation with respect to the Panchayati Raj Institutions and actually recommends the education, training and capacity building of both men and women as the primary phase in every effort to enforce these democratic steps through an empirical analysis of rural Assam. The overall situation of women in the North East is better than that of women in the rest of India. They have higher rates of economic stability, independence, and labour power than other women in India. It is true that women in Assam have a higher standing than women in the Greater Indian Community, provided that the caste system in that area is not educated. This may be primarily attributed to the fact that

culture in Assam has largely developed from a tribal history and hence maintained some of the characteristics of inclusion in their belief system. In comparison, women's independence in Assam is also even more attributable to factors such as shortage of purdah and occupational caste-groups resulting in caste versatility. Generally speaking, people just understood that panchayat was going to be there to solve their problems and provide villagers with facilities. He argued that the president and representatives were giving services to their families on their own thus depriving the very poor. In the other hand, the President justified herself by claiming that she was helpless because no fund or authority had been passed to her.

Raju (2006) argues that the gender policy climate is brimming with inconsistencies and problems of varied degrees India did not vanished, even in recent ground-breaking style of participatory interventions seems to keep the women's organizations at the epicentre of governance agenda. Sketching on two grass root joint initiatives, the paper claims that even well-designed ventures neglect the cutting-edge differentiation between women and class and fail to indulge in the conceptual language of women's growth and advancement, at the detriment of social equity and inclusion concerns, in turning the purpose into practice. Nevertheless, it is often recognized that spatially rooted social and cultural specificities have an effect on policy debates that somewhat is rooted in variety of theoretically uniform policy formulations. According to the paper, understanding the spatiality of encounters offers a focal point for participating objectively in context-specific approaches to address gender-based differences and pressures arising from co-operation.

Conway (2007) argues that while women may have the expertise and job experience required to retain office successfully, civic views must also be inclusive and people must be prepared to vote for women. Opinion surveys suggest the popular views have shifted. A version of cultural theory reflects on the time constraints involved with women's conventional positions as wife and mother and the persistent absence of family help for women finding jobs outside the house, let alone a political position. A second reason for the low proportion of female public office holders' highlights-in addition to family care commitments and time constraints associated with non-domestic employment-the unequal development of skills applicable to a political profession by participation in non-political events. While as equally women and men have the ability to learn these skills through

charitable organisations, religious entities in which lay people play an active role and work-related programs and organisations, more often than not men participate in certain organizational practices that facilitate skills acquisition.

Although some researchers indicate that political insiders may not discriminate against women. **David Niven (1998)** suggests that views of the impact of gender on political recruiting in the United States are founded on insufficient, incomplete and contradictory proof. Most of the research concentrates on the political performance of woman voters in general elections, rather than on the willingness of woman to be elected for their group. Niven focuses on four states, in each of which he explores the future pool of women who could be candidates for state legislative office and local party association leaders who could play a major position as gatekeepers.

Kumar, S. & Raj P. (2007) have conducted the study on “Gendered political exclusion: Crucial implications for Indian democracy.” The researcher looked on the fundamental patterns and themes related to political participation of women and their level of inclusion as well as exclusion from political processes. According to secondary sources, women's political participation, including voting and election campaigning, has increased, however their presence in legislation is minimal. As a result, they are barred from participating in government decision-making processes. According to field studies, 'passion in politics' is the most important criterion for women to participate in political activities. As a key variable, 'media exposure' for awareness emerges. Certain difficulties, however, must be addressed in order to improve women's political engagement and inclusion in decision-making processes.

Khanna, M. (2009) has given the argument around women that the constitution gave civil freedom to women. While constitutional reforms have required women to quit the relative stability of the domestic sphere in order to join the male-dominated political domain, the involvement of women in politics has been of little significance. Democratic engagement is a dynamic concept that can be clarified by examining a variety of variables. The essay grouped the factors into three categories to study this dynamic situation: psychological variables, socioeconomic variables, and political variables. It suggests that women's presence is critical both as a demand for basic fairness and as an important pre-requisite for human subsistence.

This may be accomplished not just by increasing numbers, but also by ensuring that female members are aware of the issues and are able to successfully handle them. Acceptance of their dignity and faith in their ability would help to improve the democratic situation. The public openness of women continues as their share in decision making process has witnessed an upward trend. Thus, all which is required is the gender sensitive government structural changes that will create an enabling environment for women and foster gender equality in the public policy sphere.

Rai (2011) has argued that Women's engagement in organized politics in India has seen a noticeable rise in voting and election campaigns. Despite significant progress in these two regions, women continue to be underrepresented in national and state legislative bodies, as well as political parties. Factors associated with the political sphere and electoral activities suggest that they differ in the case of women as voters and women as contestants. The gap that exists in the political sphere has seen a healing touch with the induction of reservation system in the local level governance structure. In every democratic social setting, the political participation and political inclusion of women is the critical activity and crucial detriment in the development of democracy. Gender sensitive democracy could not be expressed in terms of equality and independence in politics, but also in terms of autonomy and platform created for women in democratic electoral politics.

Political party rivalry in India is primarily responsible for female electoral marginalisation, as national political parties and regional political parties in the states differ not just in terms of parliamentary seat quotas, but also in terms of party rank and file and command structure. It can be traced to a large degree to the party rivalry system in the Indian subcontinent, which is encumbered by implicit male domination and patriarchal mentality that removes women from the political cycle, in comparison to the weak distribution of women's seats by political parties in the election cycle and the marginalization of women in the group system.

Chary, M. R. (2012) has conducted the research on “Women and Political Participation in India: A Historical Perspective.” The researcher attempted to gain a better knowledge of the socio-economic and political difficulties faced by marginalised groups, with a focus on women. Even after more than sixty years of independence, the researcher claims that the country's legislators are unable to translate women's de jure rights into de facto rights.

Historically women have no or limited space in the political sphere including in national and regional political parties as decision makers. As a result, other institutions have failed to legitimize and recognise women's contributions and participation in state affairs.

2.3 Political Inclusion of Women at State Level

Chowdhry (1993) argues in his paper that Haryana's post-colonial socio-economy is in direct contrast to the colonial period when it was one of the most isolated and underdeveloped areas of British India. Imperialism's interests had provided very low importance to some change in agriculture, and Britain's irrigation policies had held the region deprived of this vital need, which is the main determinant of agriculture. In this hard subsistence system, with complete reliance on family labour for agriculture, women have arisen, as we have seen elsewhere, as economic assets and have also been widely acknowledged. Except for ploughing, digging and pushing a horse, there was no sort of agricultural work, which women did not do. Forty-five years of democracy, the rural women of Haryana have often been in a separate rural environment. The implementation of far-reaching agro-economic reforms has effectively catapulted this aspect from a pitiable subsistence economy to the second richest state in India.

The goal of this study is to locate Haryanavi women with all their national, class and caste differences. Agro-economically, the green revolution, as defined by educator Sheila Bhalla, has largely etched Haryana into three regions and two other minor sub-regions. The richest region is the Karnal district and its neighbouring territory. The gross irrigated area is almost seventy percent of the overall cultivated region and is primarily irrigated by tube-wells. Extensive usage of female family labour in Haryana has traditionally spread through caste and class divides. It is valid for dominating caste communities, such as Jats, Gujjars, Ahirs, Bishnois, and other developed caste classes, as well as among the lower castes. This has also been noticed among those that have become the biggest winners of the Green Revolution who have seen an immense growth.

Pathania (1994) argues that Knowledge of human rights in a completely formed context must be held in mind, presupposes a societal environment and a strategy that encourages every citizen to believe like he or she has a distinct identity and to make his or her decisions for the future course of action unfettered by primary taboos or collective orders. A study was carried out on the basis of a questionnaire designed with these considerations

in mind. Forty respondents from the city of Kurukshetra, including those from the university campus and forty from the neighbouring village of Lohar Majra, were picked. Care was taken that the survey included people from various groups in terms of employment, schooling, social standing and position outside the home. A crystal outlook of women's knowledge of the problem of gender discrimination, the mechanisms of reform in this recognition and the conditions to improve the capacity to face the challenges raised by gender discrimination can only be achievable through an observational approach focused on a common sense system. There is tenacity and resilience in all formal social phenomena. It is especially relevant in the case of a culture like the one in which our study of the extent of women's understanding of their human rights problems has been undertaken.

Yadav (2000) argues that since a long time, the Chautala family has controlled a part of public life in Haryana. This affected economic growth and the effort to seek fairness as demonstrated in the furore of the Ruchika affair. Throughout recent years, though, it is the Haryanvi people of all walks of life who are fighting to maintain gender equality. Their efforts to lift the standard of schooling among women and to expand political participation are both part of their opposition to long-standing caste ideas that tend to marginalize them. Last October, JMS organized a rally in Hissar against violence and hunger. It was the season to select cotton, so the organisation was planning just 400 people to attend the rally. Yet on the day of the protest, the leaders were overjoyed. Five times as many as 2,000 people involved in the march, their hopes were compromised. A new JMS campaigner, Krishna from Kaithal, took a busload of woman demonstrators to this demonstration. The patriarchs in her district have threatened Krishna, and she is named 'the inciter of domestic discord.' Complaints were even brought to the authorities about her 'loose conduct.' Scores of people, not all of whom have a lot of education but have the help of those who have, have suddenly become very involved in Haryana. The curtain has not been thrown away, but it is not permitted to obstruct the entrance of women into the public domain. The best news is that women have lately started serving as 'key insiders' in the socio-cultural life of Haryana.

2.4 Position of Women at Panchayat Level in Other States

Haxel D' Lima (1983) investigated the socioeconomic position of women in Maharashtra and their engagement. The primary focal point of the study was to explore on women's roles in Zilla parishads and Panchayati Samities. She focused on the social background, social awareness and their outlook of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions. She points out that majority of them were there because of their husbands and not because of their merit. She also points out that majority of them were illiterate and were unable to read the agenda items.

Bhargava and Subha (1995) studied the participation of women in PRIs in pre and post 73rd Constitutional Amendment Period in Karnataka State. The researchers have stated that decentralization serves as an instrument for development from below. In the pre 73rd Constitutional Amendment era, 25 percent of reservation was provided to women. So a large number of women made an entry into political arena hitherto untouched to a great extent. The study also points that the problems were enormous. At the Mandal and Village level, the national as well as political parties have found it very complicated to locate and identify the women for contesting elections. But the political parties were not prepared for this mobilisation. As a result, the influential and dominant castes inducted their women into the Panchayats and few women asserted their position and participated in decision making."

According to **Jayalakshmi (1995)**, "empowered women make significant commitments and engage in productive, goal-oriented activities that they choose for themselves." She notes that Aristotle and other classical political writers expressed that women are less competent to engage in political activities and created a space for men, and that contemporary western political theory is gender-myopic. She advises to women saying that women should act on their strength of being women and make women's visibility in politics. She also suggested that women should be politically visible.

Ilaben Jani (1995) by identifying the differences between boys and girls points out that female children are secondary children and she mentions many factors contributed towards gender inequality in India. The researcher stated that provision of reservation in Seventy Third Constitutional Amendment brought recognition to the women's role as

leaders in the decision making process and national progress. She also feels that the amendment brings gender equity in the new panchayat system but only steadily.

According to **Kaushik, S. (1996)**, Scheduled Castes and Tribes have inspired enthusiasm and hope among India's underprivileged communities by reserving seats for women. She emphasises that women are prepared to be actively engaged in the epicentre of local governance institutions as the agents of change. She further claims that women members require training to fill shortages in areas such as local government, functions, planning and management complexities, and the settlement of public and private challenges and tensions. She suggests that training be given both before and after the elections.

Dutta, P. (1997) has examined the prospects and problems of political empowerment of rural women through participation in panchayats.” He says that women's empowerment in Panchayats depends upon the breaking of feudal - patriarchal structure in the villages. He suggests vigorous and sustained initiatives have been undertaken by government and other stakeholders for creating awareness of rights and duties of women. Dutta concludes by saying that reservation to women members in panchayats is not end but a means to an end.

Dak, T. M. & Purohit, B. R. (2008) have highlighted the various concluding observations with respect to the women empowerment. According to them, constitutional and legislative provisions alone will not go far enough to empower women members. They must take responsibility for themselves, display their ability and confidence, limit their reliance on others, and avoid their meddling. Recognizing economic independence as a critical aspect in women's empowerment, the future of Panchayati raj and women's participation in local administration is heavily influenced by prevalent traditions, social values, and attitudes.

Sharma, S. (2015) has examined the various factors that are facilitating the participation of women in the political arena. The paper also analysed how these factors shape the political opinion of how women shape urban local bodies and create a platform for women in the realm of reservation system, thereby serving the societal needs at large. Women's participation in the country's local governance structure is an important issue to address. Reservation is a key instrument for empowering women in politics by allowing them to participate in governance structures. The reservation system has altered the

outlook of the country's grassroots democratic structures, particularly in India's town halls and municipal committees. As a result, the urban municipal governance framework cleared the path for women's empowerment. In today's world, political empowerment of women is critical to ensuring inclusive progress. While their engagement is regarded a prerequisite for the country's inclusive growth and long-term development. However, women must, be mobilized for local engagement in order to address concerns at the grassroots level. According to the research, the state Act's 33 percent reservation of seats for women has allowed women populace to enter the realm of politics which they were earlier not able to do.

Pattnaik, G. (2016) has summed up following conclusions for the political empowerment of women. According to Pattnaik, PRIs can be the first stage in women's political empowerment since they can help them gain confidence and awareness of the politics, allowing them to vote in state legislature and Parliament elections and progressing from Panchayat to Parliament. Women's preparation is crucial for speaking up about their issues and thoughts as society evolves. Women's empowerment requires more than local reservations and women's participation in Panchayati Raj institutions. There is still a lot of work to be done.

According to **Behera, G. (2017)**, reservation for women is a critical push for empowering women in the political sphere in India at the village level, but it is not a guarantee of elected women's participation. Other socioeconomic and demographic factors influence PRI leaders' desire to engage in and operate effectively in local self-government.

According to **Hussain, Z. (2018)**, the 73rd Constitutional Amendment and the installation of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in India have resulted in substantial changes. According to the researcher, Panchayati Raj Institutions have been reduced to implementing agency for government programmes, and these institutions have failed to deliver on their promises. The study cited Kuldeep Mathur, who claims that in the PRI's, SCs, STs, and women are frequently opposed by a casteist and patriarchal Indian society.

2.5 Position of Women at Panchayat Level in Haryana State

Pal (2004) has stated that caste system and the patriarchy also put a stranglehold over Haryana's panchayat bodies, rendering a mockery of democratic government. Women's

public officials require appropriate resources and preparation programs to allow them successful members. Keeping in mind the problems / hurts faced by the Dalit woman Elected Representatives of the panchayats, a five-pronged support system approach for the capacity building of these women panchayats members and for making their involvement in local governance more efficient and meaningful has emerged from the study. In order to allow the system dialog attic and to encourage each and every participant to express their views, achievements, complaints and suggestions, five key issues have been defined as being more relevant for Dalit women ERs. Which were: conduct of activity of panchayats and abilities; administration of common property resources; welfare and development schemes of Dalits; recognition of problems / hurts in their path; and strategy.

Nagpal, R. (2013) has conducted a study titled as “*Women’s empowerment in Haryana: Role of female representatives of PRI’s.*” According to the study, a democratic country cannot grow if half of its people spend all of their time in the kitchen. The political position of women cannot be counted in isolation from the wider issue of women’s position in the society; nonetheless, despite their immense power, women are marginalised in the country’s political structure. On the other hand, equal and active political engagement of women is inextricably linked. Women’s political empowerment is seen as a potent and necessary tool for their advancement and equality with men. The study also discovered that a large percentage of female representatives rarely attended PRI general meetings, and that the majority of female representatives (more than 50%) relied on their husbands or family members to assist the people.

Vikas, N. (2013) has conducted the study on “*Women’s Participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions in Haryana, India: A Sociological Perspective*” The researcher discovered that women’s awareness and constitutional understanding were inadequate. Women’s participation in gram panchayats is limited, and they can only vote. Women also lack enough awareness of gram panchayat operations. Women are also observed to be underrepresented in gram panchayat elections.

In their research, **Billava, N., and Nayak, N. S. (2016)** have discovered that Panchayati Raj Institutions are termed as perfect remedies for problems and challenges faced for rural development, empowerment of marginalized communities of society including women.

However, affirmative action's in the form of reservation at local level bodies has increased the share of women as representatives throughout the years. According to the review, women's political path is not easy in a patriarchal and caste-ridden culture, and women members of the local panchayat encounter numerous challenges. The study has also revealed that women representatives are less comfy in working at panchayat level due to male domination and women to larger durations of time to demonstrate their capacities than male representatives.

According to **Bhandare, N. (2016)**, there was concern that some would run as proxies for strong spouses, giving origin to the term "pradhanpati" (husband of the chief). Women candidates in Haryana (Rohtak or Mewat) have one thing in common: their husbands and father-in-law establish their identity. Every election poster contains a portrait of a woman candidate who is either accompanied by her husband or father-in-law.

Singh, R. & Pal, K. (2016) in their study have stated that prescription of election qualifications by Haryana Government for contesting PRI's is game changer. There is 33% of reservation for women *sarpanches*; while as many as 41.46% of women were able to become *sarpanches* in 2016 panchayati elections. As a result, it appears that women's empowerment is increasing in Gram panchayats. The hegemony of *sarpanches*, on the other hand, has been bolstered by the state's continued weakness in the Gram Sabha institution. According to the study, the male members of the household play a big part in the role of women Panches. As a result, the state government needs to take proactive measures to empower women *sarpanches*.

Mishra, G. S. (2017) has conducted the study on problems and challenges to PRI's. According to the researcher, women's reservation in Panchayati Raj Institutions has provided enormous opportunity for their empowerment, particularly for women from the poorer sections of society. However, distinct concerns and obstacles sprang from the same opportunity. These problems including ingrained patriarchal system and mindset, concrete caste division and prevalent caste discrimination in rural areas, less female literacy rates, highly economic dependence of women on men have ensured that, for the most part, males still wield the real power. As a result, a strategy to overcome the problems experienced by women in PRIs is urgently needed. The researcher has suggested that there is need to change the existing structure and to strengthen the position

of sub-ordinates against the exploitation for the effective functioning and empowerment of women in these PRI's.

Sinha, R. K. (2018) has conducted a study on 'Women in Panchayat'. According to the study, the 73rd and 74th amendments, as well as later quota increases by the states have resulted into the increasing share of women in the governance structures in India. Also the representation of women at Panchayat level has paved the way for women to enter the realm of local politics in India. Also the women leadership is actively showing signs of positive change in the established and recognized manner. Because of patriarchal society, the author discovered that women's ability to grasp the governance process and lead Panchayat matters was questioned. According to the researcher there are certain inherent challenges faced by the women while entering into the politics. These challenges include; patriarchal nature of society, caste issues, lack of societal/institutional cooperation, limited women capacities and limited women panchayat functionaries.

According to the research conducted by **Veerta & Kumar (2018)**, women constitute the half of the world's population; however their contribution to politics is insignificant in comparison to men. Many psychological, social, and physical obstacles prevent women from actively participating in politics. The Panchayati Raj System of India contains laws aimed at strengthening women in the political sphere. In the panchayat raj system, women were expected to have equal opportunities. Women, on the other hand, are still illiterate and rely on their husbands, families, and male officials in particular to make decisions on village development programmes. Thus to empower women in real terms in India, they must be given necessary training, education, economic status and encouragement in the society.

Sarita (2019) conducted the research on "*Empowerment of women via involvement in Haryana Panchayati Raj Institutions: Case Study of Rewari District.*" According to the author, women's empowerment is critical in all parts of life. Women's engagement in all aspects of our everyday lives is necessary and unavoidable. For efficient local governance, women's participation in panchayati raj institutions is crucial.

Kumar, S., Chander, S. & Kumar, S. (2017) have conducted the study on "awareness regarding PRI's in Haryana." The Panchayati Raj System, according to the academics, stretches back to Vedic times. It has played an important role in self-sufficiency and rural

government. The research was carried out in the Fatehabad district of Haryana, using a random sample approach. According to the study's findings of the study, 39% of respondents have limited degree of awareness, while as 33% of respondents possess minimal awareness with respect to PRI's. While as remaining 27.5% of respondents were well-informed on women's reservations in PRIs. The survey also discovered that individuals from poor socioeconomic backgrounds have a low level of awareness about PRIs. The study also found that the media played a crucial influence in raising rural society's understanding. It can also be used as a tool for political socialisation, instilling principles such as gender equality and fairness.

2.6 Position of Women in Khap Panchayat's in Haryana

Jamia Millia Islamia has presented the research work to National Commission of Women. According to the study, Khap is a traditional approach of social administration that is predominantly in place in the state like; Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. These Khap Panchayat's are non-judicial and non-constitutional in structure that have existed as clannish entities during the tribal era and ultimately emerged as Kangaroo courts. In Haryana villages, these Khap panchayats are usually retrogressive and parallel law enforcement institutions. The Khaps are gaining popularity in both rural and urban areas.

Sangwan, K. (2008) has conducted the study on "*Khap Panchayats in Haryana: Sites of Legal Pluralism.*" In the study, the researcher has presented an account of relationship between Khap's and governmental institutions. According to the researcher, Khap Panchayats coexist with the state government in terms of political authority. Important cabinet positions are held by politicians from the state's huge Jat landlords, who have been anxious to stamp their approval on Khap Panchayat diktats. Worse, in order to retain their vote total, the Khaps have received political backing from their regional leaders. When it comes to inter-caste marriages, violence against women, and caste crimes, the police and administrative machinery often side with the perpetrators against the victims, or at the least, behave as passive onlookers.

Yadav, B. (2009) has conducted the study on 'Khap Panchayats: Stealing Freedom'. According to the researcher, the Khap Panchayats' wrath is always directed at their community's women. In states like Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, these Caste/Khap

panchayat's wield added supremacy than statutory Panchayats and mandate harsh punitive actions against women. On the basis of patriarchal culture, Khap's adhere to an antiquated view of women's dignity and submissiveness to males.

According to **Kaur, R. (2010)**, female literacy in Haryana is rapidly improving and in recent times women are more educated than their partners. Women's organisations are also active, taking the lead in tackling gender-related issues. The researcher also discovered that the media has helped a number of women. According to the researcher, the central government should intervene and ensure that the powerful and retrogressive Khap panchayats are dealt with harshly. In her study, the researcher suggests that two crucial characteristics of the phenomenon should be stressed in order to understand the recent resurrection of Khap Panchayats.

The sex ratio, that is an outcome of widespread selective sex related abortions, child mal-treatment miniature but persistent infanticide. The second is that it was only the women that stood up to the Khaps' might and questioned their authority. According to the study, the situation in Haryana is changing since women are becoming more educated than their husbands. As a result, they are taking the lead in resolving issues related to gender equality and legal aid. However, the media worked alongside women to overcome their problems. However, both the federal and state governments must show political will to ensure that revised marriage and inheritance rules are followed and that antiquated customary law is not used. These changes will aid in the abolition of the twin evils of female foeticide and honour killings.

Makkar, S. (2013) has presented a brief account on “*Panchayat's under the shadow of the Khap's.*” Makkar defines a Khap panchayat as a Haryana assembly of elders from the same tribe or caste who govern community matters in villages, from resolving water conflicts to determining on the sanctity of marriage unions. Despite the fact that the Supreme Court of India being the guardian of fundamental rights has declared these Khap panchayats as illegal and unconstitutional for their alleged role in encouraging killings familiarly known as honour killings. However, these Khap Panchayat's are continuously working at par with the other state institutions and these Khaps wield more power than the modern Panchayat's. According to *Prem Chowdhry*, the Khap panchayats are immensely powerful and often have the final word on matters affecting their hamlet and

its members. Also, no one has the courage to challenge them; this is partly due to fear of death and partly due to fear of social boycott.

Raina, P. (2013) has presented the detailed account of need of Khap panchayats in his work “Does India Still Need Khap Panchayats.” According to the researcher, the importance and prestige of these Khap panchayats is diminishing in certain aspects as younger generations are exposed to more modern ideals through urbanisation and the media. However, they frequently have ardent adherents among legally elected municipal politicians, and political parties in our nation are revitalising them.

According to **Verma, J. S. (2013)**, Khap Panchayats are quasi-judicial and political bodies that are commonly used to consolidate regional authority. They can utilise extra-constitutional, punitive punishment measures to go around, because of their political clout, and mandated administration of equality in errand of women. Politicians utilise Khap Panchayats as launching pads because active members gain the wider acceptance and exposure needed to enter mainstream politics. The committee has termed these Khap’s as self-styled bodies that are not sanctioned by the law. Women have largely been targets of honour killings in these panchayats. The committee suggested that there is need to take note of this social menace. The committee also stated that Khap panchayats are the examples of institutional bias against women.

Khatry, R. (2014) has presented a brief account of progressive structure and functioning of Khap panchayats in Haryana state. According to the Khatry, women in Haryana state were not allowed to sit and join the Khap proceedings, but this imperative is slowly changing and women are becoming active participants. This was done in order to keep up with the times. According to Dahiya, the “*Bibipur Experiment*” where the women were allowed to sit and join the Khap proceedings is encouraging one and should be imitated in other regions of Haryana.

Gurtoo, R. (2016) has conducted the study on “*Indian Perspective on Khap Panchayats and Women's Human Rights.*” According to the researcher, a "Khap Panchayat" is an institution that holds dominance over a specific area moreover in the name of gotra or clan that regulates that area or by the name of geographical region. In states like Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, these Khap Panchayats have far more power than statutory panchayats.

They also decree harsh punishments for women. According to the researchers, honour killings violate Indian constitution Articles 14, 21 and 39 (f).

The study "Women's Human Rights and Khap Panchayats: An Indian Perspective" was undertaken by **Ritupriya, G. (2016)**. According to the study, Khap Panchayats have developed in a variety of geographical areas and have been shaped by a variety of socio-economic influences. Aside from these factors, caste and ownership shaped the Khaps. According to the study, these Khap Panchayat's do not unequivocally support or oppose any political party, but they primarily send messages to public at large and encourage them to vote for or against a particular candidate or political party. They have, however, recently grown into quasi-judicial organisations that hand down draconian judgments based on ancient practises. The country's top judicial body, according to the report, pronounced these Khaps to be illegal and unlawful bodies. They do, however, continue to wield influence alongside the state apparatus and may be more powerful than elected panchayats.

In their paper, **Rajpurohit, G. S., and Kaur, A. (2017)** have analyzed the function of Khap Panchayat in politics, as well as the posture taken by Khap Panchayat to establish their presence in Indian politics was examined. Khap is defined by researchers as a clan or a set of connected clans with significant influence over a society's activities. These Khaps get their power from a strong sense of community, teamwork, a traditional value system, and a sense of belonging. Khap, as an unconstitutional and unlawful organisation, wields enormous power in Haryana's election processes. However, politicians from different political parties are not ignoring the leaders of these Khap's and they also manage to get the support in the state elections. According to the experts, these Khaps exist in tandem with the state's political power. Khaps are interested in politics and are seeking political power. Because it receives backing from political parties and politicians and acts as a significant vote bank, Khap's cannot disappear from society. Khap's extrajudicial powers must, however, be limited by the state.

Kaur, S. (2017) has conducted the study on "*Relevancy of Khap Panchayat.*" Khap Panchayats, according to the researcher, are self-proclaimed courts with full legality and authority among their caste's segments as custodians of honour. These self-proclaimed panchayats have no legal standing. As a result, it is disturbing to remark that Indian

civilization has regressed to the Dark Age at a time when people communicate via 3G technology. The residents of a Khap panchayat are barred from marrying in the same gotra or even within the same village. According to the researcher, a balance must be struck between community-based forms of dispute resolution (Khap Panchayats) and modern justice systems.

The study “*Khap Panchayats in India: Precepts and Practices*” was undertaken by **Sadiq, S., and Khan, A. (2018)**. The Panchayati Raj System was developed in India with the goal of decentralisation and democratisation, according to the experts. As 'custodians of honour,' Khap Panchayats, on the other hand, have full legitimacy and authority. Khap adjudications are essentially patriarchal in nature, with savage murders conducted in the name of maintaining the family, clan, or village's honour. These Khap panchayats have become highly politicised, and their presence in such a short period of time has tarnished the existing court system's credibility.

Bhinder, M. has stated that Khap Panchayat's are self proclaimed courts of caste lords in a village that enjoy legitimacy and authority among the section of their caste as custodian of honour. These Khaps can be found in many parts of the country, particularly in northern states like Haryana. Khaps in these states are notorious for issuing bizarre edicts such as making married couples siblings, ostracising families, and other heinous deeds. These actions are intended to preserve the society's so-called honour and culture. Previously, these Khaps were classified multi-caste, but they are now considered Jat dominant. The majority of these Khap Panchayats are made up of strong members of the dominant caste. They have a strong local and provincial presence. While the transformation of Khaps into vote banks has rendered them nearly untouchable.

2.7 Inferences Drawn From Literature Review

Political Participation of Women in India

- Affirmative action appears to have increased the participation of women representatives, including members from underrepresented groups, significantly throughout the years.

- According to the review, women's political path is not easy in a patriarchal and caste-ridden culture, and women members of the local panchayat encounter numerous challenges.
- Public openness of women continues by growing the number of women populace in the governance and decision-making roles.
- It is a reality that the educational standard of women, job conditions, legal rights, political involvement etc. varies greatly across communities.
- In our party politics, the marginalisation of women is inextricably correlated to the marginalisation of all moral individuals.
- Indian people do not appear to feel intimidated by women in positions of authority, even those who do not give their own wives or daughters the ability to do so.
- The barriers with respect to equitable involvement of women in government in countries are rooted in socio-cultural ways of life and the highly competitive nature of politics.
- The condition of women in the North East as a whole is comparatively higher than that of women in the rest of India.
- Political participation of women including voting and election campaigning has increased; while as their presence in legislation is minimal.
- Field studies have also found that women's 'passion in politics' is the most important determinant in their political participation. As a key variable, 'media exposure' for awareness emerges.
- The studies have revealed that presence of women is important both as a demand for basic justice and as a required prerequisite for human life.
- Acceptance in their dignity and trust in their capacity would go a long way towards improving the democratic scenario.
- All is required are gender-sensitive government changes that would render all political leaders more successful in fostering gender equity in public policy and ensuring that they are enforced.
- Women's engagement in organized politics in India has seen a noticeable rise in voting and election campaigns.
- The presence and inclusion of women in the democratic process is a significant predictor of the maturity and viability of democracy in every region.

- Even after more than sixty years of independence, the country's legislators have failed to translate women's de jure rights into de facto rights.
- Throughout history, women have had no place in politics, including as decision-making partners in political parties.
- A clear view of the status of women's knowledge of the problem of gender discrimination, the mechanisms of reform in this recognition and the conditions to improve the capacity to face the challenges raised by gender discrimination can only be achievable through an observational approach focused on a common sense system.

Status of Women in Local Level Governance in Other States

- Reservation is a key instrument for empowering women in politics by allowing them to participate in governance structures.
- Women's participation is seen as a prerequisite for the country's inclusive progress and long-term development. Women must, however, be mobilised for local engagement in order to address concerns at the grassroots level.
- PRIs can pave the way for women's political empowerment by allowing them to vote in state legislature and Parliament elections, opening the way from "Panchayat to Parliament."
- Women's empowerment cannot be achieved solely through reservation; other social and demographic factors that influence participation in PRIs must also be addressed.
- Majority of women are being elected at local levels because of their husbands and not because of their merit.
- Large number of women made an entry into political arena hitherto untouched to a great extent. But the political parties are not prepared for their mobilisation.
- Women should act on their strength of being women and make women's visibility in politics. Therefore, women should be politically visible.
- 73rd Constitutional Amendment brought recognition to the role of women in decision making process in national development. But the amendment brings gender equity in the new panchayat system but only steadily.
- Women are preparing for the task of entering politics as engaged citizens in the spirit of self-governance.

- Women's empowerment in Panchayats is contingent on the villages' feudal patriarchal structure being broken. There is also a need for a long-term campaign and concerted efforts to raise awareness of women's rights and responsibilities.
- Constitutional and legislative provisions alone will not go far enough to empower women members. They must take responsibility for themselves, display their ability and confidence, limit their reliance on others, and avoid their meddling.

Status of Women in Local Level Governance in Haryana

- Haryana society is patriarchal, and women candidates have one thing in common: their husbands and father-in-law define their identity.
- However, because the Panchayati Raj System in Haryana is centred on the Sarpanch and panches have little voice; women's empowerment has increased significantly in the Gram Panchayats.
- Quotas, educational and economic empowerment, family, in-law, and community support will all be beneficial to increasing women's political participation.
- Although we find that Women participation at higher levels of Governance is very low but in India various studies have shown that women representatives in Panchayats are quite high and successful.
- Women make for good managers of resources and their distribution. There are many success stories that show that women out perform men in many aspects of Governance. But still the picture is grim in many developing countries including India.
- Caste system and the patriarchy put a stranglehold over Haryana's panchayat bodies, rendering a mockery of democratic government.
- A democratic country cannot grow if half of its population's energy are focused solely on the kitchen. Women's equal and active political engagement, on the other hand, is inextricably linked.
- Women's political empowerment is seen as a potent and necessary tool for their advancement and equality with men.
- Women's awareness and constitutional understanding are insufficient. Women's participation in gram panchayats is limited, and they can only vote.
- Women do not have a say in who they vote for in gram panchayat elections; their husbands and families pick who they vote for.

- Affirmative action appears to have increased the participation of women representatives, including members from underrepresented groups, significantly throughout the years.
- Due to male domination at the panchayat level, women representatives find it difficult to operate, and they take longer to establish their capacity than male representatives.
- Sarpanches' control has been bolstered by the state's continued weakness in the Gram Sabha institution. There is need to change the existing structure and to strengthen the position of sub-ordinates against the exploitation for the effective functioning and empowerment of women in these PRI's.
- The capacity of women to understand the process of governance and to lead the affairs of Panchayat's was questioned due to the patriarchal society.
- There are various challenges faced by elected women representatives in the local level governance structure. These challenges include patriarchal nature of society, lack of cooperation from family and society, lack of cooperation from political actors, lack of finances and minimal presence of women panchayat functionaries.
- To empower women in real terms in India, they must be given necessary training, education, economic status and encouragement in the society.
- Media plays an important role in improving awareness in the rural society.

Status of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana

- Khap adjudications are purely patriarchal in nature and these bodies are male dominated and have minimal or no presence of women. These panchayats are examples of institutional bias against women because they are self-styled groups that are not sanctioned by the law.
- Khap Panchayats are non-constitutional, non-judicial bodies that evolved from clannish organisations in the tribal age into kangaroo courts.
- The political power of Khap Panchayats coexists with that of the state government. To keep the tally of their ballots intact, Khap has the political support of their regional leaders.
- In areas like Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, Caste or Khap Panchayats, substantially wield more power than statutory Panchayats and they pronounce harsh punitive acts against women.

- On the basis of patriarchal culture, Khap's adhere to an antiquated view of women's dignity and submissiveness to males. It is only the women that stood against the might of these Khap's and challenged their writ.
- To strengthen the observance of reformed marriage and inheritance rules and prevent the use of old customary law, both the federal and state governments must show political will.
- The Supreme Court of India has ruled that Khap Panchayat's are unconstitutional and extra judicial bodies. But they still exist parallel with the state machinery and are more power than elected Panchayat's.
- Khap panchayats wield enormous power and frequently have the final say on issues affecting their villages and citizens. Also, no one has the courage to challenge them; this is partly due to fear of death and partly due to fear of social boycott.
- In some ways, the importance and prestige of these Khap panchayats is dwindling as newer generations are exposed to more modern views through urbanisation and the media.
- Khap Panchayats are primarily quasi-judicial and political bodies that are commonly used to consolidate regional authority.
- Politicians utilise Khap Panchayats as launching pads since being an active member provides the acceptance and exposure needed to enter mainstream politics.
- There is needed to take note of this social menace. These Khap panchayats are the examples of institutional bias against women.
- In most of the areas, women are not allowed to sit and join the Khap proceedings and meetings. But this notion is steadily changing, and women are becoming more active participants.
- Khap Panchayats have developed in various geographical areas and have been influenced by various socioeconomic reasons. Caste and ownership shaped Khaps as well.
- Although Khaps do not openly support or oppose any candidate or political party, but they send messages to public and encourage them to vote in favour or against a particular candidate or political party.
- A strong feeling of community, teamwork, a traditional value system, and a sense of belonging give these Khaps their power.

- In certain circumstances, Khap Panchayat's are interested in participating in politics and seek cease to control power as it enjoys back from political parties and candidates, because Khap acts as an important vote bank.
- A balance must be struck between community-based means of dispute resolution (Khap Panchayats) and modern justice systems.
- These Khap panchayats are now highly politicized and they have presence in such a time period that erases the reputation of existing judicial system.
- These Khaps were once called multi-caste, but currently they are considered Jat dominated. The majority of these Khap Panchayats are made up of strong members of the dominant caste. While the transformation of Khaps into vote banks has rendered them nearly untouchable.

2.8 Research Gap

- The existing studies did not craft a detailed account of socio-economic profile of elected women representatives at the local level governance structure of Haryana.
- There is dearth of studies regarding the relationship that exists between the gender and women's political participation in Haryana.
- The existing studies did not craft a detailed account of issues and challenges faced by the women representatives at the local level governance in Haryana.
- There is dearth of studies that draw attention to the impact of patriarchy on the political participation of women in Haryana.
- The earlier studies have not crafted a detailed account of challenges that thwart the effective inclusion of women in the political sphere in the Haryana state.
- There is dearth of studies regarding the political participation of women in local level governance in Kaithal and Jind Districts of Haryana.
- There is dearth of studies regarding the comparative analysis of structure, composition and functioning of modern panchayats and Khap panchayats in Kaithal and Jind Districts of Haryana.

Thus, it is within this context that this study is proposed as “Institutional Exclusion and Deliberate Inclusion of Women in Local Bodies in Haryana: A Case Study of Modern Panchayat and Khap Panchayat in Kaithal and Jind Districts”.

2.9 Conclusion

The most pressing problem to address is the Political participation of women in political activities at larger scale. Women's participation in politics is growing in popularity around the world. Women's involvement encompasses two distinct issues: the right to vote and the right to take part in the decision-making process. It is evident from the statistics that participation of women in parliament is witnessing an increase from last few decades. However, the women are not getting due representation in proportion to their population. While as the presence of women in grass root democratic level is also gaining momentum in Haryana. But they still faces certain issues that exclude the women from decision making process. These issues are ranging from lack of political will, economic inability of women, male domination society and gender issues etc. Thus, there is need to strengthen the democratic structure of country at the local level by implementing the constitutional and legislative reforms with respect to women.

Khap is a historic social administration system that is still used in Haryana, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh in the north-western regions. These Khap Panchayat's are non-constitutional, extra-judicial entities that have originated as clannish organisations during the tribal age and have since evolved into kangaroo courts. The political power of Khap Panchayats coexists with that of the state government. These Khaps enjoy support from regional political parties and leaders and ensure that electoral ballots are counted in the free and fair means. Khap or caste Panchayats, which have significantly more power than statutory Panchayats in areas like Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, require harsh punitive acts against women. While politicians use Khap Panchayats as launching pads, being an active member provides the acceptance and exposure essential to enter mainstream politics. These Khaps get their power from a strong sense of community, teamwork, a traditional value system, and a sense of belonging. Women were once forbidden from attending Khap meetings in Haryana, but this is steadily changing, and women are becoming more active participants. Despite the fact that Supre Court of India has termed these Khap Panchayat's as un-constitutional and extra-judicial, they still play an alleged role in encouraging the killings under the aegis of honour killings. They still continue to operate and wield more power as compared to the modern Panchayat's.

Chapter 3

**LOCAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF
HARYANA STATE:
ROLE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE**

LOCAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF HARYANA STATE: ROLE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

The societal positions occupied by women in a society clearly state the stage of evolution of the civilization. All the duties and rights attributed to women as a social creature construct the part of status of women. In case of India, the status of women is defined in a broader way that includes her personal choices and preferences, property rights, rights and duties and limitations in relation to the social set-up. Without examining and analyzing the role and position of women in any study is inadequate. History is witnessing the fact that Indian culture and tradition was built upon the back of women. The notion that women's cause is men's and that they rise and fall together darted or god or like, tied or free is the foundation of Indian culture. Understanding the role and status of women in civilisation is one of the most effective methods to appreciate civilization's spirit and achievements.

Women were denied education in ancient times, but later they were educated and played a significant role in society, enjoying freedom and involvement in public life, which raised the community and demonstrated a sense of justice. The laws of marriage and conventions serve as a guide for evaluating partners, and cooperation was essential for the family's pleasure and success. Man's ability to control the innate love of self, self-power, and possession that is deeply implanted in the hearts of all human beings is demonstrated by their ability to govern their household and recognise their proprietary rights. Women will never be respected in countries that do not value them. Women's status and position in India have shifted radically over millennia, from prehistoric equality with men to the lowest periods in the mediaeval period to widespread support for equal rights by numerous reformers.

Post independence era has revolutionized the socio-economic and political aspects of life in India. There were gigantic changes in the governance mechanism of the country in the form of inclusive participation of all the sections of society including women. Women became active participants in the legal governance structure of country and occupied higher positions including Prime Minister and Presidential posts. With the

enactment of the 73rd and 74th amendment acts, a space has been created for the disadvantaged parts of society in the form of a reservation system. The reservation system was established to enhance women's status in society and provide them with equal access to state matters. However, several natural inclinations, ranging from patriarchal culture to economic restraints, have negatively affected the participation of women in the governance institutions. In this perspective, the present chapter aims to offer an overview of governance structure of Haryana and the role played by women in the political affairs of state.

3.2 An Overview of Haryana State

Haryana is India's 20th largest state, with a population of 2.5 million people. The state was formed on November 1, 1966, when it was detached from the state of Punjab due to linguistic differences. Haryana is completely landlocked, with Himachal Pradesh and Punjab to the north, Rajasthan to the west, and Uttarakhand to the south. Haryana is generally flat, despite its location at the end of the Aravalli Mountains, with the exception of a few scattered hills and ridges in Gurgaon. It is located between the latitudes of 27°39' and 30°35' north and the longitudes of 74°28' and 77°36' east. Haryana's elevation varies from 700 and 3600 feet above sea level. The state's entire tropical vegetation forest cover is around 1,553 km².

On November 1, 1966, Haryana became an Indian state. The Vedic Civilization started, developed, and matured along the banks of the Saraswati River in the present-day state of Haryana. Because it is known as "The Gateway to North India," Haryana has seen several battles. The people of Haryana joined the Indian leaders against the British government in the 1857 Revolt. Most of what is now Haryana was liberated from the British by the end of June 1857. However, in November 1857, the British were able to put down the uprising by bringing in extra men from outside the area. The battles of Panipat and Kurukshetra in Haryana are historically significant. Haryana's valiant troops have made significant contributions to our nation's territorial sovereignty and integrity. On November 1, 1966, the new state became a separate political entity of the Indian Union, and it is regarded as the cradle of India's rich cultural history. Haryana has also made significant progress in terms of economic development in recent years.

According to 2011 census, the population of Haryana has witnessed an increasing trend. In 2011 the population of Haryana state was 2.54 million, which is quite higher than 2.11 million in 2001 census. Males account for 13,494,734 persons, while females account for 11,856,728. The population was 21,144,564 in 2001, with 11,363,953 men and 9,780,611 women. However, this decade had a 19.90 percent rise in total population, compared to 28.06 percent the decade before. Haryana has a population of 2.09 percent of India's total in 2011. In 2001, the figure was 2.06 percent. Haryana has a total area of 44,212 square kilometres. The 2001 census mentioned that population density of Haryana is 573 persons per square km, that is quite higher than national average of 382 persons per Km². In 2001 census, the population density of Haryana was 478 persons per Km². Thus there is an increasing trend in the realm of population density of Haryana.

Haryana's Sex Ratio paints a bleak image of the state. According to the 2011 census, the state has an 879 female to 1000 male sex ratio, which is lower than the national average of 940 females per 1000 males. However, the female sex ration of Haryana in 2001 census was 861 females per 1000 males. Thus, sex ratio of Haryana has witnessed an increasing trend and improves in a systematic manner. Improvement in sex ratio will bring gender equilibrium in the state and balance the population ratio. 2011 census has also presented an overview of literacy rate in the state of Haryana. According to the 2011 census statistics, the literacy rate of Haryana was 75.55% which is quite impressive as compared to 67.91% of 2001 census. In 2011 census, the male literacy rate was 84.06% and female literacy rate was 65.94%. Therefore, literacy rate in general is improving substantially, while as there exists a huge literacy gap in the gender. Males account for 9,794,067 literates, while females account for 6,804,921. Haryana has a total of 16,598,988 literates. As a result, Haryana bears a bevy of responsibilities to its inhabitants, demanding the creation of an effective mechanism to close the gap in sectors like education, health, and gender ratio, as well as the impoverished and marginalised. A process like this should be efficient and transparent.

The state of Haryana has been divided into different administrative divisions. The main objective of the administrative division is for administration purposes. However, it has been observed that the closer the administrative unit is to the people it serves, the more responsive it is able to be. Therefore the Haryana state has been divided into six divisions:

- i. Ambala Division: consists of the districts of Ambala, Kurukshetra, Panchkula, and Yamuna Nagar.
- ii. Rohtak Division: comprises the districts of Jhajjar, Rohtak, Sonapat, Bhiwani and Charkhi Dadri
- iii. Gurugram Division: contains the districts of Gurgaon, Mahendargarh, and Rewari.
- iv. Hissar Division covers the districts of Hissar, Jind, Sirsa, and Fatehabad.
- v. Faridabad: covers the districts of Faridabad, Palwal, and Nuh.
- vi. Karnal encompasses the districts of Karnal, Panipat, and Kaithal.

Districts make up each of Haryana's divisions. Subdivisions, tehsils, and blocks are formed from the districts. Haryana is currently divided into 73 sub-divisions, 93 tehsils, 150 sub-tehsils, and 140 development blocks. It also has 6,841 villages and 154 cities/towns. Haryana has established a multi-level administration that encompasses each and every unit for administrative purposes. The state administration is at the apex of this system.

3.3 Governance Structure of Haryana: A Constitutional perspective

Haryana is divided into 22 districts and is India's sixteenth most populous state. Punjab and Himachal Pradesh lie to the north, while Rajasthan is to the west and south. The river Yamuna runs through Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh on its eastern border. Haryana is located on three sides of Delhi, creating its northern, western, and southern borders. As a result, the National Capital Region includes a substantial portion of Haryana. The Haryana Government, also known as the Haryana State Government, is the supreme governing authority of Haryana and its 22 districts in India. It consists of three branches: an administrative branch led ceremonially by the Governor of Haryana and otherwise by the Chief Minister, a judicial branch, and a legislative branch.

The Chief Executive of Haryana is appointed by the President of India on the suggestion of the central government. His or her role is largely symbolic. The Chief Minister is the chief executive of Haryana, with executive authority over 22 districts and six divisions. The Governor, on the other hand, must be informed of all decisions made by the council of ministers. The executive's most significant role is to carry out or implement the policies and programmes enacted by the legislature or, in the absence of

the legislature, the executive council. The governor of Haryana has been given the authority to dissolve the government under the Indian constitution.

The Indian constitution makes a clear separation between the roles of the three branches of government: legislature, executive, and judiciary. The judiciary is regarded as a crucial component of the country's governmental framework. The judiciary has been given the authority to review the constitutionality of laws passed by the legislature. The Punjab and Haryana High Court in Chandigarh has jurisdiction over the whole state of Haryana. On November 1, 1966, the Punjab Reorganization Act separated the territory of Punjab State and founded the state of Haryana. The secretariat and the Haryana Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly) are both in Chandigarh, Punjab's capital. In addition to being the capital of Haryana, the city is also an Indian union territory. The current Haryana Legislative Assembly is unicameral, with 90 members (MLAs). It has five-year tenure unless it is disbanded sooner. The Haryana state assembly has no nominated members. The Assembly's term is five years unless it is dissolved sooner. The Assembly is divided into 12 permanent committees. The important function entrusted to the legislature under the constitutional provisions is to make laws with respect to the governance affairs of the state. All the policies and programmes are made by the legislature, while as their execution is the responsibility of executive branch of government.

India adopted the decentralization mechanism to run the affairs of state. Considering the geographical vastness of country, the country has been divided into constituent units known as states. However, it becomes hard to govern the state effectively due to remoteness and backwardness of certain areas. Thus, it becomes imperative to adopt such a mechanism that will deliver the services at the grass-root level. For this reason decentralization mechanism in the form of Local governance under 73rd and 74th amendment act was put in place by the central government. However, the state of Haryana has enacted a Panchayati Raj Act in 1994 in line with the 73rd amendment act of Indian constitution with the purpose to widen the scope of governance mechanism at grass-root level.

3.4 Local Level Governance Mechanism of Haryana

In Haryana, as in other Indian states, the history of local government development has two categories: rural local government and urban local government. In case of urban areas, Municipal councils/corporations are prime institutions, while as nagar Panchayats are the secondary one. In case of rural local government, the three tier system includes Gram panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads. These organisations are governed by legislation and function within the framework of a state government. These are staffed and administered by people chosen by election from the general population, with the goal of achieving harmonious coordination in order to keep the administration running smoothly. The primary purpose of these local self-governance institutions is to provide basic and civic amenities to the populace and install the sense of accountability and willingness to participate in local governance. The Punjab Municipal Act of 1867, which established the Panipat Municipal Council, marked a key step forward in the formation of local governance. Post this; The Samalkha Municipal Committee was created on August-20-1981.

Municipal Government: Haryana's municipal administration can trace its roots back to prehistoric times. Even during the time of the ancient Harappan Civilization, some type of municipal governance appears to have existed. Archaeological findings in Pakistan's Harappa area and Mohanjodaro (Larkana, Sindh) have shown evidence of a highly developed urban civilisation. The roadways were well-designed, with evident constraints on irregular structures. The drainage system was particularly excellent. They bear witness to the attentiveness of a functioning local government. In ancient India, however, the village was the unit of government. However, there was not a precise and clear distinction between a hamlet (Grama) and a town (Nagar). Gramin was known as the hamlets and town's leader. In the successive time niche, villages expanded into large towns, and a city culture developed, reaching its zenith during India's Mauryan and Gupta dynasties.

After the British conquest of India during the mid forties in the nineteenth century, local services and issues were supervised by a bureaucratic district government in Haryana, as in other regions of India. However, lately they opted for a decentralized form of governance that resulted into the creation of local governance institutions such as municipal bodies. These local level bodies have coexisted at par with the established governance structure. The Punjab Municipal Act of 1867, which gave a gigantic thrust to

the formation of municipal organisations, was one of the most basic Acts in Haryana dealing with municipal administration. Later on the said act has been repealed in 1873 that was aiming at to decentralize the authority in the fields of education, local development, conservation and collection of taxes. Lord Ripon is known as the pioneer of local governance in India. His 1882 declaration is famously known as “Magna Carta of Indian Local Self-Government.”

Ripon recognised the value of local self-governance and worked hard to establish it as a political and fashionable tool of government management. To make local governments stronger and more capable of making decisions, Ripon called for greater fiscal autonomy and responsibility. The Punjab administration has agreed with the proposed recommendations and accordingly issued a resolution in this context in September 1882 which states that the resolution's purpose was to teach people how to manage their own affairs and that Lord Ripon's enlightenment programme should be tested. In this context, “The Punjab Local Boards Act 1883” and “Punjab Municipal Act 1884” were passed and they extensively broadened the constitution, powers and functions of municipal administration. Subsequently, municipal administration were further expanded by “Local Act of 1891” that abolished the “Act XIV of 1884” and suitable adjustments were made accordingly. Communal representation was adopted for the first time. However, the Act of 1884 remained the cornerstone of municipal government throughout the state.

The Royal Commission of 1909 proposed that government authority over local self-government should be reduced with the purpose to decentralize the powers of local government. The Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, which was established with certain revisions on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, remains the foundation of municipal government in Haryana. The British established a system known as 'diarchy' from 1911 and 1937. Under the shadow of these systems, the official authority was subsequently reduced and these local government bodies became completely elective in nature. Local government was regarded to be vital in order for individuals to manage their own affairs. It was thought important to establish local government so that people might administer their own affairs. This programme not only increased tax revenue, but also gave local governments a sense of independence. The Punjab Small Town Act of 1922 simplified the administrative apparatus for small towns with populations of fewer than ten thousand. At the similar instance, The Punjab Municipal (Executive Officers) Act of 1931

has helped to empower the provincial level government to appoint the municipal executives.

Until November 1966, when Haryana became an independent state, local self-government was primarily governed by the previous Punjab Government's enactments, particularly the “Punjab Local Authorities Act of 1953”, “Punjab Municipal Act of 1954” and “Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Act of 1956. Subsequently with the establishment of Haryana state in 1966, the foundation of Director of Local Bodies was established in Haryana. In 1973, municipal committies of Haryana were abolished and instead administrators were appointed to manage and oversee the work of local governance. However, later on municipal committies were reconstituted with modified versions. To increase efficiency and honesty in municipal administration, the Haryana Municipal Act, 1973 was revised in 1994 and again in 2009.

Panchayat System: Throughout history of India, the Panchayati raj system has occupied a prominent position in the helm of Indian village set-up. Gramin, the hamlet's headman, is listed as one of the village's gems or rattans in later Vedic literature, and his importance can be traced back to Rig Vedic antiquity. The nucleus around which the community's subsidiary segments were created in the early centuries was a proprietary body with rights of ownership in the village's common property. Strangers were nearly always admitted in some fashion; therefore such bodies would rarely confine themselves to a single family. Frequently, the community was divided into two tribes or portions of the same tribe, each with a roughly equal piece of the village. The society, on the other hand, was split into pannas (wards), each of which included a family branch derived from a common ancestor, as well as foreigners who were not numerous enough to form their own panna. The pannas were commonly separated into thulas based on descent community.

According to the size of the panna or thula, the village was represented by one or more headmen, who were assisted by thuladars, who were unofficially acknowledged assistant headmen. The headman had significant latitude in selecting his thuladars, but they were carefully chosen to reflect the community's many genealogical branches. The panch, or village council, was made up of the headmen and thuladars, as well as any men who had achieved importance through age or talent. These councils, known as thapas, had tremendous power and were successful in resolving a huge number of disputes. The revenue distribution was likewise entirely under the control of thaps and the concerned

village heads. These institutions not only represent the common desire of social setting, but also the collective wisdom of the society. They were managing all the socio-economic affairs of society and administered justice in an equal fashion irrespective of religion, race, creed etc. During the reign of Muslim rulers, these traditional village councils have maintained their position in a static means. In most of the cases, these village councils headed by Muslims were allowed to manage the societal affairs and they were exempted from paying the land tax to the ruling authority. The Qazi and the Kotwal were most likely given powers that the Panchayats had before, although there were no explicit attempts to dissolve the Panchayats.

During the Sikh dictatorship, local Panchayats were partially re-established to assist the government with administration, tax collection, and law and order. Village Panchayat practises began to crumble during the early years of British rule. The powerful and all-encompassing British influence nearly eliminated all village institutions, the most prominent of which were the village Panchayats. An ordinary villager noticed that the Panchayat was virtually neglected by the village administration. Under these conditions, the headmen, who had previously been less prominent, gained enormous power and status.

As Panchayats lost their effectiveness in community life, it became clear that some type of organisation was needed to administer the village's common issues. In 1908, the Decentralization Commission agreed that striving to build village Panchayats for local governance was a good idea. Only those who had ingratiated themselves with the rulers could secure a position in the Panchayats, hence the attempt to resurrect the Panchayat system in 1912 failed to inspire confidence or respect among the people. The Village Panchayat Act of 1922 repealed the Panchayats established by the Act of 1912 and replaced them with Panchayats comprised of elected panches who would serve for three years. Panchayats were authorized to administer the judicial and administrative functions. Judicial powers in both contexts; civil and criminal were entrusted to them but in limited degree. The Panchayat Act of 1939 has helped to consolidate and strengthen the Panchayats and added more judicial and taxation powers in their basket.

However, the independent India has witnessed a remarkable episode in the context of local level governance. Local level governance, most importantly rural governance was termed as the core principle of Indian constitution under the Part IV. Thus, The Gram Panchayat Act of 1952 (Punjab Act IV of 1953) were enacted in response to the

philosophy of Part IV of Indian Constitution. After this, a total of 968 panchayats were elected in Haryana that mostly represented the rural population of modern day Karnal and Panipat districts. However, the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Acts of 1961 have been termed as the last resort for the implementation of Panchayati raj. After Gram level, panchayats were held at block and district levels under the aegis of Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads. However, Zila Parishads were rolled out in 1973 and authority for the same has been entrusted with Deputy Commissioner.

Thus, to restructure and streamline the local governance structure in Haryana, the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act was passed in 1994. This act has replaced all the previous legislations and established local governance in line with the constitutional framework. The 1994 act has established a three-tier (three layer) panchayati raj in the state; gram panchayat (village level), panchayat samiti (block level) and zila parishad (district level). At present, this act dominates the structure, composition and functional aspects of local governance in Haryana.

3.5 Legal Framework of Local Governance Mechanism in Haryana

Local bodies are self-governing organisations that oversee the administration of a small community or region, such as a village, town, or city. In India, there are two sorts of local governments. Rural Local Entities (Panchayats) are local bodies responsible for rural planning, development, and administration, whereas urban local bodies have been empowered for planning, administration and development of municipalities. Local level governance as a state subject has been inserted under the shadow of seventh schedule in List II under the item number 5 of the constitution. All the provisions related to local governance have been presented under Article 243 G and all the powers and devolution of authority has been presented under the same Article. In recent times, local level government are playing a pivotal role in enabling citizens' access to infrastructure as the country progresses toward economic dominance.

The term "Panchayat Raj" was coined during the British administration. In Hindi, the word 'raj' means government or governance. Panchayati Raj, a decentralised style of governance was propounded by Mahatma Gandhi and in these PRI's every hierarchy is empowered to manage its affairs. Mahatma Gandhi's phrase for such a notion was Gram Swaraj, or Village Self-Government. In the 1950s and 1960s, state administrations

embraced it as legislation was passed in several states to establish Panchayats. Panchayati Raj is included in the Constitution's Seventh Schedule's State List. However, under the constitutional mandate, the state governments have been empowered to legislate on the local level governance. After independence Community Development Programme (CDP) was launched in 1952. Due to limited success of the Community Development Programme, a committee was constituted to enquire about it.

A committee led by Balwantrai Mehta was constituted to look into the causes for the program's failure. The committee in its findings has revealed that village level organizations/bodies should be constituted and entrusted with the responsibility to identify the beneficiaries for various government schemes/initiatives. These bodies should constitute all the residents of the locality that will oversee the village development. Though this, the committee was able to moot the idea of panchayats. Followed by this, another committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta with the purpose to investigate the challenges faced by panchayats. The committee in its recommendations has recommended that these bodies should be given more powers. After 1977, the second generation of panchayats was formed. Following the recommendations in this report, West Bengal's Panchayats became more effective.

It became evident in the 1990s that self-government could not function without constitutional power. As a result, the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act was passed by the Central Government in 1992, and it went into force on April 20, 1993. (as of the date of publishing in the Indian Gazette) The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act of 1992, which took effect in April 1993, changed the country's local governance dramatically. The Amendment Act of 1992, in conjunction with the constitution's eleventh schedule's twenty-nine themes, that provide for the devolution of powers and authority for the execution and implementation of policies and programmes. These panchayats avail funds under three sources as envisioned by the Central Finance Commission (CFC).

73rd and 74th constitutional amendment acts seek to establish an institutional skeleton that will strengthen the grass root level democracy by establishing local bodies at rural and urban areas. These amendments have paved the way for structured decentralization mechanism. They also solidified the DPSP's as envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi under Gandhian principles. Despite the constitutional mandate, the country's third tier of government has grown unevenly, haltingly, and slowly.

Local democracy and "decentralisation" are sometimes conflated, although they are not the same thing. Local democracy does not always benefit from decentralisation. Decentralisation, in reality, can exacerbate local disparities by increasing power concentration and discouraging rather than encouraging involvement among the poor. However, in certain cases authority associated with PRI's have been ceased by upper caste landlords and have created a power grip that created a power imbalance. Also there is clear demarcation of powers under the realm of local governance between the centre and state government and it is now widely acknowledged as being overdrawn, with the functions under each topic becoming more significant than the subjects themselves. These should ideally be carried out with the central authority having a subsidiary function that only carries out duties that cannot be successfully done at local level.

According to Article 243(d), Panchayat is an establishment of local self government in rural areas. Local government being a state subject, has empowered the state governments to grant powers to panchayats as may be necessary for them to work as an independent institution. As a result, panchayats are "local governments" that must be allowed to operate as such. This implies that they should be capable of self-government. If there are numerous tiers of government, however, each level's government will have only limited jurisdiction. Each Panchayat must decide how much autonomy they should have. It cannot, however, be so small to render the concept of local self-government useless. The constitution mandates effective decentralisation of governmental power, not only administrative de-concentration, which is why the Panchayats have their own jurisdiction. Certain operations or powers of the State Government would have to be transferred to local bodies as a result of this. Such a conception of Panchayats signifies a departure from the previous treatment of local government entities as bodies totally subservient to state governments.

Article 243G, has clearly stated the state governments should empower local governance structures in line with central legislation and these local bodies should be entrusted with such powers that will allow them to work as institutions of self governance. As a result, panchayats are "local governments" that must be allowed to operate as such. This implies that Panchayat's should be capable of self-government. If there are numerous tiers of government, however, each level's government will have only limited jurisdiction. Each Panchayat must decide how much autonomy they should have.

Thus, the conceptual framework of local governance enshrined under constitutional ideals cannot be rendered useless without authority.

Eleventh schedule of constitution contains the list of 29 functional items that gives an overview of wide variety of powers entrusted to local governments. These functional items include education, health, farming activities, sanitation, socio-economic infrastructure, children and women development. All the elected members in panchayat level are obliged to undertake an oath before assuming the office. Also a member including Panch, Sarpanch or chairman may resign from their office and the vacancy so created shall be fulfilled within the span of six months. Thus, to fill the vacancy, elections should be held within six months from the time vacancy exists. There is also a provision of reservation for SC's, ST's and women in the official positions. Also a minimum of one-third of seats should be reserved for women candidates on the rotational basis.

3.6 Women Position in India: A Historical Background

Certain trends of change can be stimulated by social structure, but it can also be a hindrance to them. In India, there are many different cultures, traditions, and conventions, as well as castes and religions, all of which influence how women are positioned in society. Women were given honour during the Vedic period because their participation in the production process was deemed vital. In the Vedic era, women's engagement in productive activities such as agriculture, textile manufacturing, bows and arrows, and other materials was at the core of their freedom and improved position. Indian women have traditionally been treated equally to males. In the classic epic Mahabharata, the concept of woman as Shakti, the primeval energy force, is expressed.

In the Mahabharata epic, women have been termed as *“the light of house”*, *“mother of universe”* and *supporter of universe and forest*. Mahabharata has also stated that the world has witnessed no such guru as mother. A woman held a higher and more respected status in the gender interaction throughout the Vedic Age. Women began to lose their social status in the post-Vedic period, which they had attained during the Vedic period. She had lost her autonomy and she became a ward of the state. Manu, the Hindu race's founder, claimed that a woman should be held in submission by males of the family at all times of the day and night. Women should be protected by her father in the early days of childhood, by her husband in the youth and her sons in the old age. However,

after her marriage, she lost her identity. Later Vedic era denied her access to Vedas and knowledge.

During the mediaeval period, the status of Indian women in society degraded even more. During Mughal rule, Hindu women's socio-economic status was severely lowered, and they were forced to rely on Hindu men for everything. During the middle ages, Indian women have lost their earlier status and this was their lowest stage in the history of India. Razia Begum, Chand Bibi, Tara Bai, and Ahaliya Bai Holker, among other women who rose to become queens, left significant traces of their power. Begums or princesses controlled Bhopal as well. Women like Jahanara, Begum Mumtaz, and Noor Jahan regained acceptance in the kingdom after the arrival of Islam. Although they were observant Muslims, they carried out public justice while wearing veils or burkas.

In 1858, the British crown took over administration of the colony from the British East India Company, which had occupied India since 1772. During the mediaeval and English periods, common women faced male tyranny and horrors, but at the upper side they became rulers and in cases became rulers of regents if their husband or children died. After ascending thrones, they were imparted combat training. This was demonstrated in the "*First War of Independence 1857*" by Maharani Laxmi Bai. However, the ceasing of power structure by Britisher's has created tremendous and significant changes to the existing social structure. Various modifications regarding women's status have been implemented. Free India has advanced the process to the point where men and women are legally equal.

The National Social Conference was founded in 1887 with the express purpose of leading a social reform effort in order to further one of its key goals: women's emancipation. It established the Indian Women's Conference as an independent institution. Sacred scriptures and rituals that justified injustices against women or supported female subservience, according to Mahatma Gandhi, deserved neither respect nor compliance. He advocated for women's inclusion into public life while also emphasising the importance of their household roles. His mass agitation tactics were effective in moving women from the private to the public realm. As a result, no discrimination was made between men and women throughout the independence movement. Gender equality was achieved. In acknowledgment of their contributions to the national cause, the notion of "*Gender Equality*" has been enshrined in the constitution of independent India.

In the contemporary era, women in Indian have been given equal rights in all the socio-economic and political spheres of life. To safeguard women from societal bias, several laws have been passed. Gender equality, discrimination ban, equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity are all guaranteed by the Indian constitution. In India, feminist activism has gained traction since the late 1970s, with diverse women's groups collaborating to combat unjust practises against women. Women in independent India were actively involved in national concerns such as female infanticide, literacy, gender bias, and health.

3.7 Constitutional Status of Women in India

The Indian Constitution is a living constitution that serves as a safeguard for the country's equity and fairness. It serves as a model for implementing legislation aimed at improving the socioeconomic and political conditions of the poorest members of society. Article 14 of the Indian constitution guarantees equal treatment of all the citizens before the law and prohibits discrimination in spheres of education, employment, health and prohibits discriminations on the grounds of sex. Religion, caste, place of birth etc. In India, women are treated equally to men in all civil and legal affairs, including contracting, administering property, practising in the courts, and dispensing justice. Constitution of India serves as the fundamental law of the land and guarantees equal treatment and fundamental rights to all its citizens.

In recognition of women's contributions to the country's freedom effort, the Indian constitution listed them as a special concern. As a result, the architects of the constitution committed to improve women's status, and the administration recognised it as one of the country's major concerns from the start. However, the preamble of constitution acts as abstract to the detailed and inclusive constitutional document. Preamble has clearly stated the ideals of justice, equality in terms of social, economic and political one.

Article 14 of constitution ensures that "equality before the law," shall persist in Indian socio-economic and political setting. While as Article 15 "prohibits any discrimination" based on sex, gender, age, place of birth and religion. However, the explicit expression of "equality before the law" is expanded in Article 15(1) of the constitution, which states that the governance structures should not discriminate with

anyone based on gender, caste, religion and place of birth in socio-economic and political spheres of social setting.

Article 15(3) of constitutions empowers the state to make special arrangements and provisions with respect to the women and children. Also adequate measures should be put in place for their socio-economic wellbeing. According to Article 16 (1) state should ensure equality in employment opportunities. Furthermore, Article 16(2) forbids unfairness in "any profession of office under the state" based only on gender, sex, caste, religion and place of birth.

Mahatma Gandhi is the prominent figure in the Indian nationalistic movement whose ideals have secured a prominent position in the Indian constitution. All the socialistic, liberal and Gandhian principles have been boxed under the theme of Directive Principles of State Policy under Part IV of the constitution. Part IV contains a detailed account of guidelines for legislators while enacting the laws. These guidelines aim to create a just and egalitarian society that will bridge the gap in haves and have's not. Also they have direct bearing on the women empowerment. In this context, *Article 39(a)* ensures that adequate measures should be undertaken for men and women in the matters of livelihood generation. Also *Article 39(d)* ensures that women are getting equal pay for equal work at par with men. Similarly, *Article 39(e)* ensures that state undertakes various initiatives to protect and ensure the health of its men and women populace. Also children and women should be provided security from the abuse.

According to constitutional mandate, regardless of her social level, occupation, or interests, the women populace of India should actively engage themselves in the nation building. While motherhood is a crucial duty, India's constitution emphasises that it is not the country's "sole role." As a nation-building partner, the Indian woman can play a variety of roles. The Indian Constitution is the cornerstone of a nation built on the principles of equality and fairness. And a country founded on constitutional principles paves the way for a more just and equitable society. Women have more opportunity to excel in socioeconomic and political elements of society when it is equitable and just. The government has undertaken various policy measures aiming to protect their rights and prevent them from discrimination and violence including domestic violence.

3.8 Democracy and Women: Indian Perspective

The normative theories have attributed greater value to the political equality. It is being assumed that women should become active in political activities and should hold the prominent decision making positions at par with men. On the other side, empirical theories have attributed the connotation of political equality with multi-party system and competitive election process. In the realty avenues, empirical democracy could be applicable to wider variety of world situations including social, cultural and political aspects. Multidimensional conceptual framework of empirical study also holds an important position at the helm of women's representation in legislatures. There are different factors that have evolved with time and exerted a significant impact upon the political participation of women. In those countries where democracy thrived for the short span, voting pattern remained a vital factor in deciding the strength of women parliamentarians. However, the scenario is quite reverse in those countries where democracy is well established.

To bring inclusive growth and development, the full participation of women is must and critical. Active and equal participation of women in decision making process at par with male populace is must for just and sustainable development, peace and democracy. Kumar and Jakkula (2018) have claimed that women in 21st centaury still face barriers in their entry into the political affairs. Women are underrepresented at all the levels of administrative hierarchy including parliament and state machinery across the globe. The full participation of women in political activities at par with men is the prime agenda under the aegis of MDG's of United Nations. To streamline and enlarge the participation of women, various international agreements and conventions have been undertaken, but they are still at the entry of showing their outcome (Koch, 1997).

Women constitute the half of global population, but they only hold 23% of seats in all the parliaments of the globe (Chalaby, 2017). Most of the countries across the globe have signed various treaties and conventions related to women empowerment, thus their exclusion from the decision making could be a violation of their fundamental right. According to Barnes and Burchard (2013), many African countries have undertaken the pledge for political empowerment of women, but they derailed from their commitments. The state in recent decades has ignored the violations of human rights as they aim to secure power through self constructed tactics. As a result, women continue to be

underrepresented in the democratic institutions and there are many intrinsic hurdles including gender stereotypes, societal practices and attitudes, lack of access to healthcare and education that act as barriers for their political participation.

Furthermore the political participation of women in Africa is hampered by factors including geography, culture, socio-economic development and political system (Shvedova, 2005). Women in Africa have become game changers in their countries, but certain obstacles have fuelled their desire. Also the political climate and societal attitude are unfriendly towards women as their contribution in the societal affairs is underreported and declined. In African countries, there is lack of political will that adds fuel to the exclusion of women in the political arena. As a result, the abilities of women in political settings are being damaged. However, the commitments as envisioned by Southern African Development Community has been pledged and accepted by African countries for bring 50% of women in decision making process (Molokomme, 1997).

However, in contemporary era, the leadership potentials of women being are being widely accepted and recognized. The presence of women leaders has witnessed an increase in the realm of political institutions. The present strength has witnessed an increase of 17.8% in 200 from 11.8% in 1998 in Africa. Also the strength of female law makers has witnessed an upward trend from 11.6% to 23.6% in the same time duration in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ruedin, 2012). While as total global female representation is still below 30%. In this context, the participation of women in community policing, municipal and national level legislative bodies has become a priority. The benefits of women's participation in democratic processes are widely acknowledged in fulfilling public demands on ethnic lines and creating a more sustainable environment.

The participation of women contributes heavily in the achievement of constitutional ideals in the form of equality and justice. Their participation also influences the decisions and policies as proposed by the legislature. Previous studies have revealed that gender has a greater impact upon the policy orientation. Schwindt-Bayer (2006) has stated that women legislators are widely supporting the policies and programmes meant for bridging the socio-economic and political vacuum among the women, racial and ethnic minorities. Women are being termed as quick responsive to the challenges faced by the society at large. Women's participation in political affairs helps in ensuring peace, fostering education and public health and other critical indicators.

Kofi Annan has declared that political participation of women positively affects the socio-economic development across the nations. Also there is no other technique that will expand the scope of development across nations as women empowerment. Similarly no other technique can yield positive educational prospect for future generations as female participation in governance institutions. According to Madeleine Albright, the world is wasting a precious resource such as women by under representing their leadership roles. Also they are continue to be under represented as voters, party leaders and prominent political figures. Thus to attain an inclusive development in all socio-economic and political spheres, women must be encouraged, supported and empowered in becoming the successful leaders (Albright and Woodward, 2003).

3.9 Political Participation of Women in Local Governance Structure of Haryana

Women at par with men are playing an active role for the survival and progress of human existence. In India, women are actively participating as voters, run for office and join political parties as massive scale. This encompasses that women not only participate as voters, but also as active decision makers. The existed gap in the political sphere has been filled by the reservation system at local level as envisioned under the aegis of 73rd and 74th amendment act. In Indian scenario, women have occupied highest official positions including position of Prime Minister, President, Chief Minister and Governor.

The participation of women in the governance institutions of country is not a pre-requisition for fairness, but also a fundamental right they enjoy under the realm of Fundamental Rights of constitution. Women empowerment in political times is a dynamic process, but assisting them in realizing their full potential is must for fulfilling the constitutional mandate. The extensive participation of women in governance institutions increases their prospect for availing resource benefits and utilize their skills in decision making process. However, the patriarchal culture is deeply ingrained in the socio-cultural values and belief system. The need of the hour is for a more just society where superiority has no place. The Indian government should identify and eliminate elements that perpetuate male supremacy over female equals by erecting cruel and illegal barriers.

In India, state legislators select the structure of Panchayati Raj Institutions; at the village level, some states have a three-tier Panchayati Raj structure, while others have a two-tier structure at the village block or district level. Only a few Indian states have a

one-tier Panchayat system at the village level. Jawaharlal Nehru's ceremonial inauguration of Panchayati Raj in Nagaur, Rajasthan, in 1959 signalled the start of India's democratic decentralisation experiment. The three statutory entities of Village Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis, and Zila Parishad were actively used under the Rajasthan PR model.

India's Panchayati Raj system is divided into three levels. Panchayats exist at two levels in the states of Goa, Jammu & Kashmir, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Sikkim: village and Zila or District. Panchayati Raj is divided into three levels in other states: village, block, and district. Women are significantly more numerous in Panchayati Raj institutions than in Parliament in India. In all three levels of the Panchayat, women made up about 36.87 percent of the overall representation. According to constitutional ideals, women should fill one-third of seats in the local level governance. At parliament and state assembly level, the female participation is very less; while as their participation and representation is quite impressive at local level. According to census 2011, literacy rate of Haryana is 76.64, which is quite impressive that 67.91 of 2001 census. Although female literacy has improved significantly, there are still discrepancies in reading levels. The education of women and girls is one of Haryana's most pressing issues today. Previous studies have also revealed that political participation of women is greatly hampered by their education, finances, culture and traditions.

The modern panchayat system as envisioned under the aegis of 73rd amendment act has reserved seats for women. In the similar fashion, the Haryana Panchayati Raj Institution have also reserved 1/3 seats for women. Bold attempts have been undertaken with the fact that everyone (, individual, family, community and nation) should respond to the call for women's participation by doing away with all the barriers and crating a secure setting for their participation. In case of Haryana, the representation of women is below than 50%, which is quite less in proportion to their population. Thus proportional representation of women in political sphere is vital for securing their socio-economic and political advancement. Thus, there exists a need devise a strategy and streamline the participation of women in local level governance (Poonam, 2009).

3.10 Women and Khap Panchayat: A Functional Outlook

Khap panchayat is an assembly of elders from various villages that is mostly prevalent in the northern state of Haryana and others. In the pretext of preserving Indian culture and tradition, these village councils run by unelected elders developed into a quasi-judicial body promote conservative, anti-women ideals. The majority of incidents have been reported in northern regions like Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, where caste councils exercise significant sway in village life. Khaps have not only thrived, but have also gained support from major political figures. Political leaders have avoided them, seeing communities as vote banks and so-called Khap leaders as essential actors who can sway the community's votes. The police, bureaucrats, and administrators have avoided contact with the Khaps, following the lead of the political leadership. In places like Haryana, Khap or caste panchayats have far more authority than statutory panchayats and can impose harsh punishments on couples who marry inside their gotra. Even strong politicians are afraid to use the legal system against them. In a few documented incidents, however, the offended women have ventured to go public and seek action against these Khap panchayats (Bharadwaj, 2012).

Khap panchayats are traditional institutions that form the part of rural social setting. In case of northern India, four types of villages are mostly prevalent namely; caste panchayats, village multi-caste panchayats, farmer-retainer panchayat and single purpose panchayat. Aikya (unity), izzat (honour), biradari (community), and bhai chara are the four cornerstones of rural life (brotherhood). According to Chowdhry, statutory panchayats' efficacy has remained "shallow," but traditional panchayats have made their presence felt on social concerns. Traditional panchayats' primary focus is on matters that endanger village harmony, such as property and inheritance conflicts. Traditional panchayats are still active in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, although their influence has waned in Punjab (Kaur, 2010).

Majority of the Khap panchayats constitute the members of ruling caste. They are the elders of the society who are supposed to uphold the village standards and culture and public morality. As a result, they have a stronghold both locally and provincially. Village customs, rural culture, and public morals are all violated on a regular basis. However, around election time, powerful parts of the ruling caste in khap panchayats engage in aggressive mobilise. Support is drummed up, and strong emotions are evoked in response to the alleged breaches. In comparison to the obstinate Chautala and devious Bhajan Lai,

Chief Minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda performed admirably. However, this "decent guy" is unlikely to make daring decisions in the sake of the rule of law or justice. "These are social circumstances," he allegedly added. Any hasty action might have unfavourable consequences (Basu, 2021). Marriages within the Jat community's "gotra" (clan) have gotten a lot of attention in recent years. Eloped couples are frequently brutally killed by the elders' diktats, and these killings are known as "*honour killings*". Most of these killings have been experienced in the northern parts of Delhi, Haryana, UP and Rajasthan.

These Khap panchayats are pronouncing harsh judgements in case of marriage within the gotra and their proceedings are quite opposite to the modern values. As a result of harsh and violent proceedings, many married couples have died as these Khaps have termed them as brothers and sisters. In return these Khap panchayats validate and justify their decisions based on old age traditions and customs as their origin dates back to centuries (Kumar, 2012). The return of these Khap panchayats in the Haryana and UP is quite visible, however two aspects in this case should be noted; The first is a negative sex ratio, which is caused by frequent female sex selective abortions, child maltreatment, and a low but persistent female infanticide rate. The second is that only women have publicly opposed the khap panchayats' authority and questioned its writ in this male-dominated culture (Singh, 2014).

It is past time to halt present malpractices and time demands, to abolish the harsh and violent practise of Khap, and to educate the people about their rights, because working as a Khap in the name of honour and tradition is nothing more than a violation of basic human rights. It is now required for the legislature to pass legislation on such a contentious issue as Khap, as well as for law enforcement agencies to outlaw such discriminatory practises (Chesler & Bloom, 2012). India as a signatory to United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has the responsibility of building a mechanism to address the issues pertaining to women.

Strict legal actions, on the other hand, will not suffice. This problem stems from a centuries-old society with a feudal and patriarchal system that can do whatever it wants to protect its culture and traditions. To prevent these illegal acts, it is necessary not only to change people's minds today, but also to break free from old and obsolete customs.

Due to a lack of flexibility in their approach, Khap leaders may be perceived as uneducated senior members of the Khap society. By giving them with education and

increasing their grasp of current and existing legislation, they can be made to work in conformity. Women's participation at the national level should be promoted, and everyone should be given a fair hearing before the Khap Panchayat makes its final decision. This might be tremendously advantageous in terms of improving socioeconomic conditions in rural areas. There were no hard and fast rules that applied to all Khaps, which developed in different geographical places and took on distinct shapes as a result of various socioeconomic circumstances. Caste and land ownership were the two most important factors, aside from clan affiliation (Shukla, 2010). Khap panchayats were "participatory" in spirit and function, serving as public forums where problems could be resolved without wasting time or money by direct negotiated settlements between both parties. In order to preserve societal control, they intervened if the established moral code was broken.

In recent times, the operations of Khap panchayats have been termed as a conjure of images of dead couples who married for their love. This is a change-resistant institution in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. The necessity to maintain a feudal and patriarchal society drives the all-powerful Khap Panchayats, which are made up of village elders divided by caste or community. Khaps are upper caste people with more land and physical power in Haryana and Rajasthan (Hodas, Sheorans, Ruhals, Punias, and Sangwans, Maliks). These self-declared guardians of the community or concerned society dispense justice as they deem proper. They issue ostracising decrees, nullifying weddings, declaring husband and wife to be brothers and sisters, and other discriminating and derogatory judgements. Expulsion from the community, forcing the guilty to drink urine, paraded naked, beaten, or slaughtered, is the most heinous offence in their civilization (Singh & Bhandari, 2021). Their family is also shunned, and they are often forced to pay hefty fines.

Ancient civilisation was organised by clans or the Panchayat system. At the time, a clan was made up of one major gotra or a group of closely related gotras. Decisions about these social clubs' activities were made with the unanimous approval of a Council of five members. The entire clan banded together behind the Panchayat's banner in times of danger, outside invasion, or other crises, and the Assembly picked a leader. When a group of villages got together, they formed a Guhaand. A 'Khap,' which covered everything from a Tehsil to a District, was founded by a group of Guhaands, and a 'Sarva Khap,' which included the entire province or state, was formed by a group of Khaps.

The word 'Khap' comes from the word 'faank,' which implies a branch or piece of anything. During the mediaeval time in Rajasthan, the term "Khap" was first employed in the context of Rajput elite ruling class. In the years 1890-1891, Jodhpur became the first state to compile the first census based on caste and religion. However, the existence of Khap in Rajasthan can be attributed to 14th century. These Khaps were found by upper caste Jats to consolidate the power structure. Each clan was headed by a chief/Chaudhary. The clan chief was also known as the head of Khap panchayat. However, in case of Haryana, the Khap panchayat is elected in a formal process by an agreement (Kanchan et al., 2016).

The term 'khap' is an ancient concept having established origins in the Rig Vedic period. Upper caste and old men are the two social-political groupings that are linked by caste and geography. As a result, the name "Khap" has evolved to refer to a social, political, and geographic grouping. Khap has existed in India's northern republics, such as Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan, from ancient times as a system of social administration and organisation. They initially appeared around 600 AD, according to legend. It is said that the upper caste 'Jats' constructed it to cement their dominance and prestige in society.

Khap Panchayats are undemocratic and unlawful government structures. The khaps are unelected and without legal authority. They are based on gotra/s and possibly caste systems and serve as a blended family structure. In the past, especially in rural North India, Khap's were mostly responsible for resolving conflicts and supervising the behaviour of individuals or groups (Dhamodharan, 2020). These organisations, on the other hand, have recently become recognised for their dikats and regressive tactics, which target youth, particularly girls, who do not fit into their antiquated feudal and patriarchal worldview.

According to an empirical analysis conducted during the course of this research project, the people have a grasp on khaps and kangaroo courts. The following are some of the many variables that lead to the supremacy of khaps/kangaroo courts. While the megacities of Mumbai and Calcutta (Kolkata), Bangalore's Silicon Valley, and Delhi's traditional seat of political power have all benefited from globalisation, other portions of India have not. There is a significant need to conserve everyday symbols, rituals, practises, values, and beliefs in India's non-metropolitan areas, as well as to resuscitate

what is considered as 'local,' 'authentic,' 'pure,' and to 'recover lost local traditions' that provide stability in uncertain times (Giddens, 1991).

One of the main reasons why Khap Panchayats and other parallel quasi-judicial bodies have evolved as dominant entities in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh's rural heartlands is the inherent insufficiency of democratically elected Panchayati Raj institutions (West). The Panchayati Raj Institution claims a 33 percent women's reservation. However, as a result of this reserve, women candidates are elected as proxies for their male counterparts. Elections for elected Panchayats are again heavily affected by caste, with Khaps outnumbering PRI.

While panchayats offered a venue for women to voice their concerns through required quotas emphasizes the need of determining "whether and to what degree women's interests came to be reflected in these institutional forums." However, the reality of women's experiences on a local level is rather different. Due to a multitude of barriers, many women are unable to exercise their rights (Katyal, 1998). As panchayat representatives, they are uninformed of their rights and responsibilities. They rely on male proxies to attend meetings and make decisions on their behalf due to their illiteracy (especially among SC/ST women) and limited mobility (Mohanty and Mahajan, 2003).

The khaps have taken up this left-over space. They may have been reformists in the past, but instead of focusing on contemporary issues such as female foeticide, dowry, and intoxication, they have confined their focus to caste weddings. Worse, khap panchayats have taken over responsibility for determining 'social concerns,' such as difficulties with unfavourable sex ratio and anaemia among women, allowing them to assert control and set the agenda for proper and inappropriate behaviour (Yadav, 2009).

Every politician seeking the Jat vote makes an effort to safeguard the khaps. Bhupinder Singh Hooda, the former Chief Minister of Haryana, and Arvind Kejriwal, the leader of the Aam Aadmi Party, are two prominent instances of such politicians. Mr. Hooda compared khap panchayats to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and claimed they are an important component of Indian culture. Arvind Kejriwal, the leader of the Aam Aadmi Party, said there was no need to abolish these organizations because they serve a "cultural purpose." Haryana Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar recently described khaps as "custodians of culture" who "watch the youngsters" and make quick judgements in cases where the courts are quiet.

In some ways, khaps are dwindling on a social level, yet political parties in our nation are reviving them. Politicians are looking to capitalize on "primordial relationships" in order to get votes. Politicians openly separate themselves and their parties from the khaps' positions, but they do little else. According to a variety of publications, particularly the mass media (newspapers and television), the khap panchayat(s) play a significant role in inciting honour killings. At the local level, the traditional Panchayats reflect the dizziness in daily governance. Despite the fact that the Khap Panchayats are not only outdated but also illegal under Indian law, they continue to thrive in north India. The number of diktats issued by khap panchayats against young couples has recently increased, either in the name of same gotra or invoking some other code of conduct in the name of bhaichara. In actuality, like kangaroo courts, khap/katta panchayats (caste councils) operate illegally and arbitrarily (Ishtiyaque *et al*, 2019).

Marriage is essentially a private realm in traditional civilizations, including the family and the society. A forced marriage is one in which one or both partners are compelled to marry against their will and without their complete permission. Marriage consent is guaranteed as a core human right of Universal Declaration of Human Rights under the aegis of Article 16. In the similar fashion, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1994 under the recommendation number 21. CEDAW bestows women with liberty and allows women to choose her partner. In the similar fashion, the constitution of India under Article 21 also guarantees women the Right to life as a fundamental right. However, the case is reverse in the state of Haryana as a man is being forced to married in the father's mother's and mother's father's gotra. The basic argument is that intra-gotra marriages are not traditional, as past sages recognised, and are hence frowned upon because they are based on medical research and genetics findings. Inbreeding causes and exacerbates genetically transmitted diseases, whereas crossbreeding successfully dilutes and reduces these diseases.

A diktat issued by the Khap Panchayat of an Uttar Pradesh hamlet recently caused a stir in the country because it discriminated against women based on their gender. According to their rules, women under the age of 40 should use their phones sparingly, go out with a man, and love marriage should be avoided. Proponents of the Khap claim that technology encouraged sexual interactions, including extramarital romances. Girls have recently been chastised by khap panchayats for "being the agents that contaminate society

and bring a negative name to the community. In addition, panchayats in the National Capital Region have enforced a clothing code for women and, in some cases, assigned males (moral policing) to monitor and report on the actions of women, particularly college girls who break the code. The panchayat claims that such limitations will help to reduce the region's growing prevalence of honour killings (Pandey & Singh, 2011).

The unconstitutional, unjustified and non-democratic actions of Khap panchayats have compelled them to rectify their courses of action and reputation. In order to streamline the structure of Khap panchayats, A Sarv-Khap headed by local Sarpanch of village Bibipur in the Jind district has created a history. also these Khaps are appealing the more women to join them and prevent the female foeticide. However, in cases women have been forced to step down from Khap panchayats as they tried to raise the issue of equal share in ancestral property.

The development of broad consciousness via education is the most pressing necessity of the hour. To counteract the ills of gender discrimination, mandatory gender education and gender sensitization through a state-led public education campaign are necessary. Only education can overcome the patriarchal worldview that glorifies the irrational "honour" found in women's bodies. Education is the most powerful weapon for social mobility, a crucial tool for establishing a just and equal society, and the only way to close the gender gap. By alluding to khaps/kangaroo courts as historical cultural institutions, politicians legitimise their operations and give them new life. The institution has been restored and given some legitimacy by vote bank politics, allowing it to reappear in a regressive form. To restrain the beast of Khaps, a strong political commitment is required. Our political masters, on the other hand, are acting as passive spectators to the horrors done by khaps. The political community is unwilling to incur the expense of social transformation in order to address this pressing issue.

Disturbing acts and barbarous behaviours, on the other hand, are soft-pedalled because they damage vote bank politics (Tiwari & Sharma). For example, Haryana Chief Minister B S Hooda urged that no legislation be amended to deal with 'honour killing' cases, describing the proposed changes as 'draconian.' However, in the last three years, the state has seen a significant increase in the number of incidents when loving couples have been deported. Other well-known politicians, like Chautala and Naveen Jindal, have expressed similar worries. As compared to Khap panchayats, the modern panchayats are termed as greatest institutions that strengthen the democratic decentralization in the

country (Housseini & Basavraju, 2016). The welfare of the public was cared after by the Khap Panchayats in the pre-constitutional era, and this is why Khaps have so much influence over the people.

We must address the problem of proxy among caste considerations, among other things, to improve and deepen grass-root democracy. However, because rapid change through mass education programmes is unlikely, regulations to at least put a stop to crimes against women committed in the name of honour should be adopted. Many people believe that honour killings/honour crimes should be punished harshly and deterrent. To deal with the issue of Khap panchayats, strict and unambiguous legislation are required. People should no longer adhere to illogical community and caste council norms. People's education and awareness are really important. We need a crusader like Anna Hazare to urge the government for important measures to combat this social evil, as well as raising popular awareness. In an otherwise feudal society that tries to maintain the status quo, the younger generation must step up as responsible social activists and lead the fight for change.

3.11 Conclusion

Local governments have not been truly empowered, despite constitutional provisions and comments from different expert organisations and even Parliamentary Committees. It is the Union's responsibility in certain cases to ensure that the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments are fully implemented. This is especially crucial as local governments undertake major development initiatives that are broadly backed by the federal government. However, it is unclear how the Union would intervene to guarantee that states effectively empower local governments.

Our Constitution was written at a period when the country's first and most pressing need was to unite as a nation. A more homogeneous federation of larger Realms had replaced over 400 princely states. The States were reorganised and strengthened during the next few years. At the initial years of independence, local governments were not given prominence as only two levels of government were prevalent at that time. Since these days there is a debate with respect to the stability and powers of modern panchayats.

Chapter 4
**Institution Exclusion: An Analysis of
Inclusive Measures For Political
Inclusion of Women At Local Level In
Haryana**

INSTITUTION EXCLUSION: AN ANALYSIS OF INCLUSIVE MEASURES FOR POLITICAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN AT LOCAL LEVEL IN HARYANA

4.1 Introduction

The political participation of women in the political affairs of the state is the pre-requisite for establishing a just and egalitarian society. Political participation encourages women to become the active participants in the decision making process and entrusts them with certain degree of responsibilities. The primary initiative for supplementing the political participation of women is to increase their share in decision making. Gender sensitive governance model and initiatives should be given priority and elected officials should be entrusted with responsibility to promote the gender equality in the public policy. Women empowerment in terms of political participation comes under the basic framework of United Nations. UN aims to ensure that governance structure across different nations is equitable, responsive, just and inclusive in nature.

The primary focus for political participation of women should be that entry to governance should attract everlasting positive consequences. Considering the statistical case of gender, it is well known that women account half of the global population. Despite their population share, they are underrepresented in the governance institutions across the nations. To overcome their exclusion, positive discriminatory measure is seen as positive intervention against the discrimination of women. The political participation of women is outlawed at every successive layer of governance. Even the women are underrepresented in public sector, business, academics and other leadership positions. But despite their exclusion women are still known for their demonstrated leadership skills, change agent qualities and equal capabilities to enter into the realm of politics.

Women in political sphere are facing diverse challenges that acted as barriers in the way of their participation in political activities. These barriers are systematically imposed in a discriminatory manner by the societal addicts or other legal aspects. The capacity disparities including resources, knowledge, contacts among the women also hinder their participation. In contemporary era, women continue to be a marginalized group in the socio-political sphere. According to United Nations 2011 General Assembly

resolution on “*Women’s Political Participation*”, women still continue to face bash of discriminatory laws, traditional societal practices and attitudes, educational backwardness, gender stereotypes, lack of access to healthcare etc.

Individual women have overcome these difficulties, often to the benefit of society as a whole. However, the playing field for all women must be levelled in order to create opportunities for all. The leadership and participation programmes of UN Women are based on a long history of international commitments to gender equality. Women's freedom to engage in public life is protected by the “*Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*”. The *Beijing Platform* for action calls for impediment of inclusive and equitable participation to be ruled out. In this perspective *Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s)* have termed that equitable share of seats for women in parliament in proportion to their population is the hallmark toward the gender equality.

Thus, to enlarge the scope for political participation of women, they should be equipped with capacity building training with respect to political activities including, voting, election campaigning, gender equality and civic education. We join women's empowerment activists in calling on political parties, governments, and others to support women's empowerment. Other sensitive initiative such as lobbying for women contestants should be a framework in electoral legislations. Women should be given equitable access in all the political spheres as voters, candidates or elected officials. Bold attempts should be undertaken to ensure just election process and other activities including right to vote and right to contest and campaigning without any fear or threat.

4.2 Institutional Exclusion: An Overview

Socio-economic and political exclusion alleviation has re-emerged as a major issue in the international development agenda in the 1990s, after a decade dominated by an emphasis on market-led economic growth and globalization as the best path to progress (Hickey, 2008). However, there are several contrasts between today's exclusion worries and those articulated in policy papers from the 1970s, when an "attack on exclusion" was similarly stressed. These differences reflect not just the lessons learned about poverty alleviation in the preceding years, but also the ideological climates in which these concerns have been expressed.

The varying significance assigned to various institutions in the two agendas is a significant difference pertinent to the study in this chapter. The state's involvement as a significant institutional player in the design and execution of socio-economic alleviation programs, although within a market framework, was undeniable in the 1970s. Today, however, a decade of neoliberal state criticism, strengthened by the breakdown of centrally planned economies in most of the globe, has made foreign assistance agencies more cautious of state action and more ideologically oriented towards 'private' solutions (Storey *et al*, 2005). The term 'private' is used here to refer to the non-state sector broadly, implying that, in addition to market-driven labour-intensive growth methods for poverty reduction, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will play a larger role. This is predicated on the comparative advantage given to such organizations as being less rule-bound, less capable of - or prone to - rent-seeking behaviour, and hence more responsive to their constituency's demands. Another distinguishing aspect of modern poverty reduction efforts that is important here is the more attention devoted to the unique needs and restrictions of women in poverty than was the case in the 1970s, when gender problems were only just beginning to be addressed.

In this new millennium, women's development is a global issue. In many developed and developing countries' social inclusion and gender equality efforts, gender mainstreaming has been viewed as a critical prerequisite. First World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975 has highlighted the concerns related to women including equality, integration and full participation in the development of developing world. All these concerns were recognized and since then a platform was created that acted as a mechanism for deliberations on gender equality. However, it may be argued that the United Nations has produced the most comprehensive global plan for women through the Beijing Platform for Action (Gardam & Jarvis, 2000). If women are to contribute to a country's long-term development, fundamental problems about women's empowerment and equality must be addressed, according to this conference. It aimed to remove barriers to women's public involvement in all areas of life – including economic, social, cultural, and political realms – by granting them full and equal participation and decision-making authority (Declaration, 1995)

Women's active participation in electoral politics is a true indicator of a country's democratic progress today. For mainstreaming women's political agendas, advancing women's interests, and legitimizing democratic institutions, equal involvement of women

in legislative bodies is crucial (Dahlerup 2008). In order to enlarge the scope for greater participation of women in the political affairs, more than 130 countries have increased the quota for women in their respective legislatures at central, state and local levels (Bacchi, 1996). Gender quotas are often thought of as equal opportunity policies that force nominating groups or political parties to recruit, select, or nominate more women for political positions. Quotas are the first inline efforts that have created a formal effort to strengthen and increase the number of women legislators in the legislations.

The masculine model of politics denotes a political way of life centered on male norms and goals, as well as male behaviors. This masculine political paradigm refers to "how patriarchy still worked in political institutions in various ways and at various levels" (Wayan & Nyoman, 2020). Quotas serve as an "exogenous shock" to political systems' primarily masculine image; they function as a deterrent to prejudices that synonyms politics with male politicians (Baldez, 2004). Others claim that quota system helps to improve the qualities of elected women representatives and offers them with multitude of opportunities in policymaking and politics as compared to male counterparts (Franceshet & Piscopo, 2008). Thus, the bang of quota system could be both positive as well as negative for women's representation in the legislatures.

4.3 Institutional Exclusion of Women in Haryana: A Governance Perspective

Women's status is a relatively new notion that may be described as "the degree of control that a person has over her life, as determined by access to information, social and economic resources, political power, and autonomy in decision-making." Women's status is also the emulative effect of their previous and present positions in society, which show whether or not they have been discriminated against. Women are discriminated against from the moment they are excluded from governance systems. In Haryana State, the situation with respect to women remains bleak and even dangerous. Every metric of governance shows that women fall behind males. The most apparent and alarming numbers are in terms of the Sex Ratio, which usually raises a ruckus when figures are released, and Haryana continues to be one of the poorest performing states.

Another sign of Haryana's sorry state of things is atrocities against women. Furthermore, gender studies indicate a significant disparity in labor participation rates between men and women in developing nations. In India's situation, the gender gap index of economic involvement and opportunity places the country 23rd out of 135 nations

(Ghani, *et al* 2013). Women are absent from the labor force, according to numerous studies. There are less job options for women, more unpaid employment, and a deplorable condition for women in agriculture (Mazumdar *et al*, 2013). If economic freedom is a requirement for women's economic independence, Haryana exhibits an alarming tendency. According to the data, WWPR was approximately 28 percent in 2001 and had decreased to 17 percent by 2011. It should also be highlighted that the male-female disparity in WWPR has risen from 23% in 2001 to 32% in 2011, implying that job possibilities for women have decreased even further, making them more vulnerable to sustaining their living.

In the case of Haryana, Haluwalia *et al* (2021) have claimed that big sampled families had a poorer socio-economic profile. The identified causes have a strong link to the scheduled castes' low socio-economic status. Furthermore, the study's findings show that the highlighted variables reinforce one other, perpetuating the exclusionary cycle, since scheduled castes continue to have low socioeconomic position and are mainly excluded from society. Women's education is seen as critical to their entire development. Studies have demonstrated that it enhances quality of life not just within the family but also outside of it, for example, by lowering infant mortality, slowing population growth, increasing girls' marriage age, and improving their own health and sanitation (Hirudayaraj & Doshy, 2018).

The first step toward formal education is literacy. It is a term that describes the capacity to read and write. Over the course of the year, female literacy has improved. It reveals that female literacy was around 58 percent in Haryana in 2001, which was somewhat higher than the national average. By 2011, the percentage of women who are literate has grown to 67 percent. Furthermore, according to the all-India rating, the state's position has slipped to 24th place. It indicates that nine districts in the state had literacy rates that were lower than the state average in 2001. The pattern reveals that while northern and eastern districts had high female literacy in 2001, the trend in 2011 was virtually identical to that of the neighboring NCR area, which was higher than the all-India average. In the year 2020, the Vidhan Sabha of Haryana enacted a law allocating 50% of seats to women. Despite the numerous steps adopted, several political parties (including Manohar Lal Khattar) claimed that this was only participation and not a gender-based reservation. In Haryana the involvement of women is although real but male members dominate the decision-making process.

Scheduled castes account for around a fifth of the population of Haryana, and they are said to be victims of societal neglect and atrocities. According to Asrani & Kaushik (2011), some socio-cultural issues such as untouchability and not being allowed in public areas still persist in villages. However, the majority of respondents considered economic issues to be the most significant, followed by educational issues.

4.4 Women in Local Governance Structure in Haryana

Despite a shrinking pool of eligible candidates due to the adoption of new criteria such as the education qualification, the Fifth General Panchayat Election in Haryana Saw a Higher Percentage of Women Elected. In this Panchayati election the women representation was quite higher (42%) as compared to the previous (36%) term. Furthermore, the 2016 Panchayati elections witnessed the influx of more educated women as educational qualification was mandated and termed as pre requisite for the contestants by the Election Commission. Of course, in a state like Haryana, where women outnumber males 879:1000 and women's literacy remains at 64.94 percent, this is a significant achievement. One of the most critical requirements for preparing these elected women representatives to successfully carry out their roles and obligations is to provide organised training programmes tailored to their needs. These types of programmes allow women to interact, participate, and learn from one another. Government-sponsored training programmes will benefit from the participation of non-profit organisations with frequent experience operating in rural areas.

Educating elected female legislators on technology is just as important, if not more so. This is especially important because, through its E-panchayat Mission Mode Project, the Indian government's Ministry of Panchayati Raj aims to inculcate the benefits and utility of ICT not to work flow process, and improving and standardize the citizen delivery services, but also to build the capacity of panchayat representatives and officials. Panchayat digitization will improve local self-governance by making it more inclusive, responsive, and accountable. The efforts of non-profit groups to improve these women's skill through separate training sessions are a welcome addition. SM Sehgal, an NGO based on Nuh district of Haryana since 1999 is actively engaging and training the women representatives at the village level. By mooted the idea of Mahila Sangathans (Women's Organizations), it actively engages the women in training sessions such as panchayats,

village health and nutrition, school management committees and sanitation committees. These collectives stress the importance of collective action among women legislators while also increasing their awareness of their obligations and responsibilities. Women Leadership Schools (WLS) have also been developed by the Sehgal Foundation to teach and empower women in the community to become the champions for their self development. WLS helps people to make formal choices and disseminates the relevant information on government initiatives/schemes that help the women to gain an insight into the issues related to health, nutrition, education, sanitation, RTI and social security.

Women have an important part in the nation's administration and development. Women's participation in governance is important not just for improving their position, but also for bolstering women's empowerment. Women are involved in project design, implementation, monitoring, and maintenance, although they are under-represented in these areas due to a lack of understanding of their socio-political rights and the role assigned in the local level governance. Without the participation of women's representatives, urban governance (urban local bodies) cannot be strengthened. As a result, studying women's empowerment through urban government is extremely important. The role of women in urban governance is one of the most important topics to address in the movement for women's political and other types of empowerment (socio-economic, administrative and cultural). Despite the fact that women make up over half of the population, their engagement in urban governance, business, and decision-making is quite low; with the exception of two or three women representatives, they are uninformed of or do not participate effectively and actively in urban governance.

Without the active engagement of women, we would not be able to realise the nation's socioeconomic and political growth. The inclusion of women in urban local bodies expands their seat share, but does not improve their active participation in municipal governance. Husbands and male family members employ the powers and functions of women's representatives. It is critical that women in urban local bodies improve their skills to play meaningful and appropriate roles in the development of urban governance and processes. It is critical that women representatives play a more effective role and engage actively in municipal activities in order to improve the urban municipal govt.

4.5 Inclusive Measures and their Significance

Easy access to financial resources is thought to be a critical instrument for poverty reduction and equitable growth. Various steps have been implemented from time to time to combat poverty and ensure uniform growth throughout the country, including the development and strengthening of the rural cooperative sector, nationalization and privatization, and the expansion of the banking sector. Aside from these advantages, financial inclusion gives a formal identity, access to the payment system, and savings protection such as deposit insurance. As a result, financial inclusion is regarded as important for attaining inclusive growth, which is necessary for guaranteeing the country's overall sustainable growth.

The fast-growing Indian economy can only achieve fair and sustainable growth if diverse segments of society, particularly the vulnerable and impoverished, are integrated in the process. The availability of a bank account can make it easier for the government to give direct help and resources to those in need, bypassing the need for intermediaries. Haryana is one of the country's most progressive states. The state of Haryana, on the other hand, is working hard to meet its key financial inclusion indicators, which include a credit-deposit ratio of 35.71, much below the target of 60, and financial exclusion of 68 percent, the highest in the Northern Region (Amberkhane *et al*, 2016). According to the CRISIL report from 2013, Rohtak received the highest score of 63.4, while Mewat received the lowest score of 25.7 in Haryana. The United Nations Development Programme granted HPPI (Human People to People India) the 'Disha project' in September 2016 to reach out to 14,000 underprivileged women in Haryana's Faridabad, Gurugram, Mahendergarh, Mewat, and Rewari districts via training and entrepreneurial skill development. The majority of the population in Haryana work in agriculture (Sinha & Yoong, 2009). Following inclusive measures have been undertaken with the purpose to advance the socio-economic condition of marginalized groups in the state of Haryana.

- **No Frills Account:** Banks in the state are giving no-frills accounts to the vast majority of the state's excluded population in compliance with RBI standards. To broaden the reach of financial access, the basic banking 'no frills' account is given to the low-income people with zero minimum balances, flexible Know Your Customer (KYC) requirements, and minimal costs.
- **Credit to Weaker Sections of Society:** The Kisan Credit Card was created in 1998-99 as a loans instrument and as an essential tool and variation of the

Agricultural Credit Delivery Mechanism, which provided farmers with the necessary financial liquidity and allowed them to access credit when it was most needed. The beneficiaries' agricultural production has increased as a consequence of their timely and hassle-free access to institutional financing through the Kisan Credit Card. The Reserve Bank of India's new Branch Authorization Policy encourages banks to build branches in under-banked states and under-banked regions of other states. State bankers in Haryana have been working hard to bring the unbanked areas into the official banking system. The Reserve Bank of India has designated unbanked blocks and under-banked regions of Haryana State, and a detailed strategy has been created in this regard. A detailed action plan has been developed, and each of the 235 communities has been assigned to one of the three banks. Haryana Bank is also leading the way in this area.

- **Haryana Enterprises Promotion Policy:** The Enterprises Promotion Policy (EPP) was launched in 2015 with the goal of positioning Haryana as a premier spot for investment also facilitates a balanced and sustainable development in a diversified governance set-up. However, the modern technological innovation adaptability and skill training development for aspiring entrepreneurs aims to facilitate economic growth and development.

The economic environment in both India and Haryana has altered substantially after the release of the State's Enterprise Promotion Policy in 2015. While the state has made significant progress in improving Ease of Doing Business, lowering the cost of doing business, and establishing effective monitoring mechanisms, a new lens is needed to chart the future growth story and ensure that policy outlook and action are aligned with the current needs of the industrial ecosystem.

- **Old Age Samman Allowance:** The Old Age Pension Scheme was founded in April 1964 to provide Social Security to elderly people who are unable to sustain themselves and want financial assistance. The pension rate was altered and raised throughout time, starting at Rs. 15/- per month at the start of the plan. On November 1, 1966, the Haryana government implemented this plan, and 2382 persons received pensions and benefits totaling Rs. 24,680. The old age pension programme was liberalised in 1987, and as of 17.6.87, those aged 65 and older received Rs. 100 per month.

- **Widow Pension Scheme:** This is a government program that provides pensions to poor or deserted women and widows who are at least 18 years old and meet the scheme's qualifying requirements. If a woman of 18 years or older has Haryana's domicile and has lived in the state for the previous year at the time of application, and her own income from all sources is less than 2,00,000 per year, she is eligible for a pension under the plan: She is a widow or a poor woman who has lost her husband, parents, or child(ren): In the case of married women, the husband; in the case of other women, the parents.
- **Disability Pension Scheme:** This is a state-run program in which handicapped Haryana residents who have a minimum 60% disability and are at least 18 years old are eligible for a pension based on the scheme's qualifying requirements. Allowance rate: Rs. 1,800 per month. Applications for the scheme are accepted online through the State Government's E-disha Portal.
- **Financial Assistance to Destitute Children:** This is a state programme that provides financial assistance to parents/guardians of children under the age of 21 who are deprived of proper care due to their parents' death or long imprisonment, long illness, or mental retardation, up to a maximum of two children per family, based on the scheme's eligibility criteria.
- **Allowance to Dwarf:** Allowances are granted to dwarfs who live in various regions of the state. A monthly payment is payable to a male with a height of 3 feet 8 inches or less and a female with a height of 3 feet 3 inches or less (equal to 70% disabled).
- **Post Matric Scholarship:** The primary purpose of the scheme is to strategically and systematically minimize and enhance the Gross Enrolment Ratio of students in higher education and primary targets the poorest and disadvantaged families. The scheme aims to help the disadvantaged sections of society to complete the secondary level education.
- **Merit cum Means:** The Merit-cum-Means Scholarship program gives financial aid to deserving and underprivileged students from minority groups who are pursuing graduate or postgraduate degrees in professional or technical fields. A bright future is guaranteed for youngsters from minority groups who get financial help to complete their studies.
- **Pre-Matric Scholarship:** The pre-matric scholarship will encourage minority parents to send their school-aged children to school, relieve their financial

burden associated with their children's education, and support their efforts to ensure that their children finish their education. The program will establish the groundwork for their educational success and ensure a fair playing field in the competitive job market. One of the goals of this plan is to empower people via education, which has the potential to improve minority groups' socioeconomic situations.

- **E-Governance initiative:** In essence, e-Governance denotes “digitally empowered and integrated governance” that offers its citizens a wide variety of services in real time and transparent manner. The government, citizens, and businesses/interest groups are the three basic target groups identified in governance ideas. By making administration a two-way street, the state government of Haryana has redefined governance and transformed it into good governance. It is distributed to the public and allows them to offer comments and opinions, which are considered for making final policy and programme decisions. The state and its institutions have achieved various administrative goals in terms of IT infrastructure, e-government, citizen services and on-demand services. In case of Haryana, the live examples of e-governance includes; CM Window, e-Filing, e-Tendering, e-Tourism and e-Ticketing etc. CM Window of Haryana is a public grievance redressal mechanism aimed to improve government openness and ensure that citizens' complaints are promptly addressed. It was created with the dual goals of minimal administration and maximal governance in mind. Approximately 2.4 lakh complaints have been successfully resolved to date.

4.6 Political Inclusion of Women: An Analysis

The effective engagement of women in the socio-economic affairs of state is the vital aspect of empowerment. Equal participation of women in all the socio, economic and political spheres is must for sustainable and inclusive development (Duflo, 2012). Despite this Mehra (1997) in his study has claimed that even in 21st century, women are facing global barriers in their participation in political affairs. Women across all the global governance institutions and decision making institutions are underrepresented. As envisioned by United Nations Millennium Development Goals, active engagement of women in political sphere lies at the heart of gender equality and women empowerment.

To promote the female participation in political sphere, conventions, protocols and international agreements should be proposed. Despite the fact that women constitute half of the global population, they only account 23% of all the seats in the parliaments around the globe.

Despite various initiatives undertaken at international or local level, the political participation of women is very less. Thus minimal presentation and exclusion from political institutions amounts to violation of democratic fundamental rights. Due to the African government's public promises of greater security and care for victims, women in Africa have been forced to play outside the political arena. As a consequence, women are still underrepresented in all the government institutions of the country as they face vicious cycle of obstacles in their way. Even the UN has agreed on the fact that women are largely marginalized in political terms due to discriminatory laws, societal attitude, low levels of education and gender stereotypes.

The political participation of women is hampered by various factors globally that include; socio-economic development, culture, geography and political system. Furthermore the political atmosphere and unfriendly attitude towards women are also adding to the political exclusion of women (Mattila et al., 2017). Even the atrocities against women during the war are under-reported and disregarded. In case of Africa, the political parties lack political will for engagement of women in politics. Dorsner (2004) has stated that norms inside and outside pooling booth drive larger impact upon the capacity of women. However, majority of constraints faced by women as decision makers are primarily ingrained in the patriarchal nature of society. More specifically, cultural attitudes about women's social positions and obligations mostly exist in rural areas (Sadie, 2005). The assigned gender roles and divisions of labour based on gender are still present. However, traditional social standards have limited the political space for women and their socio-economic conditions exert greater impact upon the participation of women (Kassa, 2015).

Lack of financial self sufficiency limits the scope for women in the political sphere. Costs associated with election campaigning, advertisement and others are very high, thus affordability is gone astray for women. Financial support from funding agencies and other NGO's and election expenditure limits will prove fruitful for the political participation of women. During the previous two decades, various studies have

been undertaken that highlight the issues pertaining to political participation in the realm of socio-economic and political spheres. These studies have examined the consequences of political participation in the developing and developed world. However, majority of the data pertaining to political participation of women is available with these countries that who have reservation system in place (Panday, 2008).

Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) have found that in the states of West Bengal and Rajasthan, investments are quite impressive in these gram panchayats where women representation is quite high. However, in case of Rajasthan investments are very less in road ways as compared to other facilities including water and health. They also highlight that gender disparities are quietly visible in the delivery of public services. Female leaders put more money into drinking water infrastructure, and the total amount of public goods was substantially higher. While as according to Bardhan, Mookherjee and Torrado (2008), in the state of Karnataka, male led gram panchayats offer more services. Also the political reservation created a mixed reaction in terms in terms of poverty alleviation. In the reserved villages, the intervention and targeting was quite impressive as compared to non reserved villages.

According to Afridi, Iversen and Sharan (2017), in their study have revealed that female pradhans have been accused of corruption and mismanagement of NREGA funds in Andhra Pradesh. According to Beaman et al. (2010), when other leadership attributes were taken into consideration in the economic loom, it was clearly found that these issues are prevalent due to lack of experience of female leaders, not their gender. Bribes are also being paid less frequently in reserved councils. Several researches have looked into whether female reservation promotes women's overall political participation. Male attendance was somewhat greater in restricted Gram Panchayats, however female attendance was quite low as compared to men (Raabe et al., 2009). Finally, several studies in southern states found that reservations had no effect on whether or not village meetings were convened.

One gender indicator has been on the rise in Haryana, a state with a skewed sex ratio (913 girls to 1000 boys, up from 830 females in 2011), and that is women's political representation. Haryana, along with West Bengal and Chhattisgarh, has the largest proportion of female Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) in the recently disbanded legislature in India. Scheduled Caste women accounted for 31% of female MLAs. During

the same time span, the number of women candidates from Scheduled Castes grew by 158 percent.

In 2014, Haryana elected the greatest number of female MLAs in the state's history, with 13 women elected to the Vidhan Sabha. In Haryana, however, the history of women's representation has taken a winding path. The proportion of women MLAs increased from 5% to 9% between the first two elections in 1967 and 1968, before steadily declining thereafter. Women's representation reached a turning point in 2005, when women MLAs made up 12% of the overall strength for the first time in the state's history. In 2005, 11 women were elected, up from four in the previous term in 2000. The number of women running in the forthcoming elections has decreased to 106 from 116 in the previous election in 2014.

Despite the increasing share of women in political activities, the proportion of women elected to the Vidhan Sabha has decreased. In the initial elections, 50% of the women who ran won, followed by a 58 percent win in the 1968 elections. Only 11% of women voted in 2014. According to a research by the Association of Democratic Reforms, an NGO that tracks elections in India, two prominent political parties including Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) and Bahartiya Janata Party (BJP) have given fewer tickets to women in the upcoming elections. In contrast to the BJP, which allotted 15 tickets to women in 2014, the INLD has awarded 15 tickets, compared to 16 in 2014. Despite this, INLD has allotted 23 percent of its total tickets to women, the greatest share of any party.

Women have been awarded 16 percent of BJP seats and 13 percent of Indian National Congress tickets. The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), which is running in Haryana for the first time, has allotted 21% of its tickets to women. Haryana's independent female candidates have a fascinating background. They grew from 24 to 62 between 1991 and 1996 but decreased to only 15 women candidates in the 2000 elections. They've remained mostly consistent since then. In the 2014 elections, the most women from the Scheduled Castes (SC) ran for office in Haryana's electoral history. In 2014, 31 SC women contested elections, accounting for 27 percent of all female candidates, up from 10 in 2009. As a result, in 2014, 31% of SC women were elected to the Vidhan Sabha. It is, however, not the greatest percentage in the state's history. In 1991, the Scheduled Castes accounted for half of the women elected to the Vidhan Sabha.

4.7 Inclusive Approach and Political Participation: Female Perspective

The notion of representation suggests that all citizens, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or other characteristics, should have the same chance to participate in political activities. However, the participation of women in the political affairs is the question of equality. Women must be active participants and play a pivotal role in the political activities for strengthening the political institutions and create a just and egalitarian society. Political participation of women enables them to become active decision makers and helps them to improve their economic aspects. Active participation of women in politics builds confidence and shapes their political thought process. As a result, their political participation is critical for the survival of democratic values. Women are underrepresented in government at all levels in comparison to their population (IDEA 2006). Increased female presence in political entities is highly desired, and political engagement is now a top priority global movement associated with women. In this background various organizations (local and international) have undertaken various concrete measures to streamline and strengthen political participation of women.

Moreover, a number of scholars have supported women's growing influence in politics. For example, Phillips (1998) presents four key arguments for increasing women's political participation: democratic justice, resource maximisation, representation of women's specific interests, and role modelling. As a result, it might be argued that women need to be represented in decision-making bodies in order to safeguard the growth of their fundamental rights and opportunities enshrined in the constitutional ideals. As an outcome to this, women are being pushed into the political arena that has allowed them to occupy higher official positions in the decision making process. However, the widely agreed catalyst for enlarging participation of women is the quota system.

Electoral gender quotas, on the other hand, put into question our assumptions and ideas with respect to the political representation of women and their socio-economic status. However, quota system will result into the unprecedented participation of women in political affairs of state (Dahlerup). In Indian context, most of the women are dependent on their male counterparts in the realm of finances and other aspects; thus how 33% reservation under 73rd amendment act will pave the way for them in decision making? Many scholars have referred to elected women with only nominal power as "proxy women" since their involvement in India's local government institutions is frequently portrayed as being limited by many blocking issues.

It could be argued that women's presence does not always signify participation and empowerment. In addition, additional research has found that reservations associated with gender have a mixed response. The findings have revealed that women have become more independent in the decision making process, they nevertheless face a variety of challenges as a result of their participation. Gender quotas in elections, according to Kudva (2003), are a key method for empowering women by increasing their political involvement. "Does engineering elections actually yield valuable outcome in terms of female friendly policy outcome? She questions of gender quotas in the Indian state of Karnataka. She investigates the experiences and contributions of female representatives in panchayats to well again comprehend and analyze the impact of reservation system.

Kudva (2003) has further stated that the reservation system of Karnataka has mixed outcomes as it expands their prominence while minimizes their engagement. While as reservation system has also supplemented their self-sufficiency, but no institutional guarantees were undertaken as they still face opposition from other counterparts in certain panchayats. Jayal (2006) investigates whether women's capacity to communicate and follow their interests has improved as a result of their membership in local government groups, and finds comparable results. She believes that the 73rd amendment to the Indian constitution, which included reservation, based on quota for women and disadvantaged sections and has paved the way for women to become active participants in the political affairs of state. But she also believes that representation alone will not ensure that women's interests are adequately represented in policy outcomes. When she examines women's motivations for running for office and analyzed their performances, she took into the consideration factors such as caste, age, literacy level, family income etc that affect the political participation. She argues that men were frequently the ones who urged women to run for office, but that this does not always signify a desire to increase women's political participation. It might be linked to a desire to preserve the reserve seat or to maintain their proxies control in the panchayat level.

Jayal has also found that there are instances when surrogate or proxies representation by husbands and male members were witnessed, who in addition to advocating for their wives, print their own names on campaign posters. Jayal also states that, quotas appear to have led some women to make their own decisions. Women are cautious while participating in political affairs as individuals, but they are eagerly participating in political institutions and have their voices heard. Women's representation

has had a constructive role in tackling a variety of practical gender issues. After entering the panchayats and families, many women have removed their veils. Some studies, on the other hand, have suggested that reservation for women create a positive impact on part of women empowerment. Reservation system helped women to become more confident, address the community problems and work for the upliftment of women populace.

This is well demonstrated in Clots Figueras (2005) research, which utilizes panel data from India's 16 major states from 1967 to 1999. Her research focuses on the impact of increased female representation in these states on policy decisions and expenditures, revealing that female legislators make different decisions than male legislators. She further argues that women elected from other communities such as SC's and ST's make different policy decisions as compared to general female populace. Women representatives from SC and ST community favour investments most preferably in irrigation and education fields. They support the cause of women under the shadow of "*Hindu Succession Act*" that offers equal rights for women at par with men. However on the other side, women law makers from general population exert minimal influence on women-friendly legislation, reject redistributive measures like land reforms, and favour pro-rich spending.

A wide range of studies have been conducted with respect to the impact of reservation in women empowerment. However, one of these studies' significant flaws is that it either recounts individual elected women's experiences or solely focuses on the socioeconomic profile of elected women legislators (Ghosh, 2008; Kaushik & Hooda, 2003) are two more studies that have added to our understanding of India's quota system. Raghavendra Chattopadhyay and Esther Duflo's (2004) research of the influence of women's leadership on policy decisions are based on political reservations for women in India. These researchers have used data from 265 village councils from West Bengal and Rajasthan. Few village councils entirely constitute the female representatives while other is not. The primary findings have revealed that reservation of council seat for women creates a positive impact on the delivery of public services. Elected women representatives spend more amount of money on the issues linked with women such as drinking water, roads and sanitation.

Three major conclusions may be derived from the above literature: The first is that reservation alone will not empower women since they are being hampered by the multitude of factors associated with social, economic, cultural and political one. Secondly

gender quota system, popularly known as women's reserve, has had mixed outcomes. According to this idea, women have grown more independent in decision-making as an outcome of the implementation of gender quotas, yet they still confront several challenges as a result of their participation. Villagers and their male equivalents in Panchayats continue to oppose women. Third, reservations have aided women's empowerment by allowing them to become more prominent and confident, as well as advocate for more women-friendly legislation.

The majority of India is patriarchal, in the sense that women are denied the right to vote and that significant topics of local politics have long been the realm of men (Mishra, 2018). Domestic work is common among women, particularly in rural regions. In the family, crucial choices are made by the husband and father, and the family structure is based on men's dominance and subjugation of the vast majority of women. Political affiliations of the Sarpanch and Panch have an impact on local administration in Haryana. Members of Parliament (MP) and Members of Legislative Assembly (MLA) have the authority to provide funding for development projects to gram panchayats. As a result, cultivating a connection with them and their affiliates is critical. These monies are often distributed based on the Sarpanches political leanings rather than the village's necessities. The cash can be obtained if the sarpanch is highly connected. In the gram panchayat, the sarpanch serves as a mobilization agent for MLAs and MPs. As a result, their connection becomes crucial for the political gains it may provide.

According to a study performed in Haryana, women sarpanches have a little role in panchayat administration. The rise in the number of women sarpanches and panches does not always imply a higher degree of interest and participation in panchayat activities. The existence of an unauthorized, self-proclaimed post known as the "sarpanch pati" or "sarpanch pratinidhi" shows male members of the sarpanch's family's engagement in the panchayat. It is unavoidable for a sarpanch to limit interactions with some important government officials in order to remain fully immersed in the panchayat's activities. The implementation of reservation policies is insufficient to empower women and increase their position as major stakeholders in local government, as evidenced by extensive empirical data. Women's participation in local governance will be effective if an atmosphere is created that encourages them, if their capability is built via training, and if administrative will and intentional effort are made to interact with and assist women sarpanches.

4.8 Conclusion

Women's political engagement in India has been ignored since independence. Despite the fact that our nation has chosen a democratic style of governance and women make up 48.9% of the population, women's political engagement is relatively low. They were unable to hold positions of authority or pursue leadership responsibilities due to a variety of limitations. Women's participation is quickly rising, yet it is still insufficient. They're also denying citizens the right to engage in governance, even when it comes to decisions that directly affect their lives and well-being. Though Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, believed that women could play a constructive role in society's reconstruction and that recognising their equality was a necessary step toward achieving social justice, this boosted women's participation in the liberation struggle and had a direct influence on the political and social elite, which included women. Smt. Hansa Mehta, Renuka Roy, Durgabai Desmukh, Saojini Naidu and others participated in the framing of Indian constitution after independence. Our Constitution protects individual equality and dignity, as well as women's fundamental rights to political and legal equality, as well as non discrimination in employment and public office. Our Constitution has provided various opportunities for women to develop and advance.

Because PRIs have the capacity to start the process of women empowerment at the village level, they have the potential to transform the community's socioeconomic situation. Village women are given chances for leadership and active participation in the development process through the PRIs. It will also aid in maintaining social harmony and prevention of violence against the female populace. As a result, to streamline structure and make PRI's inclusive with the participation of women initiatives should be undertaken.

Initiatives such as (i) In rural regions, to establish a healthy atmosphere in which women can enjoy equal rights to males, (ii) For women's growth and wellbeing, equitable participation in decision-making bodies, (iii) Preparing women for participating in the state assemblies and parliament with 33% reservation, (iv) Adoption of integrative and inclusive strategy for bridging the gap in resources, family support and other institutions, (v) To form self-help organizations of women for the economic empowerment of rural regions and (v) To increase women's political knowledge and engagement in rural politics through PRIs will be helpful to advance the participation of women in the governance structure of the country.

Our Constitution protects individual equality and dignity, as well as women's fundamental rights to political and legal equality, as well as non discrimination in employment and public office. Our Constitution has provided various opportunities for women to develop and advance. The measures suggested above, particularly strong motivation to stimulate leadership functions, satisfactory public relations, and informed citizenship, would significantly contribute to the emergence of a strong, capable, and effective municipal leadership, and such efforts would be able to restore citizens' faith in the municipal leadership while also increasing the degree of legitimacy among the governing body and governmental bodies. In simple terms, political empowerment of women includes the equality and freedom aspects in shaping and sharing power and their assigned political roles. The political empowerment at local level governance has been given solid shape under the aegis of 73rd and 74th amendment act. Under these amendment, a total of 33% reservation was accorded to women for bring inclusivity in the local level governance. There is also a provision for the Presidents of municipal bodies' posts to be reserved. A total of 5% of women, including those from the scheduled caste, have been given representation as presidents in municipal bodies of all types.

Kumar's empirical study indicates that women's reservation has enhanced their standing in society after they were elected to local authorities. The majority of women are now frequently attending meetings of local authorities. However, in other situations, the women's attendance to meetings has been inconsistent due to a combination of household duties, a lack of contact from the chairman, and the lack of escorts from family members. The survey also indicates and validates that women's participation in decision-making has grown significantly after the 74th Constitutional Amendment.

There is no disputing that, due to their lack of adequate education, experience, and training, their contributions to debates and decision-making processes leave much to be desired. However, over time, they will undoubtedly develop in this area, and national leadership will emerge from these segments of society. Apart from solutions, municipal administration programs should be developed at the ward level so that local urban problems may be successfully and efficiently handled. It would also make the friendly connection between citizens and their leaders easier.

Chapter 5
***Data Interpretation and
Data Analyses***

DATA INTERPRETATION DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Institution is a structure in which people interact and which has an impact on their behaviour and way of life. Modern societies being dynamic in nature and functions have diverse institutional arrangements that have a unique purpose. These institutions are permanent and they do not cease to exist when one person is gone. There are defined rules and regulations of the institution that help it to regulate the human behaviour. These institutions even shape the thought process and act as catalysts to build an opinion with respect to the particular aspect. In the Indian context, there are institutions such as Election Commission of India (ECI), Media, and Political parties etc. that play an important role to advance the political participation of women in the governance mechanism of the country.

India being the largest democratic setup on the globe has enshrined the democratic values in the Constitution of the country. The country has witnessed regular elections since the independence from the British rule. The country witnesses regular elections including parliamentary and assembly elections. In the recent times, the country also conducts the elections at local level. However, the conduct of elections should be free and fair and should be inclusive in nature. For this purpose, positive discriminatory mechanisms in the form of reservation have been put in place for the inclusion of disadvantaged sections of the society. Also media has been entrusted with the responsibility to bring the inclusivity in the democratic processes of the country. However, there are certain informal and unconstitutional institutions (Khap Panchayat) in India that are running parallel to the local panchayats. Thus, it becomes an important aspect to gauge the performance and role of local level governance mechanism (Panchayat) and Khap Panchayat in bringing the inclusivity of women in the decision making process of the country.

Thus, it becomes indispensable to know and find out how far the democratic institutions at local level of the country are effective against the desired ends. Therefore, in this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyse the role of panchayati elections for the inclusion of women in democratic functions and analyse the perception of respondents with respect to the working of Khap Panchayats in the state of Haryana. It may be

retreated that the present study is undertaken to understand the inclusion of women in Modern Panchayat's and Khap Panchayat's. This study is primarily intends to present divergent viewpoint of the respondents, with respect to the Modern Panchayat's and Khap Panchayat's. After collecting the first hand data and information from the respondents and secondary information contained in the research articles and published reports and other sources of information, the researcher has made an modest attempt here to present the analysis and interpretation of the data pertaining the various dimensions of the study.

5.2 SAMPLE SIZE OF THE STUDY

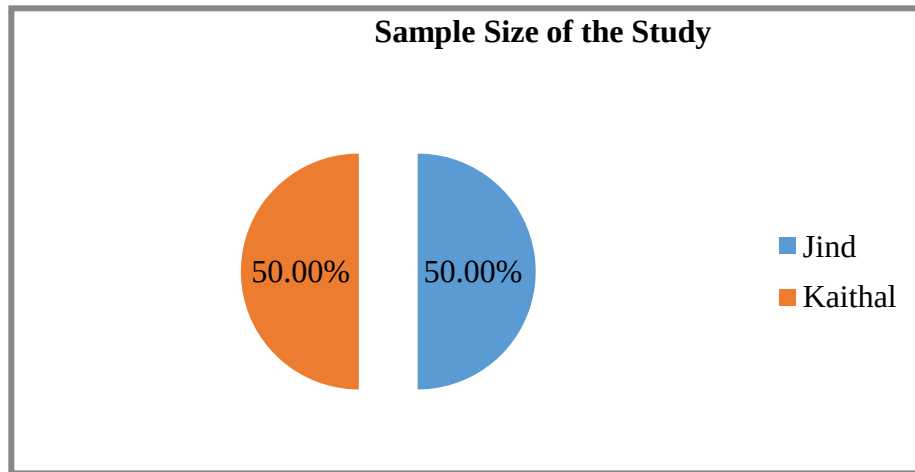
The research problem addresses the issues related to democratic processes and role of Modern Panchayat's and Khap Panchayat's in bringing the inclusion of women in the democratic structure of Haryana. The present study is explorative and analytical in nature. Therefore all the eligible voters including male and female constitute universe or population of the study. The field of enquiry is too much large which requires a lot of energy, time and resources to select the sample. The study of whole demography of country including all democratic institutions is not feasible. Thus, the Haryana state has been taken as reference point in this study. However, it is not possible to examine every item of the Universe/population. Therefore the focus of the study will be to analyze the role of institutions in bringing the inclusion of women in the local level governance mechanism both theoretically and empirically. The Jind and Kaithal districts of Haryana were selected as the sample due to following reasons:

- i. Haryana state has witnessed the highest voting turn-out (71.41%) percentage among the northern states in 2014 general election.
- ii. Haryana has witnessed the highest male voter turn-out (72.87%) among the northern states in 2014 general election.

Table 5.1: Sample size of the study

S. No.	Sample Size	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Jind	150	50.00%
2	Kaithal	150	50.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.1: Sample size of the study



A sample size is a portion of the population chosen for a survey or experiment, and it refers to the number of participants or observations included in the study. All the empirical studies are inherently infer information and data from the sample selected from the selected population. Due to intrinsic limits that limit the scope of a study, the sample size of the study may vary.

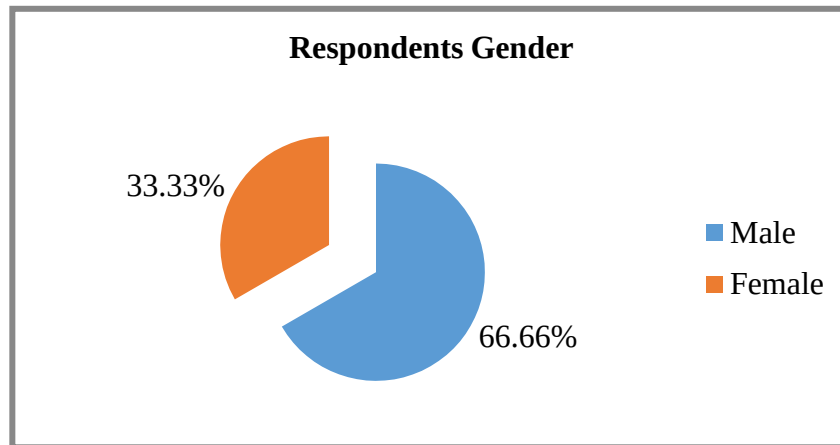
According to above table, the total sample size of the study is 300. Accordingly, 150 (50.00%) of respondents are from Jind district while as 150 (50.00%) of respondents were taken from Kaithal district of Haryana. From Kaithal district three tehsils were selected namely Kalayat, Guhla and Pundri and from Jind districts were selected including Narwana, Safidon and Julana. Thus, there is uniformity in sample size of the study between the Jind and Kaithal districts of Haryana. Also, it would be interesting to analyze and compare the data between the two districts in terms of inclusivity. The data obtained from the perception of respondents was tabulated, analyzed and presented under the sub themes in this chapter.

5.3: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Table 5.2: Respondents Gender

S. No.	Respondents Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Male	200	66.66%
2	Female	100	33.33%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.2: Respondents Gender

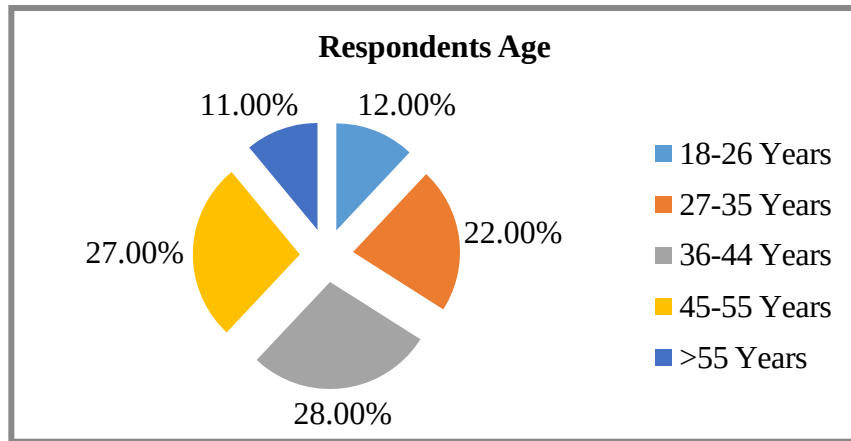


According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, the gender identity denotes an internal sense of being a female or male. According to the above data, 200 (66.33%) of respondents are male, while as 100 (33.33%) of respondents are female. However, the share of women respondents in the study has been taken in uniformity from Jind and Kaithal districts of Haryana. Thus, it is important to understand and analyze the perception of respondents from the gender perspective. From the above data that both male and female are the active participants of the study. While as majority of the respondents are from male population. According to Article 14 of the Indian constitution, there should be equality in each and every aspect irrespective of sex, language religion and caste etc. Thus, it becomes important to give the women due representation in the study. However, it is not convenient for the researcher to take the number of female respondents in the study in proportion to their general population due to less availability of women in private and government sector jobs. Female respondents also have minimal share in media fraternity as compared to male respondents.

Table 5.3: Respondents Age

S. No.	Respondents Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	18-26 Years	36	12.00%
2	27-35 Years	66	22.00%
3	36-44 Years	84	28.00%
4	45-55 Years	81	27.00%
5	>55 Years	33	11.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.3: Respondents Age



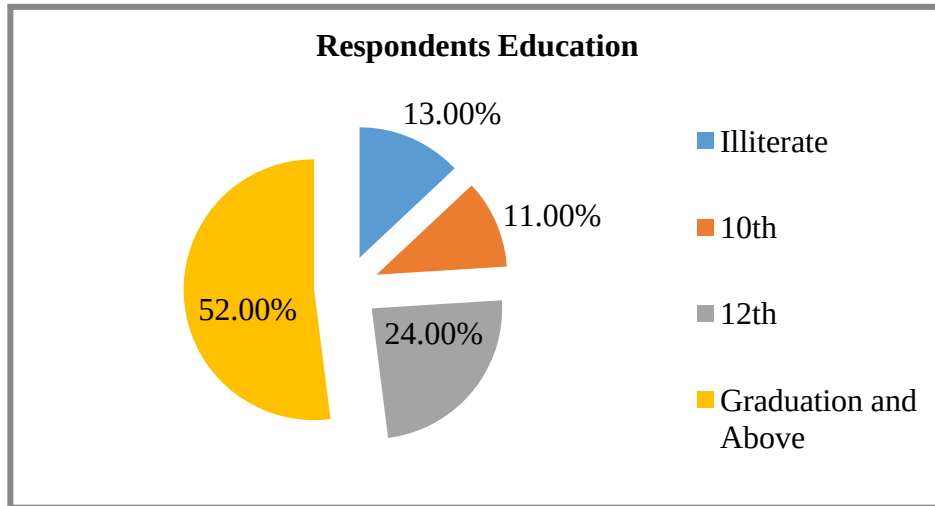
Age can be defined ‘as a time period of human life measured by years from birth’. However, the eligibility age differs from one aspect to the other aspect. Likewise the eligibility age for voting in India is 18 years. Thus, all the respondents of the study are eligible voters. According to the above data, 36 (12.00%) of respondents fit in to the age group of 18-26 years and 66 (22.00%) of respondents belong to the age group of 27-35 years. While as 84 (28.00%) of respondents belong to the age group of 36-44 years and 81 (27.00%) of respondents belong to the age group of above 45-55 years. And 33 (11.00%) of respondents belong to the age group of >55 years.

Thus, it can be inferred from the above data that people from all age groups are part of this study. While as younger generation 20-40 years is the active participant group of this study. Moreover, people above the 50’s are also part of this study. Also, all the respondents of the study are eligible voters, because the respondents in the study include only those people who can vote or contest an election. Thus, it would be quite impressive to gauge the impact of media on the political opinion of eligible voters.

Table 5.4: Respondents Educational Status

S. No.	Respondents Education	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Illiterate	39	13.00%
2	10 th	33	11.00%
3	12 th	72	24.00%
4	Graduation and Above	156	52.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.4: Respondents Educational Status



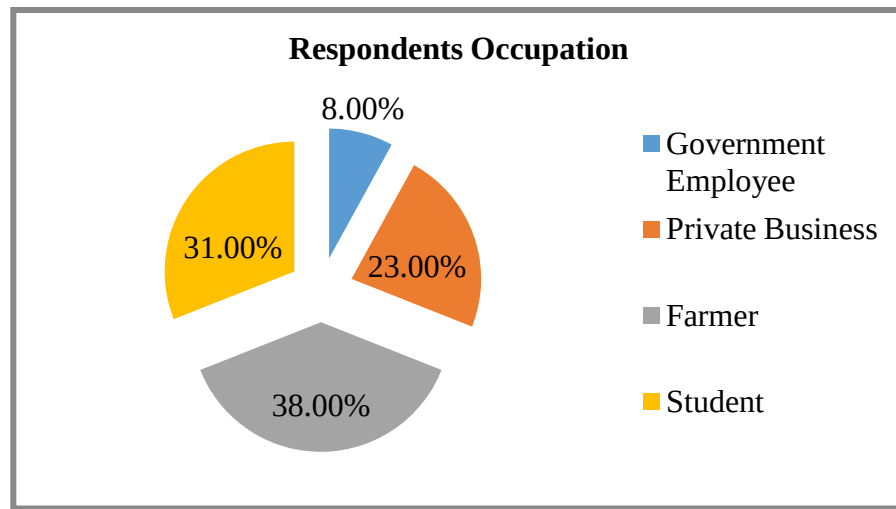
Education is the process of facilitating learning or the acquisition of knowledge or skills. Education plays an important role to shape the thought process and political opinion of an individual. According to the above data, 39 (13.00%) of respondents are illiterate or have studied upto the primary level and 33 (11.00%) of respondents have 10th level educational qualification. While as 72 (24.00%) of respondents have completed senior secondary schooling and 156 (52.00%) of respondents posses qualification of graduation or above.

The data has indicated that, literacy rate among the inhabitants of Haryana is improving. The younger generation is taking a leading role in education sector. It is evident from the above data that people with graduation constitute the largest respondent group. However, major chunk of the respondents are educated. Therefore, it becomes an important aspect to analyze the perception of respondents from the literacy point of view.

Table 5.5: Respondents Occupation

S. No.	Respondents Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Government Employee	24	08.00%
2	Private Business	69	23.00%
3	Farmer	114	38.00%
4	Student	93	31.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.5: Respondents Occupation



According to Merriam Webster dictionary, 'Employment is an activity in which one is engaged or is employed'. Financial stability of a person enables him/her to become the active participant in the societal issues and democratic processes. According to the above data, 24 (08.00%) of respondents are working as government employees and 69 (23.00%) of respondents are engaged in private business. While as 114 (38.00%) of respondents are farmers and 93 (31.00%) respondents are students.

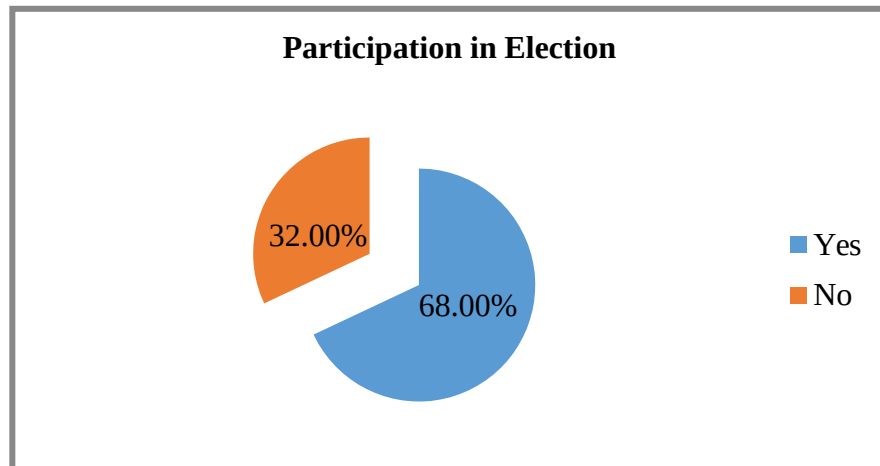
Thus, in the above background, it can be said that exposure to external environment and circumstances are also shaping the ideological perception and political opinion of respondents. The data also indicates that majority of respondents belongs farming and student category. Thus, it would be a miraculous task to analyse the perception of respondents from the employment perspective.

5.4: MODERN PANCHAYAT

Table 5.6: Do You Participate in Elections

S. No.	Participation in Election	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	204	68.00%
2	No	96	32.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.6: Do You Participate in Elections

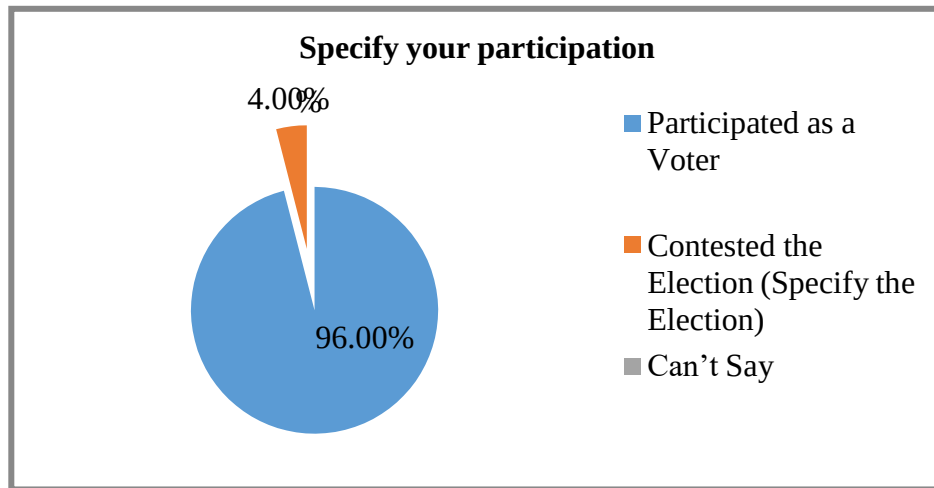


Democracy in India is surviving due to the free and fair electoral mechanism. Elections are the vital tasks in a democracy. Election is defined as a process where people exercise their vote and elect a person or group of persons for holding an official arrangement. Election enables eligible voters to make formal choices and become the active participants in the democratic process. According to the above data 204 (68.00%) of respondents are actively participating in the elections. While as 96 (32.00%) of respondents do not participate in the electoral processes in the country. Therefore, it can be inferred from the data that majority of respondents are active participants in elections, thus strengthens the democratic establishment in the country. Participation in democratic processes enables the people to actively participate in the decision making process either directly or indirectly. The active engagement of people in the democratic process creates a level playing field where policies are being made based on consciousness.

Table 5.7: If yes: Specify your participation

S. No.	Specify your participation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Participated as a Voter	196	96.00%
2	Contested the Election (Specify the Election)	08	04.00%
3	Can't Say	00	00
Total		204	100%

Diagram 5.7: If yes: Specify your participation

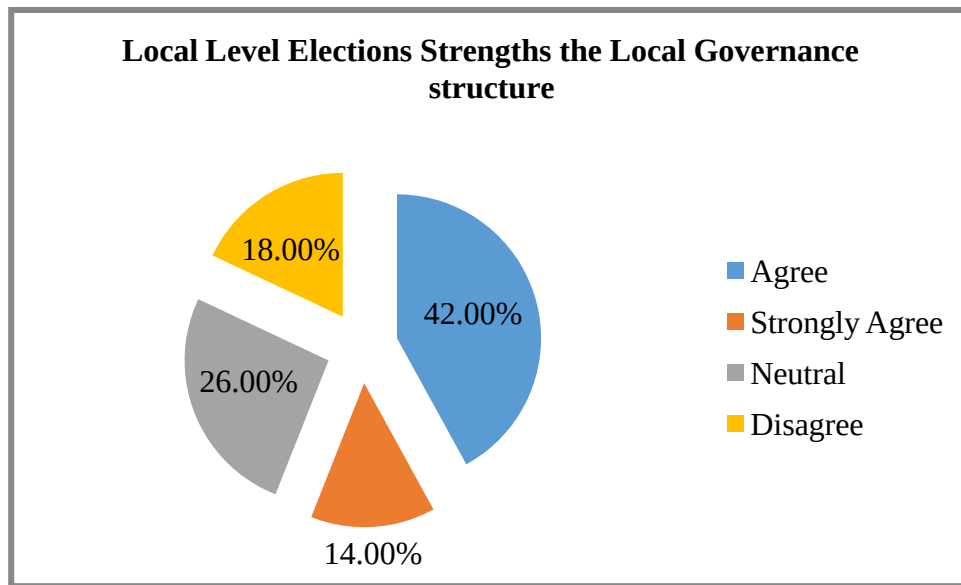


Elections provide an opportunity to the people to make formal choices. Elections also enable the people to strengthen the democratic fabric of the country at the local level governance structure. Elections determine the destiny of a political party or candidate. When it comes to the participation in elections, it denotes two aspects; participation as a voter and participation as a contestant. According to the above data 196 (96.00%) of respondents are participating in elections as voters, while as 08 (04%) of respondents participate in elections as contestants. Thus, it can be inferred from the data that majority of respondents are participating as voters, while as lack of interest in politics has become an important factor for the respondents to keep themselves away from contesting the elections. However, the key informants have suggested reforming the party structures so that more number of people including women could be encouraged to contest the elections.

Table 5.8: Local level elections are meant for strengthening local governance structure in the country?

S. No.	Local Level Elections Strengths the Local Governance structure	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	126	42.00%
2	Strongly Agree	42	14.00%
3	Neutral	78	26.00%
4	Disagree	54	18.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.8: Local level elections are meant for strengthening local governance structure in the country?



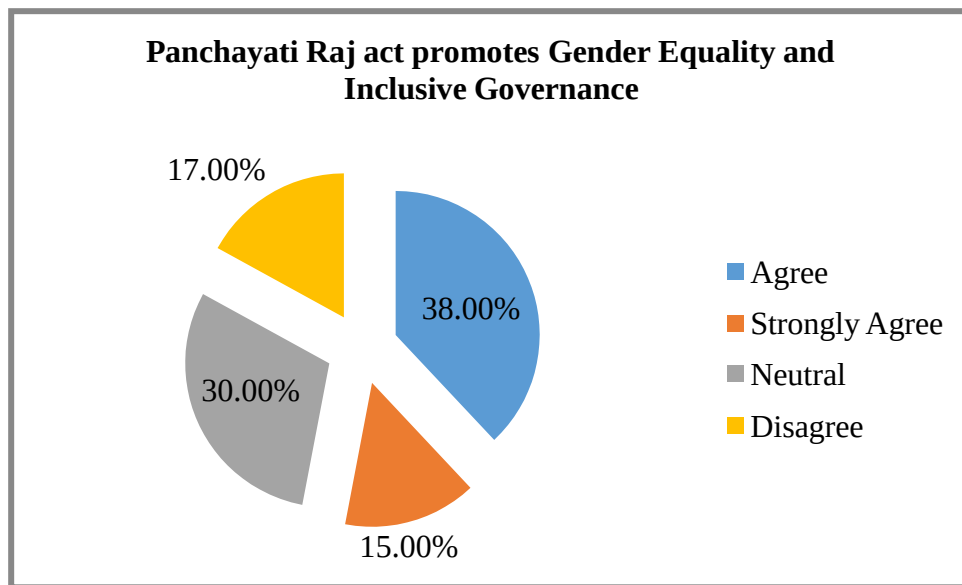
India has adopted the federal cum centralized form of governance mechanism. India conducts elections at three levels (Lok Sabha, State Assembly and Local Level) where people are major stakeholders. In the similar manner, in accordance with the 73rd and 74th amendment act, elections are taking place at local level in two forms: Urban areas (Municipality elections) and Rural Areas (Panchayati Elections). The purpose of bringing these amendments was to strengthen the democracy at grass-root level and bring the inclusive development strategy in the country.

Accordingly from the above data, it states that 126 (42.00%) of respondents agree and 42 (14.00%) of respondents strongly agree that Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and inclusive governance in the country. while as 78 (26.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 54 (18.00%) of respondents have disagree with the fact that Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and inclusive governance in the country. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data, Panchayati Raj Act have revolutionized the governance mechanism at the local level and has paved the way for inclusive and all round development in the country. Reservation accorded to women under the 73rd amendment act also acted as a catalyst to advance their participation in the governance mechanism in the country. However, an educative initiative should be put in place for disseminating the benefits of Panchayati Raj Act and the initiative should made bold attempts to advance the political knowledge of women with respect to their participation in governance affairs.

Table 5.9: Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and inclusive governance in the country?

S. No.	Panchayati Raj act promotes Gender Equality and Inclusive Governance	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	114	38.00%
2	Strongly Agree	45	15.00%
3	Neutral	90	30.00%
4	Disagree	51	17.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.9: Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and inclusive governance in the country?



The Panchayati Raj Act has given the practical shape to Article 40 of the Indian constitution. The said article has clearly stated that “state should undertake initiatives to organize the village panchayats and bestow them with such powers and authority so that they can function as units of self-government. Under the same act, the provisions of reservation were put in place for SC’s, St/s and Women. Thus, it becomes obligatory for the state to conduct the timely elections for Panchayat’s and ensure the due representation of SC’s, ST’s and Women for inclusive governance in the country.

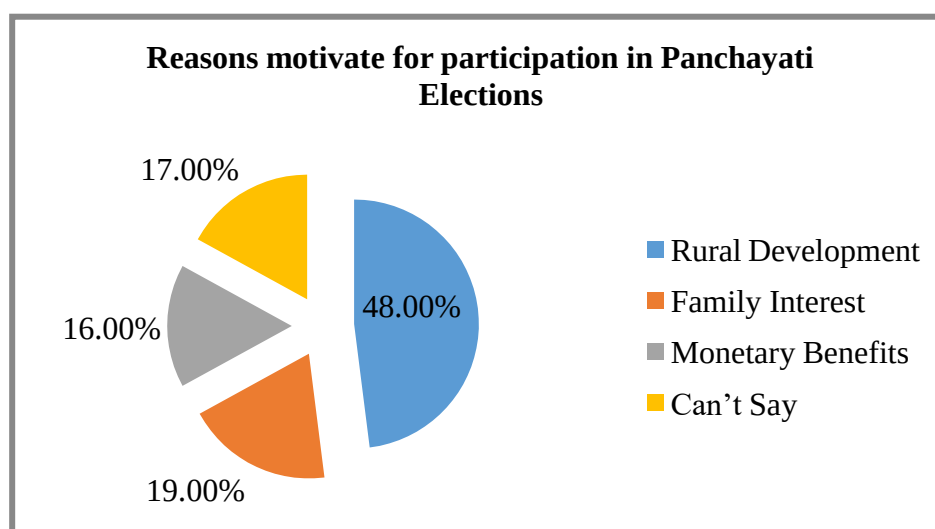
According to the above data, 114 (38.00%) of respondents agree and 45 (15.00%) of respondents strongly agree that Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and

inclusive governance in the country. While as 90 (30.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 51 (17.00%) of respondents have disagreed on the fact that Panchayati Raj Act promotes the gender equality and inclusive governance in the country. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data that, Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI's) are vital for bringing the inclusiveness in governance mechanism. The 33% reservation mechanism under 73rd amendment act has acted as a catalyst to supplement the participation of women at local level. Also these PRI's create an enabling environment for the ST's, Sc's and Women for their effective and fair participation in elections and becomes the catalysts to advance the democratic process in the country.

Table 5.10: What are the reasons that motivate you to take participation in Panchayati Elections?

S. No.	Reasons motivate for participation in Panchayati Elections	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Rural Development	144	48.00%
2	Family Interest	57	19.00%
3	Monetary Benefits	48	16.00%
4	Can't Say	51	17.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.10: What are the reasons that motivate you to take participation in Panchayati Elections?



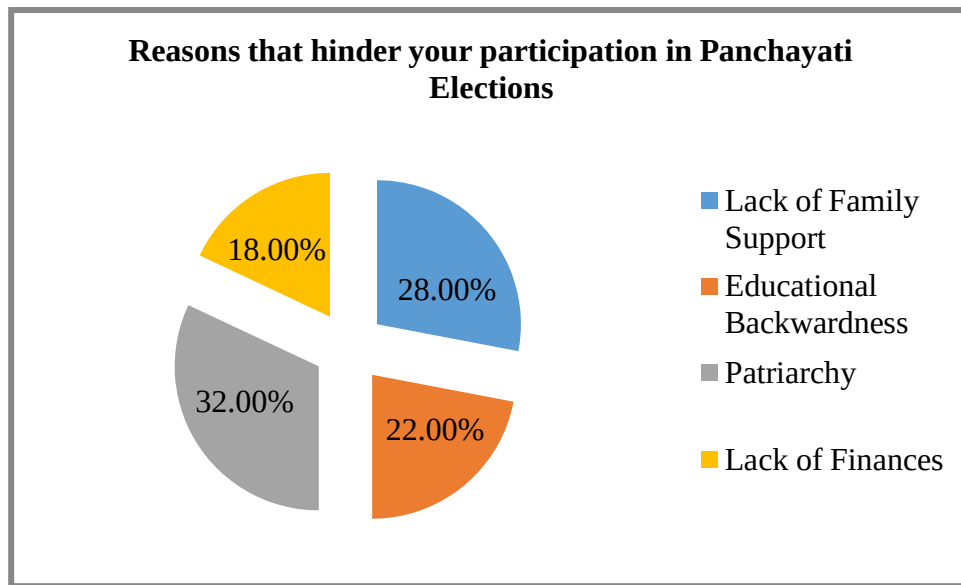
The participation of women do not exist in isolation as there are various factors that determine the relationship among the variables. In this context, there are various factors that determine the participation of people in a particular socio-economic and political activity. These factors act as motivating factors for people to perform a particular activity. When it comes to the motivating factors in political arena, they range from rural development, family interest, and monetary benefits etc. Absence of these factors will hinder the political participation of people in the democratic process in the country.

According to the above data, 144 (48.00%) of respondents agree that rural development is their priority while participating in Panchayati elections and 57 (19.00%) of respondents attribute their Panchayati Election participation to the Family interest. While as 48 (16.00%) attribute their interest in Panchayati elections to the Monetary benefits and 51 (17.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance on the fact. Thus, it can be inferred from the data that people are participating in Panchayati elections due to certain reasons such as rural development, Family Interest and Monetary benefits. While as the prime reason that act as a motivating factor for participation in Panchayati elections is rural development. Considering the patriarchal nature of Haryana society, women are also participating in Panchayati Elections due to the interest of their family members in political activities. In certain cases, it was observed that women are elected to certain positions, but the actual duties are being performed by the male members in the family.

Table 5.11: What are the various factors that hinder your participation in panchayati elections?

S. No.	Reasons that hinder your participation in Panchayati Elections	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Lack of Family Support	84	28.00%
2	Educational Backwardness	66	22.00%
3	Patriarchy	96	32.00%
4	Lack of Finances	54	18.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.11: What are the various factors that hinder your participation in panchayati elections?



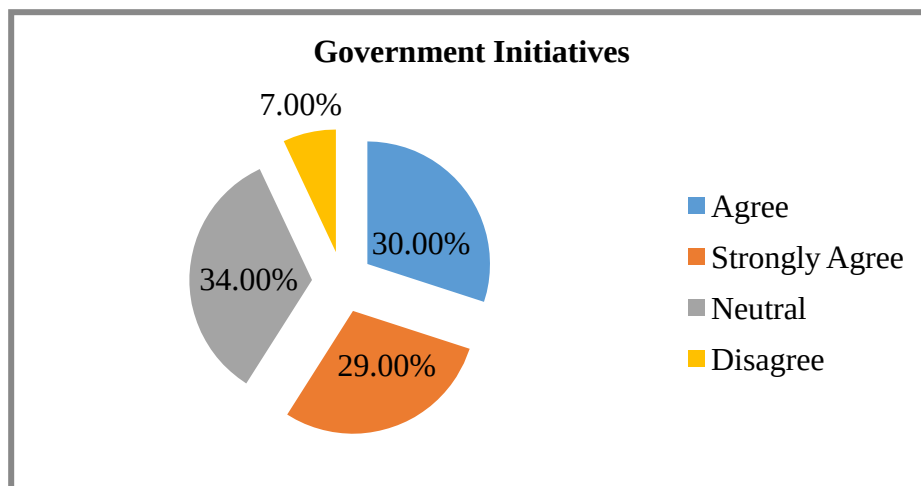
Political participation denotes two aspects; (i) Participation as a voter in Election and (ii) Participation as a contest in the election. However, participation as a voter does not require support of finances and educational backwardness etc., while participation as a contestant in election requires factors such as family support, education, patriarchy and finances etc. Availability of the above factors will improve the participation rate in the elections. However, non-availability of these factors may also hinder the political participation of the people.

According to the above data, 84 (24.00%) of respondents cited lack of family support as a hindrance to participation in local level elections and 66 (22.00%) respondents cited educational backwardness as a hindrance for participation in local level elections. While as 96 (32.00%) respondents cited patriarchy and 54 (18.00%) respondents cited non-availability of finances as a potential hindrance for the effective participation in local level governance mechanism in the country. Thus, it can be inferred from the data that people are facing diverse issues with respect to the participation in the local level governance mechanism in the country. Thus, remedies in the form of family support and advancement of literacy rate in line with the financial support from NGO's will be helpful to improve the participation rate in elections. Enabling women to take part at par with male will pave the way for just and egalitarian society.

Table 5.12: Government of India and Govt. of Haryana has undertaken various bold initiatives to advance political participation of women?

S. No.	Reasons that hinder your participation in Panchayati Elections	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	90	30.00%
2	Strongly Agree	87	29.00%
3	Neutral	102	34.00%
4	Disagree	21	07.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.12: Government of India and Govt. of Haryana has undertaken various bold initiatives to advance political participation of women?



Inclusion in political sphere denotes the integration-cum-participation of all sections of society in the governance structure of the country. Constitution of India under Article 14 clearly states that all people in India are equal in the eyes of law. Thus, to promote equality in terms polity, various inclusive measures should be put in place. Accordingly, Government of Indian and Government of Haryana have made bold attempts to bring the inclusivity of disadvantaged sections (SC's, ST's and Women) of society in the political arena.

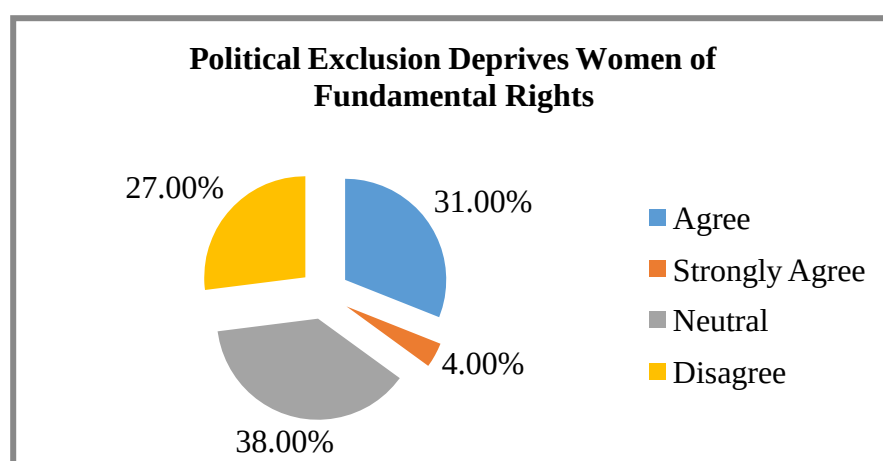
According to the above data, 90 (30.00%) of respondents agree and 87 (29.00%) of respondents strongly agree that Government of India and Government of Haryana has undertaken various bold initiatives to advance political participation of women. While as

102 (34.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 21 (07.00%) of respondents have disagreed with the fact that Government of India and Govt. of Haryana has undertaken various bold initiatives to advance political participation of women. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data that people are satisfied with the initiatives undertaken by the governments for promoting the political participation of women. The data from qualitative sampling also highlights that various initiatives were undertaken by political parties also in the form of reservation. Also, local level groups/NGO is taking bold initiatives to improve the participation rate of women in the governance mechanism of the country. However, the key informants have suggested that inclusive policies will not work in isolation, there must be an enabling environment that will facilitate the women in decision making process.

Table 5.13: Exclusion of women from participation in panchayat deprives them of their fundamental rights?

S. No.	Political Exclusion deprives Women of Fundamental Rights	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	93	31.00%
2	Strongly Agree	12	04.00%
3	Neutral	114	38.00%
4	Disagree	81	27.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.13: Exclusion of women from participation in panchayat deprives them of their fundamental rights?



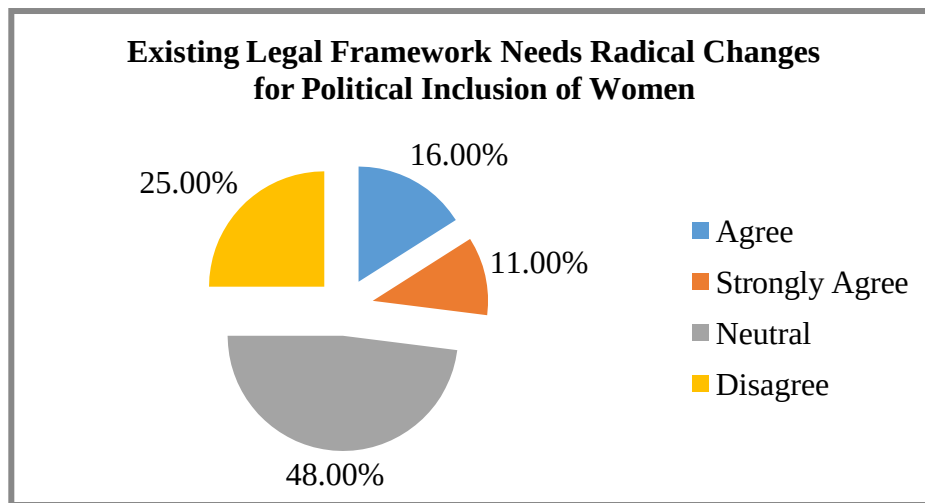
Fundamental rights are the basic rights that are being provided to them as a human being by the Indian Constitution. The Indian constitution under Part III has provided abundant fundamental rights to its citizens that are entitled as human beings. These fundamental rights form the base for the survival of a human being in a country. In case of violation of a fundamental right, the judiciary of the country has been empowered by the constitution to protect and safeguard the rights of its citizens. In the political context, political participation in terms of '*Right to vote*', '*Right to form a political party*' and '*Right to contest the election*' are considered as fundamental rights. Accordingly, all these rights are being provided to every citizen of India irrespective of religion, caste, creed, place of birth.

According to the above data 93 (31.00%) of respondents agree and 12 (04.00%) of respondents strongly agree that exclusion of women from participation in panchayat has deprived the women of their fundamental rights. While as 114 (38.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 81 (27.00%) of respondents have disagreed on the fact that exclusion of women from participation in panchayat has deprived the women of their fundamental rights. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data that hindrances in the form of "Lack of family support" and "Patriarchy" etc. are depriving the women to become the participants in the governance mechanism of the state. Therefore intentional deprivation from politics leads to the deprivation from fundamental rights. Accordingly, in order to bring inclusivity in the affairs of state, factors that are detrimental in nature should be taken into consideration.

Table 5.14: Existing legal framework needs radical changes for effective participation of women at local level governance structure?

S. No.	Existing Legal Framework Needs Radical Changes for Political Inclusion of Women	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	48	16.00%
2	Strongly Agree	33	11.00%
3	Neutral	144	48.00%
4	Disagree	75	25.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.14: Existing legal framework needs radical changes for effective participation of women at local level governance structure?



India being a diverse nation also hosts the huge number of disadvantaged population that are being deprived of socio-economic and political remuneration. Thus to do away with this deprivation in terms of political marginalization, various bold initiatives were brought in by the government and various political parties. However, with the dawn of ICT, there felt a need to reform the existing legal framework on the modern lines. This reformation should include the civilisational ideals, constitutional ideals and democratic ideals in the form of modern legal framework.

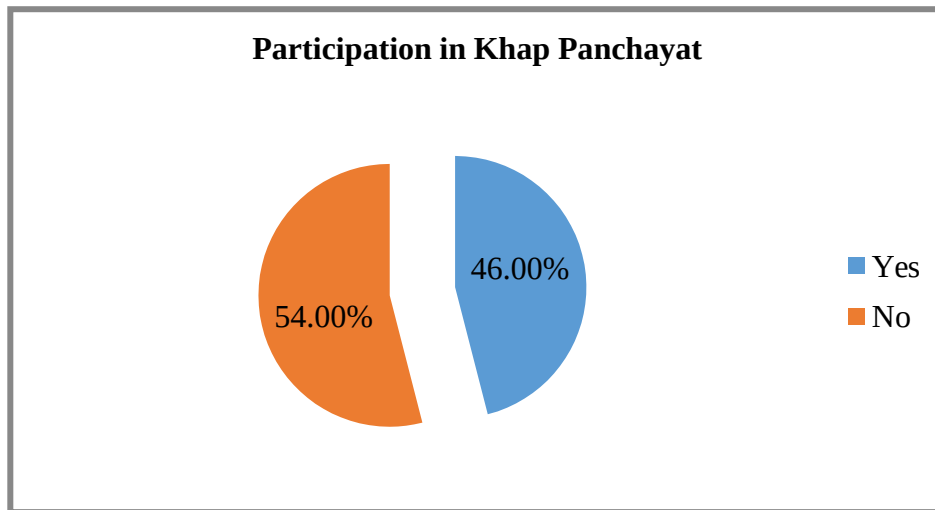
In this context, the above data clearly states that 48 (16.00%) of respondents agree and 33 (11.00%) of respondents strongly agree that there exists a need to reform the existing legal framework for the effective inclusion of women in the political arena. While as majority of the respondents 144 (48.00%) have shown neutral instance and 75 (25.00%) of respondents disagreement with the fact that there is need to reform the existing legal system for effectual inclusion of women. However, majority of respondents are of the view that existing legal framework for the inclusion of women is ideal, but there are certain inherent loopholes that affect its implementation in the right expressions. Also there exists a need to make it obligatory for political parties to reserve the actual number of seats for women in elections. In line with democratic and constitutional ideals, there exists a need to reform the 'Modern Panchayat' system so that an inclusive approach could be adopted in the governance mechanism of the country.

5.5: KHAP PANCHAYAT

Table 5.15: Do you participate in Khap Panchayat?

S. No.	Participation in Khap Panchayat	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	Male: 120 Female: 18	46.00%
2	No	Male: 80 Female: 82	54.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.15: Do you participate in Khap Panchayat?



Khap is a traditional mechanism of social administration that is mostly prominent in northern states including Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Khap Panchayat's are non-constitutional and extra judicial bodies that have originated as clannish entities in the tribal era, but have transformed into the Kangaroo courts that inflict harsh punishments based on social customs. In the state of Haryana, these Khap Panchayats largely run parallel to modern panchayats and other legal bodies. In the present times, these Khap Panchayats have witnessed the participation of both male and female participants.

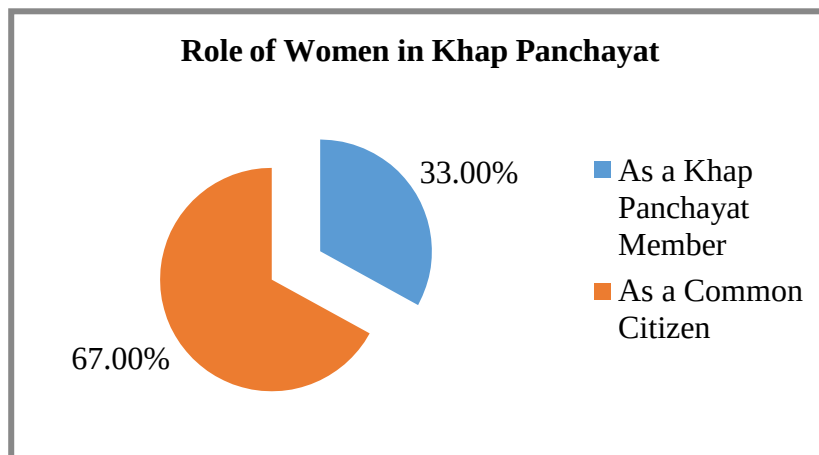
According to the above data, 138 (46.00%) of respondents are actively participating in the Khap panchayats. Among this, 18 are women woman and 120 are men. While as 162 (54.00%) of respondents are not participating in the Khap panchayats. The data clearly mentions that male respondent's participation is greater than female respondents. The minimal presence of females in Khap panchayats is attributed to the

certain factors. These factors include patriarchal nature of Haryana society, Financial issues etc.

Table 5.16: If yes; specify your participation in Khap Panchayat (Female Respondents)?

S. No.	Role of Women in Khap Panchayat	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	As a Khap Panchayat Member	06	33.00%
2	As a Common Citizen	12	67.00%
Total		18	100%

Diagram 5.16: If yes; specify your participation in Khap Panchayat (Female Respondents)?



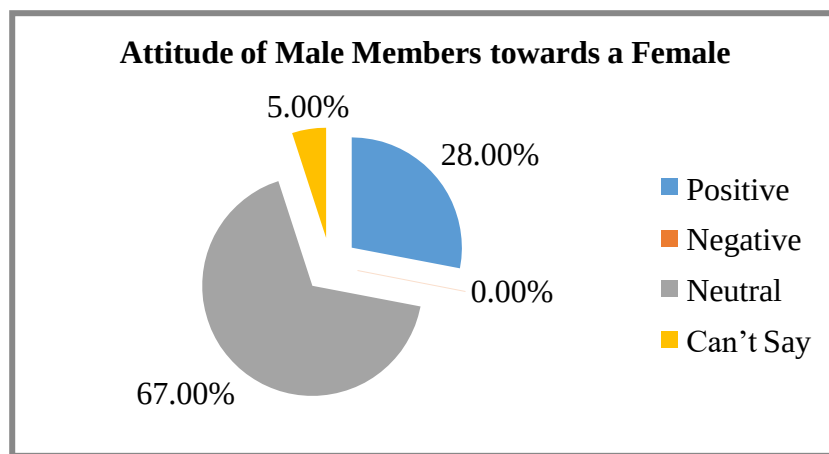
Participation in political terms denotes two aspects; (i) participation as a Khap member and (ii) participation as a common citizen. Thus, participation in political terms has wider connotations. Considering the participation of women in Khap Panchayat's, the above data states that out of 18, only 06 (33.33%) of women respondents are participating in Khap panchayats as members of Khap, while as 12 (66.66%) of female respondents are participating in Khap panchayats as common citizens. Participating as a common citizen, women are gaining first hand experiences with respect to the Khap proceedings. Considering the presence of women in Khap panchayats, Khaps in Haryana have also undertaken certain measures for the inclusion of women. Initiatives including Khap literacy and its social implications in the socio-economic facet have gained the momentum in Haryana. In the present times, Haryana Khaps are encouraging women to

come forward and join the Khaps as active members and participate in the proceedings and deliberations.

Table 5.17: If yes: Specify the attitude of male members towards you (Female Respondents)?

S. No.	Attitude of Male Members towards a Female	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Positive	05	28.00%
2	Negative	00	00.00%
3	Neutral	12	67.00%
4	Can't Say	01	05.00%
Total		18	100%

Diagram 5.17: If yes: Specify the attitude of male members towards you (Female Respondents)?



Attitude is defined as a established approach of judgment or sensation about something. According to *Cambridge Dictionary*, attitude is a feeling about someone or something or an approach of behaviour inflicted by this. Attitude may be positive (Encouraging), negative (Discouraging) or Normal. In Khap panchayats, both men and woman are participating. Thus, it becomes important to analyze the data from the attitude perspective.

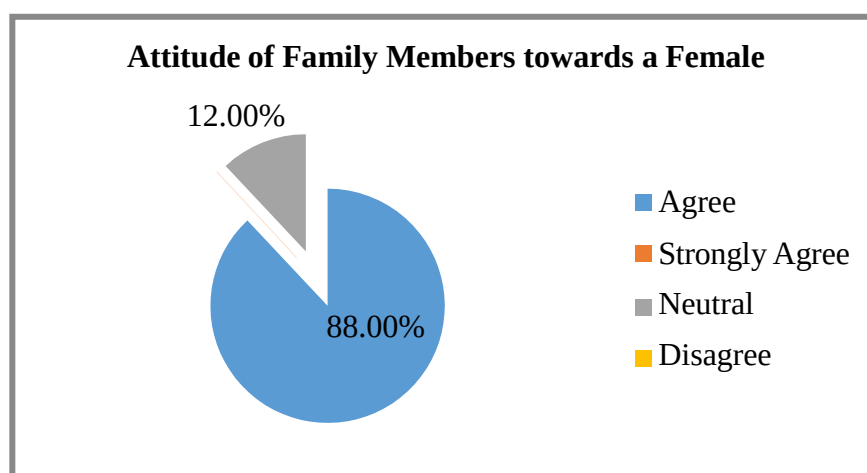
According to the above data, 05 (28.00%) of female respondents have agreed that the attitude of male members in Khap panchayats towards the female members is positive (progressive) in nature. While as 12 (67.00%) of female respondents have agreed that the

attitude of male members of Khap panchayat is normal and 01 (05.00%) of female respondents have shown neutral stance with respect to the attitude of male Khap members. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data that Khap panchayat and its male members are actively encouraging the participation of women in Khap panchayats. The detailed account presented by the key informants of the study has mentioned that since last decade, the Khap panchayats in Haryana have started the encouragement and inclusion of women in the Khap panchayats. However, due to media bias towards the Khap panchayats in Haryana, the encouraging episodes of Khaps were neglected. It is also stated that local media of Haryana is actively encouraging women's participation in Khap panchayats at parallel with Modern Panchayat's.

Table 5.18: Family attitude towards participation of women in Khap Panchayat's is positive (Only Female Respondents)?

S. No.	Attitude of Family Members towards a Female	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	88	88.00%
2	Strongly Agree	00	00.00%
3	Neutral	12	12.00%
4	Disagree	00	00.00%
Total		100	100%

Diagram 5.18: Family attitude towards participation of women in Khap Panchayat's is positive/progressive (Only Female Respondents)?



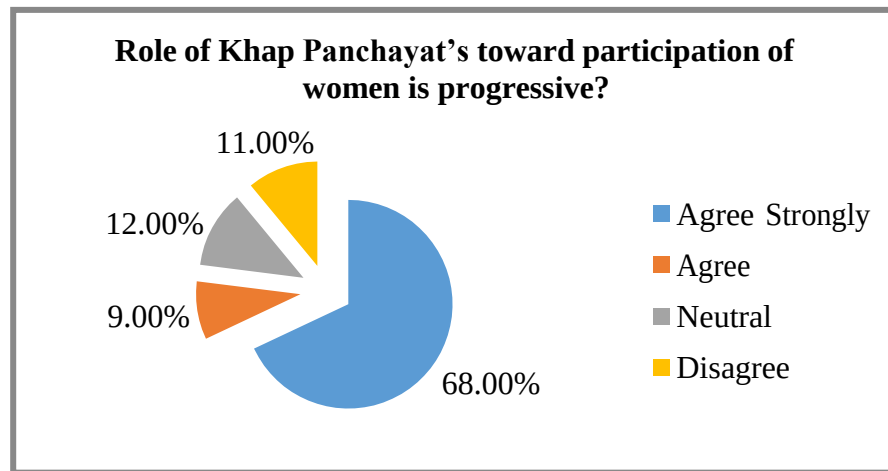
Family is defined as an intimate cluster that constitutes the people related to each other by the attachments of blood. Family is considered as the smallest social unit and important primary group in a society. Family exerts a greater influence upon the child's life and shapes his way of life and thought process. Family provides all the facilities to the child and is considered as the first school of a child. Family encourages a child during his/her accomplishments. Attitude of family towards a particular member may be positive (progressive) or negative in nature.

According to above data, 88 (88.00%) of respondents agree that the family attitude towards participation of women in Khap Panchayat's is positive/progressive in nature. While as 12 (12.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance on the fact that attitude of family towards the participation of women in Khap panchayats is progressive. Thus, it can be inferred from the data, that society is progressive in nature and family is encouraging the female members for taking participation in the Khap panchayats. The key respondents inform that the change is due to intrinsic (Exposure to Modernity) and extrinsic (Supreme Court Decisions, Media) factors. Therefore, association of women in Khap panchayats will enable them to utilize their knowledge and character for administering the affairs of society. Also their participation will bring inclusiveness in the informal governance structures of the country. After participating in the Khap Panchayat's, there exists a need to reform the structure and composition constituent.

Table 5.19: Role of Khap Panchayat's toward participation of women is progressive?

S. No.	Role of Khap Panchayat's toward participation of women is progressive?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	204	68.00%
2	Strongly Agree	27	09.00%
3	Neutral	36	12.00%
4	Disagree	33	11.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.19: Role of Khap Panchayat's toward participation of women is progressive?



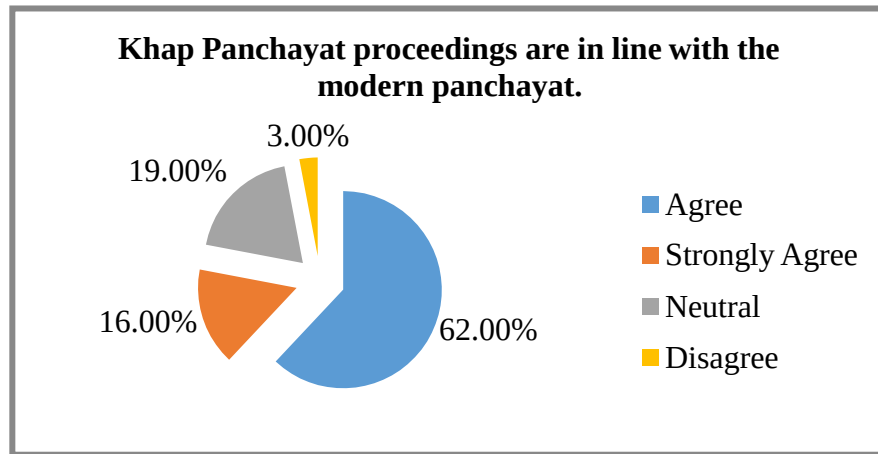
The political participation of women in the affairs of state is an inevitable chapter. However, presence of women in the governing institutions may be hindered by various factors. After the dawn of modernization, women have started taking active participation in these institutions. Women are holding key positions at central level, state level and at local level. The, involvement of women populace in the governance institutions of a country is the progressive sign. Various studies have claimed that women are also participating in the informal/unconstitutional institutions like Khap Panchayats in the country. Thus, it becomes important to gauge the attitude of Khap panchayat towards the female members of Khap.

According to the above data, 204 (68.00%) of respondents agree and 27 (09.00%) of respondents strongly agree that role of Khap Panchayat's toward participation of women is progressive. While as 36 (12.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 33 (11.00%) of respondents have disagreed with the fact that role of Khap Panchayat's toward participation of women is progressive. Thus, it can be inferred from the above data, that women are becoming active participants in Khap panchayats and Khap panchayats are also encouraging the presence of women. Thus, it clearly states that Khap panchayats are progressive in nature and have adopted the liberal values in the system. The key informants have stated that exposure to modern values and use of media is positively encouraging the women to take the lead roles in these Khap Panchayat's.

Table 5.20: Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the modern panchayat?

S. No.	Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the modern panchayat.	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	186	62.00%
2	Strongly Agree	48	16.00%
3	Neutral	57	19.00%
4	Disagree	09	03.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.20: Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the modern panchayat?



A panchayat is an elected council in a village. In the Indian context, a panchayat is an elected body that has been elected by the people by means of elections. A panchayat has presence in village and they are being established under the law. Under 73rd amendment act, a panchayat is being established by the eligible voters for the five year term. Thus, a panchayat has a legal and constitutional background, while as a Khap panchayat is being established by customs and social norms. In the modern panchayats, every adult irrespective of age (>18 years) and sex is eligible for becoming the member of panchayat by contesting elections. While as in case of Khap panchayat, mostly elders are its members and women have minimal presence in the proceedings/functions of Khap.

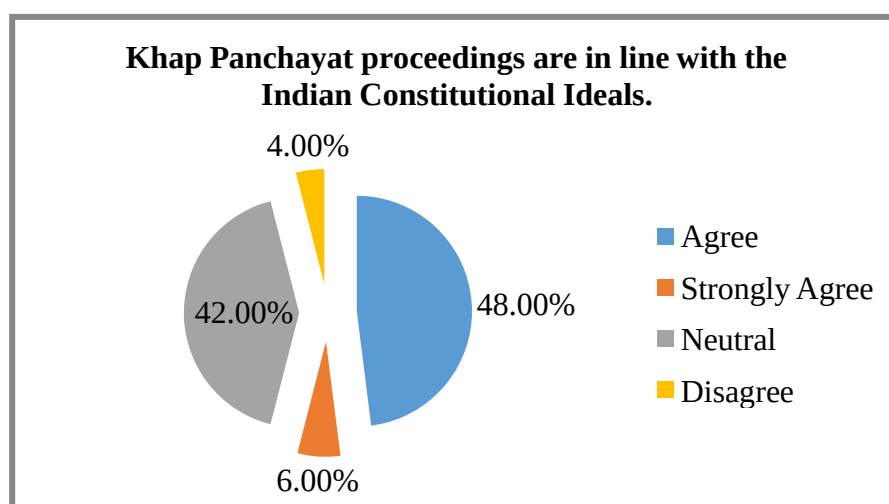
According to the above data, 186 (62.00%) of respondents agree and 48 (16.00%) of respondents strongly agree that Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the modern panchayat. While as 57 (19.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 09 (03.00%) of respondents have shown disagreement with the fact that Khap Panchayat

proceedings are in line with the modern panchayat. Valuable explanation provided by qualitative sampling respondents have agreed that proceedings of Khap Panchayats are in line with Modern Panchayats as the decisions pertaining to social facet are being taken in Khap panchayats by majority vote. Also all the decisions are being taken consciously and after due deliberation with all the stakeholders. There exist huge similarity between modern panchayat and Khap panchayat, however an insignificant distinction may be establish in their structure.

Table 5.21: Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the Indian Constitutional Ideals?

S. No.	Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the Indian Constitutional Ideals.	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	144	48.00%
2	Strongly Agree	18	06.00%
3	Neutral	126	42.00%
4	Disagree	12	04.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.21: Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the Indian Constitutional Ideals?



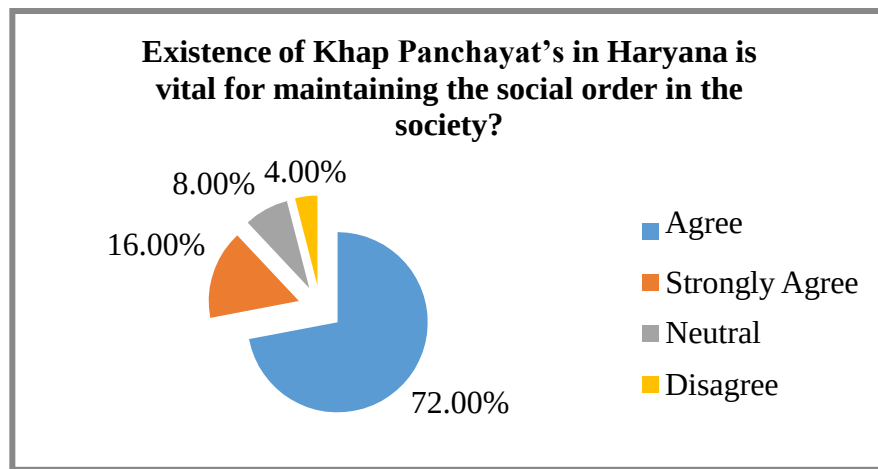
The expression Khap symbolizes village vicinity that is inhabited by a clan. The Khap panchayat is signified as an institution that oversees controls and manages the affairs of an area where it is supreme under the shadow of gotra or clan. The primary role of these Khap Panchayat's is to maintain peace and harmony among the community members, to give the due respect to Khap leaders and maintain the cooperation among its members. The decisions regarding to a particular issue is being made on consciousness and majority vote.

According to the above data, 144 (48.00%) of respondents agree and 18 (06.00%) of respondents strongly agree that Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the Indian Constitutional Ideals. While as 126 (42.00%) of respondents have shown neutral instance and 12 (04.00%) of respondents have disagree on the fact that Khap Panchayat proceedings are in line with the Indian Constitutional Ideals. Participants of Khap panchayat have stated that the nature of Khap Panchayats is based on the constitutional ideals under the Article 14 of the Indian constitution. According to respondents, Khap Panchayats have paved the way for women to become the active participants in the proceedings of Khaps and local media is closely monitoring the proceedings of these Khaps. Thus, equality in terms of women's participation in Khap Panchayat's and role of media in encouraging women to become the active participants in these Khaps is the sign of a progressive society.

Table 5.22: Existence of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana is vital for maintaining the social order in the society?

S. No.	Existence of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana is vital for maintaining the social order in the society?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	216	72.00%
2	Strongly Agree	48	16.00%
3	Neutral	24	08.00%
4	Disagree	12	04.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.22: Existence of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana is vital for maintaining the social order in the society?



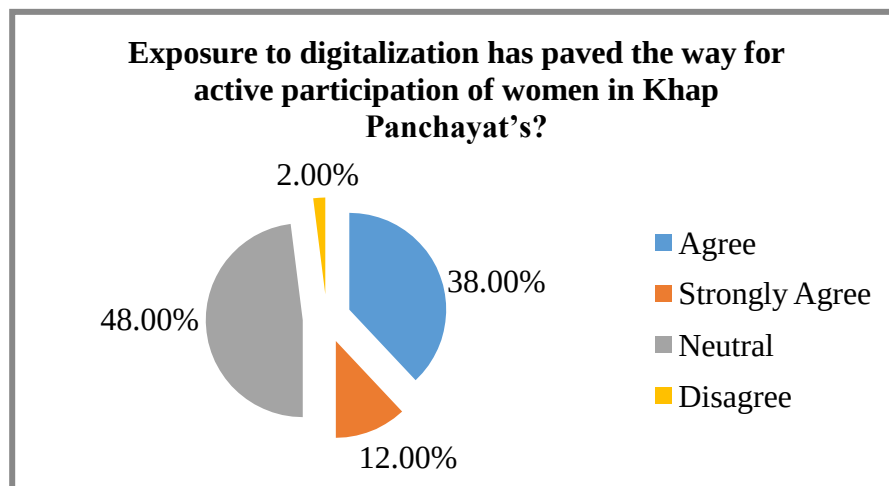
Khap panchayat is termed as an assembly that constitutes the elders members of the society who belong to the same caste or clan. Khap manages and oversees the societal affairs across the villages and amicably resolves the disputes related to water sources as well as marital issues. These Khap panchayats are more powerful than modern panchayats and their decision is final one in the matters concerned. However, Khap Panchayats mostly exist in rural areas in these states and have minimal/no presence in urban areas. Khap Panchayats have active presence in the state of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh and they exert a greater impact upon the socio-economic and political spheres in these areas.

According to above data, 216 (72.00%) of respondents agree and 48 (16.00%) of respondents strongly agree that existence of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana is vital for maintaining the social order in the society. While as 24 (08.00%) of respondents have shown neutral stance and 12 (04.00%) of respondents disagreed with the fact that existence of Khap Panchayat's in Haryana is vital for maintaining the social order in the society. According to sources, these Khap's are as old as 14th century and were established by Jat community to consolidate their power and position. Thus, ignoring their presence in the affairs of state is the difficult assignment. However, certain amendments in their functioning and structure can be made in consultation with the Khap leaders for effective and smooth functioning of these Khaps. The key informants have stated that doing away with these Khap's is an idealist perception as they get high-flying support from the regional political parties and local leaders to the larger extent.

Table 5.23: Exposure to digitalization has paved the way for active participation of women in Khap Panchayat's?

S. No.	Exposure to digitalization has paved the way for active participation of women in Khap Panchayat's?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	114	38.00%
2	Strongly Agree	36	12.00%
3	Neutral	144	48.00%
4	Disagree	06	02.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.23: Exposure to digitalization has paved the way for active participation of women in Khap Panchayat's?



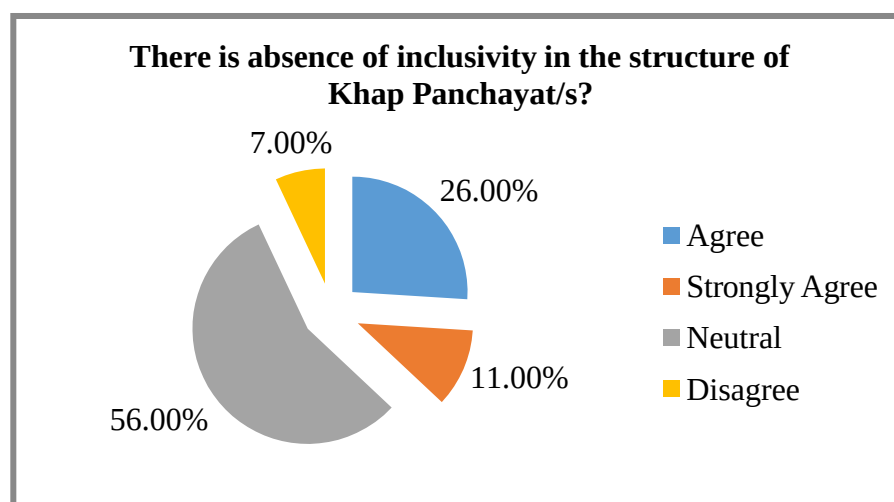
The modern world has witnessed the emergence of technological advancements that have radically altered the way people use to live. Digitalization in the form of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has revolutionized the social interactions in the modern era. ICT has found utility in socio-economic and political aspects of life. Governance structures/institutions in present era are widely using the IT for running the affairs of state in a smooth manner. In the Indian context, during 1990's IT has gained momentum in the governance institutions of the country. Media in the form of social media has found greater utility among the young generation. Women are also using these digital platforms to advance their knowledge about the affairs of the state.

According to the above data, 114 (38.00%) of respondents agree and 36 (12.00%) of respondents agree that exposure to digitalization has paved the way for active participation of women in Khap Panchayats. While as 144 (48.00%) of respondents have shown neutral instance on the above fact and only 06 (02%) of respondents have disagreed that digitalization has paved the way for active participation of women in Khap Panchayats. In the recent decade, digitalization has paved the way for women to break the barriers and become an active participant in both formal and informal institutions such as Panchayat and Khap panchayat. Thus, it can be inferred from the data, that people are actively engaged in the digital world. Women in modern era have utilized digital mechanism in aspects such as; education, employment, social interaction, politics etc. Therefore digitalization has also impacted the public opinion and enabled the women to become the active participants in the affairs of state.

Table 5.24: There is absence of inclusivity in the structure of Khap Panchayat/s?

S. No.	There is absence of inclusivity in the structure of Khap Panchayat/s?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	78	26.00%
2	Strongly Agree	33	11.00%
3	Neutral	168	56.00%
4	Disagree	21	07.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.24: There is absence of inclusivity in the structure of Khap Panchayat/s?



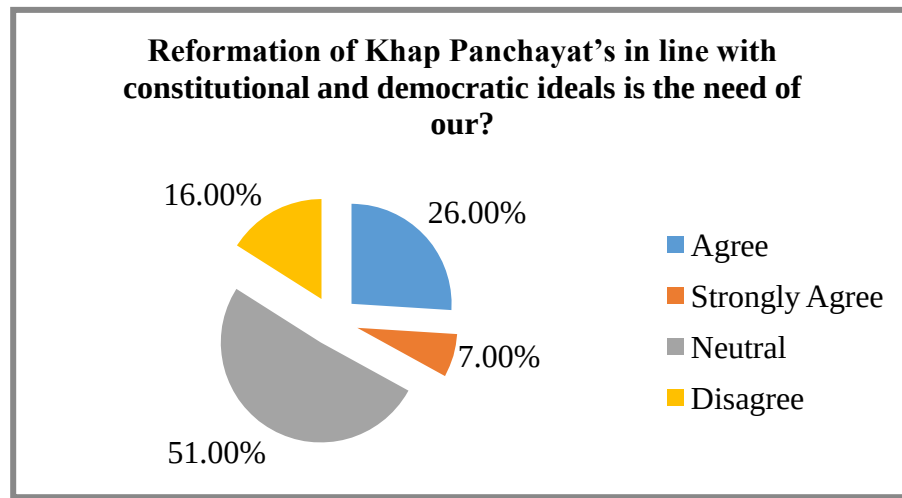
Inclusion denotes the integration of all sections of society in the socio-economic and political aspects of life. India being the second largest populous nation in the world also hosts the disadvantaged sections of society. These disadvantaged sections include; SC's, ST's, Elderly, Children, Old age population, Women etc. Thus, it becomes important to include these sections of society in the democratic and decision making process of the country. Inclusion in governance mechanism paves the ways for just society as these disadvantaged sections are in a position to redress their grievances/issues on time.

According to the above data, 78 (26.00%) of respondents agree and 33 (11.00%) of respondents strongly agree that there is absence of inclusivity in the structure of Khap Panchayats. While as majority of respondents 168 (56.00%) have shown neutral instance on the above fact and 21 (07.00%) of respondents have disagreed on the fact that there is dearth of inclusivity in the structure of Khap panchayats. Mostly female respondents and respondents with higher education agree that the structure of Khap Panchayats is non-inclusive in nature as there is no proportional representation of women in these Khaps. To streamline the structure and bring the inclusivity in its composition, the Khap Panchayat's actively use various means to encourage women for participating in the Khap meetings and proceedings.

Table 5.25: Reformation of Khap Panchayat's in line with constitutional and democratic ideals is the need of our?

S. No.	Reformation of Khap Panchayat's in line with constitutional and democratic ideals is the need of our?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Agree	78	26.00%
2	Strongly Agree	21	07.00%
3	Neutral	153	51.00%
4	Disagree	48	16.00%
Total		300	100%

Diagram 5.25: Reformation of Khap Panchayat's in line with constitutional and democratic ideals is the need of our?



The world has witnessed the dawn of modern institutions that have revolutionized the governance structure and mechanism in the world. French revolution has promoted the ideals of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. However, these ideals should be inculcated into the administrative arena also. India being the largest democratic establishment on the globe is also the home to diverse cultures/diversities. Being a federal state in nature, India adopted a three tier system; Central government, state government and local level governance level. Also there exists a non-uniform and unconstitutional governance structure that also performs the regulating functions in certain areas of the country.

According to the above data, 78 (26.00%) of respondents agree and 21 (07.00%) of respondents strongly agree that reformation of Khap Panchayat's in line with constitutional and democratic ideals is the need of hour. While as 153 (51.00%) of respondents have shown neutral instance on the above fact and 48 (16.00%) of respondents have disagreed on the fact that there exists a need to reform the Khap Panchayats structure on the constitutional lines. According to the data, majority of respondents who disagree with the reformation of Khap Panchayats hold the view that certain parts of constitution of Indian have been borrowed from the foreign sources while as Khap Panchayats have origin in our ancient traditions? Thus accepting the foreign ideals in place of cultural ideals is the matter of concern for the society we live in. while as majority of respondents hold the view that there is no need to change/reform the structure and functions of Khap panchayats. The above data also states that respondents with higher education are of the opinion that Khap Panchayats should be reformed on the lines of constitution. Also the respondents with higher education believe that reformation

of structure of Khap Panchayats on democratic lines will pave the way for equal opportunities in participation for women and other disadvantaged sections of the society. Thus, reformation of Khaps on constitutional lines aims to bring into the inclusivity in the institution and paves the way for just and humane society.

5.6: CONCLUSION

India is the largest democratic country in the world that hosts the record of being the second most populous nation on globe. With 1.34 billion strong populations, India has adopted the constitutional ideals in the democratic process of the country. India after independence has adopted the representative form of democracy. However, to pave a level playing field in the democratic process, India also upholds the values federal structure in its governance mechanism. Being the largest country, it is difficult to manage the affairs of state from the central or state level. Thus, a three tier of administrative machinery at central, state and local level was put in place. After the enactment of 73rd and 74th amendment act, states have adopted the local level governance in the form of panchayat (rural level), municipality (urban level).

Women constitute the half of total Indian population share. In present era, women are playing an important role in socio-economic and political spheres of human existence. Women hold a key position at the helm of social setting. Considering the case of politics, women are actively engaging in political activities such as election campaigning, as a voter or as a contestant. In recent times the share of women in the parliament has gained momentum. While as their participation in local level politics is quite impressive as compared to the parliament or state assemblies. In certain cases, women have outnumbered men in political participation at the local level. However, the scenario is quite reverse in case of Khap Panchayat's. Khap panchayat being a non-constitutional body has limited the space for women in the deliberations and proceedings. While as exposure to modernity, modern values and media exposure has paved the way for women in the Khap Panchayat's.

Chapter 6
***Findings of the Study and
Policy Recommendations***

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The modern era has witnessed the dawn of different institutions meant for the managing/running the affairs of state. These institutions are vital for maintaining the social structure and peace in the country. Accordingly, majority of nations across the globe have adopted the democratic mechanism for running the affairs of state. However, democracy as a means of governance is surviving due to other allied institutions that include Election Commission of India, Media and Political parties. ECI being a most important agency for conducting the elections in India has been entrusted with the responsibility to conduct the free and free elections in the country. ECI conducts multiple elections in country including; Lok Sabha election, state assembly election and local level election etc. Accordingly, media is seen as a crucial pillar of democracy. It plays an important task in the development of democratic culture and public awareness. In democracy and democratic elections, the media plays a critical role. The function of the media in generating political and democratic consciousness is critical. It also recognised societal issues and served as a forum for discussion. Without a free press, a democracy cannot succeed. In today's world, a free press is critical since it is the people's voice. Media acts as a mirror which shows the bare truth and sometimes it may be harsh.

Considering the geographical vastness of the country, India has been divided into small units called states and Union Territories. It was difficult to run the affairs from the central level, thus federal mechanism was adopted in the country. In line with the constitutional ideals, the small units called states were further divided into other administrative divisions known as districts and tehsils. This division was meant for paving the way for inclusive development in the country. However, in various studies, it was found that units having presence at lower rung of the hierarchy are being neglected in the development arena. Thus the concept of local governance was put in place. In the recent times the concept of local governance was given solid shape under the 73rd and 74th amendment act. These amendments were meant for advancing the democratic mechanism at the grass-root level and act as a medium to advance the political participation of people in the socio-economic development of the country.

73rd amendment act has mooted the idea of Panchayat (Rural governing bodies) in a constitutional manner. In the similar way, there exist the unconstitutional bodies in certain northern states like Haryana and Uttar Pradesh known as Khap Panchayats. Khap panchayat is considered as the union of various villages in the northern states of India. Since few last decades, these Khap panchayats have evolved into the quasi judicial bodies that enunciate harsh punishments based on old age social traditions and customs. They even pronounce such severe punishments that are often regressive in nature. Considering the participation of women in Khap panchayats, it has been found that women have minimal presence in Khap panchayats while as their participation in modern panchayats is progressive in nature.

In this context, the present chapter will explore the major findings of the study with respect to the role of women in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats and the problems thereby. The findings in this chapter have been derived from the data analysis and data interpretation of previous chapter. The data obtained from data analysis and observation method will cater the need of findings of the study. The sample for observation and data has been taken from Kaithal and Jind districts of Haryana state, therefore the findings will be related to the Kaithal and Jind districts in specific and State of Haryana in general. The findings were meant to answer the questions presented in the previous chapter. These findings will be helpful to verify the actuality of the variables incorporated in the research questions and fulfil the requirement of objectives prescribed in the previous chapter.

6.2 Findings of the Study

Findings are the outcomes of a research work. Findings usually refer to the totality of the outcomes rather than conclusions or recommendations derived from the research work. In research a finding is an empirical fact based on collected data. Citizen's participation in decision making process lies at the core of a democracy. This would be made practical when the citizens will be armed with relevant and necessary knowledge to make informed choices. Therefore, in this respect, various bold attempts have been made by the government to advance the political participation of women in the affairs of state and at local level electoral mechanism. Findings related to institutional exclusion of women and the initiatives undertaken to improve their participation in local level governance structure of the country have been presented in the country. The findings

were meant to validate the hypothesis presented in the previous Chapter. The various findings derived from the data analysis in the previous chapter have been summarized as:

Hypothesis 1st:

The first hypothesis states that “*An active political participation of women in local self-governance system enhances the decision-making capability of women and their role in developmental plans*”. With a motive to test the hypothesis, the questions were raised before the respondents of the study with respect to the role of women in local self governance. The findings of the study have revealed that India being a democratic nation also adopted the federal ideals in the governance affairs of state. India conducts elections at three levels (Lok Sabha, State Assembly and Local Level Elections) where people are directly participating. In order to bring inclusion of women in Panchayati Raj institution, attempts have been made by both central and state government of Haryana to improve the participation of women. People are agreed with the fact that Panchayati Raj Act have revolutionized the governance mechanism at the local level and has paved the way for inclusion of women and all round development in the country.

Democracy is a form of government in which people are the major stakeholders and play an important role in the formation of government. Election is the instrument by which voters make formal choices and participate in the governance affairs of the state. Data has indicated >60 people are actively participating in the electoral processes of the country. People are also taking bold steps to advance their participation in the panchayati elections. Considering the participation of women in local level governance strata, they are also actively participating in local level elections at par with the male participants.

Hypothesis 2nd

The second hypothesis states that “*The familial roles and cultural responsibilities assigned on women deteriorate the nature and level of women’s participation in local self-governance*”. With the intention to test the hypothesis, questions were raised before the respondents with respect to the role of women in the cultural and family set-up and their implications on the participation in local level governance.

The findings of the study have discovered that women have been assigned multiple roles in a family setting. These roles include mentor to children, cook to family and caretaker to old people. However, the modern era has witnessed the dawn of institutions based on Liberty, equality and integrity. Liberty in political terms includes freedom to make independent choices with respect to the participation in electoral affairs.

Participation in political terms denotes two aspects; participation as a voter and participation as a contestant. The facts from the data have revealed that, people are actively participating in elections as contestants and have made bold attempts to shift their participation as voter to participation as a contestant in the local level elections. Thus, attempts are being made to bring inclusivity in the local level governance structure by including women in the affairs of state. However, in present times, it was found that women are participating actively at par with male in the local level governance structures of the country. While as in certain circumstance, family exerts the huge impact upon the choice and freedom of women in political affairs. Thus, it can be said that participation of women in local level governance is progressive in nature. And the scope of factors that limit the political participation of women has been limited due to modernization and digitalization.

Hypothesis 3rd

The third hypothesis states that *“Khap panchayats being unconstitutional and undemocratic have more powers over the socio-economic aspects in Haryana as compared to the modern panchayats in the state”*. With the intention to test the hypothesis, questions were raised before the respondents with respect to the role of Khap panchayats in the socio-economic aspects in Haryana. And a comparative analysis was done between the Modern panchayat and Khap panchayat. The findings of the study has revealed that there exist huge dissimilarities between the Modern and Khap panchayats. Modern panchayat is based on constitutional ideals, while as Khap panchayat is based on social customs. In modern panchayat, people’s participation by democratic means is vital, while as Khap panchayat mostly includes elder members of the society. Modern panchayats have reserved seats for disadvantaged sections of society including SC’s, ST’s and Women, while as there

is no reservation mechanism in Khap panchayat. However the findings of the study have revealed that the proceedings of Khap panchayats are in line with the modern panchayats. All the decisions in Khap panchayats are being taken on the basis of consciousness and majority vote. In place of reservation, Khap panchayats are also encouraging women to participate in the Khap proceedings.

Khap panchayat is the traditional mechanism of social administration that was widely practised in the northern Indian states such as Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Haryana villages, these Khap panchayats run largely retrogressive and analogous edict enforcement entities. In the rural Haryana, Khap panchayats have more prominence and power in comparison to the modern panchayats. Khap panchayats are considered as vital for maintaining the social structure in the state. Rural Haryana has given more acceptances to Khap panchayats as it has its origins in the culture and societal norms followed by the native people. Khap panchayats wield more power in socio-economic and political affairs at local level as compared to the modern panchayats.

Other Findings of the Study

The findings of the study have also discovered that Inclusion of disadvantaged sections of society in the governance mechanism at local level is the vital task to deal with. India being largest democratic nations also homes the largest disadvantaged population including SC's, ST's and Women. Thus, it becomes an important aspect to include these disadvantaged communities in the local governance structure of the country. Thus, Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI's) are vital for bringing the inclusiveness in governance mechanism. And these PRI's create an enabling environment for the ST's, Sc's and Women for their effective and fair participation in elections and becomes the catalysts to advance the democratic process in the country.

PRI's have paved the way for inclusion of women in the local level governance mechanism by proving 33% reservation. Despite the reservation mechanism in place, women are not able to participate freely in the local level governance affairs. There are factors such as patriarchal nature of Haryana society, financial independence and family support that hinder the participation of women in local level governance mechanism. Haryana being the patriarchal society has greater

influence upon the choices pertaining to votes, political parties and party candidates in the political matters. Male members determine the utility of female voters in the family. Thus, the choices of female members in a family are being restricted. However, due to the dawn of media (most importantly social media), the political arena has been revolutionized by educating women with respect to their political rights.

Democratic culture is described as the craving and capability of human beings in a population to participate actively in free and fair means in the governance institutions of the country. Democratic culture is characterized by active contribution, common good and construction of collective decisions. The present era has witnessed the increasing trend of election turnout and the voting percentage is also witnessing the upward trend.

Political opinion consists of desires, wants and thinking of the population with respect to the particular issue. Media has wide range of implications in a democracy as they have radically altered the way in which government institutions are operated. Media disseminates tremendous amount of political content including shaping the political opinion of people regarding voting. According to the data, majority of the respondents agree with the fact that media is shaping their political opinion while exercising universal adult franchise (Vote).

Media plays an important role in shaping the democratic fabric of the country and it also gives the solidified structure to democratic institutions and ensures transparency and accountability in all the public spheres. In the contemporary era media holds the greater significance in our day to day life. Media as a vehicle aims to deliver relevant and informative content. Considering the role of media at local level governance structure (Panchayat level), media acts as an educative medium to educate the people with respect to the structure and functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions.

The growth of electronic and print media provides a variety of chances to enlighten Indian voters and increase civic involvement and democratic processes. The media is seen as the beating heart of a democratic society. Media serves as a mirror that reflects basic truth, which can be unpleasant at times. In the state of Haryana, it was found that social-media has become an effective tool among the women to get

insights about the governance mechanism most importantly about the local level governance (Panchayat level). Social media acts as a medium that educate the women voters with respect to their rights and duties.

As a human being, people are entitled with certain basic rights known as fundamental rights. These fundamental rights form the base for the survival of a human being in a country. In the political context, political participation in terms of Right to vote, Right to form a political party and Right to contest the election are considered as fundamental rights. Thus, exclusion of women from these aspects violates the Article 14 of the Indian constitution. Accordingly, the findings of the study have revealed that women are being deprived of political participation. Thus, exclusion of women from running the affairs of amounts to the violation of fundamental rights provided under Part-III of the Indian constitution.

There are certain factors that motivate the men and woman to participate in the local level elections. These factors include rural development, family interest and monetary benefits. However, the findings of study have revealed that majority of people are participating in the local level elections with the intention of developing the rural areas on the modern lines. Haryana being a patriarchal society has greater influence upon the participation of women in the elections. Most women in Haryana are participating in elections as it is the choice of their families. All aspects of election including whom to vote and whom to support in the election is being decided by the family. However, due to the dawn of modernization, this trend is diminishing and educated women are now able to make formal and independent choices in the local level election.

In certain rural areas of Haryana, it has been found that women are not able to participate in the local level election process. There are certain factors such as lack of family support, educational backwardness, patriarchy and financial constraints etc. that limit the participation of women in elections. While as it has been found that local media is playing a vibrant role to disseminate the political knowledge to the women and organizes certain political literacy seminars with the purpose to encourage women for taking participation in the local level elections. It is also being observed that people are satisfied with the initiatives undertaken by the governments for promoting the political participation of women. The data from qualitative sampling also mentions that various initiatives were undertaken by

political parties also in the form of reservation. Also, local level groups/NGO's are taking bold initiatives to improve the participation rate of women in the governance mechanism of the country. Accordingly, there exists a need to reform the existing legal framework that accords reservation benefits to women on the modern lines. Also the political parties should be entrusted with the responsibility to reserve seats for women at the local level governance structure.

In the present times, nearly half of the rural population is participating in the proceedings of Khap panchayats. Other than men, women are also participating in the proceedings and functions of Khap panchayats. Women not only participate as a common citizen in these Khaps, but they also act active members of these Khaps. Thus, it can be said that, the structure of Khap panchayats is becoming inclusive in nature.

Considering the patriarchal nature of Haryana society in rural areas, women are exposed to new ideals and thoughts. This notion of new thought expression has enabled the women to participate in the governance mechanism of the country. Participating as a member of Khap, women are not subjected to negative attitude of male members. Also the attitude of most of the male members of Khap panchayat towards the female members is progressive in nature. Thus, participation of women in Khap panchayats is the sign of inclusive and progressive society. The data also stated that women with higher educational qualifications are participating in Khap panchayats as members and observers.

Family is considered as the union of members who are related to one another by bond. Members of the family are greatly influencing the opinion and thought process of each other. In a patriarchal society like Haryana, family (mostly male members) have an edge over the female members with respect to the decision regarding to the participation in political activities. In certain circumstances, family decides whom to vote or whom not to vote and in certain cases family also encourages or discourages the participation of female members in the political activities. Considering the participation of women in Khap panchayats, the attitude of family members is positive (progressive) in nature. Accordingly in certain cases, it was found that women are encouraging the participation of women in Khap panchayats. Also the women who are exposed to modern ideals and social-media platforms are actively participating in Khap panchayat proceedings in comparison

to the illiterate women. Thus, education also has a tremendous impact upon the thought process and political aspect of women in Haryana.

Media as a guardian of democracy is also actively participating in the affairs of state. Media has presence in both constitutional and non-constitutional institutions. Media as a mechanism is actively participating in deliberations and proceedings of Khap panchayats in Haryana. Media is playing as a role of catalyst to advance the participation of women in the Khap panchayats.

Constitution as a guardian and protector of citizens from arbitrary forces accords the fundamental rights to its citizens in the Part-III of Indian constitution. It was envisioned by the constitution makers that the modern governing institutions should be structured on the lines of constitutional ideals. However, there are certain institutions that are unconstitutional in structure and operations. Similarly Khap panchayats are non-constitutional bodies that have been structured on the basis of customs and social norms. People in rural areas have stated that Khap panchayats are playing an important role to improve the participation of women in Khap panchayats, thus gives the concrete shape to Article 14 in terms of “*Equality*”. Also “*Freedom of speech*” of women and “*Freedom of expression*” of media is respected in the proceedings of Khap panchayats. Thus, it was found that Khap panchayats are giving up the conservative nature and are moving in a progressive and liberal trend by allowing women to participate in the affairs of Khap panchayats.

Khap's are as old as 14th century and were established by Jat community to consolidate their power and position. Thus, ignoring their presence in the affairs of state is the difficult assignment. However, certain amendments in their functioning and structure can be made in consultation with the Khap leaders for effective and smooth functioning of these Khaps.

However, it was found that there is dearth of inclusivity in the structure of Khap panchayats. Inclusivity in terms of participation in proportion of women should be put in place for smooth participation of women in Khap panchayats. For this, the structure of Khap panchayats should be reformed on constitutional and modern ideals by inculcating the ideals of Liberty, equality and integrity. Liberty connotes the right of women and media to speak and observe the proceedings of Khaps

freely. Equality mentions the equality in terms of participation of women in the Khap proceedings.

The modern era has witnessed the dawn of Information Technology. IT has revolutionized the socio-economic and political aspects of life. In the modern era, IT has found utility in democratic process in the country in the form of Electronic Voting Machines (EVM's) and social media utility.

Media is a communication outlet or a tool used to store or deliver information. Or media is a communication channel through which dissemination of information takes place. India, as the world's biggest democratic country, has a strong media presence. While the media has improved participatory communication, it has also played a vital role as a watchdog of government operations. In the modern era, media has taken on new roles such as initiator, receiver, or medium of transportation.

Voter turnout dynamics are capturing the energy of youthful voters. Higher voter turnout among the women denotes the strength and inclusiveness of diverse eligible electorate in the decision making process of the country. Higher voter turnout strengthens the basic foundation of a democracy. Reasons such as; outreach programmes by candidates and political parties, advertisements, reservation and media outreach initiatives have greater impact upon the higher female voter turnout in the country. Media as a communication channel has played a role of catalyst to strengthen the foundation of Indian democracy at the grass-root level by motivating the eligible female voters to vote for strengthening the governance mechanism of the country.

According to the study, the respondents agree that democratic institutions are actively participating in the democratic processes of the country. Institutions such as government, ECI, media and political parties have made bold initiatives to improve the participation of women in decision making process at the grass-root level. Considering the reservation benefits under 73rd amendment act, 33% of seats have been reserved for women at the panchayati level. The purpose of the reservation was to bring inclusivity in the decision making process of the country. In line with 73rd amendment act, political parties in Haryana have also undertaken initiatives

such as reservation of seats for women in the assembly elections and local level elections.

6.3 Policy Recommendations

A policy recommendation is simply a written policy advice on a specific subject/issue. The policy recommendations are key means through which policy decisions are made in different institutions. The present section of the study will present an overview of suggestions made by respondents of the study and secondary sources. However, to advance the participation of women in formal (constitutional) and informal (unconstitutional) institutions and the subsequent issues need to be addressed properly. Thus, considering the magnitude of research work, the policy recommendations have been presented as under:

Media literacy is important for common citizenry. Media literacy enables the public to understand the procedures and working of local level democratic mechanism. Literacy helps to understand the role of media in shaping the political opinion of people. Thus, it becomes important to devise such a mechanism that will play an important role to educate the populace of the country.

Issues such as patriarchy and lack of family support to female participants should be addressed properly. In this aspect electoral reforms should be a priority area. There is need to create such a mechanism that will support the democracy. Also, there is need to bring objectivity in practice, because objectivity makes people passive participants in governance structure rather than critics and aggressive analyzers.

Freedom of press is vital for the democracy and media should ensure that professional integrity and ethical standards should be maintained. Building an independent media in a developing country like India requires more freedom of speech and appropriate legal framework. Media should be given full autonomy and free hand in airing its views and creating political consciousness among women in the socio-economic and political matters. Media should act as a watchdog to the episodes that are taking place in modern panchayats and Khap panchayats.

Institutions such as ECI, political parties and media should expose the weakness and blind spots in the political participation of women at local level democratic

structure of India. Exposure of such weaknesses will pave the way for critical environment where the timely remedies will be devised to deal with the issues faced by women.

In line with the 73rd amendment act, political parties should also take bold initiatives to reserve the seats for women with the intention to bring inclusivity in the democratic process. Also the political parties should create an enabling environment that will help to improve the participation of women in the local level elections.

During the election time, it was found that polarization and fake news are minimizing the participation of women in election process. Thus, Election Commission of India should be entrusted with the powers to draft guidelines that will thwart polarization as well as spread of fake news during the election time period.

Education is considered as the powerful tool to disseminate the relevant political knowledge to the people. ECI in collaboration with Media and other institutions should organize seminars with respect to utility and benefits of inclusive measures at local level governance affairs. Such an initiative should also address the issues pertaining to the use of EVM's and voting process.

The role of Khap panchayats in bringing inclusion of women in Khaps is the welcome step. However, Khap panchayats should draft a structure that will provide the reservation to women in line with PRI's and constitutional ideals. Also the Khap panchayats should create an enabling environment that will utilize the experiences and educational skills of women in the management of societal affairs.

The present era has witnessed the humane and progressive aspect of Khap panchayats. Khap panchayats have undertaken various socio-economic developments in rural Haryana. However, due to biased attitude of Khap panchayats in Haryana, these developmental aspects are not being reported. Thus, Negative attitude of media should be revised with the purpose to report on the positive aspects of Khap panchayats.

6.4 Future Scope of the Study

For any democratic society, inclusive participation in governance institutions is the most critical aspect. It means that the democratic institutions should be inclusive in nature and the mechanism of structure and functioning should be in accordance with the prescribed legal framework and constitutional ideals. India being the diverse nations also hosts the marginalized communities that are being deprived of their participation in the affairs of state. Thus to bring inclusive governance in the country, the present study has made a bold attempt to devise a strategy that will augment the participation of women in the local governance mechanism of the country.

In the modern era, survival of democracy is based on the primary institutions that uphold the democratic fabric in the country. Institutions such as Election Commission of India, Political Parties, and Media etc. are important stakeholders in a democracy. Thus, their survival and active presence is important for the smooth functioning of a democracy. In this context, the present study has highlighted the role and responsibilities of media and ECI for garnering the public opinion and shaping the political ideas of eligible electorate in the country.

In the above context, the present study will be a model for future researchers in the field and act as a catalyst to guide them in the proper direction. Considering the dearth of studies on the topic, the present work will highlight the loopholes that undermine the proper functioning of democratic institutions and the role of inclusive measures for improving the participation of women in the local level governance mechanism.

The focus of this work involves the role and functioning of democracy at grass-root level in the country. The primary goal of the study is to examine the correlation between the institutional exclusion of women and the role of positive discrimination mechanism for bringing the inclusivity in the local level governance structures of the country. Evaluation and review instruments were used to expose gap in democratic mechanisms that hinder the participation of women in the affairs of state.

The present research work has recommended the steps to revitalize the democratic institutions for inclusive governance mechanism. The study is focused solely on observation and debate with the participants. The thesis would help to draw on the awareness on the issue of role of inclusive measures in a democratic setting and election processes in the country for students of political science.

India being the largest democratic country in the world is also the home to 1.34 billion populations. However, there exists a huge educational gap that hinders the political participation of women in the local level elections. In this context, the present study will act as a guide for eligible female voters in enabling them to understand the structure of India democracy and the role of allied institutions.

Khap panchayat as a non-democratic means to run the societal affairs at local level has certain inherent positive and negative characteristics. Thus, to unearth and explore these aspects, the present study will act as a suitable mechanism to monitor the proceedings and functions of Khap panchayats.

Also there is dearth of studies with respect to the role of women in Khap panchayats and the role of societal attitudes towards the participation of women in Khap panchayats. Thus, in this context, the present study will be helpful to craft the awareness of Khap panchayats in bringing inclusivity and objectivity in the proceedings and structure of Khap panchayats.

Loopholes are inherent to the functions of an institution such as Democracy and Political party. Thus to rectify those loopholes, the present study has attempted to gauge the performance of these institutions in the democracy and the present study has also made an attempt to suggest the appropriate measures for bringing the transparency and inclusivity in functions and structure of political parties and government institutions.

Media as a democratic institution works as an independent, economically viable and impartial institution. It has inspired confidence in common men and woman. This thesis explores and analyses the role of media in the country's political processes. The present study is intended to be useful to stress the role of the media in India's democratic processes including modern panchayat and Khap panchayat.

The research would continue to increase people's consciousness about the functions of democratic institutions and issues of political inclusivity. It is hoped that the outcome of the analysis and the recommendations would strengthen the operation of the democratic institutions at the grass-root level for a long time.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

Limitations of a study are defined as its shortcomings/flaws that are outcome of non-availability of wherewithal, sample size and blemished methodology. No study/research work is completely inclusive or flawless. Representation of limitations depict the honesty and integrity of a researcher and shows the researcher has a complete understanding of the content/topic.

The researcher cannot examine and comment in depth on all facets of the research work. In the analysis work there is thus a vacuum. Any personal, physical and geographical factors restrict the work of study. In the western nations, lot of work has been done with respect to the role of inclusive measures and role of women in the democratic processes of the country at local level. However in the Indian milieu, the area is unexplored. Thus, the limitations are inherited with any research work. The latest research study has also faced the following constraints:

- 1) Lack of reliable data has limited the future scope of the study. Certain respondents replied or withheld some of the answers to some questions ambiguously. Therefore, it was difficult to read some responses and mistaken results could be produced.
- 2) Existing studies form the cornerstone/base of a study. An extensive review helps to lay down the precise understanding of the research problem. In western nations, ample number of studies was undertaken on the role of inclusive measures in democracy. However, the role of women in Khap panchayats is unexplored in Indian context. Thus, there is dearth of detailed studies in India that analyze the institutional exclusion of women in the democratic process of the country. Thus, the scope of the study was limited.
- 3) The information submitted by various respondents was meant to not be authentic, true and genuine. Furthermore, respondents have not given their opinion the exact picture. Opinions/suggestions provided by the respondents were subjected to biasness and there was clear demarcation of political bias in these suggestions.
- 4) Accessibility of data from the key respondents was limited. All the key informants were unable to provide precise and timely information in the present context. This delay in timely collection of data resulted into the extension of completing this research work.

- 5) The sample size of the study is only 300, because data from maximum number of respondents was not easy to obtain. And the research period is incomplete since the sample size only includes Kaithal and Jind districts of Haryana.
- 6) India being the home to 1.30 billion strong populations also hosts the diverse cultures. Thus, it becomes important to analyze the data from the cultural perspective. However, the present study has dearth of diversity in the inferred relationships in the data.
- 7) The interview plan designed to supply the respondents with details is much more suitable for the processing of data today. However, due to the course of time, the relevance of information may become irrelevant due to peak modernization and digitalization.
- 8) Due to the condition of COVID-19 worldwide and of India, collection of data from other states was not sufficient as well. COVID-19 has restricted the means to collect the data from diverse communities/sections of people. Thus, a precise and timely analysis of data in the modern context was delayed.
- 9) COVID-19 has limited the number of qualitative sampling to 20 only, as it was not feasible to collect data from key-informants outside the Haryana state. Thus, it became difficult to infer relevant relationships from the data as it requires largest sample size to draw such relationships.

6.6 Conclusion

The modern era has witnessed the dawn of institutions that are playing an important role to strengthen the democracy in the country. India as a largest democratic establishment on the globes has the presence of various institutions that are working at par with government to promote the democratic culture in the country. Considering the geographical vastness of the country, the administrative mechanism in political terms has been divided into the three levels; central, state and local level. In terms of political inclusion, local level elections are playing an important role to improve the political participation of disadvantaged sections of the society. The findings from primary cum secondary sources have revealed that democratic institutions such as Government, ECI, political parties and media have undertaken various initiatives to advance the participation of women in the local level governance.

Panchayati Raj Act under 73rd amendment act was enacted with the intention to pave the way for development at grass-root level and unlock the avenues for participation of women at grass-root democracy. 33% reservation was accorded to women under this act. Findings have also discovered that the participation of women in the PRI's in Haryana is gaining momentum and women have started to play an active role in the decision making process at the grass-root level. In-line with the PRI's, the non-constitutional body such as Khap has undertaken initiatives to create the space for women participation in the Khap proceedings/functions. Haryana being a patriarchal state was restricting women to join the formal politics, however the dawn of modernization and digitalization has paved the way for women to join both formal and informal politics. However, there exists a need to reform the PRI's structure by including the elements of modernity and digitalization.

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