

# **IDEA OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN GOA: INTERFACE BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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## DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, “Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice” is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Master of Arts Political Science Programme at D.D Kosambi School of Social Science and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Mr Ravaji Gaunkar and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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## COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report “Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice” is a bonafide work carried out by **Ms. Pratali Premanand Kambli** under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Arts** in the Political Science Programme at the D.D Kosambi School of Social Science and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

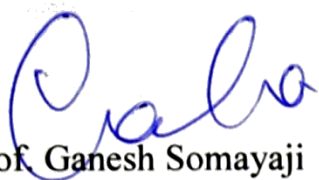


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Pratali Premanand Kambli  
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### **ABBREVIATIONS USED**

<b>Entity</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
Member of the Legislative assembly	MLA
Chief Minister	CM
Schedule Castes	SC
Schedule Tribes	ST
Times of India	TOI
Zilla Parishad	ZP
Bharatiya Janata Party	BJP
Indian National Congress	INC
Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party	MGP/ MAG
Independent	INP
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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Women since ancient times has been submissive, looked down upon, and has been away from the public domain. Their importance was only in the private matter even that in most cases dominated by the decisions of men and this situation is not limited to India but could be seen in every country in the world. To end this discrimination based on gender, feminism has played a vital role in bringing equality between men and women in political, economic, and social domains, at least in theory. Most countries today are democratic, thanks to World War II, equality, justice, freedom, and rights of the people have become a fundamental concept. Moving toward India, which gained independence in 1947 and soon adopted a democratic constitution, included all the democratic functions in the constitution. Rights, freedom, equality, justice, no discrimination based on any caste, class, race, religion gender, and so on. It includes everything that a good and healthy function of a country needs, but it seems too good to be true. The issue of Gender Equality is universal and we need more efforts to bring those theories into practice.

It is important to understand what political representation is and its importance in a democratic country. To fulfil the meaning of democracy political representation which includes equal representation of both genders is very important. In this study, the political representation of women means the number of women who participate and are represented in the political dynamics of Goa and the issue that has been raised by them regarding women's problems. The upper cast cannot understand what the lower cast go through, the rich cannot understand the situation of the poor, and similarly, men cannot understand the issue and problems of women thus to solve the problems related to women we need an active women representative or active women in politics or decision making to raise the issues regarding the problem of women. "It should be understood that women, and women alone, can comprehend issues which concern their welfare" (Kotvi, 2001, p. 53). Thus to address the problem of

women it is necessary for women to actively participate in politics. It is important to find the reasons behind such a lack of political representation of women. It is important to address such issues so that people would realize the need for equal representation of women. To encourage women to enter into politics and exercise their rights by equally participating like men. People should break the stereotypical structure of the society and should include more women in politics which will further help to address their issue as well. Democracy is meaningless if there is inadequate gender equality in a country.

The condition of some women in Goa was much better compared to the condition of women in other parts of India and the credit for this goes to the Portuguese rule in Goa (da Silva, 2007). 'Fatima da Silva Gracias' in her book "The Many Faces of Sundorem: Women in Goa" mentioned that due to Portuguese rule in Goa and the introduction of The Portuguese Civil Code Women in Goa or at least some sections of women in Goa enjoyed property rights as well as a good education (da Silva, 2007). Now the real question is, despite of good status of some of the Goan women compared to other Indian women, their status in politics or political representation of women in Goa is no different than other Indian women. In Goa, there has been little research done to uncover the reasons for this issue.

Thus Goa is not immune to this issue. This study focuses on women's position in the political domain that is women's political representation in Goa, limiting its area to state legislative. Political representation is an essential part of democratic society but still, we cannot see equal representation of women in politics. There is a gap between theory and practice in the matter of political representation of women and this study focuses on finding causes and reasons behind this gap, thus the study focuses on the political representation of women in Goa's politics, in state legislative, from 1961 to 2022.

## Literature review

The participation of women in politics is a crucial aspect for the smooth functioning of democracy and to ensure the equality of all citizens in a country. Numerous authors have written on the topic of women and politics. The concept of political representation of women or their involvement in politics and decision-making processes is quite broad but fascinating. Different authors have discussed various issues related to this topic, based on factors such as economic, social, patriarchal, etc. Each author has contributed equally to the topic based on their ideas and understanding. The reason why this topic is considered broad is that there is no single argument regarding women and their role in politics. There are many contradictory statements along with new aspects and similarities within different literature.

One aspect on which every author agreed is the patriarchal nature of politics where politics is regarded as a male domain. Politics has been regarded as a male domain and a job of masculinity, how the majority of the women in politics who are active and in the power of decision-making are either the wives and daughters of related politicians, ex-politicians, and heroes or how male politician use his wife as a candidate to rule on behalf of her and assumption regarding women not being interested in politics (Kotvi, 2001; Shrivastava, 2011; Kumar V. R., 2002). Niraja Gopal Jayal in her work *Left Behind? Women, Politics, and Development in India*, 2008 has stressed on patriarchal nature of women representation. She termed this phenomena as proxy representation where in men handle the politics in the name of their views which include attending meetings and signing the official paper on behalf of their wives” (Jayal, 2008), even during the participation of women in the voting process women decide whom to vote through the influence of their family member or spouse (Engage). Thus Venna Ravi Kumar (2002) rightly mentioned in her article that those women who decide by themselves whom to vote are the ones who show more active participation in politics than those who get influenced by their family and friends. Even after women get the

opportunity in politics they are still treated as inferior than the male which has been highlighted in *Minority Representation of Political Majority Group: Women in Indian Democratic Process* where the author mentioned ministry allocated to women are mostly 'feminine ministries' (Rai, 2011) that is welfare-oriented but rather than important department such as development which is allocated to male members. Women have allocated the responsibility regarding 'women issues' or 'Feminine Ministry' (Rai, 2011; Minch, 2012). This shows how women leaders are treated as subordinate to male leaders. Even after getting into power the male superiority or the patriarchy will still haunt the female representative.

The need or importance of women in power has been covered by Narayan S Kotvi in the article *The Myth of Gender Equality: Why are Women Missing from Politics*. According to him to solve the issues regarding women we need a candidate who is socially aware and can raise issues. Women themselves know much better than men what issues their gender is facing. Women should decide the problems related to women, not men. Further, he states that due to the managerial qualities of women in the family, women are more suitable for managing society and government. He also adds that women are less corrupt and more responsive than men and are responsible. Contradictory to the above statement made by Narayan S Kotvi (2001), regarding women being less corrupt and more responsible, Sudha Pai in the article *From Dynastic to Legitimacy: Women in Leaders in Indian Politics* argued that women are no different than men when it comes to corruption as well as responsible. Many existing female representatives or leaders have criminal charges or cases in the court.

There is a pattern that most of the existing women leaders follow, one that has already been mentioned regarding wives and daughters or relatives of existing or late male politicians or heroes and the second is regarding their family background. Women who are involved in politics are mainly due to family background or elite families with political connections (Rai,

2011; Minch, 2012; Kumar V. R., 2002). Sudha Pai (2012) has identified three types of women leaders, first dynastic successions; from political family background, secondly, institutional climbers; who got the power on their own, and lastly proxy leaders; who are in power but have little respect. From all these three categories dynamic succession is the most prominent factor behind women emerging in the front of politics (Pai, 2012-2013).

Many factors affect women's participation in politics. In the article *Electoral Participation of Women in India: Key Determinants and Barriers* the author Praveen Rai has given major factors and key determinants that affect women's participation in politics which include social factors, economic factors, women's interest in politics, socio-demographic, sociocultural norms, cast, social background, location that is urban or rural and region. The one who feel that their vote matters are the one who participates more in voting (Rai, 2011) along with these factors stereotypical factors where women are recognized in the private or domestic domain and men in the public also play an important factor. Women also faces the challenges of handling both the sphere that is private and public such as bearing children, taking care of the household, and also handling the professional career which make it difficult for women to compete with their counterpart (Kumar V. R., 2002; Khanna, 2009). The lack of political parties' willingness to accept or give tickets to women candidates and allocate inadequate number of seats for women also acts as a barrier (Shrivastava, 2011; Rai, 2011). Some parties may only give tickets to the women in the constituency because they have a better chance to win (Engage).

The article *Political Participation of Women in India* by Manuka Khanna has also identified three different variables that affect women's Participation. Firstly, the Psychological variable; where women's interest in politics has been mentioned along with the perception that politics is a male domain and includes 'dirty games' which women prefer to avoid. It also includes socially constructed or stereotypical where women are considered in the private sector which

further leads to their marginalization from the public sphere. Thus women's responsibility towards their families as well as in the public domain make it difficult to compete with men. The second variable that the author has mentioned is the Socio-Economic variable; the socio-economic variable becomes a very important variable as well which include the socioeconomic variable of individual women as their family members, from which family they come, their financial condition, education, religion etc. all this contributes to the level of participation of women in politics. "In general, persons with higher education and higher socio-economic status have easier access to politics than the uneducated and the persons of lower status" (Khanna, 2009). Along with the social-economic variable, the fear of harassment and assault within the political sphere also discourage women from entering into politics (Khanna, 2009) and the final variable is political; which include criminalization of politics, lack of ticket provided to women and the political environment which is mostly male-dominated.

Regarding the role of women in the freedom struggle and other social movements they were well-participated in these activities. Women were visible in the protest, freedom struggle, mass movement as well as their participation in movements like pro-abortion, Chipko movement, and anti-liquor drive in Tamil Nadu, all this highlights the decision-making power of women in the informal sector contradicting the patriarchal assumption of women not interested in politics and decision making (Kumar V. R., 2002; Shrivastava, 2011). During the time of freedom struggle, women were fighting against the foreign rule for their rights and equality but this current fight of women is with the patriarchal structure of their own society (Pai, 2012-2013).

Very important literature that provides empirical data on all these aspects and variables concerning Women in Kerala is the article written by R. Sooryarmoorthy and D. Renjini, *Political Participation of Women: The Case of Women Councilors in Kerala, India*. In this

article, the author's main focus is on the quantitative methodology where through empirical statistics and data he has mentioned what encouraged and discouraged women from representing and participating in politics. His study focuses on the women councilors in Kerala and through survey methods he identified the factors and backgrounds of the women who are the councilors of Kerala. He looked upon factors like age, education qualification of women, occupation, religion, and family income along with family background like education and Occupation level of parents and husband, political background of the family members, and more. Overall the article contributes to our understanding of the importance and women wielding political power to create an egalitarian society without gender bias. The very important point the authors highlighted about Kerala women is that even though Kerala has the highest literacy among women but still without the reservation policy of women in local bodies women's participation would have remained at the bottom.

The real question here is what is the solution for this problem and how to encounter this inequality between men and women. Rashmi Shrivastava (2011) has mentioned the claim of the Speaker Swedish Parliament behind a maximum number of women in parliament and cabinet than any other country, including the economic revolution, popular movement good education system which will change the mind-set of male dominance. These is very important factors that are missing in India. Further, there is a need for proper reservation seats for women. The need and argument for a 33% reservation bill in India has been mentioned by most of this author. Looking at the current scenario and women in politics Narayan S Kotvi (2001) questioned whether the political elite want such legislation to pass. As there is no affords to empower women from the top down, the improvement that we can see in women's as a voter in the elections is due to self-empowerment (Engage). Women's participation in politics has improved as voters or campaigners but their position in power or decision-

making has not been impressive (Rai, 2011; Engage). There is a need to make women ‘full citizens’ (Khanna, 2009).

### **Research Questions**

1. Are women adequately represented in the decision making politics of Goa?
2. What factor influence the effectiveness of political representation of women in Goa?

### **Hypothesis**

1. Women are not adequately represented in the decision making politics of Goa due to multiple challenges.
2. Women's Representation in politics is heavily influenced by their Social background.

### **Objectives**

1. To study the importance of political representation of women.
2. To study the status of women’s representation in the politics of Goa from 1963 to 2022.
3. To study factor influencing the effectiveness of political representation of women in Goa.
4. To study people’s perspective on women’s representation in Goa.
5. To suggest steps for improvement of women’s representation in Goa.



## **Methodology**

The study titled “Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice” will utilise a mixed methodology in which quantitative and qualitative data will be collected. These methods will involve gathering primary and secondary data through interviews, questionnaires, journal articles, newspaper articles and government data from official websites. Total 125 respondents were chosen across the state of Goa.

## **Chapterisation**

### **Chapter 1- Introduction**

The first chapter will provide a brief overview of the thesis by introducing the topic and highlighting the literature review; summarizing studies which are relevant to the research, research gap, research problem, research question, hypothesis, objective and methodology.

### **Chapter 2- Historical Background and Theoretical Framework**

This chapter will provide an understanding of different theories relevant to the topic along with historical background which will include the evolution of political representation, the role of feminists, the women's suffrage movement and constitutional provisions.

### **Chapter 3- Overview of Political Representation of Women in Goa**

This chapter will highlight the overview of the political representation of women in state legislative assembly in post-liberation and post-statehood. This will help understand the position of women in decision-making from 1963 to 2022 in state legislative.

## **Chapter 4- People's Perspective on Political Representation of Women in Goa**

Quantitative Data collected through the survey method will be included in this chapter to provide the findings and to analyse the data in a systematic way.

## **Chapter 5- Conclusion**

Finally, the summarization of the main findings and their significance gathered through quantitative and qualitative data collection methods will come under the conclusion along with suggestions and recommendations.

## **Significance**

In national as well as state context India is facing many issues regarding communal disputes, religion, caste, language, and so on but one issue that gets very less attention is gender inequality. Similarly, in Goa, the problem of lack of women's representation in politics is not concerning to many populations including women themselves. Thus this study will try to bring this issue to the front line highlighting lack of women's participation in politics, and their role in decision-making and leadership. There is a need to highlight these issues since very few developments have taken place to solve this problem.

## **CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Concept of Political Representation**

Our society consists of a diversity of people with different ethnicities, cultures, religions, castes, genders, races, ages etc. and different people have their own different needs and desires. Businessmen's needs will be different than labourers and workers, and rich people's desires will be different than those who are poor, similar goes with different age groups, religions, castes, classes, genders etc. Their needs and demands can't be reached directly to the government. Especially, in a country like India with a huge and diversity in population, following direct democracy becomes close to impossible. Then how the demands of each group and individual will be heard by the state? Thus to make this possible and to make all the individual in the society feel included and make their demands reach to the government, representation plays a very important role. Representative thus has a huge responsibility to follow and to gather all the demands of the people. The representative makes demands on behalf of the people to make decisions, policies or laws that will be for the welfare of the country and of the citizens. Therefore, political representation is a very important concept in the democratic society, which will maintain the democratic framework of equality, freedom, liberty and justice.

The idea of representation has gone through many changes. Series of historical events and movement has led to the evolution of political representation. According to anthropology in the past the group people use to take decision through direct democracy where adult male together use to make the decision, in this more weightage was given to the elders (Rohrschneider & Thomassen, 2020, pp. 19-20).

Elections and voting is a crucial element in deciding the representative in the democratic country and the decision made by the people is based on which representative is going to make efforts to solve their issues and consider the demands of the population. But this concept of representation and the decision of who is going to be a representative has become caste, religion, gender and caste oriented in which people's decision is influenced by this factor. Similarly, Gender in politics has become a very serious issue and has raised a series of questions about the lack of representation of women in politics.

### **Evolution of Political Representation**

In the book *The Oxford Handbook on Political Representation in Liberal Democracy* edited by Rohrschneider, Robert; Thomassen, Jacque, 2020 summarises the evaluation of political representation as follows. Political representation in Europe has evolved over centuries. In medieval time, feudal system had local assemblies who used to represent nobilities. During this time in 1215 Magna Carta was marked as the early step towards limited royal power. According to this book, in the 1600s, England went through several changes like parliament was suspended, leading to civil wars, and people started expecting conflicts instead of agreement. Parliament moved from consensus to majority rule, and political parties like Whig and Tory emerged. Economic theories changed which allowed conflict on set price and wages. In 1647, the Levellers wanted to extend suffrage to adult men, giving importance to people's freedom of expression to government. Thomas Hobbes introduced the idea of political representation, where people can choose their representative based on their interest who will make decision for them. In 1776, the cry "No taxation without representation" fuelled the American Revolution. The period from 1750 to 1800 witnessed the first written national constitutions, but representation didn't necessarily mean democracy. There was a

debate between Edmund Burke and James Wilson were in some wanted representatives to be an exact image of the people, while others believed representatives should have more virtue. In the early 1800s, discussions about representation continued. In the mid-1800s, civic lotteries stated losing the favour and importance was given to the need for active consent in elections. Elections became linked to aristocracy. From 1848 onwards, Political parties became more organised with proper structure and functions, and thinkers like John Stuart Mill advocated for extending the franchise. Mill favoured the proportional representation, descriptive representation, and the educative role of political participation. The late 1800s witness an evolution in liberal democracies, expanding suffrage, consideration of women's rights, and adopting proportional representation in some European countries.

Political representation evolved from early conflicts in England to the emergence of political parties, separation of powers, and bills of rights. The 19th century witnessed struggles for suffrage, proportional representation, and the educational role of political participation. Thus the concept of political representation has gone through many stages of evolution.

### **Democracy and Importance of Political Representation of Women**

Elections and political representation are important concept to fulfil the democratic nature of any state. A country is not democratic if free and fair elections are not taking place. Similarly, equality, justice and freedom are the basic rights of people without which democracy cannot function in any society. There are almost equal number of men and women in the world but the majority of the decision-making power are mainly handled by the men.

Democracy means equality between all the citizens of the country thus equality between men and women. This patriarchal nature of politics where political representation, leadership and decision making are dominated by men does not give justice to the democracy, it violate the

core principle of equality and equality of opportunity to all the citizens in the country. Therefore, to see a pure democracy in any country equal representation of men and women is very important. Thus proving equal opportunity to both men and women is a necessity of democracy. The so-called democratic country we are living in are not truly democratic unless equal opportunity and equal representation to both men and women is not provided.

Similarly, one of the reasons of importance of political representation of women is women know what other women go through and thus the need of women leaders are important to solve the issues related to women because women will know better what other women's needs, not men (Kotvi, 2001). Thus women will prioritise the interests of women much better than men (OliverWyman, 2024). Political representation of women will also reduce the level of corruption (Kotvi, 2001; OliverWyman, 2024). Therefore, political representation of women is important to maintain the equality between men and women, to promote equal employment opportunity and similarly, equal political representation of men and women will consider all the sections of the society under the development agenda that is instead of paying all the attention on military and other developments similar focus will be on social care and issues which men does not pay much attention, thus because of equal political representation none of the sections of the society will be left behind (Kotvi, 2001; OliverWyman, 2024).

### **Feminist Theory and waves of feminism**

Political thoughts are very important for the beginning of feminist movements and the empowerment of women in politics. The political thoughts and contributions of different political thinkers brought an idea of feminism and women's rights. In ancient political thoughts, women were not treated equally. In their theory, we could recognize the presence of patriarchal ideas. Thoughts of Aristotle where he denied the women citizenship rights,

Rousseau in Emily says that women should obey men and similar other theories given by different thinkers support patriarchy. The beginning of feminist thoughts started with Mary Wollstonecraft who criticised such political thought where patriarchy was prevailing. Mary Wollstonecraft's famous work 'A Vindication of the Rights of Women' is considered a very significant stage of feminist literature (Gaub, 2011, p. 314). Mary Wollstonecraft regarded sexual distinction as a product of patriarchal society and highlighted the need of equal education for both men and women considering it as a main tool for women's emancipation (Mukherjee & Ramaswamy, 2022). Similarly, other political thinkers like Harriet Taylor and her husband J.S Mill have also provided the feminist approach in their political thoughts. J.S Mills' famous essay on 'The Subjection of Women' argues that women are more submissive than men and thus women deserve equal rights as men (Gaub, 2011, p. 314). Thus this feminist approach of political thinkers helped to develop the concept of equality between men and women and recognize women's position in the public sphere.

Feminism and the theories of feminist thinkers were the beginning of empowering women into politics. The concept of feminism is against the patriarchal nature of society and believes in equality between men and women. Women have always suffered from injustice because of sex and gender discrimination and thus feminism tries to eliminate that injustice from society (Gaub, 2011, p. 313). Feminist thinkers like Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylor and her husband John Stuart Mill are the prominent thinkers of the 19th century to recognise the equal rights of the women. Feminist theory has criticised many theories which develop a sense of inequality between men and women. One of the theories that feminism has criticised is the theory of power in which the patriarch prevails in the age-old universal domain. This way the male used to exercise his power over women. This concept of patriarchy was rejected by the feminist movement. Feminists also criticised the theory of citizenship arguing that even after getting full citizenship in law, women continue to suffer from subjection in their

social life. The feminist movement also argued that even though there are nearly fifty per cent of women but still their political representation was still far below that of men. Political representation of women is significant less at the level of political authority even though some women were successful at achieving top positions. “Sri Lanka, Israel, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have the record of having women prime ministers. But, on the whole, the number of women holding high officials is very small” (Gaubu, 1981, p. 316). Some women who are fortunate enough to get to this position have achieved the role of decision making but this is the macro level perspective of leadership, at the micro level political representation of women is still very low. Even though countries like India have a history of women prime ministers, there is significantly less number of representation of women as leaders or in decision-making power compared to men. “Feminists, therefore assert that until the condition of equal participation of women in public life is fulfilled, the concept of citizenship cannot be brought to its logical conclusion” (Gaubu, 1981, p. 317).

### **First Wave**

The first wave of feminist movement began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1848, at the Seneca Falls convention, to discuss social, civil, and religious conditions and rights of the women, 200 women gathered at a church in upstate New York asking for equal rights and right to vote (Grady, 2018). 1<sup>st</sup> wave of feminism exclude the black women from the movement making it face criticism of being a racist movement, main focus of the first wave of feminism was to achieve the voting rights of the white women (Grady, 2018; Pruitt, 2022). “so first-wave feminism doesn’t refer to the first feminist thinkers in history. It refers to the West’s first sustained political movement dedicated to achieving political equality for women: the suffragettes of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries” (Grady, 2018). Along with the right to



vote the movement also asked for equal opportunity to education, employment and property along raising the question of reproductive rights (Grady, 2018). The achievement of first wave of feminism is 19<sup>th</sup> amendment of 1920 which provided the right to vote to white women passed by congress (Grady, 2018; Pruitt, 2022).

## **Second Wave**

The prominent thinker associated with the second wave of feminism is Betty Friedan and her famous work *The Feminine Mystique* in the year 1963. Her work discusses the question of why women are going away from the right provided to them by the first waves of feminism. *Feminine Mystique* explains and criticise the illusion created in women's mind that they belong in the house and that is why women should only stay and work at home. Thus due to these illusion women are willingly agree to stay and work at home making this problem "the problem that has no name". "The systemic sexism that taught women that their place was in the home and that if they were unhappy as housewives, it was only because they were broken and perverse" (Grady, 2018). The second wave of feminism focuses on the destruction of traditional gender base role created by the society and end to sexist discrimination (Pruitt, 2022). Even the second wave of feminism does not involve the rights of black women. The major achievement of second wave is Equal Pay Act of 1963 against gender pay gap, in 60's and 70's provided unmarried women the right to birth control, guaranteed women reproductive freedom and right to educational equality (Grady, 2018; Pruitt, 2022).

## **Thirst Wave**

Through third waves black women stated to get included in the feminist movement, thus the third wave is inclusive of both race and gender. The main focus of the third wave feminism is to solve the problem of workplace harassment. Third wave of feminism also stated to enter into the concept of intersectionality, word coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (Grady, 2018; Pruitt, 2022). “Third-wave feminists also drew on the work of gender theorist Judith Butler, including support for trans rights in this type of intersectional feminism” (Pruitt, 2022).

## **Fourth Wave**

The fourth wave of feminism is little confusing and has no proper definition and concept making it difficult to highlight what actually include in this wave. Some says that this is the online phase of feminism or simply the continuation of third wave of feminism. The fourth wave of feminism is more inclusive of trans and intersex people, discussing about individual gender and sexuality and their rights.

One of the greatest contributions of feminism is the destruction of sex and gender on the bases that sex is natural and gender is social construct. Women and men were expected to follow certain social roles that society had assigned based on their gender. Men are considered to be masculine and women were considered to be feminine and based on this gender the social roles were assigned to them. Men were associated with the public sphere and women in private. Men being masculine were considered to be strong, independent, courageous etc. and women being feminine were considered to be tender, weak, emotional etc. Thus feminists argue that these two distinctions of sex and gender-based social norms are the main reason behind the injustice faced by women. Society has pre-assigned some roles to men and women based on their gender. Men dominated women in the public sphere and as

well as the private sphere and women were expected to follow what the male want. This patriarchal nature of society gave rise to feminism. The concept of feminism emerged to eliminate the suffering and inferiority of women in society.

## **Women's Movement in India**

### **Beginning of emancipation through social and religious reform**

The condition of women in India is no different than in other parts of the world. It is safe to assume that almost all the women from all parts of the country have suffered injustice and were dominated by the male members of the society and India is no different case. A daughter has to obey his father, a sister has to obey his brother, a wife has to obey his husband and overall a woman in general have to obey man. A woman used to consider her husband as a god and was dependent on the male member of the family. Especially when it comes to a woman they were identified as someone's wife and their whole dignity and respect depend on their husband which highlights how highly the patriarchal nature followed in Indian society. When it comes to education as well men were given more preference to get education benefits than women because of the typical social or gender role created by a society where women will stay in the house and men will learn and work in the public sphere. Male dominance over women was so high it gave rise to social injustice toward women as well.

The first steps to eliminate women's suffering emerge in the form of social reform. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Jyotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule and others played a very important role to eliminate social dogmas and religious superstitions related to women such as sati, devadasi system etc.

British colonisation has also played an important role in recognising and empowering the position of women in society including banning sati and providing education to women. Thus as much as we curse and hate British rule over India it is also important to understand the positive effects it has brought when it comes to social reform and empowering women. In the book *Elite Women in Indian Politics* by Vijay Agnew, 1979, mentioned the role of British rule, Education and Indian Reformer in the upliftment of women in India as follows. The British, including scholars, missionaries, and bureaucrats, often looked at Hindu women on the bases of European standards which mean that they criticized customs like child marriages, cruel treatment given to the widows, and the prohibition against widow remarriage. Indian reformers on the other hand defended themselves highlighting the positive aspects of Hindu family life and societal participation for women. The prolong British rule and the education provided by them had created an awareness against the oppression of Hindu women India. The elite Hindu males, especially those who were educated in English played an important role to stop this oppression through social reform. Their aim was to support education for women and change the traditional customs by opposing oppressive practice against women. Reform societies like the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj emerged, incorporating Western and Hindu influences to protect and advance the needs of Hindu women. These societies established schools for girls to provide education to Hindu women. In the context of the nationalist movement, the role of women has been discussed in three ways: Firstly, many women took part in the Indian Nationalist moment in general, secondly, some women in the nationalist moment focused on the specific aspects associated with the nationalist struggle, and a small group of elite women were the one who were fully engaged in all aspects of nationalist activity. The political parties, particularly the Indian National Congress, aimed to include women in various aspects of their programs to showcase their progressiveness. But

there were limited Muslim women's involvement in the movement and the focus was primarily on Hindu women's participation.

### **Women Suffrage Movement in India**

The women suffrage movement started with initial stage to provide voting rights to women in India. The beginning of women movements for women rights started in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the contribution of Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Sorajini Naidu and Saraladevi Chaudhari who took the steps in favour of women's rights by requesting an audience for women to present their political demand, Sarojini Naidu led an all-India delegation of prominent women and asked for the awakening of Indian women's civil responsibilities and their status as "people" and Saraladevi Chaudhari was concerned about the women's educational needs and highlighted that women can frame their destiny as men, such leaders like Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Aruna Asaf and Basanti Devi were strong leaders during independent movement (Forbes , 1998; Chary, 2012). This time could be highlighted as the time of the women's suffrage movement in India.

From 1910 to 1935 is the pick period for women and the efforts were made by British rule and the active women movement to represent women in politics. It was after women got voting rights in Great Britain, British in India started to raise the question of women political rights (Dutoya, 2016). Thus the representation of women become an important issue in the colonial politics of India. The first demand for political representation of women was in 1917, demanding for the basic universal adult franchise and political participation of women (Chary, 2012).

In the early 20th century, Indian women fought for the right to vote, also known as women's suffrage, they organized meetings, sought support from political groups like the Indian

National Congress, and presented their case to British committees; some of the notably, figures like Sarojini Naidu and Saraladevi Chaudhurani passionately advocated for women's voting rights, however, despite their efforts, the Southborough Franchise Committee in 1918 concluded that giving women the vote was premature (Forbes , 1998).

During this period of time important organisations like Women's India Association (WIA) in 1917 and All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) in 1927 and later joined with the British demanding for women's rights (Dutoya, 2016). But soon there was a differences between colonial power and feminism movement when colonial power tried to control who could be seen as legitimate representative of women thus feminist movement stated to support congress especially Gandhi who rejected the reserved seats refusing British support with reservation and representation (Dutoya, 2016).

By 1930 women got the basic voting right but those right were only useful for the women from elite family background, The government of India Act 1935 provided the voting rights to women but with special condition like wives of voters could vote or in some area educated women could vote but this changes were not enough because the number of male voters were still higher than the number of female voters (Chary, 2012; Dutoya, 2016).

Indian women, including Herabai A. Tata, even after facing many difficulties continued their struggle in their campaign. They sent representatives to England and also presented evidence to committees arguing that recent educational and social changes had empowered Indian women (Forbes , 1998). Unfortunately, the British government, influenced by the views of figures like Cornelia Sorabji, who believed many Indian women were still illiterate and not ready for political participation, decided not to grant women the right to vote, this decision of British government was very frustrating to Indian women activists as they were only asking for equal voting rights and noting more (Forbes , 1998). The British governments oppose to

grant women equal voting rights was seen as reinforcing male authority and ignoring the rights of women, despite so much efforts made by the women suffrage movement, the Indian women's struggle for suffrage was not successful during this period (Forbes , 1998).

After India got independence in 1947 there was a efforts to main the democracy in India by providing equally and unity among all the people which means that people of any religion, language, gender, race, caste etc. should have equal opportunity, but women in the constituent assembly like Sarojini Naidu and Renuka Rai rejected seat reservation arguing that the women have always opposed such special treatment but this statement goes against the concept of equality highlighted by independent India, The congress party aimed for 15% women representation in 1950's and 1960's, however, actual representation stayed around 5% for female deputies until the 1980 (Dutoya, 2016).

Reservation of women in local bodies is a one of the achievement for political participation of women in panchayat. 73<sup>rd</sup> constitutional amendment act introduced not less 33% reservation of women in Panchayati Raj and similarly, 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment act introduced reservation for women in Nagar Palica and Municipalities due to which millions of women actively participate in politics (Chary, 2012).

### **Debate on 33% reservation for women**

In September 2023, a 33% reservation bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha for one-third of seats reservation for women in Lok Sabha and state assembly elections. This discussion on the 33% reservation bill is not a recent debate but has a long history since post-independent India. The debate on 33% reservations of women going on for a very long period. During the freedom struggle the reservation of women was rejected on the stand that reservation for women would make it seem like women were only winning the election due to reservation of

seats and not because of their skills and abilities, this was argued by Renuka Ray in opposed of reservation for women (Agnihotri, 2023; PRS, 2024).

In the year 1974, a committee on the status of women in India was undertaken to review the status of women since independence and the committee highlighted the lack of representation of women in politics and positions of power, but even after this review the committee did not suggest the women reservation policies to increase the representation; Lotika Sarkar and Vina Mazumdar disagree with the committee's decision of not recommending reservation, according to them "a political system cannot be based on ideology alone but must keep in touch with the actualities of the social situation and so adjust its operation as to achieve the desired goals of the society. The mechanics of the system, if they do not grapple with the needs of a society, can defeat the ultimate objective in the long run. It is for this reason that we are compelled to dissent from the Committee's decision on this point" (Agnihotri, 2023).

Further, this debate puts the focus on the Panchayats Raj System and starting from the Ashok Mehta committee this debate has been going on for several years through different committees since the 1980s, thus 1980s saw the rising discussion on the representation of women (Agnihotri, 2023).

"In 1995 women's organisations issued a clear statement that 'women's political participation needs to be encouraged by extending the present reservations in the panchayats' and demanded at least 33% reservations in the State assemblies and Parliament (Agnihotri, 2023)" The 33% reservation bill was introduced in the years 1996, 1998, 1999 and 2008 but lapsed due to the dissolution of their respective Lok Sabha (PRS, 2024) .

Oppositions of the reservation bill for women argue that giving reservations for women will question women's capacity and skill and will give credit to reservation for women's victory rather than their skill, the other argument against reservation is that there are many problems



like stopping the criminalisation of politics, making political parties more democratic, stopping corruption and distribution of illegal money during the election which needs to be taken care of, there for reservation will not empower women in politics in actual sense (PRS, 2024). Several also argued for the reservation bill for reservation of the minority class (V & Patnaik, 2023).

Thus the reservation of seats for women has been a prolonged debate since post-independent India. Even with the recent bill of 33% reservation, the possibility is that it is going to face the same faith.

### **Constitutional Provision**

Indian constitution, through fundamental rights, the Preamble and the Directives principle of state policies has assured equality to all the citizens of India. The preamble provides all citizens of India equality of status and opportunity. Similar to fundamental rights of India as well promotes the gender equality between men and women. Part III of the Indian constitution guarantee the fundamental rights to Indian citizen which promotes equality between men and women, Article 14 provides right to equality that men and women should be treated equally, Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen based on caste, class, gender race etc., Article 16 of the Indian constitution guarantees equality of opportunities for all citizens in the matter of public employment (Chadha, 2014). The constitution of India treats all individuals as equal through the constitutional provision.

The 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment act 1992 provide reservation of seat at the Panchayat level for women, this amendment aimed to improve the representation and participation of women at the village level by providing them equal opportunity in political field at the grassroots level and improving their position (Chadha, 2014). The 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment act of 1992 further extend this

reservation of the seat at the Municipalities which ensure one third of the seat to reserve for women, thus 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> amendment of Indian constitution added article 243(D) reserving not less than one third seats for women at the panchayat level and article 243T which provide one third reservation of seat for women at the municipalities with provision for rotation and additional reservation for SC / ST women (Chadha, 2014). Similarly, basic rights like right to vote to all the citizens of the country under article 326, thus making it a democratic nation. The equal representation of men and women in the position of power is necessary for democracy, without which it cannot be considered true democracy. The increasing political representation of women plays a crucial role to fulfilling the democratic nature of the country. while India has seen women hold high offices such as Prime Minister, Presidents and MLA but the ratio between men and women in power has a huge gap. The limited representation of women in power is insufficient to uphold the principle of democracy and equality in India.

### **CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN GOA**

Goa is historically rich, dominated by different rulers and has been exposed to different cultures. Portuguese were the last ruler who ruled over Goa. For 450 years Goa was under foreign rule that is from 1510 till 1961. Goa was liberated on 19 December 1961 and became the part of democratic India. During the struggle for liberation many women equality participated in different movement carried out against the Portuguese rule in Goa. Soon after the liberation the debate on merging Goa with Maharashtra took place in which after the lot of struggle taken by Dr. Jack de Sequeira and other supporting members Goa got its separate identity after holding an opinion poll. To gain the separate identity for Goa, women of Goa also participated and voted in the opinion poll. Thus Goa has fought a lot to get his independent identity with equal contribution of men and women. Thus women were the active members of liberation movement and also actively fought for the separate identity. Goa is located on the west coast of India, with a total area of 3701 square kilometres (Almeida, 2013, p. 03). The total population of Goa is about 116979 from which the sex ratio of females is 967 and males is 1000 (Salgaonkar, 2000). The population of women in Goa is 49.32% (Shaikh, 2017). Thus being the smallest state of India and theoretically the easiest state to administer due to its small size. But as mentioned it's just a theory because, like any other state, Goa has also faced many ups and downs in its politics which includes defection as well as a presidential form of government. Thus even after being the smallest state of the country India, Goa faces the difficulties in administration and politics including women's representation in politics.

On the grassroots level, we could see the active participation of women in panchayat and municipalities but the issue of 'Sarpacha Paties', where husbands on behave of their wives run the local administration, this issue is still of huge concern (Herald, 2023). Even in the

state legislative assembly representation of women is much less compared to those of men. “Patriarchy and gender stereotypes make entry of women in formal politics difficult.” (Shringare, 2023, p. 176) Thus current representation of women in politics questions the democratic nature of Goa, India.

### **Political Leaders of Goa**

After India got independence, India saw the leadership of women leader like Indira Gandhi who came from the political family background, whose father was also a politician. Many dynamic leaders have influence the decision making in India and maintain the stability in politics and most of the time women related to those dynamic leaders are the one who later get the chance into politics. Similarly, Goa as well had dynamic leader who maintain the stability in the politics and influence the decision making. Some of the leaders like Dayanand Bandodkar, Manohar Parrikar, and Ravi Naik, along with known political families like the Rane family from which a prominent political leader Pratabsingh Rane are the well-known political leaders of Goa who through their charisma has gained popular support from the citizen of Goa. Based on these popular leaders of Goa, women from those families got the opportunity to enter into politics for example the daughter of Dayanand Bandolkar, 1967's CM of Goa and who won the position of MLA in 1967 Ponda, 1977 Bicholim and 1989 and 1994 in Maem. After the death of her father and a prominent leader of Goa, Dayanand Bandodkar, Shashikala Kakodkar looked over as a CM of Goa in 1967. This is a very proud moment considering Shahikala Kakodkar became the first and the only female CM of Goa, breaking the patriarchal nature of Goan Politics. But the important question which needs to be addressed is whether the same support and popularity she would have got if not belong to the Bandodkar family. No doubt Shashikala Kakodkar was indeed a great leader of Goa.

After Shashikala Kakodkar great leaders like Pratabsing Rane, Luizinho Faleiro, Manohar Parrikar, Digamber Kamat and many other leaders managed to spread their charisma into the hearts of the Goan Population. But the end of the six-year tenure of Shashikala Kakodkar's leadership was the end of the era of women leadership in Goa because after Shashikala Kakodkar no other woman got the position of Chief minister of Goa.

### **Women in Goa**

Women's in Goa are very active in most of the spheres like culture, industries, business especially tourism and are self-employed and also can be seen educated and employed in the government offices as well. Mahila Mandal and self-help groups is the key source which drives the women's participation. But one field that lacks such active participation of women is politics. Women are actively participating in voting and political campaigning during elections but lack the participation in decision making. The literacy rate in Goa from 1900 to 1960 has been growing (Almeida, 2013, p. 73). When it comes to the literacy rate of Women in Goa from 1986 to 2000 the average rate of Girls who passed out from graduation and post-graduation is higher than boys in Goa (Almeida, 2013, p. 532). But when it comes to the employment rate men are more employed than women and in politics as well men are more and women barely participate in politics. What are the reasons behind this? Why even though women get an education do not participate in politics? The answer to these questions will be answered in Chapter 4 with the survey undertaken in the form of a questionnaire. "In terms of socio-economic indicators such as literacy rates, life expectancy and per capita income, women in Goa may have surpassed the rest of the country. But when it comes to representation in the state's politics, it remains limited as ever" (Shaikh, 2017).

Generally, in the classroom as well we can see the ratio of boys and girls is almost equal rather sometimes we will find more girls in a classroom than boys, but when it comes to the employment the situation is the opposite. “The villages in Goa have sufficient supply of electricity and water, and even telephones have reached to these villages. Work participation of women reflects that they are more employed in the primary sector, as agricultural labourers, and in the tertiary sector which refers to food processing, pig rearing, fishing, cashew industry etc. Goa is a coastal area, and one of the main occupations of Goans is fishing. Women are employed in this sector which remains largely unorganized” (Salgaonkar, 2000, pp. 16-17). Similarly, in politics as well the participation of women is much less.

#### **Status of women in Goa Legislative Assembly (From 1963- 2022)**

**Table. 3.1 Number of Contesting Candidates for Assembly Elections in Goa**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
1963	--	7
1967	226	2
1972	132	6
1977	141	4
1980	174	3
1984	232	10
1989	243	8
1994	301	10
1999	200	10
2002	201	11
2007	188	14
2012	205	10
2017	232	19
2022	275	26

Note: Data compiled from different sources.

In the Goa state legislative assembly, the number of women representatives is very low compared to men. In table 3.1 it can be clearly seen that from 1967 till 2022 men who stood for the general assembly election of state of Goa is very high compared to that of a woman. The total average ratio of male candidates who contested the election is 95% and the ratio of female candidates who contested the election is only 5%. The number of males contesting in elections is constant and varies from 150 to 300 candidates in each election but an increase in the amount of women candidates can be seen from 1 in the 1967 election to a total of 26 women candidates in the 2022 election. Yes, it is an improvement but this ratio is not fair and does not give justice to the democracy. In the year 1963 Urminda Mascarenhas was elected as the first Member of the legislative assembly (Salgaonkar, 2000; Fernandes P. , 2017) followed by Shashikala Kakodkar who became the first and only female Chief Minister of Goa. From 1963 till 1980 the number of women contesting in the state legislative election was less than 10, it was in year 1984 Goa had 10 female candidates which then increased since the year 2002 and in the recent election there were a total of 26 women candidates. Thus women do contest in the state legislative election. “But women’s role in the state’s higher level politics is considered minimal,, indicating that the gender gap remains and their empowerment as enshrined in the constitution is yet to be satisfactorily achieved” (Fernandes P. , 2017).

Thus since 1963 Goa has seen limited participation of women in politics where men are candidates who are contesting elections in hundreds and women are stuck below 30. This gap shows the dominance of males in politics, when there are more than 95% of male in the cabinet whereas there are less than 5% of women can be seen as Members of the legislative assembly. Women candidates contesting elections is rather a low in itself but even lower is the percentage of women to win the elections. 2022 was the year when we saw more than 20 women candidates contesting elections for the first time.

In the years 1972, 1980 and 1984 women did contest for the assembly election but not a single woman won the state legislative assembly election, as mentioned in table 3.2. This was the time Goa witnessed complete male-dominated politics (Fernandes P. , 2017). Thus the status of political representation of women in the Goa State legislative assembly from 1963 to 2022 needs to be addressed to highlight the issue of gender gap and gender equality in the politics of Goa. This gender based inequality is making Goa's politics a male domain.

In the table. 3.2 the number of women and men candidate who has won the elections has been mentioned.

**Table. 3.2 Number of Candidate Won in Goa assembly elections from 1963-2022**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
1963	--	1
1967	29	1
1972	30	0
1977	29	1
1980	30	0
1984	30	0
1989	38	2
1994	36	4
1999	38	2
2002	39	1
2007	39	1
2012	38	2
2017	38	2
2022	37	3

Note: Data compiled from different sources.

Women contesting in the state legislative election of Goa is low compared to men but the winning of women contestants in the election is even lower. The highest rate of women who have won the election of Goa state legislative assembly is 4 in the year 1994. Urminda Mascarenhas, Sashikala Kakodkar Elu Miranda, Farrel Gracias, Sangeeta Parab, Fatima



D'Sa, Victoria Fernandes, Nirmala Sawant, Jennifer Monserrate, Alina Saldanha, Dalilah Lobo and Deviya Rane are the only women who contested in Goa legislative assembly elections from which Sashikala Kakodkar won 5 times, Victoria Fernandes won 3 times, Jennifer Monserrate 3 times and the rest won only once. "Ms Sanyogita Rane is the only woman to have represented Goa in Parliament." (Salgaonkar, 2000, p. 17) Thus there are only 12 women candidates who won the general election of the Goa State legislative assembly which shows how little women are represented in the Goa's State legislative assembly.

**Table 3.3 Name of Women Candidates who Won the Assembly Election from 1963-2022**

Sr.No	Name	Year
1.	Smt.Urminda Mascarenhas	1963
2.	Smt. Sashikala Kakodkar	1967, 1972, 1977, 1990, 1995
3.	Smt. Elu Miranda	1967
4.	Smt. Farrel Gracias	1990
5.	Smt. Sangeeta Parab	1995
6.	Smt. Fatima D'Sa	1995
7.	Smt. Victoria Fernandes	1995, 1999, 2002
8.	Smt. Nirmala Sawant	1999
9.	Smt. Jennifer Monserrate	2012, 2017, 2022
10.	Smt. Alina Saldanha	2012
11.	Smt. Dalilah Lobo	2022
12.	Smt. Deviya Rane	2022

Note: Compiled from different sources.

### **Status of women's representation in Goa legislative assembly**

It has been proved that very less women participate or stand in state legislative assembly of Goa. In Appendix 4 the names of most of the candidates (on which the data is available) are added through which we can see that there are only a few women candidate who contested the state assembly election that is less than 150 women candidates and even a few than that are the women that won the election. From the data mentioned in Appendix 4 it can be noticed that most of the women got less than 20% of the votes and the possibilities are that they only contested for the election or asked to contest in the election just to break or to split the votes in the election. Some women lost but was a close race with the candidate who won. Shashikala G. Kakodkar in 1980, Porobo Sangita Gopal in 1989, Sawant Nirmala in 2007 and Nirmala P. Sawant in 2012 are examples of those who got more than 40% votes but lost by a very few margin.

The position of those women who won the election is also a very important issue to discuss regarding the status of the political representation of women. Victory is not only winning the election, it is just a first step to actually representing in politics, very few women of Goa got the opportunity to enter the first stage (Names mentioned in table 3.3), but even fewer women have got the opportunity to take the second step in the representation that is to get the higher position as chief minister or to get the portfolios or ministries. From 1963 and 2022, not many women have been given this position. As mentioned earlier Shashikala Kakodkar was the only female chief minister of Goa. When it comes to the distribution of portfolios as well, most of the important portfolios have been given to men. Distribution of portfolios in Goa rather has become like a game to attract a candidate to join the party or to satisfy those who are not satisfied with their position in politics. In this dirty game in Goan politics, very few women have managed to get these important positions or ministries. Shashikala Kakodkar in the year 1967 after the death of her father Dayanand Bandodkar got the position of Chief

Minister and the important ministries. “Shashikala Kakodkar took over 11 portfolios held by her father, Bandodkar, and created four more to increase them to 16” (Fernandes A. , 1997). Portfolios with greater decision-making power like General administration, secretariat administration, finance, Home, Confidential and Vigilance Departments along with other important portfolios like Industry, Public work Department, Public Health, small Savings, Public Assistance, Social Welfare and Goa Archives. After Shashikala Kakodkar no women managed to get the position of Chief Minister and very few managed to even get the portfolios forgetting about the vital portfolio. In the Goa state legislative assembly council of ministers, we can only see the names of men with positions and vital portfolios. Only a few women like Alina Saldanha got the portfolio of Environment, Forest and Museum in 2012 which is not a vital portfolio. Thus we can see the presence of patriarchy and male dominance when it comes to the distribution of portfolios to the Member of Legislative Assembly. Thus the struggle for political representation does not stop just after getting elected in the state legislative assembly election.

Representation of women is important for the women's section of society so that their issues can be addressed. There is no better person than women who can understand the problem of women and Goa is not free from such issues. Problems related to women like clean and sanitised Public toilets for women, hostels for working women, safety of women, and better transport such issues can be raised by women from their own experience (Monteiro, 2022). Such issues of women have not been solved by the women MLAs in the assembly. Therefore, the need of more representation of women is needed in the assembly so that they can collectively raise women-related problems and take the necessary steps to solve them.

### **Political Profile of the Women representatives in Goa**

One of the very important topics that has to be pointed out is the women who are privileged with a political family background and women who are not privileged with a political family background. Women who are privileged with a political family background have the upper hand in entry into politics, we can call it Family Raj, Political Dynasty or Political Nepotism. There are four reasons why women stood for election, first, because they are interested in politics; second, because their husband or family forced them to do so; third, to split the votes and fourth, because of the Family Raj. we can see this Political Nepotism or Political Dynasty when it comes to Goan Politics. If we look at the list of women who won, the election in Table 3.3 most of those women come from the privilege of having a political family background. A great example is the first female Chief Minister with a vital portfolio and higher position in the state legislative assembly of Goa is a daughter of the late Dayanand Bandodkar, thus Shashikala Kakodkar was a Political Nepo kid, she was a part of a Political Dynasty or Family Raj. If we take the recent example of women who won, the election in 2022 as well it's the same situation. Dalilah Lobo is the wife of Michael Lobo, Deviya Rane wife of Vishwajit Rane and Jennifer Monserrate is married to Atanasio Monserrate. Thus connection with male political leaders as daughter and wife or other family relations leads to the emergence of women in politics through Political Nepotism and the same can be witnessed in the case of Goa and the political representation of women. "The panellists acknowledged the handful of female Goan politicians who did not come from a political family background, including late Victoria Fernandes, Farrel Furtado e Gracias, Nirmala Samant, Sangeeta Parab and late Sulochana Katkar & late Phyllis Faria predominantly around Rajiv Gandhi's tenure as PM, reflecting the ideology of the leader." (Herald, 2023).

### **Government of Goa response towards women's representation**

The government of Goa actively talks about the issue of women's representation in the media. But whether those are real concerns or just for the show will be only answered when they take the necessary steps to solve this issue rather than just talking about it. The government of Goa talked about reserving the seat for women in the state legislative assembly according to the new provision of the women's reservation bill, the provision of the women's reservation bill has not been passed and will not happen soon due to the conduct of the census, but Chief Minister of Goa Dr. Pramod Sawan talk about reserving 13 seat for women in Goa state Legislative Assembly (TOI, 2023). Digamber Kamat talked about preparing women, changing parties' mindset prioritising women's representation and leadership and allowing them to get prepared for women's leadership until the women's reservation bill passes which may take 10 or 19 years (Herald, 2023). Whether this talk is just a show on media or the actual concern of women's representation we will get to know in 2027 during the time of the election. The issue of misusing the 33% reservation of women for the women of political family background remains a concern. On a grassroots level we could see these Sarpanch Paties acting on behalves of that patnies and the concern is that the same should not be happening on the State legislative assembly level where the wife, daughter and another family member of a male politician will seek entry using reservation (Herald, 2023; Barbosa, 2023).

In march 2024 BJP party has recommended the name of women candidate for South Goa parliament seat. On 25<sup>th</sup> March 2024 it was on news that BJP has given south Goa ticket to Pallavi Dempo and BJP first time picking women as a candidate for Lok Sabha. Thus BJP is trying to implement the 33% political reservation to women (Herald T. , 2024) (Times, 2024) (Shetye, 2024). But this again give rise to giving tickets and representation of those women belonging to elite family background.

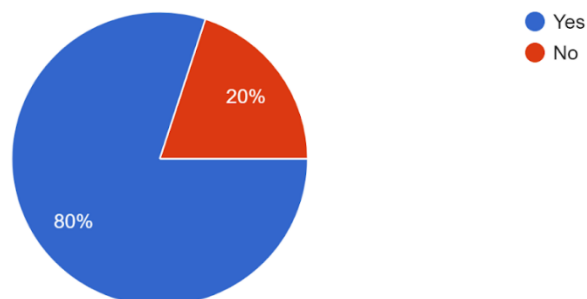
## **CHAPTER 4: PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN**

The survey questionnaire was conducted to gather fruitful insights from the women's respondents regarding the political representation of women in Goa. Questions were asked to get their views on why women according to them are not represented in the politics of Goa and Goa state legislative assembly. A total of 34 questions were asked from which 6 questions were on their background like educational qualification, Occupational Status, Category, Age, Religion and Annual Income. The remaining questions dwell into the core questions of the survey questionnaire starting with Awareness; where in questions were regarding their awareness on Women MLAs in Goa, Participation; this section is concerned regarding their interest in politics as well as general women interest and factor which facilitated or limited the participation of women in politics, Effectiveness; here the questions are based on the current scenario and how effective are women MLAs in Goa when it comes to administration and raising issues in the assembly and last section was on Enhancing Women's Political Representation; where in their views on how can we effectively increased the women participation were taken.

The Questionnaire was limited to women from Goa to get the data from women's points of view on what difficulties they face in their daily lives and what can be the reason behind the lack of representation of women in Goa. The total number of respondents was 125 from all over Goa including the North and South Districts. Respondents belong to different sections of society of different age groups, caste, religions, education qualifications, occupation and income

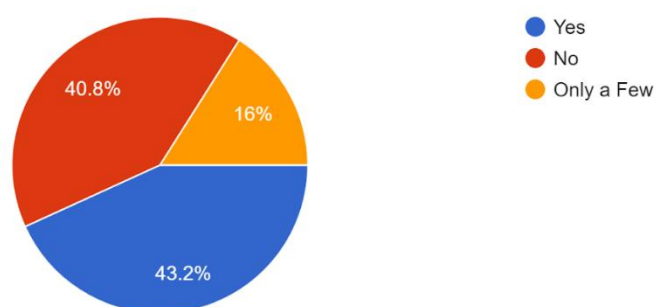
## 4.1 Awareness

**Figure 4.1: Are you aware of the women MLAs in Goa?**



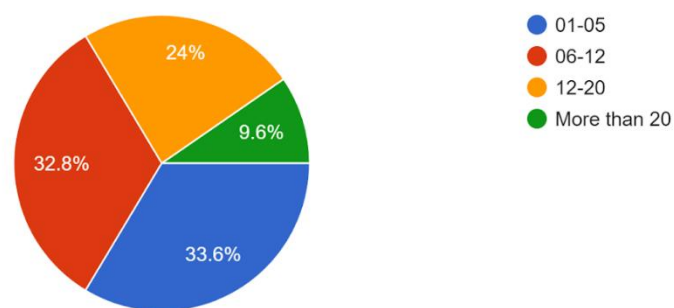
The above pie chart figure 4.1 indicates that 80% are aware of the women MLAs of Goa and only 20 % are not aware. Thus majority of respondents are aware of the women MLAs in Goa and very few are not aware.

**Figure 4.2: Do you know which party they belong to?**



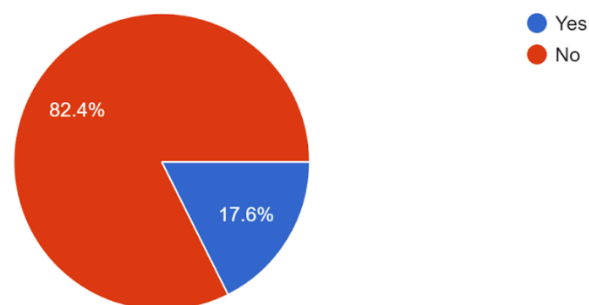
The above pie chart shows that only 43.2% knew which party the women MLA belonged to, 40.8% did not know and 16% of respondents said that they knew only a few parties that the women MLAs belonged to.

**Figure 4.3: How many women MLAs should be there in Goa?**



The above pie chart indicates the respondent's perspective on how many women MLAs should be there in Goa from which 33.6% said 01-05, 32.8% said 06-12, 24% said 12-20 and 9.6% responded said more than 20. Some people think that women are worthy of decision-making while some think that they have a lot of pride if they get the chance to be a leader.

**Figure 4.4: Have you ever met any women MLA of Goa?**

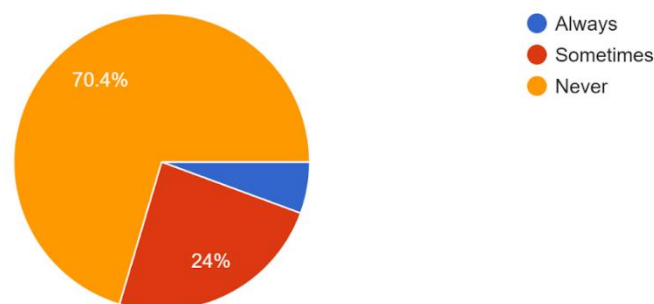


Only 17.6% have met women MLAs of Goa and the rest 82.4% have never met any women MLAs of Goa. This shows how many women MLAs mobilize among the citizens. Another reason for this is that there are not many women MLAs in Goa. Some constituencies never had the opportunity to have women MLA thus many people did not get the chance to meet any women MLA.



## 4.2 Participation

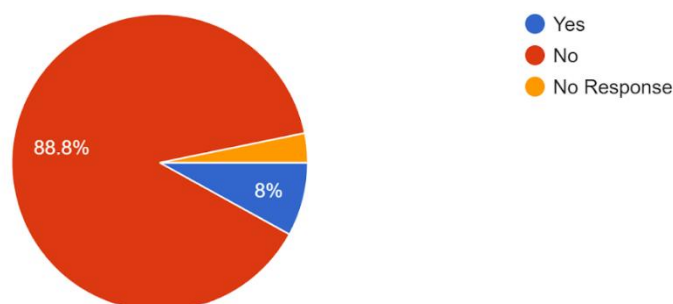
**Figure 4.5: How often have you participated in political campaigning during various elections?**



The main purpose of this section was to gather information on the amount of interest the women respondents have in participating in politics and their views of current women's participation and representation in the Goa State Legislative Assembly. Thus the questions aimed to find out the reason that promotes or limits women's representation in the Goa state legislative assembly. 70.4% of women never participated in political campaigning during elections, 24 % said they participated sometimes whereas 5.6% Always participated in the political campaign during elections. Thus the level of participation of women in political campaigning as well is very few.

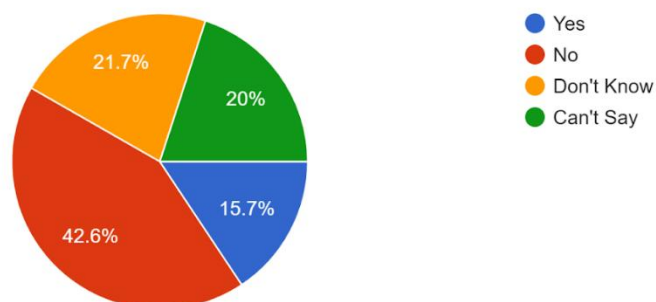
To get into detail regarding the level of participation of women respondents in politics, questions regarding their participation in elections or whether they have ever contested in the elections were asked. These questions were aimed to find out the level of interest among women in politics.

**Figure 4.6: Have you ever contested in any elections?**



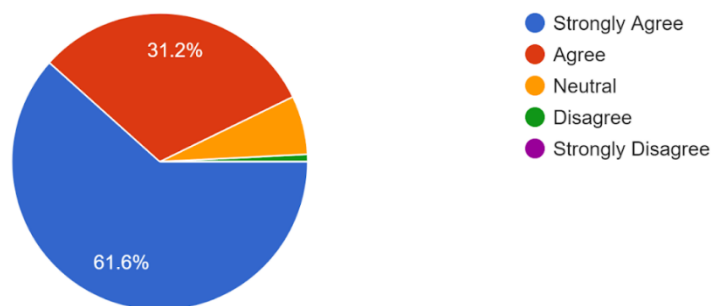
The majority of women respondents had never participated or contested in any kind of election in Goa. Only 8% of women respondents had participated in the election in Goa whereas the rest 88.8% of women responded that they never participated in the election and 3.2% gave No Response.

**Figure 4.7: If not, if you get the opportunity would you contest in the elections?**



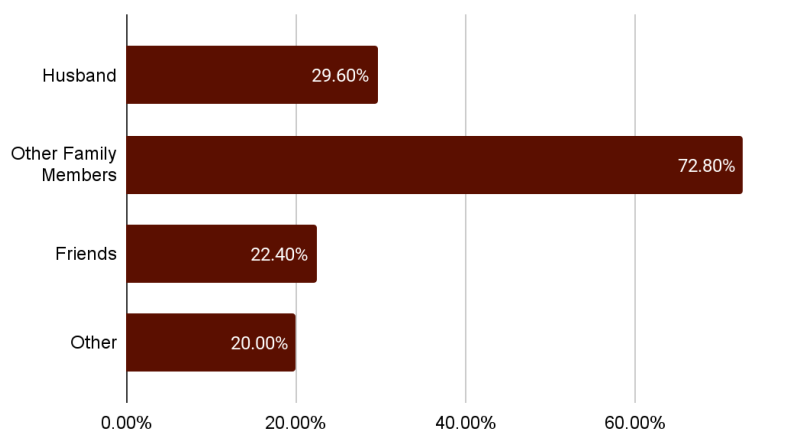
Although the majority of respondents 88.8% said that they never contested in any election 15% said that if they get the opportunity they will contest in elections, 42.6% said that they will not contest even if they get the opportunity, 21.7% said Don't Know and 20% said Can't Say.

**Figure 4.8: Should women take part in contesting election?**



Although women respondents themselves were not interested in contesting an election in the future, a majority of 61.6% of women strongly agree and 31.2% agree that women should take part in contesting an election, 6.4% said neutral and 0.8% disagree.

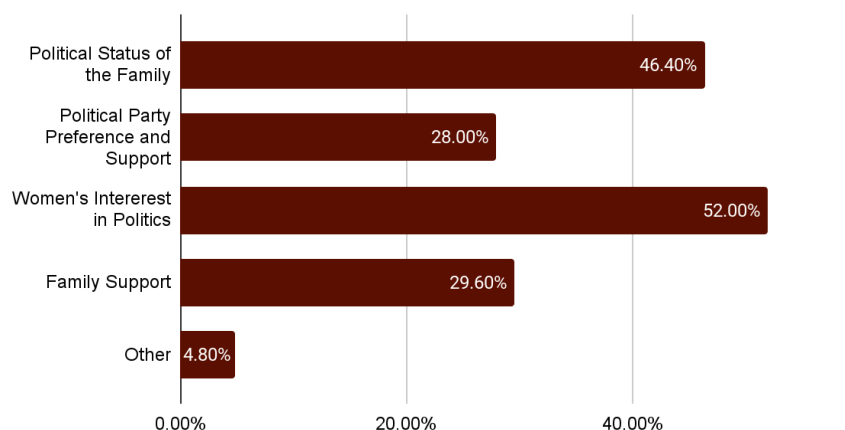
**Figure 4.9: To whom do you give credit for the victory of women MLAs in Goa?**



The above pie chart showcase people's perspectives on to whom they give credit for the victory of women MLAs in Goa, majority of 72.8% say that family is the reason behind their victory, 29.6% give credit to the Husband, 22.4% gave credit to friends and 20% said others; which include majority giving credit to voters and support from general public and few

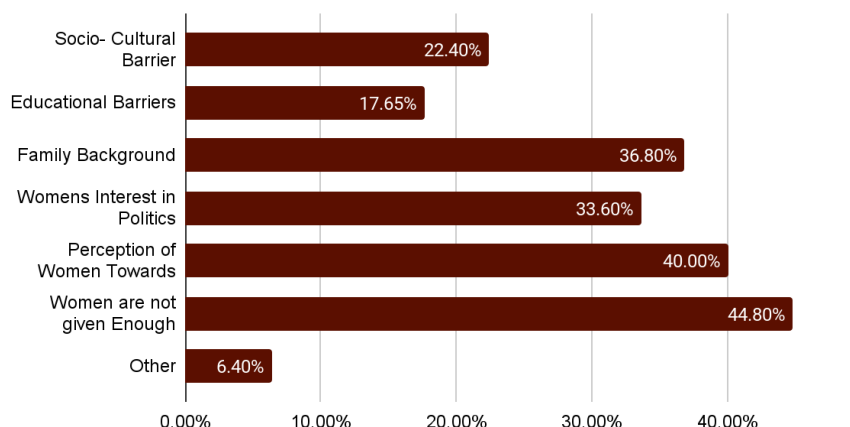
responses said due to the efforts of women contestant herself and also some credit was given to their relation with politician behind the victory of women MLAs.

**Figure 4.10: What are the factors promoting the representation of women in Goa?**



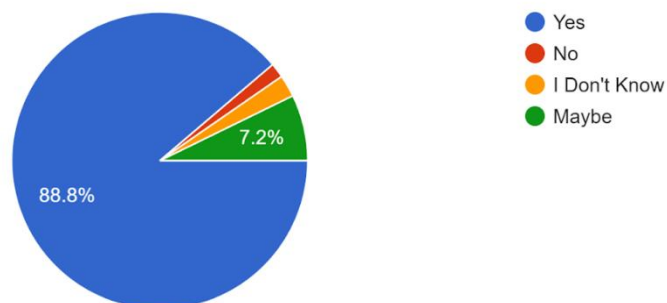
The graph above highlights the factors promoting the representation of women. According to the respondents, a majority of 52% say that women's interest in politics promotes their representation, while 46.40% says that the Political Status of the Family is one of the factors that promote the representation of women in politics, similarly 29.60% says family support, 28% says political party preferences and support and 4.80% other which include education, the role of husband, political reservation for women and well knowledge of political and economic domain and awareness.

**Figure 4.11: What are the Major Challenges for women's representation in Goa?**



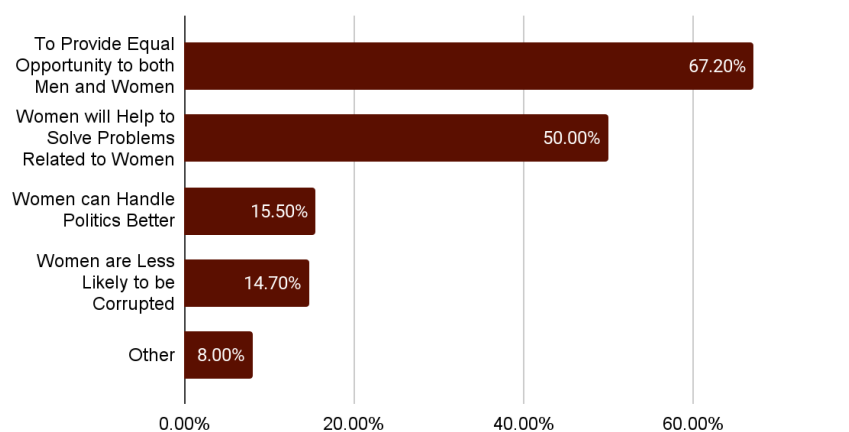
Major challenges for women's representation in Goa, 44.80% say that women are not given enough chance, 40%, on the other hand, say that it is the perception of women toward politics that limits their representation in politics, 36.80% said family background, 33.60% said women's interest in politics, 22.40% socio-cultural background, 17.65% Educational Barrier and 6.40% gave reasons like limited support of people to women due to their perception that women don't belong in politics, lack of party interest to support women, politics as a male domain, the dual burden on women of the private sphere which include handling family, Children and Household and public sphere that is politics, also some pointed out that some women are shy and scared to enter into politics.

**Figure 4.12: Would you like to see more representation of women in Goa state legislative assembly?**



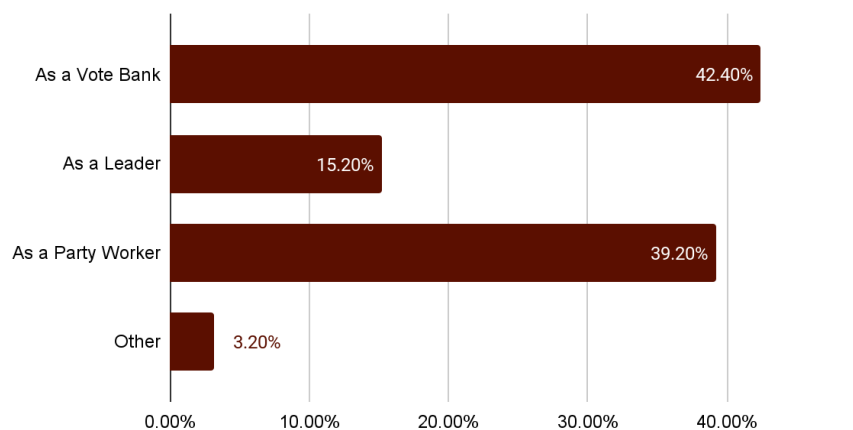
Thus majority of the respondents say that women are not given enough chance to enter into politics and would like to see more representation of women in the Goa state Legislative Assembly, that is 88.8% Responded Yes, only 1.6 % answered No, 2.4% Don't Know and 7.2% Maybe. Thus people do feel that there is a need for an increase in the representation of women in the Goa state Legislative Assembly of Goa and will appreciate more Women leaders or MLAs in Goa.

**Figure 4.13: If yes, why would you like to see more representation of women in Goa state Legislative Assembly?**



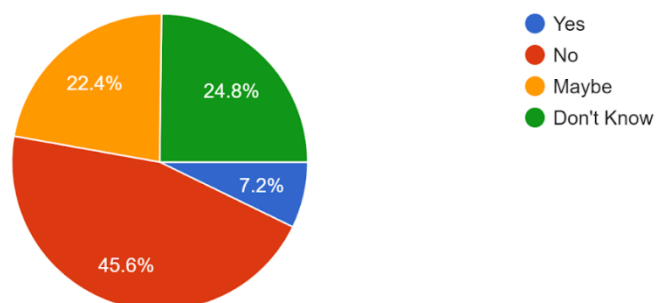
The reason why the respondent feels the need to increase the political representation of women in state legislative assembly is to provide equal opportunity to both men and women agreed by 67.20% of the respondents, and 50% feel that an increase in women's representation will help to solve problem-related to women, 15.50% feels that women can handle politics better, 14.70 said women are less likely to be corrupted and 8.00% other responses.

**Figure 4.14: According to you how do political parties look at women in politics?**



According to the chart above majority of 42.40% of respondents think that political parties look at women as a vote bank in politics, 39.20% said as a party worker whereas only 15.20% said that political parties look at women as a leader and 3.20% other.

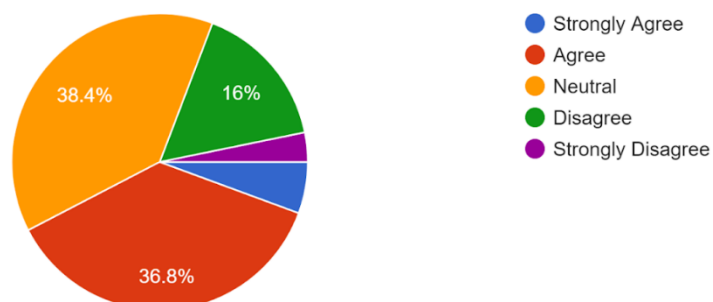
**Figure 4.15: Do you think that political parties fairly distribute the tickets to women in Goa?**



Similarly, 45.6% of respondents feel that political parties do not fairly distribute tickets to women in Goa whereas only 7.2% said that political parties do fairly distribute tickets to women, 22.4% said Maybe and 24.8% Don't Know. This turns out to be one of the factors why women are not represented in politics and contributes to a major challenge to women's representation in Goa. In this case, respondents do feel that political parties are not fair while distributing tickets to women in Goa.

### 4.3 Effectiveness

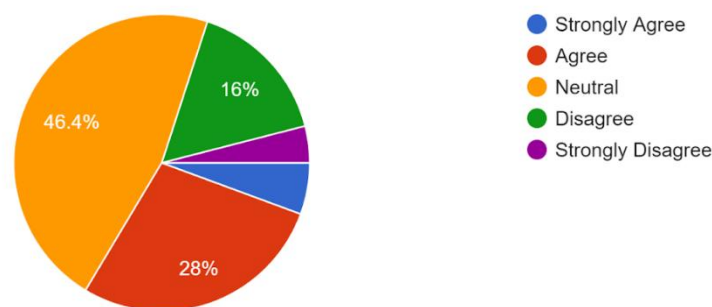
**Figure 4.16: Do you think women MLAs are adequately addressing issues in the assembly?**





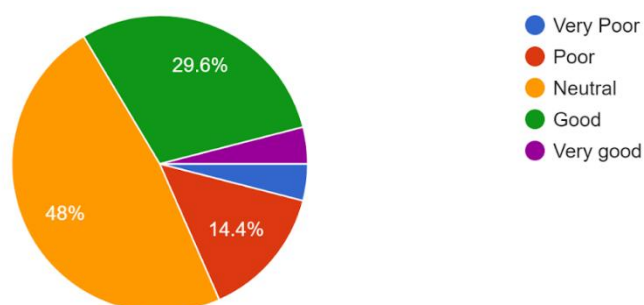
The above chart highlights the people's opinion on the effectiveness of women MLA in Goa's administration. 36.8% of the respondents agreed and 5.6% strongly agreed that women MLAs are adequately addressing issues in the assembly, on the other hand, 16% disagreed and 3.2% strongly disagreed about the same and the remaining 38.4% were neutral. Thus majority of the respondents do feel that women are working and discussing or addressing the issues in the assembly. Only a few people believe that women are not addressing their issues in the assembly.

**Figure 4.17: Do you think the women MLAs have solved the women's issue in Goa?**



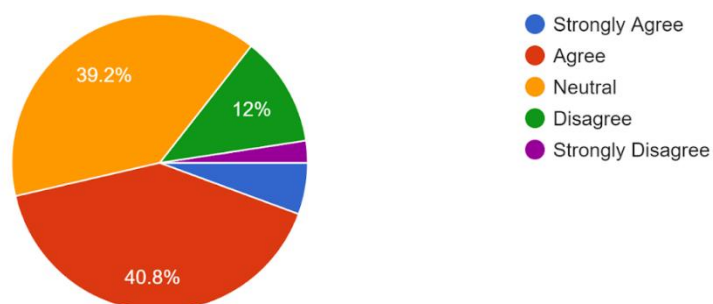
This pie charts indicates whether women MLAs have solved the women's issues in Goa to which 28% Agreed, 5.6% strongly agreed, 4% strongly disagreed, 16% disagreed and 46.4% were neutral. This states that when it comes to addressing issues in assembly respondents agreed on it but regarding solving women's issues people's agreement is less.

**Figure 4.18: How will you rate the overall performance of women MLAs in Goa?**



With regards to the overall performance of the women MLAs in Goa, 4% said very poor and very good, 29.6% said Good, 14.4% Poor and 48% Neutral.

**Figure 4.19: Do you think that women MLAs work for the development of women in Goa?**



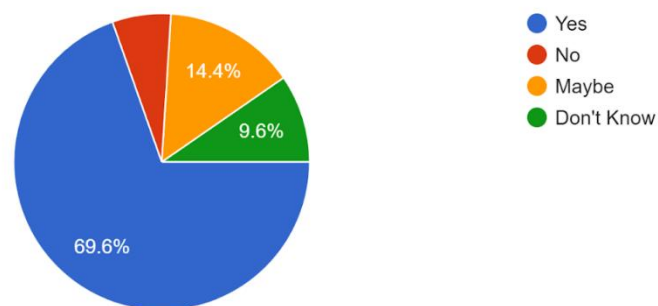
Similarly, 40.8% agree, 5.6% strongly agree, 12% disagree, 2.4% strongly disagree and 39.3% were neutral on whether women MLAs work for the development of women in Goa

Thus slightly confusing responses have been gathered when it comes to women MLAs addressing issues in assembly, solving women's issues, their overall performance and working for the development of women. where people do feel that women are addressing the

issues in the assembly and working for the development of women in Goa but similar positivity has not been found on women's overall performance and women MLA solving women's issue.

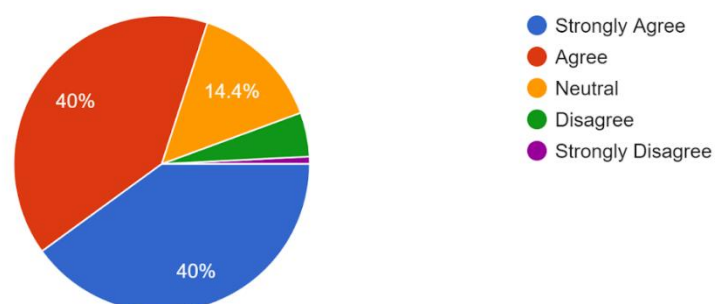
#### 4.4 Enhancing Women's political representation

**Figure 4.20: Should there be any laws, or policies for the increasing women's representation?**



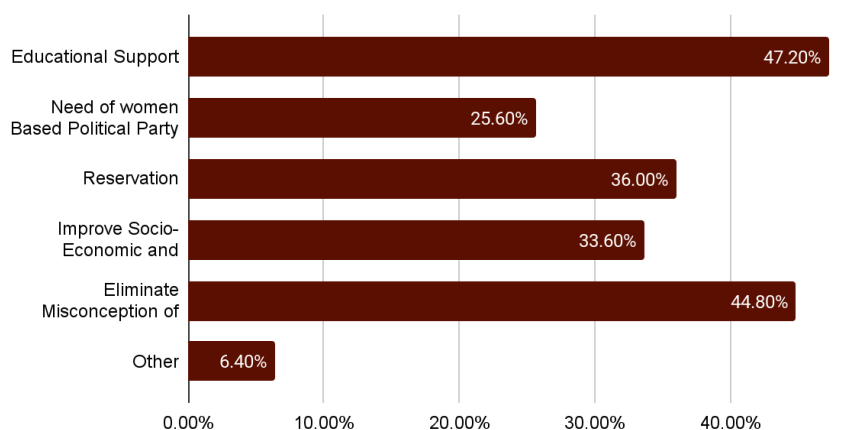
This pie chart showcases that 69.6% of the respondents said that there should be laws or policies for increasing women's representation of women, 6.4% said No, 14.4% said Maybe and 9.6% said Don't know. Thus the majority of respondents do feel the need to increase the representation of women and believe that there should be laws and policies to make it successful.

**Figure 4.21: Do you think political reservation for women is important?**



The same opinion is in the case of the reservation where 80% support the reservation of women and think that it is important for women's representation that is 40%-40% agree and strongly agree on the importance of reservation for women, 14.4% are neutral, 4.8% disagree and 0.8% strongly disagree for the reservation

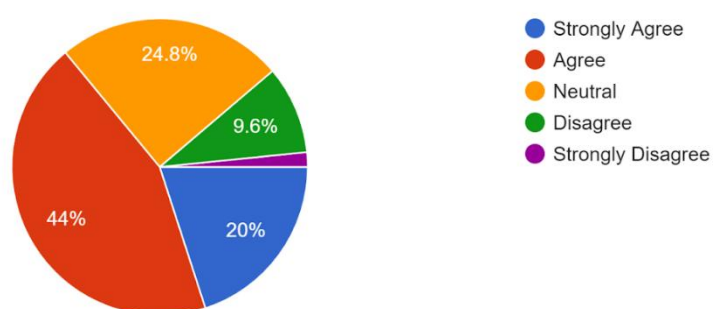
**Figure 4.22: What are the ways to improve the strength of women's representation in Goa?**



Remedies to increase women's representation according to the respondents are educational support agreed by 47.20%, 44.80% highlighted the need to eliminate misconceptions of women toward politics, 36% support reservation, 33.60% felt the need to improve socio-

economic and cultural background, 25.60% highlighted the need of women based political party and 6.40% said other which include eliminating gender base discrimination, making women aware and increase their active interest in state affairs and governance and some responded that women don't need anybody and should work by themselves and take steps to make recognition in the politics and to people.

**Figure 4.23: Do you think increasing women's representation will solve the problem related to women?**



The above pie chart indicates whether increasing women's representation will solve the problems related to women to which 44% responded that they agree and 20% strongly agree. Only 9.6% disagree 1.6% strongly disagree regarding the same and 24.8% are Neutral.

## 4.5 Case Study

This case study is based on the interview taken of women Sarpanch, a Candidate contested for the assembly election, a former MLA, and ZP and a collective perspective of Sarpanch has also been included. The case study aims to get first-hand data on the journey of females to entry into politics. A total of 9 interviews were taken to include in the case study.

### **1. Mrs. Sapna Mapari – Sarpanch**

Mrs. Sapna Mapari was a Sarpanch who served for 4 terms in the Panchayat and currently is in the position of deputy Sarpanch. The Journey of Mrs. Sapna Mapari in the Panchayat as a Sarpanch started 22 years ago with the influence of her family members and villagers. According to the interviewee only because of the reservation at the grass-roots level women are represented in politics and the same is expected for the state legislative assembly. She says that women should fill out the form and contest for election even if the reservation is not provided because women are equally capable as men. Women are the one during elections who are capable of choosing good candidates without getting influenced, during the time of campaigning women can be seen in the maximum number as party workers. Especially women who are under the self-help group and Samaj Seva gather all the knowledge regarding the candidate before voting in the election with no influence of their husbands.

While sharing her journey into politics she mentioned that her father was a Sarpanch, Deputy Sarpanch and Panch for 20 years and after marriage, her husband was also involved in panchayat as Sarpanch, Deputy Sarpanch and Panch. The reason that motivated or influenced her to contest for elections is her villagers. While narrating her story and the process of getting involved in grass hood level politics she said that the elderly people of her villagers were the ones who used to decide who should be contesting the election, similarly that year itself was the year when the panchayat seat was reserved for women, so the village elders decided and tried to encourage her to contest for the panchayat election. But due to family burdens as her children were very young she rejected the proposal. Further, the village elders asked her father to convince her to contest for election and her father was successful in doing so. Thus for 2 terms, she got elected under the reservation and for 3 terms General. She humbly also mentioned that till she is capable of decision making and leading the society she will continue contesting for election. When the interviewee was asked regarding her interest

in contesting in the state legislative assembly election her response was positive, if she gets the chance she will surely contest for the state legislative assembly election as she is very much interested in doing so. To get a deeper insight the same hypothetical question was asked regarding which party she would join if she was contesting for the State Legislative Assembly election, her response was BJP as at present she is a supporter of BJP and she would like to do so in the future.

Reflecting on her experience she believed that reservation at the panchayat level has helped to get entry into politics thus reservation will play a very important role in the political representation of women, especially for those women who are new to the system. During the interview, she shared her experience and the challenges she faced during the election and as a Sarpanch. The main challenge as a woman in politics is the dual burden of the family that is the private and public sectors that is politics. Adjustment and managing both public and private life was most challenging as her children were small but due to family support and their help, it got easier. According to her 10 years back women were not interested in contesting for election due to fear, but if someone gave them a chance they will contest, but today that's not the case majority of women are interested in contesting elections.

Political party and their role in elections are also very important, according to the interviewee at present BJP is the one that supports women's representation in politics through reservation as they mentioned about providing 33% reservation to women in future that is 14 seats reserved for women. She also gave the example of the BJP representing women in South Goa for the Lok Sabha Election.

She believes that women are very much capable of representing in politics, she justified this statement by mentioning that women have better management capacity because women are great at house management thus same way women can handle the state better because she is

experienced in doing so. Women will work for women, women know what people need and regarding politics due to their own experience in house management thus through all these observations women will work more than men.

To conclude, one of the reason why the interviewee enter into politics is due to her political family background, the response provided by the interviewee highlights the need of reservation and regarding the dual burden of public and private sphere.

## **2. Mrs. Diksha Kandolkar – Current ZP**

Mrs Diksha Kandolkar is currently serving as a ZP for a second term and was a Sarpanch for 1 term and 1 term deputy Sarpanch. She is a President of Goa Panchayat Mahila Shakti Abhiyan and Vice President of North Goa. Her internet and support from MLA made her enter into politics. According to her women and men and equal and share equal rights, during elections. Based on her experience people view their work and then judge whether the particular individual is a party worker or a leader.

Her journey started as a Sarpanch and currently as a ZP for two terms, all this happen due to her internet in politics and will like to continue if she gets people's support and the party allows it because according to her their decision matters. Similarly, if she got support from the party and the people she would be very much interested in contesting the state legislative assembly election in the future under the BJP party because she has been a follower and supporter of the same for a long time. Appreciating the work of the BJP party and CM Pramod Sawant she mentioned the 14 seats or 33% of seats which the BJP party has decided to reserve for women in the future as a step to let them involved in politics. She also mentioned that during meetings and campaigns as well women are asked to participate in the campaigning to somehow get them involved in political activities.



When asked about the 1/3 seat reservation in the panchayat she expressed the advantage she received to get the seat as a Sarpanch in the panchayat because she did not belong to any political background and only due to the 1/3 seat reservation along with people's support she was elected as a Sarpanch. Interviewee also discussed the challenges she encountered, including misunderstanding of people when it comes to projects brought by central but due to lack of knowledge, all the blame gets on the elected member. The opposition is the one who creates this misunderstanding and puts the blame on the ruling government. The interviewee did not specifically share any challenges she faced as a woman during the election as she got support from people during the term of Sarpanch and support from MLA for the post of ZP which made it much easier.

According to interviewee's perspective, women should know to talk because that is what is important when it comes to politics. Women who don't contest elections are either shy, scared or have a fear of talking in front of people. Freely talking and participating in discussions are the main qualities of leadership. According to her some women are interested in politics and some are not interested.

Diksha Kandolkar highlighted that today majority of women are educated and know everything. There are chances for the future that representation of women in politics might improve. One of the advantages of that is women will work for women, through her experience women know what other women need and thus they will work for the development of other women in society.

### **3. Mrs Kavita Kandolkar– Candidate of assembly election and current ZP**

Mrs. Kavita Kandolkar was a candidate who contested the state assembly election in the year 2022 but lost by a very close margin, currently she serves as a ZP at Tivim constituency and

this interview was taken to take her insight as a female candidate contesting for the state legislative assembly election. Mrs. Kavita Kandolkar is a wife of a politician who was an ex-MLA who at present has not been elected to any constituency. According to the interviewee for a woman to contest an election needs strong family support, and support from her husband, children and people. Women should recognise their abilities because even if women are equal to men women should be given enough chances to go further. Women are very knowledgeable and historically we have seen women leaders in India. Thus according to her women are capable of being leaders and they can equally work as a man in politics. Men and women are equal and should be given equal chances.

Discussing regarding her journey and experience she gives credit to her family, children, party workers and villagers for supporting her in that process along with her husband. Her husband is a politician and thus she knows about the system and is familiar with the process because her husband's relationship with other members and party workers as he belongs to the same field and knows a lot of people, it made the process easy for her. Similarly, if she gets the chance again with people's support she would like to continue contesting for election in the future.

While discussing the party and their role in women's representation interviewee mentioned that if women are interested they do not need any party support because they can stand as independent candidates, she further gave the example of her standing as an independent candidate for the ZP election and even got elected. The only difficulty she faced during elections was from dissatisfied people who blamed and complained to new candidates contesting the election. Those people whose work did not happen last time are the only ones who were criticised and that criticism was challenging for the interviewee.

According to the interviewee, women are very much interested in politics, the only thing that they need is chance, support and a ticket. If they get the chance, support and ticket they will contest for the election. Thus it is not the lack of interest of women that is limiting their participation in politics rather it is the lack of chance, support and willingness to give tickets that restricts their participation in politics.

Regarding 33% reservation interviewee highlighted that currently BJP is taking a stand on the lack of representation of women through 33% reservation. Critically highlighting the issue of such reservation the interview mentioned that such kind of reservation will be only helpful if the reservation is provided to women from non-political backgrounds. It will be helpful only if ordinary women from non-political backgrounds get the chance or will use the 33% reservation, not the one who comes from elite families, accordingly she gave an example of the current representation of women from south Goa coming from the Dempe family. Similarly, she also mentioned that women's representation will increase only if a 33% reservation is applied and the outcome will be also good as in the past we had a woman political leader, Shashikala Kakodkar, who was a great leader.

#### **4. Mrs. Sangeeta Parab – Former MLA**

Mrs. Sangeeta Parab is a former MLA who stood for elections 5 times from 1989 to 2007, 3 times under the Indian National Congress Party, 2 times Independent and won once in 1994. According to the interviewee political representation of women is very important for the democracy of India. She says that women are no weak than men, they are equality strong and brave, thus women are equal to men, we cannot say that she is subordinate to any male in society and women should go ahead and take steps to prove themselves. But the sad mentality of society is that only men belong to politics, politics is something that only men can handle

and women do not belong in it, and this is what limits the representation of women in politics. Through the interview, the interviewee highlighted the need for the will and interest of women in the election, those who win the elections because of their own will are very few and very few get the chance to do it but those who win through reservation cannot be seen after few elections because they lack the will power and get elected due to the reservation, in this statement she especially focused on the grass hood level elections. While discussing women's role during elections interviewee mainly focused on male influence on women's decisions during the election, in the family what men say women do when it comes to voting and electing a candidate but in democratic country women should have their own opinions and make their own decision on whom to vote and who is a good leader for the society instead of getting influence by a male member of the society. She also added that women during elections are only looked at as a party worker.

During the interview, Mrs. Sangeeta Parab shared her experience and journey into politics, the reason why she entered politics and contested for the assembly election was because of her willpower and interest in politics, her children were small at that time but she had great family support. Similarly, her husband was Sarpanch and she helped him in his process and get to know how politics works thus getting interested in politics and herself contesting in the Goa state assembly elections.

Reflecting on her experience she does not feel that any political party works for the development of women into politics or supports the entry of women into politics. Political Parties only give tickets if they know for sure that the women candidate will get the stuffiest vote to win the election and not because she is capable of contesting the election. The one who manages to impress or influence the political party in their favour will be only provided with the tickets. She believes that political parties don't believe in women. Further expressing her criticism of political parties she shared her own experience. Mrs. Sangeeta Parab

belonged to the Indian National Congress party and always used to arguing with her opposition leader Ramakant Khalap but at the end of the day, Ramakant Khalap joined the same party which made her very dissatisfied with the party's decision. According to her this kind of party decisions disappoints the candidate and makes them feel less interested in the elections. When asked about her struggle and challenges as a woman during elections she mentioned that she did not face any kind of challenges during the election because she was ready for all of them. She knew what kind of challenges would come her way thus she was all prepared for it, rather she was the one who was stronger during campaigning than any other male member. Throughout the interview the interviewee focused on how women are interested in politics, she does not believe that the lack of political representation of women in the Goa state legislative assembly is due to their lack of interest in politics, rather she feels that women are interested but they need support to go further. They are only looked at as a party worker. People rather men don't want women to grow, they are scared that women will go ahead and be more powerful than men and thus find the need to make us silent. Especially the male candidate doesn't want women to be successful in politics because if that happens their chance of getting the ticket will be less. Women will take a share in the tickets. Thus continuing the same argument, she talks about reservation and why till today reservation of women in state legislative assembly has not become possible, those are men who don't want to give what they have to women, if women get 33% reservation women will take away one of the constituency that they have in their hands. Men don't want their constituency should be reserved for women. The interviewee agreed with the statement provided during the interview regarding the fact that there are 50% women and 50% men in the society there why there are only 33% reservations for women rather than 50% reservations. Looking ahead interviewee discussed that the status of political representation of women will only improve

because of reservation or else the same will continue in the future because men want their control over politics and don't want women to get involved in it.

The response provided by the interviewee shed light on the importance of women in the election to maintain the democracy of the state at the same time highlighting the sad reality of male dominance in the politics and criticising male for not supporting women, for looking down at them and not wanting and giving them chance to enter in politics. To conclude interviewee criticise men and political parties saying that they are the ones who don't want women in politics and don't want women to get powerful.

## **5. Collective Perspectives of Sarpanch**

These responses are the collective perspective of the Sarpanch taken into the form of an interview. Across the interviews with the 5 Sarpanch, their views on the political representation of women remain the same. They believed that for democracy equal representation of women in politics is very important and women should stand for elections and should be given a chance because women are not inferior to men and are equally capable of decision-making. One of the Sarpanch pointed out that society treats women inferior to men especially when it comes to politics but that's not true, like men women should also get a sufficient chance into politics. One of the common reasons why these 5 Sarpanch stood for election was due to villagers and voters, villagers convinced them to stand for the election from which some were interested in contesting the election and some were not but due to the influence of villagers, they decided to give it a try.

Pooling insights from the interviews with the Sarpanch, it was evident that one of the factors that challenged them the most was the dual burden of private and public sphere. Handling both family and children as well and politics become a bit challenging and due to this reason,

few were interested in continuing it in the future. To gather a deep understanding regarding women's interest in politics the question was asked whether they ever thought of contesting the assembly election and to which the majority of them said no due to the dual burden of public and private, lack of interest and also because it is a big platform, unlike panchayat. According to the Sarpanch, lack of family support and responsibility in the household work are the reasons why women lack representation in politics. Women are educated and can work for better changes the only thing that they need is enough support and encouragement.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION**

To conclude, the findings of this study provide valuable insights into the idea of political representation of women in Goa. Through the combination of research, questionnaire survey, and interview several findings have emerged based on the objectives of the study that is to study the importance of political representation of women, to study the status of women's representation in the politics of Goa from 1963 to 2022 in legislative assembly, To study people's perspective on women's representation in Goa, To study factor influencing the effectiveness of political representation of women in Goa and To suggest steps for improvement of women's representation in Goa. The finding supports the hypothesis that Women are not adequately represented in the decision-making politics of Goa due to multiple challenges and Women's Representation in politics is heavily influenced by their Social background.

First and the second chapter contain the literature review, theoretical framework and historical background which explains the concept and evolution of political representation and the importance of political representation of women. Elections and political representation are the backbone of democracy without which no country can be truly claim to be democratic. It is important to have an equal representation of men and women to achieve true democracy. Thus one of the importance of political representation of women is to maintain equality between men and women and equal opportunity which is a necessity of a democracy. Similarly, women understand the struggle that other women go through and the need of women leaders become important to address those issues. Equal political representation of men and women will ensure that all the sections of the society are included in the developmental agenda. Instead of focusing only on military or other developmental,



other issues which men fails to consider will also give equal attention such as social care. Therefore, we cannot overlook the need of increase political representation of women.

Third chapter includes the overview of political representation of women in Goa from 1663-2022, it was revealed that only 5% of women have ever contested for state legislative assembly election of Goa and the rest 95% are men this means that political representation of women in state legislative assembly of Goa is extremely low not even reaching 10% of the representation, let alone the ideal 50%. In fact, for almost six decades, from 1963 to 2022, only around 140 women have contested the election of state assembly whereas when it comes to men more than 2000 men have contested the assembly election. Even the fewer number are of those who won the election and got elected as MLAs. The first and the only Female CM of Goa was Shashikala Kakodkar in the year 1967 who had a political family background. Findings also reflect that in the years 1972, 1980, and 1984 Goa state legislative assembly was dominated by men with not a single female MLA. The majority of women who represented and got elected in the Goa state legislative assembly belong to a political family background whose husbands, fathers, or other family members are politicians or ex-politicians. This reflects how the social background of women is important when it comes to their representation in politics.

Chapter four analysis the data gathered from questionnaire survey which revealed notable insights on respondent's perceptions of the political representation of women in Goa. When it comes to awareness majority of respondents were aware of the women MLA, their constituencies, and the party they belong to but when it comes to respondents' participation in political campaigning or elections majority of them never participated or contested in any elections and were not interested to do so in the future. They support women's participation in the election and women's representation in the Goa state legislative assembly but themselves don't want to get involved in politics or elections. According to the respondents

increasing women's representation in Goa legislative assembly is important to provide equal opportunity to both men and women, similarly increase women representation will also help to solve problems related to women. Majority of the respondents also criticised the political parties for not fairly distributing the tickets to the women and considering them just as a voter and party worker.

When it comes to factor influencing the effectiveness of political representation of women in Goa, majority of the respondents give credit to the family member behind the victory of women MLA, similar response has also been gathered through the case study where in the interviewees give credit to their family member for their support. With regards to factors promoting representation of women in Goa women's interest and political status of the family is considered to be the main factor. Similar major challenges which limit their representation in politics is because women are not given enough chance, due to their perception regarding politics and family background act as a barrier against their representation. This shows that the support of the family member and having a good family background is important to promote the representation of women. Therefore, women from the political background get more chance in the politics. This indicates that women's social background influence the representation of women.

Chapter 4 also includes the case study based on interviews conducted of Sarpanch, ZP, Candidate of assembly election and former MLA, it was found that when it comes to Sarpanch, reservation has helped them a lot to get the entry into politics. Family support and support from the villagers also helped them to contest the election. Another factor that motivated or influence them was the knowledge of politics through their husband and fathers who were politicians or Sarpanch. Due to the relationship with political background family, it was easy for them to enter into politics. Similarly, their interest in politics has also been a very important factor. It is worth noting that views and responses gathered from the

interviewee who were well experience in the politics and of those who only contested once or are new are very different. Interviewee who had experience in politics were very much interested in continuing their work in politics and even were interested in contesting state assembly election if got a chance. But the remaining interviewee, especially Sarpanch who did not have much experience did not want to do so, one of the reason was that it was difficult to take care of a family along with politics and secondly legislative assembly is a big platform unlike panchayat so it was bit challenges and scary. This different point of view from the interviewee arrived mainly due to their social background and family background. Most of those who were experienced in politics comes from politically active background of either husband or father being the politician at assembly or grassroots level whereas those who gave opposite responses were new to the politics with no such background. When it came to the challenges faced by them, one of the core challenges was the dual burden of family, children, and politics.

Findings gathered by questionnaire survey and interviews it is revealed that women indeed are interested in politics but what restrict them is their social background and family support. Patriarchal role of society has given the women the responsibility to manage the household and family and men to manage the public sector, but now when it comes to including women into the public sphere they have to handle both family and politics, this dual burden makes it difficult for women to represent into politics. Thus many responses stated that it is family which is the reason behind the women victory. If the family is supportive and provide help to handle the household, it removed that part of burden from the women's head and can freely contest in the election. This clears that social background of the women plays a very important role to influence women to enter into politics. If women come from good and wealthy social background she has less responsibility of handling and managing the household work and can participate or represent freely into the politics. Thus women with

political or elite family background are the one who actually participate in the elections. Hence, even if a woman is interested in politics their social background plays a very important role in their representation. Women need support and should give enough chance to get an entry into politics.

Based on the findings, the path to improve the women's representation in Goa is providing the women with educational support and eliminating the misconception of women towards politics that politics only belong to men. The idea that politics is exclusively for men is the primary reason behind the underrepresentation of women in elections. Thus, the first step should be to eliminate those misconceptions. According to the responses and interviews it is revealed that reservation plays a very important role in promoting women's representation. A significant number of Sarpanch gives credit to the 1/3% reservation for their entry into politics. Therefore, reservation can be a powerful tool to facilitate the representation of women in the Goa legislative assembly.

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## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire for General Public

Greetings Sir/Ma'am,

I am **Pratali Premanand Kambli** pursuing MA degree in Political Science at Goa University. As a part of my dissertation on "Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice". Responses of the people are valuable to my study. Requesting your valuable time to answer some question related to the above topic. I assure you that whatever information is collected from you will be kept confidential and only will be used for academic purpose.

Request for your kind cooperation.

1-Name of the Respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

2-Address of Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_

#### BACKGROUND

1. Educational Qualification
 

a. Primary	b. Secondary	c. Higher secondary
d. Graduate	e. Post Graduate	f. Other
2. Occupational Status
 

a. Service	b. Business	
c. Housewife	d. Student	e. Other
3. Category:
 

a. SC	b. ST	c. OBC	d. General
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4. Age:
 

a. 18-28	b. 29-39	c. 40- 50	d. 51 years and above
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5. Income:
 

a. Below 1 lacks	b. 1 Lacks to 3 Lacks	c. 3 Lacks to 6 lacks
d. above 10 lacks	e. 6 Lacks to 10 Lacks	f. above 10 Lacks
6. Religion:
 

a. Hindu	b. Christian	c. Muslim	d. Others
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## Questionnaire

### Awareness

1. Are you aware about the women MLA's in Goa?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
2. Do you know how many women MLA's are there in Goa legislative assembly?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
3. Have you ever met any women MLA of Goa?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
4. If yes, can you name them and their constituency?
5. Do you know which party the above belongs to?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. only few
6. How many women MLA should be there in Goa state legislative assembly?
  - a. 1- 05
  - b. 06-12
  - c. 12-20
  - d. more than 20

### Participation

7. How often have you participated in political campaigning during various election?
  - a. Always
  - b. Sometimes
  - c. Never
8. Have you ever contested in any election?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. No Response
9. If not, if you got the opportunity will you participate in election?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't Know
  - d. Can't Say
10. Should women take part in contesting election?
  - a. Strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. Neutral
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly Disagree
11. To whom do you give credit for the victory of women MLA's in Goa?
  - a. Husband
  - b. Family
  - c. Friends
  - d. Other

12. What are the factors promoting representation of women in Goa?
- Political Status of the Family
  - Political Party Preference and Support
  - women's interest in politics
  - Family Support
  - Other
13. How would you rate the level of interest among women in politics?
- Very Low
  - Low
  - Neutral
  - High
  - Very High
14. What are the major challenges for women's representation in Goa?
- Socio-Cultural Barrier
  - Educational Barriers
  - Family Background
  - Interest in Politics
  - Perception of Women Towards Politics
  - Women are not given enough chance
  - Other
15. Would you like to see more representation of women in the Goa state legislative assembly?
- Yes
  - No
  - I Don't Know
  - Maybe
16. If yes, why you like to see more representation of women in Goa state Legislative Assembly
- To provide equal opportunity to both Men and women
  - women will help to solve problem related to women
  - Women can handle politics better
  - women are less likely to be corrupted
  - Other
17. According to you how do political parties look at the women in politics?
- As a vote bank
  - As a leader
  - As a party worker
  - Other
18. Do you think that political party fairly distribute the tickets to women in Goa?
- Yes
  - No

### Effectiveness

19. Do you think women MLA's are adequately addressing issues in the assembly?  
a. Strongly agree   b. agree   c. Neutral   d. Disagree   e. Strongly Disagree
20. Do you think the women MLA's have solved the women issue in Goa?  
a. Strongly agree   b. agree   c. Neutral   d. Disagree   e. Strongly Disagree
21. How will you rate the overall performance of women MLA's in Goa?  
a. Very poor                      b. Poor                      C. Neutral  
c. Good                      e. Very Good
22. Do you think that women MLA's work for the development of women in Goa?  
a. Strongly agree   b. agree   c. Neutral   d. Disagree   e. Strongly Disagree

### Enhancing women's political representation

23. Should there be any laws, policies for increasing the women's representation?  
a. Yes                      b. No                      c. Maybe                      d. Don't know
24. Do you think political reservation to women is important?  
a. Strongly agree   b. agree   c. Neutral   d. Disagree   e. Strongly Disagree
25. What are the ways to improve the strength of women's representation in Goa?  
a. educational support  
b. Need of women base political party  
c. Reservation  
d. Improve socio-economic and Cultural background  
e. Eliminate misconception of women towards politics  
f. Other
26. Do you think increasing women representation will solve the women problems?  
a. Strongly agree   b. agree   c. Neutral   d. Disagree   e. Strongly Disagree

## Appendix 2

### Questionnaire for Candidate and former MLA

Greetings Sir/Ma'am,

I am **Pratali Premanand Kambli** pursuing MA degree in Political Science at Goa University. As a part of my dissertation on "Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice". Responses of the people are valuable to my study. Requesting your valuable time to answer some question related to the above topic. I assure you that whatever information is collected from you will be only used for academic purpose.

Request for your kind cooperation.

1-Name of the Respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

2-Address of Respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

### Questions

1. What are your views on political representation of women in Goa state Legislative Assembly?
2. Do you think representation of women is important for democracy?
3. According to you what is the role of women during election?
4. What motivated or influenced you to contest for the election?
5. Would you like to continue in the Future?
6. Do you think political parties are interested in taking women as a candidate?
7. Why did you join ----- Party? Do you think this particular party promote women candidates?
8. As a women candidate what challenges you face during election
9. According to you why majority of women are not contesting in state legislative assembly election?
10. Which party or leader stood for women's representation
11. How do you look at 33% reservation, does it really require?
12. Do you think women representation might improve in the future and will it make better changes in the society?

### Appendix 3

#### Questionnaire for Sarpanch

Greetings Sir/Ma'am,

I am **Pratali Premanand Kambli** pursuing MA degree in Political Science at Goa University. As a part of my dissertation on "Idea of Political Representation of Women in Goa: Interface between Theory and Practice". Responses of the people are valuable to my study. Requesting your valuable time to answer some question related to the above topic. I assure you that whatever information is collected from you will only be used for academic purpose.

Request for your kind cooperation.

1-Name of the Respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

2-Address of Respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

#### Questions

1. What are your views on political representation of women in Goa state Legislative Assembly?
2. Do you think representation of women is important for democracy?
3. According to you what is the role of women during election?
4. What motivated or influenced you to contest for the election?
5. Would you like to continue in the Future?
6. Have you ever thought of contesting assembly election? Why?
7. Which party will you prefer?
8. 1/3 seat reservation has helped you in any way?
9. As a women candidate what challenges you face during election
10. According to you why majority of women are not contesting in state legislative assembly election?
11. Do you think political party are interested in taking women as a candidate?
12. Do you think women representation might improve in the future and will it make better changes in the society?

### Appendix 4

#### List of Women Candidate in General Election to Legislative Assembly of Goa from 1963-2022

Sr.No	Year	Constituency	Name	Party	Result	Votes
1.	<b>1963</b>	Mormugao	Urminda Mascarenhas	UGP	<b>Won</b>	--
2.		--	--	--	--	--
3.		--	--	--	--	--
4.		--	--	--	--	--
5.		--	--	--	--	--
6.		--	--	--	--	--
7.		--	--	--	--	--
8.	<b>1967</b>	Ponda	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	MAG	<b>Won</b>	76.66%
9.		Benaulim	Elu Miranda	UGP	<b>Won</b>	--
10.	<b>1972</b>	Siroda	Sulochana Ramakanta	INC	Lost	12.59%
11.		Curchorem	--	-	-	-
12.		Cuncolim	--	-	-	-
13.		Benaulim	Miranda Elu Jose	IND	Lost	1.47%
14.		Navelim	Miranda Elu Jose	MAG	Lost	23.43%
15.		Marmagao	Periera Luisa Gerald	CPM	Lost	10.53%
16.	<b>1977</b>	Tivim	Rinbeeio Malvina Leoner Pinto Rangel	JNP	Lost	37.64%
17.		Bicholim	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	MGP	<b>Won</b>	56.46%
18.		Siroda	Suvita R. Ramnathkar	JNP	Lost	9.66%
19.		Rivona	Sushema S. Dessai	JNP	Lost	7.21%
20.	<b>1980</b>	Bicholim	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	MGP	Lost	41.72%
21.		St. Andre	Fernandes Victoria Romeo	JNP	Lost	8.50%
22.		Mormugao	Periera Luisa Gerald	CPM	Lost	1.99%
23.	<b>1984</b>	Calangute	D'Souza Vilma Julio	INP	Lost	2.03%
24.		Satari	Rane Sardessai Sanyogita Zaiba	INP	Lost	1.48%
25.		Santa Cruz	Fernandes Victoria Romeo	JNP	Lost	5.48%
26.		Santo Andre	Zuarkar Mandakini	IND	Lost	0.29%
27.		Marcaim	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	IND	Lost	14.03%
28.		Cancona	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	INP	Lost	27.00%
29.		Dabolim	Perriera Luisa Geraldo	CPM	Lost	0.74%
30.		Mormugao	Salkar Asha Damodar	BJP	Lost	3.40%
31.		Daman	Moraes Sousa Jose	INP	Lost	0.25%
32.			Kamlil Kamuden Ramanlal	INP	Lost	0.9%

33.	<b>1989</b>	Mandrem	Parab Sangeeta Gopal	INC	Lost	42.84%
34.		Santa Cruz	Victoria Romeo Fernandes	GPC	Lost	31.74%
35.		Cumbarjua	Nirmala Prabhakar Sawant	INC	Lost	35.40%
36.		Maem	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	MAG	<b>Won</b>	64.33%
37.		Poreim	Gawas Sundare Ramchandra	GBS	Lost	0.91%
38.		Mormugao	Salkar Asha Damodar	BJP	Lost	1.54%
39.		Velim	Furtada Farrel Benito	INC	<b>Won</b>	78.54%
40.		Poinguinim	Painguinkar Kashibai Narayan	INC	Lost	0.29%
41.	<b>1994</b>	Mandrem	Parab Sangeeta Gopal	INC	<b>Won</b>	50.12%
42.		Aldona	D'Sa Fatima Joseph Philip	INC	<b>Won</b>	46.65%
43.			Mirajkar Shoba Miraji	BSP	Lost	0.48%
44.		Santa Cruz	Victoria Fernandes Romeo	IND	<b>Won</b>	35.77%
45.		Maem	Shashikala G. Kakodkar	MAG	<b>Won</b>	45.09
46.		Ponda	Katkar Sulochana Ramakant	INC	Lost	22.93%
47.		Marcaim	Puspa Bhiku Madkaikar Alias Mrs. Anupama Damodar Naik	IND	Lost	0.26%
48.		Margao	D'Silva Fiona	IND	Lost	0.08%
49.		Velim	Gracias Ferrel Elvis	INC	Lost	25.29%
50.		Canacona	Fernandes Inacina	IND	Lost	1.14%
51.	<b>1999</b>	Mandrem	Parab Sangeeta Gopal	INC	Lost	30.94%
52.		Dargalim (SC)	Parshekar Resha Rajanikant	GVP	Lost	1.32%
53.		Aldona	D'Sa Fatima Joseph Philip	GRCP	Lost	14.16%
54.		Panaji	Bandodkar Suvarna Sundar	GVP	Lost	0.41%
55.		Santa Cruz	Fernandes Victoria Romio	INC	<b>Won</b>	50.78%
56.		Cumbarjua	Nirmala Prabhakar Sawant	INC	<b>Won</b>	37.18%
57.		Maem	Shashikala G. kakodkar	MAG	Lost	18.45%
58.		Mormugao	Kocharekar Archana Kishor	BJP	Lost	23.23%
59.			Kerkar Tara Govind	INC	Lost	3.07%
60.		Cortalim	Saldanha Martha Eltan	GRPC	Lost	5.01%
61.	<b>2002</b>	Mandrem	Parab Sangeeta Gopal	IND	Lost	19.40%



62.		Santa Cruz	Fernandes Victoria Romeo	INC	<b>Won</b>	40.13%
63.			Desouza Martha Filomena	IND	Lost	0.345
64.		Cumbarjua	Sawant Nirmala Prabhakar	INC	Lost	34.09%
65.		Maem	Rane Saradesai Aparnadevi Jitendra	SHS	Lost	8.12%
66.			Shashikala G. kakodkar	MAG	Lost	7.93%
67.		Mormugao	Habib Venus Latif	IND	Lost	1.01%
68.		Vasco Da Gama	Kerkar Tara	IND	Lost	1.87%
69.		Benaulim	Laxmi Gonsalves	BJP	Lost	2.62%
70.		Margao	Viegas Auda Alwyn	MAG	Lost	4.5%
71.		Quepem	D'Silva Patsy Rusario	UGDP	Lost	2.03%
72.	<b>2007</b>	Mandrem	Sangeeta Gopal Parab	IND	Lost	25.15%
73.		Pernem	Samita Bharat Petkar	JD(S)	Lost	0.78%
74.		Siolim	Fernandes Dorothy	SGF	Lost	5.00%
75.		Calangute	Malik Anjali Shrikant	BJP	Lost	27.59%
76.		Saligao	Kanchan Arun Thool	IND	Lost	0.51%
77.		Aldona	Kunda Chodankar	BJP	Lost	28.57%
78.			Fermeena Khaunte	IND	Lost	24.35%
79.		Santa Cruz	Fernandes Victoria	INC	<b>Won</b>	36.34%
80.			Monserate Jennifer A.	UGDP	Lost	28.87%
81.		Cumbarjua	Sawant Nirmala	IND	Lost	46.48%
82.		Vasco Da Gama	Dhargawe Manisha	IND	Lost	1.32%
83.			Kerkar Tara	RPI(A)	Lost	1.13%
84.		Cortalim	Mallamma Bidari	JD(S)	Lost	1.54%
85.		Fatorda	Noronha Piedade	IND	Lost	18.36%
86.	<b>2012</b>	Mapusa	Francisca De Souza	IND	Lost	1.39%
87.		Povorim	Fermeena P. Khaunte	NCP	Lost	7.32%
88.		Taleigao	Jennifer A. Monserate	INC	<b>Won</b>	50.88%
89.			Annabelle Maria Pereira	GSRP	Lost	1.59%
90.			Natty Po	SJP(R)	Lost	1.08%
91.		Cumbarjua	Nirmala P. Sawant	IND	Lost	40.27%
92.		Siroda	Shaila Shenvi Borkar	AITC	Lost	1.00%
93.		Cortalim	Nelly Rodrigues	GVP	Lost	25.26%
94.		Fatorda	Piedade Noronha E Silva	AITC	Lost	3.24%
95.		Benaulim	Valanka Alemao	INC	Lost	36.47%
96.	<b>2017</b>	Mapusa	Shraddha Khalap	AAAP	Lost	10.20%
97.			Rameshwari Morajkar	GSRP	Lost	0.36%
98.		Aldona	Rosy Ursula D'Souza	AAAP	Lost	15.14%

99.		Taleigao	Jennifer Monserrate	INC	<b>Won</b>	51.13%
100			Cecille Rodrigues	AAAP	Lost	8.76%
101		St. Cruz	Helena Lourenco	IND	Lost	1.02%
102		Siroda	Diya Chandrakant shetkar	IND	Lost	0.57%
103		Marcaim	Urmila Alias Vindiksha Vinod Naik	INC	Lost	5.39%
104		Mormugao	Maria Liberata Mendonca	IND	Lost	0.18%
105		Vasco Da Gama	Loretta Shreedharan	AAAP	Lost	3.56%
106		Dabolim	Tara Govind Kerkar	IND	Lost	0.71%
107		Cortalim	Alina Saldanha	BJP	<b>Won</b>	24.13%
108			Nelly Rodrigues	GVP	Lost	14.39%
109			Suman Sharma	MAG	Lost	0.32%
110		Benaulim	Royla Clarina Fernandes	AAAP	Lost	19.62%
111			Maria Da Luz Arlinda Gomes E Rebelo	GVP	Lost	2.31%
112			Judith Aurelia Baptista Almeida Alias Judih Almeida	IND	Lost	1.67%
113		Sanguem	Savitri Kavelkar	INC	Lost	25.29%
114			Rakhi Naik	NCP	Lost	0.55%
115	<b>2022</b>	Mandrem	Sunayana Rajanikant Gawade	RVLTGONP	Lost	4.11%
116			D'Costa Maria	SBBGP	Lost	0.16%
117		Tivim	Kavita Kandolkar	AITC	Lost	30.77%
118		Mapusa	Neeta Paresh Khanvilkar	IND	Lost	0.26%
119		Siolim	Delilah Michael Lobo	INC	<b>Won</b>	38.89%
120			Charisma Fernandes	SHS	Lost	0.67%
121			Pallavi Pradeep Dabholkar	IND	Lost	0.45%
122			Diana Fernandes	SBBGP	Lost	0.17%
123		Aldona	Pooja Mayekar	IND	Lost	0.52%
124		Taleigao	Jennifer Monserrate	BJP	<b>Won</b>	43.38%
125			Cecille Rodrigues	AAAP	Lost	11.12%
126			Shubhangi Deu Sawant	MAG	Lost	0.52%
127		Cumbarjua	Janita Pandurang Madkaikar	BJP	Lost	18.32%
128			Maria Christina Varela	GSB	Lost	0.42%
129		Maem	Sheela Sandeep Ghatwal	IND	Lost	0.75%
130		Poriem	Deviya Vishwajit Rane	BJP	<b>Won</b>	60.92%
131		Valpoi	Manisha Shenvi Usgaonkat	INC	Lost	7.79%
132		Dabolim	Tara Kerkar	INC	Lost	0.38%

133		Cortalim	Alina Saldanha	AAAP	Lost	5.66%
134			Bhakti Balchandra Khadapkar	SHS	Lost	0.23%
135		Fatorda	Adv. Valeria Fernandes	RVLTSNP	Lost	6.44%
136			Seoula Vas	AITC	Lost	2.63%
137		Navelim	Valanka Natasha Alemão	AITC	Lost	22.21%
138			Pratima Betsy Coutinho	AAAP	Lost	10.91%
139		Sanguem	Savitri Chandrakant Kavelkar	IND	Lost	30.71%
140			Rakhi Naik	AITC	Lost	0.78%

Note: Data compiled from different sources.