



**MONOGRAPH ON
'THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN KARNATAKA'**



STATE PLANNING BOARD
Government of Karnataka

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SIDDARAMAIAH
CHIEF MINISTER



VIDHANA SOUDHA
BENGALURU - 560 001

Date : 23-01-2017

FOREWORD

I am very much delighted and pleased to learn that this Monograph on *The Status of Women in Karnataka* has been prepared to keep track on the development of women in true sense. Such studies are essential to facilitate and strengthen the policy framework to ensure the gender equality, in its letter and spirit.

The Human Development Reports, prepared from time to time, at District-level and State-level have taken an account of the women's issues through computation on gender-related indices and women specific studies to quickly identify and effectively reduce gender developmental gaps through effective policy formulation and implementation.

I wish to congratulate the State Planning Board, for its initiative in preparing this very valuable document.

I am sure that this information will enable various Government Departments and other stakeholders to take necessary action to strategize the women development.

Siddaramaiah
(SIDDARAMAIAH)

Message

This Monograph on the “Status of Women in Karnataka” reflects the current status of women in Karnataka. In order to strengthen the role of women in Human Development Index, several programs are now being participatively prepared to provide our women ease of access to health, education and employment. This will inturn enable socio-economic development of our State in a gender-sensitive manner. It is in this scenario that the contents of this monograph needs be relied upon.

No other State has attempted to prepare this type of monograph probably because of data constraints. The growing women’s movement in the State increasingly, brought the pressure on the Government to respond to women’s concerns through a series of preventive and promotive programmes and supportive legislations.

I understand that many experts within and outside Government have contributed to this report. I recommend that the data herein need to be used to prepare sustainable and replicable policies and implement programs to realise Karnataka’s vision in the next three decades.


(M.R. Seetharam)

**Minister for Planning, Programme Monitoring
and Science & Technology**

Message

Women in our society have a prominent role historically. Onake Obava of Chitradurga and Rani Chennamma of Kittur are examples of women who have attained recognition for their contributions.

This monograph addressing women related issues in Karnataka depicts the status of women in Karnataka. The outcome of detailed studies in this monograph will enable planning and strategizing Government Schemes keeping women as prime stakeholders.

My department has extended several schemes to support the socioeconomic development of women. Some of the important schemes are Bhagyalakshmi, Santwana, Stree Shakti among many others.

On review of the present status of women in Karnataka it is clear that much more has to be done to improve the progress and status of women. With the advent of science and technology, with breakdown of communication barriers, with acceptance of social media and easing of commerce, much more needs to be done to reach the outcomes of research for the benefit of women in our society.

This document brings out the current status of women. While it is indeed a milestone achievement, it is clear that a lot more has to be done in expanding horizons of the health, education, livelihood and overall development of women. I trust that this document will serve as a ready reference to all the concerned in their endeavour to promote gender equality.


(Umashree)

Minister for Women & Child Development,
Empowerment of Differently Abled
& Senior Citizens, Kannada and
Culture Department.

Message

Karnataka has been a pioneering State in addressing the developmental issues of women through conscious efforts to ensure gender equality.

This monograph is an attempt to present the disaggregated analytical view on the profile of the women of the State in various areas and dimensions of development, the development deficiencies, the various interventions made and to be made for removing those deficiencies and further the development process, etc.

The detailed highlights of this monograph makes it apparent that we involve our women in participative decision making, their needs, inputs and views have to be considered by decision makers and public representation while preparing development plans. There is great scope for strengthening women Self affinity and self help groups so that the wants and needs of women are identified, addressed and resolved through participation approaches by women. This will be an acceptable path to development through good Governance.

I believe that this document will become a touchstone to enable preparation of Government Schemes to address the multifarious issues related to socio-economic development of women in our society in a gender sensitive manner. Core issues addressed at Grass-root levels will accelerate and enable preparation of Government programs that can be showcase for others to replicate in a holistic manner.



(C.M.Ibrahim)
Deputy Chairman,
Karnataka State Planning Board

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We would like to thank all the women beneficiaries who shared their experiences with us. Thanks to all the district officers of the Planning Department and Department of Women and Child who helped organise discussions with the beneficiaries in the field. Thanks to the KSPB, especially the late Mr Diwakar and Ms Akshatha, for coordinating the field visits. Last, but not least, we would like to thank the representatives of civil society who participated in a discussion to offer their suggestions and recommendations critical for the advancement of women's status.

We thank the women of Karnataka who continue to be a source of inspiration for us.

The Authors

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Constitution of India, through its preamble, aims to create a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic and guarantee justice, equality and fraternity to all the citizens of the country. In recent years, the pervasiveness of gender inequality has been acknowledged by the international community resulting in sustained efforts to counteract it. Like many other nations, India has undertaken several measures to alleviate the secondary status of women in its different cultural settings characterized by caste, religion, class, region and other such parameters. Policy makers and researchers have come to increasingly realize that rural, tribal and urban development can take root only if its marginalized groups are provided with opportunities to represent themselves in the various dimensions of a developing society, including representing the very kernel around which such social and economic change has come to take place.

Several efforts have been made to bring about gender equality and justice. Besides the declaration of 1975 as the International Year of the Women, 1975-1985 was declared as the Decade for Women, with the Nairobi 3rd World Conference on Women being a watershed

in getting women of the Global South onto the centre stage and encouraging in-country initiatives which brought women's issues onto the national agenda. This was coupled with commemorating the SAARC Year of the girl child and significantly remembering March 8th as Women's Day. A number of programmes and policies towards women's empowerment and development have now been designed and successfully implemented in India both by states and the Centre. By the 1980s, women came to be identified as a target group with a rightful place in development planning. A separate chapter on women and development was added to the VI Plan document (1980-85). The period also marked the final break from the welfare approach to studying women's issues that was in place during the early years of independence towards recognizing women's agency and active place in development.

Intellectual thinking on women has significantly moved from the welfare model approach to the development model; the term 'gender' was introduced replacing the term 'women' so as to provide a holistic touch to its understanding. Efforts to improve women's condition have progressed from Women In

Development to Women And Development to Gender And Development models. Development indicators such as GEM and Gender Development Index and tools such as Gender Budget have obtained popularity in both state and civil society initiatives to empower women. In other words, substantial effort by the Government has been directed towards mainstreaming women into the National Development process in order to enable them to achieve equality in the social, economic, political and legal arenas. The department of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Human Resource Development, GoI, is the nodal agency looking after the empowerment of women to ensure gender equality and equity.

EFFORTS TO AMELIORATE THE CONDITION OF WOMEN

A number of global and local initiatives were undertaken to ameliorate the socio-economic condition of women. World Conferences on Women held at various locales since the 1980s are notable here. The one held at Beijing (1995) and its Platform for Action, in turn, led to a number of plans and programmes for women. The 1980s are also significant in India in that women were identified as a target group with a rightful place in development planning and a chapter was added to the VI Plan Document (1980-85). The period also marked the final break from the welfare approach to women's improvement which had been in place since the early years of independence.

The National Perspective Plan was drafted during 1998-2000, besides drawing up a National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (NPEW) 2001 and a National Resource Centre for Women (NRCW). Measures towards

ensuring a better deal to women also included the setting up of the National Development Council (NDC) as one of the highest policy-making bodies in the country. It adopted a new strategy as part of the ninth plan, to further empower women by labelling them agents of socio-economic change. The women's component plan was designed to ensure a flow of at least 30 percent of all funds and benefits to women and in all developmental sectors. To facilitate rigorous implementation of all these, the government marked the year 2001 as the year of empowerment of women and made pro-women budgetary allocations in continuation of the above measures. More recently, The National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW) was launched by the Government of India (GoI) on International Women's Day in 2010. The thrust of this mission is to strengthen overall processes that promote the all-round Development of Women. It is also entrusted with the task of facilitating inter-sector convergence, so that the empowerment process is engendered in all the schemes and programmes across the different ministries.

While most of the initiatives mentioned above were applicable to the state of Karnataka as well, the state government also launched many programmes to improve women's lot. It instituted a Women's Task Force on Women's Empowerment in the year 2000, recommending further improvements in women's status. The Task Force submitted a policy document prepared by a team of academicians, representatives of civil society organizations and others, covering many sectors of social development, women and health, women and education, women and politics, employment and training, women in economy and women and legal issues.

Another significant step by the state government towards improving the status of women includes efforts to improve women's human capital by increased investments in education and health. This, no doubt, resulted in increased literacy rates, high school enrolment among girls, and lower rates of morbidity and mortality. At the same time, several civil society organizations have also worked towards the betterment of women's status. The state of Karnataka has pioneered much of the above thinking and efforts to bring its women on par with the men as well as to get them their due right as citizens of the country/state. As a result of the concerted efforts of the government, civil society and others, women in Karnataka have transformed their lives markedly from what it was in the years following independence. There has been a considerable increase in the representation of women in most aspects of public life, including government, especially local self-government and the workplace. This has been so in different walks of life.

Due to the attention received towards their educational advancement, i.e., in the 6th plan, today, illiteracy among women in the state is far less than what it was in the 1950s. Likewise, women's employment has increased substantially, although much of this continues to be in the informal sector as wage earners – both on-farm and off-farm. Social security measures for women who are widowed, for old and destitute women – and women historically pushed towards practices such as prostitution and the devadasi system - have been designed from time to time and implemented by the Centre, state and recently, by decentralized bodies. Attempts to provide basic amenities keeping in view women's

duties in providing water for the household, sanitation and health services, housing and connectivity – all these have been influenced to include a gender dimension in their design and implementation.

The march of women's development programmes and the very effort of both the state and civil society in delivering justice to women have borne good results. However, there are a large number of grey areas. Figures such as the skewed child sex ratio, increased reports of domestic violence and other forms of violence against women and low employment rates, among others, point toward the fact that much is still left undone where women's welfare is concerned. Women from poor and vulnerable circumstances continue to face alienation from access to basic amenities, employment, equal wages, literacy and schooling and quality of life.

To conclude, development is defined as a process of widening people's choices. Gender disparities are the negative side of development where women are curbed of their natural rights to access and control socio-economic goods and services, access to education, access to a decent standard of living and access to a healthy life. These are the critical components of a Human Development Index (HDI). A Gender Development Index (GDI) constructed along the lines of the HDI throws light on the disparities between men and women. While the state of Karnataka is hailed as a premier state in making efforts towards the development of women, there is a need to prepare a comprehensive profile of women's status in the state, keeping in focus the parameters of region, ethnicity, and social class among others. This type of document registering the progress made by the women

in Karnataka in various realms, including both economic and social indicators, is necessary to contribute to a better understanding of the on-going process of development in the state today. There are both positive and negative aspects to women's development. Moreover, in recent times, there has been a shift in the focus from general economic growth to special development thereby signalling the importance of growth with equity and justice. Economic indicators such as GDP, per capita income and growth are important. So are the advancements made in the social sector such as literacy levels, nutritional status, infant mortality rate and incidence of poverty and distress migration that are reflections of women's well being. These need to be well documented and projected across all stakeholders to facilitate spotting the lacunae in identifying the gaps in understanding the problems of women from all sectors, socio-economic background, age and region, deficiencies in planning and implementation and capacity building for accessing the resources and amenities.

The current study, on which the monograph is based, is an attempt to present the profile of women in all the various areas of development in Karnataka. The aim is to present sector-wise progress and problems associated with women's development based on a disaggregated analysis. The idea is to highlight the existing levels of development as well as the gaps or deficiencies among different sections of the population. The ultimate objective is to take into account the various interventions made in the past several decades since independence towards ameliorating the status of women in Karnataka and make a concerted effort to understand the constraints to transformation.

The objective is to arrive at a comprehensive status of women in Karnataka, covering the multiple dimensions of change in its economic, social, educational, health, political and cultural aspects. Keeping certain development indicators in mind, the advancements made in women's development are looked into, and the gaps and limitations are measured. Policy suggestions for their all round development are made.

OBJECTIVES OF THE MONOGRAPH

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To locate the position of women in Karnataka in terms of their social, economic, political and regional dimensions.
2. To look into livelihood options, levels of education and the health status of women in rural, tribal and urban locations both historically and at present.
3. To document the impact of various government programmes and policies to protect women's interests, provide them with dignity of life, and opportunities in the economic and political processes of society.
4. To understand the status of elderly, destitute, devadasi and other vulnerable sections among women, such as dalit, tribal and minority women, in terms of social security, health risks and threats.
5. To suggest suitable policy measures for women's development.

METHODOLOGY

The main objective of the monograph is to present the status of the women of Karnataka in various dimensions of their life. Relevant information was therefore collected mainly from secondary sources, covering all regions of the state and emphasizing rural, tribal and

urban areas from village to district levels. Census reports, National Sample Survey Data, National Family and Health Surveys, Reports of the Department of Economics and Statistics, Report of the Women's Task Force in Karnataka, Reports of studies undertaken at the Centres for Women's Studies in Karnataka, the Women's University in Bijapur, Departments of the government and NGOs, projects on women's socio-economic development, evaluation reports on programmes implemented by the DWCD and KSWDC, Human Development Reports were used to analyse the trends in women's status along various dimensions and identify problems encountered in further development. Besides these studies on women's groups, micro-finance issues, health and well-being, social security and access to resources were also referred to for useful documentation.

While a historical approach was adopted to elicit background information, the current status of women was mainly collected from secondary sources such as census reports, reports of National Sample Surveys, National Family and Health Surveys, Reproductive and Child Health Surveys, data from government departments, study reports from the Centre for Women's Studies, evaluation studies by civil society organisations and so on. Primary information was collected by conducting conversational interviews and holding focus group discussions with select categories of women who were the beneficiaries of various schemes of the government. Discussions were held with former Directors and Secretaries of the Women and Child Development Department. This was done through visits to selected districts so that it is representative of both of the HDI as well as the geography of the state. Qualitative information was collected from knowledgeable persons in various fields.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT

The report is presented in twelve chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the monograph that highlights the need for putting together the situation of women in the state of Karnataka, in their various dimensions. It also presents the methodology and the different chapters. In chapter two, the demographic profile of women is presented. The chapter on the educational status of women in Karnataka draws from various sources to project the level of literacy, enrolment and drop out ratios, women in higher education etc. Chapter four focuses on the health status of women and draws from various indicators of health, such as maternal mortality and general health etc. Chapter five deals with women and violence and in chapter six women's employment is discussed. In chapter seven, the links between poverty and gender are drawn, while in chapter eight, a discussion on women's political participation is made. Chapters nine deals with the role of civil society in women's development. Chapter ten presents various aspects of gender budgeting in Karnataka. Institutional programmes and policies designed and implemented to address women's development are described in chapter eleven. The concluding chapter summarises the findings from all the chapters and suggests the immediate actions required to improve the situation.

SOME OF THE CRITICAL THEMES ADDRESSED IN THE REPORT ARE AS FOLLOWS:

DEMOGRAPHY AND HEALTH

The chapters on demography and the health of women are aimed at examining the levels and trends in demographic factors relating to women, and the gaps in women's development

in health and well-being. Indicators such as the adult and child sex ratio, the total number of children per women, the unmet need for contraception, the number of institutional deliveries, maternal and child mortality rates, and malnutrition have been discussed.

Sex ratio is an important indicator of the health, nutrition level and survival ratio of women and girl children. According to the Registrar General of India (2001), the ratio of number of women to every 1000 men in Karnataka declined from 983 in 1901 to 957 in 1971 and then increased in the subsequent census periods to reach 964 in 2001. While the total sex ratio shows an upward trend in recent decades, the child sex ratio shows a continuing downward trend. It was 987 per 1000 men in 1961 but steadily declined to 946 by 2001. The data also show that both the total sex ratio and child sex ratio vary by districts within the state, by rural, urban places of residence and by socio-economic status.

The continuing decline in the child sex ratio provides stark evidence that the condition of women all over India, including the state of Karnataka, is not equal to that of men. A bias against the girl child, preference for sons leading to female infanticide; malnutrition, inadequate access to health care are some of the factors that work towards reducing the number of girls compared to boys of similar age groups. Likewise, malnutrition and repeated pregnancies have also contributed to high maternal mortality rates.

EDUCATION

The literacy rates of women and enrolment rates in educational institutions are still

alarmingly low among women, and especially among rural women, and women from scheduled caste and scheduled tribe families. At 56.9% in 2001, the level of female literacy in the state was 20 points behind that of the male literacy rate. Again, the rates vary by region and socio-economic status. Of all the districts, Shimoga had the lowest female literacy rate at 36% while Bangalore Urban and Dakshina Kannada had the highest at 77 %. In general, the north eastern districts have a lower female literacy rate compared to other districts in the state.

The section on education will examine the trends in education statistics among women across the various regions in Karnataka and within each social group. The various efforts made by the government and other agencies to mobilize literacy of women, arrest and address girl child drop-out rates, provide incentives for vocational education, training and skill up gradation, hostels and other residential arrangements for girl students, facilities for scholarship, books and other inputs, and reservation of seats in higher educational institutions are investigated.

GENDER AND VIOLENCE

The Preamble of the Constitution of India enunciates the socio-economic objectives and the goals for achieving which the Constitution was framed. It rests upon two specific objectives, viz., delivering justice and equality. It gave states the right to make specific provisions for the welfare of women and children. Encouraged by this provision, the states have been able to introduce legislative and other policy measures to improve women's status as citizens, workers and members of their households. Labour

laws have been evolved to direct employers to provide amenities such as maternity leave (with pay), child care facilities, protection to women night workers, promotion of women's political participation through reservation of seats in panchayats and municipalities etc.

The four women-specific directives, viz., equal rights with men for adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work, gender abuse, violence and other forms of exploitation, child abuse and protection of old and sick women are significant indicators of women's development. Equally important are their right to education, a secure and decent standard of living and the right to work, penal laws to regulate and condemn dowry harassment, suicides forced by demands for dowry, murder for gain etc.

The rising incidence of crime and violence against women is a manifestation of a deep-rooted social malaise and an expression of skewed gender ideology. It has systematically discriminated and oppressed women, particularly those hailing from the SC, ST and other vulnerable groups of our society. This section will look into these issues with the help of a few indicators such as the prevalence of domestic violence, attitudes regarding domestic violence etc as well as existing gaps in the justice system.

WORK AND POVERTY

This section attempts to document the information relating to the changing economic status of women in the state. Women carry at least a triple burden: domestic work, child bearing and rearing activities and economic pursuits for income generation for the household. Women,

thus, make an indispensable contribution to the family. This is true of women particularly from poor and vulnerable backgrounds, who take the responsibility of feeding their children and other dependents besides contributing to the economy of their community.

According to studies, women contribute more than 50 per cent of the total cultivation of food and other crops; they contribute 93 per cent to dairy production, and work as paid labour in various sectors severely taxing themselves and facing hazards working in construction and other such activities. Women also constitute more than 50 per cent of workers in forest-based small-scale enterprises such as basket, broom and rope making activities. Women are engaged in all these activities with little rest or leisure. They lack nutritive food which renders them more vulnerable to diseases and leads to a fall in life expectancy. Yet, women are invisible and continue to be held in low regard as their own contribution to the household and society goes unnoticed and unrecognized, unvalued and unsupported. Women are paid unequal wages and are not compensated enough for their work which is more prominent in a number of activities in the unorganized sector. Karnataka has made concerted efforts to improve women's status. Despite this, women continue to suffer from a number of problems such as low productivity, lack of job security, inadequate legal protection, and lack of enforcement of minimum wage and other laws that regulate their working conditions. A high incidence of casual labour among women and wage discrimination and sexual division of labour both inside and outside the house has limited women's work participation to a narrow range of occupations and low-skilled and low-

paid jobs. This chapter documents the status of women in all these issues.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Women's representation in public life and decision-making received a fillip with the government providing them opportunities to get elected as leaders of grassroots organizations viz the panchayats. Even after more than two decades after the constitutional amendment reserving 33.3% of seats at all tiers of panchayats for women and within them again internal reservation for women belonging to backward and vulnerable sections, the participation of women leaders in decision-making is reported to be only marginal. This section looks into the various problems and dimensions of women's representation and participation in politics. The chapter also dwells briefly on women's position in decision-making in the bureaucracy, which is still rather minimal.

ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society organisations, especially women's organisations have played a vital role in highlighting the issues faced by women. Their collaboration with the government to bring in policies and programmes for the upliftment of women is noteworthy. This section discusses the women's movement and its role in bringing pro-active laws for the protection of women in public and private life. This section also specifies the part played by civil society organisations in providing redress/shelter to the survivors of violence.

GENDER BUDGETING

Concepts of gender budgeting and constitutional provisions are captured in this section along with the commitments made by the country to international covenants to advance the development of women and to achieve gender equality by allocating the necessary funds. Karnataka Mahila Abhivruddhi Yojane the pioneering scheme which led to gender budgeting has been discussed in this section by highlighting the impact of women oriented schemes in the state.

INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS AND POLICIES

The United Nations International Conferences on Women's Advancement that took place from the nineteen seventies to the nineteen nineties feature the dynamics of the emergence of the concept of "Institutional Mechanisms for Women's Advancement". These dynamics led to innovations in implementing the structures and ideation relating to women and the State.

The Karnataka government was a prime mover in looking at human resources, achievements, gaps in gender training, infrastructure and administrative priorities for women's development, all of which are discussed. The section brings out the useful lessons learnt from the Mahila Samakhya programme that empowers rural women in the state. A sub section throws light on the laws that protect women from exploitation and violence and the lacunae in their implementation.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WOMEN IN KARNATAKA

T.S. Syamala¹

INTRODUCTION

In the process of evaluating the status of women, the first step is to lay out the basic demographic composition of the population. To this end, it is essential that the available statistical data be disintegrated by gender and the important dimensions looked at in relation to one another. Population censuses generate large amounts of statistical data disaggregated by sex, and this can be used to bring out various issues pertaining to the female population.

This chapter intends to provide a brief demographic profile of the women in the state in order to assess their position in comparison to men. The chapter begins with the male/female distribution of the population by different age categories in the state. Other major areas covered in this chapter are discussions on trends in the sex ratio, fertility indicators such as women's childbearing aspects, mortality indicators, differentials in mortality between males and females in terms of the crude death rate, infant mortality rates and life expectancy, etc. A section on age at marriage is also included as age at marriage is

an important factor which determines women's position in society.

AGE SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

In this section, an attempt has been made to understand the age and sex composition of Karnataka's population. If there are substantial proportions of females in any population, policies and programs need to adequately focus on the needs of women. Table 1 presents the population of Karnataka during the last five decades. The total population of Karnataka as per the 2011 census is 6,11,30,704 comprising 3,10,57,742 males (50.8 percent) and 3,00,72,962 females (49.2 percent). The population of Karnataka was only 2,92,99,014 as per the 1971 census and the population in the state has more than doubled in the last forty years. The male/female distribution of the population in Karnataka shows that the proportion of females over the last five decades has remained nearly the same. In 1971, the proportion of females in Karnataka's population was 48.9 percent, and this proportion increased marginally and remained 49.2 percent during

¹ Associate Professor, Population Research Centre, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore

Table 1: Sex distribution of the Population of Karnataka, 1971-2011

Year	Total Population	Males	Percentage of Males	Females	Percentage of Females
1971	2,92,99,014	1,49,71,900	51.10	1,43,27,114	48.90
1981	3,71,35,714	1,89,22,627	50.96	1,82,13,087	49.04
1991	4,49,77,201	2,29,51,917	51.03	2,20,25,284	48.97
2001	5,28,50,562	2,68,98,918	50.90	2,59,51,644	49.10
2011	6,11,30,704	3,10,57,742	50.81	3,00,72,962	49.19

Source: Census of India various years

the year 2011. This table clearly shows that nearly half of Karnataka's population comprises women and therefore women's issues need adequate attention.

The age sex distribution of the population of Karnataka shows that (Table 2) nearly 32 percent of the population of Karnataka are children under 15 years, 8 percent are elderly (60+) and the remaining 60 percent are adults (15-59 years). The male/ female distribution shows that among children, there is an almost equal proportion of males and females in the population whereas among the elderly there are more females than males in the population. The gendered nature of ageing is such that universally, women tend to live longer than men. As the state is experiencing an increase in the growth of the proportion of the elderly, it is expected that the older population of the state will also consist of more females than males in the

future too. Ageing puts the elderly, in general, and elderly women in particular, in a more vulnerable situation. The implications of the gendered nature of ageing are elderly women in particular may have high levels of income insecurity, illiteracy, age related morbidity and physical and economic dependency. At advanced ages, widowhood dominates the status of women. This results in an increased likelihood of women ending up living alone. Social bias often results in unjust allocation of resources, neglect, abuse, exploitation, gender-based violence, lack of access to basic services and prevention of ownership of assets. Ageing women are more likely to be excluded from social security schemes due to lower literacy and awareness levels. The state may, therefore, have to consider providing adequate support systems for these elderly women. Concerted efforts are therefore required to reduce the vulnerability and enhance the quality of life of elderly women.

Table 2: Age-Sex distribution of the population of Karnataka, 2001

Age Group	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total	Percentage
0-4	2537476	9.4	2405118	9.3	4942594	9.4
5-9	2893477	10.8	2787954	10.7	5681431	10.7
10-14	3189233	11.9	3032343	11.7	6221576	11.8
15-19	2840330	10.6	2541342	9.8	5381672	10.2
20-49	11673727	43.4	11302299	43.6	22976026	43.5
50-59	1812248	6.7	1721149	6.6	3533397	6.7
60-69	1170370	4.4	1281726	4.9	2452096	4.6
70-79	550895	2.0	601832	2.3	1152727	2.2
80+	202465	0.8	254734	1.0	457199	0.9
All ages	26898918	100	25951644	100	52850562	100

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2001

SEX RATIO

The sex ratio is an important social indicator to measure the extent of the prevailing equity between males and females in society. Changes in sex ratios largely reflect the underlying socio-economic and cultural patterns of a society in different ways. The sex ratio is defined as the number of females for every 1000 males in a given area. The sex ratio patterns in a country can throw light on the existing position of women in a society. In most developed countries, there are more females than males in the population. This is mainly because females are biologically stronger and, in general, tend to live longer than males. However, the reverse is the case in some developing countries, including India. This is mainly because of existing discriminatory practices against women.

Two different indicators of the sex ratio have been used in this section to understand the relative position of women in the state. One is the overall sex ratio and the other one is the child sex ratio (0-6 years)

OVERALL SEX RATIO

The overall sex ratio indicates the number of females per 1000 males in a society. The sex ratio in India has always been unfavourable to females. In India as per the 2011 census, there were 940 females per 1000 males. The sex ratio pattern during the twentieth century shows a long-term declining trend (Table 3). In India, the sex ratio declined from 972 in 1901 to 945 in 1941. Between 1941 and 1951 there was a marginal increase of one point. Thereafter it again dropped in the consecutive decades and reached 930 in 1971. Again between 1971 and 1981 and between 1991 and 2011, a slight improvement in the sex

ratio was observed; however it only hovered around 940 females per 1000 males. Large regional variations in the sex ratio can also be observed among the various states of India. Generally, South India has a higher sex ratio than North India and North Western India has the lowest sex ratio.

Table 3: Trends in sex ratio: A comparative picture of India and Karnataka

Year	Sex ratio	
	India	Karnataka
1901	972	983
1911	964	981
1921	955	969
1931	950	965
1941	945	960
1951	946	966
1961	941	959
1971	930	957
1981	934	963
1991	927	960
2001	933	964
2011	940	968

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.

The sex ratio in Karnataka has generally been higher than the national average. According to the 2011 Census, there were 968 females per 1000 males in the State. The sex ratio in Karnataka also gradually declined as in the rest of India, but at a slower pace. The sex ratio for Karnataka was 983 in 1901 as against 972 for India and 968 in 2011 as against 940 for India indicating the better position of females in the state. However, the comparative picture of the sex ratio across the South Indian states clearly shows that the sex ratio in Karnataka is the lowest compared to Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Kerala is the only state in South India where there are more females than males in the population (Table 4).

Table 4: Overall Sex ratio in Southern States, 2011

States	Overall Sex ratio
Andhra Pradesh	992
Karnataka	968
Kerala	1084
Tamil Nadu	995

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2011

Although the overall sex ratio for Karnataka is 968, wide variations in the sex ratio can be observed across the different districts of Karnataka (Table 5). A favourable sex ratio (high sex ratio) for women has been observed in Udupi (1,093), Kodagu (1019), Dakshina Kannada (1,018), Chickmagalur (1005) and Hassan (1,005) while the lowest ratios have been observed for Bangalore (908), Haveri (951) and Bidar (952). Rural-urban differentials in the sex ratio are also very prominent, with urban areas (957) having a lower sex ratio than rural areas (975). The district-wise rural-urban sex ratio also reveals that in most districts, the urban sex ratio is much lower than the rural sex ratio.

Table 6 gives the number of districts in various sex ratio ranges. The table illustrates that there are only five districts (16.7 per cent) in the state that show a favourable sex ratio for females, namely the sex ratio is above 1,000 females per 1,000 males. If one looks at the rural-urban differentials in the sex ratio, there are five districts (16.7 per cent) where the rural sex ratio is above 1,000 and six districts (20 per cent) where the urban sex ratio is above 1,000. Overall eight districts (26.7 per cent) fall into the category 900-967, where the sex ratio is below the state average. Eleven rural districts and 4 urban districts fall in the category of 900-967 indicating a highly unfavourable situation

Table 5: Rural-urban differentials in district-wise sex ratio, Karnataka, 2011

Sl. no.	District	Sex ratio 2011		
		Total	Rural	Urban
1	Belgaum	969	967	974
2	Bagalkot	984	983	987
3	Bijapur	954	949	974
4	Gulbarga	962	964	959
5	Bidar	952	957	939
6	Raichur	992	996	978
7	Koppal	983	981	993
8	Gadag	978	968	997
9	Dharwad	967	946	983
10	Uttara Kannada	975	974	979
11	Haveri	951	946	969
12	Bellary	978	974	984
13	Chitradurga	969	964	989
14	Davanagere	967	965	972
15	Shimoga	995	993	999
16	Udupi	1093	1112	1044
17	Chikmagalur	1005	1004	1008
18	Tumkur	979	980	978
19	Kolar	976	970	989
20	Bangalore	908	872	912
21	Bangalore-R	945	945	947
22	Mandya	989	986	1003
23	Hassan	1005	1007	1000
24	D. Kannada	1018	1018	1018
25	Kodagu	1019	1022	1004
26	Mysore	982	973	994
27	Chamarajnar	989	987	999
28	Chikballapura	968	964	979
29	Yadgir	984	985	982
30	Ramanagara	976	976	974
	Karnataka	968	975	957

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, (2011)

for females. There are 5 districts each in rural and urban areas that fall under the category 968 to 975. Similarly, there are nine districts in rural areas and 15 districts in urban areas that fall under the category 976 to 999.

Table 6: Range of sex ratio in the districts of Karnataka, 2011

Region	Distribution of Districts according to overall Sex Ratio				No of Districts
	900-967	968-975	976-999	above 1000	
Total	8(26.7)	4(13.3)	13(43.3)	5(16.7)	30
Rural	11(36.7)	5(16.7)	9(30)	5(16.7)	30
Urban	4(13.3)	5(16.7)	15(50)	6(20)	30

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

CHILD SEX RATIO

The child sex ratio, that is the sex ratio of 0-6 population, is another indicator that demonstrates society's attitude towards the girl child. During the last decade (2001-2011), India and many other states, including Karnataka experienced a rise in the overall sex ratio. However, an analysis of the patterns of the child sex ratio reveals that the child sex ratio during the same period declined and is a source of continuing concern. The sex ratio in the age group 0-6 is indicative of the recent changes in society and its attitudes towards the girl child. The sex ratio of the 0-6 population in India has shown a decline from 1991-2011. The child sex ratio for India in 1991 was 947 girls per 1,000 boys. It declined to 927 in 2001 and further declined to 914 in 2011. Further, the urban child sex ratio is much lower than the rural child sex ratio.

Table 7: Child sex ratio: A comparative picture of India and Karnataka

Residence	Child sex ratio		
	1991	2001	2011
India			
Total	945	927	914
Rural	948	934	919
Urban	935	903	902
Karnataka			
Total	960	946	943
Rural	963	949	945
Urban	951	940	941

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. (2011).

The child sex ratio in Karnataka also experienced a decline from 960 to 943 during 1991-2011. Here again, the child sex ratio is lower in urban areas than in rural areas. Though the child sex ratio in Karnataka is better compared to the rest of India, it is lower than the figures of Kerala (959) and Tamil Nadu (946) (Table 8). Several possible reasons can be put forward for the sharp decline in the child sex ratio. The neglect of the girl child, the consequent higher mortality among girls than among boys and sex selective abortion are the major reasons. Patriarchal societies have always been characterised by son preference and this has worked against the female sex particularly in their infancy and childhood. A girl child is discriminated against in many ways - ranging from abandonment of girl children, fewer months of breast feeding, less medical treatment if she falls ill etc. all working against the very existence of the girl child. With the advancement in medical technologies, this discrimination can begin even before birth and female foetuses can selectively be eliminated by sex determination and sex selective abortions.

Table 8: Child Sex Ratio, India and Southern States, 2011

States	Child Sex ratio
Andhra Pradesh	943
Karnataka	943
Kerala	959
Tamil Nadu	946

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. (2011).

There are also wide variations in the child sex ratio across the districts of Karnataka. The child sex ratio in Karnataka ranges from 929 in Bagalkot to 977 in Kodagu. Overall, a lower child sex ratio is observed in the northern districts of Karnataka compared to the rest

of the state. The low and the declining child sex ratio can be linked to existing patriarchal norms and the strong preference for sons over daughters.

Table 9: District-wise child sex ratio, Karnataka, 2011

Sl. no.	District	Child sex ratio 2011		
		Total	Rural	Urban
1	Belgaum	931	932	926
2	Bagalkot	929	930	924
3	Bijapur	930	934	916
4	Gulbarga	935	938	930
5	Bidar	935	940	918
6	Raichur	949	947	954
7	Koppal	953	950	969
8	Gadag	944	946	941
9	Dharwad	942	931	952
10	Uttara Kannada	947	948	943
11	Haveri	945	953	919
12	Bellary	954	951	958
13	Chitradurga	933	932	939
14	Davanagere	931	927	940
15	Shimoga	960	959	961
16	Udupi	955	958	947
17	Chickmagalur	963	963	964
18	Tumkur	952	954	940
19	Kolar	955	944	977
20	Bangalore	941	952	940
21	Bangalore-R	947	944	956
22	Mandya	934	932	943
23	Hassan	964	971	941
24	D. Kannada	946	954	936
25	Kodagu	977	978	970
26	Mysore	956	962	948
27	Chamarajnar	942	943	935
28	Chickballapura	945	948	935
29	Yadgir	942	944	936
30	Ramanagaram	960	962	957
	Karnataka	943	945	941

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. (2011).

FERTILITY

In order to understand the levels of fertility, two indicators have been used; one is Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and the other is the Total Fertility Rate (TFR). The Crude Birth rate in Karnataka was 19.8 per 1000 population in 2008. Over the years the birth rate in Karnataka showed a declining trend. The birth rate in the state in 1971 was 31.7 and this rate declined to 19.8 in the year 2008 indicating that fertility levels have come down in the state. Although Karnataka has lower fertility levels in comparison with India, the fertility levels in the state are the highest compared to other South Indian states.

Table 10: Crude Birth Rate of Southern States, 1971-2008

States	1971	1981	1991	2001	2008
Karnataka	31.7	28.3	26.9	22.2	19.8
Andhra Pradesh	34.8	31.7	26.0	21.0	18.4
Tamilnadu	31.4	28.0	20.8	19.1	16.0
Kerala	31.1	25.6	18.3	17.3	14.6
All India	36.9	33.7	29.5	25.4	22.8

Source: Registrar General of India (various years)

The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in the state has also declined over the years indicating that women have borne fewer children over the years. During the 70s, on an average, women in Karnataka bore a little more than four children and this declined to two children in 2008. Table 11 shows that the fertility levels in Karnataka have always been lower than the national average. But when compared with other South Indian states, the TFR levels in Karnataka have always been the highest.

Table 11: Total fertility rate of southern states, 1971-2008

States	1971	1981	1991	2001	2008
Karnataka	4.4	3.6	3.1	2.4	2.0
Andhra Pradesh	4.6	4.0	3.0	2.3	1.8
Tamilnadu	3.9	3.4	2.2	2.0	1.7
Kerala	4.1	2.8	1.8	1.8	1.7
All India	5.2	4.5	3.6	3.0	2.8

Source: Registrar General of India (various years)

According to the Sample Registration System (SRS), the crude death rate (CDR) of the state is 7.3, and it is almost equal with the national average (7.4). With regard to the comparison of crude death rates in the Southern states, Kerala (6.8) and Tamilnadu (7.2) stand in a better position in terms of the crude death rate (CDR) than Karnataka (7.3), and Andhra Pradesh (7.4).

MORTALITY

It has been observed that in most countries of the world, mortality conditions differ for males and females. The general experience is that females have an overall advantage over males with respect to mortality. But until recently, India was an exception to this rule, and here female mortality was higher than male mortality. This can be attributed to the systematic neglect and discrimination against females. However, recent data show improvements in mortality levels across gender.

To understand mortality levels across gender, three indicators have been used such as the Crude Death Rate (CDR), the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and expectation of life at birth. Table 12 presents the trends in the crude death rates of males and females of Karnataka in comparison with India and other South Indian states. In Karnataka, mortality has substantially declined since 1971. The death rates in the state came down from 12.1 in 1971 to 7.3 in 2007.

The data on crude death rates across the years in Karnataka show that in the 70s, the death rate for females was higher than male death rates. But from the 80s onwards, the crude death rates for females were lower than that of males. In the year 2007, the CDR for males was 8.2 whereas the same figure for and females were 6.4, indicating, lower death rates among females as compared to males.

INFANT MORTALITY RATE

The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is widely used as an indicator of the health status of population because it is associated with education, economic development, and availability of health services. The data on infant mortality rates in Karnataka and other South Indian states are presented in Table 14. The infant mortality rate of Karnataka was 45 per thousand live-births in the state, which is much lower than for the country as a whole (55). The table also shows that the infant mortality level in the state declined from 77 in 1991 to 47 in 2007.

Table 12: Crude Death Rate of Southern States, 1971-2007

States	1971			1981			1991			2001			2007		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Karnataka	12.1	12.3	12.1	9.2	9.1	9.1	9.4	8.5	9.0	8.6	6.6	7.6	8.2	6.4	7.3
Andhra Pradesh	15.3	14	14.6	11.6	10.6	11.1	10.4	9	9.7	9.2	7.2	8.2	8.1	6.6	7.4
Tamilnadu	14.9	13.9	14.4	12.1	11.6	11.8	9.7	8.0	8.8	8.4	6.9	7.7	7.9	6.6	7.2
Kerala	8.8	9.2	9.0	7.8	5.5	6.6	6.9	5.2	6.0	7.8	5.5	6.6	7.8	5.9	6.8
All India	14.7	15.4	14.9	12.4	12.7	12.5	10	9.7	9.8	8.8	8	8.4	8	6.9	7.4

Source: Registrar General of India (various years)

Table 13: Infant Mortality Rate of Southern States,1982-2007

States	1982			1991			2001			2007		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Karnataka	73	56	65	82	72	77	59	58	58	46	47	47
Andhra Pradesh	84	75	79	76	70	73	65	68	66	54	55	54
Tamilnadu	82	83	83	60	54	57	45	54	49	34	36	35
Kerala	32	29	30	17	16	16	14	9	11	12	13	13
All India	106	104	105	81	80	80	64	68	66	55	56	55

Source: Registrar General of India (various years)

Although Karnataka has lower levels of infant mortality compared to all India levels, a comparison of infant mortality rates across the South Indian states has shown that the infant mortality levels in Kerala (13) and Tamilnadu (35) are much lower in comparison to Andhra Pradesh (54) and Karnataka (47). Hence, Karnataka needs to make concerted efforts to bring down its infant mortality levels.

The crude death rate presented in Table 13 has shown that in recent years the crude death rate is higher for males than for females in India and for all South Indian states including Karnataka. However, across states, the infant mortality rate figures show a slightly higher rate for females than for males. This is clearly an indication of the existing preference for a son and the consequent neglect and discrimination against girls.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

Life Expectancy is the most important comprehensive indicator of health. Life expectancy increases due to healthcare improvements like the introduction of vaccines, the development of drugs or positive behaviour changes like the reduction in smoking or drinking rates

etc. During the last 50 years, the average lifespan in the State of Karnataka increased by 20 years. Life expectancy in the state during 1970-75 was 55.2 years and it has increased considerably to 65.3 years during 2002-06. The life expectancy in Karnataka (65.3) is higher than the all India average (63.5). However, when compared to other South Indian states, Karnataka's life expectancy is much lower than Kerala's (73.9) and Tamilnadu's (66.1). Therefore, Karnataka still needs to work towards the improvement of the health of the population to increase its life expectancy.

Gender differentials in life expectancy indicate that women tend to live longer than men in the state and over the years the male-female gap is widening in favour of females. The life expectancy for women in the state during 2002-06 was 67.1 years, whereas for males it was 63.6 years indicating that on an average women in Karnataka live around 3.5 years more than men. In India and also in other South Indian states, females have a longer life expectancy than males. Not only is the life expectancy highest in Kerala (73.9 years) but the male/ female gap in life expectancy is also highest in the state. (71.3 years for males and 76.2 years of females).

Table 14: Expectation of Life at Birth for Southern States and All India, 1970 – 2006.

Year	KARNATAKA			ANDHRA PRADESH			KERALA			TAMIL NADU			ALL-INDIA		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1970-75	55.2*	55.3*	55.1*	48.8	48.4	49.3	62.0*	60.8*	63.4*	49.5	49.6	49.5	49.6	50.4	48.9
1976-80	56.3	56.2	56.6	53.1	52.1	54.2	65.6	63.6	67.6	53.4	53.5	53.4	52.2	52.4	52.1
1981-85	60.6	59.7	62.0	58.4	57.1	59.8	68.3	65.4	71.5	56.9	56.5	57.4	55.4	55.4	55.7
1986-90	61.1	60.4	62.6	59.2	58.2	60.4	69.5	66.8	72.2	60.5	60.0	60.6	57.7	57.7	58.1
1991-95	62.5	60.6	64.0	61.8	60.3	62.8	72.8	69.9	75.6	63.3	62.3	64.4	60.3	59.7	60.9
1996-00	64.2	62.5	65.8	63.3	61.8	64.3	73.5	70.7	76.1	64.8	63.9	65.9	61.9	61.1	62.7
2001-05	65.2	63.4	66.9	64.1	62.7	65.2	73.9	71.3	76.3	66.0	64.8	67.1	63.2	62.4	63.9
2002-06	65.3	63.6	67.1	64.4	62.9	65.5	73.9	71.3	76.2	66.1	65.0	67.3	63.5	62.6	64.2

Source: Ponnappalli, Krishna Murthy and Kambampati, Praveen Kumar, 2010.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age at marriage is also an indicator that is often used to understand the status of women in developing countries (Vagliani, 1980). In most societies, marriage is a most significant event and marks the transition to adult familial roles for women. Because fertility generally occurs within marriage, the timing of marriage and the onset of childbearing are closely associated. Further, the age at which women enter into marital unions are also closely linked with their status within society. Early marriages are generally prevalent in societies where a woman's position is secondary.

Although the legal age at marriage for woman in India is 18, many women tend to marry much earlier especially in the northern part of the country. Child marriage can undermine progress toward basic developmental goals, such as reducing maternal and infant mortality, preventing HIV infection, improving women's educational and economic status, and ensuring gender equality and human rights.

According to the 2001 census, the average age at marriage for females in the state is 19 years as against 18.3 years for the country (Table 15). The trend in age at marriage from 1961 to 1991 show that there was a steady increase in

the age at marriage over the decades. The age at marriage in Karnataka increased from 16.3 to 20.2 years where as for India it increased from 15.9 to 19.3 years. However, during 1991 to 2001 there was a decline in age at marriage in India and also across the states. According to 2001 figures, the age at marriage is highest for Kerala (20.8 years) and lowest for Andhra Pradesh (17.5 years). Tamil Nadu (20 years) and Karnataka (18.9 years) have placed in between Kerala and Andhra Pradesh.

Table 15: Age at marriage for females in the Southern States, 1961-2001

States	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Karnataka	16.3	17.8	19.2	20.2	18.9
Andhra Pradesh	15.2	16.3	17.3	18.3	17.5
Tamilnadu	18.4	19.6	20.3	20.9	19.9
Kerala	20.2	21.3	22.1	22.3	20.8
All India	15.9	17.2	18.4	19.3	18.3

Source: 1. Das et al, 1998

2. Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 'Marital Status and Age at Marriage: An Analysis of 2001 Census Data', 2008,

With regard to age at marriage across the districts in the state, the data show that the age at marriage is lower in the districts of the Northern region and higher in the Coastal and Malnad regions of the state (Table 16). The highest age at marriage for females is registered in the Udupi (23.9 years) Uttara Kannada (22.8 years) and Dakshina Kannada (22.4 years)

districts of the Coastal and Malnad region of the state and the lowest is recorded in Bagalkot (17.4 years), Gulbarga (17.5 years) and Bijapur (18.1 years) of the Northern region.

Although the mean age at marriage according to 2007-8 data, is 19.8 years, a substantial proportion of the women in the state marry below the minimum legal age at marriage (22.4 percent) of 18 years. The proportion of women who marry below the minimum legal age at marriage also varies substantially across the districts of Karnataka. The proportion of women who marry below age 18 is the highest in the Northern region and the lowest in the Coastal and Malnad region. More than 40 percent of the women in the districts of Bagalkot, Belgaum and Koppal marry below the minimum legal age at marriage.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHEDULED CASTES

The demographic characteristics of the scheduled caste population show that the total fertility among SCs in Karnataka was 2.45 children by 2005-06. The fertility rate of SCs is slightly higher than that of OBC and other caste groups indicating clearly that the SC population still belong to the poorer sections of society. Nearly the same trend is observed at an all-India level. However, the fertility rate at the all-India level is far higher than that observed in the case of Karnataka. Similarly, the infant mortality rate among the SC population is also much higher than that of other caste groups.

An interesting observation of the sex ratio pattern of the Scheduled Caste population is that the sex ratio of SCs in the state is higher than the

Table 16: Mean Age at Marriage and Percentage of Marriages Below Age 18 for Females in Districts of Karnataka, 2007-08

	Name of the District	Mean age at Marriage	Percentage of marriages below age 18
		Female	
Costal and malnad Region			
1.	Dakshina kannada	22.4	5.3
2.	Udupi	23.9	2.4
3.	Uttara kannada	22.8	1.5
4.	Chickmagalur	21.3	4.6
5.	Kodagu	21.5	6.5
6.	Shimoga	21.2	8.3
Southern Region			
1.	Bangalore	21.4	10.6
2.	Bangalore rural	19.1	14.6
3.	Chamarajnagar	19.1	23.9
4.	Chitradurga	19.5	27.8
5.	Davanagere	20.3	15.5
6.	Hassan	20.4	2.9
7.	Kolar	19.5	17.4
8.	Mandya	19.0	20.9
9.	Mysore	20.1	14.3
10.	Tumkur	19.7	17.5
Northern Region			
1.	Bagalkot	17.4	43.6
2.	Belgaum	18.3	42.6
3.	Bellary	18.5	34.8
4.	Bidar	18.8	26.8
5.	Bijapur	18.1	38.4
6.	Dharwad	19.7	20.7
7.	Gadag	18.5	33.0
8.	Gulbarga	17.5	41.0
9.	Haveri	19.4	19.8
10.	Koppal	18.5	41.5
11.	Raichur	19.5	35.3
	Karnataka state	19.8	22.4

Source: District Level Household survey, 2007-8, Karnataka

sex ratio of the overall population indicating a better position for SC women within the family and community. Besides, the sex ratio of SCs in Karnataka has been better when compared to the sex ratio of SCs at the national level.

In Karnataka and in India, the age at marriage for currently married females of the

SC population is slightly lower than the average age at marriage for the state. However, it is noteworthy that the average age at marriage is 18 years for women among SCs and STs in the state. Although the average age at marriage is 18 years, the major concern is that a large proportion of the females (39 percent) in the SC population of the state marry before the minimum legal age of 18. This proportion is much higher than an all-India level (51 percent).

Table 17: Various Demographic indicators for Scheduled Caste population in Karnataka

Indicators					
Total Fertility Rates	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total
Karnataka	2.45	(2.53)	1.99	1.97	2.07
India	2.92	3.12	2.75	2.35	2.68
Infant Mortality Rate					
Karnataka	57.2	(45.8)	53.0	43.5	
India	66.4	62.1	56.6	48.9	
Sex Ratio					
Karnataka	973	972	--	962	965
India	936	978	--	928	933
Mean Age at Marriage (Females)					
Karnataka	18.3	18.2	--	--	18.9
India	17.6	18.4	--	--	18.3
Proportion of Females with Age at Marriage below 18 Years					
Karnataka	41.9	42.8	--	--	36.9
India	51.3	41.5	--	--	44.7

Sources: NFHS 2005-06. (Figures in the bracket should be interpreted cautiously as the sample size is smaller) and Census of India, 2001

SUMMARY

Overall, the demographic data indicate both positive and negative aspects about women's position in society. In terms of fertility and mortality indicators, Karnataka stands in a better position compared to the all India average. In Karnataka women bear fewer

children compared to the all India average and the mortality levels of females are lower than that of males. The sex ratio is better in state compared to all India. The mean age at marriage for women is also higher in the state in comparison to the all India average. However, in comparison to other South Indian states, the state does not stand to gain much, since its fertility and mortality rates are higher than the other south Indian states. The sex ratio is also lower compared to some of the South India states.

The sex ratio of the state is also unfavourable for women as there are fewer women than men in the state. The child sex ratio has shown a declining trend over the years and this reflects the worsening situation for women. Further, wide disparities in child sex ratios can be seen across the districts of Karnataka. The districts of Northern Karnataka exhibit a lower sex ratio than the rest of the state. With regard to age at marriage, a substantial proportion of women in the state still tend to marry before the legal minimum age at marriage.

The selected demographic indicators of Scheduled Castes in the state show that, overall, the fertility and mortality levels among SCs are higher than for other caste groups. The sex ratio is relatively better compared to the state average. Although the mean age at marriage of SCs is above 18, yet over 40 percent of women get married before the age of 18. Taking these points into consideration, it is apparent that the demographic composition of women belonging to scheduled castes in Karnataka is significantly different compared to women belonging to other social groups.

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CHAPTER III

STATUS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN KARNATAKA

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Women's education in Karnataka has made appreciable progress over the years due to the concerted efforts of the state government. In pursuit of the National Education Policy (1986, 1992) articulation for using education as a positive interventionist instrument for empowering women to change their status, several programmes were implemented by the state under the national flagship programmes for universalizing elementary education with a special focus on the girl child. Under the national flagship programme of Sarva Shikshana Abhiyana, the state had set the goal to remove gender disparities at the lower primary stage by 2007 and at the higher primary stage by 2010. Accordingly, the sustained initiatives of the state during the last two and half decades to promote girls' participation at various stages of education have indeed yielded positive outcomes. These efforts have brought tremendous gains for women to achieve progress not only in the field of education but in other sectors as well. Notwithstanding this progress, still many critical challenges of educational inequality and disparity still persists and this has remained a major issue for the state to revisit its policy

and programmes and to take a fresh look at the issues.

In this chapter, an effort is made to assess the status of women's education in Karnataka over the years by considering certain key indicators relating to access, participation and achievement at different stages of education. Literacy, enrolment, and dropout rates along with the output ratios of stage-wise progression, transition, completion and performance in terminal stage examinations are being used as key indicators for data analysis. The time-series analysis also captures gender differentials across regions and various population segments. The major part of the chapter has drawn data from the available secondary educational database. The educational statistics from the annual reports of the Education departments of both the state and the central governments, supplementary statistical reports on education, periodical Educational survey reports are used along with educational data from Census documents, NSSO, NFHS, CSO for assessing women's educational status.

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A mere increase in the number of girls in schools and colleges over time is not a true reflection of improvement in women's status. Rather, only when there are corrections in gender imbalances with respect to participation and performance rates, and when gender segregation of various forms disappears, only then can one make claims about improvement in women's educational status. Therefore the major focus of the analysis has been to look at the way gender differentials have been reduced over the years on several education parameters. The analysis looks at the reduction in disparities across regions and across different population segments to ascertain women's status.

STATUS OF WOMEN'S LITERACY IN KARNATAKA

Literacy is an important development indicator which reflects the status of an economy and society. A state which is successful in endowing its populations with strong literacy skills is considered to be in an advantageous position to meet the complex economic and social challenges operating in a globalized information economy. While strong literacy skills are linked to better health outcomes as well as to a wide range of performing skills for day to day living and for enhancing functional productivity, for women, literacy skills are even more important for effective participation in societal activities, for understanding important public issues and dealing with issues of governance in a highly diverse society. Therefore for any state, having more literate women will be an added asset for achieving progress in all spheres.

Considering the literacy attainments among women in Karnataka, it may be noted [Table 1] that women in Karnataka have indeed made

considerable progress from a mere 9.0 per cent in 1951 to 68.1 per cent in 2011 revealing an increase of almost 60 per cent during the last six decades. Comparatively, women have registered a higher gain of 6.0 per cent points as compared to men during the period. However, the decadal gains in literacy for women do not reveal uniform trends (Fig.1). Between the decades 51-61 and 81-91, women have registered fewer gains than their male counterparts. During the decade 71-81, women's literacy gains equalled that of men. Between the decades 61-71, 91-2001 and 2001-11, women have recorded higher literacy gains than men. The highest gains of 16% literacy for women have come from the decade 81-91. This decade also shows the highest record for the male population (18%). The decade marks the massive efforts of Total Literacy Campaigns through the National Literacy Mission of the Indian government, which boosted literacy levels across several states in the country. The decades 91-2001 and 2001-11 during which times the Government of India launched its national flagship programme for the universalizing of elementary education – the District Primary Education Project (DPEP) in 1994 and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in 2000 with the support of the World Bank and other international donor agencies have promoted better literacy gains among women. Equal attainments of literacy among men and women reflect social equality and non-discrimination between men and women. Viewed from this perspective the gender gap or the literacy differentials between men and women over the decades in the state reveals the narrowing of the gap from 20.0 to 14.7 percent points (table 1). This is an indication of the improvement in the literacy status of women. However, this is an overall trend and hides several disparities.

Table 1: Literacy levels of male and female populations in Karnataka, decadal gains & gender gap from 1951 up to 2011 showing gender gap

Year	Males	Females	Decadal Literacy Gains for men	Decadal Literacy Gains for women	Gender gap in literacy
1951	29	9			20
1961	36	14	7	5	22
1971	42	21	6	7	21
1981	49	28	7	7	21
1991	67	44	18	16	23
2001	76	57	9	13	19
2011	82.8	68.1	7	11	14.7

Source: Census of India-Karnataka

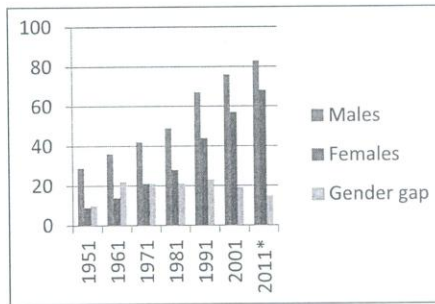
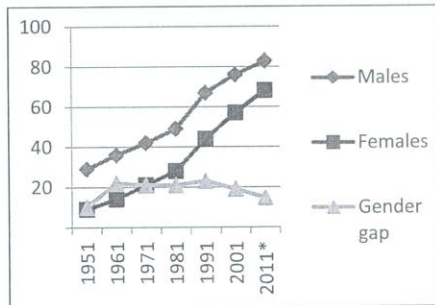


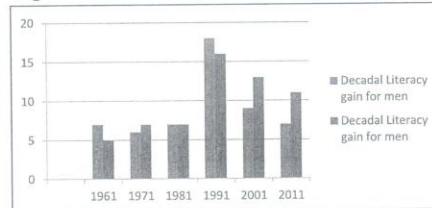
Fig. 1 Literacy attainments of men and women from 1951 to 2011



Looking more closely however, the gender gap which was 20 in 1951 increased to 23 in 1991 indicating the raw deal meted out to women. Strangely, the TLC, which had a special focus on women, appears to have impacted them rather negatively. The subsequent decades have

proved beneficial to women as the gap has been reduced by 4.0 per cent points. This could be attributed to the efforts of the national flagship programmes, DPEP and the SSA, which have had special gender focus. Although, overall, the literacy status among women in Karnataka is found to be moving in the positive direction of achieving equality, yet the fact that about nearly one third of the women in Karnataka still lack literacy skills is worrisome.

Fig.2: Decadal Literacy Gains for Men and Women



WOMEN'S LITERACY: URBAN – RURAL DIFFERENCES

It would be worthwhile examining the literacy achievements of women in urban and rural areas over the decades and compare them with their male counterparts to assess the literacy gains and to capture the trends. Quite interesting scenarios emerge from the analysis (table 2). The male population both in urban and rural areas maintained domination over females in literacy performance during the decades 1951 and 1961. However, from 1971 onwards, the urban females surpassed their male counterparts from the rural areas to emerge as the second highest literacy performers next to their urban male counterparts followed by rural males and rural females in a descending order. Looking at the literacy gains over the decades from 1951 to 2011 across these four major population segments it is noticed that urban women have registered the highest gains of 59.0

percent literacy followed by rural female, urban male and rural female. Currently, urban women record a literacy level of 82.0 per cent and are behind their urban male counterparts by just about 9.0 per cent. This indeed is noteworthy.

Table 2. Literacy rates between male-female in urban & rural areas from 1951 up to 2011
(Percentage)

Year	Rural			Urban		
	Males	Females	Gender gap	Males	Females	Gender gap
1951	24	5	19	47	23	23
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	35	15	20	60	42	18
1981	42	20	22	65	48	17
1991	60	35	25	82	66	16
2001	70	48	22	87	74	13
2011	77.9	59.6	18.3	90.5	81.7	8.8

Source: Census of India: Karnataka

On further probing the gender gap in literacy among urban and rural regions to understand the state of educational equality, it is seen (table 2) that sadly, the reduction in the gap over the decades is insignificant among the rural population as compared to that of the urban. While in the urban region, the literacy gap has been reduced to an impressive level from 23.0 to 8.8 per cent points between 1951 and 2011, revealing the narrowing of the gap to an extent of 14.0 per cent, the same for the rural region is seen to have been reduced very negligibly from 19.0 to 18.3 per cent points during the same period.

On further probing the literacy gains of women in urban and rural areas and comparing them with their male counterparts in urban and rural regions, it is noticed from table 3 & graph 4 that regretfully, *the literacy gap among women between urban and rural has widened from a 18.0 per cent points in*

1951 to 22.0 per cent points in 2011. As a matter of fact this gender gap is far wider than that of the overall male-female gap in the state, which is 14.7.

Therefore, it is clear that the rural women lag behind their own urban counterparts more than they lag behind the opposite sex in literacy attainments. This suggests that the state needs to have clearly focused efforts and a sense of urgency to raise the literacy status of rural women. Since substantial literacy gains over the decades have come from the school-age population of 5-14 years, the poor literacy levels among rural women is also a reflection of the inefficiency of rural schools in addressing the issue of girls' education.

Fig.3 Literacy attainments by sex and place of residence

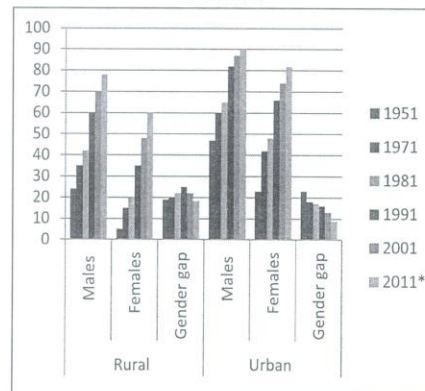
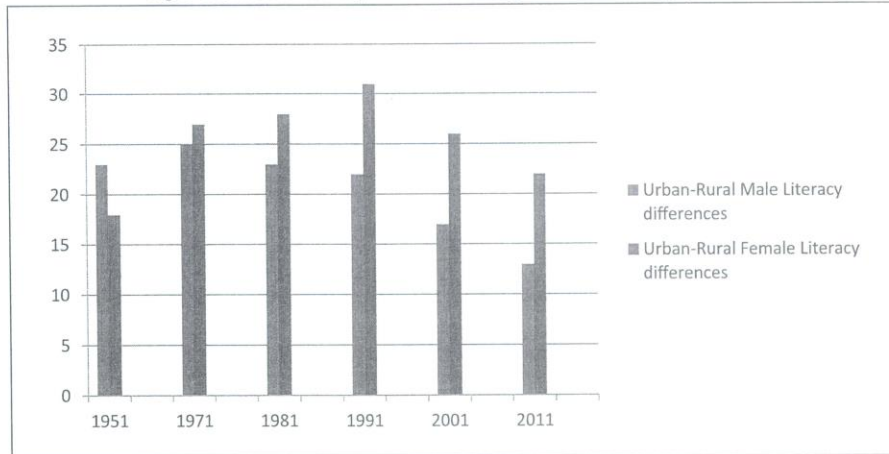


Table3: Urban-Rural differences in literacy levels among male and female Population

	Urban-Rural Male Literacy differences	Urban-Rural Female Literacy differences
1951	23	18
1971	25	27
1981	23	28
1991	22	31
2001	17	26
2011	13	22

Fig 4. Urban-Rural literacy differences among male and female population



LITERACY ATTAINMENTS AMONG SCHEDULED CASTE WOMEN

Women who suffer from social and economic disadvantages face multiple barriers to access education. As such the literacy attainments among this population segment have been pretty low as compared to women belonging to advantaged sections of society. An analysis of the literacy attainments of Scheduled Caste women in the state reveals that their literacy as per 2001 is 41.7 per cent as compared to 63.8 percent of their male counterparts (table 4). However, between the decades 1981 and 2001, SC women have registered higher literacy gains than their male counterparts. It is a 26.24 per cent increase for SC women as compared to 24.37 per cent for SC men during this period. This is commendable. As a matter of fact, much of the literacy gains for these women have come between 1991 and 2001, which could be attributed to special targeted interventions for this group of women under the DPEP. Looking at the literacy gap between men and women within this population segment, although the trend reveals a narrowing of the

gap from 1981 to 2001, yet the fact that the gap remains to the extent of 22.1 per cent points in 2001 is a cause of concern. The reduction in the gender gap over the decades has been only marginal, about 1.8 per cent points.

Table 4: Literacy rates among SC Men and Women in 1981, 1991 and 2001

	Male	Female	Gender Gap
1981	39.38	15.48	23.9
1991	49.69	25.95	23.7
2001	63.75	41.72	22.1

Source: Registrar General of India, Census 1981, 1991 and 2001.

Looking at the gender gap in the literacy of SC men and women in urban and rural regions from 1981 to 2001, it is seen that while the gender gap has decreased in the urban region from 27.6 to 18.4 per cent points, the same is seen to have increased from 22.6 to 23.1 per cent points (table 5). The trend suggests the double disadvantage SC rural women have suffered which has deprived them of access to basic education.

Table 5: Literacy rates among SC Women and Men in Urban and Rural Karnataka

	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Gender Gap	Male	Female	Gender gap
1981	65.39	37.82	27.6	31.83	9.24	22.6
1991	70.05	47.64	22.5	43.21	19.23	24.0
2001	78.32	59.88	18.4	58.71	35.56	23.1

Source: Registrar General of India, Census 1981, 1991 and 2001

On further probing the literacy gains of SC women in urban and rural areas and comparing them with those of their male counterparts in urban and rural regions, it is noticed from table 6 that the urban rural differences in literacy attainments among SC men were much higher than that of SC women in the decade 1981. It was 33.6 per cent points as against 28.6 per cent points. However, in subsequent decades, the urban-rural literacy differences among SC women have increased much more as compared to the same in the case of SC men. However, for both SC men and women, the urban-rural differences in literacy performance indicate a declining trend over the decades.

Table 6: Urban-Rural differences in literacy levels of SC male and SC female Population in Karnataka

	Urban-Rural Male Literacy differences	Urban-Rural Female Literacy differences
1981	33.6	28.6
1991	26.8	28.4
2001	19.6	24.3

LITERACY ATTAINMENTS AMONG WOMEN FROM SCHEDULED TRIBES

Women from scheduled tribes (ST) have improved their literacy status from 7.7 in 1971 to 30.9 in 2001, registering an increase of 23.2

per cent points (table 7). However their male counterparts have registered an increase of 28.6 per cent for the same period.

Table 7: Literacy Rates among ST Men and Women in Karnataka

	Male	Female	Gender Gap
1971	21.7	7.7	14.0
1981	29.9	10.0	19.9
1991	47.9	23.6	24.3
2001	50.3	30.9	19.4

Source: Registrar General of India, Census 1981, 1991 and 2001.

In fact the gender gap in literacy has increased from 14.0 per cent to 19.4 during the period, thereby indicating a widening of educational inequality. The trend indicates the discrimination faced by ST women in the educational system. On further comparing the literacy attainments of ST women with that of SC women, it may be noticed from table 8 that although, the latter fare better than the former by recording a 10.0 per cent increase of literacy in 2001, yet with respect to the gender gap, SC women reveal a much wider disparity as compared to ST women.

Table 8: Literacy Rates of ST Women compared with SC Women in Karnataka

	S.T	Gender gap in literacy of ST	S.C	Gender Gap in literacy of SC
1971	7.7	14.0		
1981	10.0	19.9	15.48	23.9
1991	23.6	24.3	25.95	23.7
2001	30.9	19.4	41.72	22.1

Source: Registrar General of India, Census 1981, 1991 and 2001.

The literacy status of urban ST women is seen to be better than their rural counterparts (table 9).

In 2001, ST women in urban areas registered 46.8 per cent of literacy as compared to 28.1 per cent of literacy among ST women in

rural areas. However, the gender gap in literacy is higher for the urban ST population rather than the rural ST population.

Table 9: Literacy Rates of ST Women and Men in Urban and Rural Karnataka

	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Gender Gap	Male	Female	Gender gap
1961	31.7	8.9	22.8	12.3	2.5	9.8
1981	45.7	23.7	22.0	27.6	8.0	19.6
1991	66.3	43.8	22.5	44.6	28.1	16.5
2001	63.9	46.8	17.1	47.8	28.1	19.7

Source: Registrar General of India, Census 1981, 1991 and 2001

WOMEN'S LITERACY ACROSS DISTRICTS IN KARNATAKA

Having examined women's literacy status at aggregate levels and across social categories in the state, an attempt has been made to capture women's literacy rates across districts in the state to track their progress. Table 10 provides male-female literacy data for the 29 districts from the 1991 to 2011 census periods.

Table 10: Male-female literacy for all districts in 1991, 2001 & 2011

Districts	1991			2001			2011*		
	M	F	Gender gap	M	F	Gender Gap	M	F	Gender Gap
Bagalkote	67.09	38.2	28.89	70.9	43.6	27.30	80.16	58.55	21.61
Bengaluru (Rural)	61.51	38.2	23.31	74	55.0	19.00	85.44	70.73	14.71
Bengaluru Urban	82.94	68.8	14.14	87.9	77.5	10.40	91.82	84.8	7.02
Belgaum	66.65	38.7	27.95	75.7	52.3	23.40	82.90	64.74	18.16
Bellary	59.11	32.2	26.91	69.2	45.3	23.90	77.24	58.28	18.96
Bidar	58.97	30.5	28.47	72.5	48.8	23.70	79.94	61.66	18.28
Bijapur	70.18	41.8	28.38	69.9	43.5	26.40	77.41	56.54	20.87
Chamrajnagar	47.31	28.6	18.71	59	42.5	16.50	67.88	54.32	13.56
Chickmagalur	70.56	51.3	19.26	80.3	64	16.30	85.66	72.88	12.78
Chitradurga	64.5	39.4	25.10	74.7	53.8	20.90	81.37	66.05	15.32
Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	78.36	61.55	16.81
Dakshina Kannada	84.08	68.8	15.28	89.7	77.2	12.50	93.31	84.04	9.27
Davangere	66.82	44.4	22.42	76.4	58	18.40	83.02	69.39	13.63
Dharwad	74.22	50.4	23.82	80.8	61.9	18.90	86.83	73.57	13.26
Gadag	71.63	39.7	31.93	79.3	52.5	26.80	84.89	65.29	19.6
Gulbarga	52.08	24.5	27.58	61.8	37.9	23.90	75.11	55.87	19.24
Hassan	68.87	44.9	23.97	78.4	59	19.40	83.55	68.3	15.25
Haveri	68.05	43.3	24.75	77.6	57.4	20.20	84.22	70.65	13.57
Kodagu	75.35	61.2	14.15	83.7	72.3	11.40	87.24	77.91	9.33
Kolar	62.69	37.8	24.89	73.2	52.2	21.00	81.94	66.56	15.38
Koppal	53.47	22.8	30.67	68.4	39.6	28.80	78.21	56.22	21.99
Mandya	59.18	36.7	22.48	70.5	51.5	19.00	78.14	62.1	16.04
Mysore	59.71	41.6	18.11	70.9	55.8	15.10	78.44	66.59	11.85
Raichur	46.75	21.7	25.05	61.5	35.9	25.60	71.35	49.56	21.79
Ramanagaram	-	-	-	-	-	-	76.92	61.3	15.62
Shimoga	73.12	54.3	18.82	82	66.9	15.10	86.11	74.89	11.22
Tumkur	66.49	41.9	24.59	76.8	56.9	19.90	82.05	66.45	15.6
Udupi	83.7	66.6	17.10	88.2	75.2	13.00	91.69	81.41	10.28
Uttar Kannada	76.39	56.8	19.59	84.5	68.5	16.00	89.72	78.21	11.51
Yadgir	-	-	-	-	-	-	63.33	41.31	22.02
Karnataka State	67.26	44.34	22.92	76.1	56.9	19.2	82.85	68.13	14.72

Source: Census of India-Karnataka, 1991, 2001 & 2011

Overall female literacy in the state in 2011 is 68.1 per cent which is above the national average of 65.5 per cent. However, women's literacy performance in 13 districts falls below the national average and in 19 districts below the state average out of the total 30 districts in the state, thereby suggesting the rather low literacy status of women across the state. Women from the backward districts of North and North East Karnataka and also from the South Mysore districts reveal a persistent low literacy status over the decades.

Considering the progress made by women in literacy attainments across 30 districts in the state, it is noticed that over the decades, in general, there has been considerable improvement in literacy attainment levels. However, the fact remains that disparity in literacy attainments exists across the state. Women from Dakshina Kannada, Bangalore Urban and Udupi are top performers in literacy with more than 80.0 per cent attainments. Similarly Uttara Kannada, Shimoga, Kodagu, Dharwad and Chickmagalur districts are educationally advanced with more than 70-78 per cent of the women being literates. There are also two new entrants to this list with Haveri and Bangalore Rural districts also recording 70.0 per cent literacy for women. At the other extreme position is the Yadgir district where only a little over 40.0 per cent of the women can read and write even in the current decade of 2011. Similarly Raichur is yet another district where more than half the women lack literacy skills. In between this spectrum lie the remaining districts with varying levels of literacy among women.

Considering the magnitude of literacy gains recorded by women across the districts in the

state, it is seen that four districts have registered a literacy gain of more than 30.0 per cent between 1991 and 2011. Interestingly women from the three backward districts of North Karnataka, namely Bidar, Gulbarga & Koppal and Bangalore Rural district have registered the highest literacy gains. Thus women's literacy even in some of the backward districts of the state has seen improvement over the decades due possibly to the special focus interventions under the national flagship programme. This is commendable. Regretfully, women from the Bijapur district in North Karnataka have recorded the lowest literacy gains of 14.7 per cent points over the decades from 41.8 per cent to 56.5 per cent. Two other districts, namely Tumkur and Mysore which started with the same level of literacy as that of Bijapur have been able to register a jump of around 25.0 per cent. A few other districts have also recorded a better performance in women's literacy. Mention may be made of Bellary, Belgaum, Chamaraajanagar, Chitradurga, Davanagere, Gadag, Haveri, Kolar, and Mandya, which have recorded more than a 25.0 per cent jump in women's literacy from 1991 to 2011. However, whether improvement in the literacy status of women has been moving in the direction of bridging gender inequality is the crucial question under reference. This phenomenon is examined in the next part of this chapter.

The gender gap in literacy reflects the extent of inequality between men and women in so far as attaining literacy is concerned. Thus looking at the data from table 9, it is noticed that in the census year 2011, the highest gender gap of literacy exists in districts such as Yadgir, a newly carved out district from Gulbarga, followed by Koppal, Raichur, Bagalkote and

Bijapur districts. The gender gap is more than 20.0 per cent points in these districts, thereby indicating the very low literacy among women. Although during the decades 1991 and 2001, the reduction in literacy gap between men and women was very marginal across the districts, in the subsequent decade between 2001 and 2011, the reduction was 7-8 per cent points. In fact, Gadag is one district where women seem to have made headway in closing the gender inequality gap from more than 30.0 per cent points in 1991 to fewer than 20.0 per cent points in 2011.

LITERACY STATUS OF WOMEN BELONGING TO SCHEDULED CASTES ACROSS DISTRICTS

While, in general, women reveal improvement in literacy over time across the districts, it would be worthwhile to examine how women belonging to socially disadvantaged sections such as the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes compare with other women across the districts in literacy. It is noticed from Table 11 that, in general, SC women across all the districts have made progress in literacy from 1991 to 2001. However, the fact that during 2001, close to about three quarters of the women in Koppal and Raichur districts lacked basic literacy skills is a cause for worry. Given that these districts have a high proportion of SC population and are termed 'backward,' the poor literacy of SC women would be an added disadvantage for promoting equitable development. Comparing the literacy of SC women with women across the districts, as many as 7 districts revealed literacy gaps to the extent of more than 20.0 per cent points in 1991. These districts are Bangalore Urban, Chamarajanagar, Dakshina

Kannada, Davanagere, Kodagu, Shimoga and Udupi. All these districts, except Shimoga, have been able to reduce the difference to less than 20.0 per cent in the ensuing decade, 2001, suggesting an improvement in the literacy of women. However, in this decade, Haveri has emerged as a district with the highest literacy gap of 20.5 per cent points indicating that the literacy gains registered by the district are in favour of women in general and not SC women. One has to wait and see whether the 2011 census results indicate a reversal of the trend for this district and other backward districts as well. Sadly, Bagalkote, Bellary, Gadag, Haveri, and Koppal districts indicate a widening of the literacy differentials between women in general and SC women from 1991 to 2001. This is a reflection of the education system failing the SC women against women in general.

LITERACY STATUS OF WOMEN BELONGING TO SCHEDULED TRIBES ACROSS DISTRICTS

On comparing ST women's literacy performance with women across the districts, it is noticed from Table 11 that, in general, ST women have made progress in literacy from 1991 to 2001. Indeed, barring Bijapur district, in all the districts women have increased their literacy considerably, with Uttara Kannada recording the highest gain of close to 30.0 per cent. In the year 2001, there were only 9 districts which reveal women performing less than the state average in literacy. On comparing the literacy performance of ST women with women in general across the districts, districts such as Chickmagalur, Kodagu and Uttara Kannada revealed literacy gaps ranging from 20+ to close to 40 percent points in 1991. During the subsequent decade of 2001, barring Kodagu

district, the remaining two districts were able to bridge this literacy gap considerably between ST women and women in general. Kodagu district reveals the highest gap of 37.7 per cent in 2001 suggesting the persistence of an unequal educational status between these two female population segments. Sadly, districts such as Bagalkote, Bijapur, Chamarajnar, and

Dharwad, Gulbarga, Mysore and Raichur reveal a widening of the literacy gap between the decades, indicating that education has functioned unfavourably with ST women. One has to wait and see whether the 2011 census results indicate reversal of the trend for these districts.

Table 11 District-wise literacy rates of Women belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Percentage)

Districts	Female Literacy Rate					
	2001			1991		
	ALL	SC	ST	ALL	SC	ST
Bagalkote	43.56	28.75	28.49	38.19	25.30	27.20
Bengaluru (Rural)	54.99	44.56	46.03	38.15	22.80	25.00
Bengaluru Urban	77.48	61.98	64.80	68.81	46.80	51.50
Belgaum	52.32	41.63	29.50	38.69	25.80	19.20
Bellary	45.28	29.04	28.75	32.24	17.40	15.20
Bidar	48.81	40.22	35.61	30.53	21.40	14.90
Bijapur	43.47	31.95	31.88	41.81	30.40	31.70
Chamarajnar	42.48	42.22	32.77	28.6	22.80	20.20
Chickmagalur	64.01	44.76	49.44	51.31	24.60	30.10
Chitradurga	53.78	40.92	41.54	39.38	21.70	25.60
Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dakshina Kannada	77.21	58.36	65.69	68.84	45.90	53.70
Davangere	58.04	38.16	42.98	44.41	19.20	26.10
Dharwad	61.92	49.26	41.95	50.41	36.80	33.90
Gadag	52.52	33.69	42.08	39.68	24.90	27.00
Gulbarga	37.90	27.02	20.77	24.49	12.80	9.40
Hassan	59.00	43.14	45.56	44.9	23.50	27.40
Haveri	57.37	36.94	45.16	43.28	31.00	29.80
Kodagu	72.26	56.56	34.61	61.22	36.00	21.50
Kolar	52.23	42.09	36.23	37.75	25.20	18.70
Koppal	39.61	25.62	26.48	22.78	35.90	8.70
Mandya	51.53	46.25	45.42	36.7	27.80	26.70
Mysore	55.81	45.52	37.47	41.6	26.10	23.90
Raichur	35.93	26.09	16.91	21.7	11.00	5.40
Ramanagaram	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shimoga	66.88	46.40	52.51	54.33	28.00	36.50
Tumkur	56.94	43.39	48.70	41.93	24.60	30.50
Udupi	75.19	62.81	62.78	66.64	34.20	48.20
Uttara Kannada	68.47	55.55	53.61	56.77	38.70	23.80
Yadgir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka State	56.87	41.72	36.57	44.34	26.00	23.60

Source: Census data 2001 and 1991

LITERACY STATUS OF RURAL MALE-FEMALE POPULATION ACROSS DISTRICTS

The state had more than 50.0 per cent illiterate women in rural areas in 2001. This reflects the very low educational status of rural women in Karnataka. How are these illiterate women spread across districts? Has there been a reduction in illiteracy from the previous decade? How has the inequality between men and women reduced over the decades? These are some questions which assume relevance while analyzing the literacy of rural women in Karnataka. In this section an attempt is made to answer some of these questions. It is noticed from table 12 that the literacy level of rural women has improved from 35.0 per cent to 48.0 per cent registering an increase of 13.0 per cent over the decades.

Rural women in Udupi and Dakshina Kannada were the top performers in 2001 with 73.0 per cent literacy followed by Kodagu (70.0), Uttara Kannada (64.0), Shimoga (61.0), Chickmagalur (61.0) and Bangalore Urban districts (61.0). Rural women in these districts have improved their literacy levels by more than 15.0 per cent between the decades. On the negative side, as many as 15 districts lying in the backward regions of the state continue to deprive more than 50.0 per cent of their rural women of literacy.

Table 12 Rural Male-Female literacy differences across the districts during 1991 and 2001

Districts	Rural Literacy Rate					
	1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Bagalkote				51.23	66.01	36.33
Bengaluru (Rural)	46.37	58.61	33.43	61.62	71.88	50.95
Bengaluru Urban	56.68	67.97	44.09	70.24	78.82	60.78
Belgaum	46.47	61.23	31.07	58.85	71.53	45.80
Bellary	38.71	52.73	24.34	50.29	63.49	36.82
Bidar	39.43	53.85	24.51	56.71	69.22	43.64
Bijapur	50.91	66.09	35.29	51.97	65.95	37.32
Chamrajnagar				47.24	55.64	38.59
Chickamagalur	57.46	67.59	47.19	69.59	78.42	60.70
Chitradurga	48.69	61.36	31.42	60.72	71.84	49.12
Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dakshin Kannada	65.5	72.79	58.16	79.72	87.07	72.69
Davanagere	72.37	81.65	64.00	62.75	73.04	52.02
Dharwad				60.77	73.13	47.70
Gadag	52.34	66.7	37.13	61.55	76.40	46.28
Gulbarga				42.28	54.93	29.43
Hassan	30.36	44.32	16.06	65.23	75.94	54.72
Haveri	52.4	65.51	39.56	65.91	76.61	54.52
Kodagu				76.10	82.14	70.10
Kolar	43.16	56.79	29.06	57.09	68.87	44.99
Koppal				51.01	66.10	35.81
Mandya	44.19	55.89	32.12	57.74	67.82	47.65
Mysore	36.00	46.01	25.53	51.84	61.01	42.31
Raichur	30.42	44.26	16.48	42.49	56.09	28.86
Ramanagaram	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shimoga	55.48	66.38	44.24	69.61	78.45	60.66
Tumkur	50.23	63.00	36.98	63.39	74.25	52.29
Udupi				79.35	86.85	72.97
Uttar Kannada	62.1	72.58	51.31	72.65	81.56	63.52
Yadgir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka State	47.69	60.3	34.76	59.33	70.45	48.01

Source: Population Census - 1991 and 2001

Looking at the gender gap in literacy in the rural population across the districts, backward districts such as Belgaum, Bijapur, Bidar, Chitradurga, and Gadag revealed the highest gender gap of 30.0 per cent in 1991. Even districts such as Hassan, Kolar and Raichur revealed a gender gap to the extent of

280 per cent in 1991. The lowest gender gap of 14.6 and 17.7 were recorded by D.K and Davanagere districts in this decade. However, in the following decade of 2001, districts such as Bagalkote, Gadag, Koppal and Bijapur reveal a gender gap in literacy to the extent of 29-30.0 per cent. Gadag and Bijapur with their high gender gap indicate that rural women continue to receive a raw deal in education. What is more worrying is that Davanagere and Gadag districts have further widened the literacy gap between rural men and women. Districts such as D.K and Raichur maintained the same level of gender inequality in literacy even during 2001.

ILLITERACY AMONG THE SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION (6-19)

Karnataka state has the dubious distinction of having about a quarter of its population in the school age bracket as illiterate. The national surveys conducted by the Union Ministry of Health & Family Welfare (NFHS) do indicate the prevalence of illiteracy among the school-age population. Regretfully, even those who attend school among this population are also found to be illiterate. Data collated from the three NFHS surveys and various rounds of surveys of ASER by Pratham corroborate this unacceptable fact. On analyzing the datasets to examine illiteracy among girls in the school age population, it is found that illiteracy was far higher among girls as compared to boys in 1992-93. However, by 2005-06, the incidence has not only been significantly reduced (24.4 per cent), but the gender gap has also been bridged. This suggests that the initiatives taken by the state during the last one and half decades have benefited girls much more than boys.

Table 13. Illiteracy among 6-14 years population- NFHS Survey (Percentage)

NFHS Survey	Male	Female
NFHS-1(1992-93)	48.8	67.3
NFHS-2(1998-99)	27.4	36.4
NFHS-3 (2005-06)	24.8	24.4

[Source: NFHS- I, II & III]

ILLITERACY AMONG SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION: DISAGGREGATE ANALYSIS

Although, overall, the state reveals a reduction of illiteracy over the years among girls in the school age cohort population, on further examining this between 3 age cohorts of 6-9, 10-14 and 15-19 to find out which age cohort has benefited the most, it is noticed from the table that in all the 3 age cohorts, illiteracy was greater among girls than boys. Further, it was the highest among the 15-19 age cohort, and this cohort has been able to reduce illiteracy significantly as compared to the 2 younger age cohorts. What is disconcerting is the fact that illiteracy prevails to the extent of almost 25.0 per cent among girls in the youngest cohort of 6-9 years. Considering the fact that this age group is still in their formative years of primary education and that about 23.0 per cent of boys in this age group are also illiterate, it

may be hoped that these children will pick up literacy skills gradually in the next few years. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the 6-9 age cohorts face the risk of being exposed to a low quality of education leading to lack of acquisition of literacy skills. If this is not corrected immediately, the chances of their survival in the school also diminish.

Similarly, looking at the school age population in urban and rural Karnataka, both these regions reveal the same overall trend. That is to say, the older age cohort of 15-19 revealed a higher incidence of illiteracy in 1992-93 and more girl illiterates than boys in all the 3 age cohorts. Rural regions reflect the highest rates among the females in the older age group. More than 50.0 per cent of female population in this age cohort were found to be illiterate. However, by 2005-06, there was a substantial reduction of illiteracy in this cohort. Not only this, even the differences that existed to the extent of 24.0 per cent points between male and female population in 92-93 was ironed out to less than 1.0 per cent in 2005-06. This, indeed, is a remarkable achievement for girls.

Table 14: Illiteracy among 6-19 age cohort population

Category	Illiteracy among 6-9 age-cohort			Illiteracy among 10-14 age-cohort			Illiteracy among 15-19 age-cohort		
	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06
Male	30.4	14.5	23.0	18.4	12.9	7.7	22.2	17.6	8.1
Female	35.2	18.2	24.9	32.1	18.2	12.9	42.0	28.0	9.5
Total	32.7	16.3	10.7	25.2	15.5	11.7	32.7	22.8	8.8
Urban Male	20.0	6.8	10.0	10.4	7.0	10.4	13.3	11.0	7.9
Urban Female	19.4	9.2	9.1	17.1	7.7	9.4	22.6	12.4	10.2
Urban Total	19.7	7.9	9.5	13.7	7.3	9.9	18.2	11.7	9.0
Rural Male	34.9	18.2	11.1	22.0	15.6	12.5	26.4	21.3	8.3
Rural Female	42.2	21.8	10.5	38.9	23.3	11.5	50.9	36.0	9.1
Rural Total	38.3	20.0	10.8	30.3	19.4	12.0	39.5	28.8	8.7

[Source: NFHS- I- 1992-93; NFHS-II-1998-99; NFHS-III- 2005-06]

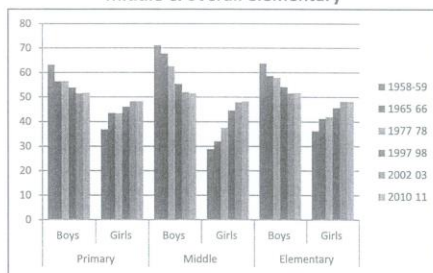
GIRLS' EDUCATION: PARTICIPATION TRENDS IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

Karnataka has made great strides with respect to enhancing access to schooling facilities at the elementary and secondary stages of education. This has resulted in a greater mobilisation of children, including girls, at different stages of education. Girls' participation in schools has seen an enormous increase over the years both with respect to absolute numbers and a share in the overall enrolment (table). From a mere 7.97 lakh in 1958-59 at the elementary stage, their number has seen fivefold increase to 36.0 lakhs in 2010-11. Their numbers have seen steady increase both at the primary and middle levels over the period. More interestingly, their share in overall enrolment both at the primary and middle school levels have increased quite impressively, moving

towards gender parity. While at the primary level, their share has increased from 36.9 per cent to 48.3 per cent, at the middle level, it has increased from 28.8 per cent to 48.4 per cent during the period. As a matter of fact girls have registered a higher rate of increase at the middle level as compared to the primary over the years. While, at the primary level, the percentage point increase is 11.4, at the middle level it is 19.6 during the said period. This suggests that girls' retention rate at the middle level has also improved over the years. However, notwithstanding such achievements in enrolment, the gender gap in enrolment has remained about 2.0 per cent points in the decade from 2000 onwards. It may be noted that the state launched the SSA programme in 2001 and there were several efforts to mobilize more girls in schools.

Table 15: Enrolment of girls (in lakhs) and as a share (%) of total enrolment in the Elementary stage of education

Year	Primary (I-V)			Middle (VI-VII)			Elementary (overall I-VII)		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
1958-59	12.87	7.52 (36.9)	20.39	1.11	0.45 (28.8)	1.56	13.98	7.97 (36.3)	21.95
1965-66	16.11	12.44 (43.6)	28.55	4.73	2.24 (32.1)	6.97	20.84	14.68 (41.3)	35.52
1977-78	20.23	15.53 (43.4)	35.76	6.84	4.10 (37.5)	10.94	27.07	19.63 (42.0)	46.70
1997-98	37.29	31.83 (46.1)	69.12	12.73	10.24 (44.6)	22.97	50.02	42.07 (45.7)	92.09
2002-03	34.23	32.10 (48.4)	66.33	10.68	9.85 (47.9)	20.53	44.91	41.95 (48.3)	86.86
2002-03	30.30	28.57 (48.5)	58.87		8.60 (47.2)	18.21	-	-	-
2003-04	30.25	28.53 (48.5)	58.78		9.50 (47.5)	20.00		41.49 (48.1)	86.29
2005-06		27.90 (48.5)	57.58		13.83 (47.9)	28.86		41.74 (48.3)	86.44
2010-11	28.02	26.13 (48.3)	54.15	10.38	9.73 (48.4)	20.11	38.40	35.86 (48.3)	74.26

Fig.5: Enrolment share of boys & girls in primary, middle & overall elementary


As can be seen from the share of girls' enrolment, while at the primary level, the state has registered a modest jump of about 2.0 per cent, at the middle level, the impact of SSA seems to be more with a 4.0 per cent increase.

THE GROSS ENROLMENT RATIOS (GER) AND NET ENROLMENT RATIOS (NER)

Girls are revealing better GER and NER as compared to boys thereby indicating their improved status. During the year, 2011-12, at the primary level, the girls' GER was 107.7 as compared to 107.1 of boys. Similarly at the upper primary level, the girls' GER was 105.4 as compared to that of boys (104.9). Considering

the NER as well, girls put up a better show as compared to their boy counterparts. At the primary level, girls' NER was 99.3 per cent as compared to 98.7 per cent of the boys. Similarly at the upper primary level, girls' NER was 89.1 per cent as compared to 88.1 of the boys.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATES AMONG 6-17 YEARS POPULATION

As revealed from the NFHS survey data, one can see that girls' enrolment at all stages of school education has increased significantly over the years; it would also be worthwhile to examine whether the school attendance rates have also improved over the years. From the table below, it may be noticed that there is improvement among girls for both cohorts of 6-10 and 11-14 years, the latter recording a relatively higher gain. The gain is also greater for rural girls as compared to their urban cohorts. However, despite this, the difference in attendance rates between boys and girls for the 11-14 age cohort has not reduced much. Examining the ASER-2010 survey data, it is noticed that rural Karnataka is still confronted

Table 16: School Attendance Rates

Category	NFHS-I Survey [1998-99]			NFHS-III Survey [2005-06]		ASER 2010		
	6-10	11-14	15-17	6-10	11-14	7-10	11-14	15-16
Urban Male	94.3	81.3	64.6	91.2	85.7			
Urban Female	93.0	82.9	56.1	93.7	84.5			
Urban Total	93.7	82.1	60.5	92.4	85.1			
Rural Male	84.8	72.2	44.8	89.0	80.3	1.2	4.0	16.2
Rural Female	81.9	60.7	27.1	87.8	69.1	1.8	5.9	14.3
Rural Total	83.3	66.4	36.0	88.4	74.6	1.5	4.9	15.2
Male	87.7	75.2	52.1	-	-			
Female	85.2	68.0	37.4	-	-			
Total	86.4	71.6	44.9	-	-			

Source: NFHS- I- 1992-93; NFHS-II-1998-99; NFHS-III- 2005-06

with absenteeism as many children in the school-age category fail to turn up at school. One can see that as much as 15.2 per cent of the older age cohort-15-16 do not attend school. The only redeeming factor is that a slightly lower proportion of girls are not in school as compared to their male counterparts. Still, about 14.3 per cent of the girls in this age cohort do not go to school. Thus, the state efforts to improve attendance among girls with various incentive schemes do not seem to have yielded positive results with respect to certain sections of rural girls.

GIRLS' DROP OUT FROM SCHOOLS

While girls are found to be participating in schools at an increasing rate, it is gratifying to know that conversely their dropout rate has been declining substantially. Due to several efforts undertaken by the state to improve the participation of girls in school education, the dropout rate which was substantial and much higher than for boys in the 70s has come down significantly.

A number of incentives to promote their retention in schools coupled with a variety of interventions to mobilize the community to develop positive and favourable attitudes

towards girls' education have indeed yielded positive results. As of now, while only 2.2 per cent of girls at the primary stage dropout, at the upper primary stage there is slightly higher proportion of dropouts. Nevertheless, the rate is not alarming or a matter of serious concern. Similarly, the number of girl children not attending schools also came down substantially in the state from 53, 527 in 2005 to 18,314 in 2011.

OUT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN (OOSC) – A POSITIVE TREND FOR GIRLS

Due to the efforts of the state under the SSA programme, not only has girls participation increased at both levels of primary education, but it has also resulted in the decline of out of school girls as seen from the table below. In the year 2001, when the SSA was launched in the state, as per the child census conducted, a total of 10,53,744 children were identified in the age group 6-14 years of age as not enrolled in schools or out-of-school children. These children constituted about 11.72 per cent of the 6-14 age group population in the state. Overall, there was no difference between the percentages of OOSC boys and OOSC girls. As a matter of fact, a slightly higher percent of boys (11.53) than girls (11.12) was found among OOSC. However,

Table 17: Drop-out rate at different stages of School Education in Karnataka from 2000- 2001 to 2010-11

Year	(I-V classes)			(VI-VII classes)			(IX-X classes)		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
2000-01	13.22	16.42	14.92	25.54	26.64	26.12	34.28	33.75	34.00
2001-02	12.34	14.72	13.6	24.77	26.1	25.47	33.87	33.72	33.79
2002-03	7.62	10.41	9.08	22.33	24.69	23.57	31.04	32.41	31.76
2003-04	15.82	18.13	17.02	28.15	29.88	29.06	29.04	30.11	29.6
2004-05	12.82	13.66	13.26	24	24.78	24.4	32.6	33.35	32.99
2005-06	10.96	12.14	11.57	21.34	22.63	22.01	30.46	31.96	31.25
2006-07	8.11	8.78	8.46	18.01	18.5	18.26	26.37	27.17	26.79
2007-08	7.62	6.52	7.09	14.19	13.32	13.77	24.48	23.63	24.71
2010-11	2.2	-	-	5.6	-	-			

(Source: Annual Reports, SSA, Govt. of Karnataka)

at the disaggregate level, the share of SC/ST children constituted the highest percentage (19.18) and from among them girls were in a higher proportion (16.79) of the corresponding age group. Further, a total of 6,80,995 children from out of the total OOSC belonged to five districts, Raichur, Gulbarga, Koppal, Bagalkote & Bidar all located in the north eastern region of the state. The children in these districts together constituted 58.0 per cent and a higher share among them was girls. In a span of about 5 years, the state was able to reduce the number of OOSC to 53,527. Several initiatives targeted only girls in the backward districts.

From a total of 53,527 in 2005, the number has been reduced to 22,378 in 2012-13. The girls' share which was little above 50.0 per cent in 2005-06, has come down to 43.0 per cent. Thus, it is the boys who constitute a major share in OOSC rather than girls and this indicates that the SSA programme efforts to mobilize more girls into school have yielded positive benefits in terms of a reduced share among the OOSC.

Table 18: Out of School Girls (6-14)

Year	No of OOSC Girls	Total OOSC	Share of Girls (%)
2003-04	200405	405443	49.4
2005-06	53527	105037	50.9
2006-07	39084	75825	51.5
2007-08	46400	93276	49.7
2008-09	35854	72365	49.5
2009-10	17097	35637	47.9
2010-11	55749	111218	50.1
2011-12	18134	39841	45.5
2012-13	22378	51994	43.0

(Source: Annual Reports, SSA, Govt. of Karnataka)

GENDER PARITY

The gender parity index is computed using the difference in the proportion of girls and boys enrolled in schools. Considering the index of

gender parity, it may be seen that over the years it has improved at the primary level and at the upper primary level, except for one year, where there was a reduction in the difference. In subsequent years, it has remained at 0.93 itself. Nevertheless, the trend suggests that there is gender parity in enrolment and the proportion of boys and girls is nearing unity. However, it is to be noted that the index cannot equal 1 due to the existing difference in the sex ratio.

Table 19: Gender Parity Index

Year	Primary	Upper Primary
2005-06	0.94	0.93
2006-07	0.94	0.92
2007-08	0.94	0.93
2008-09	0.94	0.93
2009-10	0.94	0.93
2010-11	0.93	0.93

(Source: Annual Reports, SSA, Govt. of Karnataka)

GIRLS' ENROLMENT TRENDS – DISTRICT-WISE ANALYSIS

Although, the state of Karnataka, overall, has registered impressive gains with respect to girls' participation in elementary education as reflected through enrolment trends over the years, it is also a known fact that the state hides disparities across regions. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) and the percentage of girls' enrolment in primary and upper primary classes presented for the period 2005-06 to 2008-09 revealed that there was a consistent improvement in the GPI and girls' share in enrolment. In a number of districts, the improvement in the GPI in primary enrolment has been quite impressive when compared with that of the upper primary during the same period.

There are districts in the north eastern regions which have consistently recorded poor

literacy levels among females, which is an outcome of the dismal performance of schools in retaining girls and arresting their premature withdrawal from schools. Thus, on analyzing the girls' enrolment trends over the years from 2002-03 and 2010-11 across districts in the state it is seen that there are mixed trends. A number of districts (18) have recorded a positive gain in girls' enrolment. These include some backward districts such as Bellary, Raichur, Bagalkote, Koppal, Chamarajanagar, Bangalore Rural, Belgaum, Chikkodi, Kolar & Chikkaballapur, Gadag etc. Out of the remaining 15 districts in the state, while 14 districts indicate a decreased share in girls' enrolment, one district reveals the same level between 2002-03 and 2010-11. It is worrying that districts such as Gulbarga, Yadgir, Haveri, and Bidar continue to reveal low status with respect to the girls' enrolment share over the time. This category also includes Mysore, Mandya, Davanagere and Bangalore urban districts. Although, the drop in the girls' share in enrolment at this stage of education could perhaps be attributed to low retention and a high dropout rate of girls in schools from these districts, perhaps, one cannot possibly rule out the factor of the missing girl child in the state's demographic transition trends.

Anyway, this merits deeper investigation to understand the declining share of girls' enrolment. One has to probe this phenomenon. A decline in fertility level may be a possible reason. Some districts have recorded an increased enrolment share among girls both at the primary and the upper primary levels, and a number of districts have recorded improved participation from girls both in lower and upper primary schools. It is also heartening to note that

Table 20: District-wise share (%) of Girls' Enrolment in Primary & Upper Primary, 2002-03 and 2010-11

Districts	Lower Primary (Class I-V)		Upper Primary (Class VI-VII)	
	2002-03	2010-11	2002-03	2010-11
Bangalore North	51.4	48.6	51.3	48.5
Bangalore South	51.0	48.4	50.9	48.5
Bangalore Rural	47.0	48.8	47.4	48.9
Kolar North	48.7	48.8	48.3	48.9
Kolar South	45.4	48.5	46.1	48.8
Tumkur North	47.8	48.1	47.6	47.8
Tumkur South	48.5	48.2	48.3	48.3
Shimoga	49.3	48.8	49.0	48.6
Chitradurga	47.9	48.5	47.4	48.5
Davanagere	48.8	48.3	48.9	48.3
Mysore	49.6	48.9	49.3	48.9
Chamarajanagar	47.9	48.5	48.0	48.7
Mandya	48.8	48.0	48.8	48.1
Hassan	49.8	48.9	49.7	48.9
Chickmagalur	47.1	48.5	47.1	48.7
Kodagu	47.8	48.9	47.6	49.0
Dakshina Kannada	46.6	48.5	47.0	48.4
Udupi	47.9	48.6	48.0	48.5
Belgaum North	46.5	48.0	46.4	48.2
Belgaum South	47.1	47.5	46.3	47.6
Bijapur	52.6	47.3	53.1	47.4
Bagalkote	47.8	48.0	47.1	48.0
Dharwad	46.4	48.9	46.8	48.9
Gadag	48.4	48.5	48.0	48.5
Haveri	49.1	48.9	49.1	48.9
Uttara Kannada	49.3	48.4	49.1	48.5
Uttara Kannada(Sirsi)	-	-	-	48.2
Gulbarga North	47.8	47.8	49.1	47.9
Gulbarga South	46.7	46.7	46.4	46.1
Bellary	48.3	48.3	46.6	48.2
Raichur	47.9	47.9	44.9	47.7
Koppal	48.3	48.3	47.6	48.1
Bidar	48.2	48.2	48.9	48.3
Ramanagar	-	-	-	48.6
State	48.4	48.3	48.3	48.3

(Source: Annual Reports-2002-03 & 2010-11, SSA, Govt. of Karnataka)

an increasing number of districts from the northern backward region have improved in terms of girls' enrolment.

Table 21: Category of Districts Showing Differential Trends in Share of Girls Enrolment in Elementary Stage

Districts recording an increased share of girls' enrolment both in primary and upper primary schools between 2002-03 and 2010-11	Districts recording a decreased share of girls' enrolment both in primary and upper primary schools between 2002-03 and 2010-11	Districts maintaining the status quo in recording share of girls' enrolment both in primary and upper primary schools between 2002-03 and 2010-11
Bangalore Rural Kolar, Chickballapur, Chitradurga Chamarajanagar, Chickmagalur Kodagu, Dakshina Kannada, Udupi, Belgaum, Chikkodi, Bagalkote, Dharwad, Gadag, Tumkur North, Bellary, Raichur, Koppal	Bangalore North Bangalore South, Davanagere Shimoga, Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Bijapur, Haveri, Uttara Kannada, Gulbarga North, Gulbarga South*, Bidar	Tumkur South**

*Yadgir; ** Madhugiri

ARE GIRLS INCREASING THEIR VISIBILITY IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS AS WELL?

Karnataka is a state which has the distinction of being a progressive state with an impressive record in both the economic and educational sectors. The state, over time, has built a credible record in primary education and maintains a relatively high position in the country in the Education Development Index². Under the SSA programme, the state is credited to have made significant progress in improving access to schools by opening a large number of government schools in rural areas.

However, during the last two decades, the state has also seen burgeoning private schools as a result of the change in the landscape of the state economy and an escalating demand for English medium education. Between 2004-05 and 2010-11, the state saw a rise in the proportion of private schools from 17.91 per cent to 21.72 per cent. With the rise in private schools, the enrolments reveal shifting trends in favour of private schools. In this context, an attempt is made to find out to what extent this phenomenon has impacted girls' enrolment.

Table 22: Share of Girls in Govt & Private Schools

Year	Share of Girls (%) in Govt. & Pvt. Schools								
	Class I-VII			Class VIII-X			Class I-X		
	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt. UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA
2007-08	49.7	48.9	44.5	50.2	47.4	45.6	49.8	48.1	44.4
2009-10	50.0	48.8	44.6	50.2	47.8	44.2	50.0	48.2	44.5
2010-11	50.2	48.4	44.6	50.3	48.4	44.6	50.2	48.4	44.6

Table 23: Share of SC Girls in Govt & Private Schools

Year	Share of Girls (%) in Govt. & Pvt. Schools								
	Class I-VII			Class VIII-X			Class I-X		
	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt. UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA
2007-08	48.9	48.7	43.6	48.4	46.2	43.6	48.8	47.5	43.6
2009-10	49.1	48.5	43.6	48.3	45.9	43.9	49.0	47.2	43.7
2010-11	49.2	48.0	43.0	48.8	47.0	43.4	49.1	47.5	43.1

² Education Development Index(EDI) is computed based on aggregation of four components such as access, infrastructure, teacher and outcome indicators.

Table 24: Share of ST Girls in Govt & Private Schools

Year	Share of Girls (%) in Govt. & Pvt. Schools								
	Class I-VII			Class VIII-X			Class I-X		
	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt. UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA
2007-08	48.9	46.9	42.3	46.4	44.9	41.8	48.6	45.7	42.2
2009-10	49.3	46.2	42.4	47.9	46.6	43.6	49.0	46.4	42.7
2010-11	49.5	46.2	43.0	47.9	46.9	43.4	49.2	46.6	43.1

Table 25: Share of Minority Girls in Govt & Private Schools

Year	Share of Minority Girls in Govt. & Pvt. Schools in Lacks								
	Class I-VII			Class VIII-X			Class I-X		
	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt. UA	Govt	Pvt Aid	Pvt UA
2007-08	51.61	50.11	45.42	53.91	51.42	47.21	51.94	50.67	45.77
2009-10#	52.01	50.61	46.04	53.27	50.94	47.56	52.24	50.75	46.34
2010-11	52.06	49.74	45.45	53.93	51.00	48.01	52.40	50.29	45.94

Data includes other minorities also

As can be seen from the table, government schools and private aided schools tend to be the largest educational service providers for girls in the state as compared to private unaided schools. As both government and private aided schools offer free education as well as other incentives, girls' participation in these schools is obviously high. However, the differences in the share of girls' enrolment across these three types of schools do not seem to be very narrow, between 4 to 5 per cent. A similar trend is seen even in the case of SC and ST girls, except for the fact that ST girls seem to be visible in private unaided schools one per cent less as compared to SC and girls in general. Interestingly, in the case of minority Muslim girls, their share in both government and private aided schools is much higher than for boys as it exceeds 50.0 per cent, but even in private unaided schools, their visibility is 2-3 per cent more than that of other girls.

GIRLS' TRANSITION FROM ELEMENTARY TO SECONDARY STAGE OF EDUCATION

From the increasing trend of enrolment and also the higher rate of retention at the higher

primary stage, there are positive signs with respect to girls' participation at the secondary stage of education. However, this is overall for the State as a whole. A closer scrutiny of the district-wise analysis of the enrolment trends of girls at the terminal level of the elementary stage as compared to the entry level at the secondary stage of education reveals that the transition is not smooth for girls in some of the backward districts of the state. The results of the analysis for the following districts using time series data are presented in the table below.

While the transition loss from the elementary to the secondary stage of education in the case of girls is found to be steadily declining for the state as a whole, it is quite disturbing to know that certain districts, particularly those located in the northern regions still reveal a transition loss above the state average indicating that girls' education deserves more intensive efforts. What is more disturbing is that these are the same districts which have been consistently received immense support under the SSA and also under other central schemes, yet the benefits accruing to girls seem to be far less than

expected. The only 2 districts where girls seem to have been benefited are Uttara Kannada and Chickballapur.

Table 26: Districts Revealing Highest Transition Loss for Girls from class 6 to 7/ 7 to 8

Districts	2007-08	2009-10	2010-11
Bidar	-23.77	-4.55	-10.64
Bijapur	-19.48	-19.56	-16.99
Bagalkote	-18.27	-11.53	-11.97
Raichur	-17.59	-17.17	-7.22
Chikkodi	-15.67	-5.80	-9.39
Yadgir	-14.78	-35.42	-16.94
Bellary	-14.74	-14.07	-14.70
Belgaum	-10.21	-9.50	-9.39
Chitradurga	-14.18	-8.02	-8.13
Uttara Kannada	-13.95	-4.08	-3.41
Davanagere	-13.94	-11.26	-10.54
Gulbarga	-11.99	-0.65	-10.92
Gadag	-11.64	-6.63	-9.47
Chickballapur	-11.47	-4.38	-3.40
Koppal	-10.81	-11.13	-13.92
State	-8.65	-5.55	-5.18

Source: Analytical Reports: 2007-08, 2008-09, 2009-10, SSA, GoK

GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Looking at the girls' participation at the secondary or high school stage, it may be noticed that the state reveals a positive trend over the period. Girls who constituted 52,000 in 1958-59, now constitute more than 12.53 lakh in 2010-11. This indeed is a tremendous progress. Similarly, their share in the overall enrolment at this stage of education has also seen a remarkable increase from less than 25.0 per cent in 58-59 to 48.1 per cent in 2000-2011.

Thus, overall, considering the participation trends of girls at the primary, upper primary and secondary levels, it is clear that girls' participation is increasing at all

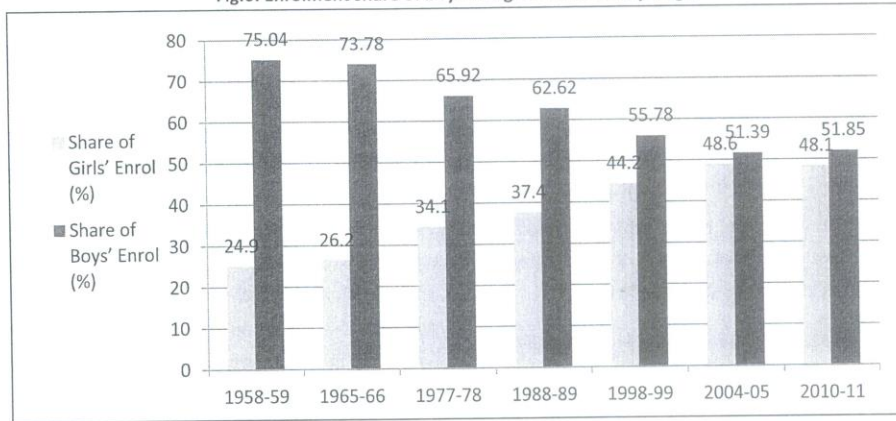
stages of school education. One appreciable trend is that girls, who revealed differential participation levels initially during 1958-59 at the three levels, have been able to iron out these differences across the primary, upper primary and secondary stages. Girls constituted 37.7 per cent at the primary, 29.2 per cent at the upper primary and 24.95 per cent at the secondary levels indicating that lower proportions of girls could progress to higher levels. However, by 2010-10, girls do indicate that their progression rate from lower to higher levels has improved considerably to reach the same level of participation, which is currently 48 % at all the three levels. This reflects that success and completion rates at the primary level have been pretty good. It is evident from the enrolment trends over the years that Lower Primary, Upper Primary and High Schools in the state have been able to bridge the gender parity. In fact, girls who constituted slightly more than a quarter of the total enrolment have emerged to become almost equal partners of boys in schools. This indeed is an encouraging trend in moving towards greater gender educational equality.

Table 27: Enrolment of girls (in lakhs) and their share (%) in secondary stage of education

	B	G	T	Share of Girls' Enrolment (%)
1958-59	158675	52754	211429	24.9
1965-66	331657	117841	449498	26.2
1977-78	386147	199564	585711	34.1
1988-89	738200	440600	1178800	37.4
1998-99	985300	781000	1766300	44.2
2004-05	1117900	1057200	2175100	48.6
2010-11	1350548	1253698	2604246	48.1

(Source: Annual Reports, SSA, Govt. of Karnataka)

Fig.6: Enrolment share of boys and girls in secondary stage



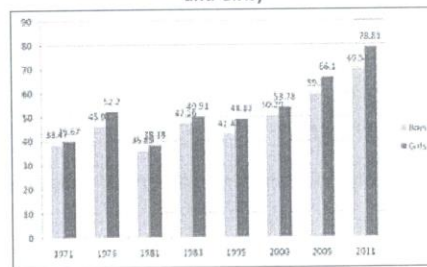
COMPLETION RATES IN SECONDARY STAGE

During the year 2008-09, the total enrolment in class 8 was 9, 64,335 in the state. Out of this girls constituted 4,61,132 (47.8 per cent). Of these girls, 3, 71, 957 appeared for the class X examination in 2011. The percentage of girls appearing for the class X examination was 80.7 as compared to boys which was 76.4, thereby indicating that girls' participation in secondary schools is much higher as compared to boys. Further, the pass percentage for girls was better with 66.8 as compared to boys who showed a pass per cent of 60.2.

GIRLS' PERFORMANCE IN SSLC EXAMINATION

An important indicator of girls' achievement in school education is their success rate in the Board examination. It is a known fact that every year, it is the girls who outperform boys in both the secondary and higher stages of education. As can be seen from the graph below, the girls in the state have consistently outperformed their male counterparts from the 70s till 2011. More interestingly, the proportion of girls in this direction seems to reveal a general increasing trend over the years.

Fig 7: Percentage Comparison of SSLC Results (Boys and Girls)



PARTICIPATION OF GIRLS IN HIGHER SECONDARY EDUCATION

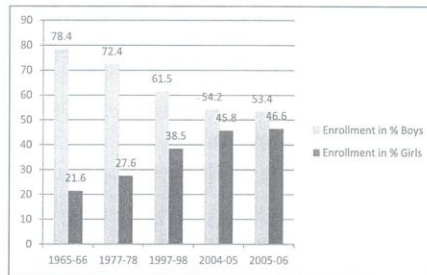
With the successful universalisation of elementary education in the state, the rush for secondary and higher education is on the rise. The enrolment of students is showing an upward swing and girls are seen to not be lagging behind. Higher success rates and the better performance of girls in the secondary board examination has encouraged more girls to enrol for higher secondary and university education. More and more girls are becoming visible in college and university campuses. Girls are found to have made remarkable progress in the higher secondary/plus two stages which is

also the Pre-University stage of education. As seen from the table below, from about a 20 per cent share in the overall enrolment at this stage during 1965-66, girls have more than doubled their share with 46.6 per cent in 2005-06. The gender parity at this stage is being bridged much faster. The success of universalising elementary education and girls enhanced participation in secondary schools seems to be motivating more girls to pursue a pre-degree education.

Table 28: Girls' Enrolment in Pre-University Education

Year	Enrolment in No's			Share of Boys & Girls (%)	
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
1965-66	17705	4889	22594	78.4	21.6
1977-78	38350	14589	52939	72.4	27.6
1997-98	278104	174308	452412	61.5	38.5
2004-05	407700	343900	751600	54.2	45.8
2005-06	418047	364656	782703	53.4	46.6

Figure 8: Girls Enrolment at the Pre – University Level



GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

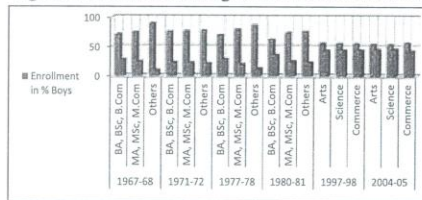
When looking at the participation of girls in higher education at the degree level, from the table below, it is clear that girls have made significant progress. What is more interesting is that their share in Science degree education was found to be much higher than Arts or

Commerce in 2004-05. This could, perhaps, be due to the fact that with an increased number of boys moving towards Engineering & Technology and Management programmes, girls' participation might be on the upswing. Anyway this needs to be probed further. It is quite interesting to note that girls are not confined to Arts courses. Rather, they seem to be equally distributed across the three disciplines of Arts, Science and Commerce. The trend indicates that some kind of gender balancing is emerging in boys' and girls' representation in Arts, Science and Commerce education at the degree level. This however needs to be probed further with updated datasets to capture the current scenario.

Table 29: Girls' Enrolment in General Degree Education

Year	Course	Enrolment			Enrolment in %	
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
1967-68#	BA/BSc/B.Com	31124	12605	43729	71.2	28.8
1971-72#	BA/BSc/B.Com	65722	20436	86158	76.3	23.7
1977-78	BA/BSc/B.Com	71799	30086	101885	70.5	29.5
1980-81	BA/BSc/B.Com	106584	63072	169656	62.8	37.2
1997-98	Arts	100905	78671	179576	56.2	43.8
	Science	39562	31830	71392	55.4	44.6
	Commerce	52176	41798	93974	55.5	44.5
2004-05	Arts	130853	109202	240055	54.5	45.5
	Science	47031	40501	87532	53.7	46.3
	Commerce	73256	54843	128099	57.2	42.8

Figure 9: Enrolment in Degree and Post Graduation



EQUITY ISSUES

With an increasing number of women in higher education, it would be interesting to examine how they are distributed across the six regions in the state and also across government and private colleges with respect to their social background. However, time series data at disaggregate levels are not readily available. Whatever little data are available for the previous decades are not presented in any uniform pattern thus making it difficult for comparison over a period of time. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to examine SC/ST girls' participation across regions as well as in government and Private Aided colleges for the year 2008-09. It is noted that the state has a share of 46.1 per cent private colleges at the degree level, which receive aid from the state government. Women as students in both government and aided colleges enjoy free education and certain benefits if they belong to socially and economically disadvantaged sections. In fact, the share of private-aided colleges is not uniformly distributed across regions in the state. Both Mangalore University

(which covers coastal and hilly districts) and Karnataka University (which covers a large number of backward districts in the north and north eastern regions) have more than half of colleges under the private aided sector. Bangalore has a 47% per cent share of private aided colleges and Gulbarga University also has more than a 40% share of private aided colleges. If one adds private unaided colleges, then the share will eventually increase across all the regions. Considering girls' participation in government and private colleges, it is noticed from the table below that there is an inequitable spread across regions. Bangalore, Mangalore and Shimoga regions, surprisingly, reveal that more than half of the students enrol in private colleges are girls. In the Gulbarga region, the girls' share is 40.0 per cent and less in private colleges. In the Mysore region, over 58.0 per cent of girls are found in government colleges. The higher rate of participation among girls in private colleges reflects a progressive trend and also their affiliation to certain economic class background as well as urban locations as most private colleges are located in urban areas.

Table 30: Distribution of Students in Govt. & Private Aided Colleges across Regions in Karnataka (2008-09)

Region	Govt.		Pvt. Aided		Total (Govt+ Pvt. Aided)	% of enrolment in Pvt. aided colleges
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Bangalore	23589	21789 (48.1%)	24662	30470 (55.3%)	100510	54.9
Mysore	10693	14983 (58.4%)	11748	11631 (50.6%)	48660	48.0
Kuvempu	11448	9615 (45.6%)	8938	9599 (51.8%)	39600	46.8
Mangalore	3592	5822 (61.8%)	12580	14972 (54.3%)	36966	74.5
Karnataka	8783	7059 (44.6%)	34044	23944 (41.3%)	73830	78.6
Gulbarga	10264	4899 (32.3%)	12986	10470 (44.6%)	38619	60.7
Total	68369	64167 (48.4%)	104958	101086 (49.1)	338580	60.9

S.C/ S.T GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

With the State Government subsidising higher education for SC/ST students in general and offering a variety of incentives for SC/ST girls in particular, one hopes to see a steady rise in girls' enrolment trends. Due to the non-availability of time series data, the analysis uses the data for 2008-09. Thus, on looking at SC/ST girls' share in the total SC/ST enrolment at the degree level, it is seen that the highest share of SC/ST girls belong to Mysore and Bangalore. This is aligned with their demographic composition in the region. However, Gulbarga, which has a higher concentration of SC population reveals the lowest share. This could be due to the low supply pool of SC/ST girls at the school level to feed into higher education.

GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN POST-GRADUATE DEGREE EDUCATION

At the post-graduate degree level, the share of girls' enrolment does not show a significant increase as can be seen from the table. The

data need to be updated for the latest years to understand this phenomenon in greater detail.

GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

It is evident that girls are making their presence felt in professional education as well with their increasing visibility in numbers. Interesting trends seem to be emerging. During the 60s, women were predominantly seen in education courses (30.3%) leading to the traditionally feminine career of teaching. Their presence in Medicine was also seen to the extent of 20.0 per cent, which also included paramedical professions such as Nursing and Social Psychiatry. However they were either conspicuously seen or missing in Engineering, Law and Agriculture during this period. Subsequently, during the 70s and 80s, they have begun to improve their participation in all professional courses, albeit modestly. By 2000, one can see their increasing presence in Medicine, Engineering, Law and Agriculture. This, indeed, is a positive trend indicating that women are breaking gender barriers. What is

Table 31: SC/ST Girls in Government & Private-Aided Colleges (2008-09)

	Govt		Pvt Aided		Total SC/ST enrolment	Share of SC/ST girl's enrolment (%)
	B	G	B	G		
Bangalore	9091	5437	4710	4409	23647	24.7
Mysore	4376	3915	1837	1458	11586	46.4
Kuvempu	4121	1775	2420	1655	9971	34.4
Mangalore	477	585	1512	796	3370	40.9
Karnataka	2092	1092	4833	2275	10292	32.7
Gulbarga	3775	1205	4390	1931	11301	27.7
Total	23932	14009	19702	12524	70167	37.8

Table 32: Girls' Enrolment in Post-Graduate Degree Education

Year	Course	Enrolment			Enrolment in %	
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
1967-68#	MA/MSc/M.Com	1676	556	2232	75.1	24.9
1971-72#	MA/MSc/M.Com	4082	1226	5308	76.9	23.1
1977-78	MA/MSc/M.Com	5344	1392	6736	79.3	20.7
1980-81	MA/MSc/M.Com	7610	2673	10283	74.0	25.9

more gratifying is their rising participation in Engineering, Law and Agriculture which had less than a 10.0 per cent share until the mid 90s. Considering the fact that all these courses fall under the broad rubric of male

dominated professions, clearly women's status seems to be improving remarkably. However, which women groups are the major beneficiaries is a key question which merits further investigation.

Table 33: Enrolment Share of Men and Women in Professional Education

Year	Education		Engineering		Law		Medicine		Agriculture		Veterinary	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
1967-68	69.7	30.3	99.0	0.97	96.1	3.9	80.5	19.5	100	Nil	-	-
1971-72	64.6	35.4	95.4	4.6	95.1	4.9	79.2	20.8	87.8	12.2	-	-
1977-78	47.4	52.6	95.2	4.8	95.1	4.9	76.9	23.0	98.4	1.6	-	-
1980-81	43.8	56.2	93.5	6.5	94.6	5.4	77.0	22.9	98.0	1.9	-	-
1986-87	44.6	55.4	93.8	6.2	69.9	30.1	78.4	21.6	95.5	4.5	-	-
1993-94	56.8	43.2	93.5	6.5	90.2	9.8	67.9	32.1	88.7	11.3	-	-
2001-02	56.9	43.1	76.8	23.2	73.8	26.2	54.5	45.5	82.9	17.0	87.1	12.9
2004-05	56.3	43.7	74.7	25.3	72.4	27.6	52.4	47.6	81.9	18.1	84.6	15.4

Fig 10. Percentage share in education

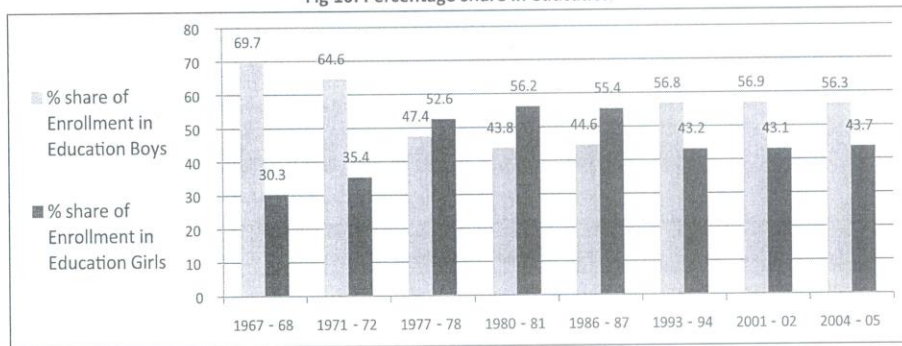


Fig 11. Percentage share in Engineering

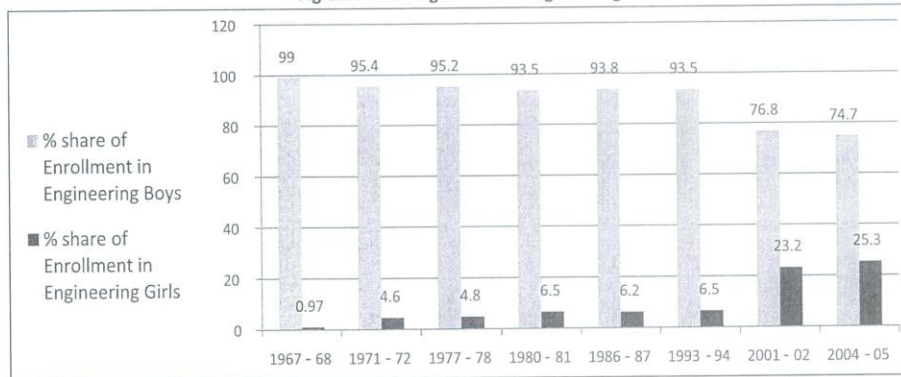


Fig 12. Percentage share in Medicine

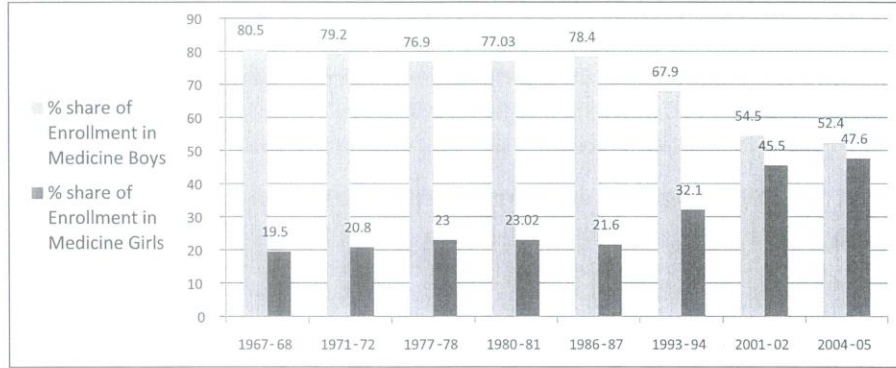


Fig 13. Percentage share in Agriculture

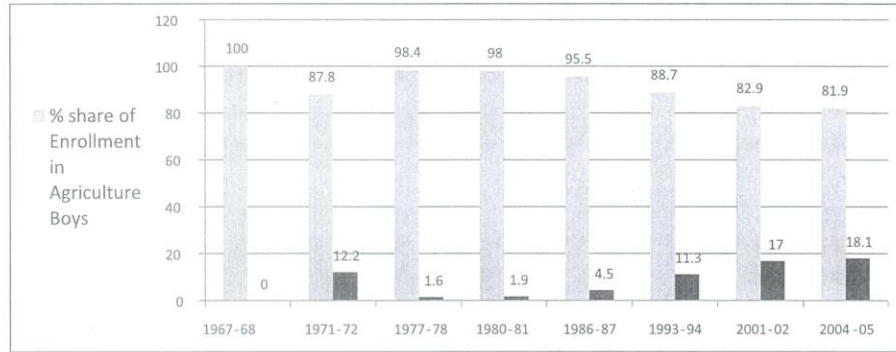


Fig 14. Percentage share in Law

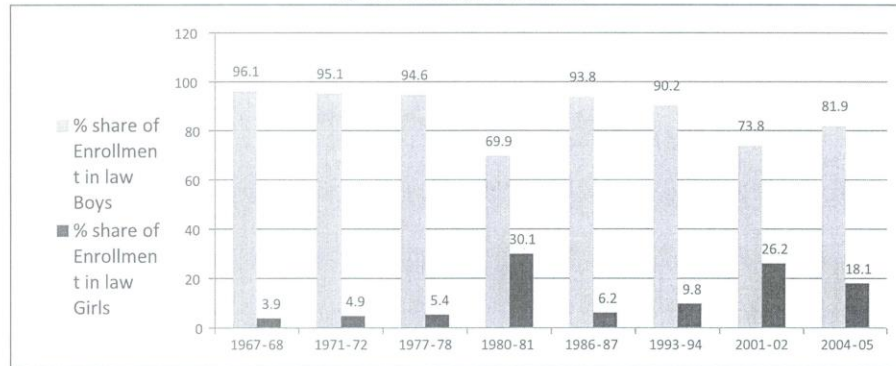
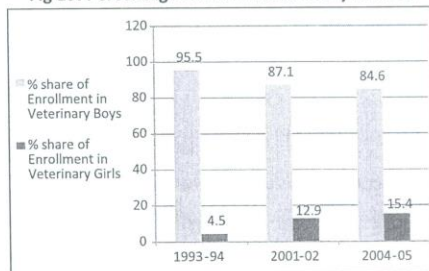


Fig 15. Percentage share in Veterinary Science



CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the educational status of women has been examined using key indicators of participation and performance in comparison with men. For participation, data relating to enrolment, retention, dropout, out of school and attendance have been analysed over the time. Similarly, for performance, literacy, transition rates and percentage of passes in the SSLC examination have been examined. The results of the analysis clearly indicates that overall, girls have improved their visibility in schools and colleges at all levels of education and are almost equalling their male counterparts. A whole lot of incentives and sustained effort of the state, particularly under the national flagship programme evidently have yielded positive results. The analysis clearly points to the fact that urban girls have improved their educational status and in fact with respect to literacy they have even overtaken their rural male counterparts. However, the most disconcerting trend is the widening of the literacy gap between urban and rural women

and not so much between the male and female population. The literacy gap between urban and rural women has widened from 18.0 per cent points in 1951 to 22.0 per cent points in 2011, which is far wider than that of the overall male-female literacy gap of 14.7. Girls outperforming boys in all the board examinations is an accepted reality and this is quite evident with girls improving their performance year after year.

Quite interestingly, girls seem to have gained significantly in higher education over the years. From the 1990s onwards, there appears to be a drastic improvement in girl's participation in higher education at the degree level. They are trying to catch up with their male counterparts. This trend, indeed, is praiseworthy. In professional education also including some male dominated courses such as Engineering, Law, Agriculture etc, women do not seem to be lagging behind. Although one could speculate that all these gains have accrued largely to urban girls, yet one needs to probe the extent of the divide that persists between urban and rural or even among different population segments. It is notable that more than half of the student enrolment in private colleges in educationally advanced regions such as Bangalore, Mysore, Mangalore and Shimoga constitute girls. This clearly indicates the persistence of regional disparity and hence the need for the state to put in more intensive efforts to promote women's participation in the backward districts.

CHAPTER IV

HEALTH STATUS AND HEALTH CARE UTILIZATION

Lekha Subaiya¹

INTRODUCTION

Health is one of the most important indicators of wellbeing. Much attention has been paid in recent years to improving the health conditions of people in general, and women in particular. Women's health in India has long been of serious cause for concern since there are considerably high maternal deaths in the country that could have been prevented. Hence, there has been a concerted effort to improve the health of women and children through various government programmes, such as the Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) and National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) programmes.

In the previous chapter, it was seen that the life expectancy of the population, an important indicator of health, has been steadily rising in the state for both men and women. Recent estimates place the number of years that a new-born in Karnataka can expect to live at 63.6 years for males and 67.1 years for females (see Table 15 in Chapter II). This increase in longevity reflects the improvements in health and health care behaviour in the state. However,

given that women in neighbouring Kerala can expect to live a full 9 years more than women in Karnataka, the issue of women's health and health care utilisation in the state needs to be explored to understand the reasons for the gap. This section of the monograph is focussed on various indicators of women's health and women's utilization of health care services in the state. This chapter will present information on three main aspects of women's health, i.e., maternal health, nutritional status, and general health, where secondary data are available. Where possible, women's health is compared with that of men. Further, information across the districts of Karnataka are provided to facilitate a comparison by region to identify districts that require more intervention to improve the health of women.

MATERNAL HEALTH

MATERNAL MORTALITY

The maternal mortality ratio is most commonly used as an indicator of maternal health. The maternal mortality ratio (MMR) measures the number of women aged 15-49 years dying due to maternal causes per 1,00,000

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live births. The high level of deaths occurring among women during childbirth in India is an indication of women's low status in the country. At 212, India has one of the highest levels of maternal mortality in the world.

Recent data generated from the Sample Registration System (SRS) by the Office of the Registrar General of India on MMRs across the states of India show that maternal health in Karnataka is relatively poor compared to other states in the Southern region. The MMR in the state was 213 deaths due to maternal causes per 1, 00,000 live births during the period of 2004-06. While the ratio decreased to 178 in 2007-09 it is still significantly higher than in Andhra Pradesh (134), Kerala (81) and Tamil Nadu (97). These figures show that there is significant scope for improvement in the state.

Table 1: Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR); India, Southern States, 2004-06 and 2007-09

	2004-06	2007-09
Andhra Pradesh	154	134
Karnataka	213	178
Kerala	95	81
Tamil Nadu	111	97
India	254	212

Source: Office of the Registrar General of India, Sample Registration System, July 2012.

PREGNANCY AND DELIVERY COMPLICATIONS

Extensive data on all aspects of reproductive health have been collected under the aegis of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare in the 3 rounds of the District Level Household Surveys and the National Family Household Surveys. The data show that in 2007-08, half the women aged 15 to 49, who had a live birth in the 5 years prior to the survey, reported that they had some pregnancy-related complications. Of these, only 85% sought treatment for their problem. The data show little difference between urban

and rural areas with regard to the percentage of women who have complications during pregnancy or delivery, but when it comes to the utilization of health care services they vary with more women in urban areas seeking treatment for complications compared to their rural counterparts.

Table 2: Percentage of women who had pregnancy, delivery and post-delivery complications and sought treatment for the problem by Residence, Karnataka, 2007-08

Percentage of women	2007-08		
	Residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
Who had complications during pregnancy	49.6	51.3	50.1
Sought treatment for pregnancy complications	82.9	90.2	84.9
Who had delivery complication	43.7	43.7	43.7
Who had post-delivery complications	29.2	26.9	28.6
Sought treatment for post-delivery complications	77.1	82.6	78.5

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

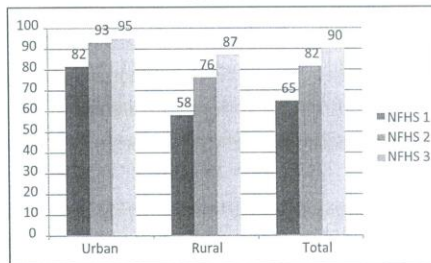
UTILISATION OF ANTENATAL CARE

The use of safe motherhood practices is essential in improving the conditions influencing maternal health. Antenatal care is a pregnancy-related health care service provided by health care professionals as part of safe motherhood practices. In India, the reproductive and child health programme aims at providing at least three antenatal checkups to pregnant women.

The data from the District Level Household Surveys show that the trend in the utilization of health care before and during delivery is generally positive. Among women who had a live or still birth in the three years preceding the survey in 2005-2006, 90 per cent reported that they had seen a doctor at some time during

their pregnancy. This rate had increased from 65 per cent in 1994-95. While urban antenatal care utilization rates (82%) were much higher than in rural areas (58%) in 1994-95, there has been a significant improvement in subsequent years. By 2004-05, 95% of urban women and 87% of women in rural areas were using antenatal care services.

Figure 1: Percentage of women using antenatal care by place of residence, Karnataka, 1992-93, 1998-99, 2004-05.



UTILISATION RATES ACROSS DISTRICTS

Table 3 provides information from the District Level Household Surveys (DLHS) on the percentage of women who received antenatal care from medical professionals for the state and its districts. Overall, in Karnataka, 9 out of every 10 women received some antenatal care during 2007-08. The coverage of antenatal care varied from close to a 100 percent in Dakshina Kannada, Udupi and Bangalore Urban to 70 percent in Raichur. Overall, the coverage of antenatal checkups are lower in the districts of northern Karnataka compared to the southern and coastal regions. Although 9 out of every 10 women received at least one ANC check-up, only 5 out of every 10 women received full antenatal care which includes three antenatal checkups, at least one TT injection and adequate amounts of iron and folic acid tablets. The percentage of women who received full antenatal care ranged

from 16 percent in Bijapur to 91 percent in Koppal.

Table 3: Percentage of women who received antenatal check-up (ANC) during pregnancy, Karnataka, 1998-99 to 2007-08.

Districts / State	% of women with any ANC			% of women with full ANC	
	1998-99	2002-04	2007-08	2002-04	2007-08
Bagalkot	-	88	85.2	14.4	25.7
Bangalore	98.7	99.5	98.5	49.6	91.9
Bangalore Rural	93.9	92.8	98.5	55.7	77.2
Belgaum	91.7	95.6	84.7	26.6	37.7
Bellary	65	79.9	76	19.1	34.7
Bidar	79.6	87.3	89.7	19.1	38.9
Bijapur	73.3	84.1	79.1	16.2	21.6
Chamarajanagar	-	96.3	98.6	36.5	82.3
Chikamagalur	97.8	98.3	98.6	40.9	79.7
Chitradurga	91.0	92.7	87	28.6	55.8
Dakshina Kannada	98.5	99.7	99.1	24.5	81.1
Davanagere	-	94	95.1	11.2	46.3
Dharwad	91.8	95.4	91.6	28	27.8
Gadag	-	85	91.1	18.1	34.2
Gulbarga	70.1	80	80.4	14.6	31.9
Hassan	97.2	98.7	98.4	27.2	64.9
Haveri	-	89.6	95.9	36.6	44
Kodagu	100	99.1	98	35.7	75.3
Kolar	95.2	94.4	98	37.7	74.2
Koppal	-	81.1	80.8	24.7	16.7
Mandya	91.7	97.4	99.3	35.1	79.8
Mysore	96.4	95.6	97.9	15.1	72.8
Raichur	78.7	69.7	71.2	25.5	18.4
Shimoga	97.6	97.7	97.4	34.6	68.3
Tumkur	95.4	94.2	98	41.8	72.6
Udupi	-	99.6	98.8	49.5	85.5
Uttara Kannada	98.4	98.8	96.2	35.3	80.9
Karnataka	88.9	91.5	90.2	29.9	51

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

PLACE OF DELIVERY

In order to improve the health of the mother and the children, it is urged that

deliveries be conducted under the supervision of a trained health professional under proper hygienic conditions. Table 2 shows that in Karnataka, nearly 65 percent of deliveries are conducted in health institutions and 34 percent are home deliveries. The percentage of deliveries conducted in institutions ranged between 96 percent in Shimoga to 41 percent in Bidar.

Table 4: Percentage of women by Place of Delivery, by District, Karnataka, and 2007-08

District	Institutional Deliveries
Bagalkot	47.1
Bangalore	93.8
Bangalore Rural	84.9
Belgaum	75.4
Bellary	45.5
Bidar	65.2
Bijapur	61.5
Chamarajanagar	76.5
Chikmagalur	83.4
Chitradurga	63.9
Dakshina Kannada	96.0
Davanagere	64.8
Dharwad	66.6
Gadag	50.9
Gulbarga	47.8
Hassan	80.1
Haveri	64.1
Kodagu	81.9
Kolar	62.2
Koppal	24.7
Mandya	86.7
Mysore	80.4
Raichur	41.4
Shimoga	71.2
Tumkur	72.8
Udupi	95.3
Uttara Kannada	82.6
Karnataka (15-49)	65.1

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

NUTRITIONAL STATUS

Two commonly used measures of the nutritional status of women are the Body Mass

Index (BMI) and the prevalence of anaemia. BMI is calculated as the weight in kilograms divided by the height in metres squared. The resulting index is used to categorise persons as underweight, normal and overweight. The percentage of women and men who are underweight are presented in the table for Karnataka along with the other southern states to serve as a comparison. About 34% of women in Karnataka are underweight. This figure is somewhat comparable to the average for India as a whole and that of Andhra Pradesh, but is much higher than that of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. There is not much difference between the percentage of women who are underweight in Karnataka compared to the men.

Anaemia is characterized by low levels of haemoglobin in the blood. Anaemia is of concern because haemoglobin is responsible for carrying oxygen from the lungs to the other organs in the body, and low levels of oxygen increase fatigue and impair cognitive and physical performance. High levels of anaemia among women in India have long been recognized as a predominant issue in women's health. Data from the National Family Health Survey show that in 2005-06 in Karnataka a little more than half the women in the reproductive age group of 15 to 49 years were anaemic. While this figure is slightly lower than the figure for India as a whole, and the states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the numbers are significantly high and the nutrition of women is a serious cause for concern.

Disaggregating the data by whether the women belong to marginalised groups or not throws more light on the issue. The table below presents the percentage of women who are underweight or obese by their social group. It is

Table 5: Nutritional status of women in the southern states (2005-2006)

	BMI below normal (<18.5) (%)		BMI overweight or obese (≥25.0)		Any anaemia among women aged 15 to 49 years (%) (<12.0 g/dl)	Any anaemia among men aged 15 to 49 years (%) (<13.0 g/dl)
	Women	Men	Women	Men		
Andhra Pradesh	33.5	30.8	15.6	13.6	62.9	13.6
Karnataka	33.5	33.9	15.3	10.9	51.5	10.9
Kerala	18.0	21.5	28.1	17.8	32.8	17.8
Tamil Nadu	28.4	27.1	20.9	14.5	53.2	14.5
India	35.6	34.2	12.6	9.3	55.3	9.3

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2006) National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) 2005-2006, Mumbai.

apparent that women who belong to scheduled tribes (ST) have the highest levels of both underweight as well as obese body structures, followed by women belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC). Of the various groups, women who do not belong to SC, ST or OBC are the most advantaged in terms of nutrition. One ray of light is that the trend appears to be decreasing and fewer women of all groups were either underweight or obese in 2005-06 compared to 1998-99.

Table 6: Nutritional Status of Ever-married Women age 15-49 years, Karnataka and India, 1998-99 and 2005-06

Nutritional Status	NFHS II (1998-99)				NFHS III (2005-06)			
	SC	ST	OBC	Others	SC	ST	OBC	Others
Karnataka BMI								
Below 18.5	43.3	47.9	39.6	32.0	33.7	40.7	25.9	23.9
25.0 and above	8.8	4.7	12.0	18.5	18.5	10.7	26.0	29.2
India BMI								
Below 18.5	41.0	44.8	34.8	29.8	36.9	43.7	30.7	24.1
25.0 and above	6.3	3.7	9.8	15.7	13.2	6.5	16.3	25.2

Source: Micro data files NFHS, 1998-99 and 2005-06.

Recognising the poor nutritional status of women in the country, programmes have been undertaken to improve the situation. The Ministry of Women and Child Development provides food grains to undernourished

adolescent girls in rural areas who are identified by anganwadi workers in 51 identified districts across the country. In 2006-07, 6030 metric tonnes of food grains was released in the state under the nutrition Programme for Adolescent Girls (NPAG). Similarly, the Kishori Shakti Yojana (KSY) aims to improve the status of women by addressing the needs of adolescents for self development, nutrition, health, literacy, vocational skills etc. The scheme has been extended to all 6108 ICDS blocks operational in the country, and in 2008-09, Rs 101.8 lakhs was released under the scheme in Karnataka.

GENERAL HEALTH

Men and women are exposed to different types of health problems. Information on the prevalence of a few health disorders such as diabetes, asthma and goitre or thyroid which are not sex specific are available at the state and national level from the National Family Health Surveys (NFHS). Table 6 shows the prevalence of diabetes, asthma and goitre or thyroid disorders for men and women for the country as well as for the southern states.

The data show that in India, more women have asthma and goitre where as more men have diabetes. The number of women who suffer from thyroid problems is almost three times higher than that of men in the country.

Table 7: Number of women 15-49 per 100,000 who reported that they have diabetes, asthma, or goitre or any other thyroid disorders, by background characteristics, Karnataka, 2005-06

States	Number of women per 100,000 who have			Number of men per 100,000 who have		
	Diabetes	Asthma	Goitre or other thyroid disorder	Diabetes	Asthma	Goitre or other thyroid disorder
India	881	1696	949	1051	1627	383
Southern States						
Andhra Pradesh	838	2151	1155	2116	2189	829
Karnataka	681	1259	798	973	691	285
Kerala	2549	4037	5744	3078	2984	7888
Tamil Nadu	2188	1126	1568	1351	687	170

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2006) National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) 2005-2006, Mumbai.

The prevalence of diabetes, asthma and thyroid problems in Karnataka also shows a similar pattern. On comparing the southern states, the number of men and women with diabetes, asthma and thyroid problems is the highest in Kerala. The prevalence of diabetes and goitre or other thyroid disorders is the lowest in Karnataka, whereas the prevalence of asthma is the lowest in Tamil Nadu.

The distribution by place of residence is notable (see Table 7). The data show that the number of women who report having diabetes and asthma is higher in urban areas compared to women in rural areas, and this is reversed for goitre or other thyroid disorders.

Table 8: Number of women 15-49 per 100,000 who reported that they have diabetes, asthma, or goitre or any other thyroid disorders, by place of residence, Karnataka, 2005-06

	Number of women per 100,000 who have		
	Diabetes	Asthma	Goitre or other thyroid disorder
Rural	431	1076	807
Urban	1047	1527	785
Total	681	1259	798

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2006) National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) 2005-2006, Mumbai.

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

INFERTILITY PROBLEMS

Infertility is yet another health problem which requires some attention as couples with problems of infertility are on the rise in the country. The data on infertility for Karnataka reveal that nearly 8 percent of couples in the state reported having problems of infertility. This includes both primary and secondary infertility, the former referring to the inability to have any children and the latter referring to the inability to have another child after having given birth previously. The percentage of women reporting some problems with infertility are higher in Bagalkot, Raichur, Gadag, Haveri, Kolar, districts which are less developed.

Nearly 80 percent of couples with problems of infertility in the state sought treatment. However, again, the district wise variations in treatment indicate that more than 90 percent of infertile couples sought treatment in Bangalore, Kodagu and Uttara Kannada while significantly fewer couples sought treatment in other districts including Belgaum, Bijapur and Bidar where only about 60 percent of couples looked for help. These figures indicate that there is a need for

investigation into the reasons for high levels of infertility problems in the state, as well as scope for the health system to provide more care to these couples in certain districts.

Table 9: Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who ever had infertility problem and among women who had infertility problem, sought treatment for infertility, by Districts, Karnataka, 2007-08

Districts	Women aged 15 to 49		
	who have menstruation problems	who have infertility problems	who sought treatment for Infertility
Belgaum	20.3	7.7	57.8
Bagalkot	18.5	11.2	76.3
Bijapur	12	4.8	56.4
Gulbarga	12	5.9	63.8
Bidar	14	3.5	59.8
Raichur	19.5	10.6	62.7
Koppal	19.6	8.4	83
Gadag	14.5	10.9	88
Dharwad	15.3	8	76.4
Uttara Kannada	20.5	7.6	95.7
Haveri	25.3	10.8	78.3
Bellary	24.2	9.1	72.6
Chitradurga	13.2	6.8	88.9
Davanagere	16.1	8	75.7
Shimoga	21.3	7.7	83.5
Udupi	14.6	9.6	82.9
Chikamagalur	15.2	4.5	83.2
Tumkur	12.5	9.2	71.8
Kolar	13.8	10.4	79.5
Bangalore	17.2	6.7	94.4
Bangalore Rural	12.8	4.4	86
Mandya	12.9	3.7	65.1
Hassan	26.3	5.3	74.2
Dakshina Kannada	19.2	9.4	81.7
Kodagu	17.3	4.8	91.9
Mysore	15.9	8.2	82.8
Chamarajanagar	10.7	5.4	81.6
Karnataka (15-49)	16.8	7.6	77

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

The acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a major emerging public health problem in India. According to an estimate made by the regional office of the World Health Organization for South East Asia, India accounts for over two-thirds of all the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)-infected individuals in the region. These figures emphasize the societal burden posed by HIV infection in India. According to HIV Sentinel Surveillance 2003, males account for 73.5% of AIDS cases and females 26.5%, the ratio being 3:1.

PREVALENCE OF HIV/AIDS

The latest round of the National Family Health survey also estimated HIV prevalence across the states in the country. The prevalence of HIV infection among the household population of adults aged 15 to 49 years in the country is estimated to be 0.28 percent. The prevalence rate is higher (0.36 percent) for males than for females (0.22 percent) (see Table 10). The list of high prevalence states identified by the survey includes Karnataka. The data show that Manipur has the highest prevalence rate of HIV/ AIDS (1.13 percent). The 2nd highest prevalence rate is found to be in Andhra Pradesh (0.97 percent). These states are followed by Karnataka (0.69 percent) and Maharashtra (0.62 percent). The HIV prevalence rate in Tamil Nadu is estimated to be the lowest among the six states. The prevalence of HIV among men and women in these states show that in all the states HIV prevalence is higher among males than among females.

Table 10: HIV Prevalence in five states, 2005-06

	Percentage of HIV positive Women	Percentage of HIV positive men
Karnataka	0.54	0.85
Andhra Pradesh	0.75	1.22
Maharashtra	0.48	0.77
Manipur	0.76	1.39
Tamil Nadu	0.39	0.27
India	0.22	0.36

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2006) National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) 2005-2006, Mumbai.

KNOWLEDGE OF HIV/ AIDS AND SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

The spread of HIV in any community is in part determined by the knowledge of and attitudes towards sexuality of its members, and by their actual sexual practices. Before formulating public health policies for the prevention of HIV, it is critical to obtain information about the prevalent knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP) regarding HIV/AIDS, STDs and sexuality in the target community.

The data on knowledge on AIDS in Karnataka is taken from the District Level Household Survey, 2007-2008, (Table 11) and indicate that nearly 83 percent of the women in the state had heard of HIV/AIDS and a little more than one fourth of women had ever been tested for HIV/AIDS. The percentage of women who have heard of HIV/AIDS ranged from 62 percent in Koppal to 97 percent in Bangalore. The percentage of women who have ever been tested for HIV/AIDS ranges between 10 percent in Koppal to 46 percent in Dakshina Kannada. It is likely that these numbers have increased in recent years as the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare has made HIV testing a priority under NRHM.

Table 11: Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have heard of HIV/AIDS and people who have ever been tested for HIV/AIDS in the past 12 months, by Districts, Karnataka 2007-08

	% Who have heard of HIV/AIDS	% who ever been tested for HIV/AIDS
Bagalkot	83.9	26
Bangalore	97.4	34.2
Bangalore Rural	94.2	14.3
Belgaum	79.5	27.2
Bellary	80.2	25.9
Bidar	79.4	27.9
Bijapur	87.5	18.3
Chamarajanagar	80.1	28.8
Chikamagalur	92.3	33.2
Chitradurga	89.3	16.2
Dakshina Kannada	93.8	46.5
Davanagere	84.8	38.2
Dharwad	90.3	37.3
Gadag	85.3	16.7
Gulbarga	71	19.9
Hassan	83.8	29
Haveri	74.7	27.4
Kodagu	86.9	33.4
Kolar	68.4	20.5
Koppal	62	10.8
Mandya	85	29.4
Mysore	76.2	21.2
Raichur	76.3	16.1
Shimoga	90.2	34.3
Tumkur	82	24.9
Udupi	97	33
Uttara Kannada	89.4	26.6
Karnataka (15-49)	82.9	26.7

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

PREVALENCE OF RTI/STIS

Reproductive tract infections are being increasingly recognized as a serious global health problem with an impact on individual women and men, their families and communities. They can have severe consequences, including infertility, ectopic pregnancy, chronic pelvic pain, miscarriage, and increased risk of HIV transmission. The

best way to manage reproductive tract infection is through prevention. For the effective prevention and management of RTIs, accurate information is necessary, and should be widely available. Therefore it is very essential to know the awareness levels about RTI/STIs in any population.

Table 12 provides information on the prevalence of RTI/STI in the districts of Karnataka. Overall, around 11 percent of women reported abnormal vaginal discharge and 14 percent reported other symptoms of RTI/STI. Wide variations were also observed across the districts of Karnataka. The highest proportion of women who reported symptoms of abnormal vaginal discharge is from Dakshina Kannada and the lowest proportion is from Bellary. Similarly the highest proportion of women who reported other symptoms of RTI/STI is from Dharwad and the lowest proportion is from Bidar.

KNOWLEDGE OF RTI/STI

The following section provides data on the knowledge and prevalence of RTI/STI in Karnataka. Table 11 shows that, in general, the awareness about RTI/STI among women is quite low in the state. Recent statistics show that only less than 40 percent of women were aware of RTI/STIs. However, over the years, the proportion of women who are aware of RTI/STIs has been increasing in the state.

Table 13: Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have heard of RTI/STIs, Karnataka 2007-08

	Awareness of RTI/STIs among women
1998-99	26.8
2004-05	21.2
2007-08	37.4

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences, District Level Household Survey 1, 2, 3 (DLHS), 1998-99, 2002-04, 2007-08, Mumbai.

Table 12: Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who reported RTI/STI problems during the three months prior to the survey by district, Karnataka 2007-08

Districts /State	Ever married women aged 15 to 49	
	% who reported any abnormal vaginal discharge	% who have any other symptoms of RTI /STI
Bagalkot	14.1	14.9
Bangalore	5.8	9.6
Bangalore Rural	4.5	10.0
Belgaum	5.7	22.3
Bellary	3.0	24.8
Bidar	12.7	5.2
Bijapur	17.5	19.7
Chamarajanagar	17.8	3.8
Chikamagalur	10.7	9.4
Chitradurga	14.5	13.2
Dakshina Kannada	22.6	23.5
Davanagere	13.8	8.9
Dharwad	6.9	26.8
Gadag	6.6	8.4
Gulbarga	11.0	12.9
Hassan	11.0	25
Haveri	6.9	21.1
Kodagu	6.1	3.5
Kolar	13.9	6.0
Koppal	5.4	21.1
Mandya	9.8	5.2
Mysore	7.0	10
Raichur	14.7	20.1
Shimoga	14.9	6.6
Tumkur	8.4	7.1
Udupi	11.2	14.3
Uttara Kannada	4.3	19
Karnataka (15-49)	11.3	14.1

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (2008) District Level Household Survey (DLHS-3) 2007-2008, Mumbai.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

An investigation of women's health in Karnataka reveals that while the picture has improved over time for women in the state, there is still scope for more to be done to improve the situation. For example, the state has significantly higher maternal mortality rates than Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu or

Kerala. The MMR in Karnataka was 178 deaths per 1,00,000 live births in 2007-09, whereas, in Andhra Pradesh, it was lower at 138, and in Tamil Nadu and Kerala significantly lower at 97 and 81, respectively. Similarly, in the case of nutrition, women in Karnataka do not fare as well as women in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, as more women in the state have BMIs that are below normal, and more women in the state are anaemic compared to women in Kerala. On the other hand, prevalence of disorders such as diabetes and goitre are lower in Karnataka.

The poor health of women in Karnataka is indeed cause for concern. Significantly high numbers of women suffer from anaemia and low body weight, although the trend over time is a positive one with fewer women in this position compared to the previous period. The situation is worse among those women who belong to marginalised groups. The prevalence of reproductive health problems in Karnataka is also substantial, with high levels of infertility related problems, and low awareness of RTIs and STIs. However, one STI that the majority of women have heard of is HIV/ AIDS indicating that the programme for raising awareness about the disease has been successful, a can be reproduced to target other public health goals.

Further, the district-wise data show that certain districts consistently perform poorly in terms of health indicators, as well as in health care behaviour, compared to other districts in Karnataka. In Bagalkot, Bellary, Gadag, Gulbarga, Koppal and Raichur, less than 50 per cent of women delivered at a health institution in 2007-08. Similarly, in these districts and, also Belgaum, Bidar, Bijapur, Dharwad, less than 40% of women had the full range of Ante-Natal-

Care checkups during pregnancy (IIPS, 2009). At the same time, the mean age at marriage for these districts is much lower than the other districts as can be seen in Table 16 in the Chapter II. These districts require significant effort to tackle the causes leading to women's poor health.

Studies have shown that adolescent child-bearing has negative health consequences for both mother and child (see for example, Figueroa et.al. 2006, Senderowitz and Paxman, 1985) due to the fact that the mother's reproductive system is not fully developed and is still in the growing stages during the teen years. Also, during the adolescent years enough nutrition is required for the proper development of the physical body. However, childbearing demands that nutrition be shared with the foetus during pregnancy and with the infant during puerperiam. Given that the average age at marriage in the state is about 19 years and that 22% of women are married by age 18, urgent action should be taken to increase the awareness of the detrimental consequences of early marriage and motherhood. If women marry later, a positive implication is that the years spent in schooling will be expanded, thereby allowing for more human capital development and increased and better opportunities for employment for women.

Similarly, the health of older women in India is not well known. One of the most significant factors in the life of older women is the loss of a spouse. Ageing and widowhood are both times of increased vulnerability for women. A recent study on old age in a few states in India reveals that there are higher levels of poor self reported health, and acute

and chronic morbidity among women who are widows, from poorer sections, and living alone. They are less likely to access health care, and therefore remain untreated (Alam et.al., 2012). The prospect of old age and widowhood are factors that threaten the well-being of women. It has been seen in an earlier chapter that fertility in Karnataka has fallen to replacement levels. Reduced fertility and the resulting age structure transition with more people in older age groups living for longer periods will have serious implications for the state, a challenge that Karnataka has to rise to.

The available data on the health of women in the state is revealing, but the picture is incomplete. Women's health can be understood from the perspective of the life-cycle stages that occur, with adverse outcomes in certain stages and advantageous outcomes in others. In general, women suffer adverse health outcomes such as higher mortality and morbidity at stages in their life-cycle when they are biologically and socially vulnerable such as during their peak reproductive years and during early childhood. Women have an advantage in health outcomes over men in the later stages in life which is reflected in their lower mortality rates. There has long been a focus on child and maternal health with a commendable amount of programmes

aimed at improving the welfare of mothers and children, thus, a substantial amount of the data on health that is available focuses on child and reproductive health as a result of which the health of adolescent girls and older women are less well-known. The health of these groups of women requires the attention of researchers and policy makers as well.

The way forward requires a concerted shift in attitudes on the part of health researchers as well as policy makers which has not taken place yet. It should be understood that a life cycle perspective is needed to understand and thereby improve the status and well-being of both men and women. Good health and good nourishment at younger ages has an impact on all subsequent health outcomes. Further, while maternal and child health has justifiably received all the attention thus far, adolescence and old age are life cycle stages that have not been adequately investigated. There is a dearth of sex-disaggregated data on those in the adolescent and older age groups and also, they are not the target of policies and programmes. It is increasingly becoming apparent that action is required to improve the situation so that a comprehensive public health system can be developed to improve the health conditions of women and men in Karnataka.

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CHAPTER V

GENDER AND VIOLENCE

Aasha Ramesh¹ and Sudhamani N²

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the prevailing situation on violence against women. The chapter is comprised of 6 sections, which deal specifically with different aspects of VAW.

Section I details the different forms of violence against women and their extent. Section II illustrates in depth the kind of violence women in the state of Karnataka face.

Section III describes the role of the state in the implementation of laws to check crimes against women.

Section IV illustrates the measures taken by the state to protect the girl child and to reduce violence against women.

Section V provides a bird's eye view of the gaps in the justice system.

Section VI elaborates on the possible ways forward with recommendations and suggestions to protect women from violence and create a violence-free environment.

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I PREVALENCE OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN - CAUSES, DIMENSION AND EVIDENCE

BACKGROUND

Violence affects the lives of millions of women and cuts across all socio-economic, caste, class, religious and cultural barriers, impeding the right of women to fully participate in society.

The canvas of violence is huge and encompasses the economic, political and social spheres, as violence is a cross-cutting issue. However, here the focus is on the violence under the social umbrella, namely gender-based violence, caste-based and cultural violence.

Different manifestations of violence range from domestic abuse and rape to child marriage and other forms of practices which perpetuate violence on women.

In the Platform for Action (PFA), the core document of the Fourth UN World Conference on Women (*Beijing Sept. 1995*) also known as

the Beijing Conference, State parties (National governments), declared that "violence against women constitutes a violation of basic human rights and is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace"³

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women begins with the words: 'Recognising that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and the discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared to men.'⁴

The Government of India (GOI) is signatory to the UN Declaration on 'Elimination of Violence against Women,' introduced in the UN General Assembly in 1993. In the same year, India also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Further, the principle of 'equality' and the concept of 'upholding the dignity of women' are enshrined in the Constitution of India which guarantees to the women of India 'equality, freedom, opportunity and protection'.

Violence against women (VAW), in India, as perhaps elsewhere in South Asia is linked directly to their subordinate status in society. Most women exist in a continued state of disempowerment, from birth to death. Anti-woman attitudes in culture, traditions, social norms and religion have institutionalised the

subordinate position of women in society as silent victims of violence and abuse. Institutionalised violence is abhorrent to human dignity, be it sexual abuse in prisons, unwelcome sexual attention that women are subjected to at work places or the violence that is silently perpetrated on women in the name of religion, culture, tradition and custom.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

This is perhaps the most unremitting form of violence humankind has seen, and also the most ignored and taken for granted. Patriarchy and feudal controls coupled with traditions that continue to inflict violence on women, oppress and dehumanise them cannot be easily dismantled. Complicating the issue is the culture of silence that is inculcated among most women from childhood

Right from the 'womb to the tomb' (as the saying goes), women traverse a path of violence. They are not only subjected to physical violence, but are tortured psychologically too. The threat of violence manifests itself even before the girl child enters this violence-ridden world. She is subjected to sex determination tests for selective abortion (female foeticide), infanticide, physical violence, dowry harassment, and marital violence, rape that sometimes is followed by killing or that drives women to commit suicide.

A study conducted by the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2) between 1998 and 1999, for the International Institute of Population Studies (IIPS, Mumbai), focused on the attitude of women towards 'domestic violence' and brought forth startling facts. It was reported

³ <http://www.un.org/rights/dpi1772e.htm>

⁴ <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>

that 56 per cent of women justified the domestic violence that exists in patriarchal societies. The statistics showed that women have not only been silent victims of violence but have also victimised their own conscience, preferring to rationalise and justify violence within the family as an internal matter. The NHFS-2 study brings out several detailed forms of physical violence that women in India are subjected to, leading to the conclusion that this leaves women mentally, emotionally and physically battered and disables their development on all fronts. There is also evidence to indicate that when women do speak out against violence, they face a backlash of further violence from the perpetrators.

NHFS-3 shows the different forms of spousal violence experienced by ever-married women, of whom 37 per cent have experienced one or the other forms of violence by their spouses. It also

points out that there is a high level of agreement with norms of wife-beating among both women and men. (*Annexure I - Forms of Spousal violence*)

CASTE BASED VIOLENCE:

Education and economic development empower women by improving their social status. In India, caste as much as class is primarily responsible for the subordinate status of large sections of women who remain pre-eminently vulnerable to violence. Caste has a direct and definite link to violence on women of the so called lower castes. In most of the rapes recorded in rural areas, the victims invariably belong to the lower castes and the perpetrators are upper caste persons. The rape of dalit women has been a traditional form of violence 'designed' by the upper caste (feudal society) to oppress and break the spirit of those seeking social justice in any form.

National Policy for the Empowerment of Women – 2001

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

All forms of violence against women, physical and mental, whether at domestic or societal levels, including those arising from customs, traditions or accepted practices shall be dealt with effectively with a view to eliminate its incidence. Institutions and mechanisms/schemes for assistance will be created and strengthened for prevention of such violence, including sexual harassment at work place and customs like dowry, for the rehabilitation of the victims of violence and for taking effective action against the perpetrators of such violence. A special emphasis will also be laid on programmes and measures to deal with trafficking in women and girls.

[Department of Women & Child Development, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, 2001]

The number of child marriages that were prevented during the period 1/04/2010 to 30/06/2013 shows the highest number of children prevented were districts of Koppal (120), Bellary (114), Dharwad (94) followed by Raichur (93), which are all north Karnataka districts and in South Karnataka Mandya leads with 74. The total number of child marriages prevented during this period is 1067.

Dealing at length on the violence against dalit women and its adverse effect on their development in society, the first periodic Alternative NGO CEDAW report 2000, submitted to the UN CEDAW Committee, substantiated the *de facto* situation, the ground realities of this form of violence in India.

Against this background, it is important to recognise the caste dimension of violence against women in the country. Caste-based violence has to be seen as a form of triple violence against certain categories of women. These are women commonly referred to as dalit women belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribe category. First as women they are subject to gender based violence, second, due to their low economic status they are victims of class violence and third, violence is perpetrated on them because they belong to the lower rungs of the social stratum.

KARNATAKA OVERVIEW

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women remains a key factor that undermines the ability of women to participate as full and equal citizens in society.

Violation of women's rights which are human rights, by acts of rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment and other forms of violence including those perpetrated by tradition, culture and caste in the name of family honour, trafficking and forced marriage continue both to circumscribe the lives of women and girls and to undermine their participation at every level of society

Crimes against women in Karnataka are no different from the reality in the rest of the country. However, in comparison to the northern states of the country, the situation according to the NCRB statistics seemed relatively less alarming, though there are pockets within the state where there is reason for concern even though Karnataka does not find special mention as is true of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. But this is no reason to be complacent. In 1999, the State contributed 4.1 per cent to the all India total of crimes against women and ranked 18th at the national level.

In the recent Crime in India 2010 statistics of the NCRB, Ministry of Home Affairs New Delhi, the statistics on 'Incidence of Rate of Crime

Crime figures at a glance-2010

SL. No.	CRIME HEADS	CASES REPORTED	% TO TOTAL IPC CRIMES	RATE OF CRIME	CHARGE-SHEETING RATE	CONVICTION RATE
1	KIDNAPPING & ABDUCTION OF WOMEN & GIRLS	29795	1.3	2.5	74.2	28.1
2	MOLESTATION	40613	1.8	3.4	96.7	29.7
3	SEXUAL HARASSMENT	9961	0.4	0.8	86.7	52.0
4	CRUELTY BY HUSBAND AND RELATIVES	94041	4.2	7.9	94.2	19.1
5	IMPORTATION OF GIRLS	36	0.0	0.0	90.6	20.0
TOTAL CRIME AGAINST WOMEN (IPC+SLL)		213585	9.6	18.0	92.0	27.8

Crime in India 2010 statistics – National Crime Records Bureau, (NCRB), Min of Home Affairs, New Delhi⁵

⁵ <http://ncrb.nic.in>

Committed Against Women in States', shows that Karnataka stands 9th and Bengaluru stands 3rd which is a disturbing trend in a city which otherwise ranks high in the national metropolitan hierarchy. (*Annexure II & III, Crimes in India*)

In addition to the crimes classified under the Indian Penal Code like rape, kidnapping, abduction, dowry, torture (both mental and physical), molestation etc, there are also certain state-specific forms of traditional practices that perpetrate violence on women under different garbs.

DALIT WOMEN VICTIMS OF CASTE BASED VIOLENCE:

As noted earlier Dalit women of the lower castes are victimised on three points, by gender, caste and vulnerable poverty status. In recent times, this form has taken an ugly dehumanised turn as in the case of the Bellary incident which is not an isolated case.

Atrocities committed on Dalit women by the dominant caste in Karnataka are common. In Kambalpathi village in Kolar district an old man's wife, daughter and two sons were burnt alive along with three others when members of a dominant caste set fire to three huts belonging to dalit families. This was not the only recorded violent incidence. Dalit women are raped, teased, beaten, paraded naked and treated shamefully.

Budihalli is a tiny village in the Chellakere taluk of the Chitradurga district of Karnataka. Dalits work on the fields of the landed gentry.

Dalit women get Rs 25-35 per day as wages while men are paid Rs 50 on an average. Discrimination against Dalits (Madigas) is strong here. Dalit women are supposed to cover their heads and keep their heads bent. The local hotel has a set of tumblers exclusively kept aside for this community. Dalits do not have their own place of worship. Bonded labour was alive till the year 2000. Ever since Dalit women joined the SHGs (sanghas), harassment against them has intensified with taunts like, 'How dare you people join the Sanghas? Madiga men and women should be kept in place!

Lakshmisagar is a village with 300 houses situated in Chitradurga taluk. The socially and politically strong Nayaka community resented it when one of their girls eloped with a Dalit boy. A Dalit woman Bhagyamma was beaten up by the girl's family which accused her of having abetted the love affair and dragged naked through the village in full public view.⁶

Incidents like this one are not uncommon. Some of the highest reports of crime against Dalits in the last five years have been reported from Gulbarga and Bellary districts. As for the nature of the crimes, murder rose from 25 cases in 2002 to 40 in 2005, and this year the figure already stands at 27. Reported cases of the rape of Dalit women and girls were the highest last year in this five-year span, with 56 cases reported. This year, the figure stands at 39, reflecting the continuing vulnerability of Dalit women. The crimes categorised as 'grievous hurt' numbered 54 and cases of arson totalled six till October 2006.⁷

⁶ The Hindu 1 July 2007 (<http://indianchristians.in/news/content/view/618/48>)

⁷ PUCL Fact finding team 8th February 2010

HONOUR KILLINGS:

No Dalit came forward to narrate or give statements in the honour killing that took place at Ambalavadi village in Mandya recently. A young girl Suvarna's death was made out to be a suicide, and witnesses changed their version after the visit of the SC Commission which held talks with the district administration and police officials. This was, however, a murder of a higher caste girl for being involved with a Dalit boy.⁸

DEVDAASI SYSTEM:

For instance, the heinous practice of dedicating young girls into the Devadasi system continues to be prevalent in the backward districts of North Karnataka, despite being banned by law in 1982. This is a tradition prevalent among the dalit communities in pockets of north Karnataka, a region that has for decades faced severe drought and seen persisting poverty. Whatever may have been the nature of its existence in earlier periods, at present it has taken the form of prostitution through religious sanction, where young girls are dedicated to a goddess and thereafter inducted into the flesh-trade. While the enactment of the Devadasi Prohibition Act of 1982 has checked the dedications to a considerable extent, the practice is still prevalent, though not rampant in this geographic region.

Devadasi system in Karnataka- Concluding comments: Para 68

"The high incidence of gender-based violence including the customary practices such as dowry, Sati and the Devadasi system"

The Devadasi system in particular is almost exclusively oppressive of the dalit women and girl child. There are legislations banning the practice and programmes to rehabilitate them. However the continued impetus to the system comes from social practice, and therefore the remedies must be necessarily more than legal. The government machinery is lax in the implementation mainly due to the implicit support of the political establishment to the system. There are no govt-sponsored information, education and communication strategies applied on a wide scale to challenge the social and religious legitimacy given to the practice.

The extreme violence including rape, stripping in public and public parade faced by dalit women during caste conflict caused by the continued existence of the caste system goes almost entirely unredressed as evidenced by the poor record of the implementation of the SC/ST Prevention Act 1989. The conviction rate under this act is about 1%, including the violence faced by women. (Concluding comments are the critical remarks made by the UN CEDAW Committee on the alternative submission made by NGOs on the Convention stating the de facto situation on the status of Women in India and the different areas of discrimination faced by them.)

CHILD-MARRIAGE:

Child-marriage is another tradition that still exists in the state, particularly in rural areas that are backward and poverty-ridden. Marriage not only deprives the young girl child of a childhood, but subjects her to various

⁸ Read articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/.../30601446_1_suvarna-complaint-dalit-man

forms of violence, which is detrimental to her physical and mental health. According to the Rapid Household Survey conducted across the country, Karnataka has a high incidence of child marriage indicating that 39.3 per cent of girls were married before the age of 18 years.⁹

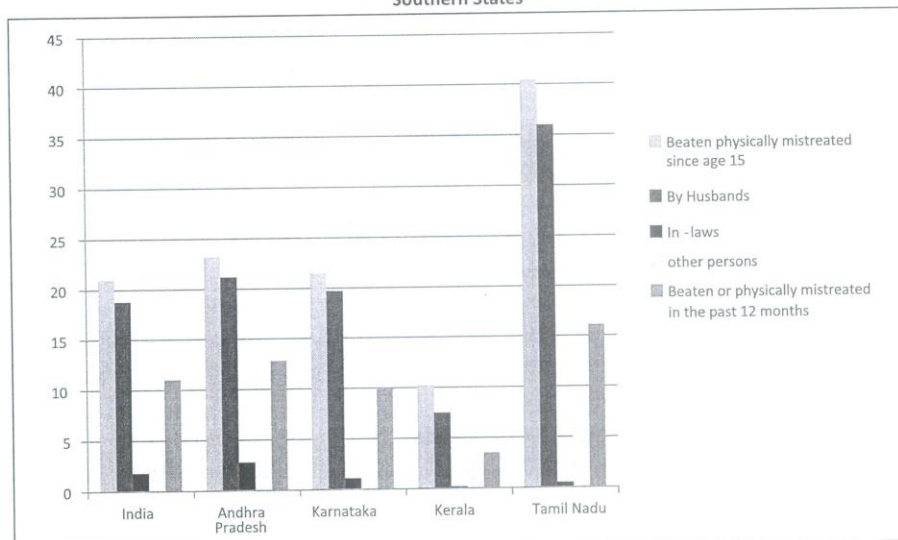
The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 (PCMA), came into effect on 1 November 2007, in the country and Karnataka formulated the rules for the same in 2008. The Karnataka Human Development Report 2005, states the data on child marriage is “very disturbing” in nine northern districts of Karnataka, where an alarming 45 per cent to 68 per cent of children are married off. In response to a writ petition filed on the non-implementation of

the PCMA, the Karnataka High Court directed the State Government in 2010, to set up a core committee, under the chairpersonship of Justice Shivraj Patil, former Supreme Court (SC) judge to prepare an action plan to prevent child marriages in Karnataka.¹⁰

PHYSICAL ABUSE:

The incidence of physical abuse of women in Karnataka is 21.5 per cent, which is slightly higher than the all-India average. Women in the southern states, except Kerala, receive the same degree of mistreatment as their sisters in the rest of the country. However, women in Karnataka receive less physical mistreatment than their counterparts in the other two southern states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Percentage of ever married women who have been physically abused:
Southern States



Source: NHFS 2 India (1998-99) Table 3.16 page 79

⁹ <http://wcd.nic.in/wgchilprotection.pdf>

¹⁰ <http://wcd.nic.in/wgchilprotection.pdf>

“Data on crimes against women indicates there is little correlation between the number of registered crimes in police records and the widespread nature of violence against women across social institutions. The fact that crimes against women are under-represented in official records points to the difficulties women experience in reporting crimes and the resistance of public authorities to taking legal cognisance of offences against women. However, one category of crimes i.e. a category of deaths exclusively of women – mainly young, newly married women – has emerged in the public consciousness due to the efforts of women’s

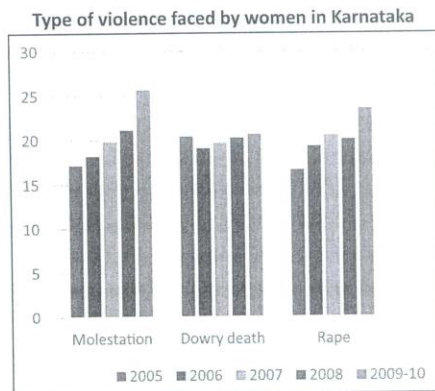
groups and NGOs. In police records, they are classified under three specific categories, which invoke different sections of the law. These are ‘dowry murders’ (committed by the woman’s husband or members of his family for additional dowry or non-payment of promised dowry); ‘suicides’ (forced or voluntary, but in most cases related to dowry demands); and ‘accidents’ (a majority classified under ‘stove burst’ or ‘kitchen accident’). Deaths under these three categories add up to an alarming figure. (*Vimochana, a women’s organisation 1999*) Also, in the early phase of the study a major anomaly was noted between its figures and those of the police.

Crime against women in Karnataka in nos)

Sl. No	Heads of crime	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
1	Rape (sec.376 IPC)					
	1.1 Custodial rape	10	6	12	8	9
	1.2 Gang rape	291	275	281	284	312
	Total (1.1 + 1.2)	301	281	293	292	321
2	Outraging modesty (molestation)	1501	1568	1665	1648	1585
3	Kidnapping & abduction of women					
	3.1 for prostitution	10	2	3	3	2
	3.2 for other purposes	386	334	272	362	256
	Total (3.1 + 3.2)	396	336	275	365	258
4	Insulting modesty (Eve-teasing)	147	76	81	100	84
5	Murder for dowry – by burning	10	15	13	18	10
6	Murder for dowry – by other means	31	34	16	27	26
7	Murder for other reasons	334	395	387	376	349
8	Attempt to commit murder for dowry by burning	10	5	11	13	5
9	Attempt to commit murder for dowry by other means	9	13	8	19	25
10	Attempt to commit murder for other reasons	16	38	40	30	44
11	Dowry death by burning	61	46	35	36	32
12	Dowry death by other means	156	167	185	197	162
13	Attempt to commit suicide for dowry by burning	0	4	9	11	0
14	Attempt to commit suicide for dowry by other means	3	3	4	2	0
15	Cruelty by husband or relative of husband	1560	1688	1755	1826	1704
16	Abetment to suicide	198	234	207	198	232
17	Importing of girls (up to 21 years)	0	0	0	0	0
18	Sati Prevention Act	0	0	0	0	0
19	Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act	1226	1337	1356	1388	1361
20	Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986	0	0	0	0	0
21	Other Crimes against women	494	601	406	443	360
TOTAL		6453	6841	6746	6989	6558

Source: State Crime Record Bureau, Karnataka

The data show an increasing trend in all forms of violence on women in the state. Molestation and rapes had increased many times from 2005 to 2010, despite having laws and women police stations to check and curb it. District wise analyses show that the incidence of rape has been high in Bangalore Urban (11.8) followed by Bellary (6.09), Belgaum (4.79) and Chamrajanagar (4.40).



Source: Men and Women in Karnataka, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009-10, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

UNNATURAL DEATHS:

It was found that a large number of deaths were being classified in police records as 'accidents' under 'UDR' (Unnatural Death Register). The category of 'dowry deaths' in a technical sense only included those cases that had been booked by the police under the relevant sections of the law. The 'accident' cases that were closed for want of evidence, however, were largely due to 'stove bursts' or 'kitchen accidents'. Investigations revealed that a large number of murders and suicides, punishable under law, were being made to look like 'accidents' by the husband and/or members

of his family. These cases were closed by the investigating police officers for want of hard evidence of a crime. In Bengaluru city alone, 1,133 women died in murders, suicides and accidents in 1997, 1,248 in 1998, and 618 till mid-July 1999. (Menon, 1999)

If official figures on dowry-related crimes, including murder and attempt to murder (under Sections 302, 307 and 304-B IPC) are added to the figures on cruelty by the husband and relatives of the husband (Section 498-A IPC), (Table 8.15), it is more than evident that for large numbers of married women, the right to live in safety, even within their own homes (ironically, the one place an individual expects to feel secure), and in a climate free from intimidation and violence, is not available. Thirty per cent of all crimes against women in 2003 were registered under these sections. Another 29 per cent constitute rape and molestation cases, an indicator of the threat women face to their bodily integrity within and outside the home.¹¹

SINGLE WOMEN:

Another form of violence visible in certain rural areas which gives rise to large numbers of households headed by single women is 'desertion'. Here the practice of 'multiple marriage' which is illegal and a major reason for the desertion of women is accepted both in feudal households and also more recently, in the upwardly mobile backward classes.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE - VIOLENCE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF HOMES

The incidence of violence against women within the confines of the home is steadily and

¹¹ KHDR 2005- pg 185,186

alarmingly increasing. Incest, marital rape, battering and other forms of violence both physical and mental are also on the increase. The urban women's perception of violence is quite different from that of the rural women. This is primarily due to the fact that the urban women is exposed to more information and awareness, in comparison to her rural counterpart. The urban women also has access to services like counselling and redress mechanisms, which instil in her the confidence and courage to come forward and report an act of violence.

Crime registration shows that rape cases alone constitute 5 per cent of the crimes in Karnataka. The actual number of cases is probably higher, as women are reluctant to register complaints, the reasons being i) societal pressure and dissuasion by relatives and friends ii) threats from the perpetrators of violence iii) hostility of the police and iv) the legal rigmarole and delays involved in legal recourse.

Crimes against Women in Karnataka (2005-10)

Year	Molestation	Rape	Dowry deaths
2005	1585	343	261
2006	1683	398	244
2007	1882	424	251
2008	1954	415	259
2009-10	2186	486	264

Source: Office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police (TS), State Crime Records Bureau, Government of Karnataka

In Karnataka there has been a steep rise in cases of domestic violence. This is not limited to battering, but in a majority of cases it is dowry harassment which has also led to increasing numbers of deaths among women under suspicious circumstances that are reported as 'unnatural deaths', already mentioned earlier. A disturbing revelation is that 80 per cent of the 'unnatural deaths' were women under the

age of 30 years. In recent times with increased globalisation and liberalisation, it has led to the 'feminisation of poverty' which has made women vulnerable to trafficking and pushed them into the flesh trade. Another factor contributing to increased crimes against women is the onslaught of the consumerist culture, which has lured and trapped large numbers of women into prostitution. There is also a steady rise in the incidence of sexual harassment and the molestation of young girls, a phenomenon more noticeable in urban areas.

ACID CRIMES

More recently, 'acid crimes' are being reported. Girls and women who spurned the expression of either love or advances by young boys/men faced their wrath, as acid was thrown on the girls/women's faces to disfigure them as a form of revenge and retaliation. These forms of violence are also spreading to rural areas as well.

"35 cases of acid attacks were reported in Karnataka between 1999 and 2004. This figure does not include victims that do not report the crime because they fear further violence or being socially stigmatized. In this regard, the Campaign and Struggle against Acid Attacks on Women (CSAAAW) noted one incident in Bengaluru in July 2004, that was not included as part of the reported cases partly because the victim and her family opted not to go public with their trauma. The number of cases added up to 53 by 2006 in Karnataka, and as reported by the CSAAAW, verdicts were given in only 9 of these 53 cases. In Karnataka alone a newspaper report puts the total number of acid attacks as 60 by 2007, adding 8 more cases till February 2007.

In most of these cases, hydrochloric and sulphuric acids were used and all the victims were women. The victims in Karnataka were very young women between 16 and 25 years of age, and were attacked by men known to them. Most attacks took place in public places or at home.¹²

FEMALE FOETICIDE/ SEX-DETERMINATION ALSO REFERRED TO AS SEX-SELECTIVE ABORTION:

Son-preference continues to be a bane of the State, despite women's education levels improving and women making inroads into a variety of professions. Pre-selection and sex-determination till recently an urban phenomenon is now spreading to rural areas, as a result of which abortions, including unsafe abortions, are being conducted. The 2011 Census of India has again shown a further decline in the female child sex ratio. In Karnataka, the 0-6 child ratio in 2001, was 946 females to every 1000 males and in 2011 it was further reduced to 943. This trend is alarming and requires attention. The Human Development Report (Karnataka-1999) records grave concern when it says, "What is more disturbing is the decline in the ratio from 963 in 1981, to 960 in 1991. In nine districts, the ratio fell in the eighties; even the best district of Dakshina Kannada had a declining ratio." (Annexure IV, News report, Sex determination tests go unabated.)

RURAL WOMEN AND TRAFFICKING

A study in the six metropolitan cities of India, suggests that 94 per cent of trafficked women in India are from the rural countryside and belong

to the lower socio-economic strata. The study identifies Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal as the highest supply states with 24 per cent, 22 per cent, 17 per cent and 14 per cent respectively.¹³

Trafficked women...prostitution continues in many forms

The numbers of girl children and women being trafficked include a majority of dalit women, partly due to customary practices and traditional impediments faced by them in terms of precarious livelihoods, vulnerability to displacement and exclusion from opportunity to upward social and economic mobility. The impact of the spread of HIV/AIDS affects a disproportionately high number of dalit women and girl children due to their vulnerability to trafficking and sexual violence. However the health and HIV/AIDS policies do not take these factors into account in their policies, funding and programmes. (NGO CEDAW: 2006)

A study conducted by the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS on the 'Status of Rural Women in Karnataka,' on the section related to Control over Physical Security concluded "The incidence of violence and abuse as reported by the study respondents is quite low, though given the cultural constraints and the limitations of such a quantitative method, there could have been significant under-reporting. Nevertheless, it is clear that women are more often victims or targets of both mental and physical abuse

¹² <http://lawcommissionofindia.nic.in/reports/report226.pdf>

Burnt Not Defeated, Report by CSAAAW, April 2007, CSAAAW Bengaluru publication
Deccan Herald News Service, Bengaluru, *Acid test of Humanity*, Baal Chatham

¹³ National Alliance of Women (NAWO). (2006). India: Second NGO Shadow Report on CEDAW (pp.220). India : NAWO)

than men. Women's experiences of abuse are located largely within the household, family, and marriage with family members and their own husbands being the key perpetrators. The triggers of abuse, particularly wife-beating are mainly centred on transgressions of their gendered roles and rules of conduct."

These were findings based on the research that was conducted in six districts of Karnataka. More recently, in the rural areas it is observed that women complained about the escalation of violence due to rising alcoholism as being a serious problem. Women in the urban slums also reiterated this concern. Alcoholism is responsible not only for violence against women and children, but also leads the family into indebtedness, thereby resulting in further poverty and misery. At the group discussions during the inaugural conference of the newly-formed Karnataka Rural Women's Confederation in Bengaluru on December 30-31 2001, delegates numbering 550 participants and representing about 130 rural women's self help group (SHG) federations from 27 districts in Karnataka, identified violence as the most crucial problem facing rural women. The forms of violence they identified included physical, sexual, alcohol-induced, politically-motivated, dowry-related, premature marriages, foeticide, *Devadasi* practice, forced prostitution and forced termination of girl child education."

In the case of the rural women, the situation is very different. Conditions and conditioning do not make it easy for her to complain about the violence she is being subjected to. First, the redress mechanism is not adequate, and second,

she is still not confident or emboldened enough to register a complaint against the offender. If the offender is a member of her family or a relative, it becomes even more difficult for the woman to speak about it, much less complain about the violation. Social conditioning forces her to be passive. However, a subtle change is perceptible, when we examine the recent crime statistics which indicate that reporting has increased. This could be due to two factors i) women are more aware now and are therefore coming forth to report incidents of violence and ii) that violence is on the rise and therefore has compelled the State to take cognizance of the situation and initiate urgent remedial action.

PRACTICE OF BANAMATHI (WITCH HUNTING OF RURAL WOMEN)

In North Karnataka, the hunting of women as witches had become rampant and most of these were from a Dalit background. Dr.Narsimhaiah, an MLA and Chairperson of the Kannada Watchdog Committee, who headed the Karnataka Government's Committee, had probed the Banamathi (witch craft) menace which had reached alarming proportions in north Karnataka. The thorough investigations with medical experts concluded that this was a fear-complex perpetrated by vested interests on psychologically weak villagers.¹⁴ The targets however are mostly women and this has been widely reported and there are also cases documented by the Karnataka Mahila Samakhya to prove this fact.

MORAL POLICING AND YOUNG WOMEN AS TARGETS

In February 2009, a 40 member team allegedly of the Shri Rama Sena attacked a pub

¹⁴ Deccan Herald, Tuesday, February 01, 2005

on Balmatta Road in Mangalore and assaulted two girls. The Shri Ram Sena justified the incident by stating that this was a spontaneous reaction against those girls who flouted traditional Indian norms and levels of decency. Basically these attacks by so-called upholders of Indian culture and tradition were violations of fundamental rights and freedoms, reflected an anti woman stance, and were intended to subordinate women in the long run.

The attacks continued to be seen in Bengaluru too, coupled with several attacks on young adult persons celebrating Valentine's Day etc., the violence purportedly meant to wean away youngsters from the so-called evils of the western culture.

A young Muslim boy exchanged greetings with a Hindu girl in a bus and the matter was reported to fascist groups who beat up the boy badly and ostracized the terrified girl. Incidents of this kind, if not checked, will promote fascist public behavior from self-styled fundamentalist outfits.

'Saffron offshoots like Sri Ram Sena has been stridently enforcing a moral code on the people to keep the culture of the State unpolluted. In the last few years, the State has seen fundamentalist Hindutva elements running amok against women going to pubs; unleashing violence against Valentine Day celebrations; and scrutinising the so called love jihads. They allege that the pure Hindu culture has been poisoned by the influence of foreign culture and the western way of life. There have been numerous instances in which hooligans,

donning the cloak of moral police, indulged in atrocities against innocent young people accusing them of immoral activities.¹⁵

THE SEXUAL MINORITY GROUPS: LESBIANS, GAYS, BISEXUALS AND TRANSGENDER (LGBT)

While the scope of human rights has been extended to include hitherto marginalized communities at the global level, a similar movement is yet to take place in India. In fact, most human rights organizations in India have not begun to address the question of the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, hijras and others who are oppressed due to their sexuality.

Sexuality is sometimes viewed even in liberal and radical circles as a frivolous, bourgeois issue. In such a context, homosexuality is seen implicitly as something deviant and unnatural that is at best defended as an individual freedom but not a matter of priority for the human rights movement.

Generally, issues of poverty and gender, class and caste oppression are seen as more important than that of sexuality. But this ignores the fact that sexuality is integrally linked to ideologies and structures of social oppression such as patriarchy, capitalism, the caste system and religious fundamentalism. Hence, the struggle for sexuality rights cannot be separated from the broader human rights struggle for economic, political and social liberation.¹⁶

The violence against the LGBT takes on many forms and it becomes imperative that the State and the public at large should recognize

¹⁵ Editorial, INDIAN CURRENTS • 13 - 19 February y 2012.

¹⁶ sangama.org/files/sexual-minorities.pdf -Human Rights violations against sexual minorities in India, A PUCL-K a fact finding report about 2001)

the concerns of LGBT groups as a human rights issue. A welcome trend has been set by the Delhi High Court de-criminalising gay sex under Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). (*Annexure V News report of the HINDU New Delhi, 03 July 2009.*)

The city of Bengaluru, known as the Information Technology (IT) hub of the country and a rising metro (apparently), is, at present, considered an unsafe city for women. The recent crimes statistics give evidence to this fact. Bengaluru ranks third as per Table 5.1 (*Annexure III, Crime against women-India*) of the NCRB on the incidence of crime against women.¹⁷

Women in Karnataka are prey to all kinds of atrocities, and the year 2009, was probably the peak in dubiously upholding this record over the last five-year period. The year saw 8,839 cases, up by 1,141 cases from 7,698 in 2008. Gang rape, molestation, abduction and murder for dowry were some of the crimes listed by the State Crime Records Bureau (SCRB). It is ironic that even in the state crime statistics, Bengaluru ranks the highest in cases of molestation, rapes and dowry crimes. The tables in the annexure clearly illustrate that there is an increase in the different forms of violence against women for the period of 2005-10. Bengaluru Urban district stands high in cases of molestation, rape and dowry deaths, Bellary district follows for molestation and rape and Belgaum district for dowry cases ranks second in the state. (Annexure VI, VII, VIII, State level statistics of crimes against women)

There was a significant rise in rape cases — up to 486, of which six were of gang rape. As many as 2,186 women were molested in 2009, and the highest number of crimes against women 3,183 cases was of spousal violence or violence by relatives.

III ROLE OF STATE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAWS THAT PROTECT WOMEN

PREVALENCE OF GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

Violence against women (VAW) includes any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, occurring either in the public or the private sphere. Violence against women manifests itself in many different ways and is one of the most pervasive forms of human rights abuse in the world today. While all women may experience violence, it intersects with other social and identity-based constructs like caste, religion, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation to make specific groups vulnerable to different and particular forms of violence. Thus, the nature of the violence and how it manifests itself may differ because of social location.

Specific social locations of crimes against women in Karnataka:

- Practice of child marriage
- Dowry harassment and dowry related deaths
- Sex selective abortions leading to female foeticide

¹⁷ Crime in India 2010 statistics – NCRB Min of Home Affairs New Delhi

- Acid attacks
- Caste-based violence
- Rapes and increasing trends of gang-rapes
- Domestic violence (physical and mental)
- Desertion and Bigamy
- Trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, domestic work, marriage, etc
- *Devadasi* practice in select northern districts of Karnataka
- Practice of *Banamathi* (concept- a witch is a female with supernatural powers to harm others and therefore needs to be burnt alive) practised in select areas of Karnataka and elsewhere in the country too.
- Moral policing of young girls by fundamentalist groups posing as upholders of Indian tradition as against western tradition.
- Violence on women of religious minorities by moral policing from within the community ostensibly posturing as religious peers.
- Co modification and indecent representation of women in the public domain/media leading to violence on women

There are several legislations enacted to protect women against discrimination and violence that exist in Indian law and statutes. Despite the legislations, these laws have not acted as a deterrent to domestic violence, family violence, communal violence and violence in the community and at the workplace. There is ample data on record relating to crimes against women, which clearly indicate the rise in the incidence of violence against women from 1991 to 1996, since the data has registered an increase of 56.2 per cent with an annual growth of 7.7 per cent. A large number of cases

go unreported due to lack of faith in the police, threats of more violence from the offenders and scepticism about possibilities of legal redress.

In 2005, the National Crime Records Bureau recorded a dowry death every 77 minutes. Still, many argue that low reporting and conviction rates mask the true number of dowry deaths, which could be as high as 25,000 cases per year.

The crime clock maintained by the NCRB in 2005, revealed a shocking figures

- 1 Crime committed against women every 3 minutes
- 1 Molestation case every 15 minutes
- 1 Rape case every 29 minutes
- 1 Sexual harassment case every 53 minutes
- 1 Dowry death case every 77 minutes
- 1 Cruel behaviour by husband and relatives every 9 minutes

The situation has not changed much; in fact, crimes against women have increased. Due to the gravity of the situation, several legislations at the national and state level have been enacted to protect women and ensure that there is no discrimination and violence committed against them. Some of these women specific legislations are listed below.

LEGISLATIONS AND LAWS FOR WOMEN

Most of the laws are pan-Indian except for certain laws introduced by the State to address state specific legislation to check VAW, perpetuated due to cultural and other factors governed by either social or geographic location.

The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (IPTA) of 1956, as amended and renamed in

1986, makes the sexual exploitation of males or females, a cognizable offence. It has been amended to decriminalize prostitutes and make the laws more stringent against traffickers.

Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 (amended 1984), made women's subjection to cruelty a cognizable offence. The second amendment, brought about in 1986, makes the husband or in-laws punishable, if a woman commits suicide within 7 years of her marriage and it has been proved that she has been subjected to cruelty. Also a new criminal offence of 'Dowry death' has been incorporated in the Indian Penal Code (IPC).

Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1976 raises the age for the marriage of a girl to 18 years from the previous age of 15 years and that of a boy to 21 years and makes offences under this Act cognizable.

Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1971 legalises abortion only by qualified professionals on humanitarian or medical grounds. The maximum punishment may go up to life imprisonment. The Act has further been amended specifying the place and persons authorized to perform abortion and provide for penal actions against unauthorized persons performing abortions.

Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act of 1986. An Act to prohibit the indecent representation of women through advertisements or in publications, writings, paintings, figures or in any other manner, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, (DV Act) 2005

provides for effective protection of the rights of women guaranteed under the Constitution, who are victims of violence of any kind occurring within the family and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto. It provides for immediate and emergent relief to women in situations of violence of any kind in the home. There is also *Section 498A of the Cr Pc* to address VAW. This is a criminal law while the DV act is a civil remedy.

Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, provides for equal pay to men and women for equal work. Remuneration means the basic wage or salary and any additional emoluments either in cash or kind, payable to a person in respect of employment or work done in such employment. Equal work means work for which the skill, effort and responsibility required is the same whether done by a man or a woman.

There is a practice in many work areas to pay the woman less than the man for the same work done by her. There has always been discrimination in the matter of employment and related areas, hence, the need arose to promulgate this law.

Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, amended in 1976, provides the right for girls to repudiate a child marriage before attaining maturity whether the marriage has been consummated or not.

The Marriage (Amendment) Act, 2001, amended the Hindu Marriage Act, Special Marriage Act, Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, the Code of Criminal Procedure with provisions for speedy disposal of applications for maintenance; the ceiling limit

for a claim to maintenance has been deleted and a wide discretion has been given to the magistrate to award appropriate maintenance. Earlier the maintenance was a meagre Rs. 500 under section 125 but has now been enhanced to Rs.1500.

**Compulsory Registration of all Marriages:
Long pending demand of women activists**

The GOI has decided to introduce a Bill in the Parliament to make registration of marriages compulsory under a law for mandatory recording of births and deaths, notwithstanding one's religious affiliation, thereby providing legal protection especially in cases of inter-religious matrimony.

This will also help women to claim their rights in situations of marital discord. It will also check bigamy and desertion and prevent fake marriages and child marriage.

(Annexure IX, News report)

Sexual Harassment at Work Place Bill. After the judgement given by the Supreme Court of India in the case of the now infamous case of Vishakha vs. the State of Rajasthan (August 1997). The landmark judgement of the case began around the incident of the brutal gang rape of a social worker in a village in Rajasthan. It revealed the hazards to which working women may be exposed and the need for safeguards in the absence of legislation.

Laying down guidelines in the landmark Vishakha judgement of August 1997, the

Supreme Court of India recognized sexual harassment at the workplace as not only personal injury to the affected woman, but also as a violation of fundamental rights. The judgment vindicated the struggles of women's organizations all over the country. The guidelines identify the critical factor in sexual harassment as the *unwelcomeness* of the behaviour. Thus it is the *impact* of the behaviour on the recipient, rather than the *intent* of the perpetrator which is to be considered. Therefore, by doing so the SC Guidelines conform to the internationally accepted standards for sexual harassment. A Bill on this matter has been prepared and is under consideration for its passage in Parliament.

Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994 (Amended 2002), also known as PNDT Act.

An Act to provide for the prohibition of sex selection, before or after conception, and for regulation of pre-natal diagnostic techniques for the purposes of detecting genetic abnormalities, metabolic disorders, chromosomal abnormalities, certain congenital malformations, sex-linked disorders and for the prevention of their misuse for sex determination leading to female foeticide and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

The Karnataka Devadasi (Prohibition of Dedication) Act 1982. *This law is specific to Karnataka*¹⁸

The Act was formulated to prevent the dedication of women as Devadasis in the State

¹⁸ <http://www.unifem.org.in/PDF/karnataka-dir.pdf> -source - Support services to women a resource directory published by NIAS

of Karnataka where the practice of dedicating women as Devadasis to deities, idols, objects of worship, temples and other religious institutions or places of worship existed in certain parts of its northern districts. Such practices lead women so dedicated to a life of prostitution;

Dedication as a devadasi was thus declared to be unlawful under this law, notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary, the dedication of a woman as a devadasi, whether before or after the commencement of this Act and whether she has consented to such dedication or not, has been declared unlawful, void and to be of no effect and any woman so dedicated shall not to be deemed to have become incapable of entering into a valid marriage.

SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. While this legislation looks at offences/violence committed by non-dalits on dalits, it addresses VAW on Dalit women.

“Section 3 establishes the different offences and punishments that should be carried out for crimes committed against members of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes” and “there are 22 different types of crimes defined under this section.” For example, sub-section 3(1)11 is for anyone who ‘assaults or uses force to any woman belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe with intent to dishonour or outrage her modesty’.

Even then, “in more than 90% of the cases we have found that the police register the crime only under section 3(1)10 and ignore the other

sections specific to the crime. This clearly shows the lack of knowledge of police authorities about the Act”.¹⁹

Karnataka has a high incidence of atrocities committed on the SC/STs. (Annexure X NCRB statistics of Crimes against Scheduled castes)

The protection of children from sexual offences Act, 2012

An Act to protect children from offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography and provide for the establishment of Special Courts for the trial of such offences and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2013

This new Act has expressly recognised certain acts as offences which were dealt with under related laws. These new offences like acid attacks, sexual harassment, voyeurism, stalking have been incorporated into the Indian Penal Code.

**IV
STATE INITIATIVES TO CHECK
DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENCE**

GOK launched the *Bhagyalakshmi* scheme during 2006-07 with an objective to promote the birth of girl children in below poverty line families and to raise the status of the girl child in the family in particular and society in general.²⁰

This effort has helped in checking the practice of female foeticide and infanticide

¹⁹ counterview.org **huge-gaps-exist-in-implementing-scast-atrocities**, Dec 4th 2011

²⁰ GOK Department of women and child

among the poor, as the practice of selective abortion has been steadily on the increase.

Field visit interviews have shown that the incentive has helped in keeping the girl child alive. This is due to the financial assistance provided to the girl child through her mother/father or natural guardian subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions. (*Annexure XI, Case studies*)

However, son preference cuts across caste, class and religion. In fact, recent media reports show that developed districts like Mandya and Mysore have a high incidence of sex-selective abortions. (*Annexure XII XIII XIV Incidences of female foeticide*)

The special programme of Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation in rehabilitating 'Devadasi' women

Devadasi rehabilitation programme: The programme was set up in 1991 by the Karnataka State Women's Corporation to eradicate the 'Devadasi' system. It was to help the women who were inducted into this system to come out and seek other forms of livelihood, since a large number of devadasis enter the commercial sex trade.

All women police stations: The first all women police station (AWPS) was set up in 1994 at Halasuru (in Kannada), formerly known as Ulsoor (anglicised British name). It is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in the city of Bengaluru. Located in east Bengaluru, the area was officially renamed 'Halasuru' in 2004.

Today there are 10 all women police stations across the state. The objective of

establishing the 'All Women Police Stations' was to help women to file complaints and seek redress, without feeling intimidated. The hope was that women police would be more sensitive to women survivors of violence and the survivors of violence would be able (to share a comfort level) and narrate the actual violence inflicted on them uninhibitedly.

A gender sensitisation and People-friendly Police project was launched in 2001. The aim was to educate police officials to deal with cases relating to violence against women and children with gender sensitivity. This was a joint initiative of UNICEF and the Karnataka State Police and gender-sensitization was part of the police training curriculum.

The following were some of the salient features of the initiative:

- In recognition of the need to be pro-active in addressing violence against women, the Karnataka police committed to providing training to its officers. By December 2006, over 2,800 police personnel had been trained in workshops, including 327 probationary sub-inspectors, and 754 probationary constables.
- The training design began with a documentation of procedures and police interactions in cases related to women and children. Conducted in 10 police stations in over a 6-week period, the review revealed that very few cases related to women and children reported to the police were registered
- Counselling was adopted as a substitute for the non registration of cases. The police preferred to act as counsellors in domestic

violence cases rather than use the law needed to address the case.

- The prevalent attitude of most officers was to minimize the violent incident, which denied the complainant's right to legal justice (this included cases where the complainant insisted on registration, but the police did not support the request)
- Police personnel were more sympathetic towards children's issues compared to their response to cases relating to women complainants.
- Violence against women and children was not seen as part of the 'mainstream' activities of the local police stations, but was often referred to the women's police station.
- The limited powers of the women's police stations, as well as the abdication of responsibility by the system, overall, resulted in further injustice to complainants²¹

However, there is a need for greater concerted efforts since neither have the all women police stations' nor the gender sensitisation of the police force made any visible difference in checking the growing crimes against women, or in providing speedy justice to women victims. This is because the protectors of the law (men and women), essentially share the same feudal and patriarchal mindset of the society they belong to that has traditionally treated women unequally. Even women officers respond in a stereotypical manner where they perceive domestic violence as a 'private' matter and therefore tend to give such complaints less importance. Even in counselling centres, it has

been observed that reconciliation is emphasized rather than encouraging the woman to come out of an irretrievably violent situation. The tradition-bound norms that the society imposes on women are, therefore, once again reinforced when she comes to seek redress from any violence ridden situation (matrimonial or otherwise.)

Studies by the Centre for Women and Law, National Law School of India University, 1999, and Hengasara Hakkina Sangha (HHS: NGO established in 1993) a women's rights organisation in Karnataka, (Rao et al., 1999) have highlighted the weakness of the formal justice system in redressing violence against women.

Public hearings of women victims were held by well known civil society organisations like Vimochana, to highlight the severity of the problem of 'dowry deaths'. The low conviction rate of the perpetrators of crimes (against women) reveals the need to improve various aspects of the criminal justice system. It further calls for appropriate action by the enforcement agency, the police in particular as they are the first point of contact to file the first information report (FIR.) Therefore, there is a need to follow up the complaint with appropriate investigations in a manner that is sensitive and gender just, so that women victims feel reassured that they will get justice and redress.

The Department of Women and Child, Karnataka, started the *Santhwana* scheme (2001-02), which provides legal assistance, financial relief, temporary shelter and protection

²¹ Source: Karnataka State Police and UNICEF (2007), The Gender Sensitisation and People-friendly Police Project.

to women survivors of violence. It also assists them to become self-reliant by providing them life skills and vocation training. This initiative is promoted in partnership with civil society groups.

The *Santhwana* centres give preference to partnering with NGOs running short-stay homes. Family counselling centres are actively working in the field of women's development. *Santhwana* is being implemented in 27 district headquarters and 18 selected taluks. There are 46 such centres in the state. The assistance provided to the women survivors of violence ranges from immediate relief, to long term rehabilitation plans. There is a toll free helpline

functioning, short stay home, counselling services, legal assistance and also provision of accommodation in working women's hostels and training to become economically self-reliant. While the effort is laudable, there are limitations that impede the efficient working of this scheme.

A review of the 19 *Santhwana* centres run through *Mahila Samakhya Karnataka (MSK)* (Mathrani 2004), brought forth the fact that the scheme had failed to make real choices available to women in need. When women decide to opt out of a violent situation, it translates into various needs that women require such as referral services, legal help, medical help,

Santwana Centre Sirsi, Uttara Kannada Distirct

The rotary club helped a group of women who were keen to address issues of VAW in starting the Santwana Mahila Vedike 12 years ago in Sirsi. Wide publicity about this facility was given through local newspapers and pamphlets. So, till date, they were able to address 418 cases with 80 per cent success in providing some level of redress, through mediation etc. They do not have a shelter home facility and, in case of emergency, the distressed woman is accommodated in their office, till an alternative arrangement is found.

The members expressed inadequacy of space as the office is also used as a counselling centre and as a short stay home, by partitioning the space available. There is an increase in cases everyday and there is a shortage of funds. The support provided by WCD is not adequate as they also run a helpline. It was suggested that the free legal aid cell and the Santawana centre should be separate as there is a rise in domestic violence cases.

A survivor of violence has been accommodated here with her daughter for the last six months. She has been absorbed as a social worker in the organisation.

Therefore, any facility provided to help women survivors of violence needs to look at the multiple needs of women, starting from case filing with the police, health needs, legal support and economic support so that women are able to cope with such situations. (Field visit 9 March 2012, Meeting organised by Dept.of Women & Child, Govt.of Karnataka)

GATEWAY TO JUSTICE

A laudable initiative of the Mahila Samakhya Karnataka is the establishment of the Nari Adalats. This is a grassroots initiative of the sangha women responding to the need for quick and effective dispute resolution and the establishment of women's rights. The Nari Adalats along with other community organisations such as the sangha and federation form a non-formal Dispute Resolution Mechanism. This is a forum for redress and conflict resolution that comprises a network of organisations that provide speedy, accessible and affordable legal services, advice and support to poor rural women. A time and space is created for women to be heard and their issues addressed from their point of view.

The Nari Adalats are unique because they link the private to the public- the women and their families, a private sphere, to the sangha, a public space where the case is presented. The Adalat's members establish close linkages with the Gram Panchayat, the Social Justice Committee of the local Panchayat, counselling centres, the police and the courts in order to seek justice for women. This informal initiative of addressing women's cases was started in Karnataka in 2000, and began its first sub committee hearings at Gulbarga and Mysore.

The Nari Adalats of Karnataka: A grassroots Level Initiative by Women for Women- Mahila Samakhya Karnataka (a GOI Project)

livelihood/vocational help, temporary stay and child care to name a few. Due to inadequate funding, these Centres were unable to meet the demands and hence they were only partially effective in addressing the problem.

While the Karnataka government initiatives, such as the *Santhwana scheme*, the all women police stations, and family counselling cells, have attempted to address gender-based crimes including domestic violence, rape, sexual abuse and dowry harassment, these efforts are severely constrained by several factors in addition to the fact that funds are short and real choices are seldom made available to women.²²

V

GAPS IN ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Societal norms and tradition inhibit women due to the process of socialisation in seeking justice. Women from childhood are taught and expected to tolerate and adjust in the marital home, as that is the only place where they belong. Experience of working with women victims shows that women break their silence about violence only when they have reached a stage where the violence is no longer tolerable or the target of the violence shifts from her to the children. It is at this point that a woman decides to seek redress.

Different factors that prevent women from coming forth to seek justice are

- Police stations are still not perceived as being woman-friendly and survivors of violence

²² KHDR pgs 188-189

find it intimidating as the environment is not supportive. The attitude of the police (male or female) is often stereotypical in viewing the woman as someone who has crossed societal norms in bringing into the public domain what is private and perceived as either a family or a marital matter. Therefore, instead of registering the case and acting as per the law, the police counsel the woman to reconcile and go back home, even if the woman feels more threatened. However, there is a noticeable change in police attitudes, but it is slow and, therefore, women continue to lack confidence in the social and legal justice redressal process.

- In cases of sexual violence or rape, especially if committed within the family, the efforts are to try and hush up the matter as it is linked to the honour and prestige of the family. Even if women seek justice in such cases, the solution very often offered is to have the girl married to the rapist, so her honour is supposedly restored.
- Political pressure and interference by those in authority over the police officials in police stations, prevent them from taking action against the perpetrators of violence. This further adds to denial of justice to women victims of violence.
- Due to the indefinite delays in the hearing of cases, particularly of rapes or dowry deaths, the witness tends to turn hostile and these results in minimal or no conviction, even where *prima facie* the crime is of an extremely heinous nature.
- A serious gap exists in the lack of awareness and information about where women need to go in times of distress.
- Inadequate police personnel and other functionaries to address crimes against women.
- Insensitivity of the judiciary with regard to violence against women, as they too tend to look at women as the repositories of the dignity and honour of the family.
- The whole judicial process which is time consuming, emotionally stressful, entails high costs and is not always affordable by victims. Also, there is no assurance that the victim will ever get justice.
- The lengthy procedures/documentation to access schemes that provide relief to victims of violence for instance compensation for acid victims and rape victims, legal aid and assistance for income generation (by way of rehabilitation etc.)
- Inadequate rescue homes or *Swadhar* centres for women in distress.
- Lack of appropriately trained personnel to handle cases of domestic violence against women, as there is a need for specialised training to manage women's cases with sensitivity, (police, protection officers, care takers in rescue homes etc)

VI WAY FORWARD

CHALLENGES

Awareness-building programmes to bring about attitudinal changes from considering women as subordinates, to recognising them as equal partners and citizens in society.

Value women's independent identity as a human being and not through her many familial relations—as wife, daughter-in-law, mother, mother-in-law and so on.

Recognise women's contribution in building the family, society and the nation.

Police and officials in positions of public authority, to be educated to understand the systemic (root causes) underlying violence against women.

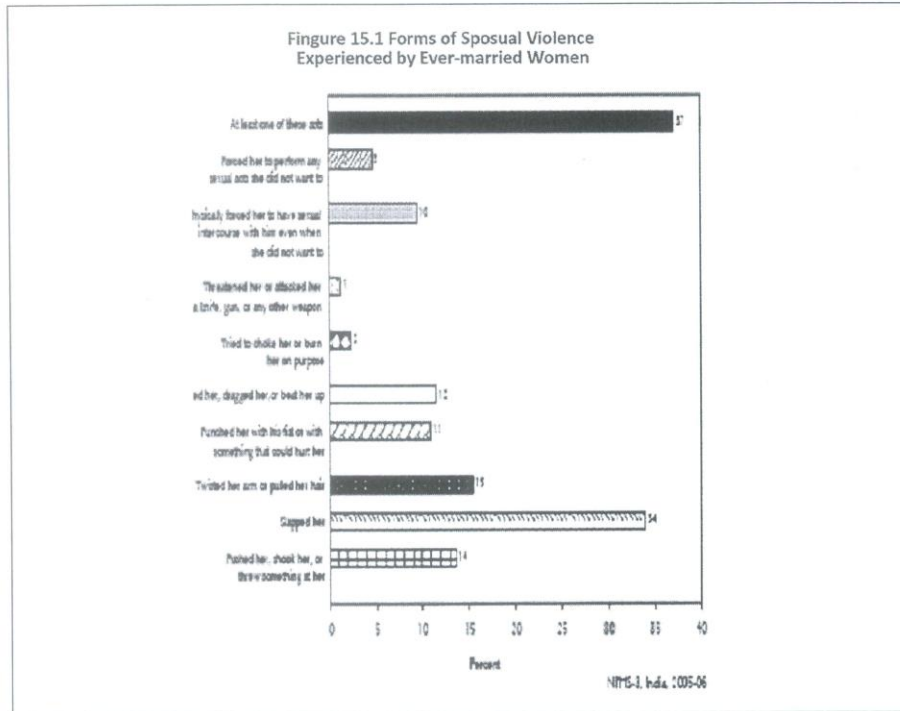
SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Regular review of the efficacy of the justice system *vis a vis* women's cases.
- Periodic social audit of Karnataka state government schemes and legal benefits meant for women survivors of violence.
- Creation of a cadre of sensitive and concerned officers across ranks to address cases of VAW.
- Introduction of ongoing trainings and orientation programmes for enforcement agency officials, on issues of gender-based violence, caste-based violence and communal violence with special emphasis on women as victims of crimes of this kind.
- Need to increase fast track courts for speedy justice delivery to women petitioners.
- Need to set up Rape-Crisis centres equipped with specially trained personnel.
- Initiatives like the *Nari Adalats* should be promoted and these informal bodies (institutional mechanisms) should be given statutory powers, so that they can automatically link up to the formal processes of legal justice
- Disaggregated data on the caste, gender-disability and age break up of women victims of crime, has to be integrated in collections of mainstream statistical data. Conviction rates need to be reviewed with a critical legal yardstick.
- District level mechanisms to be put in place comprising NGOs, women's rights activists, local leaders, legal experts, elected representative and government officers (administrative and enforcement) to monitor and check violence against women. Such a body should comprise 50 per cent women members.
- Urgent need to activate the social justice committees of the panchayat which the Karnataka *Mahila Samadhi* has already put in place, so that women can get timely justice at the grassroots level.
- Regular social and performance-related audits required to review the implementation of legislations to check violence against women.
- Provision of adequate funds, so that protection officers for the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (*DV Act*) are appointed and trained at the earliest so that pending cases are expedited.
- To provide special budgetary allocation to create awareness among students to prevent violence against women
- In case the of acid victims surgeons to issue proper medical reports in the stipulated time period to reap the benefits of the Karnataka State Women Commission's Suresh Yojanae
- Fast-track courts for speedy justice.
- A single window system through which women can access the relief measures provided by the State.
- In order to check and prevent Girl child marriages and all other marriages, the law to make compulsory registration of marriages, should be both encouraged through public awareness campaigns and also strictly advocated as being mandatory before the solemnisation of all marriages under whatsoever religion. The mandatory age of 18 for girls and 21 for boys needs to be the verified by local authorities especially in rural areas.

- The different categories of crimes under '*domestic violence*' have to be understood as being violative of a woman's basic human rights in a matrimonial home. Section 498-A under the IPC governs domestic violence crimes; Judicial efforts to make the section compoundable should not be entertained. An urgent need for courts to refer to guidelines before deciding cases of domestic violence.
- The PNDT Act needs to be stringently applied to all defaulting nursing homes and hospitals. Medical institutions, public and private should maintain proper medical records of the cases pertaining to sonography being used in prenatal cases and related abortions conducted thereafter. Doctors urged not to indulge in unethical practices.
- The phenomenon of sexual harassment at workplaces especially in educational institutions has to be addressed more pointedly. In the absence of a specific law as at present, there is an urgent need that all work places apply the Supreme Court guidelines and appoint internal committees to address issues related to sexual harassment, It may be noted here that due to the sensitivity of the crime, it is preferred that 50 per cent of the committee members be women.
- The convictions under the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, (Act 33 of 1989) more popularly known as POA, for caste/tribe based violence has been dismal, due to the fact that such crimes are not easily registered by those in authority due to either upper caste bias or pressure.

Committed political will to contain the growing violence against women is an imperative long overdue to safeguard women's constitutional rights and provide protection against violence, to enable them to live with dignity in a violence free society

ANNEXURE I



ANNEXURE II:
CRIME IN INDIA 2010 STATISTICS – NCRB MIN OF HOME AFFAIRS

Table: 5.1 Incidence & Rate of Crime Committed Against Women in States, UTs and Cities During 2010

Sl. No	State/UT	Incidence	Percentage Contribution To All-India Total	Estimated Mid-Year Population (In Lakhs)#	Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes	Rank as per Rate of total Cognizable crimes	Rank as per percentage share
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
States:							
1	Andhra Pradesh	27244	12.8	841.29	32.4	3	1
2	Arunachal Pradesh	190	0.1	12.35	15.4	15	25
3	Assam	11555	5.4	309.78	37.3	2	7
4	Bihar	8471	4.0	971.84	8.7	29	11
5	Chhattisgarh	4176	2.0	245.38	17.0	13	16
6	Goa	140	0.1	17.43	8.0	30	28
7	Gujarat	8148	3.8	581.93	14.0	19	12
8	Haryana	5562	2.6	245.90	22.6	9	14
9	Himachal Pradesh	1028	0.5	66.87	15.4	16	22
10	Jammu & Kashmir	2611	1.2	133.64	19.5	12	19
11	Jharkhand	3087	1.4	309.37	10.0	27	17
12	Karnataka	8807	4.1	587.99	15.0	17	9
13	Kerala	9463	4.4	349.72	27.1	6	8
14	Madhya Pradesh	16468	7.7	721.06	22.8	8	5
15	Maharashtra	15737	7.4	1100.49	14.3	18	6
16	Manipur	190	0.1	27.02	7.0	31	24
17	Megalaya	261	0.1	26.09	10.0	26	23
18	Mizoram	170	0.1	10.8	16.9	14	26
19	Nagaland	41	0.0	22.50	1.8	34	32
20	Odisha	8501	4.0	408.28	20.8	10	10
21	Punjab	2853	1.3	272.68	10.5	23	18
22	Rajasthan	18182	8.5	671.06	27.01	5	4
23	Sikkim	42	0.0	6.10	6.9	33	31
24	Tamil Nadu	6708	3.1	676.32	9.9	28	13
25	Tripura	1678	0.8	36.10	46.5	1	20
26	Uttar Pradesh	20169	9.4	1990.28	10.1	25	3
27	Uttarakhand	1074	0.5	98.17	10.9	21	21
28	West Bengal	26125	12.2	902.22	29.0	4	2
	Ttoal States	208681	97.7	11641.94	17.9		
NON Territories							
29	A & N Islands	85	0.0	4.32	19.7	11	30
30	Chandigarh	141	0.1	11.25	12.5	20	27
31	D & N Haveli	30	0.0	2.83	10.6	22	33
32	Daman & DIU	14	0.0	2.00	7.0	32	34
33	Delhi	4518	2.1	183.33	24.6	7	15
34	Lakshadweep	1	0.0	0.72	1.4	35	35
35	Puducherry	115	0.1	11.17	10.3	24	29
	Total (UTs)	4904	2.3	215.62	22.7		
	Total (All-India)	213585	100.0	11857.56	18.0		

Total population including women

ANNEXURE III

Table: 5.1 (Concluded)

Sl. No	City	Incidence	Percentage Contribution To All-India Total	Population (In Lakhs)@	Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes	Rank as per Rate of total Cognizable crimes	Rank as per percentage share
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>States:</i>							
36	Agra	598	2.5	13.21	45.3	6	13
37	Ahmedabad	1564	6.4	45.19	34.6	13	4
38	Allahabad	124	0.5	10.50	11.8	29	33
49	Amritsar	192	0.8	10.11	19.0	23	29
40	Asansol	374	1.5	1091	34.3	14	21
42	Bengaluru	1570	6.5	56.87	27.6	17	3
43	Bhopal	506	2.1	14.55	34.8	12	15
44	Chennai	420	1.7	64.25	6.5	35	18
45	Coimbatore	131	0.5	14.46	9.1	30	32
46	Delhi (City)	3886	16.0	127.91	30.4	16	1
47	Dhanbad	84	0.3	10.64	7.9	33	35
48	Faridabad	496	2.0	10.55	47.0	3	16
49	Hyderabad	1954	8.1	55.34	35.5	11	2
50	Indore	639	2.6	16.39	39.0	7	11
51	Jaipur	1182	4.9	23.24	50.9	2	6
52	Jamshedpur	142	0.6	11.02	12.9	28	31
53	Kanpur	969	4.0	26.90	26.0	10	9
54	Kochi	363	1.5	13.55	26.8	18	23
55	Kolkata	907	3.7	132.17	6.9	34	10
56	Lucknow	1052	4.3	22.67	46.4	4	8
57	Ludhiana	311	1.3	13.95	22.3	19	26
58	Madurai	186	0.8	11.95	15.6	26	30
59	Meerut	358	1.5	11.67	30.7	15	24
60	Mumbai	1409	5.8	163.68	8.6	31	5
61	Nagpur	432	1.8	21.23	20.3	21	17
62	Nasik	241	1.0	11.52	20.9	20	28
63	Patna	342	1.4	17.07	20.0	22	25
64	Pune	596	2.4	37.56	15.9	25	14
65	Rajkot	363	1.5	10.02	36.2	9	22
66	Surat	385	1.6	28.11	13.7	27	20
67	Vadodara	278	1.1	14.92	18.6	24	27
68	Varanasi	102	0.4	12.12	8.4	32	34
69	Vijayawada	1150	4.7	10.11	113.7	1	7
70	Vishakhapatnam	606	2.5	13.29	45.6	5	12
	Total (Cities)	24335	100.0	1078.80	22.6		

@ based on actual census of 2001 (total population including women)

ANNEXURE IV

Newspaper report *The HINDUBENGALURU*, March 20, 2011

Sex determination tests go on unabated in StateShare

Sex determination of the foetus is banned by law, but it goes on unabated in Karnataka, including the big urban centres like Bangalore .

The implementation of Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Sex Determination (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1994, is poor in Karnataka, pointing to a possible prejudice against the female child and the State's inability to stem the social evil according to experts who spoke at "Baalika – 2011," a State-level conference on the PC and PNDT Act and the Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) Act organised here on Saturday.

TARDY PROGRESS

Sarasu Esther Thomas of the National Law School of India University said the implementation of the Act has been very poor in the State. "We are already feeling the brunt of it now. There is a need to vigorously prosecute the guilty and publicise convictions," she said.

Ms. Thomas, who conducted a study on the Act's implementation in the districts of Urban, Rural and Mandya, said although sex determination is happening rampantly, very few cases had been filed. "There is often lack of evidence to prove the crime".

Corroborating her views, Deputy Commissioner, Urban, M. K. Aiyappa said cases of sex determination had been reported from Belgaum, Srirangapatna and Mandya. "Of the 2,500 ultrasound scanning centres in the State, 1,200 are in . While 250 inspections have been conducted, only two cases have been filed and the licence of just one centre has been cancelled," he said.

Activists Sabu George and Dileep Kamath spoke on how sex determination was going on unabated despite several decoy operations. "Although there have been denials, we have seen gynecologists and radiologists readily agreeing to conduct the tests for a hefty fee," Mr.Kamath said.

The former IPS Officer Kiran Bedi called upon doctors to become activists and vow that they would not indulge in unethical practices. "Whenever someone comes to you to get a sex determination test done, boldly refuse to do and say you cannot lose your inner license," she said.

Deputy Chairman of State Planning Board, Ramachandra Gowda inaugurated the conference. Governor H.R. Bhardwaj was present at the valedictory ceremony.

Elizabeth Vallikad of St Johns Medical College spoke on Medical Ethics and Sex Selection.

ANNEXURE V

News report The Hindu New Delhi # July 2009

LANDMARK JUDGMENT: Activists and supporters celebrate the Delhi High Court verdict decriminalising gay sex, in New Delhi on Thursday.

NEW DELHI: In a landmark judgment, the Delhi High Court on Thursday struck down the provision of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code which criminalised consensual sexual acts of adults in private, holding that it violated the fundamental right of life and liberty and the right to equality as guaranteed in the Constitution.

Gays present in the court room hailed the judgment and greeted one another with hugs.

A Division Bench of Justice A.P. Shah and Justice S. Muralidhar in its 105-page order said: "We declare that Section 377 of the IPC, insofar as it criminalises consensual sexual acts of adults in private, and violates Articles 21 [Right to Protection of Life and Personal Liberty], 14 [Right to Equality before Law] and 15 [Prohibition of Discrimination on Grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or Place of Birth] of the Constitution.

"We hold that sexual orientation is a ground analogous to sex, and that discrimination on sexual orientation is not permitted under Article 15," the judgment said.

However, the court clarified that "the provisions of Section 377 will continue to govern non-consensual penile non-vaginal sex and penile non-vaginal sex involving minors."

The judges also said that by adult they meant "everyone who is 18 years of age and above."

"A person below 18 would be presumed not to be able to consent to a sexual act," the judgment said.

The Bench further said that "this clarification will hold till, of course, Parliament chooses to amend the law to effectuate the recommendation of the Law Commission of India in its 172nd Report which, we believe, removes a great deal of confusion."

The judgment also made it clear that it would not result in re-opening of criminal cases involving Section 377 that had already attained finality.

The verdict came on a PIL plea by Delhi-based non-government organisation Naz Foundation that the Section 377 provision criminalising sexual acts between consenting adults in private violated Articles 14, 15, 19 and 21 of the Constitution. The Foundation works among sex workers in Delhi.

ANNEXURE VI

STATISTICS ON MOLESTATIONS IN THE STATE

Sl. No	Districts	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009-10	TOTAL	%
1	Bagalkote	43	45	51	62	59	260	2.81
2	Bengaluru Urban	167	43	187	179	251	927	10.03
3	Belgaum	110	121	99	56	48	434	5.09
4	Bellary	74	107	129	180	220	710	7.69
5	Bidar	53	59	71	41	66	290	3.14
6	Bijapur	44	82	103	105	38	372	4.03
7	Chamarajanagar	93	89	80	83	73	418	4.52
8	Chikamagalur	43	35	26	29	55	188	2.03
9	Chitradurga	33	71	55	60	64	283	3.06
10	Dakshina Kannada	62	52	65	82	102	363	3.93
11	Davangere	40	47	36	53	61	237	2.56
12	Dharwad	66	60	49	60	90	325	3.52
13	Gadag	21	15	8	16	29	89	0.96
14	Gulbaraga	16	20	31	49	44	160	1.73
15	Coorg	119	78	91	75	68	431	4.66
16	Hassan	18	21	20	27	-	86	0.93
17	Haveri	49	62	77	76	75	339	3.67
18	Hubli –Dharwad city	27	37	35	48	50	197	2.13
19	K Railways	2	13	10	16	12	53	0.57
20	Kolar	1	4	0	1	2	8	0.08
21	KGF	41	50	44	22	17	174	1.88
22	Mysore	18	18	29	14	10	89	0.96
23	Koppal	66	43	77	68	89	343	3.71
24	Mandya	24	28	32	26	32	142	1.53
25	Mysore city	56	79	66	59	85	345	3.73
26	Raichur	17	14	25	28	22	106	1.14
27	Shimoga	66	76	61	86	137	374	4.04
28	Tumkur	88	61	81	101	85	468	5.07
29	Udupi	59	87	105	90	26	426	4.61
30	Uttara Kannada	27	17	22	17	54	109	1.18
31	Ramanagaram	42	49	63	46	70	254	2.75
32	Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	62	43	132	1.43
33		-	-	-	37	-	80	0.87
	Total	1585	1683	1828	1954	2186	9236	100.0
		17.16	18.21	19.78	21.15	25.66		

Source of tables: Men and Women in Karnataka, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009-10, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

ANNEXURE VII

STATISTICS ON DOWRY DEATHS IN KARNATAKA

Sl. No	Districts	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009-10	Total	%
1	Bagalkote	1	3	2	6	7	19	1.48
2	Bengaluru Urban	39	50	54	50	52	245	19.15
3	Belgaum	46	26	32	11	14	129	10.08
4	Bellary	10	13	10	9	10	52	4.06
5	Bidar	5	13	7	10	7	42	3.28
6	Bijapur	10	10	4	11	3	38	2.97
7	Chamarajanagar	0	4	2	1	0	7	0.55
8	Chikamagalur	3	1	2	4	6	16	1.25
9	Chitradurga	7	4	4	8	1	24	1.88
10	Dakshina Kannada	6	3	9	6	10	34	2.66
11	Davangere	2	2	2	5	1	12	0.93
12	Dharwad	9	11	5	9	12	46	3.60
13	Gadag	5	1	0	3	3	12	0.93
14	Gulbaraga	4	4	3	5	0	16	1.25
15	Coorg	12	9	19	7	8	55	4.30
16	Hassan	2	0	4	2	-	8	0.62
17	Haveri	8	7	11	8	15	49	3.83
18	Hubli -Dharwad city	4	1	5	0	3	13	1.02
19	K Railways	3	1	3	1	5	13	1.02
20	Kolar	2	2	0	0	1	5	0.39
21	KGF	19	16	17	14	11	77	6.02
22	Mysore	7	4	7	3	4	25	1.95
23	Koppal	13	13	11	15	18	70	5.47
24	Mandya	4	3	1	4	5	17	1.33
25	Mysore city	13	8	15	11	8	55	4.30
26	Raichur	6	10	4	4	6	30	2.34
27	Shimoga	2	6	3	7	9	27	2.11
28	Tumkur	7	5	3	3	5	23	1.80
29	Udupi	8	10	10	16	13	57	4.45
30	Uttara Kannada	2	4	1	0	0	7	0.54
31	Ramanagaram	2	0	1	1	2	6	0.46
32	Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	14	11	25	1.95
33		-	-	-	9	11	20	1.56
	Total	261	244	251	259	264	1279	
	Total %	20.40	19.07	19.62	20.25	20.64		

Source of tables: Men and Women in Karnataka, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009-10, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

ANNEXURE VIII

STATISTICS ON RAPE IN KARNATAKA

Sl. No	Districts	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009-10	Total	%
1	Bagalkote	4	12	4	2	8	30	1.45
2	Bengaluru Urban	38	33	61	50	62	244	11.81
3	Belgaum	16	26	29	14	14	99	4.79
4	Bellary	13	22	22	30	39	126	6.09
5	Bidar	17	15	14	11	11	68	3.29
6	Bijapur	5	8	10	3	10	36	1.74
7	Chamarajanagar	18	18	17	19	19	91	4.40
8	Chikamagalur	7	16	3	4	8	38	1.84
9	Chitradurga	16	17	10	17	13	73	3.53
10	Dakshina Kannada	15	16	10	18	26	85	4.11
11	Davangere	14	17	11	6	10	58	2.80
12	Dharwad	14	17	10	10	16	67	3.24
13	Gadag	4	4	7	1	4	20	0.96
14	Gulbaraga	1	1	4	10	4	20	0.96
15	Coorg	16	18	35	25	32	126	6.09
16	Hassan	10	6	4	20	-	40	1.93
17	Haveri	10	13	13	16	22	74	3.58
18	Hubli-Dharwad city	4	4	4	5	5	22	1.06
19	K Railways	0	3	5	3	6	17	0.82
20	Kolar	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.04
21	KGF	20	13	19	10	8	70	3.39
22	Mysore	5	3	7	5	8	28	1.35
23	Koppal	14	10	20	13	21	78	3.77
24	Mandya	8	6	6	6	14	40	1.93
25	Mysore city	17	19	17	18	16	87	4.21
26	Raichur	8	15	13	23	14	73	3.53
27	Shimoga	8	13	15	9	10	55	2.66
28	Tumkur	17	23	23	14	15	92	4.45
29	Udupi	14	13	17	12	19	75	3.63
30	Uttara Kannada	7	10	10	10	5	42	2.03
31	Ramanagaram	3	7	4	10	9	33	1.59
32	Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	16	12	28	1.35
33		-	-	-	5	11	16	0.77
Total		343	398	424	415	486	2066	100.00
Total %		16.60	19.26	20.52	20.08	23.52		

Source of tables: Men and Women in Karnataka, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009-10, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

ANNEXURE IX

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING

Cabinet approves bill on compulsory marriage registration

Published: Thursday, Apr 12, 2012, New Delhi | Agency: PTI

In a significant move, Government will bring in a bill in Parliament's Budget Session to make registration of marriages compulsory under a law for mandatory recording of births and deaths, notwithstanding one's religious affiliation, thereby providing legal protection especially in cases of inter-religious matrimony.

The Union Cabinet on Thursday also approved introduction of the Anand Marriage Act, 1909 to provide for registration of marriages of Sikhs, fulfilling a long standing demand of the community. The Cabinet approved introduction of the bill in the ongoing Budget Session to amend the Registration of Births and Deaths Act, 1969 to include registration of marriages as well, Union Minister Kapil Sibal told reporters here.

While marriages of Sikhs along with those of Buddhists and Jains are currently registered under the Hindu Marriage Act, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Jews have separate Acts for registration of their marriages.

Necessary provisions have also been made to avoid duplication of registration of marriages both under the proposed central legislation and state laws. The registration of marriages under the proposed amendment would, however, not affect any right recognised or acquired by any party to marriage under any law, custom or usage.

With this decision, the existing administrative mechanisms will be able to carry out such registration of marriages in accordance with the specified procedures and be able to maintain necessary records and statistics for registration of marriages also. The proposed bill will save the women from unnecessary harassment in matrimonial and maintenance cases.

It will also provide evidentiary value in the matters of custody of children, right of children born from the wedlock and the age of the persons married.

In February 2006, the Supreme Court had directed the states and the central government that registration of marriages of all persons who are citizens of India and belonging to various religious denominations should be made compulsory in their respective states where they are solemnised.

The 18th Law Commission of India in its 205th report dealing with amendments to the “Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 and Other Allied Laws” had recommended that the government should make registration of marriages of all communities within a stipulated period mandatory. The Commission had also recommended legislation on compulsory registration of marriages by enacting a “Marriage and Divorce Registration Act” applicable to the whole of India, without any “exceptions or exemptions”.

In keeping with these suggestions, the government decided to amend the Registration of Births and Deaths Act, 1969 to provide for registration of marriages without affecting the state laws providing for registration of marriages in their respective states.

DNA (Daily News Analysis) 12 April 2012, , Karnataka.

**Crime in India 2010 statistics – NCRB Min of Home Affairs, New Delhi Incidence of crime committed against scheduled castes during 2010
total population including scheduled castes**

ANNEXURE X

Sl. No	State / UT	Incidence	Percentage contribution to all India total	Estimated Mid-year population (in lakhs)#	Rate of total cognizable crimes	Rank as per rate of total cognizable crimes	Rank as per percentage share
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
States							
1	Andhra Pradesh	4321	13.2	841.29	5.1	2	3
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0.0	12.35	0.0	-	-
3	Assam	7	0.0	309.78	0.0	24	22
4	Bihar	3516	10.7	971.84	3.6	6	4
5	Chhattisgarh	340	1.0	245.38	1.4	15	14
6	Goa	1	0.0	17.43	0.1	23	25
7	Gujarat	1008	3.1	581.93	1.7	11	10
8	Haryana	380	1.2	245.90	1.5	13	13
9	Himachal Pradesh	101	0.3	66.87	1.5	14	16
10	Jammu & Kashmir	1	0.0	133.64	0.0	25	24
11	Jharkhand	577	1.8	309.37	1.9	10	12
12	Karnataka	2505	7.7	587.99	4.3	4	6
13	Kerala	583	1.8	349.72	1.7	12	11
14	Madhya Pradesh	3374	10.3	721.06	4.7	3	5
15	Maharashtra	1132	3.5	1100.49	1.0	16	9
16	Manipur	0	0.0	27.02	0.0	-	-
17	Meghalaya	0	0.0	26.09	0.0	-	-
18	Mizoram	0	0.0	10.08	0.0	-	-
19	Nagaland	0	0.0	22.50	0.0	-	-
20	Odisha	1710	5.2	408.28	4.2	5	7
21	Punjab	115	0.4	272.68	0.4	18	15
22	Rajasthan	4979	15.2	671.06	7.4	1	2
23	Sikkim	3	0.0	6.10	0.5	17	23
24	Tamil Nadu	1631	5.0	676.32	2.4	9	8
25	Tripura	11	0.0	36.10	0.3	20	21
26	Uttara Pradesh	6272	19.2	1990.28	3.2	7	1
27	Uttarakhand	35	0.1	98.17	0.4	19	18
28	West Bengal	63	0.2	902.22	0.1	22	17
TOTAL STATES		32665	99.9	11641.94	2.8		
UNION TERRITORIES							
29	A & N Islands	0	0.0	4.32	0.0	-	-
30	Chandigarh	0	0.0	11.25	0.0	-	-
31	D & N Haveli	0	0.0	2.83	0.0	-	-
32	Daman & Diu	0	0.0	2.00	0.0	-	-
33	Delhi	16	0.0	183.33	0.1	21	20
34	Lakshadweep	0	0.0	0.72	0.0	-	-
35	Puducherry	31	0.1	11.17	2.8	8	19
Total UTs		47	0.1	215.62	0.2		
TOTAL ALL INDIA		32712	100.0	11857.56	2.8		

ANNEXURE XI

Case studies from the field**Case 1: Bhagyalakshmi Scheme process takes 6 months to access**

Nethravathi from Nagenahalli GP, H D Kote is an SC woman. She is a beneficiary of the Bhagyalakshmi scheme. She has two daughters aged three years and one year respectively. The whole process of applying for the scheme was through the anganwadi worker and it took almost six months before she got the bond. In the case of her second daughter it took more than a year. She is a happy that the scheme provides an opportunity for the girl children to get educated and there is also provision of some money when the girl turns major, which can be used for the marriage or for any other purpose. She expressed if such a scheme was made available during her childhood, she probably could have got educated. Her parents were too poor to give attention to education and especially for girls. Nethravathi feels that there is lot of attitudinal change among the elders towards the birth of girl children and blaming of daughters- in-law for the birth of girls is reducing. While in some families there is still discrimination, though sex selective abortions are not heard of in her village. Earlier there had been incidences of female infanticide. The main reason attributed is dowry. She said Bhagyalakshmi is a boon for poor families to bring up girl children. *(Nagenahalli field visit: date: 3 February 2012, Meeting organised by Min of Women and Child Development, Govt. of Karnataka)*

Case 2: Hurdles in access of Government schemes...not free from bribes

Munirathna is from Kopallamodugu village of Mulbagal taluk in Kolar district is a member of the SHG formed by Grameena Mahila Okkutta. Her daughter was born on 10-3-08 at the government hospital Mulbagal and was not able to get the form from the government hospital as they needed her husband's name to be furnished. Other women beneficiaries who were part of the group discussion also complained that without giving husbands name at the hospital they are not issuing the forms of the scheme. Later the anganwadi worker had to furnish all the details and sent it for which she had to shell out Rs. 1,500/- and another Rs. 500/- at the time of receiving the bond. *(Mulbagal field visit date: 11 February 2012, Meeting organised by NGO- Grameen Mahila Okkutta, Kolar.)*

ANNEXURE XII

Foetal blow: Murder in Karnataka: TIMES OF INDIA Saira Kurup, TNN Jul 10, 2005

MANDYA: It's her first child but Sudha refuses to hold the baby, while crying silently. Her mother explains that Sudha is afraid to leave the clinic and go back home to a husband who didn't want a daughter.

Sudha may be regretting that she didn't opt for a pre-natal sex determination test. Ironically, the nursing home where she delivered her baby is well known in Pandharpura taluk for conducting the tests and assisting in female foeticide. And it is only one of several such clinics in Mandya district in Karnataka.

The doctors, of course, blame the people. "Why do people go to doctors? We don't force you to come to us," says one doctor at the nursing home. "It's particularly the grannies who want male babies and put pressure on us for the test. But I strictly say no."

That may be a little hard to believe considering how lucrative the business is. A sex determination test can cost anything upwards from Rs 100, and terminating a pregnancy Rs 3,000-4,000 or more. The bill can even touch five figures in .

Of the approximately 1,600 registered scanning centres in Karnataka, around 600 are in itself. Mandya district, a prosperous sugar belt, has 35.

But social activists say the situation in Karnataka is not as bad as in Punjab: while the southern state's child sex ratio (CSR) " females per thousand males in the 0-6 age group " is 946, Punjab's CSR is 798 (the figure is 777 in Patiala district).

But if Karnataka's figures are better it's mainly because the technology has reached here only recently.

Says Donna Fernandes of Vimochana, an NGO which...

...is actively campaigning against the malpractice in Mandya district: "The technology is improving. In a few years, women may not need to go to clinics for scanning. Technology may help people know the foetus' sex at home itself. Would it be possible for the law to enter people's homes then?" Even now, despite the SC order asking states to implement the Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act which bans sex determination tests, it is business as usual at nursing homes and clinics.

In and Mandya, it took a few raids by Vimochana activists and Lokayukta for the clinics to register their scanning machines and comply with the mandatory display of signboards that “sex determination is illegal”.

A source in the State Women’s Commission says, “It’s difficult to take action against doctors because they have a powerful lobby and have close links with politicians. There are some well-known doctors in who are campaigning against female foeticide, while allowing the practice in their own nursing homes and hospitals.”

Foetuses are being regularly dumped in the wilderness nearby. Says a resident, Sushilamma, “Stray dogs, used to feeding on foetuses, once even attacked an infant playing nearby.”

ANNEXURE XIII

Newspaper report

The HINDU: February 9, 2011 15:58 IST

Activists protest over female foeticide in Mandya

Activists enraged over a sex determination test that went horribly wrong, demonstrated in front of the hospital in Chennapatna where the scanning was done last Saturday.

The Balu Nursing Home in Chennapatna, where the ultrasound scanning was done, told a couple, Vinutha, who was five months pregnant, and Ramesh, that the foetus was female. The woman reportedly had the foetus aborted at the Jyoti Nursing Home in Mandya, where it was found that it was male. The couple, reportedly, wanted a male child and had opted for the scanning. “This shows that there is a nexus between sonologists and nursing homes for conducting sex determination and female foeticide. The incident came to light because the father, after coming to know the truth, filed a complaint with the district health officer in Mandya. We want the district administration to take strict action not only on the doctors but also on the father of the child,” said Donna Fernandes of Vimochana, the women’s rights group. According to district health officials of Mandya and Ramanagaram districts, Jyoti Nursing Home and the scanning room at Balu Nursing Home have been sealed. The Hindu NATIONAL - KARNATAKA Activists protest over female foeticide in Mandya.htm

ANNEXURE XIV

The Hindu Karnataka Dated: Wednesday 7 June 2006 The centres had not maintained records and did not adhere to rules

The team held a meeting with members of the Mysore district anti-foeticide committee
· *Official says foeticide is rampant in Nanjangud, Rural and Mandya*

· The team will submit a report of its inspection to the Chief Secretary, Government of Karnataka
MYSORE: As part of a crackdown on clinics across the country conducting sex-determination tests, a Central anti-foeticide team arrived in Mysore on Tuesday and carried out surprise raids on medical diagnostic centres in Nanjangud. Three ultrasonography centres were sealed after the raids.

According to Information Department officials, the Central Inspection Committee set up under the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994, and headed by Rathan Chand, a senior official of the Government of India's Health and Family Welfare Ministry, visited four diagnostic centres in Nanjangud near here.

"Of the four, the team sealed three centres for not maintaining records of investigations and temporarily suspended their licenses.

One centre was not open when the team carried out the raid," an official said. The diagnostic centres sealed by the team are Nanjangud Krishna Scanning, Mamatha Ultrasound Scanning Centre and Nanjangud Clinic.

The diagnostic centres had failed to maintain records of the signed undertaking given by patients that the scanning was not for sex determination. Also, one of the sealed diagnostic centres had not displayed a board on prohibition of sex determination tests.

The diagnostic centres did not possess a copy of the PDNT Act, which was mandatory to operate such scanning centres. The team arrived in Mysore on Monday night after carrying out raids in Rural district, where four scanning centres were sealed, officials said. The team left for Mandya on Tuesday evening.

Earlier, the team held a meeting with members of the Mysore district anti-foeticide committee comprising Ulfat Fathima, K.V. Lakshmidivi and Janaki Seshadri, besides the district Health and Family Welfare Department officials. Speaking to presspersons, Mr. Chand said the committee had been constituted to check instances of female foeticide. The Government had enacted the PDNT Act to prevent the decline in female-male ratio in society. Mr. Chand claimed that foeticide was rampant in Nanjangud taluk in Mysore district.

He regretted that the menace was prevalent even in Rural and Mandya districts.
The team will submit a report of its inspection in Rural, Mysore and Mandya districts to the Chief Secretary, Government of Karnataka.

ANNEXURE XV

Statement showing number of Child Marriages prevented From 1-04- 2010 TO 31-06-2013

SI No	Name of the Districts	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	1-4-13 to 30-6-13	Total
1	Ramanagaram	0	0	9	14	23
2	Chitradurga	0	10	15	14	39
3	Bellary	52	40	0	22	114
4	Bagalkote	6	2	11	0	19
5	Tumkur	0	2	5	8	15
6	Gulbarga	0	2	0	5	7
7	Haveri	0	2	16	5	23
8	Mandya	2	10	44	18	74
9	Koppal	90	22	0	8	120
10	Bidar	0	1	0	13	14
11	Raichur	25	62	6	0	93
12	Bijapur	2	17	4	9	32
13	Chikkamagalur	0	2	0	0	2
14	Koppal	0	0	4	2	6
15	Dharwad	55	16	9	14	94
16	Mysore	4	6	31	6	47
17	Bangalore (U)	1	3	13	11	28
18	Davangere	1	5	21	22	49
19	Chamarajanagar	12	14	0	3	29
20	Hassan	10	0	0	8	18
21	Gadag	51	7	0	7	65
22	Shimoga	3	0	4	6	13
23	Mangalore	0	1	4	4	9
24	Chikkaballapur	0	0	22	9	31
25	Belgaum	1	17	19	20	57
26	Yadgiri	0	2	3	11	16
27	Udupi	1	0	0	0	1
28	Kodagu	0	0	3	4	7
29	Karwara	0	0	0	2	2
30	Bangalore (R)	0	6	10	4	4
Total		316	249	253	249	1067

Source: Department of Women and Child Development, GoK

ABBREVIATIONS

AWPS	All Women Police Stations
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW adopted by UN in 1979)
CrPc	Code of Criminal Procedure
CSAAAW	Campaign and Struggle against Acid Attacks on Women
GOI	Government of India
GoK	Government of Karnataka
ISST	Institute of Social Science Trust, New Delhi, Bengaluru
LGBT	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual and Transgender persons
MASS	Mahila Abhivrudhi Samrakshne Samasthe
MSK	Mahila Samakhya Karnataka
NA	Nari Adalat (<i>women's informal courts under the aegis of MSK</i>)
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau, (Central Government, GOI)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NAWO	National Alliance of Women, New Delhi.
NIAS	National Institute of Advanced Studies,
PCMA	Prohibition of Child Marriage Act
PUCL	People's Union of Civil Liberty
SC	Scheduled Castes
SCRB	State Crime Records Bureau, Karnataka.
SNDT	Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University, Mumbai.
ST	Scheduled Tribes
UDR	Unnatural Death Register
UN	United Nations
VAW	Violence against Women

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CHAPTER VI

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN KARNATAKA: AN ANALYSIS BASED ON NSS DATA

B.P. Vani¹

INTRODUCTION

Across the world, with some exceptions like Africa, women have increased their work participation which has not only led to higher growth in labour force participation in women than men, but also reduced the gender gap. Increased female labour force participation is linked to a fertility transition in developed countries, and developing countries have a slow fertility decline and low labour force participation. However, in India, it is a well established fact that fertility has been declining and also approaching the international norm of 2. Unlike other countries, this decline, however, does not have an impact on labour force participation. Female labour force participation, in India, considerably lags behind in comparison with international standards, and more so in Urban India.

With the above background, this study presents the pattern of labour force participation of females in Karnataka and compares its

performance with other neighbouring States and All India based mainly on secondary data. Work participation rates are also collaborated with education, income class and social class. Some estimates are also presented at the district level.

DATA

The National Sample survey Organisation (NSSO) conducts comprehensive surveys of Employment and Unemployment once every five years. This study uses data for the last four quinquennial surveys viz., 1993-94, 1999-00, 2004-05 and 2009-10, and concentrates on the latest round i.e., 2009-10.

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES(LFPR)

The study starts by looking at trends in labour force participation rates (LFPR) of females and males in Karnataka, and comparing their magnitude with that of the neighbouring States and All India. Estimations are based on the Usual principal plus subsidiary status

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(UPS+SS)² for all age groups and for the age group 15 + years.

TRENDS:

The trends in Labour Force Participation Rates for Males and Females for Karnataka as well as All India are presented in tables 1A (all age groups) and 1B (for ages 15+). The following points emerge from the table. First, LFPR in Karnataka for both males and females is much higher than the All India levels in both rural and urban areas. Among females, a huge

difference is noticed between urban and rural areas. LFPR in rural areas is almost more than twice that of urban areas. Distress may be the factor which pushes rural women to participate in the work force. Even though rural LFPR among females is around 45 percent, we are still far from the international level by about 15 percentage points. However, a steady decline in LFTR has observed among females in both rural and urban areas except for the year 2004-05, where a sudden jump was observed. This may be attributable to the draught years before 2004-05.

Table 1A: Labour Force Participation Rate(all ages)

	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI
1993-94	60.9	56.1	55.8	54.7	43.2	33.0	19.1	16.5
1999-00	60.1	54.0	56.2	54.2	38.1	30.2	18.6	14.7
2004-05	62.8	55.5	58.7	57.0	46.2	33.3	19.2	17.8
2007-08	61.1	55.9	61.6	57.6	39.3	29.2	18.4	14.6
2009-10	62.7	55.6	59.0	55.9	37.2	26.5	17.7	14.6

Table 1B: Labour Force Participation Rate(15+ age)

	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI
1993-94	89.4	87.6	80.6	79.4	61.5	49.0	24.7	23.8
1999-00	88.5	85.5	78.3	78.7	55.5	45.7	25.2	20.9
2004-05	87.7	85.9	80.1	79.2	62.0	49.4	26.1	24.4
2007-08	85.8	85.0	82.7	79.0	52.7	42.6	24.7	19.6
2009-10	86.5	82.5	77.3	76.2	49.0	37.8	23.1	19.4

² In NSS surveys, persons are classified into various activity categories on the basis of activities pursued by them during certain specified reference periods. Three reference periods are used in NSS surveys, viz. (i) one year, (ii) one week and (iii) each day of the reference week. Based on these three periods, three different measures of activity status are arrived at. The activity status determined on the basis of the reference period of one year is known as the usual activity status (US) of a person, that determined on the basis of a reference period of one week is known as the current weekly status (CWS) of the person and the activity status determined on the basis of the engagement on each day during the reference week is known as the current daily status (CDS) of the person. The activity status on which a person spent relatively long time (i.e. major time criterion) during the 365 days preceding the date of survey is considered as the *usual principal activity status* of the person. A person whose usual principal status was determined on the basis of the major time criterion could have pursued some economic activity for a shorter time throughout the reference year of 365 days preceding the date of survey or for a minor period, which is not less than 30 days, during the reference year. The status in which such economic activity was pursued was the subsidiary economic activity status of that person.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES:

Even though NSS measures unemployment in three ways, i.e., usual status, current weekly status and current daily status, here we mostly use the usual status definition. According to the usual status definition, unemployment indicates the magnitude of the persons unemployed for a relatively long period and indicates chronic unemployment. The Unemployment rate is defined as the number of persons unemployed to the persons in the labour force. According to the usual status, the unemployment rate in Karnataka is much lower than All India both in rural and urban areas for males and females. The highest unemployment rate was recorded in 2004-05 over two decades for females both in Karnataka and All India in both rural and urban regions. For the year 2004-05, the unemployment rate in urban areas was 5.7% and in rural areas it was 0.8%. However, in the latest NSS round, the unemployment rate was only 4% in urban areas and 0.4% in rural areas(see table 2).

A high LFPR and unemployment rate in 2004-05 which is mostly attributable to the drought in the previous years clearly indicates that women's labour force participation is driven by necessity rather than increased

opportunities. On looking further into LFPR³, education wise and economic status wise data would lead to more insights. Before going into the details of female work participation rates across education wise, sector wise and economic classification wise, a broad comparison of LFPR and unemployment rates with neighbouring states would give the position/status of the State.

COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBOURING STATES:

Even though LFPR among both males and females is higher than the All India level, compared to the neighbouring States participation rates are higher with respect to males and lower with respect to females. Even though Kerala witnessed the lowest female participation rate in rural areas, with respect to urban areas it is the highest among the southern States.

Table 3A:Labour Force Participation Rate(all ages) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	60.6	44.7	52.7	55.5	18.6	37.5
Karnataka	62.7	37.2	49.9	59.0	17.7	39.3
Kerala	58.3	26.0	41.4	56.4	23.3	39.1
Maharashtra	58.1	39.7	49.1	59.2	16.7	39.2
Tamil Nadu	61.3	41.1	50.9	58.4	20.2	39.5
All India	55.6	26.5	41.4	55.9	14.6	36.2

Table 2: Unemployment rate(per 1000 population)

	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI
1993-94	9.0	14.0	29.0	40.0	4.0	8.0	56.0	62.0
1999-00	10.0	17.0	30.0	45.0	3.0	10.0	44.0	57.0
2004-05	7.0	16.0	19.0	38.0	8.0	18.0	57.0	69.0
2007-08	11.0	20.0	31.0	38.0	2.0	10.0	33.0	55.0
2009-10	5.0	16.0	24.0	28.0	4.0	16.0	40.0	57.0

³ Trends and patterns of work participation rates are same as that of the Labour Force Participation Rates and these tables are presented in the appendix.

Table 3B: Labour Force Participation Rate(15+) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	81.4	58.5	69.8	75.3	24.6	50.4
Karnataka	86.5	49.0	67.4	77.3	23.1	51.4
Kerala	79.2	33.6	54.7	74.6	30.2	51.2
Maharashtra	81.1	53.2	67.2	77.4	21.7	51.1
Tamil Nadu	82.4	53.0	66.9	77.5	25.9	51.5
All India	82.5	37.8	60.4	76.2	19.4	48.8

Table 4: Proportion of child worker (per 1000 persons) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	11	15	13	7	5	6
Karnataka	17	24	21	8	1	5
Kerala	0	0	0	0	1	1
Maharashtra	8	17	12	8	2	6
Tamil Nadu	0	4	2	1	0	0
All India	18	14	16	11	5	8

CHILD WORKERS

Table 4 presents information about the number of child labourers (i.e., below 15 years) per every 1000 workers. It is very sad to notice that when it comes to child labour among females in rural Karnataka, it is not only much above the All India average but also the highest among the neighbouring states. In Karnataka, among rural female children, 24 out of every 1000 workers are child labourers. Tamil Nadu and Kerala have more or less got rid of child labour. The results come as surprise with respect to Tamil Nadu as the state is known for using child labour in the crackers and textile industries in certain pockets (eg., Shivakasi is well known for crackers). In rural Karnataka, even among male children, child labour is quite high. However, in urban Karnataka, even though child labour is high among male children, among female children it is not negligible. This may not imply that all female children are in school. Possibly they are used in the household to look after the younger ones especially among households belonging to lower economic strata where both parents are at work.

A comparison across neighbouring states with respect to unemployment rates. The figures indicate that the unemployment rate is the lowest in Karnataka for females both in rural and urban areas.

Table 5: Unemployment Rate (per 1000 persons) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	13	9	11	25	48	32
Karnataka	5	4	4	24	40	28
Kerala	33	162	75	28	167	72
Maharashtra	7	3	6	27	48	33
Tamil Nadu	15	15	16	24	54	33
All India	16	15	17	29	55	33

FEMALE WORK PARTICIPATION RATES ACROSS AGE GROUPS:

Tables 6A and 6B presents the females WPR in Karnataka separately for rural and urban areas. It is seen from the tables that irrespective of the age group, there is a reduction in work participation rates among rural females. The decline is highest in the age group 25-29 and 30-34 yrs. The rural workforce being characterized by unorganized labour, the decline in work participation which in general, is high in the productive age group i.e., 24 to 34 yrs clearly indicates that the women have withdrawn from the labour market. This is due to the decline in employment opportunities. However, MGNREGA programme in full force, employment opportunities have greatly increased. This further proves that women get into the labour force only through necessity. Further, the decline in WPRs for younger age groups i.e., the school going age group, is a very good sign indicating the importance of female

education which is greater so in urban regions. The graph below shows that the curve for rural female WPR in 2004-05 intersects the 1993-94 curve at the 30-34 age group, and thereafter remains above it signifying higher WPRs in the rest of the older age cohorts.

Table 6A: Work Participation Rate of Females (Rural)

Age Gp	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05	2009-10
5-9	38	13	0	0
10-14	251	153	121	65
15-19	503	421	424	293
20-24	620	481	485	342
25-29	641	635	692	507
30-34	762	714	785	595
35-39	746	710	826	685
40-44	737	665	836	707
45-49	758	618	756	658
50-54	687	563	655	570
55-59	506	499	595	465
>60	249	261	266	269

Table 6B: Work Participation Rate of Females (Urban)

Age Gp	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05	2009-10
5-9	1	2	0	1
10-14	45	42	17	2
15-19	158	139	135	59
20-24	246	227	257	226
25-29	297	220	241	226
30-34	295	366	348	259
35-39	382	336	342	356
40-44	346	341	338	333
45-49	328	270	257	283
50-54	276	278	276	326
55-59	229	178	223	170
>60	117	99	78	170

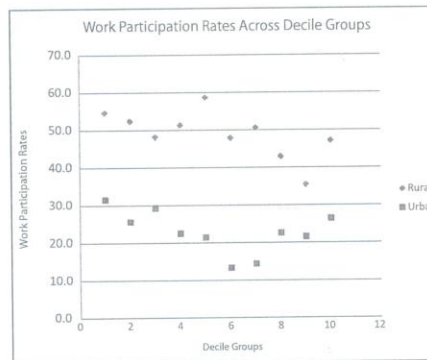
WORK PARTICIPATION RATES AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME:

In rural areas, the 5th decile shows the highest peak of WPR, where 57% of women are working. However, as one moves towards the higher deciles, work participation declines and the last decile again shows an increase in work participation. This could

be mostly the educated who tend to work in formal sectors like small industries in nearby towns, and as teachers etc.. Again with respect to urban areas a clear decline is noticed except for the last decile. This can again be attributed to education and careers.

Table 7: WPR(15+) across MPCE class(2009-10)

Deciles of MPCE	Rural	Urban
0-10%	54.6	31.5
10%-20%	52.4	25.6
20%-30%	48.2	29.3
30%-40%	51.3	22.5
40%-50%	58.6	21.4
50%-60%	47.8	13.4
60%-70%	50.6	14.4
70%-80%	42.9	22.6
80%-90%	35.4	21.5
90%-100%	47.1	26.4
All	48.8	22.2



Work participation rates in rural and urban Karnataka show exactly the opposite pattern. As most studies have found, a U pattern is visible in urban WPR. WPR tend to be high among poor households, where only a small proportion can afford to remain outside the working group. i.e., economic need pushes women into employment regardless of other responsibilities. On the contrary, high

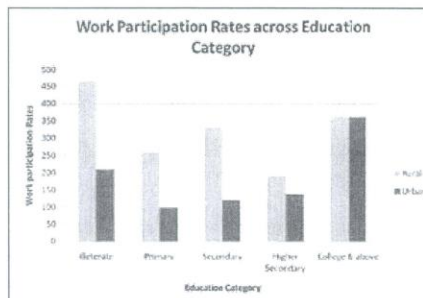
income groups coupled with high educational attainments attract more women into the workforce in comparison to middle income groups. Rural Karnataka, on the contrary, indicates that the decline in the work participation may be due to more rigid cultural patterns followed in rural areas among the economically dominant group which goes with the dominant caste.

WORK PARTICIPATION RATES ACROSS EDUCATION GROUP:

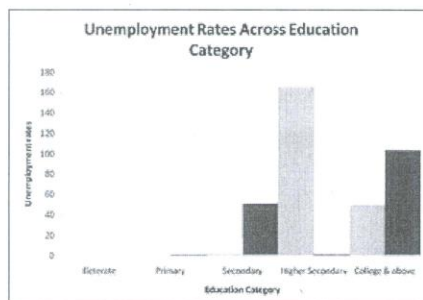
Table 8: WPR and UR across Education attainment(2009-10)

Rural	WPR	UR
Illiterate	464	0
Primary	259	0
Secondary	333	2
Higher Secondary	190	165
College & above	362	50
All	370	4
Urban		
Illiterate	209	0
Primary	98	1
Secondary	120	51
Higher Secondary	138	1
College & above	360	104
All	170	40

WPR in both rural and urban areas show a declining pattern with education with the exception that there is a substantial rise with respect to the highest education category. The declining pattern is steeper for rural than for urban females. The pattern of work participation rates across educational groups go hand in hand with that of income groups. Unemployment is again very high among highly educated females. The range between unemployed illiterates, and unemployed graduate females in rural Karnataka is 50 in rural areas and 104 in urban Karnataka.



Unemployment rates are also high for educated women. It is more so for urban than rural women except women who have completed higher secondary education in rural areas.



WORK PARTICIPATION RATES ACROSS SOCIAL GROUPS:

Work participation rates are the highest among lower social groups. Further estimates also show that among the total tribal women workers in rural areas, almost 84% are engaged in agriculture and 86% among the SC group are engaged in agriculture. Among the general category, only 75% of women are employed in agriculture. Non farm employment opportunities were high among higher social groups. Work participation rates also declined steeply across the educated group among the

socially backward classes. However, for the general group, the line was flatter. A high WPR and a low level of education among the socially deprived class implies low skilled jobs characterised by low pay, and tedious and long hours of work. This calls for programmes towards skill development among the socially deprived class.

Table 9: WPR and UR across Social Groups(2009-10)

Rural	WPR	UR
Schedule Tribe	478	0
Schedule caste	419	1
Other backward Class	382	8
Others	276	2
All	370	4
Urban		
Schedule Tribe	232	6
Schedule caste	220	47
Other backward Class	157	31
Others	162	53
All	170	40

WPR is quite high with respect to deprived classes in both rural and urban areas.

WORK PARTICIPATION RATES ACROSS INDUSTRY GROUPS:

Industry wise work participation shows that the concentration in rural areas is in the Agricultural sector, as expected. As of the latest round, i.e., 2009-10 82% of women are in still in agriculture. In the case of the urban sector WPRs dominate in Manufacturing, and Education, which is due to the high proportion of teachers, which most women prefer to take up.

HAS THE PATTERN CHANGED AMONG FEMALES W.R.T INDUSTRY AND THE TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT?

There seems to be no change in the pattern over the period in both rural and urban areas.

Table 10: WPR Across Industry Group(2009-10)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Agriculture, Hunting & Fishing	82.41	16.18	70.29
Mining & Quarrying	0.27	0.23	0.26
Manufacturing	6.29	28.66	10.38
Electricity, Gas & Water Supply	0.00	1.69	0.31
Construction	1.98	6.91	2.88
Wholesale & Retail Trade	4.09	5.89	4.42
Hotels & Restaurants	0.90	2.01	1.10
Transport, Storage & Communication	0.05	1.81	0.37
Financial Intermediation	0.06	1.66	0.35
Real estate, Renting and Business activity	0.03	5.68	1.07
Public Administration and Defence	0.20	1.71	0.48
Education	2.17	12.55	4.07
Health & Social Work	0.14	4.83	1.00
Other Services	1.42	10.19	3.02
All	100.00	100.00	100.00

Even though, in rural areas, there is a marginal decline in the share of agricultural workers, still agricultural workers continue to dominate among females. Not much replacement of labour has taken place in rural areas with respect to female work participation. In the case of urban Karnataka, the share of the workforce in the manufacturing industry went down drastically in 2004-05 by about 10 percentage points, but got back to its original position by 2009-10. Roughly 30% of the female work force participates in the manufacturing industry.

However, it is interesting to note that in urban areas, the share of the female work force in regular employment has increased over time and as of 2009-10 data, nearly 44% of the female work force is in regular employment that provides more job security(see table 12). This picture contradicts the widely held perspective that in the urban sector casualisation of labour is taking place.

Table 11: Trend in WPR across Industries.

	1993-94		1999-00		2004-05		2009-10	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Agriculture, Hunting & Fishing	84.6	29.6	87.8	19.0	85.5	6.0	82.4	16.2
Mining & Quarrying	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Manufacturing	8.4	28.1	5.7	30.7	7.6	20.0	6.3	28.7
Electricity, Gas & Water Supply	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	1.7
Construction	0.7	4.0	0.5	4.9	0.6	11.7	2.0	6.9
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Hotels & Restaurants	2.2	8.7	2.5	16.2	2.5	30.4	5.0	7.9
Transport, Storage & Communication	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.6	0.2	9.9	0.0	1.8
Financial Intermediation, real estate, & Business activity	0.1	2.7	0.0	5.1	0.0	7.4	0.1	7.3
Public Administration and Defence, Education, Health and Ot. Services	3.5	24.5	2.9	23.1	3.1	13.4	3.9	29.3
All	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 12: WPR by status of employment:

	1993-94		1999-00		2004-05		2009-10	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Self Employed	53.4	45.9	47.6	41.5	48.9	43.7	50.3	35.44
Regular Employed	2.3	25.4	1.9	32.6	3	37.1	5.51	44.37
Casual Labour	44.3	28.7	50.5	25.9	48.1	19.2	44.19	20.19
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

DISTRICTWISE ANALYSIS:

A wide variation is observed in the work participation rates across districts. The variation is much higher in urban areas (with the CV being 39%) than in rural areas (CV is 30%). Unemployment rates were almost negligible in most of the districts in rural areas. Only Gulbarga and Bellary witnessed high unemployment rates in rural areas. However, in urban areas, a wide variation was observed across districts, and some districts witnessed very high unemployment rates. Juxtaposing work participation rates and poverty estimates we observe the following pattern.

In the following tables districts are classified into four blocks. Block I corresponds

to districts with high work participation rates(i.e., above the state average) and high poverty(above the state poverty estimate). Block II corresponds to districts with low work participation rates (below the state average) and high poverty. Block III corresponds to districts with high work participation rates and low poverty estimates(below the state average) and Block IV corresponds to districts with low work participation rates and low poverty. Most of the districts from block I and II are from northern Karnataka which are not only districts with high poverty but also highly backward districts with less irrigation and dry lands. Women are pushed into the work force in these districts due to distress. However, districts in block II show low work participation

rates which may indicate the non availability of work. This calls for special attention from policy makers and perhaps more emphasis may be paid towards the MGNREG programme in these districts. However, shortage of labour may be pushing the females to participate in work in the districts belonging to block III. The districts in block IV are agriculturally developed districts and mechanisation in agriculture may be replacing female labour.

As part of the 11th five year plan, the Planning commission had directed all the States to set up a skill commission. Karnataka set up its skill commission in 2009. The vision of National skill development is that the "National

skill development initiative will empower all individuals through improved skills, knowledge, nationally and internationally recognised qualifications to gain access to decent employment and ensure India's competitiveness in the global market". Under this skill development programme the State has trained 3.5 lakh persons in various trades and placed about 2.5 lakh persons. The State Government has involved district collectors in the process of skill development activities. This is a good initiative and concentration in the districts belonging to block II would help in setting up small own enterprises and, in due course, also providing employment opportunities to the locals.

Table 13: Estimates at District Level:

Districts	Rural			Urban			Poverty estimates in 2009-10	
	LFPR	WPR	UR(per 1000 population)	LFPR	WPR	UR(per 1000 population)	Rural	Urban
Belgaum	47.3	47.0	5	16.7	14.4	159	49.7	45.9
Bagalkot	47.0	47.0	0	26.0	23.2	121	45.7	61.6
Bijapur	36.5	36.5	0	16.0	10.6	516	42.3	29.9
Gulbarga	47.9	46.4	32	21.0	20.4	29	51.5	33.8
Bidar	34.8	34.8	0	9.9	8.4	181	60.1	28.7
Raichur	30.3	30.3	0	15.8	15.8	0	58.4	49.7
Koppal	35.8	35.8	0	10.0	10.0	0	34.4	81.3
Gadag	53.9	53.9	0	17.8	17.8	0	47.3	61.1
Dharwad	34.1	34.1	0	14.6	13.2	104	32.7	34.1
Uttar Kannada	11.6	11.6	0	18.3	18.2	6	14.6	22.0
Haveri	33.4	33.4	0	21.6	21.0	29	16.8	37.5
Bellary	34.4	33.9	14	17.8	17.8	0	37.0	64.2
Chitradurga	57.2	57.2	0	12.8	12.8	0	12.0	11.6
Davangere	45.7	45.7	0	19.8	19.6	7	31.9	48.2
Shimoga	20.1	20.1	0	4.7	4.7	0	8.0	10.5
Udupi	32.2	32.2	0	9.5	9.5	0	9.6	0.4
Chickmagalore	35.3	35.3	0	18.9	18.9	0	7.9	30.4
Tumkur	44.9	44.9	0	19.6	18.5	56	9.8	38.4
Kolar	50.4	50.4	0	16.6	15.1	105	6.5	7.1
Bangalore	27.0	27.0	0	18.7	18.1	29	2.9	2.7
Bangalore(Rural)	44.2	44.1	2	15.0	15.0	0	6.7	32.9
Mandya	18.7	18.7	0	30.9	30.9	0	12.3	29.4
Hassan	24.9	24.9	0	6.7	6.7	0	12.6	23.3
Dakshina Kannada	44.3	44.3	0	21.6	21.2	21	2.5	13.2

Districts	Rural			Urban			Poverty estimates in 2009-10	
	LFPR	WPR	UR(per 1000 population)	LFPR	WPR	UR(per 1000 population)	Rural	Urban
Kodagu	42.1	42.1	0	34.5	31.6	95	0.0	13.5
Mysore	31.3	31.3	0	16.2	16.2	0	14.9	5.3
Chamarajanagar	30.9	30.9	0	10.3	10.3	0	12.7	3.0
Karnataka	37.2	37.0	4	17.7	17.0	42	26.1	19.5

LFPR: Labour Force Participation Rate

WPR: Work Participation Rate; UR: Unemployment Rate

Rural Karnataka		
	High Work Participation Rate(i.e., > state average)	Low Work Participation Rate(i.e., < state average)
High Poverty(i.e., > state estimate)	I Belgaum Bagalkot Gulbarga Gadag Davangere	II Bijapur Bidar Raichur Koppal Dharwad Bellary
Low Poverty(i.e., < state estimate)	III Chitradurga Tumkur Kolar Bangalore* Dakshina Kannada Kodagu	IV Uttar Kannada Hassan Shimoga Chickmagalur Bangalore Mandya Hassan Mysore Chamarajanagar

Urban Karnataka		
	High Work Participation Rate(i.e., > state average)	Low Work Participation Rate(i.e., < state average)
High Poverty(i.e., > state estimate)	I Bagalkot Gulbarga Gadag Uttara Kannada Haveri Bellary Davangere Chickmagalur Tumkur Mandya	II Belgaum Bijapur Bidar Raichur Koppal Dharwad Bangalore* Hassan
Low Poverty(i.e., < state estimate)	III Bangalore Dakshina Kannada Kodagu	IV Chitradurga Shimoga Udupi Kolar Mysore Chamarajanagar

Even in Urban Karnataka, districts with high poverty go with a high work participation rate(block I) which is an indication of distress, and the districts with low poverty goes with low work participation rates(Block IV). However, here again special attention has to be paid towards the districts belonging to block II i.e., the districts Belgaum, Bijapur, Bidar, Raichur, Koppal, Dharwad and Bangalore Rural.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS:

The study finds that women is participation in the labour force has declined drastically in

both rural and urban Karnataka and more so in urban areas. High participation in labour is seen among women belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who most often belong to low economic strata indicating that distress is pushing them to participate in labour. It is also observed that high upper class women in terms of economic status, are highly educated and involved in high professional work.

Two thirds of rural women and one third of urban women work in the informal sector. These women workers receive only Rs. 62.77 per day in rural areas and urban women receive

Rs. 67.88 per day. Further, it is also observed that these women receive only 65% of what their male counterpart receive in rural areas and 55% in urban areas. In the majority of these households, it is the women who take care of the household. Low wages would lead the household into poverty, and measures should be taken to provide fair wages. However, it is heartening to know that the labourers in public works i.e., MGNREG receive the prescribed wage i.e., Rs. 110 for males and 108.9 for females. Juxtaposing the information from the District wise analysis with wages, if the Government takes steps to strengthen the MGNREG programme in the districts of Bijapur, Bidar, Raichur, Koppal, Dharwad and Bellary, which go with high rural poverty and low work participation rates indicating the non availability of work, this would, to a great extent, reduce rural poverty. The situation is also not so good with respect to regular wage/salaried employees. The average daily wage

received by these workers is Rs. 112.6 in rural as against the All India average of Rs. 155.87. Women in urban areas receive Rs. 293.37 as daily wages as against the All India average of Rs. 308.79.

India being known as the “office of the World”, and Bangalore being the IT hub, one would expect a larger chunk to be absorbed in these formal sectors. But the picture is not so encouraging. Even though it is heartening to know that in urban Karnataka, 13% of the work force are legislators, senior officers and managers, and about 12% are professionals, still 1/3rd of urban women are informal workers at the bottom of the economic pyramid i.e., domestic workers, home based workers, street vendors, waste collectors, etc. Since these informal workers are part of the economy and provide services at affordable prices, policies to protect them in terms of minimum wages, providing credit etc. should be emphasised.

APPENDIX TABLES ON WORK PARTICIPATION RATES:

Work Participation Rate(all ages)

	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI
1993-94	60.4	55.3	54.2	52.8	43.0	52.1	18.1	15.5
1999-00	59.5	53.1	54.5	51.8	38.0	29.9	17.8	13.9
2004-05	62.3	54.6	57.6	54.9	45.9	32.7	18.1	16.6
2007-08	60.4	54.8	59.7	55.4	39.2	28.9	17.8	13.8
2009-10	62.4	54.7	57.6	54.3	37.0	26.1	17.0	13.8

Work Participation Rate(15+ age)

	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI	Kar	AI
1993-94	88.6	86.4	78.2	76.8	61.3	48.6	26.1	22.3
1999-00	87.7	84.1	76.0	75.2	55.3	45.2	24.0	19.7
2004-05	87.1	84.6	78.6	76.3	61.6	48.5	24.6	22.7
2007-08	84.9	83.5	80.1	76.1	52.6	42.2	23.9	18.5
2009-10	86.0	81.2	75.5	74.0	48.8	37.2	22.2	18.3

COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBOURING STATES:

Work Participation Rate(all ages) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	59.8	44.3	52.1	54.2	17.6	36.4
Karnataka	62.4	37.0	49.7	57.6	17.0	38.2
Kerala	56.4	21.8	38.3	54.7	19.4	36.3
Maharashtra	57.6	39.6	48.8	57.5	15.9	38.0
Tamil Nadu	60.3	40.5	50.1	56.9	19.1	38.3
All India	54.7	26.1	40.8	54.3	13.8	35.0

Work Participation Rate(15+) 2009-10

States	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	80.4	57.9	69.1	73.5	23.3	48.8
Karnataka	86.0	48.8	67.0	75.5	22.2	50.0
Kerala	76.6	28.1	50.6	72.4	25.1	47.5
Maharashtra	80.5	53.0	66.8	75.2	20.6	49.5
Tamil Nadu	81.1	52.1	65.9	75.7	24.5	49.9
All India	81.2	37.2	59.4	74.0	18.3	47.2

CHAPTER VII

GENDER AND POVERTY IN KARNATAKA: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

K.G. Gayathridevi¹

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has made it clear that Human Poverty is more than just income poverty. It is the denial of choices and opportunities for living a tolerable life (UNDP 1997). In the past decade the number of women living in poverty has increased in a disproportionate manner to that of men, particularly in developing countries. While poverty affects households as a whole, because of gender division of labor for responsibilities and household welfare, women bear a disproportionate burden, attempting to manage household consumption and production under conditions of increasing scarcity (Beijing Platform for Action 1995). Poverty and gender are inextricably linked and have led to the formulation of several plans, programmes and policies, particularly in developing countries, to bring about a change in the lives of women and children. The magnitude of poverty among women is high in those countries where the poverty of the masses, in general, is also high. Women and children constituting more than 70 per cent of any population contribute to the rising poverty estimates. Deprivation and structural

injustices are primarily responsible for this state of affairs. It is not just this. Even the ratio of females to males is also progressively declining over the years, especially so in states and districts with higher levels of economic prosperity. Thus, there are not only poorer women than men but also fewer women than men.

EXPRESSION OF POVERTY

Poverty is defined as the denial of choices and opportunities for a better life. Feminisation of poverty refers to the severity of poverty on women, also taking into consideration the amount of struggle that women and children have to endure to come out of poverty and the hardships that they are put to in the process. Despite making rapid strides in the economic sphere of development, Karnataka continues to be haunted by a range of biases that affect women in accessing basic amenities like drinking water, sanitation, nutrition, education and health benefits. Great is the degree of poverty among women, both in the household, and in society. Feminisation of poverty also implies that there are fewer opportunities for women to participate fully in development. It is, therefore,

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hypothesized that while poverty is a general condition of deprivation and vulnerability, it affects women in the households much more severely than it does men (UNDP 1997). Further, increased vulnerability is experienced by women during incidences of disasters, conflicts, economic and political crises and forced resettlements.

MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

Indices and methodologies are important in measuring poverty, be it the poverty of men or women. However, measurement of poverty among women turns out to be problematic for a variety of reasons. Much of the income earned by low class, poorly skilled and illiterate or semi-literate women is not counted due to their work falling in the informal sector. Besides, their income fluctuates from day to day and season to season. Thus it is difficult to establish a static poverty line. Another difficulty in the measurement of poverty is measuring the income, given that it is so low, to provide the required amount of calories and the capacity to provide for a decent standard of living (Swaminathan 2001).

Further, there is increased but negatively diversified labour-force participation by women. Migration to urban and semi-urban areas is increasing at an alarming rate despite rural employment programmes. Female-headed households and the presence of a large number of poor women pose a challenge to any intervention to bring about speedy development and social transformation.

WOMEN, GENDER RELATIONS AND POVERTY

Gender is a social construct that includes both men and women while attempting to

analyse poverty or development. It is the critical factor in assigning roles, responsibilities, statuses and even rights to men and women. It is also true that gender equality is closely linked with economic growth. Well-being outcomes and desired efficiency in achieving development and any deficit in the same are definitely going to be resulting from failure to achieve women's equality (Kelkar). Any national efforts at overcoming poverty are affected by gendered distribution of assets and resulting vulnerability of women. Thus, ownership and control of assets by women is a significant indicator of gender equality and efforts to conquer gender discrimination. It is also argued that while reducing poverty and building the productive capacity of the rural economy is a major programme of the state, bringing down gender-based discrimination and inequality has not yet received the needed impetus.

In the 1950s, 50 per cent of India's population was considered to be poor. Although poverty has decreased since then India continues to have a high poverty rate and there are wide disparities across states and between rural and urban areas. In 1999, 36 per cent of India's population lived below the poverty line. India's poor accounted for one third of the population of those in the world who were living with less than one dollar a day. The poor in India are primarily in rural areas and mostly women. Seventy five per cent of the poor lived in rural areas, while 73 per cent of the poor were comprised of women and children.

Secondly, a large majority of poor households undertake informal labour, and, thereby, are forced to receive unequal wages and face the threat of unemployment and retrenchment. This

is more so in the case of women. Thus, experts feel that arriving at levels of poverty based on income alone is not accurate. A single static poverty line can be erratic in giving the exact numbers of poor people. The line is defined at an absolutely low level of income, so as to provide for the minimum calorific requirements of the household and it is held to be an invalid measure in many respects (Swaminathan 2001).

Women's poverty is argued to be closely linked to, and determined by, the way in which a society assigns roles and responsibilities, resources and rights to its men and women. Access to economic assets like land, water, livestock and to autonomy over decision-making is, even today, curtailed for women (Aggarwal 1994), chiefly based on notions of patriarchy. The allocation, distribution, usage and control of resources are severely restricted for women, determined by long drawn ideology and cultural practices.

Further, any discussion on gender in relation to poverty has to take into account the interactions between men and women and the gendered nature of their roles, relations and control over resources. Gender biases have curtailed women's freedom and have disadvantaged them extensively in various ways. Hence, any understanding of poverty among men and women should emphasise the bringing about of gender justice. The latter is synonymous with the rights of women so much so that any discussion on women and poverty should take into account the differences in experience of poverty by women and men.

HETEROGENEITY AMONG WOMEN

One complication in the attempt to understand the relationship between women

and poverty is the fact that women are not a homogenous group. Studies have shown that women vary widely in terms of caste, class, education, religion, occupation, as well as cultural, geographical and historical contexts. Gender, thus, is not a static term but contingent upon all these factors. Women's status varies in terms of their economic, social, political, cultural and environmental situations in the communities they live in. This diversity is often visible in intergenerational differences accelerated by the globalised changes today.

- Deprivation on these counts starts with birth itself or even pre-birth with female foetuses being aborted. Even when born, the girl child is ill-treated, given poor nutrition, deprived of proper health care and education. She is also married off at a young age and is forced to move automatically into early motherhood.
- Women are deprived of decision-making roles and ownership of assets; they are also powerless.
- Intra-household inequalities compel them to suffer discrimination and injustice on many counts. In fact, this determines the extent of their poverty.
- A woman's vulnerability is determined by her household's socio-economic status in society. Tribal societies traditionally offer greater status to women. However, due to the overall social and economic condition of tribal societies, as compared to other societies, they (tribals) are accorded a low social status. Economically, tribals are deprived of opportunities due to lack of asset ownership and access to land and therefore agriculture. Among tribals women are further subjugated

to the adversities of discrimination and oppression. Thus, the status of women is also affected by the region where they are born and live.

All these features that persist despite efforts to empower women and provide them entitlements of land and education, have led to a continued situation of gender inequality, which is reflected in the higher incidence of poverty among women in the state. The National Human Development Report 2001 has put Karnataka in the 7th position among major states as far as Human Development Index (HDI) in India is concerned. The state's HDI has improved from 0.54 in 1991 to 0.65 in 2001. At an international level, this means that the state's position among nations at around 120 is marginally better than that of India's at 127, according to an UN classification. Karnataka has thus a 'medium Human Development.'

According to the Human Development Report, Karnataka 2005, the Gender Development Index (GDI) in the state (0.637) is much higher than that of the all-India level (0.609), when the state ranked 6th among the 15 major states in Gender Development and 7th in Human Development. GDI depicts the inequalities between men and women in the attainment of a healthy and long life, appropriate education and a decent standard of living. The GDI of Karnataka for 1991 was 0.525. It had improved to 0.637 in 2001 and with the state ranking sixth among the major states of India. However, the state continues to suffer from gender disparities in the form of adverse sex ratio, wage differentials and various health and educational dimensions.

The GDI provides information on the gender aspects of HDI by measuring the unequal achievements of women and men on the basis of similar indicators. The greater the gender disparity in basic capabilities, the lower is the GDI as compared to HDI. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) is concerned with the opportunities available to women in relation to men when participating in the economic and political spheres. From both GDI and GEM, it is seen that, though Karnataka has progressed in terms of human development, the women in the state still suffer from discrimination in the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life. The data show that the Gender Development Index has improved from 0.875 in 1991 to 0.637 in 2001. Thus, there is an increase of 21 per cent over a span of 10 years. However, there is no perceived reduction in gender disparity. The values of GDI in the state are less than that of HDI.

Further, the districts across the state display significant variations. Raichur has an HDI of 0.547 is the lowest ranked in the state while Bangalore Urban with an HDI of 0.753 is ranked the highest. Income and HDI are related, yet districts like Shimoga and Udupi have achieved higher HDI values with relatively lower incomes, whereas districts like Bellary and Bangalore (R) have low HDI levels and relatively high incomes.

ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES OF POVERTY AMONG WOMEN IN KARNATAKA

Karnataka has a large number of professionally qualified women. It also has a larger percentage of working women today than ever before. This includes both women in

unskilled occupations as well as those with all levels of skills – including doctors, surgeons, engineers, professors. However, despite such increasing participation in productive activities, poverty among women is acute (60%). Measurement of intra-household poverty levels shows a higher number of poor women than men. Lack of status and low education are rated to be the main causes of women's backwardness as they are limited to housework and agricultural labour. Women's contribution has continued to be invisible and unrecognized, because about 90 per cent of them work in the informal and unskilled job sector. Women also lack ownership of land and property rights. They are denied the inheritance of parental property and even if they do inherit, they fail to exercise effective control over their property.

WOMEN AND WORK

Financial independence leads to economic empowerment and to women's development. However, women are largely disempowered due to invisibility and non-recognition of their contribution to household income. Besides being major caregivers in the household, they also contribute to the market by working from dawn to dusk. Yet, much of their work is considered as falling into the realm of caring, nurturing and household duties and not judged as an important activity from the perspective of economic production.

Statistics on work force participation rates for women show low figures of women workers. The data from the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) also supports the argument that women were incorrectly recorded as non-workers. It is well known that women spend a lot of time in agriculture and home-based work (in

picking, threshing, grazing cattle, post harvest work, processing and production, etc) but are documented as non-workers. Further women are socialized to not demand recognition for their labour. Often the enumerators also assume that women do not work.

PAID WORK BY WOMEN

Globalisation has, in a way, increased the opportunities for women in the job market. Women are entering paid work force with an estimated share of 32 per cent (World Bank 1999). National level statistics show that only 15 per cent of women are in the formal sector. Fifteen per cent of formal sector employees are women. Outside agriculture, they are concentrated in a limited range of occupations.

Illiteracy is the main factor that pushes women into informal work. However, even educated women are being pushed into informal work due to current trends in the economy. Downsizing as a result of liberalisation policy has increased the amount of low-paying, home-based, subcontracted work, most of it being done by women. Ninety-six per cent of economically active women work in the informal sector. Due to the lack of mobility and information about the market, pressure of domestic work, cultural norms, etc., women land up in the informal sector, where conditions of work and terms of employment are usually exploitative. Lacking in capital, access to institutional credit, skills, technology and marketing, these women get reinforced into poverty due to their minimal incomes and continue to be victims of exploitation.

POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION

Poverty is defined as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely low

income-enhancement of substantive freedom. Providing people with capabilities to choose a life they have reason to value should be the main objective and primary means of development (Sen 1999). Human Development aims at providing equitable development across all sections of society to engage people to live a life free of poverty with adequate living standards. Poverty alleviation should be ensured to occur along with economic growth. The first goal of the internationally agreed upon Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. The head count ratio (HCR) in 2004-05 in rural Karnataka was 32.6 per cent with the total figure for the state being 25 per cent. HCR in the urban areas of the state was higher than that of neighbouring states and that of the average for the country. As far as the work participation rate (WPR) is concerned, there is a wide disparities between men and women (55.26 and 33.85 for rural areas and 84.25 and 38.83 for urban areas).

The 61st round of National Sample Survey Organisation (2004-05) has estimated the unemployment ratio for rural and urban Karnataka to be lower than in neighbouring states. However, the unemployment rates for educated females of age above 15 years (13.2 per cent in rural and 17.7 in urban areas) is higher than that of all neighbouring states except Kerala. Males have low values with 3.9 and 3.4 for rural and urban areas, respectively.

Karnataka maintains its status as the poorest among the four southern states, according to the data on poverty released by an expert committee set up by the Planning Commission. The committee, headed by noted economist Suresh Tendulkar, has devised a

new methodology for estimating the extent of poverty in India. The committee has estimated that a little over one-third of Karnataka's population lived below the poverty line in 2004-05. The committee has revised rural poverty levels in India in 2004-05, from 28.3 per cent to 41.8 per cent, a significant upward revision. The committee established the poverty line for 2004-05 at Rs. 417.8 per capita per month for rural Karnataka and Rs. 588.10 for urban areas in the state. The poverty line implies a minimum consumption expenditure level required by a person to procure a standardised basket of goods and services to satisfy basic needs. Significantly, the head-count ratio of people below the poverty line in Karnataka is far higher than that in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In fact, at 33.4 per cent, the poverty rate is only marginally lower than the national average of 37.2 per cent in 2004-05. Kerala, a clear outlier among Indian States in respect of poverty levels, had a head-count ratio of 19.7 per cent.

Karnataka's position is, in what would appear to be contrary to common perceptions of poverty, in fact, closer to States such as Assam and Rajasthan, which are generally regarded to be poorer. A comparison of the committee's revised poverty data for 1993-94 and 2004-05 reveals two striking features of Karnataka's performance in poverty reduction. First, Karnataka has achieved the sharpest reduction among the southern states in the intervening period. The overall headcount fell from 49.5 per cent in 1993-94 to 33.4 per cent in 2004-05. In particular, the head-count ratio in rural Karnataka declined from 56.6 per cent in 1993-94 (which in that year was higher than the national average head-count ratio) to 37.5

in 2004-05. However, despite this reduction in rural poverty, Karnataka has remained the leader (jointly, with Tamil Nadu) among South Indian states in the matter of rural poverty levels.

According to the report of the above expert group, women are poorer than men. This is because the Commission recommended a new poverty line and estimates based on a new methodology which acknowledged the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. It has based its poverty estimates upon private household (HH) consumer expenditure of Indian HHs as collected by the NSSO.

Women are poorer than men because they are more deprived of basic needs and necessities. Their poverty is associated with socially perceived deprivation caused by lack of access to basic human needs. Studies have shown that social and individual perceptions of women are pointers in ascertaining their deprivation. In the context of consumption poverty, basic needs have to be listed to form the material dimension. The report noted that women are marginalised in 'the need to be adequately nourished, decently clothed, reasonably sheltered, the need to escape falling prey to avoidable diseases, the need to be minimally educated and the need to be

mobile for purposes of social interaction and participation in economic activity.'

POVERTY IN URBAN AREAS AND WOMEN

The second aspect of the results is that while rural poverty levels declined significantly, the State was unable to affect a significant decline in urban poverty. Although the head-count ratio of poverty in urban Karnataka declined from 34.2 per cent to 25.9 between 1993-94 and 2004-05, the poverty level in the State was actually marginally higher than the all-India average head-count ratio for poverty in urban India in 2004-05. The gap between Karnataka and the other southern States widened significantly because the head-count ratio for poverty fell much faster in other States. While the head-count ratio in urban Karnataka fell by 24 per cent, in Tamil Nadu the ratio fell by almost 42 per cent, and in Andhra Pradesh it fell by 34 per cent.

The situation of women in urban areas is still worse. This is because poverty takes different forms in these regions². Most of the poor here are migrants too. Women in migrant households suffer due to lack of access to basic needs and education. Their employability is poor and, often, they are absorbed in informal sector jobs. The persistence of high poverty levels

² Although the head-count ratio of poverty in urban Karnataka declined from 34.2 per cent to 25.9 between 1993-94 and 2004-05, the poverty level in the State was actually marginally higher than the all-India average head-count ratio for poverty in urban India in 2004-05.

The gap between Karnataka and the other southern States widened significantly because the head-count ratio for poverty fell much faster in other States.

While the head-count ratio in urban Karnataka fell by 24 per cent, in Tamil Nadu the ratio fell by almost 42 per cent, and in Andhra Pradesh it fell by 34 per cent.

The persistence of high poverty levels in urban areas of Karnataka is significant when placed in the context of the rapid urbanisation of the State, fuelled by the rural-urban migration, especially into Bangalore city, which accounts for one-third of the state's urban population.

In specific terms, what the data appears to show is the need for deploying public services such as the public distribution system, and public health and education to reduce urban poverty.

Table1. Head Count Ratio for southern states

State	Rural	Urban	Overall
Karnataka	37.5	25.9	33.4
Tamil Nadu	37.5	19.7	26.9
Andhra Pradesh	32.3	23.4	28.9
Kerala	20.2	10.4	10.7
All India	41.8	25.7	37.2

Source: Report of the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for Estimation of Poverty, Planning Commission, December 2009

in the urban areas of Karnataka is significant when placed in the context of the rapid urbanisation of the State, fuelled by rural-urban migration, especially into Bangalore city, which accounts for one-third of the state's urban population. In specific terms, what the data appears to show is the need for deploying public services such as the public distribution system, and public health and education to reduce urban poverty, and thereby improving the status of women.

Women in certain types of modern employment are low in representation as compared to men. For example, there are not many women working as stenographers, or in jobs in the sector of Information Technology. Whoever are there in a relatively good number are found in the capital city of Bangalore. Although statistics show women as owning land holdings, it is not clear if they are cultivating it on their own or not. There are also district level disparities in this. Further, the disparity between men and women in wage rates continues.

KARNATAKA MAHILA ABHIVRUDHI YOJANE (KMAY)

The KMAY Cell was formed with the sole purpose of improving the lot of women in the state.

Initiated in the year 2003, it aimed to monitor inter-sectoral allocation of funds for women. The Yojane strove to ensure gender equality and to integrate women in the mainstream of development. It was a land mark policy decision of the Karnataka Government as it made a conscious and positive effort, for the first time, to address gender issues. The strategy used was to earmark one third of resources for women in individual beneficiary-oriented schemes and the labour intensive schemes of various departments of the Government. The outcome was that during the year 2010-11, 25 departments identified 254 schemes emphasizing women's empowerment and development. Out of the total outlay of Rs. 3487.63 crores, 1/3rd of the allocation, i.e., Rs.1435.61 crores, was for women, of which an amount of Rs 2152.39 crores was incurred up to March 2011³.

Karnataka was the first state in the country to introduce a scheme earmarking one third of its resources for women in individual beneficiary-oriented schemes and labour intensive schemes of different departments. As a result, as many as 26 departments have earmarked a third of the physical and financial allocations. They have covered over 297 different central, state and district schemes. In 2003, a special KMAY cell was created to monitor the programme. As a critical poverty reduction and empowerment programme, the KMAY worked towards:

- (i) Desegregating women from the confines of only the Department of Women and Child Development, where budgetary support was low and where the approach was predominantly welfarist;

³ Source: Karnataka Human Development Report 2005

- (ii) Creating visibility for the contributions of women towards the economic productivity of the state's economy, and thereby;
- (iii) Ensuring that line departments were enlarged.

Over the years, KMAY's achievement in financial terms has risen from 81 per cent to 95 per cent and in terms of the number of beneficiaries from 84 per cent to 106 per cent. For example, by 2003-04, Rs.853 crores was being earmarked for women and 95 per cent of this was spent. Even the different government departments were categorised based on their allocation for women. For example, category 1 included Housing, Rural Development and Social Welfare (greater than or equal to Rs.100 crore). Under category 2 (between Rs.10 crore and Rs.100 crores allocation), the departments of Agriculture, Backward Classes' Welfare, Employment and Training, Education, Forest, Health and Family Welfare and SC/ST Development Corporation were included. Category 3 (between Rs.1 crore and Rs.10 crore) had the departments of Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, Industries and Commerce, Backward Classes Development Corporation, Sports and Youth Services, Tribal Welfare, Karnataka Milk Federation, Watershed Development and Minorities Development Corporation. Lastly, category 4 (less than Rs.1.0 crore) included the Departments of Cooperation, Disabled Welfare, Fisheries, Handlooms, Textiles and Sericulture.

It is clear from the above that the schemes in 3 departments – Housing, Rural Development, and Social Welfare – accounted for a large share in the earmarked total for women. In 2003-04, out of a total expenditure

of Rs.811 crore, Rs.571 crore came from just these three departments. KMAY's effectiveness depended upon improvements in these sectors of allocation. Review of the programmes has no doubt left a note of appreciation about the novel nature of some of these programmes, but, in a large number of departments, performance appeared to improve only gradually, over the years, when the overall allocation improved. Shockingly, this observation is against women's development because, when a department runs out of funds, it has taken the usual step of cutting its expenditure on women-oriented programmes. Women-oriented expenditure is affected in the lean financial years. There is continued threat of both growing work and income crisis for women, especially in the poorer regions of the state. Thus, although notionally the KMAY is a valuable beginning and a good initiative, its real potential remains largely untapped.

To improve the situation, experts recommended establishing a gender audit unit, either in the Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD) or in the Planning Department. This would mean the identification of objectives, the development of a gender disaggregated database for analysis and the placement of monitoring mechanisms. The current monitoring system focuses almost entirely on financial and physical numbers. This may have been necessary when KMAY was first put in place, but it is now time to start looking at the quality of outcomes. According to an evaluation, it is argued that 'there is little evidence to suggest that KMAY seriously looks at indicators that reflect women's socio-economic status (e.g. work participation rate, Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) and Infant Mortality

Rate (IMR), female literacy, girls' enrolment and retention in schools, women in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) or the specific problems of women belonging to the minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe communities). As the Nodal department for a gender-responsive administration, DWCD must periodically review women's status in all sectors and motivate departments to either step up their interventions or devise new programmes to address issues that have now surfaced'.

ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF WOMEN IN DISTRESS SITUATIONS

With several such programmes like *Santhwana*, the state government has initiated a drive against the ills that haunt women in the socio-economic realm. This scheme was sanctioned during the year 2000-01, with an objective to assist women who had become victims of domestic violence, rape, sexual abuse and dowry harassment. It aims at providing legal assistance, temporary shelter, financial relief and training to enable women to be self-reliant and also to achieve social and economic empowerment.

By design, the *Santhwana* centres are run with assistance from voluntary organizations. The centre receives calls from 'women in-distress' round the clock. Facilities and rehabilitative services are provided to such women as per the recommendations of the District Level Committee depending on the merits of the case. Under this scheme, even financial allocations are made to women who are in need of immediate help. Usually, an amount ranging from Rs. 2000/- to a maximum of Rs. 10,000/- is sanctioned as financial relief. In 2010, around 156 *Santhwana* Centres were

functioning in the state. The scheme was implemented in 30 districts and 123 taluks. An expenditure of Rs.197.17 lakhs had been incurred up to the end of September 2011 as against the release of Rs.655.00 lakhs.

WORKING WOMEN'S HOSTELS

As the number of working women has been increasing, the basic requirement for such women, especially when they come out of their native places, is safe and secure shelter. The government has evolved a scheme to address this need. It has envisaged the provision of safe and affordable accommodation for working women. Those who are undergoing training to join the work force later on and girl students studying in professional courses are also eligible for seeking such accommodation. Under a Government of India programme, financial assistance (to the extent of 75 per cent) was earmarked for the construction/expansion of the hostel for working women run by registered voluntary organizations. The state Government provided 12.5 per cent of the estimated cost and the remaining 12.5 per cent of the total construction costs were borne by the concerned organization.

By 2010, 76 Working Women's Hostels had been sanctioned, of which 66 hostels are functioning. An amount of Rs. 15.60 lakhs had been allocated as the State's share for the year 2011-12, out of which an expenditure of Rs.0.65 lakhs had been incurred up to the end of September 2011.

OTHER SCHEMES

In 2005, a special Cell was created in the Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD) to create awareness regarding the

practice of various social evils, such as dowry, child marriage, domestic violence, atrocities on women, and so on. Under this scheme awareness programmes were launched in the districts for women, in association with the local organizations.

Under the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005, far more effective protection of rights of women was guaranteed under the Constitution. Further, for the effective implementation of the Act, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Rules, 2006 came into force on 26th October 2006. This Act has been implemented in Karnataka from June 2007. Under the above Act, Deputy Directors of Women and Child Development Department and Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs) of Integrated Child Development Projects have been appointed as Protection Officers by the Government. Free Legal Aid Centres have been set up in the office of CDPOs in all the districts, in association with the Karnataka Legal Services Authority. In these centres, experienced advocates provide legal assistance on every Wednesday and Saturday. Up to the end of March 2011, 5630 cases have been registered under the Act.

To provide shelter and counseling to women who are victims of domestic violence, 31 Swadhar Centres, 30 Short Stay Homes and 93 Santhwana Centres are notified as Shelter Homes in the state. In addition, 116 civil organizations were notified as Service Providers to provide legal, medical and other forms of aid and to protect the interests of women who are victims of domestic violence. An expenditure of Rs.71.99 lakhs was incurred up to the end of August 2011 as against a budget allocation

of Rs.530.22 lakhs. This Act provides for more effective protection of rights of women guaranteed under the Constitution. For effective implementation, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Rules, 2006 came into force on the 26th day of October 2006. The Act has been implemented in Karnataka from June-2007.

The state government has also instituted assistance programmes including financial assistance of Rs. 10,000/- to widows for their remarriage and also for the marriage of devadasis who belong to households living below the poverty line.

In a rare gesture, the government has also instituted a programme to offer financial assistance to women law graduates to undergo administrative training in Law. Women law graduates with a family income not exceeding Rs. 40,000/- per annum are eligible to avail this assistance. An amount of Rs. 1,000/- per month is also being given for a period of 4 years. In addition to this, Rs 500/- is given for purchase of essential books pertaining to law and Rs. 460/- is given to register their names in the Bar Council. During 2011-12, Rs.64.92 lakhs were allocated, out of which Rs.12.50 lakhs have been spent up to the end of September 2011 benefiting 328 women.

The Karnataka Marriage Act, 1976 was brought into force in Karnataka on 1.4.2004 and the State Rules were notified on 18.4.2006. The Inspector General of Registration and Commissioner of Stamps is notified as Chief Marriage Registration Officer. The Sub-Registrars of the Stamps and Registration Department and Village Accountants of the

Revenue Departments have been notified as Marriage Registration Officers in their respective jurisdiction in accordance with the Supreme Court judgment regarding compulsory registration of marriages. Amendments and additions to the existing Act and rules have also been framed.

Under Swadhar, a Central sector scheme, the government has provided holistic and integrated services to women in difficult circumstances. These include destitute widows, women prisoners released from jail and having no family support, women survivors of natural disasters, trafficked women/ girls rescued from brothels, or other places, victims of sexual crime, mentally challenged women, who are without any support etc. The package of services made available covers the provision of food, clothing, shelter, health care, counseling and legal support, social and economic rehabilitation through education, awareness generation, skill upgradation and so on.

The scheme is implemented through government departments and civil society organizations, including the DWCD, Department of Social Welfare, Women Development Boards, the Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation (KSWDC), urban local bodies etc. It was found that these institutions need to have the required experience and expertise in the rehabilitation of such women. The scheme also supports a helpline for women in distress, as well as a counseling centre, training centre and medical centre. Thirty two Swadhar centres were sanctioned by the Government of India, of which 31 have been functioning in the State (as per data from 2010).

SCHEMES FOR TRAFFICKED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Among the various insecurities faced by women in the state, both in rural and urban areas, trafficking of women and children is a major one. There is an alarming increase in the incidence of such acts. After much thought, the government resolved to tackle this evil inevitably at local levels. It sought the help and cooperation of civil society to prevent the trafficking of women and children and to rehabilitate those who were released from being trafficked. Another effort to control this organized menace, as felt by the DWCD was the need to create awareness at district, taluk and village levels about the issue, and the scheme for Combating Trafficking of Women and Children was launched during 2006-07. A significant measure is the creation of committees, constituted at the state, district, taluk and grama Panchayat levels. In order to see that these committees perform well at the grass root level, it was felt that sensitization on the issue of trafficking to the members of these committees needed to be taken up. As a result, a number of training programmes were conducted to create awareness among the members of these committees at taluk and grama Panchayat levels. Other forms of capacity building, like one day awareness programme through Jathas, rallies, street plays etc. were also organized at taluk level for the general public. During 2008-09, an amount of Rs. 22.50 lakhs was allocated for organizing awareness camps, of which Rs. 14.96 lakhs was spent for conducting camps for 16,640 Gram Panchayat members from different parts of the state.

STATE HOMES FOR WOMEN

Another step in addressing the problems of destitute women accused of criminal activities,

and those who are affected by such trafficking, was the creation of State Homes for Women. These Homes admit such women who are in need of care and protection. The Protective Home at Bangalore receives cases under the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 referred to by the Court, as well as other cases transferred from State Homes and Reception Centres. It was observed that infrastructure was a problem for the State Homes that are forced to function in private buildings incurring huge costs as there is a shortage of Government buildings to house them. The DWCD, in a move to rehabilitate the lives of such women, also organized and conducted the marriages of these women in a bid to mainstream them into society. Rehabilitation measures also included placement services for employment or training to engage in small-scale production processes. In many cases, women have also been released to the care of their parents/relatives. They are encouraged to pursue higher studies in colleges with the assistance of the government and local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Training programmes in self-employment such as in tailoring, embroidery, jeans-stitching, manufacture of readymade garments, obtaining training to apply for the posts of traffic police, to operate beauty parlours, to learn computer skills, manufacture of consumer items like rubber bands, clips, and other women's accessories, were some of the activities undertaken by these women with support from the NGOs. It was noted that by the end of January 2010, 393 admissions had been made and 268 women were admitted to these institutions.

Under the title of Legal Literacy, the DWCD, in co-ordination with the Karnataka Legal Services Authority, has been conducting legal

literacy camps in all hoblis of the districts, to create awareness among the public, regarding various legal provisions/Acts, such as Child Marriage Prohibition Act, Dowry Prohibition Act, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, etc.

As noted earlier, killing female foetuses is not only an old practice but also one that has gained momentum with increasing challenges and difficulties associated with the custom of having to marry off girls at an early age. This is not only felt by the poor and middle income households, but is found to be rampant among the rich and educated sections of the society, prompted by the threat to indulge in payment of huge amount of money and gold etc, as part of the dowry to the groom or his family and also the threat of high cost of marriage.

Among the programmes of the state government to save the girl child, the Bhagyalakshmi scheme is an important and recent one. Launched in 2006-07, it aimed to promote birth of female children among below poverty line households. It also aimed to raise the status of the girl child in the family in particular and society in general. Financial assistance is provided to the girl child through her mother/father or the guardian, subject to the fulfillment of certain conditions. The state government incurred an expenditure of Rs. 207.32 crores in 2009-10, to support 1,32,115 girl children (up to end of 31st January 2010). This was against an allocation of Rs.354.64 crores. Girl children born in below poverty line (BPL) families after 31.3.2006 were eligible to be enrolled as beneficiaries under the scheme. Enrollment was allowed up to one year of the birth of the child on production of the birth certificate. The family

will not receive any benefit after the birth of 2 girl children and the total number of children should not exceed 3 children. The procedure is that after the enrollment process is over and after due verification by the department, an amount of Rs. 10,000/- will be deposited with the selected financial institution in the new born girl child's name. The financial institution will maximise the returns on Rs. 10,000/- and the deposit together with the interest accrued will be made available to the beneficiary on attaining 18 years of age. An amount of Rs. 34,751/- to the first child and Rs. 40,918/- to the second child enrolled in the same family is what is sanctioned and given. Interim payments such as scholarship and insurance benefits will be made available to the beneficiary on continued fulfillment of the eligibility criteria outlined in the scheme. The programme has a medical insurance benefit of up to Rs 25,000 for the girl child in case of emergency. In case of the natural death of the girl child, a compensation of Rs. 25,000 and 42,500 is given respectively. The other rules to be followed are that:

- The birth of the girl child should be compulsorily registered
- The girl child should be immunized as per the programme of the Health Department
- The girl child should be enrolled in the Anganwadi centre
- She should take admission in a school recognized by the Education Department
- She should not become a child labourer and
- She should not marry until the age of 18 years

The scheme is implemented in collaboration with the Life Insurance Corporation of India.

It was partially modified in August 2008 and is applicable to all children born on or after 01/08/2008. The modifications made to the scheme were as follows:

- An amount of Rs. 19,300/- will be deposited with the financial institution in the name of the first girl beneficiary and Rs. 18,350/- in the name of the second girl beneficiary of the same family. On attainment of 18 years of age, the first girl beneficiary of the family who fulfils the conditions of the scheme will get a maturity amount of Rs. 1,00,097/- and the second girl beneficiary will get Rs. 1,00,052/-.
- The beneficiaries who were desirous to continue higher education after passing SSLC and have attained 15 years of age were eligible to pledge the bond and avail a loan up to a maximum of Rs. 50,000/- from recognized banks.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Karnataka is one of the economically and socially progressive states of India, it still lags behind on many dimensions as far as women are concerned. The state ranked 7th among the 15 major states according to the Human Development Index documented by the Karnataka Human Development Report 1999. However, there are also striking disparities between its districts. The northern districts in particular form a cluster of poorly performing districts which has led to the pulling down of the state average.

The driving forces of continued poverty among women are basically originating from the lack of steady income, which is, in turn, caused by livelihood insecurity. This is the most

important reason that has forced people to emigrate from rural and semi-urban contexts, and to undertake substandard work, at great risk to their health. Women suffer from a variety of deprivations such as the lack of access to public services such as health. The available services suffer due to a combination of factors including poor quality, inadequacy of funds and inequity. Private services are not accessed much due to poverty as well as the force of cultural practices emanating from patriarchy and traditional subjugation of women. They are also strongly gender-biased; these practices are inimical to women's health and well being. Low levels of

literacy, absence of proper nutrition, hard work, unequal wages and denial of human rights at work and in the household, and sexuality or denial of reproductive and sexual rights are problems that continue to force women to remain backward. Women are negatively affected by lack of awareness, lack of adequate measures, habitual out-migration for work and better wages. Many of these result from systemic hierarchies based on gender, caste, and economic class. There is a need to devise more micro and focused policy interventions to address these new emerging as well as old and persisting gender-based inequalities.

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CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN INCLUDING SCHEDULED CASTE/ TRIBE AND OTHER MARGINALISED WOMEN

Aasha Ramesh¹ and Sudhamani N.²

INTRODUCTION

THIS CHAPTER IS DIVIDED INTO 6 SECTIONS.

Section I deals with the constitutional provision that makes no distinction between the women and men who enter the political arena. It presents what are the enabling and impeding factors impacting on women's political participation.

Section II describes the situation of women in politics in the state of Karnataka

Section III discusses in detail the status of women in the Panchayati Raj Institutions

Section IV focuses on marginalised sections of women and their experience in politics

Section V addresses the status of women in decision making positions at the administrative and judiciary levels

Section VI highlights the capacity-building initiatives taken up to promote women's participation in politics.

Section VII suggests several ways forward to strengthen, promote and enable women's effective participation in politics.

I CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The Indian Constitution of India underlines the principles of equality and guarantees equality before law and equal protection to all its citizens. It not only guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms, but explicitly prohibits any kind of discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth. However, these rights have remained largely de jure and have not been really translated into de facto rights. As a result of this, women have continued to be denied social, economic, civil and political rights in many spheres. But what is notable is that Indian women did not struggle for their suffrage rights, as this came to them with the framing of the Constitution.

However, the freedom struggle saw the active participation of women and their demand

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for political rights during the framing of the Constitution made it much easier for these rights to be enshrined in the Constitution itself.

Political rights are key to democratic functioning and it is in this political sphere that women have been inadequately represented. Articles 325 and 326 of the Constitution of India, guarantee political equality, equal right to participation in political activities and right to vote respectively.³ While the latter has been accessed, exercised and enjoyed by a large number of women, the former i.e., right to equal political participation is still a distant dream. Lack of space for participation in political bodies has not only resulted in their presence in meagre numbers in these decision-making bodies but also in the neglect of their issues and experiences in policy-making.

The political status of women can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in the shaping and sharing of political decision making and in the value given by society to this role of women.

While the Indian Constitution guarantees political equality through the institution of adult franchise and Article 15 which prohibits discrimination inter-alia on grounds of sex. It should be kept in mind that this recognition of the political equality of women was a radical departure not only from the socio-cultural norms prevailing in traditional India but also in the context of the political evolution of even the most advanced countries at that date. With the exception of the socialist countries, no

other State in the world had accepted women's equality as a matter of course.

A country wide assessment on the status of women conducted by the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI), set up for the purpose in 1974 revealed that women were not represented adequately in decision making positions. The report, 'Towards Equality' recommended that women be included in all important committees, commissions or delegations that are appointed to examine socio-economic problems. There was also a recommendation that 30% reservation of seats be made in the legislative bodies for women, so that political parties would be compelled to give women their due. Though this did not get a consensus, it was agreed that there should be greater opportunity for women to participate actively in decision-making positions and to do this by providing women special opportunities to represent themselves in the structures of local government.

In fact, the 'Towards Equality' report suggested the 'establishment of Statutory Women's Panchayats at the village level to ensure greater participation by women in the political process. These bodies are not meant to be parallel organisations to the Gram panchayats but should form an integral part of the Panchayati Raj structure, with autonomy and resources of their own for management and administration of development programmes for women and children'.⁴

Politics has been, traditionally, a male bastion in which women have been denied

³ Facilitating the fulfillment of State Obligations Towards Women's Equality- A Baseline Report Women and political Participation in India-IRAW Asia pacific

⁴ 'Towards Equality' Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India-1974 pgs 303-305

equal participation. The political arena, with its rampant use of muscle and money has remained an intimidating challenge for women. Women are neither able nor equipped to face the issues of criminalization and corruption that have marked and continue to dominate Indian politics.

The women's movement in the country realized that unless women come into the political process, achieving gender equality would remain a mere dream. To take advantage of the Constitution of India underwriting equal participation for women and men in political processes, it was necessary to initiate advocacy, demanding affirmative action from the state to enable women to come into the political process as active contestants and not as nominated individuals with no power. Earlier, there was a trend to nominate women in local bodies such

as the panchayati raj, which has now given way to more democratic forms of representation through the ballot box.

'Towards Equality' a GOI report highlighting women's inadequate representation in decision-making positions, the Karnataka law, along with the recommendations of the National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000⁵, seeking 30% reservation for women, inspired the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment promulgated in 1993, which provided for a 33.3% reservation for women in panchayats.

GOI has also signed and ratified the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and in doing so protects and promotes women's political rights.

CEDAW: Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

(Article 7(a) of CEDAW requires States Parties to ensure that women have an equal right to vote in all elections and public referenda. In General Recommendations 5, 8 and 23 the CEDAW Committee places considerable importance on the participation of women in public life. Universal suffrage is an essential component of women's participation in public life where they enjoy on equal terms with men the right to vote in all elections and referenda.

⁵ Report of the Core Group set up by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India in 1987.

Article 7 of CEDAW, and General Recommendation 23, both state that women must be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies. Historically, women have been assigned to the private or domestic sphere engaging primarily in reproduction and raising children. In many societies these activities have been treated as inferior whereas public life by contrast is respected and honoured. It is essential to provide women with equal eligibility to political representation in order to promote their interests and eliminate discriminatory practices.

States Parties to ensure that women participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy, to hold public office and to perform all public functions at all levels of government. Historically, women have been poorly represented in political processes despite equal eligibility for parliament and other political offices. This denies women access to the governance, decision making and policy formation of their country. CEDAW recognises in Article 4 that to achieve substantive equality for women in many areas, affirmative action measures must be adopted. Minimum quotas can ensure full compliance with CEDAW.

REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT AND STATE LEGISLATURES:

Article 15 of the Indian Constitution states,⁶ The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. This is affirmative action enshrined in the Constitution which has helped women to enter the lower portals of governance in large numbers. However, this has not provided them easy entry into the higher corridors of political power, such as in the State legislatures or the Parliament. The long struggle for reservations in the legislature and Parliament is still on, with the 108th Constitutional Amendment Bill (Women's Reservation Bill) waiting, even after 16 years, to be passed in the Lok Sabha as it was passed in the Rajya Sabha in 2011. Without this, women's entry into the corridors of power continues to be distant.

Historically, it is observed that women have not exceeded 11% in both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha in the Parliament, nor at the state levels, where the picture is more bleak.

II KARNATAKA SCENARIO- WOMEN IN POLITICS

Historically, social and cultural factors have impeded women's capacity and chances to exercise their freedom to participate in political processes. Over the last 15 general elections, the low representation of women in Parliament, State legislatures, in political parties and other decision-making bodies reflects this anomaly.

The under-representation of women in the political sphere is inextricably linked with the low and inferior status of women in society in India, especially in the context of increasing violence and crimes against women and their marginalized status in the employment, education and health sectors. (Human Development in South Asia:2000). The comparative position of the gender-related development index (GDI) reveals that

⁶ www.GDI status in India-HDI and GDI Estimates for India and the States/UTs: Results and Analysis

Karnataka's rank came down in the 2006⁶, GDI status –results and analysis, indicating its very low gender-equity status.

Despite Karnataka being a pioneer in promoting women's political participation at the local level through introducing reservations, this did not translate into women entering the State Assembly in large numbers. This is because without affirmative action, it is difficult for women to get elected to the legislative assembly. The reasons that impede women's participation in politics have already been stated earlier and this is the reality at all levels of political governance.

The tables below present the participation of women in the two houses of the Parliament from Karnataka.

Number of MPs from the State of Karnataka

Year	Total MPs	No. of Women MPs
1999-04	29	1
2004-09	30	2
2009 -	27	1

Women representatives in Karnataka State Assembly

Duration	Total MLAs	No. Of Women MLAs
From 2008	225	6
2004-2007	225	6
1999-2004	229	9

Source: <http://kla.kar.nic.in/la.htm>

It is a decade since our entry into the Millennium and the progress for women in politics is far below the goal of equality. Even in the current Karnataka Legislative Assembly which has 225 seats, all filled, only 6 seats are occupied by women. Similarly in the Karnataka Legislative Council of 75 members, there are only 69 members of which only five are women. It is ironic that in the present Assembly there are so few women and only one woman Minister, in a state that had pioneered women's political participation.⁷

No. of women candidates contested and elected to Lok Sabha seats from Karnataka

Year	Women contested	Women elected
1962	1	1
1967	1	1
1971	1	1
1977	4	1
1980	1	-
1984	7	2
1989	12	1
1991	13	3
1996	70	1
1998	10	-
1999	11	2
2004	4	-
2009	19	1

Source: State Election Commission

The tables above and the recent figures clearly reiterate that women have a long way to go before they acquire equality in the political sphere, and that reservation of seats for women is critical for them to get here.

Making Karnataka proud

She was a pioneer-Yashodara Dasappa. She was the first woman Cabinet Minister from Karnataka. A freedom fighter, she participated in the Quit India Movement, the Shivpura Satya Graha and Mysore Chalo Movement.

Yashodara Dasappa was a woman of many firsts, being the first woman MLC, the first woman Congress President of Mysore. She was a champion of the Dalits, a revolutionary who fought

⁷ kla.kar.nic.in/council.htm

to stop social evils like child marriage, and the practice of Sati. She was a staunch promoter of women's education.

Her fight to get prohibition in the country did not meet with success and in protest she resigned from the Ministerial position, as her concern was that alcohol was the root cause of misery for vulnerable people-dalits, tribals and OBCs.

Nagrathamma was the first woman Deputy Speaker in the State in 1972 and served in this position till 1978.

III LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN KARNATAKA – RURAL AND URBAN

Karnataka was the first and only state to pioneer reservation of seats for women in the Panchayati Raj in 1983. It was among the States which had shown remarkable progress in local governance. The two-tier system of Mandal and Zilla Panchayats of the 1980's was known for its decentralised governance. The major milestone in this context was the promulgation of the Karnataka Zilla Parishads, Taluk Panchayat Samitis, Mandal Panchayats and Nyaya Panchayats Act 1983⁸. This was a two tier elected structure and it embodied a new approach to ⁹*Panchayat Raj Institutions*. The ideological foundation was the operationalisation of the concept of 'power to the people'. It was during this period that '**reservation for women**', was introduced in the Panchayat Raj by the Late Mr Abdul Nazir Sahib, who was then Minister for Rural Development and Panchayat Raj. His strong commitment to people-centred decentralised governance clearly articulated the need for the active participation of women as an integral component of 'people'. Therefore

he pioneered reservation for women which, provided for 25 % reservation of seats for women in rural local governance and 20% in urban local governance.

Perhaps his belief that women would govern well stems from the fact that his political mentor was a strong woman active in politics. She was the first woman speaker of the State Assembly, Nagrathamma. Her political acumen could have influenced Nazir Saheb's initiative that the role of women in politics is key and so the reservation of seats for women was introduced and first implemented in the two tier Mandal Panchayat system in 1985.

A noteworthy aspect of the Mandal Panchayat was the appointment of a senior IAS level bureaucrat as Chief Secretary who reported and was answerable to the Panchayat President, who held the powers of a State level Minister. The process of decentralised democracy, devolution of powers, both administrative and financial, was evident during the two terms of the two tier Panchayati Raj, before the change that followed with the introduction of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment in the early nineties.

⁸ Report of the committee on Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act 1993

⁹ Panchayat Raj is the local governing unit at the village, intermediary and district levels

Ms. Suman Kohlar, Ex- ZP Vice-President during the regime of Mandal Panchayat stated, 'Karnataka during its early years of decentralization in 1983 had given 25 % reservation for women in Panchayati Raj (rural). Further, she shared that five women were given an opportunity to be Vice-Presidents in the Zilla Parishads (district level). The position was not reserved but was given through party nomination, as elections then were party based. Therefore it was also for the first time that potential women were able to hold an important position at the helm of the Panchayat. That is how I got this opportunity to become the Vice President of the Bijapur Zilla Parishad'.

The demand for just and adequate representation for women in politics was realized, at least at the grass roots level, through the enactment of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment. The amendment provided for mandatory reservations of a third of the total seats for women, in the three tiers of local governance, namely the Panchayati Raj Institutions. This certainly opened up opportunities for women to contest elections and enter the corridors of formal politics at the local level.

When the 33.3% reservation in PRIs was enforced, India had over a million women as elected representatives, changing the face of grass roots politics. Recently, in 2010, the reservation of women was increased to 50%, effective in all states of the country.

The fact that women have created herstory (history) in rural India encouraged the women's movement to demand that reservation of seats for women be extended to the Assembly and Parliament. Women need not remain confined to the lower rungs of the political hierarchy, but have a right to be in the higher echelons of the political ladder. This demand was put forth through a Private member's Bill in 1996 as the 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill, which was referred to a Joint Select Committee, and has since gone through several amendments

and currently as the 108th Constitutional Bill, it is waiting to be passed, as it is facing strong resistance from male parliamentarians.

With the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in 1993, a three-tier system of governance was introduced across the country. This was known as the Panchayati Raj Institution, which at the village level is the Gram Panchayat, at the taluk level, the Taluk Panchayat and at the district level the Zilla Panchayat. Reservation for women, which had already been introduced in Karnataka was easily adopted and increased from 25% to 33.3% as mandated by the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Karnataka held its first elections under the three-tier system in 1995. The term for the Gram Panchayat president then was five years. In the year 2000 (L.A Bill No. 2 of 2000) the term of the President and Vice President was reduced to 30 months with a clause for rotation of this seat, to provide opportunities for the leadership of vulnerable sections, including helping women to emerge.

'Towards Equality' a report which highlighted women's inadequate representation in decision-making positions, and the Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act, along with the recommendations of the National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000¹⁰ that called for

¹⁰ Report of the Core Group set up by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India in 1987.

30% reservation for women, inspired the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment, which provided for 33.3% reservation of seats for women in panchayats at all the three levels.

As a result of this historical background, women in Karnataka have gained valuable political experience. They have been in the political arena since the late 80s through the reservation of seats for five terms now. Between the two rounds of [different –2 tier and 3 tier] local government systems, thousands have stood for elections. Hundreds have held elective office because of the reservations. Since the reservations were in favour of the hitherto oppressed sections of the population, women from the poorest sections have also gained this experience, since within the reservations there are appropriate quotas for SC, ST and OBC women as well. Most women are still not fully literate, yet have held political office. Such an opportunity is bound to have an impact, not only on the women themselves, but also on rural society.

REPRESENTATION IN PANCHAYAT RAJ INSTITUTIONS

An analysis of the two terms i.e., 2000-2005 and 2005 -2010 shows a slight decrease in women's participation across the three tiers. This could possibly be attributed to growing criminalisation which intimidates earlier elected women or those currently in office, who have gained some experience, from coming forth to contest again, as there is pressure urging elected women members to give way to new women to contest elections. Women who are first timers and totally unexposed to the political environment often end up not wanting to continue their political career as they are

forced to go on tours by the male elected members or parties that covertly support them. This is particularly true during the elections for the post of the Panchayat President. These facts emerged from a study conducted by The Hunger project in 2011.

The Constitution provides for the rotation of seats reserved but does not prescribe the number of terms for which seats may be reserved for rotation. Seats may be reserved for one term, two terms or more depending upon the provisions made by the State Legislature in the State Law as the rules are framed at the state level. The option to reserve seats for more than one term is open, and the State can decide whether the term for the reserved seats can be revised. For example in Tamil Nadu, the State has come up with a rule that women seats will be rotated only after two terms. In Karnataka there has been no such effort so far.

The findings of the study carried out by NIAS on gender and governance shows that rotation of seats has been detrimental to potential candidates from the reserved categories, especially women. In other words, though the spirit behind the principle of rotation is to give representative opportunities to those constituencies with a lower population of reserved categories, the manner in which the rotation of seats was undertaken defeats this purpose. In actuality, it has, in some places, resulted in a misrepresentation of the population in the constituencies. In practice, this has meant that the candidates selected do not belong to the 'reserve ward'. Not only do the local party leaders and community see an 'unreserved' seat as a general male or reserved male seat, officials also use this terminology to

legitimise this false conception. Seats termed 'General', 'OBC', 'SC' and ST, when not reserved for women were interpreted as a seat for which only a male candidate could contest. This was glaringly evident since in all the panchayats, the official letter listing the reservation of seats per ward stated the reservation for the General Seat as 'Samanya Purusha' (a general male seat).

It is interesting to note that while a few sitting male members could ensure nominations for the current term too, none of the female sitting members were re-nominated. Repeatedly, it was pointed out that the rotation of reserved seats was the single most important reason behind this. The male members have managed to retain their nominations by shifting their 'constituencies' or contesting as general candidates. For women, the situation is very different. First, women did not contest the general seats. Second, even in cases wherein their efficiency as members were established in the previous term, they have been denied a nomination on the grounds of providing opportunity to other persons.¹¹

Another aspect that negates the functioning of the panchayat is the 30 and 20 month term currently in operation at the three levels of the PRI. This certainly has much more impact on women, who are new comers to the political field. They are elected to head the panchayats and in such a short span, even a male member is unable to govern effectively, therefore to what extent women can govern is a cause for concern.

Some salient findings of the Hunger Project study:

- Several of the women elected to the position of *Adhyaksha* (President) shared that most of them faced hostility and non-cooperation both from within the GP as well as from the community and also from the government functionaries. The community felt that though women are given these opportunities, the public are not confident that the women can do anything. This stems from the attitude prevailing in society about women's capacity and the general feeling that entering politics is not the right thing for women. Politics is still perceived as a 'male bastion' and how can women come in there? How can they be in decision-making positions, they have no brains and no knowledge of the public domain? The women confided that they had to face a lot of ridicule from the men folk in particular, who looked down upon them. Comments such as "Women who should be in the kitchen have come out to rule the panchayats" is men's refrain to undermine women. Within a short span of 30 months or less, it is just not possible for women to counter these negative and discouraging forces. For women, the political field is still not a commonly treaded terrain, yet women, thanks to the affirmative action of reservations, are seen in large numbers in these political positions. The patriarchal attitude both in society and among their member colleagues has been a limiting factor. It has left them helpless and distressed. Such comments have de-motivated women, particularly those who come from non-political party background from coming forward to contest the next elections. They are anxious and eager to finish their term and get out of electoral politics.

¹¹ "Blending the concerns: Gender and Governance", NIAS Report R2-00page18-19

- Women articulated that the prevailing attitude is discouraging towards women's leadership. The general assumption drawn is that women are not capable for the Presidential position. This is particularly with reference to dalit women contesting Presidential seats, where if she is independent and bold, she faces huge challenges and intimidation. It is not easy for women even in their homes. They do not always get the support they require even from their families. The community does not have confidence in women's abilities as they continue to see them in their traditional roles and feel that politics is not for women.
- The intent with which the 'Report of the Expert Committee on Karnataka Panchayat Act 1993,' commonly referred to as the PR Naik report suggested amendment to the President's tenure has not been met as expected. It has provided an opportunity to different categories to sit in the President seat for the stipulated 30 months, but this has led to a further dilution of the purpose and all kinds of foul play, corruption and violence to become President. For example if an SC woman is the President, a situation is created by which she is forced to resign and the seat is given to another category decided by the GP, to fill in the remaining period of the first 30 month tenure.
- However, if she completes her 30 month tenure, then the next 30 months is given to another category which could be male OBC (A) or any other as worked out in the rotation calendar. In situations where through mutual agreement 5 members agree to share the position for 10 months each, then all the different caste representations of that GP including men/women by turn become President. This is done with the knowledge of the BDO, since if a President is forced to step down before completion of tenure, she/he has to resign before the next incumbent takes charge.
- This situation makes it doubly difficult for women, who are new entrants to the political field. The affirmative action of reservations provides for women to contest and get elected as GP members and then as Presidents, wherever the category and reservation of President's seat for women is declared. But the fact that the tenure is so short and in a climate that is far from enabling women's active political participation, makes it an enormously challenging task for women to govern. While the short period of tenure affects the functioning of all Presidents, it is much worse for women.¹²

If this is the situation for women who have got elected, it is much more grave for women coming forward to contest elections. Whether they are experienced entrants or new comers, the impediments remain, though the intensity may vary. Women face huge challenges and several studies have established the fact that the three 'Ms' play a crucial role—Money, Muscle, Manipulation which criminalises and corrupts the political environment. Added to this are the more recent developments of rising communalism and fundamentalism coupled with violence and character assassination that women face in the political field.

¹² A study on 'Impact of the Term of Gram Panchayat Adhyakshas in Karnataka & the Election Process.- Hunger Project study by Aasha Ramesh & N. Sudhamani

Representation of women in PRIs in terms 2000, 2005 and 2010

PRIs	2000			2005			2010		
	Total No. of seats	No. of seats held by women	% of seats held by women	Total No. of seats	No. of seats held by women	% of seats held by women	Total No. of seats	No. of seats held by women	% of seats held by women
Z P	890	339	38.1	1005	373	37.1	997	531	53.26
TP	3255	1375	42.2	3683	1519	41.2	3659	2018	55.15
GP	78349	35064	44.75	91402	39318	43.0	90643	39025	43.1

Source: State Election Commission

A study carried out in 2004 in the four southern states of India has shown that the representation of women in ULBs is higher than the reserved seats, it being as high as 38.26% in Karnataka. This clearly indicates that women have won elections in the

ULBs from the general unreserved category of seats as well¹³

The situation of women elected in urban governance, 74th Constitutional Amendment which is the Nagar Palika Act remains largely similar to what has already been described above.

No. of seats reserved for women to the total in urban local bodies

Year	Total seats	No. of seats reserved for women	% of seats held by women
2001	4864	1878	38.61
2007	5173	1964	38.10

Source: State Election Commission

IV DALIT , ADIVASIS AND OTHER VULNERABLE SECTIONS OF WOMEN

Within the one-third reservation introduced for women, which has now been increased to 50%, there is reservation for dalit and adivasi women, women belonging to backward communities, including minority

women and also for women in the general category.

At present, the city of Bangalore has a woman mayor. She is a Dalit woman and there are great expectations from her, but is she able to fulfill them? Dalit women are thrice discriminated against, for their caste, gender and poverty. Even when elected to positions of governance, they face discrimination and threats from the dominant communities. There have been instances, where dalit women Presidents were not allowed to sit on the chair and in the GP meetings, they were asked to sit separately. Though such discrimination is slowly decreasing, it cannot be claimed that forms of untouchability no longer exist. The case of Honnamma illustrates the extent of brutality on a Dalit woman, who was strong and asserted her rights, who rose to a position of leadership, which the dominant castes resented and therefore brutally had her murdered.¹⁴

The author of this report was witness to discrimination shown to a dalit woman elected as President in the Talekere GP in the Yelburga block of Koppal district. After the elections, as part of the celebrations, a procession was held in the village and the Vice-President a man

¹³ <http://wcd.nic.in/cedawdraft20nov2011.pdf>

¹⁴ http://roundtableindia.co.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3549:honammas-murder&catid=122:atrocities&Itemid=138

was garlanded and led the procession, while the elected dalit woman President walked behind him, with no garland. Only after the NIAS team raised this issue was she too garlanded and allowed to walk alongside the Vice President. Such forms of discrimination continue to prevail.

Adivasi women also face oppression from

those in power. Women belonging to the minority community, especially Muslim women who are still very much in the private domain, face resistance to come forth from their own community, and as face resistance and non-cooperation from the majority religious groups. This has given rise to communal overtones, which again are a key factor in impeding women's participation in politics.

Kenchamma, Ex-President, Neralakere GP, Chikkamagalur district

Kenchamma aged 42 years, who studied up to the III standard, belongs to the SC community. Her family consists of a father-in-law, husband and three children. Vikasana, a local NGO was giving training in tailoring to women, and in 1992-93 she joined their tailoring programme and that was her first step to go outside her house to mingle with other women. She was made to contest the first election after the 73rd amendment by some of the members of her village as it was a SC reserved seat. The president's post was announced and she was chosen, the panchayat had 10 members and 8 of them supported her. She was supported by the Congress party and they kidnapped her and kept her for 8 days so that others did not influence her to withdraw from contesting the president's post. Most of the community people were against making her president as she belonged to the SC community, was not educated, and did not have her own house etc. Hence some of the lingayat community members tried to murder her by instigating her brother-in-law and co-brother. They gave them money and drink and asked them to kill her or her father-in-law so that she would come out of hiding. But there were people around to protect her and she took the protection of the police and came home after being made the president.

Initially people condemned her, made fun of her, and tortured her mentally. She underwent training given by Vikasana for the GP members, learnt it and started to question when she was asked to sign the cheques. Without completion of the work she never signed though all the members asked her to do so. She was harassed to the maximum. She constructed the panchayat building and all of them complained to the DC laying the misuse of funds and other charges against her. She tried to get MLA / MPs to inaugurate the building but people from the village told them not to come, as her name would be put on the slab of the building. They were not able to stand seeing an SC woman's name which will be permanently on the building, so they tried their best to see that the building was not inaugurated during her tenure. However, she went on her own and approached Mr. Siddaramaiah and others and told them that if they did not come, she, herself would cut the ribbon and inaugurate it. Hence, they came and did the inauguration.

She carried out many development workd during her tenure of 6 years and 3 months. The next election was held in 2000 and she did not contest but was made to contest in 2005 election and she was made the president for the first term and vice-president for the second term. She did not contest the present 2010 election as the supporters said that an opportunity needed to be given to others. She says she works as an agricultural labourer apart from taking care of her 2.5 acres of land. She says that she cannot contest without the support of the people and those who had supported her do not have money to spend on elections and therefore, have not done so. Though she has a desire to do good developmental work for her panchayat irrespective of caste, she cannot contest without the support of the people. She is of the opinion that president should be allowed to rule for five years and people should elect their president rather than the members.¹⁵

WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS

Although Indian women have long since achieved legal equality enabling equal access to education and voting rights, Indian women's voices remain overwhelmingly unheard. With a female population of approximately 500 million about half of Indian women are illiterate, one of the lowest figures in the world, compared to 76 percent of literacy in men. Also, a disproportionate percentage of the population living below the poverty line are women. Although women have one-third reserved seats in local self-governing bodies, less than 8 percent of Parliamentary seats, less than 6 percent of Cabinet positions, less than 4 percent of seats in High Courts and the Supreme Court, are occupied by women. India has one of the largest working female populations, rising from 13 percent in 1987 to 25 percent in 2001, yet only 3 percent of senior management positions are occupied by women. In a recent article in the Times of India, the low ratio of female applicants at the Indian Institute of Management in Bangalore (IIMB) cited social pressure on women to focus on marriage and family as the primary reason¹⁶.

While the sphere of local governance has seen a significant improvement in the numbers of women being present there, due to reservations, yet the numbers of women in official positions still remain relatively low. The representation of women in decision-making positions, such as in the Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service and Indian forest Service which stood at 13.6%, 2.2% and 6.1% in 2000 only marginally increased to 15.4%, 4.1% and 7.0% in 2010 respectively. (Annexure 1)

Karnataka is seen as one of the progressive states in the country. Yet, when it comes to women's presence in bureaucracy, it is still wanting. Though, of course, women bureaucrats have held the position of Chief Secretary of the State, like Ms Teresa Bhattacharya who was the first woman CS in Karnataka in 2001 and Ms Malathi Das, who was the first woman from the Karnataka cadre to take this position in 2006, yet as evidenced, it is not easy for women to get to the top, as there is a glass ceiling, especially in departments that have both the power and finance. This tends to be the norm, though there have been exceptions.

¹⁵ Hunger Project study 2010-'30 Month tenure of the GP Presidents in Karnataka', Aasha Ramesh & N. Sudhamani

¹⁶ Shih-Yu Wang, April 2004

No. of KAS Officers as on 20-1-11 in Group A¹⁷

No. of Male officers	No. of female officers	Total no. of officers
321	58	379
84.7 %	15.3 %	100 %

Source: <http://stg1.kar.nic.in/dparservices/KAS%20Officers%20civil%20list.pdf>

As on 20-01-2011 the percentage of women KAS officers in the state is 15.3%.

The tables in the annexures illustrate the trend of women's entry in the different branches of the Administrative wings.

The judiciary also shows similar trends as does the bureaucracy, where the number of women judges in the State has shown a slight increase from 15.5 % in 2007-08 to 22 % in 2009-10. (see Annexure 2)

According to the Report on the Representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in State Civil Services, 2010 which also gives the number of women in the State Civil Services, the percentage of women employees is 30.86, yet it is not possible to put a figure on benefits to the women, due to the absence of sex-disaggregated data¹⁸.

There is a need for women to occupy decision making positions in centres of power dealing with policy formulation, developing and designing programmes and schemes cutting across all sectors as a first step towards the Constitutional obligation of Gender Equality so that the process of gender mainstreaming can be achieved gradually. It is equally important to acknowledge that with the presence of greater

numbers of women in high offices, they would be in a position to bring in a gender perspective in their work area, which would help in improving the quality of life for women, especially for those belonging to the most vulnerable sections of society.

It is equally important for women to be in the seat that delivers judgement that accords justice to women survivors of violence, to women who have faced all forms of exploitation, discrimination and violation, so that they can enjoy the rights guaranteed to them under the Indian Constitution. But what is ultimately key is that both women and men in positions of power be sensitive to the needs of women belonging to the SCs/STs and minorities, including other vulnerable groups.

CAPACITY BUILDING INITIATIVES

With affirmative action introduced to promote women's participation in politics, there are hundreds and thousands of women being elected every 5 years to local governing institutions, (PRIs). Several initiatives have been initiated to build the capacities of women so that they can be equipped adequately to discharge their responsibilities in their elective positions.

While it is evident that capacity building is being done extensively for elected members of the PRIs, particularly for those in rural governance, unfortunately the same attention has not been extended to members elected under the 74th Constitutional Amendment-urban local governance. Some level of capacity

¹⁷ As no sex-disaggregated data available, a manual counting done, some names unclear to differentiating the sex-hence possibility of error not ruled out.

¹⁸ "Formulation of a Monitoring Plan for Karnataka Mahila Abhivruddhi Yojane and Gender Budgeting" by Akshatha

building is being done, but not on the same scale as in rural governance and especially in the context of elected women members.

The State institute for Rural Development is entrusted with the onerous task of training newly elected members, including women.

In Karnataka though reservation for women were introduced in the Mandal Panchayat period of the late 80's, there seemed to be no concerted effort to focus on the training of women elected members immediately. However, in the 1995, as a pilot scheme, due to the

interest evinced by active women's rights NGOs, the Karnataka Mahila Samakhya and WCD, a GRAMSAT (Satellite education) programme was developed, which was very popular and reached out to hundreds and thousands of women. The highlight of this training was that it dwelt on the challenges that women faced as elected members. It discussed the issues of women's rights, crimes against women, and the needs of rural women such as healthcare, basic amenities and similar issues that are relevant in a rural context.

Technology- Tool for capacity building,' The SATCOM experience'

The GOK in collaboration with the DECU-ISRO initiated a satellite based interactive communication for distance education. While the aim of the experiment was to train 'development functionaries,' like auxiliary nurse midwives, it also included a four days training for EWRs at the GP level. The WCD evinced interest and in collaboration with an independent film-maker Deepa Dhanraj and NGOs, including MSK and developed a concept which evolved into a programme for training EWRs in 1995.

The innovative use of modern communications technology to promote the empowerment of elected women leaders was a popular experiment. Nearly 600 women members from 19 districts participated actively in this experiment.

What was different about this methodology was it did not follow the mundane top-down approach, nor provide formal and instructional training. On the contrary, the approach was inclusive, participatory and encouraged women to think about their situation as women and as elected leaders. The training did provide information about their roles and responsibilities as elected representatives, but focused on the importance of women's status and the criticality of women's participation in politics, for effective local governance.

The software included footage of interviews with GP women members, songs and plays which provided information as well as generated a thought process among the women. It was followed with live interactive sessions between women in the districts and a studio panel of women's rights experts. At the district level the televised programme was integrated into a face to face training, where the elected women informally interacted with the resource persons who enhanced the programme and its effectiveness. Eleven video modules were developed for this training. Though satellite training is now happening from SIRD in Mysore, the module is different as it is not

exclusively meant for women members, but for elected members as a whole. Therefore the special edge that the 1995 programme had is perhaps missing.

(Building Women's Capacities- edited by Ranjani Murthy -Grassroots training through Satellite technology by Ammu Joseph)

The training module was divided into two parts. The first was an interactive session, using satellite technology to link the different district headquarters to Bangalore. This session used material generated through meetings of women elected to gram panchayats. The impact of this was visible immediately and has been quite effective in building women's confidence in facing challenges.

As a part of this programme, women members were taken to the Vidhana Soudha, the seat of the state government, and to the Legislative Assembly. This exposure was also useful as they saw how the political leaders elected into important positions governing the state, conducted proceedings and the debates that took place in the house. Rural women are confined to their homes and village surroundings, so an exposure of this kind not only built their confidence, but back in their villages, they received special attention and recognition as a result of which they gained self-esteem.

It was perceived as an immensely empowering experience. In meetings in their GPs, they often ended an argument, especially with men, with—"What do you know? Have you seen the Vidhana Soudha? I have!"¹⁹

The second part was training material developed as an extension of the first, including

issues of concern to women—nutrition, water, primary education, basic health services, immunisations, common property resources, etc, which were used in training programmes across the state. The objective here was twofold—to raise certain questions in their minds on these issues and also to provide them with some basic information that would enable them to play their roles in the GPs. What has been the impact needs to be assessed.

While the GRAMSAT programme is continuing, it seems to have diluted its focus on gender-related issues which impact the lives of women, as a result of which women's status continues to be of concern. The focus now is on the roles, responsibilities and functions of the elected representatives. It also imparts them information on the 29 schemes listed under the 11th schedule of the PRI Act, thereby making the training function focussed rather than having a balanced content of functions, leadership development and gender relations and gender sensitisation, so that it is a holistic training to address political, economical and social aspects prevailing in society. The training has been helpful, but that is not enough.

The research efforts of the Gender Studies Unit at the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore on 'engendering governance' revealed that the priorities of male and female

¹⁹ (pg 14-15, Standing Committee on Rural Development 2009-10 14 Report Lok Sabha Secretariat- New Delhi) (<http://www.prsindia.org/uploads/media/Constitution%20110/Constitution%20110%20SCR.pdf>)

representatives differed. The women prioritized and addressed issues of long term effects such as education, health, violence against women, and basic amenities while men took up issues of immediate and visible relevance such as roads, community and commercial centres, tanks, bridges, etc. The visual prioritization tends to subsume the women's agenda and therefore undervalues the contribution made by women, which is in the larger interest of the community.²⁰

The GOK has initiated a variety of capacity building initiatives, such as satellite education,

face-to-face lectures, interactive sessions etc. Elected women have been included in these trainings to equip them for their political office in the Panchayat. This training has been done in the State Institute of Rural Development, (SIRD) in Mysore and in the District Institute for Rural Development (DIRD) at the taluk level.

"The last fifteen years of Panchayati Raj in India have contributed significantly not only to the political but also the social empowerment of women as is evident from the findings of the study on EWRs in PRIs.

Capacity-building initiatives by various actors

The Hunger Project started its work with elected representatives in Karnataka in 2001 to build the capacities of elected women representatives through women's leadership workshops. The felt need arose from the elected women representatives in the state to form a federation to address rights and interests of women. On 27th May 2009, the members of the SUGRAMA – Grama Panchayat Chunayita Mahila Okkuta Karnataka launched the Karnataka state federation of elected women representatives having a membership of 5000 members belonging to 87 Taluk federations across 21 districts. THP in partnership with various organizations are involved in building the capacities of sugrama members.

The Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation had built the capacities of elected women representatives through its project on 'Building budgets from below' in selected study areas to design and allocate funds for women specific areas. Their other projects such as 'Associating Elected women's representatives in Local Self Government' and 'Engaging local women politicians in macro /public policy making' enhanced the capacity of EWRs in value-added services and contributed towards village level planning or planning at the grassroots level.

The Mahila Samakhya's (Karnataka), core area of work is to create awareness and encourage women to take a greater part in the political process through the panchayat, gram sabhas and ward sabhas. The capacity building and networking of the sangha women have made them contest panchayat elections and they win. They have been actively engaged in getting basic amenities and encouraging women to participate in ward and gram sabhas on a large scale to access the benefits of various schemes and programmes.

²⁰ Srilatha Batliwalla, B.K. Anitha, Anitha Gurumurthy, and S Wali, Chandana. "Status of Rural Women in Karnataka" Women's Policy, Research and Advocacy Unit (WOPRA), NIAS, Bangalore, 1998.

Earlier notions of women being mere proxies for male relatives have gradually ceded space to the recognition that given the opportunity to participate in the political system, women are as capable as their male counterparts. The impact of women's participation in the Panchayats is seen in the development priorities identified by them. EWRs have used their office not only to mainstream gender issues but also address the developmental needs of the community as a whole. The positive contribution made by EWRs needs to be sustained by ensuring the continued participation of women in the political process. In conclusion, it may be said that the political participation of women in Panchayati Raj institutions enhances self-esteem and self-confidence among them. This is reflected in the creation of an enabling environment both within the home and community as well as the professional space which, in turn, improves the performance of the EWRs.²¹

A study conducted by the Ministry of the Panchayati Raj in 2008 revealed that the performance of EWRs is in sync with the participatory style. Nearly 80% of all the women representatives got elected from reserved seats which facilitated their first entry into politics. Close to 79% of the EWRs perceived this as enhancing their self esteem, increasing confidence 81% and 74% of them experienced a sense of being equipped with decision making ability. This is clear evidence that the 33% has indeed been a boon for women.²²

It also revealed that reservation facilitated the first entry into politics for most of them. A sizable proportion of women representatives'

perceived enhancement of their self esteem, confidence and decision making ability.

The centre has sponsored an exclusively women's capacity building programme called the Panchayat Mahila Evam Yuva Shakti Abhiyan (PMEYSA) which is being implemented by the nodal Ministry. This is a novel effort introduced by the Ministry of the Panchayati Raj, Government of India during the 11th five year Plan to empower women and young panchayat elected representatives. In Karnataka this programme since February 2008 was entrusted to the Abdul Nazir Sab State Institute of Rural Development (ANSSIRD). The objective of this programme is to build the confidence and capacity of Elected Women Representatives of three tiers to overcome the institutional, societal and political constraints.

A state-level core-group committee was formed in February 2008 which comprised two elected women representatives selected from the three tiers. In 2009, a State level Federation was formed as per the decision of the State Core Group Committee which mobilised 16,000 EWRs at the taluk and district level. Due to differences that emerged over a period of time due to party politics, this programme did not take off as envisaged. Efforts, however, are underway to revitalise this initiative.

VII WAYS FORWARD:

Women in Karnataka have proved their mettle in the political field at the grassroots

²¹ (pg 14-15, Standing Committee on Rural Development 2009-10 14 Report Lok Sabha Secretariat- New Delhi)(<http://www.prsindia.org/uploads/media/Constitution%20110/Constitution%20110%20SCR.pdf>)

²² www.prsindia.org/uploads/media/.../Constitution%20110%20SCR.pdf

level. They have contested beyond the reserved seats and gone beyond the stimulated 33.3% reservation. Now that 50% seats are reserved, there will be a huge groundswell of women entering local governance. But to ensure that women can be effective, can take appropriate decisions and engender the political field, there is a need for the state and other relevant stakeholders to create an enabling environment to promote women's active political performance.

The following are some suggestions and recommendations:

- Increased and on-going capacity-building of women not limited just to the functions or roles and responsibilities of the PRIs, but more holistic and empowering that will embolden them to challenge the oppressive power-structures of caste and class, to take decisions in the interest of the vulnerable and the community at large.
- More attention essential for capacity building of women in urban governance as these are potential candidates for moving up the political ladder at the state and parliamentary levels.
- Need for separate training for elected male members to sensitise them towards ;
 - a. Accepting women members as equal partners in governance
 - b. Understanding the special needs of women and their vulnerabilities that lead to gender based discrimination and gender based violence
 - c. Sensitising them to understand the unequal status of women and the need to acknowledge them as equal partners in governance.
- Training for line department functionaries to sensitise them so they support and cooperate with elected women members in addressing issues for the community. Sensitise them so that they are empathetic to the violence leashed out on SCs and STs and their women in particular, so that the appropriate action and support required is rendered on priority. It may help to get insights from NGOs working with EWRs/ resource persons involved in working on these issues, to develop appropriate modules.
- As part of creating an enabling environment for women to enter politics as well as for those elected to function effectively, there is a need to have measures such as support and sharing of domestic chores. The provision of crèches, encouraging spouses to share chores, taking responsibility for children's education, so that girls are not withdrawn from school for sibling care and household work and the mother can attend to the needs of the community and GP meetings, are some measures.
- It is desired that meetings are held in a central place that makes mobility easier for women and that there is an enabling environment provided for the effective participation of women.
- Increase honorarium and sitting fees and ensure timely payment. This is especially important for women who are not in control of resources and if forced to seek assistance from the family to participate in the meetings, are demotivated and cannot participate in politics.
- There is a need to challenge the rotation of seats when it is not applicable at higher levels of MLCs, MLAs and MP

constituencies. This affects all candidates contesting PRI elections and affects women the most. On the one hand there is affirmative action to promote women's participation in local governance and on the other, there is no measure to enable her to build her constituency or her leadership as this is not possible within a 5 year term, since the seat is rotated and she may not get the chance to contest again. Therefore there have been recommendations to increase the term and this needs to be given due attention. This particularly affects the building of leadership among the most marginalised sections and, in particular, among women.

- The tenure of Presidents and VPs in local governing bodies needs to be reviewed as it affects governance on the whole and as women who are still learners in the political field, it is a very disempowering experience. (Karnataka is the only state that has a 20 month and thirty month rotation for the position of President and Vice- President in PRIs)
- The need to retain the constituency for two to three terms at least to enable elected women to develop their constituency and to deliver the programmes and schemes.
- As part of the training, the video coverage of the SATCOM training should be analysed especially to gauge the kind of questions raised by women and male elected members and this should be assessed in the training sessions.
- More women should be employed in the line departments, in order to enable EWRs to interact and carry out their duties and responsibilities. This is because women have a comfort level of relating to other women, even if there is a question of hierarchy.
- A critical analysis of the gender sensitisation programmes of ATI needs to be done. The focus should be on the trainings conducted for the proper implementation of the schemes through the PRIs. The content of the training and whether it is addressing gender issues and concerns to help EWRs get appropriate support and cooperation from government functionaries should be assessed.
- It would be useful to engage with NGOs to play a more proactive role in enabling elected women representatives to participate actively in governance.
- There is a need to evolve a panchayat level plan and to incorporate gender indicators into it. This will require a good data collection system to be in place and based on it, the panchayat can develop its plan. For example, the data highlighting sex ratio, IMR, MMR etc., can be collected and to see what the status is after one or two GP terms. There is a need to monitor at local level and to create awareness using IEC materials, community radio, sms etc which would improve the status of women.
- To develop a framework at the PRI level that would look at the women's component, similar to that which is in place in Kerala.
- It would be useful to hold separate Mahila Gram Sabhas before the mandated Gram Sabhas are held, so that the women's agenda can be integrated into the main GS.
- Capacity-building to be followed by an Action Plan, that is, trainees should come with a plan for their villages and then training is given. Based on their plans,

goals are to be set and an action plan to be prepared and there should be a follow up on their plans.

- Gram SAT should be designed to address issues that both men and women need to address together such as ;
 - a. Violence against women (child marriage, dowry, sexual assault, rape, domestic violence, trafficking etc)
 - b. Education of the girl-child
 - c. Prevention of child labour
 - d. Proper functioning of healthcare centres etc
- Use the experience of the MSK Nari Adalats to activate the Social Justice Committee, comprising both women and men to address VAW.
- To look again at the content of capacity building modules and to incorporate justice, equity and gender
- The gender audit of the content and transactions of the capacity building programme to be looked into periodically

and the need for a regular refreshing for resource persons.

- Women must find allies both within the panchayat system and sections of the bureaucracy that recognise the need to fulfil the potential of the panchayati raj. Alliance building with NGOs may be a way of facilitating democratic functioning.
- State funding of elections may be considered to help more women contest elections as lack of finance is a major constraining factor
- Like ‘ Nirmal gram panchayats’, introduce awards/incentives calling it, ‘Towards Equality Panchayats’ where women’s issues are mainstreamed in the GP agenda and the GP records improved health standards, improved education of girl children, improved sex ratios and incidence of alcoholism and violence against women reduced.
- Compilation of gender disaggregated data is essential in all sectors and at all levels especially at decision making levels, legislature, local governance etc.

ANNEXURE 1

WOMEN IN BUREAUCRACY

INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE				
Year	Female	Male	Total	% of Women
2000	35	222	257	13.6
2001	37	231	268	13.8
2002	37	226	263	14.1
2003	37	220	257	14.4
2004	36	213	249	14.5
2005	36	206	242	14.9
2006	36	199	235	15.3
2007	36	213	249	14.5
2008	35	210	245	14.3
2009	37	213	250	14.8
2010	36	197	233	15.4

Source: DPAR (Services), Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore - 'Men and Women in Karnataka'- Directorate of Economics & Statistics

INDIAN POLICE SERVICE				
Year	Female	Male	Total	% of Women
2000	3	135	138	2.2
2001	4	139	143	2.8
2002	4	132	136	3.0
2003	5	130	135	3.7
2004	5	128	133	3.8
2005	5	126	131	3.8
2006	5	134	139	3.6
2007	6	136	142	4.2
2008	6	104	146	4.1
2009	5	126	131	3.8
2010	6	140	146	4.1

Source: DPAR (Services), Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore - 'Men and Women in Karnataka'- Directorate of Economics & Statistics

INDIAN FOREST SERVICE				
Year	Female	Male	Total	% of Women
2000	10	153	163	6.1
2001	10	153	163	6.1
2002	10	150	160	6.2
2003	10	150	160	6.2
2004	10	150	160	6.2
2005	10	148	158	6.3
2006	10	149	159	6.3
2007	11	153	164	6.7
2008	11	150	161	6.8
2009	11	147	158	6.9
2010	11	145	156	7.0

Source: DPAR (Services), Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore - 'Men and Women in Karnataka'- Directorate of Economics & Statistics

ANNEXURE 2

NUMBER OF JUDGES BY SEX IN KARNATAKA

Sl. No	Districts	2007-08				2008-09				2009-2010			
		F	M	T	% of F	F	M	T	%	F	M	T	%
1	Bagalkote	1	15	16	6.2	2	16	18	11.1	3	13	16	18.7
2	Bangalore	19	136	155	12.2	19	130	149	12.7	27	105	132	20.4
3	Bangalore (R)	10	20	30	3.3	9	23	32	28.1	8	24	32	25.0
4	Ramanagaram	NA	NA	NA	-	7	46	53	13.2	6	45	51	11.8
5	Belgaum	4	38	42	9.5	4	17	21	19.0	2	21	23	8.7
6	Bellary	4	15	19	21.1	3	13	16	18.7	3	14	17	17.6
7	Bidar	1	14	15	6.7	4	14	18	22.2	3	18	21	14.3
8	Bijapur	2	15	17	11.8	0	9	9	0	2	8	10	20.0
9	Chamarajanagar	1	9	10	10.0	5	14	19	26.3	6	13	19	31.6
10	Chikmagalur	2	11	13	15.4	16	12	28	57.1	9	11	20	45.0
11	Chitradurga	4	12	16	25.0	6	23	29	20.7	8	23	31	25.8
12	Dakshina Kannada	3	29	32	9.4	3	14	17	17.6	6	13	19	31.6
13	Davangere	1	13	14	7.1	6	17	23	26.1	6	24	30	20.0
14	Dharwad	5	15	20	25.0	4	7	11	36.4	1	11	12	8.3
15	Gadag	2	6	8	25.0	2	27	29	6.9	3	24	27	11.1
16	Gulbarga	1	43	44	2.3	-	11	11	-	3	8	11	27.3
17	Hassan	5	17	22	22.7	7	17	24	29.2	6	20	26	23.1
18	Haveri	3	13	16	18.7	4	13	17	23.5	4	13	17	23.5
19	Kodagu	4	5	9	44.4	8	13	21	38.1	9	13	22	40.9
20	Kolar	1	16	17	5.9	4	9	13	30.8	4	8	12	33.3
21	Chikkaballapur	NA	NA	NA	-	8	26	34	23.5	12	32	44	27.3
22	Koppal	-	8	8	-	-	9	9	-	1	10	11	9.1
23	Mandya	5	17	22	22.7	9	14	23	39.1	11	13	24	45.8
24	Mysore	9	31	40	22.5	1	12	13	7.7	1	12	13	7.7
25	Raichur	2	13	15	13.3	6	22	28	21.4	7	23	30	23.3
26	Shimoga	5	19	24	20.8	8	24	32	25.0	7	28	35	20.0
27	Tumkur	7	21	28	25.0	9	12	21	42.8	9	7	16	56.2
28	Udupi	3	12	15	20.0	3	20	23	13.0	1	21	22	4.5
29	Uttara Kannada	3	21	24	12.5	4	9	13	30.8	5	7	12	41.7
30	Yadgir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	6	16.7
	OOD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	46	51	9.8
	TOTAL	107	584	691	15.5	161	593	754	21.3	179	633	812	22.0

Source: High Court of Karnataka - 'Men and Women in Karnataka'- Directorate of Economics & Statistics

ANNEXURE 3

EMPLOYEES WORKING IN KARNATAKA STATE GOVERNMENT AS ON 31/3/2008 & 2009

Sl.No	Group	Male	Female	Total	% of Female employees	Male	Female	Total	% of women employees
2008					2009				
1	A	11390	2531	13921	18.18	11678	2573	14251	18.05
2	B	22939	5783	28722	20.13	23674	5952	29626	20.09
3	C	275942	132914	408856	32.51	276756	139373	416129	33.49
4	D	40614	13322	53936	24.70	39880	13508	53388	25.30
TOTAL		350885	154550	505435	30.58	351988	161406	513394	31.44

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics

A glance at the above table shows the percentage of women employees in different groups as in 2009.

Total number of electors and number of electors who voted in Assembly Elections – Karnataka

General Election to State Assembly	Total number of electors			No. of electors voted		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1999	16837138	17447453	34284591	10872001	12321505	23193506

This data is not compiled in the later report of Men and Women in Karnataka

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANSSIRD	Abdul Nazir Sab State Institute of Rural Development	GP	Gram Panchayat
ATI	Administrative Training Institute	GS	Gram Sabha
BDO	Block Development Officer	HDI	Human Development Index
CSWI	Committee on the Status of Women in India	HDR	Human Development Report
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination against Women	IAS	Indian Administrative Service
DC	Deputy Commissioner	IEC	Information Education Communication
DIRD	District Institute of Rural Development	IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
EWRs	Elected Women Representatives	KHDR	Karnataka Human Development Report
GDI	Gender Development Index	MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
GOI	Government of India	MLC	Member of Legislative Council
GOK	Government of Karnataka	MMR	Maternal Mortality Rate
		MP	Member of Parliament
		MSK	Mahila Samakhya Karnataka
		NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NPP	National Perspective Plan	ULBs	Urban Local Bodies
OBCs	Other Backward Communities	VAW	Violence against Women
PRIs	Panchayati Raj Institutions	VPs	Vice-Presidents
SCs	Scheduled Castes	WCD	Women and Child Development Department
STs	Scheduled Tribes		

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CHAPTER IX

GENDER BUDGETING

Sudhamani N. and Aasha Ramesh

This chapter begins its introduction by defining the concepts of a gender budget and highlights the constitutional provisions. The chapter is divided into four sections.

The first section introduces the concept of a gender budget and highlights the constitutional provisions provided for women in this country.

The second section details the international commitments made by India to enhance the status of women in order to achieve equality by allocating the necessary funds. This section also provides some of the global experiences of gender budgeting.

The third section describes the evolution of Indian initiatives in allocating funds for women's development and ensuring the flow of funds and its impact on the status of women.

The fourth section highlights the initiatives and steps taken up by the Karnataka government in empowering women through its pioneering scheme 'Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane' and moving towards gender budgeting. This section also tries to capture some realities of the women oriented schemes at the field level.

The chapter concludes with some pointers to be considered for effective gender budgeting in order to uplift women's status in society.

I. GENDER BUDGET DEFINITION & CONCEPT

The term 'gender budgeting' is used to describe various government initiatives that seek to address gender concerns in the domain of public expenditure and policy. Two definitions are quoted to introduce the concept.

"Gender-sensitive budgets", 'gender budgets', and 'women's budgets' refer to a variety of processes and tools aimed at facilitating an assessment of the gendered impacts of government budgets. In the evolution of these exercises, the focus has been on auditing government budgets for their impact on women and girls. This has meant that, to date, the term 'women's budget' has gained the widest use. Recently, however, these budget exercises have begun using gender as a category of analysis so the terminology 'gender-sensitive budgets' is increasingly being adopted. It is important to recognize that 'women's budgets' or 'gender-

sensitive budgets' are not separate budgets for women, or for men. They are attempts to break down, or disaggregate the government's mainstream budget according to its impact on women and men, and different groups of women and men, with cognizance being given to the society's underpinning gender relations" (Sharp, Rhonda: 1999).

"Gender budget initiatives analyse how governments raise and spend public money, with the aim of securing gender equality in decision-making about public resource allocation; and gender equality in the distribution of the impact of government budgets, both in their benefits and in their burdens. The impact of government budgets on the most disadvantaged groups of women is a focus of special attention." (IDRC, 2001)

The definitions above brings out the fact that gender budgeting is not a separate budget but a process to ensure that women's needs and priorities are also taken into account in the budget allocation with a strong emphasis on engendering public expenditure and policy. Thus, it becomes an effective mechanism to bring about gender equity.

Gender responsive budgeting is a means to realise the commitments of the Government. It is a financial planning method to enable an equitable allocation of resources as per the requirements projected in gender planning by earmarking the necessary budget and should reflect gender equity commitments in women's policy.

1.1 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The Indian constitution has articulated in Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities

for the political, economic and social spheres, in Article 15 - provides discrimination on the grounds of sex, in Article 15 (3) - enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women, in Article 39 - equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work, in Article 42 – just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief, in Article 51(A) (e) – fundamental duty to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.

II GENDER BUDGETING AND INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT

A number of international meetings were held during the last decade which had the potential to transform the reality of women's lives. The Government of India in many of these meetings had committed to take action to improve the situation of women. Some of the international commitments to which the Government of India is a signatory are as follows:

- The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), which the Government of India signed in 1980
- The world conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) asserted that women's rights are human rights.
- The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo (1994) placed women's rights and health at the centre of population and development strategies
- At the fourth world conference of women in Beijing (1995), governments declared their determination "to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity".

- In the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development governments declared their vision of a world “in which women and men have equal rights and opportunities in all stages of their lives”.
- The 23rd Special session of the U.N. General Assembly in June 2000 also explicitly called for Attention to the goal of gender equality in budgetary processes at national, regional and international levels.

2.1 GENDER BUDGETING – GLOBAL EXPERIENCE

Several countries across the globe initiated gender budgeting and Australia pioneered the trend in 1984 followed by the Common Wealth gender budget initiative in five countries in 1996 -South Africa, Sri Lanka, Barbados, saint Kitts and Nevis and Fiji. By 2002 more than 60 countries in the world had resorted to gender budgeting.

The Australian approach distinguishes between

1. Gender specific expenditure
2. Equal opportunity expenditure for civil servants and
3. General expenditure (the rest) considered in terms of its gender impact

In the South African “Five Step Approach” the five steps are

1. Analysing the situation of women, men, girls and boys
2. Assessing the gender-responsiveness of policies
3. Assessing budget allocations
4. Monitoring spending and service delivery
5. Assessing outcomes.

III EVOLUTION OF INDIAN INITIATIVES

In India, the Report of the Committee on “The Status of Women in India” in 1974 gave the initial impetus towards the search for gender perspectives on public expenditure.

In 1985 the Ministry of Human Resource Development was set up and the ministry constituted the Women and Child Development department. In 2006, an independent ministry for women and child development was set up and twenty seven major women specific schemes were identified to monitor and assess the quantum of funds flowing towards women.

The Eighth Plan (1992-97) highlighted the need to ensure a definite flow of funds from general development sectors to women. It commented ‘..... special programmes on women should complement the general development programmes. The latter in turn should reflect greater gender sensitivity’.

The Plan document stated “The benefits of development from different sectors should not bypass women, and special programmes on women should complement the general development programmes. The latter, in turn, should reflect greater gender sensitivity”.

Yet, not much progress was made in terms of ensuring an adequate flow of funds and benefits to women.

During the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) **Women’s component Plan** as one of the major strategies of planning and budgeting and directed both the Central and State Governments to ensure that ‘not less than 30 per cent of the

funds/benefits are earmarked in all the women's related sectors". It also directed that a special vigil be kept on the flow of the earmarked funds/benefits through an effective mechanism to ensure that the proposed strategy brings forth a holistic approach towards empowering women. (Since the year 2006, Women's Component Plan has also been called Women's Sub Plan).

In 1998, the **Department of Women and Child Development**, Government of India, took up the initiative of generating "gender-aggregated data" across the country. "The Department has advised all the concerned Ministries/ Departments for inclusion of an identifiable Women Component Plan in their programmes right from the planning process and implementation and monitoring of their programmes to ensure that the benefits reach the women. The Department has further requested all the ministries/departments to set up advisory committees for women in each sector to help in the preparation, monitoring and implementation of Women's Component Plan, set up a women's cell and to include a chapter on Women's Component Plan in their annual reports..." - *Annual Report 2002-03, Dept. of Women and Child Development*.

The need for taking up Gender Budgeting was also recognized in the *National Policy for the Empowerment of Women, 2001*, which observed "Availability of adequate financial, human and market resources to implement the Policy will be managed by concerned Departments..." and that this process will include, among other initiatives, "Assessment of benefits flowing to women and resource allocation to the programmes relating to them through an exercise of gender budgeting."

The annual **Indian Economic Survey 2000-01**, for the first time, contained a section on Gender Inequality in the chapter on the Social Sector, based on the input provided by the interim Report on the 'Status of Women in India and their Role in Economy', submitted by the **National Institute of Public Finance & Policy (NIPFP)** in January 2001.

The Second Report of NIPFP, submitted in August 2001, made a 'Post Budget Assessment of the Union Budget 2001-02'. The report categorized public expenditure into three main types:

1. Those specifically targeted at women and girls.
2. Pro-women allocations which are the composite expenditure of schemes with a women component, and
3. Mainstream public expenditure that has gender differential impacts.

Though the methodology adopted was later found inadequate, needing much refinement, the salient findings of the Union Budget Analysis brought to light some interesting trends in public expenditure from the gender perspective and also methodological issues. Subsequently the NIPFP was commissioned to study gender-related economic policy issues and policy alternatives for building a gender-sensitive national budgeting process.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development has honed Gender Budgeting into a tool for achieving the goals and targets enshrined for women in our constitution and Plans and Policies. In 2004-05 the Ministry adopted "**Budgeting for Gender Equity**" as a Mission Statement. A **Strategic Framework of Activities** to implement this mission was developed.

- **Quantification of allocation of resources for women in the Union, States and Local Administration budgets and expenditure thereof.**
 - Refining and standardizing methodology and development of tools.
 - Trend Analysis
 - Analysis of change in pattern, shift in priorities in allocation across clusters of services etc.
 - Variations in allocation of resources and actual expenditure
 - Adherence to physical targets
- **Gender Audit of policies of the Government- monetary, fiscal, trade etc. at the Centre and State levels**
 - Research and micro studies to guide macro policies like credit policy, taxes etc.
 - Identification of gender impact of policies/interventions viewed as gender neutral
 - Micro studies to identify need for affirmative action in favour of women towards correcting gender imbalances
- **Impact assessment of various schemes in the Union and State budgets**
 - Micro studies on incidence of benefits
 - Analysis of cost of delivery of services
- **Analysing programmes, strategies, interventions and policy initiatives from the perspective of their impact on status of women as reflected in important Macro Indicators like literacy, MMR, participation in work force**
 - E.g.- analysis of substance and content of various interventions directed at health of women and correlate the same with indicator like MMR to establish need for corrective action in formulation of scheme/ approach.
- **Institutionalizing the generation and collection of gender disaggregated data**
 - Developing MIS for feedback from implementing agencies
 - Inclusion of new parameters in data collection in Census and surveys by NSO, CSO etc.
- **Consultations and Capacity building**
 - Collation of research and exchange of best practices
 - Developing methodologies and tools for dissemination
 - Forums and Partnerships amongst experts and stakeholders.
- **Review of decision making processes to establish gender equity in participation**
 - Review of extant participation of women in decision-making processes and to establish processes and models aimed at gender equity in decision making and greater participation of women.
- Formulation and reflection of **satellite accounts** to capture the contribution of women to the economy by way of their activities in areas that go unreported like care economy, unpaid work in rearing domestic animals etc.

Approach paper to the Tenth Plan reports that 42.9% of gross budgetary support in 15 ministries/ departments went to women under

the Ninth Plan. During the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) reinforced the commitment to gender budgeting to establish gender-differential

impact and to translate gender commitments into budgetary commitments. It aimed to link the two concepts of Women's Component Plan (WCP) and Gender Budgeting to play a complementary role in ensuring both preventive and post-facto action in enabling women to receive their rightful share from all the women-related general development sectors.

The approach paper to the Eleventh Plan (2007-12) highlighted gender equity which requires adequate provisions to be made in policies and schemes across Ministries and departments and to strictly adhere to gender budgeting across the board. Statement 20 on Gender Budgeting – 100% women specific programmes, 30%+ women specific programmes. 14 ministries/departments indicated 100% allocation and 13 ministries indicated 30%+ allocation.

A Sub-Group with representation from the office of the CGA, and NIPFP was constituted to study the subject and suggest a framework for introduction of gender budgeting in the Government. The major recommendations of the Sub-Group are as follows:-

1. All programmes/schemes of the Government may be classified from the gender perspective into the following three categories:
 - a. Women-centric programmes/schemes with 100 per cent pro-women allocation;
 - b. Schemes/Programmes that have a significant (over 30 per cent) allocation for women; and
 - c. Schemes/Programmes that cannot have gender sensitive elements.
2. An institutional setup may be created in the Ministries/Departments to collect gender-disaggregated data, targets and indicators. Gender Budgeting Units (GBUs), headed by an officer of the rank of Joint Secretary, may be established in the Ministries/Departments for this purpose.
3. An Inter-Departmental Standing Committee (ISC) on Gender Budgeting may be set up to identify and share issues on the subject that cut across Ministries / Departments like budgetary allocations, micro finance, and homelessness. ISC can also identify and share the best practices on implementing gender budgeting.
4. A Gender Budgeting Directorate (GBD) may be set up in the Department of Expenditure to function as a focal point for the coordination, facilitation and support of Gender Budgeting activities across the Ministries/Departments.
5. A Detailed Head .Women's Development may be opened for classifying pro-women allocation in programmes/schemes. This will ensure earmarking of funds on pro-women activities and subsequent monitoring of their utilization.
6. Small schemes (with a provision of Rs.10 crore or less) may be reviewed, merged or consolidated to ensure a meaningful impact on the beneficiaries.
7. Outputs as well as inputs may be closely monitored to ensure proper implementation of schemes with reference to stated goals.
8. Gender budgeting and assessment studies may also be introduced in the State Governments since a major portion of the social sector spending on education, health, nutrition, etc. is through the State Governments.

9. With the devolution of powers, functions and finance to the local bodies and Panchayats after the enactment of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments, the State Governments may also initiate studies on gender budgeting at these decentralised levels of administration.
10. Periodical gender audits of Government plans, policies and programmes may be conducted. The Department of Women & Child Development (DWCD) may be the nodal agency for this purpose.
11. The group in its recommendation acknowledged the importance of introducing gender budgeting in one of the states on a pilot basis and chose Karnataka for this purpose.

this measure will ensure equitable distribution of assistance to all sections of Society”.

The Government of Karnataka was the first state in the country to introduce a scheme of inter-sectoral allocation for women earmarking 1/3rd of resources for women in individual beneficiary-oriented schemes and labour intensive schemes of various departments known as '**Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane**'(KMAY) to ensure gender equality and to integrate women in the mainstream of development. {Govt. order No. WCD220 SWW 93 (Vol-I) Bangalore, Dated 26th Oct. 1995}

Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane was launched in 1995-96 prior to the introduction of the 'Women's Component Plan' (1997-2002) of the central government. Through this programme an attempt was made to identify schemes in each department sector which would

- lead towards empowerment of women by recognising the economic activities in which they participate, and enable them to have a controlling voice in such activities
- facilitate diversification of production activities through training, skill upgradation, access to credit
- create a sustained programme for education and health

Since then twenty six departments have been earmarking one third of their physical and financial allocations under beneficiary oriented schemes for women. In order to monitor the schemes of the inter-sectoral allocation of funds for women, the KMAY cell was started in the Directorate of Women and Child Development Department on 3-5-2003.

IV GENDER BUDGETING IN KARNATAKA

The Department of Women and Child Development was established in 1994, before which it was part of Social Welfare department and its main focus is on the overall development of women and children in the state. The department is responsible for planning, making policies, programmes and schemes as well as budgeting, implementing and coordinating with related departments.

The Government of Karnataka had approved (1-10-93) the proposal of the then Social Welfare Department for earmarking 30% of the resources under all schemes and programmes of various departments of the government for women. The budget speech of the Finance Minister for 1995-96 stated "*the Government has taken a decision to ensure that in all beneficiary oriented schemes, at least 1/3rd of the beneficiaries will be women. It is hoped that*

Extract from the Budget Speech of 2006-07

Gender based budgeting helps to prioritise and orient public expenditure to reflect the concerns of women. To give focus to this, a Gender Budget Cell would be set up in the Finance Department to identify the quantum of resource allocation and expenditure for women and proper translation of policy commitments. (para 25)

Gender budgeting in Karnataka was initiated in 2006-07 on a pilot basis and a gender budget cell was set up within the Fiscal Policy Institute of the Finance Department to take forward the process of Gender budgeting in the State.

The process began by rendering training to officers across the departments on the preparation of a gender-responsive budget and gender audit. The departments participate in pre-budget meetings with their proposals of both on-going and new schemes, so the demand for grants is submitted to the Finance Department which plays an important role in documenting and monitoring.

All the schemes in the 29 demand for grants are categorised as A, B and C by the coordinator of the gender budget cell. Category A consists of those schemes designed exclusively for the benefit of women and has 100 per cent budgetary allocation. Category B will have at least upto 30 per cent of budgetary allocations for the schemes that benefit women –pro women schemes. Schemes other than category A and B are placed in category C.

Finance Department monitors all schemes in 29 demands for grants in Category A and Category B which are auto generated; planned

schemes are monitored by Planning Department. This gets published along with other budget documents and presented to the Legislature and a copy is distributed to all the departments. The Women and Child Development department will categorise the schemes as Category A, B and C in the monthly programme implementation calendar (MPIC).

The implementing agencies will generate the gender disaggregated data for the schemes but there is no aggregation at the state level. The total number of schemes under Category A and B in 2011-12 BE was 804, of these 45 were in category A and 759 schemes were under Category B. (See annexure 1 for the number of schemes under gender budgeting)

The problems faced are the slow release of funds and the lack of gender disaggregated data at the state level for category B, thus making it difficult to quantify. The gender budget is not able to capture the value of women's contribution to the market and care economy.

The Women and Child Development department has a mandate to carry out an impact evaluation of the schemes to assess the utilisation of resources and to check whether the benefits have reached the targeted women and the changes that have occurred in their lives.

Glance at the gender budget statement (Rs. in lakhs)

Category	2009-10		2010-11 BE		2010-11 BE		2011-12 BE	
	Plan	Non-plan	Plan	Non-plan	Plan	Non-plan	Plan	Non-plan
Category A	64323	199	86462	608	94087	608	87440	514
Category B	906026	1275871	1104126	1437669	1171266	1460496	1327588	1640751
Total (category A+B)	970350	1276071	1190588	1438277	1265353	14611044	1415029	1641265
Total consolidated fund (A+B+C)	2433708	3862644	2709788	4296551	2858200	4369502	3464448	5067428

Note: (i) all figures are rounded off to nearest decimal. (ii) Category C schemes are all other than Category A & B

The gender budget statement also says that there has been a decrease of funds for both the plan and non-plan schemes in Category A, which are women oriented schemes. The decrease is about 7 per cent (Rs. 6646 lakhs) for plan schemes and 15 per cent (Rs. 94 lakhs) for non-plan schemes. This is due to the lower allocation for the three major plan schemes namely Bhagyalakshmi, Ashraya-SDP and the opening of schools for girls –KGBV model and non-plan schemes such as free bus passes to widows of freedom fighters.

There is an increase in the allocation for plan and non-plan schemes of Category B by 13 and 12 per cent respectively. In total, under gender budgeting for both the categories the percentage to the total consolidated fund under plan stands at 41 per cent and 32 percent under non-plan.

Every year, the consultation with line departments sharpens the categorisation and, as a result, schemes get re-classified from Category B to Category C. One of the state plan schemes (Sericulture Dept) which was under category A has been moved to Category C. This shows that a scheme which was exclusively meant for women's empowerment has been moved to Category C and there is no proper evidence to substantiate whether it was necessary to be moved to Category C.

Gender-budgeting has helped in proving that allocation of funds which are exclusively meant for women's empowerment and development is on the decrease. This is mainly because women are not involved in the planning and budgeting process at the grassroots level and this is been highlighted in the study carried out by Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation "Building Budgets from Below". Under this project when community women and elected women representatives participated in planning and preparing gender budgets by allocating funds needed for women specific issues as well as looking at the overall needs of the people, this enabled them to look at critical issues and find solutions.

The report of the Jnana Fellow on the 'Formulation of a monitoring plan for Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane and Gender Budgeting' highlights the fact that there is no proper nomenclatures for the programmes under K MAY, thus making it difficult for the monitoring of the schemes. Better monitoring of the schemes will enforce proper implementation, thus reducing gender inequality. She also points out that until an impact assessment of the programmes and schemes meant for women is done, the change in women's status cannot be assessed. Lack of awareness and ownership of women oriented programmes by the departments concerned

also hampers its implementation. Of the 254 schemes of KMAI under category B of the Gender Budget report for the year 2011-12 only 156 schemes have been mentioned, thus missing out women-oriented schemes of the KMAI in the Gender Budget.

4.1 ASSESSMENT OF A FEW WOMEN-ORIENTED SCHEMES

A discussion with a few beneficiaries of schemes meant for women in some departments were held in the following districts – Hassan, Kolar, Mysore, Bijapur and Uttara Kannada. (See annexure 2 for details)

It was observed that most of the beneficiaries of the Bhagyalakshmi scheme especially in Hassan district were accessed by the non-BPL category, thus depriving the actual beneficiaries. The anganwadi workers have also promoted their own beneficiaries as they will get a share in the bribe when the bond is issued. This is a tacit understanding between the beneficiary and the anganwadi worker for services rendered. Anganwadi workers are also pressurised by elected members and other village elders to select beneficiaries identified by them, as there are vested interests. This leads to choosing beneficiaries who, necessarily, are not the most deserving. Discussions with the secretaries of the gram panchayats brought to the surface the role of the rural elites and elected representatives of the village in the preparation of the BPL list, which they are bound to follow in identifying beneficiaries for various schemes. This has shown that the actual BPL members in the villages have been missed out in the list prepared, as through manipulation many APL members have been listed as BPL ones and vice a versa. This is an issue that has come in

for a lot of criticism already, including at the national level. Hence it was stressed that there is a need for a re-survey of the BPL members in all villages in the state.

Agriculture and Horticulture department officials in the districts stated that they are expected to identify women who have land titles in their names, to provide the schemes meant for women. The field scenario is such that women are not recognised as farmers and a very negligible number of women are land owners. Though the women oriented schemes in these departments are meant for marginal and small farmers, yet it is mandated that only women with land documents can be the beneficiaries of these schemes. Since departments have to meet the targets set, women from the marginal and small farmer households are asked to accompany their husbands for the training programmes as the land is primarily in the names of the husband / head of the household who is a male member. Mattamma is a beneficiary of the Horticultural department's organic farming training programme. She is from the Bestha Colony of Avaregare village of Hampapura GP in Mysore district. The land is in the name of her husband; she, too, went along with her husband to attend the training and received a drum meant for preparing Jeevamrutha – organic pesticide.

The official concerned opined that land records in the names of women beneficiaries was rare and, therefore, this hampers imparting training to farm women/agriculturalists. This shows that many of the schemes which are meant for women are not being met due to the conditions laid down to fulfil the criterion of a beneficiary and the budget allocated does not

get utilised for the said purpose and goes back without being used.

The Matsya Ashraya scheme of the department of fisheries is a 100 per cent women oriented scheme. Here, again, the land should be in the name of women to construct a house for which Rs. 40,000/- is being provided by the department. Interaction with the beneficiaries of this scheme brought to light that the amount given is insufficient to complete the construction and they have to borrow money from outside sources to complete it. This often has to be done at the cost of high interest rates from the money-lenders. It was urged that it is necessary for the government to take another look at their subsidies in the light of rising prices and costs of construction. Hence, there is a need to enhance the loan amount to at least to Rs. one lakh. Another hurdle faced by the fishing community in the coastal areas to access the scheme is that the coastal regulation zone (CRZ) does not allow them to construct houses within 200 meters and allows only for repair works to be taken between 200-500 meters. However, most of them own land within 500 meters and hence the department of fisheries is unable to sanction housing loans under the scheme. The CRZ does not allow for any new construction within 500 meters.

The examples above prove that though gender budget allocation is happening, without periodic and scientifically carried out impact assessments/reviews or studies, it does not ensure that the direction in which the budget allocation is getting used is right and whether the really disadvantaged women are reaping the benefits of the programmes meant for them.

V WAYS FORWARD

- Need for long term sensitisation programmes for officials of line departments on the importance of the need for sex disaggregated data for Category B schemes of gender budgeting across all levels.
- Timely devolution of funds to local level implementers can improve the programme efficacy and efficiency
- Involve women in planning and budgeting of programmes by giving appropriate training at the grassroots level to identify the priorities of women and the community at large.
- Need to collect data on women's contribution to the market and care economy.
- A separate monitoring cell for KMAF and the Gender Budget
- Timely evaluation of women oriented schemes will highlight the importance and need of a particular scheme, and whether to continue it or not.
- If poor women have to access schemes of the Department of Fisheries, Agriculture, Horticulture etc. the conditions laid down have to be revisited and changes for easy accessibility need to be made.
- An initiative was taken to formulate the gender policy for the state but it did not materialise. It is high time that a gender policy is put in place in order to recognise the gap between constitutional rights and other legislations meant for women and the ground reality.
- There is need to integrate KMAF and the Gender Budget.

ANNEXURE 1

Statement showing the Category-wise number of schemes under Gender Budgeting for 2011-12 BE

Sl. No	Head of Accounts	Cat A	Cat B	Cat C
1	Agriculture & Horticulture	0	44	44
2	Animal Husbandry & Fisheries	3	40	43
3	Finance	0	22	22
4	Department of Personnel & Administrative Reforms	1	16	17
5	Home & Transport	0	25	25
6	Infrastructure development	0	0	0
7	Rural development & Panchayati Raj	0	33	33
8	Forest, Ecology & Environment	0	7	7
9	Cooperation	0	15	15
10	Social Welfare	3	112	115
11	Women & Child Development	20	36	56
12	Information, Tourism & Youth Services	1	29	30
13	Food & Civil Supplies	0	5	5
14	Revenue	1	16	17
15	Information Technology	0	6	6
16	Housing	2	12	14
17	Education	6	122	128
18	Commerce & Industries	0	39	39
19	Urban Development	0	8	8
20	Public Works	0	6	6
21	Water Resources	0	2	2
22	Health & Family Welfare	6	97	103
23	Labour	1	21	22
24	Energy	0	0	0
25	Kannada & Culture	0	11	11
26	Planning, Statistics, Science & Technology	0	1	1
27	Law	0	9	9
28	Parliamentary Affairs & Legislation	0	1	1
29	Debt Servicing	1	24	25
Total		45	759	804

ANNEXURE 2

Table showing the number of beneficiaries studied under women oriented schemes

Districts	No. of beneficiaries					Rajiv Gandhi sabalayojana	Land distribution For SCs	
	Bhagyalakshmi	Housing	Udyogini	SJSY	STREE SHAKTI GROUPS			Other SHGs
Hassan	10	4	2	3	25			
Kolar	4	6	10			28	3	
Bijapur	6	17	7	8	5	15 (MSK)		
Mysore	18	4 (Matsyaashraya) 28 other housing schemes		5 + 4 town		2 MSK		8
Uttara Kannada	8	5 IAY	2			8 Matsyasharaya lbhan		4
						1 Raithasakthisangha		

ABBREVIATIONS

APL	Above poverty line
BPL	Below poverty line
CEDAW	Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
CRZ	Coastal Regulation Zone
DWCD	Department of Women & Child Development
GB	Gender Budget
GBD	Gender Budgeting Directorate
GBUs	Gender Budgeting Units
ISC	Inter-Departmental Standing Committee
KGBV	Kasturba Gandhi Balakiya Vidhyalaya
KMAY	Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane
MPIC	Monthly Programme Implementation Calendar
NIPFP	National Institute of Public Finance & Policy
UN	United Nations
WCP	Women Component Plan

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CHAPTER X

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS FOR WOMEN IN KARNATAKA

C.P. Sujaya

PART A

INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises two parts, part **A** which focuses on Institutional Structures and Mechanisms is described below, and part **B** which follows part **A**, and deals with the Constitutional Safe Guards, focussing on the laws and its impact on women.

Part **A** consists of seven sections, besides the introduction and the conclusion.

The first section very briefly features the dynamics of the emergence of the concept of “Institutional Mechanisms for Women’s Advancement” through the agency of the four United Nations International Conferences on Women’s Advancement, which took place from the 1970s to the 1990s.

The second section provides a concise overview of how these dynamics led to innovations within the Indian State relating to women - in implementation structures as well as in ideation.

The third section features, in some detail, a home-grown model of an institutional mechanism for women that emerged in India in the 1950’s, long before the UN Conferences.

The fourth section explores the ground situation relating to women in Karnataka, with specific reference to the State Government as the prime mover, looking at human resources, achievements, gaps in gender training, infrastructure and administrative priorities, and the need for more and better incentives in relation to women and development.

The fifth and sixth sections look at specific projects for women in Karnataka. These are KMAY and Stree Shakti and other SHG programmes.

The seventh section draws some useful lessons from Mahila Samakhya programme in Karnataka relating to the ‘collective’ as mechanisms that empower women in villages.

The last section of the paper consists of conclusions drawn from the previous sections

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along with recommendations for the future, mainly directed at the State Government.

INTRODUCTION

Since this paper is intended to be part of a report on the 'Status of Women in Karnataka', two caveats are called for here. One relates to the rather vexing question of the 'official' location of **the subject of women within Karnataka** (the same question could however, be asked of the Central Government as well). The second caveat, somewhat similarly, relates to and questions the extent of clarity that exists between the Central Government and the State Government of Karnataka (or any other State Government for that matter) on the division of work, most of all in ideation, on the subject of gender, but also in terms of responsibility, including partnership in funding, as well as in administrative authority and powers in all matters related to women in Karnataka.

The imperative of women's equality is inscribed in the Indian Constitution. The Fundamental Rights incorporates equality of the sexes before the law, but it also legitimises **positive discrimination** in favour of women. It was the basic premise of the framers of the Constitution that "special provisions" were necessary for women to ensure that they could successfully claim and enjoy the right to equality and that 'formal equality' has to be reinforced with 'substantive equality.'

Thus, while Article 15(1) of the Constitution lays down that "the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, **sex**, place of birth or

any of them" (emphasis added), Article 15(3) states "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making **any special provision** for women and children." (In other words, women and men are equal, but the State can always go the extra mile to provide benefits to women and this will not amount to discrimination against men).

In India, therefore, the evolution of development planning, from the first Five Year Plan onwards was, and still is, strongly influenced by the concept of women as a distinct and separate category of human beings, ('equal' but 'not similar') for whom *special* and *separate* programmes and laws could (and should) be formulated and implemented without transgressing the Fundamental Rights. The 'equal' but not 'similar' conundrum has been a source of great strength, but also a weakness, as will be discussed later. Suffice is to draw a parallel at this point with the increasingly common use and/or interpretation of the word 'gender' to mean 'women,' an indicator of the real risk of the words 'women' and 'gender' relapsing into synonyms.

The paper addresses the question to what extent has the Indian State been able to introduce innovative structures and mechanisms for women's advancement under the influence of the UN Conferences on Women. Also, the extent to which the Indian State has been able to put into practice gendered models and practices in programme planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation as the base for the creation of the institutional mechanisms for women's advancement is examined.

I BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Dynamics of the UN Conferences

The outcome document of the earliest of the United Nations' International Conferences on Women's Advancement (1976, Mexico) used the term '**National Machinery for Women's Advancement.**' The reason for this choice in vocabulary was simple and clear. The 4 UN Conferences were to bring all **Country Governments** across the world (i.e., those who were members of the UN) together on a single platform of "women's advancement". It was to emphasize that **each Country Government should take the responsibility** to effectively implement the recommendations of the outcome documents of each Conference, (starting with **the Plan of Action** from the Mexico Conference) **in their own country.** To put it differently, *the Governments were to be the prime movers*, and it was they who were accountable to the UN for communicating the results of their efforts at improving the status of women.

This was the justification for the importance placed in the UN Report on the "establishment of inter-disciplinary and multi-sectoral machinery *within Government*" [Paragraph 46 of the Mexico Plan of Action]. The UN saw this as a non-negotiable agenda for all national Governments across the world. Both the words '**national**' and '**machinery**' reflect this.

However, it is significant to note that "National Machinery" has not remained a static concept.

As early as 1980, during the next International Conference at Copenhagen, the

move towards greater inclusiveness became apparent. The outcome document of the conference, "**The Programme of Action,**" clarifies that the National Machinery should be understood as not only the establishment of central national institutions, but also of a "**comprehensive network of extensions in the form of commissions, officers or posts at different levels, including the local administrative level because of its better capacity for dealing with specific local situations**" [paragraph 52 of Programme of Action Copenhagen 1980] [emphasis added].

Similarly, the 2 succeeding UN World Conferences on Women continued with the emphasis on more inclusive perspectives in the implementation of the outcome documents. These included making calls for evaluating and strengthening the relationship between governments and non-government organizations ['Forward Looking Strategies' from World Conference Nairobi 1985 paragraphs 125 and 129]. The outcome document of the last UN International Conference on Women at Beijing (1995) – the 'Platform for Action' – spoke of *decentralized planning, implementation and monitoring* "**with a view to involving non-governmental organizations and community organizations from the grass-root level upwards**".

Another non-negotiable clause inherited from these Conferences was that both men and women should jointly participate in the running of these machineries and **that they should represent all societal groups.**

However, at action levels, significantly, in India the National Machinery for the follow-up of

each of the four sets of UN Conference outcome documents continued to be visualized as a creature of the State. As the decades progressed, even the earlier concept of the role of the National Machinery being of a transitory nature began to be effaced. By the time the Nairobi Conference came round (1985), its image had become that of an institutionalized structure, located at the highest levels of Government – as a part of centralizing machinery!!

The creation of new structures went on apace in India – as in other countries – including in states such as Karnataka. However, it seemed that the use of the word 'mechanisms' was primarily, if not solely, conjoined with 'structures.' The ideation on bringing in changes in existing, and/or creation of new *mechanisms* in the larger sense of enabling changes in 'methods, systems and procedures' remained more or less as they were. It almost seemed that across the entirety of the state machinery, at all levels, there was an inbuilt immunity to change even as more and more new structures came into existence in the country, powered by the UN Conferences on Women.

II INNOVATIONS IN INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN INDIA INFLUENCED BY (POST-UN CONFERENCES IN INDIA)

The Country Paper prepared in 1995 by the Government of India for the Beijing Conference includes a diagrammatic representation of the National Machinery in a series of concentric circles. The innermost circle has the appellation "The National Machinery – the Department of

WCD"* (*abbreviation for Women and Child Development) around which are arranged the larger circles, showing other formations such as ministries, departments, agencies, **State Governments**, NGO's etc.

In 2000, the Government of India made another assessment for the *Beijing plus Five* occasion. It continued to show the DWCD as having the primary responsibility for monitoring the implementation of the BPFA². The components of the Institutional Machinery/ Mechanisms now included –

- The National Commission for Women
- Central Social Welfare Board
- National Institute for Public Cooperation and Child Development
- Rashtriya Mahila Kosh
- Departments in the State Governments of Women and Child Development
- Women Cells in important Ministries and Departments of the Government of India
- Panchayati Raj Institutions

All these components of the National Machinery, except the last three, functioned under the direct, overall control and supervision of the DWCD. Thus, barring these three exceptions, the embodiment of the National Machinery at the highest level was signified as being located in Shastri Bhavan (where DWCD was located).

In 2001, the Government of India brought out the first-ever national policy for women titled "The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women" [NPEW]. It has a section devoted

² Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

specifically to Institutional Mechanisms, which promises the following –

- Strengthening of the existing machinery (by putting in financial resources, skill training and advocacy) to influence macro-policies, laws and programmes for empowering women
- **Creating National and State Councils** to monitor the implementation of the Policy
- Establishing National and State Resource Centres for resources, data collection etc. and linking them with the women's studies centres in the country.
- Organizing Self-Help groups at the village or sub-village level

The National Policy also promised that -

“National and State Councils will be formed to oversee the operationalisation of the Policy on a regular basis. The National Council will be headed by the Prime Minister and the State Councils by the Chief Ministers”

So far, no National Council has been appointed. **The Council is to be chaired by the Prime Minister.**

Learning from the Past - Negatives

It is educative to look at the history, post-1975 (i.e., post Mexico Conference), of attempts to install such high level machinery/mechanisms (in the form of Councils) and their outputs. The **first time** such a Council was formed was in 1976, (after the Mexico Conference) when it was to be headed by the Prime Minister. The Council did not meet *during the entirety of its*

tenure. When the Council was reconstituted (again under the Prime Minister) it met once in 1978. When it was set up in 1988, for the third time, again, under the Prime Minister, it met just once in the same year. The highest-placed machinery or institutional mechanism set up for women's advancement has met only twice in these thirty years.

The 1988 meeting was privy to an interesting clarification provided by the Prime Minister, to the effect that the **Council was a purely advisory body**. This was in response to a question posed by one of the very few representatives of women's organizations who had found membership on the Council. **She wanted information on the powers and functioning of the Council.** The Prime Minister clarified that the recommendations of this purely advisory body, i.e., the Council, would be sent to the concerned Ministries and other agencies.

In the absence of a decisive role and functions, the utility of such Committees being chaired by the PM is questionable as its recommendations would again have to go through the bureaucratic maze before they are finally approved!

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) mandates that the National Council will oversee “the operationalisation of the Policy on a regular basis.” The rationale for the Prime Minister to preside over the meetings for such a purpose seems to be extremely weak, as given the multitudinous pre-occupations of the PM, it is most unlikely that he or she could spare the time for monitoring meetings even twice a year.

If at all a high level Council is to be set up, as an institutional mechanism for monitoring the outputs of policies and programmes, it should not be a monolith, acting singly, but should have smaller steering committees or to help the Council.

Learning from the Past – Positives

In fact, the first of such Councils was formed in 1976, when the apex body – the Council - took precisely such a decision in its only meeting in 1978. It was then agreed that a smaller Steering Committee would be formed in which there was an option to co-opt members and which was to meet three times a year. It was also given the freedom to constitute expert groups to look into specific issues relating to women's advancement.

The record of these Steering Committee meetings showed that the discussions were wide-ranging and in-depth, ranging from child-care to reservation of seats in legislatures and Parliaments.

Similarly, the idea of Chief Ministers presiding over State Councils for the purpose of overlooking the operationalisation of the NPEW 2001 at the state level also needs a second look. Chief Ministers are very busy persons and the time they can spare for such responsibilities would be very thin, which would defeat the very purpose for which the top-down institutional mechanisms are set up in the initial instance.

At a time when the women's question was still new and emerging, the strategy of using the office of the Chief Functionary (Prime Minister/Chief Minister) may perhaps be

justified as a useful strategy. It was appropriate for highlighting the commitment of the nation at the highest levels by enabling the presence of the PM and the CM's. Now, many decades have passed and women's issues have become familiar through public dialogue and perceptions, the media and the Courts.

The crucial challenge now is to ensure that the government machinery for women does not remain at national or centralized or policy-making levels only.

The test of the effectiveness of the institutional mechanisms is whether they provide access to largest numbers of women in villages and urban communities in terms of realisation of rights and entitlements.

One of the effects of centric mechanisms or of centralizing power is that directions and guidelines issued from national governance mechanisms, register a very weak impact by the time they progressively reach the State- and district-level structures, villages and urban shanties and slums. In case of initiatives taken by the States, the same divide separates the seat of power (capital of the state) from the more deprived and inaccessible village and poor urban communities. While success stories are not wanting in closing the gaps, these have been limited, confined to particular states and regions. In a country of India's size and complexity, the federal-state relations, as well as the pluralities of communities, cultures and ways of life, the limited success in closing the various gaps of this nature has not been evenly spread.

An important point made by a woman activist in one of the many meetings held in the

aftermath of the UN Conferences for Women, **was that while concepts of women's empowerment were familiar at the State and at the National levels, these are not internalized by the functionaries at the local levels.** Another activist from a 'backward' area of the country expressed her view that till the powerful State partnered with the powerless women, nothing would happen and to achieve this partnership one could even think of dismantling the machinery that existed at present. A connected comment was that women have now started asking the question *how do we (i.e, the women) work with the machinery rather than how does the machinery deliver.*

Women have also expressed their view (in their own idiom) that what they are comfortable with is a situation where lateral entry points are available to enable them to access information and programme benefits but they are not comfortable with hierarchically ordered structures.

III AN EARLY INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM IN INDIA -THE CENTRAL SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD (1953)

A home-grown model of an institutional mechanism for women's welfare emerged in India long before the UN Conferences were even conceived, due to a fortuitous combination of historical circumstances and personalities.

Against the backdrop of the Indian Constitution (1950), the Welfare State became the dominant paradigm in the country's planning exercises, accompanied by the direct entry of the State into the field of social welfare.

The First Five Year Plan expressed the need to develop special organizations at Central and State levels for promoting the welfare of women. Stalwarts of the time such as Asok Mehta and Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, besides Durgabai Deshmukh herself, were amongst those who called for *radical changes in the structure and functions of public administration; for re-orienting the administrators, and fostering intimate communication between the people and the Government.*

Durgabai even questioned the emphasis given to *stability* as an argument for *postponing changes* in time-honoured and time-worn procedures of administration. She saw this 'stability' as having produced many tensions. These tensions formed a major motif in her writings and speeches during her period in the Planning Commission and in the Central Social Welfare Board as the first Chairperson. Then, as now, those who championed the need for overhauling the system and made efforts (like Durgabai) were far and few in comparison to those who paid mere lip-service to the need for change.

The stalwarts at the time believed that the Government and the voluntary sector should form part of an equal partnership and that the latter were not to be viewed as subordinate partners. However, the nitty-gritty of altering the existing set up by making structural and procedural changes is a much more difficult and complex task, faced with which the State often finds it more convenient to make new institutional arrangements, which after some time, are in danger of relapsing into the older patterns and tend to take on the very same shapes and contours that were initially

endeavoured to be recast. This perhaps, is what happened in the case of the CSWB as well, after its hey-day period.

Though from a contemporary view point, the 'welfare approach' is taken to mean that the State treated women as *passive* beneficiaries or recipients of goods and services of marginal and ameliorative nature, who neither actively participated in their own progress nor had agency, a perusal of the official documents of the time reveals that the terms "welfare" and "development" actually co-existed within the same frame. *Welfare* was visualized in a much broader context in the fifties and sixties with reference not only to women but to the entire population and this comes out very clearly, in the first four plan documents.

This new thinking, along with a combination of other dynamics, saw the birth of the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953. It would be instructive to see –

- a) The ideation that lay behind the setting up of this Institutional Mechanism (i.e., the Central Social Welfare Board) in 1953 and its structure
- b) The methodology of its working in its early years, with particular reference to the tenure of its founder-Chairperson, Durgabai Deshmukh.

There is a caveat here as well. The discussion in this paper will refer to the Central Board (and not to the State Boards) as an example of Institutional Mechanism

The setting up of the CSWB in the early 1950's was hailed as a new experiment (today it can be termed as an 'institutional mechanism') in welfare administration. It marks the beginning of planned welfare services in the country.

An arresting fact is that the Board's birth (1953) *pre-dated the setting up of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Security* (1964). Another interesting fact was that the rules³ nowhere stipulated that the members of the CSWB would be 'women only'. The CSWB was mandated to consist "predominantly" of non-officials, "with actual experience" of promoting voluntary work. **The State was expected to devolve major administrative responsibilities to the Board besides funding it fully.**

The I Five Year Plan had enunciated that while some important problems relating to women are to be dealt with by law, **other needs of women** should be dealt with **at community level** by "community welfare agencies". This can be seen as a determined departure from the top-down trajectory that has been the customary hall mark of Government schemes and programmes.

The coming into being of the Board was a rare event in the annals of the government of the day *because it was not inspired by any existing organizational model, either in or outside India*. Unlike the rest of the systems within the Government, the Board was so structured that *the effective leadership rested with the women office-bearers who were its leaders*. The conventional hierarchy was

³ In 1958, (5 year after the Board was set up) a Study Team endorsed the practice of appointing only women members

upturned, with the Board occupying a space that was unique to itself – neither wholly Government, nor wholly non-government. It was birthed and funded by the Government, but lay outside its purview.

During the first decade of its existence, CSWB was a most influential and powerful agency, coordinating social welfare activities, drafting new programs according to priority needs of different client groups of women and children, promoting new social welfare organizations and providing financial aid (in the shape of grant-in-aid) to voluntary organizations.

Though created by the Government, it was never an integral part of the bureaucracy – it lay slightly outside ‘the steel frame’ of officialdom. But it had the legitimacy of an organ of the State (appointments to the Board were to be made by the Government) as well as “the energy, enthusiasm and initiative” (in Prime Minister Nehru’s words) of thousands of workers at the grass roots. It was the first of its kind and in a way it still remains so – **it has produced no clones**. Twelve thousand organizations spread across the country, earlier ‘manned’ by devoted social workers (mostly women!) but dependent mainly on charity and public donations for their work, were now linked with the State and with the State resources. It was a watershed in the history of social work and welfare in India, a transition which Durgabai describes, with feeling, in her memoirs⁴.

She once remarked that, when the Board was set up, “We had no precedents to draw upon. We had little factual data on which to

rely. We had only some experience and a lot of enthusiasm”.

IN PRIME MINISTER NEHRU’S WORDS,

“This attempt to encourage social welfare activities is rather unique. **It is not some Central authority that is doing it all by itself**, nor does the burden of this fall on the local social welfare organizations. It is a certain combination of the two, where the Central Social Welfare Board comes in as a helper and adviser and at the same time, the local welfare organizations, who are best suited for it, undertake the work”

The State also took on another new responsibility – that of encouraging and promoting the growth of voluntary organizations through the agency of the CSWB, in those areas of the country where few or none existed..

The creation of the model of the Welfare Extension Projects was another (and slightly different) part of the Board’s crucial strategy of decentralization. These were run not by voluntary organizations but by *designated project implementing committees*, [PIC’s as they were called] the members of which were well known social workers or members of women’s organizations at the local level. Durgabai’s ambition to create one Welfare Extension Project in each of the 300-odd districts in the country would have seen the emergence of a large number of middle level women leaders, who would have gained vast experience of voluntary work for women and children.

This institutional mechanism reveals Durgabai’s penchant for -

⁴ ‘Chintaman and I’

- a) Giving women social workers the maximum flexibility in running projects on a locale-specific base,
- b) Delivery of essential services to women and children through trained grass roots workers; and, most vital,
- c) Building local women's leadership, both individual and collective, thus developing human resources for women's development⁵

Since the responsibility of funding the CSWB was placed squarely on the Central Government, new procedures had to be laid down so that formalities could be streamlined for smooth functioning. Changing the existing set-up is always a difficult task

Yet, even during its heyday, the Board had to counter opposition and even enmity in some areas, mainly because of its unorthodox structure and functioning. In the run up to the Second Five Year Plan, a 2-part article published in the CSWB magazine *Social Welfare*, demanded the creation of a Ministry which it claimed, *would be the only agency that could prepare a Plan for Social Welfare* (thereby imputing that the Board was not competent to do so). The bottom line of the article was that it is the State which should administer social welfare and the role of voluntary effort vis-à-vis the State should be properly understood in this context. (In other words, the State should be the prime mover, the arrangement should be hierarchical) The article essentially questioned the positioning of the CSWB within Government space and interrogated the sufficiency of CSWB infrastructure.

IN DURGABAI'S WORDS -

"..... Personally, I would have preferred the present flexible arrangements, under which we function with virtual autonomy with full Government backing, working as a limb of the Government without being part of it. But the legal experts insist on a more closely defined form ..." [emphasis added]

In support of the CSWB, however, there were many voices which raised the need for balancing autonomy with accountability. The Planning Commission spoke against the Board being reduced to subordinate status. Perhaps, an Expert Committee set up by the Central Government in the 80's on this issue, touched the core when it observed

"In the final analysis the status of the Board will depend on the recognition given to it by the Government and on the degree of freedom and flexibility permitted to it in its day to day operation"

With the setting up of a Ministry for Social Welfare and Security in 1964, the independence and autonomy of the Board received a setback. The activities of the Board decreased in the areas of coordination and promotion of voluntary effort, while it remained focused on programs and priorities set by the Ministry. The structure of the Boards became more rigid and a process of marginalization set in, especially with the so-called new thrust on 'development', at the cost of 'welfare.'

But during its hey-day, the claims of the Central Social Welfare Board as an early proto-

⁵ Sarala Gopalan ESCAP paper 1979 and CWDS evaluation of CSWB 1988

type of an Institutional Mechanism for Women's Advancement cannot be forfeited that easily. Its story has many lessons for the present.

What form national machinery for women's equality should take in a country has been discussed and debated in great detail, especially after the International Women's Decade from 1976, succeeding the celebrations of the International Women's Year in 1975 at Mexico. The United Nations has addressed this subject continuously for the last over three decades and country reports on women's progress from member nations now have a chapter routinely devoted to this. *The need to pin accountability of the State towards women was the starting point of this search.* But with the growth of the women's movements all over the world and the birth of advocacy and action groups at grass root and intermediary levels, not to speak of the growth and development of women's studies, the United Nations has been changing its approach towards the configuration of the NM. Women's agency has taken hold as an interlocutor of the State. "Institutional Mechanisms for Women's Advancement" has taken the place of "National Machinery for Women's Advancement." From a centrist viewing of the National Machinery as rigidly fixed within the Government, the UN has now adopted a more open-ended and inclusive perspective

IV GROWTH AND EVOLUTION OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES FOR WOMEN IN KARNATAKA

As has already been brought out in the earlier sections Government departments, dealing exclusively with the subject of 'women'

came into existence only in the wake of the 4 UN Conferences (1975-1995). It could also be that separate administrative formations looked after different aspects of women's lives, even those subjects confined to the older priorities of social welfare. In Karnataka, the evolution of the process was similar.

In Karnataka, a separate Department named as the Probation and After-Care Services Department was created in 1957 for looking after the subject of social legislation. The work relating to the Social and Moral Hygiene and After-Care Programme and Welfare Services in Prisons was also entrusted to this new Department.

After the announcement of the International Women's Year in 1975, Karnataka Government converted the Department looking after After-Care Services into the entity named 'Department of Women and Child Welfare'.

Departmental re-adjustments, creation of new formations and institutional structures, re-naming, transfers or shifting of subject matter responsibilities amongst these formations and institutional structures from time to time goes on apace in all Government bureaucracies and Karnataka is no exception. The reasons may be vastly different for each of these shifts or for restructuring. What is important to the subject of this paper – i.e., women's status and empowerment – is the issue of availability of dedicated personnel in these institutional structures. A basic feature of all bureaucracies is that it is the 'generalist' who is more in evidence in terms of sheer numbers as well as their position in the hierarchies. Though increasingly, the number of 'technocrats' – i.e., the 'specialist'

category is now burgeoning, the position may be very different when we look at a subject such as 'women' in its entirety and in terms of the calls on emerging ideation, concepts and models such as empowerment.

Contemporary themes and subjects that are related to women require not only specialized knowledge and familiarity, but also, more importantly, sensitivity to what can be referred to (in the absence of a better word) as 'gender issues'. Since the constructs of 'gender' and/or 'women's empowerment' are of comparatively recent origin and usage in governance, the need for 'technical' expertise on these themes is of high priority. The word 'technical' itself may be a misnomer in this context because of its conventional connotation and its links with 'scientific' or 'technical disciplines'. Thus, a technocrat may be an engineer or an agricultural scientist, but to use this term for specialization in women's issues or women's empowerment may not be either suitable or relevant. This somewhat trivial example is being used here only to highlight some of the basic and fundamental problems that arise in the creation of effective 'institutional mechanisms for women's advancement' within a Government set-up.

The contents of the earlier paragraph has also to be seen with the (sometimes) confusing choices of terms which we use when dealing with women's issues in official language – some of them from an earlier era and others emerging from more recent feminist studies, research and theoretical formulations. Thus, in the 21st century, words such as 'welfare' [with

reference to women] are still used in Karnataka governance. Older concepts and terms such as 'social and moral hygiene' have, thankfully, become extinct

Information on the organizational structure ('institutional mechanisms') obtained from the official web-site does not give specific information on the academic and professional backgrounds of the senior as well as other staff. The designations of the officers and officials – both senior and junior – as provided on the web-site, are useful, but do not help much in assessing as to whether the institutional structures themselves have changed since the wake of the UN Conferences. Most important, details of the support staff are also not available. The distance between the identities of these institutional mechanisms and the community of women in Karnataka, especially those who are furthest from the seats of power, is still very wide, even though the world-wide web has wrought miracles in enabling better communication and knowledge.

An important component for gender-sensitizing institutional structures within the Government is training⁶ of senior as well as mid-level and junior personnel. The need for such training, the demand for it and, most of all, the availability of good resources in the form of trainers, training programmes and training material is paramount. More information needs to be available (and better publicized) *on the kinds of gender training that are carried out in Karnataka*; and information should be made readily available regarding the extent to which gender training has been prioritized by the

⁶ The word 'training' itself has come under dispute, especially amongst women's groups. Training is commonly referred to acquisition of knowledge and skills. Some women's groups prefer the epithet 'gender sensitization'

State Government. The dynamics of training changes continuously with new experiments, new knowledge and new models.

Gender training in Karnataka can be given a boost with the help of financial and human resources. To ensure budget availability, the Government of Karnataka should take a lead role. There is often a cynical attitude towards the activity of 'training' in general and 'gender training' and 'gender sensitization' in particular, amongst the Government personnel. It is essential to provide incentives by linking the importance of the 'training' issue with the possibility of greater chances of upward mobility in the government services in general and the IAS/IPS hierarchy in particular. Unless such incentives (or better incentives) are put into practice, the pace as well as the quality of gender training would remain at a low level. It is important to look at the methodologies of training as well – training is generally seen by government servants as a 'desk activity' where 'listening' to lectures is the common mode. However, the methodologies can also include field visits, face-to-face interactions with women at the cutting edge level, both men and women jointly working on gender issues⁷ and preparation of case studies as activities that would stimulate thinking processes as well as familiarize officials with the down-to-earth rural realities etc. As briefly mentioned in the earlier part of this paper, the collapsing of the words 'gender' and 'women' needs to be rectified – there is an obvious need to connect 'gender' with both men and women – and there is no better arena to start this exercise than the training class room.

V KMAY PROGRAMME – AN EARLY INNOVATION IN KARNATAKA

One of the earliest innovations in Karnataka Government programming for women in Karnataka was the Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane (KMAY) in 1996, in the wake of the International Women's Decade which witnessed new ideation relating to women's status and development, including the need for new State-sponsored development programmes for women. The Chief Minister's brief message on the occasion announced a new organizational precedent within government bureaucracy – namely, that the sectoral barriers behind which programming for women in Karnataka was hitherto being conceived, planned, funded and implemented, would now be broken. This signified an end to the hitherto limited subject-matter vision of Government programming for women. For the first time, women's economic roles were not only to be accepted in public policy, but also to be seen within a multi-sectoral perspective and an across-the-board reach of the concerned implementation machinery and its parameters within Karnataka State governance.

In the eyes of the State, women had not been primarily seen as economic actors. There were a number of reasons for this. Most, if not all the work that they were involved in, was not 'economic' activity because, mainly, it was not paid. There were women who worked on their own land or on other domestic assets, such as small animal husbandry, or home-based

⁷ As earlier stated, there is an unfortunate tendency to equate the word 'gender' with women. An FAO definition of the word describes it as 'the relations between men and women – both perceptual and material'. FAO also defines 'gender roles' as the 'social definition of women and men' FAO Corporate Document Repository

crafts but they were not seen as 'farmers' or 'craft persons' whereas their husbands were. Farmers were always seen as men. There were, of course, women who were engaged in waged labour, on other people's land and in the amorphous 'unorganized' sector where work was intermittent, wages low and security of tenure was totally missing. These women – who belonged to the poorest and most vulnerable sections of society, **and formed the bulk of women workers in the country,** were neither visible nor audible to planners; neither did they figure in any public policy document till "Shram Shakti" was published in the late 1980s.

It was the male who was seen as the breadwinner and therefore was responsible for the economic security and safety of the family. Economic programmes – including those of skill development – in productive sectors had almost completely focussed on males. Educated or professionally trained women for whom a job market existed in the organized sector and/or women who had skills which could be sold profitably in the market were exceptions to this general idea of the 'male' as a worker – but the numbers of these women were quite modest as compared to those who were invisible workers. (Even in many of the organized, professional sectors, women were seen as "supplementary" and not as "primary" earners).

It is no surprise therefore, that Government programmes that were seen as 'suitable' for women in earlier years **broadly** would fall into the 'welfare' category and not into the 'economic'

or 'technical' sectors. The 'welfare' philosophy inevitably associated women with home management, raising and nurturing of children. Or – in another relevant context – women's needs would be seen in terms of **protection** from varieties of social exploitation – homelessness, abandonment by family, or abusive professions such as prostitution etc. There would also be a few programmatic attempts to increase adult literacy amongst women as well as some efforts in admission of girl children into schools.

The Chief Minister's message to the public introduced a new paradigm – "women are to be found in all 'sectors'"⁸ - agriculture, animal husbandry, sericulture, fisheries, forestry, industry *et al.* He referred to women as **productive workers** and described their roles of being home makers and child nurturers **as additional** (therefore not as their 'primary') roles, breaking still another barrier created by earlier irrational beliefs, prejudiced opinions and concepts on women's primary roles as mothers.

Thus, the conceptual significance of the pronouncement of KMAI lay in the breaking of the gendered 'sectoral' barrier, behind which programmes, especially of 'skill-development,' i.e., stitching, embroidery, home-science and other domestic skills, had ruled the roost earlier and under which women had been traditionally relegated to a narrow and cramped environment of limited access to knowledge.

The new paradigm was accompanied by a practical and down-to-earth announcement

⁸ The word 'sector' is typically part of the bureaucratic vocabulary, derived from the way that departmental entities within a Government formation (State Government, Central Government, etc.) are formed according to subject matter differentiation.

that **one-third of the Government budget resources in all beneficiary-oriented schemes would now be earmarked for women.** In other words, women agriculturists, women sericulturists, fisherwomen *et al*, would now be recognized as eligible for programme grants from the concerned Departments of the Karnataka Government. They would also have access to all other benefits which would **come from these sectoral budgets** (e.g., opportunities for training in new skills, visits to technical and training institutions in the particular sector, etc.).

The **welfare sectoral budget** was no longer the only source of funding that was earmarked for the women of Karnataka. 30% of each of the sectoral budgets would now be allocated to women.

Another bureaucratic barrier was broken in the Government announcement of KMAY, in the form of a corollary to the Chief Minister's message –

“It is also important to emphasize that the economic and social development of women is not the exclusive domain or preserve of the Department of Women and Child Development. Women's needs are also cross-sectoral and a rigidly sectoral approach imposes restrictions that discourage flexibility”⁹

This poses a vital question ‘Who owns KMAY programme?’ Is it the Women and Child Development Department **or all other sectoral departments (named above?)** If it is the latter, how is coordination to be

carried out successfully? If it is the former, how does this generally under-funded, under-skilled, ‘non-technical’, ‘nodal’ department, loaded with its inherited ‘welfare’ gear, get into the act when dealing with essentials such as monitoring, feedback, evaluation, assessing and implementing the need for mid-term corrections etc. against a women's empowerment framework?

Another question could be raised at this point, as a counter to the question posed above, as to **why** the Department of Agriculture (to take a single example) would take an interest in improving women farmers' and women cultivators' technical proficiencies and abilities to increase their income, when their own ‘Rules of Business’ may not specifically include such a responsibility (‘women are equal but not similar’). The same question could be posed in respect of the other line departments named in the KMAY programme. The Government booklet on KMAY reinforces the importance of this issue when it says that **‘sometimes departments either see this earmarking of resources for women as a nuisance or as being irrelevant’**. So how is this barrier to be crossed?

Obviously Karnataka had still to go a long way before the sectoral entities other than social welfare or women and child development would accept women as their clientele on par with the males, along with the ‘equal but not similar’ paradigm referred to earlier.

More recent information from the net shows the following –

⁹ Introduction to ‘Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojana’ published by the Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation 1996, emphasis added.

- A K MAY cell was started in the Directorate of Women and Child Development in May 2003 to monitor intersectoral allocation of funds for women in the K MAY programme.
- During the year 2011-12, 25 departments have identified 254 schemes
- Out of the total outlay of Rs. 5748.97 crores, the 1/3 allocation for women comes to Rs. 2803.84 crores
- Out of these funds allocated for women, Rs. 1792.56 crores was spent up to December 2011.

This information does make the intersectoral dimension visible - through the strategy of effective earmarking of budget funds of the various departmental entities within Karnataka Government administration as well as through the issue of instructions to all departmental entities - but the implementation machinery and mechanisms seem to have remained as they were.

In effect, the K MAY programme was an early attempt (16 years ago) towards the building of new 'institutional mechanisms' for women's equality. Stronger in conceptualization than in spelling out the nitty-gritty of the administrative and implementation machinery, it can be seen as a forerunner of the State Governments' attempts at broadening the development canvas for women's participation.

The Country Report of the Government of India (1995) for the Beijing Conference had this to say about this process -

"There is a general appreciation that the innovations in **theories** have outpaced innovations in **management structures and mechanisms**. This mismatch becomes clear when the process at the planning level and the implementation at the field level are analyzed and it is observed that **institutional and individual habits** remain largely unaffected by the dynamics of policy refinement".

The word '*mainstreaming*' was popularized during the UN Decades (1975 to 1995) to illustrate the multi-layered processes of "how to put women on the development agenda, how to transform development planning and **delivery systems** so that development resources get into the hands of women." ¹⁰

Even when larger resources for women were being innovatively garnered and distributed through K MAY, there was still no clear articulation regarding institutional arrangements, institutional changes, management planning and sharing power with women's organizations. *Leaving the delivery mode out of consideration seems to have been a big gap in K MAY.*

There have been other examples where initiatives for broadening the profiles of women to enable their greater participation in economic and non-conventional social activities have been announced, but where such initiatives have not been accompanied with the creation of new mechanisms or with crucial changes in direction in existing structures and mechanisms.

At the cost of repetition, it needs to be re-emphasized that the most important criterion of

¹⁰ Quote from Director UNIFEM Sharon Capeling-Alakija from CPS Gender Mainstreaming Paper

institutional mechanisms for women's empowerment is very often forgotten – the 'directional' issue. Mechanisms that follow the time-worn **top-down direction** would not be suitable; instead, the direction has to be reversed. **Such a reversal of direction has to be enabled by those who are investing in the new programmes – i.e., the Governments – whether at State or Centre (including Banks and credit institutions or donor agencies).** There seems to be little evidence of this.

After nearly a decade of the announcement and start of KMAy the 2005 Human Development Report Karnataka 2005 observes the following –

“... KMAy ... has deteriorated into number-crunching in the absence of regular feedback about the quality of impact”

The gap or the missing element here is obviously that of a machinery or mechanism that would have regularly monitored and assessed the quality of impact from the standpoint or point of view of women's empowerment. However, it is essential for this machinery to have a framework for guiding the processes of the monitoring and assessment. Machineries or mechanisms, by themselves, without the scaffolding of a gender framework will not suffice.

VI THE STREE SHAKTI AND OTHER SHG PROGRAMMES IN KARNATAKA

The Human Development Report Karnataka (2005) describes Stree Shakti as the

State's 'flagship programme'. Launched in 2001 and based on thrift and credit principles, 1 lakh self-help groups were formed in villages as of March 2004 with the efforts of the Department of Women and Child Development, consisting predominantly of women from the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder¹¹.

The instrument of the self-help group has become a generic tool in many Karnataka Government programmes for women. Such programmes are being run by other entities besides the Department of Women and Child Development. The DWCD programme Stree Shakti, itself spreads across sectoral departments within the Karnataka administration, with each department being responsible for the formation of SHG's (through NGO's) and ensuring the shoring up of women members' savings and their access to credit.

SHGs of various departments

Sl No	Departments	Total No. of SHGs
1	SGSY (ZP)	104830
2	Women & Child Development	140000
3	SKDRDP	234305
4	Green Foundation	336
5	Myrada	7132
TOTAL		486603

There is a limited resemblance between KMAy and Stree Shakti to the extent that the multi-sector approach has been adopted in both programmes¹². But the resemblance stops there, since SHG programmes largely depend on finances from banks and other lending institutions to enable the women to borrow; so the accent on savings is very strong; and

¹¹ Chapter 8 page 188 HDR 2005

¹² Refer to the section on KMAy in this paper

most importantly, it is the basic strategy of SHG group formation. KMAY on the other hand, receives and subsists on budget allocations from each sectoral department of the Karnataka Government.

The identity of the nodal department may be another differentiation between the two programmes – the SHG programmes are not only being implemented but also supervised by many Departments, with DWCD in overall charge of provision of funds for training, improvement and development of human resources. KMAY on the other hand, was envisaged to be under the overall charge of DWCD when it was first announced, but sectoral departments were to give 30% of their budgets to women's programmes from their own budgets. This could be called a 'women's component programme' whereas Stree Shakti is in the category of a preponderantly women's programme. The institutional mechanisms and structures of the two programmes also vary from each other.

Approximately 90% of the SHG's in Karnataka consist only of women (hence its identification with women, and seen predominantly as a women's programme). Karnataka Human Development Report 2005 puts the total figure of SHG's under various departmental programmes at 1.95 lakhs, the majority of which are women's SHG's¹³. It would not be an exaggeration to describe this programme as a 'macro-venture' for women in Karnataka, keeping the large numbers in view, as well as the spread of the SHG-Bank lending

and the involvement of a large number of NGO's in the programme, who are instrumental in forming the SHG's.

The HDR Karnataka describes SHG's as the '*single most effective economic development programme for women*'¹⁴. The use of the words 'economic development' is significant, because the SHG programme actually has two objectives – reduction of poverty and the empowerment of women. Yet in most of the documents, it is the economic dimension that is highlighted – though, alongside, the social aspects are also mentioned (not in the reverse order). From a holistic view, it would not be justified therefore, to refer to Stree Shakti only as an economic or a savings-and-credit-cum- banking programme for improving the incomes of women. It is the other objective of Stree Shakti, i.e., women's empowerment, that has the objective and the potential to shape the women's SHG programme into a **social instrument**, motivating members of the SHG to step confidently into the public arena in their villages and settlements, to raise issues ranging from availability of basic amenities such as safe drinking water, good roads, electricity, health services etc., to the issues of violence against women and girls, child marriage etc. Needless to say, the SHG groups that consist of and run by, men do not have this combination of economic and 'empowerment' objectives.

It is this difference between the male and the female SHG's that can be used as a starting point for a discussion on the identity and the entity of the institutional structures and the

¹³ HDR Karnataka 2005 page 197

¹⁴ *ibid*

institutional (working) mechanisms of the SHG programme. The Government of Karnataka web-site states that –

“The aim of the programme is to empower women economically and socially by organizing them in self help groups”.¹⁵

This combination of what are seen as two widely different aims and objectives – women’s poverty reduction and their empowerment – requires more in-depth discussion vis-à-vis the structures and institutional mechanisms of the programme.

“Stree Shakti groups as also other SHGs have demonstrated their capacities to use women’s agency in tackling gender issues by protesting against arrack, gutka, child marriage and other social issues. The domain of the home however, remains an impregnable bastion and poor women who may acquire an ability to contest gender issues in the public domain may still be unable to take up issues of domestic violence. Studies have documented how sangha women from Mahila Samakhya ... sometimes endure violence because they participate in sangha activities”¹⁶ (emphasis added)

An essential differentiation, in this context, would be between the ‘social’ group activities of women SHG’s, that can range widely from women de-silting tanks to their involvement in child development and care¹⁷, being termed as ‘empowerment’ activities and the vital concept of ‘empowerment’ of women relating to women’s

status within the family and the community. This gender-based, but broader and deeper concept of women’s ‘empowerment’ includes a most vital component that is rarely highlighted in programmes such as SHG, i.e, *the improvement of gender relations in the domestic arena.*

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) calls on all State Governments to draw up time-bound Action Plans for translating the Policy into action. The Policy specifically calls for the setting up of -

“... Structures and mechanisms to ensure efficient monitoring, review and gender impact assessment of action points and policies”¹⁸.

Such “structures and mechanisms” are envisaged to monitor programmes and schemes from the point of view of the more comprehensive definition of empowerment, which are laid down in the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women as goals and objectives in Section 1.11 of the document –

No information seems to be available as to whether the State Government of Karnataka has set up such dedicated structures and mechanisms for enabling gender-sensitive monitoring and review or whether the implementing machinery itself has to take on the responsibility of monitoring and review of ‘empowerment’ outputs.

Either way, it seems vital to ensure that the assessment of programmes such as SHG’s (and

¹⁵ Government of Karnataka Department of Women and Child Development website maintained by DWCD

¹⁶ Karnataka HDR 2005 page 189 (Krishnamurthy and Dave 2000)

¹⁷ Prasad 2000

¹⁸ National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001 paragraph 10.1 iv

in fact, of all other programmes for women, especially those which were initiated in the wake of the UN Conferences, after the 'social welfare' era) are assessed and monitored with the use of suitable conceptual frameworks or other similar tools that are available and are specifically designed to deal with theories, constructs and models relating to women's empowerment.

The Human Development Report 2005 presents the following findings, based on a survey of 411 selected SHG's, –

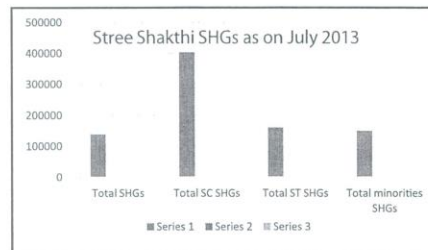
CHANGES IN FAMILY RELATIONS

"..... A third of the women noted that their spouses and/or other family members had altered habits such as smoking drinking and using tobacco Did women see any changes in their lives in the context of violence meted out to them by spouses and other family members? *Of the 4084 women canvassed, only a quarter chose to respond.* This ... is significant since domestic violence is not a subject many women like to acknowledge. Those who responded saw a more than 50 percent reduction in physical violence arising out of issues dowry, childlessness, no son, quarrels over property with the spouse and in-laws"¹⁹

REDUCTION OF WOMEN'S POVERTY THROUGH SHG PROGRAMMES

The foregoing paragraphs are not intended to belittle or denigrate the worth of the activities connected with savings, bank lending, learning technical skills etc. in which SHG women participate with a great deal of energy, strength and a sense of collective responsibility relating

largely to the dynamics of group action. Indeed, the entity of the women SHG group does have the potential to become a powerful force in the community and in the village. Group involvement of SHG women in such activities is linked with their rise in status within the larger community.



(See Annexure for details)

The training provided to the SHG members through the aegis of the Department of Women and Child Development, sensitizes them to gender issues such women's status, violence against women, social evils and practices affecting women and girls etc. This training is expected to help and motivate them to intervene wherever necessary, both in their own households as well as others in the village, in order to help women to establish their rights.

Economic improvements in women's lives take place through the tool of increased savings and access to micro-loans, followed by investments in economic and production activities, with the help of technical training and other ancillary services provided in the programme, most important being marketing skills.

The empowerment of women is expected to take place through new knowledge and training

¹⁹ Karnataka Human Development Report 2005 p.203 (emphasis added)

in gender and gender relations, increasing women's self-confidence, enabling them to mobilize jointly as local change agents so as to increase their status both in the household as well as in the village community

This combination of objectives, *one* 'economic' and *the other* 'social' makes the programme a most ambitious, challenging and difficult task.

A feminist-activist has this to say on the subject of viewing SHG's as a strategy for reaching both objectives – i.e., both women's empowerment and poverty reduction –

“One of the key concerns is the overloading of expectations from SHGs as a means to women's empowerment and poverty reduction. Women's subordination as well as poverty is both deep rooted and complex phenomena. Micro-credit provisioning through women's collectives in the form of SHGs can contribute to the process of addressing these inequities, but in our view, SHGs cannot be a substitute for poverty reduction strategies such as employment generation and the redistribution of resources in the interest of the poor. The challenges before the State in terms of meeting the need to invest sufficient resources and plan in an innovative manner to address women's subordination and poverty are immense. *Promotion of SHGs can only form part of the larger strategy of addressing these phenomena*”²⁰.

The question that arises in the Stree Shakti context is, are the structures, mechanisms,

inputs and all other contributory factors in position for this combination of two sets of ambitious objectives to be fulfilled? Are the organizational arrangements in place for enabling the achievement of both goals in tandem? This is the question that will be attempted to be studied and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Just as the loans to women through the SHG programme are given in joint names and not individually, the training in 'empowerment', the providing of new knowledge, the raising of awareness and of self-confidence amongst the women is also given on a group basis. In spite of the many advantages of women meeting in groups, sometimes, the 'personal' dimension is in danger of being dimmed. The basic question as to why women cannot be empowered to access credit on individual basis or at least graduate from group borrowing to individual borrowing through the programme is also not very clear.

A serious issue relating to equity in the SHG programme is that the demand for group homogeneity as a means of efficiency and smooth running of the self-help groups has an adverse fallout for the poorest women who are SHG members. This leads to the exclusion of members from Dalit, tribal and Muslim communities from SHGs by virtue of their inability to save²¹.

A sample survey carried out by the HDR Karnataka 2005 showed that while

²⁰ "Institutionalizing Gender, Engendering Institutions" Soma Kishore Parthasarathy August 2006 (emphasis added)

²¹ Soma Kishore Parthasarathy *ibid*

an amount of Rs. 114.25 lakhs was disbursed as loans, those who received the loans represented only 63% of the SHG members and of the members who received credit, only about 47% (i.e., less than half) were BPL. About 5 per cent found it difficult to get loans for various reasons such as not having repaid an earlier loan and because they sought frequent loans²².

The Human Development Report 2005 concludes -

“This raises a very crucial issue from the perspective of the effectiveness of these programmes as a poverty reduction strategy. These SHG’s have a BPL membership of 87 per cent, yet only 47 per cent of the loans were disbursed to BPL women, indicating that the most vulnerable women are not accessing credit. Since loans are given based on individual member’s savings it would seem BPL members could not leverage loans because they did not save enough. The absorption with repayment also means that SHG’s may exclude those likely to have difficulties in repaying loans, i.e., the poorest”²³.

Paucity or lack of schemes oriented to the needs of farming women has been pointed out as some of the negative fall outs, along with political interference in the selection of beneficiaries, lack of timely credit facilities,

and delay in the operation of development programmes²⁴. All of these could negatively impact the poorest members.

The stagnation in *women’s work participation* and the narrowing of their work and income opportunities in the poorer districts of Karnataka has been highlighted in the HDR Karnataka 2005²⁵. It would be useful to look at this finding vis-à-vis improvement in subsequent years (from 2005 onwards), in terms of broad criteria such as women’s work participation in order to have an idea whether there is a link between the outcomes of the Stree Shakti and the corresponding data on women’s work participation subsequent to 2005.

Using figures relating to numbers of loans taken by SHG women members along with the repayment rates, in order to assess economic improvements in poor women’s status, may not be sufficient to arrive at a pan-Karnataka finding on improvement in work participation, (especially relating to the poorer districts) though some findings may emerge. Macro-indicators based on comprehensive data are needed to gauge the spread of the benefits of credit programmes such as Stree Shakti, especially to the less endowed women.

It seems rational and logical to conclude that when assessing a macro-situation of female unemployment across the State from a poverty lens, and given the status of existing low work participation of women (especially in the poorer

²² Karnataka HDR 2005 page 201

²³ HDR Karnataka 2005 Chapter – page 201 (emphasis added)

²⁴ Sentil and Shekar 2004

²⁵ Chapter 8 page 186 of Karnataka Human Development Report 2005, where besides the Bank-SHG linkage, other efforts made through Centrally-sponsored as well as State programmes have been described, but not in terms of actual impact on a broad macro-issue such as ‘work participation’ rates

districts), it may not suffice to depend only on the specificities of one or the other Government programmes such as the Bank-SHG linkage etc. for arriving at dependable conclusions.

The pre-dominant medium through which the SHG formation takes place is that of the NGO's. NGO's are independent entities and their activities (and jurisdiction) are generally localized. There are questions of autonomy of the women members of the SHG, their sense of ownership of the SHG and whether the SHG itself is of **higher instrumental value** – or whether it is limited to a conduit for helping them in getting cheap loans. However, to the women members who belong to economically weak families, this programme has been a great help and this itself is of no small significance. The extent of the relief afforded to the women is however, an open question as the following quote would illustrate -

An evaluation of the Urban SHG programme for women (KUIDP) gave the following findings

“The debate on whether SHGs can be used as tools to lift the poor out of poverty is ongoing in India. Despite the concept being in existence over the last two decades, there has been no rigorous study which measures the pre- and the post- scenario of poor women who would be members of a well-functioning SHG. Generally the women who chose to be members of a SHG are from the BPL families. However, whether they have moved out of poverty or not has not been measured so far. Most people do not want to be taken out of the BPL list as they would

no longer benefit from many of the poverty alleviation programs of the government”²⁶

A big gap in the SHG programme is the lack of resources earmarked for institution-building. This does not mean just for ‘training’ or ‘skill training’ **but for institution-building of SHG's** and for sustaining them beyond the usual ‘schematic’, ‘project’ or ‘programme’ life. The type of enrichment that is required is more akin to transforming SHG's into institutional mechanisms for the empowerment of women. This is a venture that would be worth its cost.

Other flaws in the SHG programme pointed out by women-activist-researchers include the following –

- Overambitious targets with inadequate investment in supporting group processes,
- More emphasis on choice of new and comparatively unfamiliar trades with which the women in the SHG's are not able to compete because of the increasingly globalized markets, instead of skills with which they are familiar, with the result they become vulnerable piece-rate workers
- Choices of economic activities in the land-based and farming sector are not available, even when there is a demand from the women. Therefore the real problems of women who depend on farming and natural resources are not addressed through choices made by SHG's
- Lasting economic stability and security are still unreachable as far as the women are concerned

²⁶ ADB Evaluation Working Paper India: Promoting Urban Social Development through Self Help Groups in Karnataka – a report to the Operations Evaluation Department for the Project Performance Evaluation Report of Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project in India May 2007 (emphasis added)

- The exclusion of the poorest – in the name of homogeneity in the groups of women – a contradiction to the claims of poverty reduction

VII MAHILA SAMAKHYA PROGRAMME IN KARNATAKA – INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS

Srilatha Batliwala refers to the mechanism of the women's collective as follows

-“... the collective ... is able to provide the much needed leverage to negotiate the chasm between status quo and change.... The collective as a unit of social change is also an instrument that promotes women's visibility”²⁷

The dynamics between the UN agencies for women and the women's movements in India during, as well as in the aftermath of, the International Conferences have been briefly referred to in this paper. Grass roots women had their own 'take' on the elaborate and painstakingly drafted reports that emerged from these global meetings, and which were given the stamp of acceptance by the Indian State. The grass roots women's views emerged from and reflected the existential realities of those who were, 'at the bottom of the pile' – and for whom the day-to-day struggles for fulfilling basic needs as well as aspirations for bettering their conditions was a 24 by 24 preoccupation.

As the UN Conferences were coming to an end, women activists in India had started expressing their views about the 'machinery'. A women's comment that *unless the powerful State partnered with the powerless women*, speaking of national machineries and instituting them on ground would be of no use²⁸ has already been referred to earlier in this paper. It would not be an exaggeration to presume that women activists working at ground level had already understood way the institutional structures were working and to what extent they were lacking in what were the women's priorities.

Mahila Samakhya Karnataka (MSK) is a programme that was implemented from 1989 onwards²⁹. It is now being implemented in a number of States. It has a distinctive set of institutional structures and mechanisms, which evolved through processes of learning and experimentation during the last more than two decades.

The immediate impulse as well as ideation for the programme came from the National Policy on Education 1986, which stated the following –

“Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of woman. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women”³⁰.

²⁷ Batliwala Srilatha 'Status of Rural Women in Karnataka' Chapter 1 pages 44-45 published by the National Institute of Advanced Studies Bangalore (1998)

²⁸ See page 6 of this paper

²⁹ Karnataka was one of the two States in the country where the programme was first launched.

³⁰ National Education Policy (1986) Government of India

It is essential to underscore that the MSK – though initiated and launched by the Education Ministry of GOI and handled at the Karnataka level by the Education Department – is not an ‘education’ programme as generally understood in official Government vocabulary. The website of MSK has a list of 6 different areas of programming –

- Education
- Legal literacy
- Health and Health Education
- Economic independence
- Sangha self-reliance
- Political awareness

The website shows specific programmes that have been drawn up by MSK in each of these six areas, which are then implemented through the sanghas and the mahasanghas.

A central issue of MSK is its hierarchy – in commonplace Government vocabulary, the normal hierarchical order is upturned in MSK. A diagrammatic representation (in the form of oval shaped) shown in one of its publications³¹ explains the trajectory of power and authority. Located at the very bottom of the diagram is the oval shape representing the sangha, the next is the cluster level, followed by the taluka maha sangha and finally the zilla samiti. However, the arrows between these four institutional mechanisms shows a reverse trajectory – it is the sanghas, right at the bottom, who power the cluster level, which further powers the taluka and which finally, powers the zilla. The directional dynamics shown in this diagram upturns the usual hierarchies in Government institutional structures and mechanisms.

³¹ See page 3 of MSK publication ‘United We Stand – Women’s Federations Supported by Mahila Samakhya Karnataka’ (1988)

³² National Report on the First Joint Review Mission for Mahila Samakhya (2008) AideMemoire JRM08.pdf page 2

A second feature that marks out the MSK structures is the speed and versatility of its experience-feedback-innovation loop. When the programme began in 1989, the structure just above the sanghas was that of the Sakhi, who was a woman leader of a particular village. Now, wherever the sanghas have matured, the Sakhi has been replaced by a Sahayogini who is responsible for 20 villages.

Each MS programme, located in its own State (there are MS programmes now in 11 States of India)³² has the flexibility to devise and transform its own institutional structures at local level, with approvals from within its own decision-making structures.

A very important issue, perhaps the most important, that needs to be noticed in programme structuring in Mahila Samakhya is the wide range of “subjects” or “sectors” or “sectoral issues” (relating to women) that the MSK programme engages with, in a seamless web. These core areas include -

- Health
- Literacy
- Legal education
- Local governance
- Credit and savings and small enterprises
- Self-reliance and empowerment

The sangha women set up six committees under each of these themes and identified 2 sangha members for each of these committees.

Government planners need to realize that all these core areas are interconnected in

so far as women's lives are concerned *especially lives of illiterate, poor, rural women*. When it comes to the important issue of Karnataka State planning for women, these administrative formations cannot be seen as disconnected.

That women's health and women's literacy have interconnections is well known, but there are many other connections and interconnections amongst the core areas listed above, which may not be so obvious or written/spoken about. It is this absence of this interconnectedness issue in the basic mechanisms of Government planning apparatus and processes that leads to fragmentation of State-directed efforts to improve women's overall status.

Women, who are literate, are better equipped in accessing not only better health and health services, but also legal education. Literacy helps prospective EWR's by providing them better chances to stand for and win elections in the panchayats and to access the arena of local governance than they would if they were illiterate; literacy helps women to save better and invest their savings more wisely. Literacy helps women to fight their cases in Courts. Instead of treating these core areas separately, as is invariably done in the Government by each of the 'sectoral' departments, the MSK programme has created a new paradigm in bringing all threads (i.e., the so-called sectors) together by locating **women in the centre** of the hub of MSK activities.

Since the MSK programme as a whole is focussed on women, it could be safely said that

MSK has been able to successfully bridge the 'sectoral divide', which is one of the very basic building- bricks of Government machineries – bureaucracies, technocracies, departments, field offices, budgets, cadres, *et al.*

In the earlier part of this paper, the announcement in 1996, by the Chief Minister, of the new KMAY programme has been elaborated, including the arguments as to how this paper sees this new programme as having been an initial attempt to bridge the "sectoral divide"³³. However, this 1996 announcement and the accompanying allocation of one-third funds in each of the 7 sectors listed in the CM's message - suffered from major gaps in follow-up. A policy announcement such as this should have been followed up with the necessary enabling changes in structures and mechanisms (as well as directional changes in use of power). It did not. This gap remains till today. The sectoral divide in programming still exists across the Government of Karnataka machinery (as it does in the case of all other State Governments)³⁴. But in real life, women fall between these divides, because their genuine needs and problems (which are never divided into sectors and departments), are not taken into consideration in a convergence mode.

The MSK programme provides us with a significantly different paradigm. The sangha is the structure at the 'lowest' level but the power of the MSK programme flows from the sangha upwards unlike the conventional top-down direction of other government programme³⁵

³³ See Section V KMAY programme at pages 13-16

³⁴ The Government of Karnataka website <http://www.karnataka.gov.in/pages/departments.aspx> lists 37 departments of which 'Women and Child Development Department' is one. A quick run through the list makes the relevance of most (if not all) these departments to women overwhelmingly apparent. Yet, 'women' are boxed into one of these 37 departments.

³⁵ Also see the discussion on the diagrammatic structure of MSK on the preceding page

A question could be asked as to why the sangha – the ‘lowermost’ formation, is the most powerful in the MSK programmes.

“The mahila sangha is the nodal point of the Mahila Samakhya programme and all the activities are planned around the sangha. Sanghas vary in size; some have fifteen to twenty women members, while some have nearly a hundred. Some villages even have more than one sanghas”.³⁶

Why is the village level structure so powerful? The answer is as follows –

“The sangha is a place for women’s own time and space, providing them an opportunity to bond with other women, dialogue, share life experiences and learn from each other. *It is a process to seek information and knowledge and to question what is defined as ‘women’s traditional roles’.* The process has involved enabling women to make informed choices and to bring change in women’s perception about themselves. Women have learnt to counter discrimination, social exclusion and oppressive social practices. The process has charted a trajectory for women’s self-empowerment at a pace that takes into account their daily lives and their levels of consciousness. It has been an enriching process of democratization where women have identified problems and evolved strategies to resolve them through this initiative of women, by women and for women”.³⁷

Sanghas may be the basic building block of MSK, but as the mobilization of village women

increased, along with their capacities, “...the need was felt by them to converge across villages, across clusters and across talukas to create a common platform to amplify and unify their voices. They began to understand the strength of collective bargaining and negotiating”³⁸

This was the background against which newer entities such as cluster resource persons (CRP) [who manage twenty villages], the taluk-level sanghas, and then the Federations [at district levels] came up through processes of continuous evolving. The sanghas were federated “after they had reached a certain level of maturity and self sufficiency”³⁹ (there were no targets here!). A set of criteria was laid down for evaluating the maturity levels of sanghas, which ranged from ‘a clear gender perspective’ to addressing issues of violence against women, economic activities, issues of education, health, governance etc.

Thus, the dynamics of institution building in MSK invariably involved a process of evolution from the sanghas and their experiences. An important point to note here is that the entire scaffolding of structures or mechanisms in MSK did not come into being at a particular point of time (as is generally the case with most if not all, of State-run development programmes). Demands for particular services continued to surface across time in MSK. Some others were part of the MSK inception stage, where ideation had been worked out, but not immediately followed up or implemented, as time and space were needed before they could be put on the

³⁶ “United We Stand – Women’s Federations supported by Mahila Samakhya Karnataka” a Mahila Samakhya publication 2009 page 3

³⁷ *ibid* MSK publication 2009 pages 3-4

³⁸ *ibid* MSK publication 2009 page 7

³⁹ *ibid* MSK publication 2009 page 9

ground. MSK enabled this time and space for each set of mechanisms to evolve; changes were made according to different criteria, including feed back from field experiences and feedback.

An example is the Nari Adalats, the need for which evolved from discussions in the sanghas relating to physical abuse of women within the household. Rural, illiterate women have very poor access to mainstream judiciary systems. It was after nearly a decade of MSK functioning in Karnataka that the possibility of organizing Nari Adalats came to the notice of the sanghas, through an exposure trip to Gujarat, where they witnessed the working of this non-formal dispute mechanism. The first Nari Adalat was set up in 1999 in Gulbarga. But, crucially, the institution of the Legal Committee in MSK – which was set up much earlier – ensured that the human resources for running the Nari Adalat were at hand. The Legal Committee members of the sanghas had begun to resolve community-related issues, but had not been able to resolve family related matters⁴⁰.

Mahila Samakhya is a Government of India-designed programme, funded by the Government of India. An issue that can be raised at this point is - can a Government of India programme⁴¹ – such as MS – provide useful lessons in State programming for women in Karnataka at both State and local levels, on issues ranging from management *structures and mechanisms* to *convergence*? Another issue that can be raised here is, is there space within the Karnataka Government planning processes to review their own (state-run) programmes – two examples are KMAY and Stree Shakti – in the light of the lessons from MSK?

Perhaps, a collaborative human development effort in this direction by a group of training, research and other institutions of the Karnataka Government could succeed in holding up a mirror to the openings as well as the gaps in the extant structures and mechanisms for women's empowerment.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Women's issues have emerged centre-stage in the country, fuelled by many factors, of which this paper has highlighted one - the influence of the International Women's Decade and the global conferences from 1976-1995 on the Indian State. The conferences were invariably attended by high level Government and other dignitaries as well as by the representatives of the women's movements across the country. Representatives of women's movements from all parts of the world came together at these conferences to bond with each other, exchange experiences and discuss threadbare, the issues on their agenda. The agenda of these conferences was comprehensive and included every important issue relating to women. The outcome documents were extensive and detailed and the protocols for follow up were prescribed so as to ensure continuity.

Out of this very crowded agenda and outcome documents, this paper has dealt with a single issue – to what extent, the institutional structures and mechanisms needed to ensure women's equality are in position. What would be the most appropriate structures and mechanisms for India, to ensure that the implementation of policies and programmes is effective, while

⁴⁰ "Gateway to Justice" MSK publication 2009 page 3

⁴¹ It is a GOI programme, but the State Governments have a major role to play in enabling its effective working.

fulfilling the needs and aspirations of women, especially those at the lower rungs of the social and economic ladder?

In a country of India's size (in terms of both geography and demography) not to speak of its diversity of languages and cultures, the challenges facing the Governments to come closer to the people are immense. The federal polity of India dictates the need for at least two layers of governance – the Central and the State, [added to which is the third layer of local governments at the micro-levels]. These structures, added to the baggage of our colonial legacy, add up to formidable challenges when democratic principles of equal and egalitarian access to rights inscribed in the Constitution are to be realized in full by the citizens, especially by the women of the country.

The legal right to equality for women, on par with men, is now more than sixty years old. But on ground, the situation is far from ideal. The gap between *de jure* and *de facto* has still to be bridged. The legal proviso that – besides the right to equality – women are also entitled to benefits from 'special provisions' as part of their Constitutional entitlements has opened many doors in broad areas of planning for women's development.

A complete understanding of the dynamics of gender is still missing from Indian governance. The inherited baggage of a thousand patriarchies is still with us, which the special 'women only' provisions have not been able to dislodge. The genuine efforts of governments at all levels in formulating special programmes, component plans, earmarked budgets, new and newer laws for ensuring gender justice, reserving

seats in governance structures *et al* - have only scratched the surface of the problem.

One realization seems to be that the institutional mechanisms and structures cannot come from, nor be put together, 'outside' the world of women and their lives. Women's agency has to be totally recognized within these structures and mechanisms and embodied in their day-to-day working. Women's ownership of the institutional mechanisms and structures should be beyond questioning or alternatives.

The entities of governance – whether at Centre, State, or local – are mostly in the hands of men. The sensitization of men to 'gender' issues has been going on apace, but it is not a question of individuals, but of a system in its entirety. The false collapsing of 'gender' with 'women' is a marker of incomplete and illogical thinking, since the male 'gender' is also in need of training inputs relating to 'his' gender. A more comprehensive vision of 'gender' is sorely needed that would help women as well as men to face challenges in the workplace.

Prioritization needs to be given to women who belong to deprived communities or suffer from social prejudices is a crucial need – especially with the economic and social gaps between classes widening. Women are not a homogenous entity – this obvious home truth has still not been fully ingrained into programming activities relating to women in Karnataka. The equation of 'women' with 'gender' wrongly facilitates such a false equation. Higher precedence, with the help of 'special provisions' needs to be accorded to rural women belonging to the under-privileged groups in Karnataka, which should not be limited to 'poverty

alleviation' but also access to education and literacy, access to law and legal reliefs, health etc. Institutional mechanisms need to be based on female leadership emerging from amongst under-privileged groups of women.

There has been a long-standing articulation of the need to change the trajectory of governance in terms of its direction – to come closer to the people, (read 'women' in this context), to create people's organizations that would then 'demand' new services/better services or, more simply, *that they be heard*. While these have been mostly voiced by those who speak for the less fortunate, it is now not uncommon that deprived groups of women in Karnataka themselves proactively 'demand' and not only 'accept'. But this involves not only activism at the local level to enable demands to be voiced, but changes in the 'supply side' as well. This is perhaps the most challenging task, but also perhaps the most emergent need.

Two suggestions may not be out of place here – one is prioritization of education and training related to gender (not only 'women') across the State, not limited to members of bureaucracies and technocracies, but covering all schools and colleges and other educational institutions, including technical institutions.

The other suggestion is the drafting, by the Government of Karnataka, of a policy document on gender - again, not exclusively on women, but on the connections between 'gender', men and women, but with priority on the status

of women in Karnataka. There is a strategic need for such a policy to be framed within the State of Karnataka. Though there is a National Policy on the Empowerment of Women, it was formulated in 2001.

The specificities of the Karnataka State can be grasped only if the State has its own policy (many States in India have framed their own policies on women many years ago).

A policy document is of course, not a legal document, nor can citizens approach the Courts for relief by quoting the document. Yet, it stands for a pan-Government-of-Karnataka statement on women, which has the approval of the Cabinet and shows the contours of Government thinking on the subject of women and gender. Also, the process of framing a policy on women and gender has unexpected benefits – generally, the drafting is a long-drawn out process, in which many segments of society are involved, women activists, government officers, researchers, lawyers, educational and training institutions, Non-Government organizations, journalists, elected representatives and many others – which is itself an ideal opportunity to discuss, cogitate, argue, refine or fine-tune concepts and generally provides a forum for discussing gender issues on a broad scale. Institutions such as the ATI can provide useful services in such a 'first' attempt in Karnataka on policy formulation for women, as it has been involved in 'gender' training on women and has also reached out to organizations outside the Government that have expertise in training.

ANNEXURE I

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN ACROSS CATEGORIES IN STREE SHAKTHI SHGs

Total No. of SHGs as on July, 2013 is 140000

Categories	No. of Women
SC Women	404483
ST Women	161647
Minorities Women	150409
Other Women	1290753
Total	2007292

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFE GUARDS

Bhava Tharini

PART B

INTRODUCTION:

India, the second largest democratic country in the world, has declared herself as a "Sovereign, Socialist and Secular State". The nucleus of the concept is purely an emphasis on being a "welfare state"! The USA has focused on being a capitalistic democracy, while India has stressed importance on being a secular and socialistic democracy! The Republic of India brought out the written Constitution with input from many luminaries in the legal arena, many of them freedom fighters, too. The impact of the struggle for freedom, British atrocities, social discrimination by caste Hindus and whites on the natives all culminated in bringing out the perfect mechanism to protect the common man from present and future problems that might arise due to liberalisation! The vision of the writers of the Constitution and their contribution in achieving equality for all and at all levels were made by the formation of 3 organs of Government namely,

A) The Legislature, B) The Executive and C) The Judiciary. These 3 wings of the Government help in 1. Proper functioning of the

Government and all its agencies, 2. Providing relief measures for the common man to fight for rights and Justice, 3. Exercising duties and other solutions through the Constitution.

These 3 wings are independent and yet dependent, through the "Checks and Measures" methods, by the power of the Constitution. This helps in each wing to remain within its limits and if there is a reason/method to exercise in excess, then the other 2 wings are so empowered to check and also to clip its excess power. This is the best device to maintain democracy. In short if Legislature is to enact a law which is contra to the concept of the welfare state, then either the Executive or the Judiciary can intervene and prevent such a bill becoming a law or the Judiciary can declare the law as unlawful or even nullify the law! Our Constitution, one of the lengthiest written ones, has relief measures for all, beyond religion, young or old, rich or poor, illiterate or literate, common man or politician, and has bestowed "special privileges for women and children." Dr. Ambedkar's vision and contribution in protecting the down trodden, women and children, backward communities and tribes, need special appreciation and is

unmatched. As Indians, we need to cherish and abide by the Constitution for better peace and harmony among the people and move to a better tomorrow of prosperity and achievements.

POLICIES FOR SOCIAL, ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:

Indian society has grown in all dimensions, socially, economically and politically. Social values and concepts have added dimensions today. Education has become mandatory, albeit a state-administered subject. Education for the girl-child is a must and has reached the interior regions and the downtrodden. Even members of tribes are made to understand that educating a girl-child is a must and necessary. Awareness programs and the role of many NGOs have helped achieve this goal. The fact that female infanticide is illegal has been made known in areas where a girl-child was not welcomed previously. The most recent legislation is towards protecting elderly parents from being left in the lurch, without proper food, clothing and shelter and having no access to good health.

It is not easy to confine oneself to either social and economic as they are both supplementary and complementary to each other. All social benefits like the right to livelihood / work / and wages are in the economic side of a society but play a vital role in one's life.

Pundits and stalwarts of the Constitution included many legal luminaries who were also freedom fighters. Though the nucleus of the Constitution basically contains the wisdom of the Government of India Act of 1935, the need to amend the same by providing many other 'vital rights and reliefs to the common man of free India' was felt and, hence, incorporated.

Earlier, the citizens' rights to question the British Raj was absent. Therefore the rights to move the Judiciary and to knock on doors for legal help were curtailed. In areas of arrest and detention under the pretext of investigation and interrogation, the free, secular and socialist Indian now has a powerful weapon called a fundamental right and can lead a better life. These fundamental rights can be exercised and enforced, against any violation or denial, through the legal mechanism of the Supreme Court directly or through High Courts by various writs. If a person is found missing or found missing after being taken for investigation purposes, the writ of Habeas-Corpus' is the tool to get court's order to find the missing person and to produce him before the Court. This may look as an insignificant right, but the struggle for independence, when there were many 'absconding or missing persons' episodes, necessitated this right to be included as a fundamental right as the right to life is very important.

Civil laws such as the law of contracts, taxes, torts, property etc., and criminal laws such as the Indian Penal Code, the Evidence Act, the Domestic Violence Act -2005, etc., help India stay in tune with the 'welfare state'. Harmony among people irrespective of class, gender, education, age and social status can be achieved by having such laws. The Supreme Court acts as a watch-dog by providing legal remedies for the safety and security of individuals.

Let us now have a detailed study of laws that have helped to improve the status of women and children. While the right to life, livelihood, equal wages and so on are there for all, where women are concerned, some specific areas in

Personal Laws and Property laws have gone the extra mile to offer protection for women against unfair exploitation.

The changing society of today has seen more women coming forward to learn, work, travel and occupy seats of power. Other changes include those to the joint family system and the new phenomenon of paying guest (PG) accommodation for women in metro cities. This has affected the very foundation of the 'FAMILY SETUP' as we know it. This changing scenario has led to many amendments and some landmark Supreme Court judgements and, as a result, has become women friendly, for women have proved that they can be independent, or stand on their own legs. Better economic conditions have strengthened women as a tribe compared to women of the past who were economically and socially dependent on the joint family.

The right to work and livelihood has made a person especially a woman more independent. They have learned to migrate from villages and rural areas to urban areas in pursuit of jobs or higher scale of pay or promotions. Women have no bars on work, except in dangerous areas like mines which involves hard physical labour and strength. This is a result of "Special Privileges for women and children", in the constitution. We have women adorning the highest chairs in the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Executive. Even in the government agencies women are functioning as IAS, IPS, IFS AND IAAS personnel and have excelled. Women are working at all levels in private and public sectors, too. Wages/ salaries are the same for men and women. We have women as Engineers, Architects, Lawyers and Judges, Doctors and Nurses, Teachers, Scientists, Pilots and so on.

The right to life has a dimension in personal laws and subsequent amendments have paved the way for better life and living conditions for women who have undergone separation or divorce, or the loss of their spouse. Legislations in marriage has brought about great relief and protection for woman and children. To provide protection by establishing legal status, it is now mandatory to register marriages and births of children born. The gradual waning of the joint family system towards a nuclear family system is a new situation for women. The current personal laws have enabled women to improve their status with more financial stability and purchasing power which was greatly improved by the widow pension, alimony maintenance for separated or divorced persons, and the right to own property. The safety of a joint family system has been supplanted by a different scale of freedom with monetary benefits in tune with the changing social and political conditions.

Personal Laws: Personal laws help in bringing a man and women together to be legally wedded husband and wife and beget children within the legal framework. The Special Marriages Act help in the case of marriage between a man and a women of different religions. The law enforces the safety of the individuals and the institution of marriage and the subsequent follow up of the birth of a child / children. The main requirement is the registration of marriages and births to establish legality and paternity.

Personal laws have taken a new dimension recently, thanks to the western influence and fast changing social setup. Earlier, if either a wife or husband was to file for a 'divorce,' then usually the wife was thrown out or evicted, as

the couple couldn't 'live' under same roof while the divorce petition was pending. This was a huge hurdle for women and for the sheer place to stay, women usually put up with the atrocities and poor behaviour of their husbands and/or family. This was advantageous for the husband, in order to make his wife come to terms by the threat of throwing the wife out of the house.

However, in 2005, the Supreme Court ruled that the **“right to residence is a part and parcel of a wife’s right to maintenance.”** This ruling came as a lifesaving relief for women as invariably the wife will take the children with her when she leaves a marriage and to find a house with no or limited income was a different kind of emotional trauma!

The right to maintenance is a legal tool that has become purely a technicality as, unfortunately, the fact that maintenance is a moral responsibility is forgotten. Standing on the threshold of legal responsibility, when a divorce petition is filed, the husband promptly stops supporting his wife, sometimes even their children. The marriage vows of “in good times and in bad times, good health and sickness” are conveniently deleted from memory and practise. Recent times have seen women having more financial stability. They can earn an income and fend for themselves and their children. Earlier the law provided for a monthly maintenance of Rs. 500/per month v/s 125 of Cr. PC till the suit /divorce petition was disposed off or ordered to be continued. Later the court came forward with a hike of maintenance amount in tune with the income of the husband.

A battered wife or a victim of harassment can approach the **free legal aid board,**

either for legal advice or for filing cases before the court. This free legal service is available for all women irrespective of financial status.

The Domestic Violence Act of 2005, a boon for battered wives, determined what could constitute violence, and the extent of physical and / or mental torture faced by the wife inside the four walls of the matrimonial house which was punishable by law. This Act ensures security and dignity for wives and serves as a warning to husbands and their relatives. This Act has clearly specified the procedures in detail, including the process of filing complaints with the police, and following up by the police and so on.

Dowry was an evil which has continued to plague society, and an Act was framed wherein asking / or / and giving dowry was made illegal. Any type of demand for dowry can be complained against and Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code – i.e., cruelty by husband or relatives of husband was added in 1983, Chapter XX and Sections 493 to 498 deal with offences relating to Marriage. Chapter XXI and Sections 499 to 502 of the IPC deal with Defamation, which a woman can use if the need arises whenever her character is assassinated.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860, consists of 23 chapters, comprising 511 sections. Though the sections apply to the general populace, there are some specific sections which give relief exclusively for women and girls. Chapter XVI and sections 299 to section 377 relate to “affecting human body – (1) murder and culpable homicide, (2) causing of miscarriage, injuries to unborn children, of the exposure to infants and the concealment of births (S312 to 318) (3) of hurt (S 319 to 338) (4) wrongful

restraint and wrongful confinement (S339 to 348) (5) criminal force and assault (S 349-358) (6) kidnapping and abduction – slavery, forced labour (S 359-374 (7) sexual offences including rape (S 375 to 376).

Only having just laws defining crimes and offences is not enough. The implementation of the laws is important and that is where the use of the Evidence Act 1872 and criminal procedure code come into force. The Evidence Act introduced a standard set of laws applicable to all Indians. It consists of 3 parts –

Part I deals with the relevancy of facts

Part II consists of 3 chapters (chapter 3 deals with facts which need not be proved, chapter 4 deals with oral evidence, chapter 5 deals with documents and chapter 6 deals with circumstances where documents has been given preference over oral evidence).

Part III, consisting of chapters 7 to 11, deal with the burden of proof, estoppel, witnesses, the examination of witnesses and the improper admission and rejection of evidence.

The Criminal Procedure Code refers to the adjudication process of criminal law. While criminal procedure differs dramatically by Jurisdiction, the process generally begins with a formal criminal charge and results in conviction/ acquittal of the defendant. A special focus on certain sections is needed as they benefit women in distress. Sections 53 and 53A deals with examination of the accused by medical practitioner at the request of police officer and the examination of a person accused of rape by medical practitioner. Section 98 deals with the power to compel restoration of abducted

females. Section 125 deals with the order of maintenance of wives, children and parents, while Section 126 deals with the procedure and Section 128 with the enforcement of 'Order of Maintenance'. Section 164 deals with 'recording of confessions and statements' and Section 164A is the 'medical examination of the victim of rape'. These two are very important for women and used in extreme cases of bride burning incidents and victims of rape. Cr. PC further provides relief through Section 198 which deals with the prosecution of offence against marriage, 198A which deals with the prosecution of offences under section 498A of IPC and Section 199 which deals with the prosecution for defamation, Section 416 which deals with the postponement of capital sentence on pregnant women.

The right to health is another right which enhances the life of women, as they can have access to health, good food, medication and treatment in all medical centres, hospitals and nursing homes and are also entitled for medical insurance. Health and medicine in recent years have been contributing towards longevity and better living conditions. Healthcare in other areas include counselling centres and post trauma care centre for victims of rape, prostitution, child sex abuse and domestic violence. These centres are inadequate and needed more in rural areas but they help victims to recover and lead a normal life by helping them cope with the hurt and social stigma. They are again lured into the flesh trade for want of proper rehabilitation measures and means to livelihood and wages. Good food and sufficient food is the fundamental right of every girl child. The social setup especially in villages is to feed the male child at the cost of the female

child. The scenario in rural areas is that a girl-child is deemed as a curse, while a male child is cherished and welcomed and looked after extremely well. The first girl child is accepted, but the second girl child is unwanted and is denied sufficient food and other resources needed for healthy development. In such a family setup the unwanted/neglected girl-children are often either sold, or married off to rich groom as second and third wives or married off to the so called groom who sells her into flesh trade. The prevention of child labour is also a boon but again an area of gross negligence and misuse.

In all development areas policies have been drafted and implemented with the concept of 'welfare state' in mind and with a focus on women, as women constitute half the population. In order to maintain a balance in the sex ratio, laws have been made to prevent female infanticide and marriages of minor girls. Making bigamy as punishable is also a tool to protect innocent girls and women. Poverty and lack of education have made girls and rural women succumb to the pressure and lure of the flesh trade. Recent laws, (Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act (PITA) for example) have proved to have some teeth in protecting victims but more awareness among the many agencies involved and a strong policing and society is needed! The enactment of PITA, by itself, has not helped in preventing this social atrocity; the act needs effective implementation and monitoring. Supporting agencies like the police and NGOs should come forward to educate the public and ensuring speedy trials by the judiciary is necessary. For the investigation process to be made simple and less traumatic for the victims the onus of proof should lie on the accused.

The media also needs to be educated to not highlighting the name or face or the family background of the victim, rather it should take responsibility by focusing the perpetrators.

The Right to property has helped women in (a) being able to buy /lease/sell a property, and (b) being able to inherit the matrimonial home, paternal home, or ancestral property. This involves the compulsory registering of births, marriages, deaths and obtaining legal heir certificates in establishing the legal status of a person.

The political arena has been greatly influenced by women, mainly through the **right to exercise franchise**. This right is another landmark clause in our Constitution, unlike some western countries, where till recently, women were denied this right. This right proves that women can think and act independently. The freedom to choose a candidate in the election is a boon for many in the urban society though in rural areas women are still either influenced or powered by the men in their lives. The political right of women includes the right to exercise her franchise, to contest, to participate in election campaigns and to occupy the chairs of power. A woman can also be nominated to the house of parliament. History has shown women occupying the highest ranks – President of India, P.M., C.M., M.P. M.L.A., Counsellors, ward chair persons and Panchayat leaders.

India has ratified CEDAW but this fact is not well-known. The need to exercise these laws by appropriate government bodies is the need of the hour. The recent opening up of "all women police stations" and not arresting the women in the night is another landmark in our legal system. In fact police cannot take women

for investigation or interrogation during the night. This is aimed to safeguard women and their dignity.

The need of the hour is not just laws, **BUT proper implementation of them!** This can be achieved only by educating people through awareness programs conducted periodically at all levels which target both men and women, officials and elites. Proper policing, no intervention by the ministerial people or agencies while enforcement proceedings are on should be observed and maintained by strict officers' in-charge, and timely intervention by legal measures and relief through the Judiciary. The attitude of the society in understanding the victim and to help her cope up with the past and present is required for a better life, harmony among the genders and in all for a better society!

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW Convention on Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women

CM	Chief Minister
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
IPC	Indian Penal Code
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
PG	Paying Guest

PITA	Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act
PM	Prime Minister
ATI	Administrative Training Institute
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CM	Chief Minister
CRPs	Cluster Resource Persons
CSWB	Central Social Welfare Board
DWCD	Department of Women and Child Development
GoI	Government of India
HDR	Human Development Report
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IPS	Indian Police Service
KHDR	Karnataka Human Development Report
KMAY	Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojana
MSK	Mahila Samakhya Karnataka
MS	Mahila Samakhya
NGOs	Non-Governmental organisations
NPEW	National Policy for Empowerment of Women
PM	Prime Minister
SHG	Self Help Group
UN	United Nations
WCD	Women and Child Development

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2. In 1958, (5 year after the Board was set up) a Study Team endorsed the practice of appointing only women members
3. 'Chintaman and I'
4. Sarala Gopalan ESCAP paper 1979 and CWDS evaluation of CSWB 1988
5. The word 'training' itself has come under dispute, especially amongst women's groups. Training is commonly referred to acquisition of knowledge and skills. Some women's groups prefer the epithet 'gender sensitization'
6. As earlier stated, there is an unfortunate tendency to equate the word 'gender' with women. An FAO definition of the word describes it as 'the relations between men and women – both perceptual and material'. FAO also defines 'gender roles' as the 'social definition of women and men' *FAO Corporate Document Repository*
7. The word 'sector' is typically part of the bureaucratic vocabulary, derived from the way that departmental entities within a Government formation (State Government, Central Government, etc.) are formed according to subject matter differentiation.
8. Introduction to 'Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojana' published by the Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation 1996, emphasis added.
9. Chapter 8 page 188 HDR 2005
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16. Institutionalizing Gender, Engendering Institutions" Soma Kishore Parthasarathy August 2006 (emphasis added)
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19. ADB Evaluation Working Paper India: Promoting Urban Social Development through Self Help Groups in Karnataka – a report to the Operations Evaluation Department for the Project Performance Evaluation Report of Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project in India May 2007 (emphasis added)
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21. Karnataka was one of the two States in the country where the programme was first launched.
22. National Education Policy (1986) Government of India
23. See page 3 of MSK publication 'United We Stand – Women's Federations Supported by Mahila Samakhya Karnataka' (1988)
24. National Report on the First Joint Review Mission for Mahila Samakhya (2008) AideMemoire JRM08.pdf page 2
25. See Section V KMAY programme at pages 13-16
26. The Government of Karnataka website <http://www.karnataka.gov.in/pages/departments.aspx> lists 37 departments of which 'Women and Child Development Department' is one. A quick run through the list makes the relevance of

- most (if not all) these departments to women overwhelmingly apparent. Yet, 'women' are boxed into one of these 37 departments.
27. Mahila Samakhya Karnataka, 'United We Stand – Women's Federations supported by Mahila Samakhya Karnataka', Mahila samakhya publication, 2009, pages 3-4, 7 and 9
 28. Mahila Samakhya Karnataka, 'Gateway to Justice', MSK publication, 2009, pg 3
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Governments have a major role to play in enabling its effective working.

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CHAPTER XI

ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Sudhamani N. and Aasha Ramesh

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with an introduction and concepts of civil society and its origin in India. The chapter is divided into eight sections.

Section two deals with the history of the women's movement and formation of women's organisations in India and the role played in advocating laws and policies.

Section three brings out the role of civil society organizations especially the women's organizations, engagement and collaboration with the government to highlight women's issues and to advocate necessary policies and programmes.

Section four deals with the present role of the media and the way in which women are being portrayed, forgetting their social commitment by only meeting the needs of the market. The section also deals with the media's role in promoting women's concerns.

Section five covers the women study centres and women's university in Karnataka. It portrays the emergence of women study centres

and the state government's commitment to start a university for women following the recommendation of the Task force on women empowerment report. This section describes the part played by these centres in enhancing the status of women.

Section six deals with the discussions held with civil society organizations and their role in addressing the issues pertaining to women in particular and other related issues of society. This section also highlights the negating effects of the RTI Act when used by civil society organisations.

Section seven portrays the situation of women in prisons in general and their helplessness.

Section eight deals with the conclusion to this chapter by highlighting the role of some civil society organisations in sheltering vulnerable women who are the victims of violence, as well as the role of the women's movement in formulating women-friendly laws. The section ends with a note on the ways forward.

BACKGROUND

The notion of civil society originated in the 18th century and, at this point in time, it developed in association with a particular class – the bourgeoisie and its characteristic activity.

Tocqueville too conceptualised civil society as the 'theatre of private interest and economic activity', but he distinguished it from political society in which he included activities undertaken by political parties, local self-government, religious groups, moral crusades, literary and scientific societies, the press, professional and commercial organisations, clubs and associations for recreation, etc. Tocqueville's political society as civil society is thus taken into consideration in the contemporary developments.

Gramsci interpreted political society as the arena of coercion and domination, and civil society as that of consent and direction. The incorporation of civil society into the state, however, robs the latter of its legal autonomy and the former of its real purpose, namely functioning as a 'countervailing power' to the state as and when required.

John Keane's perspective states: "Without a secure and independent civil society of autonomous public spheres, goals such as freedom and equality, participatory planning and community decision-making will be nothing but empty slogans. But without the protective, redistributive and conflict-mediating functions of the state, struggles to transform civil society will become ghettoised, divided and stagnant, or will spawn their own new forms of inequality and non-freedom".

Prof T. K. Oommen says that the State encapsulates parliamentary institutions, courts, government bureaucracies and defence forces. The market refers to the arena of production, exchange and consumption of goods and services. Civil society consists of political parties, voluntary associations, the media and the wide variety of non-government organisations. Each of these entities – state, market and civil society operates in reciprocity while retaining its autonomy.

In India, civil society finds its roots in Gandhian thought, leftist political ideology and Ambedkar's philosophy. Civil society follows the freedom struggle to draw mass mobilisation and political agitation for its struggles. Civil society's engagement with the state is based on Gandhian means of civil disobedience such as mass rallies, protest, marches and petitions.

Civil society provides a crucial space for multiple-interest groups to represent particularly the marginalized, and, through its activism plays an important role in strengthening the accountability of the state. The post-colonial state after independence was entrusted with the primary responsibility of institutionalising democracy and catalysing the socio-economic transformation of the country.

The role of civil society remained unchallenged through the first two decades of Independence as they worked in tandem with the State with a few exceptions. By the 1970s, it became clear that the state had failed in its promise to democratise society and secure the socio-economic rights of the marginalised. It worsened with the imposition of emergency in

1975, which temporarily suspended democracy and fundamental rights in India. It is in this context that civil society emerged as an alternative space for mobilisation and activism that challenged the hegemony of the State and pushed it to be more responsive.

Civil society has emerged as a central space for collective mobilisation since the late 1970s. Some of the prominent ones are the environment movement, the movement for land rights, women's movement, the movement for dalit rights and the movement against displacement of people. The rallying point of these movements was on inequitable power relations and securing the rights of people who were historically exploited. Of late, these are providing services to the poor and marginalised such as micro-credit, education, drinking water and sanitation etc., with a focus on social policy issues such as health, education, work and food, based on the provisions of the fundamental rights provided by the Indian Constitution.

HISTORY OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND ORGANISATIONS IN INDIA

The Indian women's movement dates back to the early 19th century when social reformers, beginning with Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), began to focus on issues concerning women. Roy condemned sati, kulin polygamy and spoke in favour of women's property rights. He held the condition of Indian women as one of the factors responsible for the degraded state of Indian society. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar is remembered for his widow remarriage campaign. Following these radical reformers for improving the condition of women thus became the first tenet of the Indian social reform movement. Women's inferior status, enforced

seclusion, early marriage, condition of widows and lack of education were facts documented by reformers throughout the country.

The first women's organisation was formed by men belonging to socio-religious reform associations. These organisations did valuable work in educating women and giving them first-hand experience with public work but they regarded home as the primary focus for women.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS STARTED BY WOMEN

Towards the end of the 19th century a few women from reformed families formed organisations of their own. The first to do so was Swarnakumari Devi, a Brahma leader's daughter and sister of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. She started the Ladies Society in Calcutta in 1882 for educating and imparting skills to widows and other poor women to make them economically self-reliant.

Bharat Mahila Parishad, the women's wing of the Indian National Congress was started in 1905 and it focused on child marriage, condition of widows, dowry and other evil customs. Women in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other smaller cities formed associations by drawing their members from among urban educated families. Similarly, women from Parsi, Muslim and Sikh communities formed their own women's organisations. This provided an opportunity for women to come out of their homes to do philanthropic work and to address public issues as well as to manage organisations.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The first wave of feminism is said to be the women's movement of pre-independent India,

where women blamed tradition and religion for their suffering and sought redress in education and legal change as they were oppressed on the basis of sex. They demanded representation in public life as they were different from men biologically, psychologically and spiritually. They argued that women could bring a special knowledge of household and family matters to forums where public policy was debated and formulated. This ideology matched very well with Gandhi's views on bringing women into the freedom movement.

The Nationalist movement brought into public life both elite women from well to do educated classes, as well as poor, illiterate, rural and urban women.

During the post-Independent period most of the demands of the women's movement were fulfilled, such as universal adult franchise and fairly liberal laws pertaining to women. Hence the focus of women's organizations shifted to effective implementation and there was thus a certain dullness in the women's movement thereafter. Women joined the struggles of the rural poor and industrial working class such as the Tebhaga movement in Bengal, the Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh, the tribal landless labourers' movement in Maharashtra and other reformist movements like those pertaining to anti-alcohol agitations etc.

Ela Bhat in 1972 initiated the formation of a women's trade union called Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) to improve the condition of poor women working in the unorganised sector by giving training, technical inputs and collective bargaining.

The anti-price rise agitation by Mrinal Gore and Ahalya Rangnekar became a mass movement for consumer protection and the Chipko movement in North India (former UP now Uttarakhand) sought protection for the environment.

Towards Equality, the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in 1974 revealed that the *de jure* equality granted by the Indian Constitution had not been translated into reality and large masses of women had remained unaffected by the rights granted to them for more than 25 years. The United Nations declaration of 1975 as the International Year of Women triggered a new women's movement having expression both in activism and academia. Large numbers of women's groups sprang up during the 1970s and 1980s to address the issues of dowry deaths, bride burning, rape, sati and focused on violence against women. They were different from the previous groups as they questioned the sexual oppression and patriarchal assumptions underlying women's role in the family and society.

The first campaign taken up by autonomous women's groups was the struggle against rape in 1980, which was triggered by a Supreme Court judgement where two policemen were acquitted for raping a minor tribal girl even after the High Court had indicted them. Several other rape cases became part of this campaign across the country, and after many years of protest, the Government agreed to change the rape law. The amended law was enacted in 1983. The movement, thereafter, focused on dowry and the violence inflicted on women in the marital

home. Anti-dowry campaigns attempted to bring social pressure to bear on offenders in order to isolate them in the community in which they lived. The campaign's experience led to the setting up of legal aid and counselling centres in different parts of the country and also in getting the dowry law changed.

Several campaigns in the 1980s relating to women's rights were held (Shah Bano case, Roop Kanwar) but it became clear that changing laws alone meant little unless there was a will to implement these. There was a need to educate and make women literate so that they were aware of their rights and exercised them effectively. This led the women's movement to take up programmes of legal literacy and education, gender sensitisation of textbooks and media, the establishment of women's studies across disciplines, and setting up women's universities and study centres.

Women's organisations were not only involved in leading campaigns but were actively involved in running shelter homes for battered wives and women victims of violence with the need to provide counselling and legal aid.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN KARNATAKA

Voluntarism in Karnataka can be dated back to Sri Basaveswara's time, a great social reformer who, at the age of 16, was against untouchability and the rigid rituals that widows were forced to follow. He promoted, with vigour, equal rights for women and a casteless society (KHDR, 2005 – Voluntarism and NGOs).

The directory of voluntary organisations in Karnataka, 2000 brought out by Bangalore Cares, shows that there are about 530 NGOs

working in the state. The majority of them are engaged in developmental issues followed by social service and health issues.

Women's organisations in Karnataka mainly focus on issues related to violence and advocate economic empowerment of women by forming self-help groups. The majority of the organisations working on economic empowerment are concentrated in rural areas, whereas those who address the issues of violence against women are in cities and towns. They are not able to cater to the needs of a vast majority of women due to limited resources and personnel.

Discussions with civil society members brought out a list of issues to be addressed by the Government as civil society is able to address only a minute portion of the sufferings of the marginalised population. Some well-known women's organisations are engaged in rendering gender training to law enforcement agencies and they found that a onetime training was not enough to bring about attitudinal changes. They found that victims of violence were not empathised with and treated properly by the personnel at the police stations. Though women police stations have been established in some districts and women personnel are appointed and placed in most police stations, they are found to be more insensitive to women's issues. Gender sensitisation on a continuous basis for both men and women officials can bring about some attitudinal change which could have a positive impact in addressing the issue of women facing violence.

Women's organisations have started to network and form coalitions at the national

level to see that the Domestic Violence Act is implemented properly. They are also looking at the laws which are in favour of women such as 498A and sexual harassment guidelines. Attempts are also being made to ensure that the country has gender neutral laws. Civil society members pointed out that the media do not get fully engaged with women's issues and often misrepresent the issues. They do not respond to the call given by civil society to look into women's concerns. There is a need to sensitise the media to engage with civil society and research institutes.

Accessing the government programmes meant for women is often found to be difficult to get sanctioned with providing commission was brought to notice by some of the civil society organisations.

The Right to Information Act, 2005 gives the citizens the power to access various data of the government and it is being utilised by civil society groups to find out about the status of various policies and programmes implemented in the state. However, it is found that most officials do not actually know the procedures to be followed under it. It is found that most of the time the members of civil society have to educate them to get the information required. There is no website created for RTI and no *suo moto* declaration available. It is observed that a huge number of cases is pending, and public information officers provide incomplete or incorrect information and are not willing to provide additional information. It is seen that very few words is to be used in the RTI application, thus preventing citizens from asking for more information, and there is also pressure to dilute the Act from the authorities.

There are threats to the lives of RTI activists especially those who demand information on government mega projects such as infrastructure development etc., which involve huge funding.

ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Religious tradition, as well as some features inherent in the social structure, has perpetuated certain stereotypes and myths about women, though the virtues and merits at times have been praised. The principal role assigned to women is essentially as a subordinate to man. The social norms, values and attitudes have deeply entrenched in the stereotypes of women. To eradicate them would need determined and purposive effort. Education and the mass media of communication become important in bringing about attitudinal changes.

Studies have revealed that mass media communication has made and can make a great impact on social change as the present society relies increasingly on mass media for spreading messages.

The media, being market oriented, are focussed on profit making. Due to the impact of globalisation, privatisation and liberalization, the media, too, are bound by the laws that govern market growth alone. The needs of the market are not always for the good of the common people living in difficult economic circumstances.

Discussions with civil society members brought to light the fact that the media often misinterpret the issues of women. When the media are in need of sensational news, they pursue civil society groups, whereas when civil society approaches them to cover serious issues

pertaining to women, not much importance is given to them.

The present tendency of advertising agencies to over-emphasise the (physical) female form is on the increase. There is a need to have a code of conduct for the media with high professional standards to ensure the maintenance of high standards of public taste and foster a due sense of both the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTING WOMEN'S CONCERNS

Civil society organizations, on the whole, were emphatic that there existed a laxity in engaging with women's issues. Moreover, the media tended to often misrepresent women related issues. In a case like that of street vendors where the majority of the vendors are women, the media would rather highlight the concerns of 'men vendors' within this sector rather than be sensitive to the fact that it is women vendors who face the brunt of all the injustice that is meted out to the vending community.

The vernacular differences in the media have difficulty in relating to the marginalised strata of society. Thus the India '*not so shining*' is not anywhere in the news or 'is there' for all the wrong reasons.

It is seen for instance that even in cases of sexual harassment of women at the workplace, the case is often sensationalized and the actual facts of the case get submerged under extraneous news scoops. Thus, indirectly, the media often throw up stories that tend to both victimize the women in the story and also promote the male dominated opinion that it is 'women who ask for trouble' to begin with.

Women's NGOs felt that it would not be totally wrong to state that the media is responsible to a large extent in the 'commodification of the physical form of women'. Needless to say, there is an understanding that all this is subject to market forces and the fact that products have to be sold come what may.

WOMEN STUDIES CENTERS AND WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY

The emergence of Women's Studies as defined by Desai and others as a distinct field of study is a relatively recent development in the history of higher education in India. Women's Studies were sought to centre women in order to understand the reasons underlying their unequal status in society so that the conditions of inequality could be challenged.

Women's Studies emerged in the academic context during the late 70s and 80s due to the close link with the women's movement by scholars and researchers who were also active members of the movement. From 1986 onwards, through the different Five Year Plans, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has set up 72 Women's Studies Centres and Cells in Universities / Colleges. The UGC has been regularly making budgetary allocations for the activities of these Centres / Cells.

Thus, Women's studies centres were established in the universities of Bangalore, Mysore, Dharwad, Gulbarga, Kannada University, Hampi and Mangalore in Karnataka due to the UGC's initiatives in promoting gender equity in higher education.

The main objectives of these centres is to help people to acknowledge and appreciate women's

role in society, and to create awareness about the unequal status of women which leads to gender discrimination. This is done by disseminating information in conferences and seminars which could be utilised by academicians, activists and the public. They act, therefore, as consulting and resource agencies on women's rights and rendering gender sensitisation for government and non-governmental organisations.

SNDT University, Mumbai is the first Women's University in India as well as in South East Asia that was established in 1916. NMKRV, Bangalore is the first college in Karnataka that offers women's studies at the undergraduate level, which was initiated by its first Principal Dr. C N Mangala, in 1989.

Nagarathnamma Meda Kasturiranga Setty Rashtreeya Vidyalaya (NMKRV) College for Women was the first college in the state to establish a Women's Studies department in the year 1987 and introduce a diploma course on Women's Studies. Later in the year 1989 an optional academic course for undergraduates was introduced under the aegis of Bangalore University, and in the year 1992, post graduation in this field was flagged off. The main aim of the department is to bridge the gender imbalance to create awareness about gender inequality and to build research potential to meet the requirements of bridging the gender gaps. So far 480 dissertations at the BA level and about 100 dissertations at the Post Graduate level on women's issues with a gender perspective have been produced. The department is constantly interacting with other Women's Studies centres and Women's University in the state. Under the XI Plan the UGC sanctioned the establishment of a Centre for Women's Studies in 2009.

The National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) was founded on the grounds that national development and social change can be achieved only through a multi-disciplinary approach. Thus, scholars and experts from the fields of natural science, life sciences and social sciences worked together to understand the major national problems and find solutions to them. Main mandate being to disseminate the knowledge and information gained through courses, workshops, seminars and publications for decision-makers and opinion catalysts in the country. Women's Policy Research and Advocacy Unit (WOPRA) was an outcome of the felt need in development practice to mainstream gender concerns to give visibility to grassroots concerns through access to policy-making.

The first project of the WOPRA Unit was on the Status of Rural Women in Karnataka, which is being widely used even today as a reference to advocate policy changes to promote the advancement of women. Later the Unit was renamed the 'Gender Studies Unit' (GSU) and carried out studies pertaining to women's political participation, violence against women etc. The findings of the study on women's participation in decentralized governance were advocated to amend the 'toilet rule' of the Karnataka PRI Act as well as to enhance the honorariums for elected representatives etc. The unit was engaged in rendering gender sensitisation programmes for elected representatives, enforcement agencies, NGOs and public sector industries.

The unit was extensively supported and encouraged by the former Directors Dr. Raja Ramanna and Prof. Roddam Narasimha. Later the change in leadership dissolved the unit. It

has now been placed under the School of Social Sciences and the thrust on gender studies is at present diluted.

On the recommendation of the **task force on women empowerment** constituted by the Government of Karnataka, a women's university was established in 2003, at Bijapur. This is the first women's university in the state. Its aim is to provide higher education and training by promoting academic achievement and research activities.

There is a need for continuous and constant interaction with all the centres to share the findings and experiences and to advocate policy changes to enhance women's position in the society.

DISCUSSION WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

In order to generate discussion on the role of civil society and its several achievements, different groups, especially women's groups were part of a consultation held at Bangalore on 17th May 2012.

Women's concerns, especially the increase in violence against them, the judicious use of the Right to Information Act (RTI), the role of media and the public at large towards women's issues, were the focus of the discussions.

The use and misuse of the Domestic Violence Act (2005) and the need for its proper implementation were highlighted. The need to review all judgments related to the DV Act is urgent as women are being denied access to children thus separated. The appointment of protection officers and the necessary infrastructure should be put in place at the

earliest. There is a need to review the family courts as it has often become a court giving only dates. There is a need to strengthen procedural laws and make it women-friendly.

Regret was expressed at the constant misleading statements on Section 498 A (efforts to make the offence compoundable). The sudden demand for gender neutral laws at a juncture when the sexual harassment bill was under Government review was deemed to be suspect as in a country where women continue to suffer discrimination in public and private life, the milieu was not conducive to the concept of gender neutral laws. The deteriorating rate of the sex ratio was sufficient proof to demonstrate this point.

Women in institutions face sexual harassment as also those working in the corporate sector. There is lack of information, if not total ignorance, on this front in most institutions, despite the Supreme Court orders that in-house committees be constituted to address this issue with women members on the committee in adequate numbers.

Experience of giving gender training to police personnel and the reaction of some of the officials, (that laws are being misused by women and their families) makes it necessary for the government to be very strong to counter such ingrained attitudes.

Women's groups were concerned that the *Pre conception and pre natal diagnostic tests (PCPNDT)* laws were being implemented by the District Commissioners instead of the District Health Officers who are already loaded with heavy work.

There is a need to look at assisted reproductive technologies and their impact on women.

Women's NGOs and other civil society groups have played a role in highlighting malnourishment among children and a government response to it is needed.

The websites of WCD or Women's Commission do not have proper information. Also, how many are able to access the Net and are they able to read remains a big question. For the same reasons help lines are not found to be helpful for needy women; moreover, these numbers are not been recognized by other phone service providers and often help lines are non-functional.

Without giving cuts and commissions, projects are not sanctioned by governmental development agencies. There is a need to review the schemes and programmes and to assess the beneficiaries. A social audit is therefore essential.

There is a need to look at the conditions of women in prisons as they are not able to access justice and are not able to avail themselves of a lawyer nor do they have the resources for it.

With regard to minority women from the Muslim community, the role of the Wakf Board in addressing the issues and concerns of women requires a more pro-active stance, in order to make the Board aware that there are serious concerns of marginalized women from this community.

Women in prostitution/ sex work face discrimination as they are often victimized for their trade and the men involved are let off easily with

money and influential pressure tactics. The debate to decriminalize this area has to reach a conclusive end to benefit women of this sector. There is a need to look at states policies that push women in to prostitution and also consider the (not so acceptable) reality of transgendered women and to address their issues in a sectoral manner.

Women suffering livelihood threats under the ongoing agrarian crisis are not informed of the policies and programs nor do the policy makers listen to the voices of women. The ownership of land for women has to be looked into as it entails livelihood issues.

SHGs have driven women into indebtedness and have disempowered them.

As elsewhere in the country the growing intolerance against the dalits is perpetrating violence on these communities and women suffer the worst. Karnataka is not free from caste-based discrimination and violence on Dalit women. The State Human Rights Commission and other civil society organizations addressing rights violations do confirm this fact which requires a sensitive system to come into play.

There is a need to sensitize male elected representatives and training programmes for them were recommended. Judging from the experience of NGO gender trainers, the police personnel and the reaction of some of the officials that (laws are being misused) makes it necessary for the government to counter these attitudes with a pro-active mindset.

Gender sensitization training for government personnel and the corporate sector, where women work in large numbers, is a must.

The education curriculum for schools and colleges needs to be reviewed through a gender, caste and class lens and adequately changed to conform to a framework of international standards of human rights.

Karnataka state has ambitious plans for tourism and lands are being taken away with the promise of giving opportunities for women too. The problems faced by women in this sector are not been addressed and there is an urgent need to look into it.

In an age of digital advances and the huge presence of the electronic media in almost all major Indian languages an important role for the media in social change and development is indicated.

Most NGOs and women's groups expressed concern that there is a certain lack of interest in gender concerns unless these have a sensational content to them. Often the media misrepresents women's concerns for sheer lack of an academic understanding.

RTI Act

Civil society groups expressed deep concern that there is pressure to dilute the Act from the Governments concerned. The number of cases pending is huge and public information officers provide incomplete or incorrect information and are not willing to provide additional information.

In order to create better awareness on the use of this Act, information should be publicized in prominent places in government departments since this would facilitate citizens to avail themselves of the right. Else, there is

a fear that the establishment concerned would render the Act redundant. Why for instance, is there no website created for RTI and no *suo moto* declaration available?

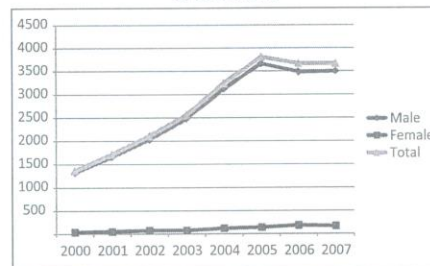
It is observed that the officials concerned do not know about the RTI Act.

RTI activists are threatened especially when they demand information on infrastructural projects. There is a need for the recipient of the information to publicize the information at the earliest. The restriction on the number of words in the RTI application is another issue to be addressed.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PRISONS

The Prison Statistics Report 2000 shows that there are 3.42 per cent of women inmates to the total inmate population in the country. Table 1 (see annexure) shows the state and sex-wise distribution of prisoners in the central jails of India, for the years 2000-2007, which shows a steady increase in the number of persons being imprisoned including women. In Karnataka, too, the trend is not different from that of the country. The graph below shows the number of men and women inmates in the Central jail of the state of Karnataka.

Fig.1: Year-wise data on the inmates in the prisons of Karnataka



Source: IndiaStat.com

Some of the studies have pointed out that the reason for the increase in inmates in the last two decades is because of the pre-trial detainees (under trials), which could be brought down if the police and court work hand in hand. Though fast-track courts have helped to a certain extent, they have not made a desired difference due to the 'adjournment culture'.

Women in prisons face many problems resulting from their lives prior to imprisonment and others that result from their imprisonment itself. They have experienced victimization, unstable family life, problems in education and work, and substance abuse and mental health problems. Social factors that contribute to the rising number of women in prison include poverty, lack of social support, separation or single motherhood and homelessness. Difficult situations for women are separation from their children and other significant people, including the family. Some women are pregnant when they enter prison and that makes it difficult physically and psychologically. Also, it has been found that prison services are not sensitive enough in the timely recognition and treatment of their mental health problems. Karnataka has been reported to be spending relatively high amounts on vocational and educational activities.

In Karnataka the data for 2010 shows that there were 14 children along with their mothers in the prison compared to 34 in the year 2005. **(See table 2 & 3 in the annexure)**

Although the number of women prisoners is relatively low, their adverse social positions and social disadvantages make them more liable to rejection from their families and subject to

greater dejection when they are in prison. Illiteracy and/or low levels of education and poor legal awareness makes them more likely to serve longer sentences in prison. Women are "unable to defend themselves, and ignorant of the ways and means of securing legal aid. They are unaware of the rules of remission or premature release, and live a life of resignation at the mercy of officials who seldom have understanding of their problems' (Agarwal, 1994).

Legal aid is provided to those who cannot afford to retain counsel only at the time of trial and not when the detainee is brought to the remand court. The majority of the prisoners have not been tried, and the absence of legal aid until the point of trial greatly reduces the value of legal representation to the poor. Lawyers are not available at the time when many prisoners need such assistance in getting them released either on bail or on personal recognizance.

A study about the central prison, Bangalore by NIMHANS for the National Commission for women points out that many of the women were illiterate, had not stepped out of their houses, had no financial resources and had been arrested on petty charges. Most had no idea about legal procedures, such as the process of trial, arranging for a defense lawyer, and the existence of laws to protect their children or property etc.

CONCLUSION AND WAYS FORWARD

Women's organizations not only lead campaigns and march on the streets, including older ones such as AIWC, YWCA and others who run shelter homes for battered wives and women who are the victims of violence, but

provide counseling and legal aid. They conduct training workshops on various issues. They also help in forming self-help groups to make women economically self-reliant. The success of the women's movement has not been in the number of women appointed to office or in the number of laws passed but in the fact that it has brought about a new consciousness on the entire question of women in society.

WAYS FORWARD

There is a need to look at school and college curricula and to review them through a gender, caste and class lens and adhere to a framework of international standards of human rights.

To support civil society organizations engaged in sensitizing male elected representatives and provide platforms for training programmes.

Judging from the experience of NGO gender trainers, the police personnel and the reaction of some of the officials that (laws are being misused) makes it necessary for the government to counter these attitudes with a pro-active mindset. This is important for the judiciary too, including those handling cases in family courts.

Gender sensitization training for government personnel and the corporate sector, where women work in large numbers, is a must.

There is a need to implement guidelines to deal with sexual harassment in all the sectors where women are working.

Karnataka has ambitious plans for tourism and lands are being taken away with the promise of giving opportunities to women too. The problems faced by women in this sector have not been addressed and there is an urgent need to look into it.

There is an increase of violence against women and in order to cater to the needs of women in distress, enough shelters and/or stay homes should be put in place. Also, adequate financial support should be provided for existing support service providers.

The Government should take the initiative to revitalize those centres of excellence in women's studies, which have been closed down.

Women prisoners are not aware of their legal rights and rights in prison, which confines them for longer durations as under-trials. The State should make necessary arrangements in creating awareness by using the services of NGOs.

The majority of women prisoners lack surety and are disowned by their families. Though legal aid is provided, lawyers are not available at the time when many of them are in need of such assistance as the lawyers are paid very little. Hence, the state should make necessary arrangements to enhance their payments in order help the poor victims. Bail provisions should be interpreted liberally in the case of women prisoners with children, as children suffer the worst kind of neglect when the mother is in prison.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIWC	All India Women Committee	PCPNDT	Pre conception and pre natal diagnostic test
DV	Domestic Violence	PRI	Panchayat Raj Institutions
GSU	Gender Studies Unit	RTI	Right to Information
KHDR	Karnataka Human Development Report	SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations	SHGs	Self-help Groups
NIAS	National Institute of Advanced Studies	UGC	University Grants Commission
NIMHANS	National Institute of Mental Health and Neuro Sciences	UP	Uttara Pradesh
NMKRV	Nagarathamma Meda Kasturiranga Setty Rashtreeya Vidyalaya	WCD	Women Corporation Development
		WOPRA	Women's Policy Research and Advocacy Unit
		YWCA	Young Women Christian Association

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EXPERTS CONSULTED

- Vimochana
- Indian Social Institute
- Mahila Samakhya
- Equations
- Freelance journalist – Ms. Pushpa
- Institute of Development Studies
- NMKRV College
- ICPRD

ANNEXURE I

Table 1. Sex-wise number of convicts in central jails of Southern India (2000 to 2007)

Year	Andhra Pradesh	Karnataka	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Pondi -cherry	Southern India	India
2000							
Male	3335	1323	1660	4325	92	10735	45402
Female	1	41	30	0	2	74	758
Total	3336	1364	1690	4325	94	10809	46160
2001							
Male	3372	1659	1521	4658	99	11309	54538
Female	3	54	28	5	1	91	1029
Total	3375	1713	1549	4663	100	11400	55567
2002							
Male	4111	2030	1405	5357	109	13012	60519
Female	4	80	28	5	1	118	1235
Total	4115	2110	1433	5362	110	13130	61754
2003							
Male	4305	2484	1779	5865	119	14552	65852
Female	11	78	42	4	2	137	1493
Total	4316	2562	1821	5869	121	14689	67345
2004							
Male	3949	3125	2331	6495	94	15994	70458
Female	15	120	57	1	2	195	1648
Total	3964	3245	2388	6496	96	16189	72106
2005							
Male	4152	3667	2330	7127	109	17385	75510
Female	9	143	48	3	5	208	1706
Total	4161	3810	2378	7130	114	17593	77216
2006							
Male	4271	3485	2453	6434	84	16727	82416
Female	8	182	32	0	3	225	1897
Total	4279	3667	2485	6434	87	16952	84313
2007							
Male	4582	3499	2457	6123	83	16744	84480
Female	30	170	27	3	2	232	1930
Total	4612	3669	2484	6126	85	16976	86410

Source: India Stat.Com

ANNEXURE II

Table 2
State-wise Table 2. Number of women prisoners with their children in jails of India (as on 31.12.2005)

States / UTs	No. of women prisoners with children
Andhra Pradesh	58
Arunachal Pradesh	-
Assam	24
Bihar	32
Chhattisgarh	48
Goa	1
Gujarat	22
Haryana	46
Himachal Pradesh	1
Jammu and Kashmir	6
Jharkhand	162
Karnataka	34
Kerala	8
Madhya Pradesh	121
Maharashtra	136
Manipur	0
Meghalaya	0
Mizoram	8
Nagaland	0
Orissa	50
Punjab	94
Rajasthan	41
Sikkim	0
Tamil Nadu	75
Tripura	1
Uttar Pradesh	246
Uttaranchal	3
West Bengal	77
Total States	1294
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0
Chandigarh	1
Dadara and Nagar Haveli	0
Daman and Diu	0
Delhi	38
Lakshadweep	0
Pondicherry	0
Total UTs	39
India	1333

Source: India Stat.Com

ANNEXURE III

Table 3. State wise number of women prisoners with children in India 2010

States/UTs	No. of Convict Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Undertrial Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Detenues Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	No. of Other Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	Total No. of Women Prisoners With Children	Total No. of Children
Andhra Pradesh	14	31	0	32	0	0	45	47
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assam	20	18	0	18	0	0	38	38
Bihar	23	66	0	70	0	0	89	95
Chhattisgarh	24	41	0	47	0	0	65	72
Goa	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	2
Gujarat	19	34	2	39	2	0	55	72
Haryana	12	34	0	37	0	0	46	51
Himachal Pradesh	2	4	0	4	0	0	6	6
Jammu and Kashmir	0	9	3	10	5	0	12	15
Jharkhand	23	109	0	118	0	0	132	144
Karnataka	8	6	0	6	0	0	14	14
Kerala	0	11	0	11	0	0	11	11
Madhya Pradesh	44	67	0	78	0	0	111	137
Maharashtra	14	97	0	114	0	0	111	135
Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	2
Nagaland	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Odisha	7	35	0	39	0	0	42	46
Punjab	18	40	0	47	0	6	64	78
Rajasthan	12	27	0	28	0	0	39	40
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	4	32	0	32	0	0	36	36
Tripura	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Uttar Pradesh	118	297	0	306	0	0	415	424
Uttarakhand	3	5	0	6	0	0	8	9
West Bengal	54	55	0	74	13	24	122	174

States/UTs	No. of Convict Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	No. of Undertrial Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	No. of Detenuues Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	No. of Other Women Prisoners With Children	No. of Children	Total No. of Women Prisoners With Children	Total No. of Children
States	421	488	1022	1120	5	7	19	35	1467	1650
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	3
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman and Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	6	8	39	44	0	0	0	0	45	52
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puducherry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UTs	7	9	41	46	0	0	0	0	48	55
India	428	497	1063	1166	5	7	19	35	1515	1705

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

CHAPTER XII

THE WAY FORWARD: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Much has to be done in order to move towards a more gender equitable society, not the least of which is changing the attitudes of women themselves (Batliwala et. al., 2008). Patriarchal norms and values are deep-rooted and change is slow. The process requires an examination of the current status of women in order to understand where we stand, and what the scope for improvement is.

The main objective of this monograph is to evaluate the status of women in Karnataka along various economic and social dimensions of women's lives. It was expected that the status of women had improved in recent years as a result of the increase in programmes and policies by the government which have targeted women, alongside the work of special interest groups, both informed by the increased awareness and focus by the research community on gender issues. Our study has found that a mixed picture exists for the women of Karnataka. While there have been marked improvements in many indicators of well-being for women, there are substantial inequalities compared to men for others. Further, disaggregation by region shows that the unequal development taking place across the state as well as socio-cultural factors

have contributed to a variation among women as a group with women in the southern districts faring better than their northern counterparts.

DEMOGRAPHY AND HEALTH

It is clear that the State is successfully going through a demographic transition having achieved replacement level fertility and a continued decline in mortality levels. However, the situation of women in Karnataka vis-à-vis men has not shown marked improvement in each and every demographic marker. The State is performing well according to certain indicators such as mortality and life expectancy. Women in the state have lower levels of mortality than men, and up to four more years of life expectancy. This situation mirrors that of more industrialized societies where women have an advantage over men. On the other hand, while the state has successfully reached replacement level fertility by reducing the TFR to 2 per women, this achievement appears to be at the cost of the girl child. There are fewer girls being born in the state compared to boys, and the trend seems to be continuing unabated despite some measures to address the growing misogynistic attitude among families and society.

At 968 women per 1000 men in 2011, the sex ratio for Karnataka (while better in comparison with the country as a whole), does not compare well when viewed against the other neighbouring southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Rural-urban differentials in the sex ratio are also very prominent with urban areas having a lower sex ratio than rural areas. In general, the northern districts fare badly compared to the southern districts. Further, the sex ratio in the age group 0-6, which is indicative of the recent changes in society and its attitudes towards the girl child, presents an even grimmer picture for the future status of women with only 933 girls for every 1000 boys present in the childhood age groups. This suggests that the evil of female foeticide is present in the state. At the same time, a substantial number of women in the state get married prior to achieving their majority. The regional patterns for age at marriage for women are similar to that of sex ratio, with women in the northern districts having relatively lower ages at marriage than women in the southern districts. A low age at marriage is of concern because of the likelihood of having a child when a woman has not fully reached physical and emotional maturity, resulting in negative consequences for the health of both the mother and child.

A preliminary investigation of the status of women's health in Karnataka also reveals a mixed picture in comparison to the country as a whole and the other southern states. Maternal mortality rates are significantly higher in Karnataka while the prevalence of disorders such as diabetes and goiter are lower. In the case of nutrition, women in Karnataka do not fare as well as women in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

as more women in the state have BMIs (Body Mass Index) that are below normal, and more women in the state are anaemic compared to women in Kerala. Women's poor health status is very apparent, with significantly high numbers of women suffering from anaemia and low body weight. The prevalence of reproductive health problems in the state is also high, with high levels of infertility related problems, and low awareness about HIV/AIDS, RTIs and STI. When looking at health care utilization, it appears that the use of antenatal care has improved in recent years. However, it is still not universal, and there is scope for further improvement especially in rural areas. Greater efforts are also required to make institutional deliveries universal.

The major demographic challenges facing the state are to arrest the decline in sex ratios and to further increase the average age at marriage among the women of Karnataka. Both these demographic trends are detrimental to the well-being of women. Meeting these challenges requires introducing improved monitoring of clinics under the ambit of the PNDT Act and increasing the awareness of the public of the disadvantages to both mother and child of giving birth during the adolescent years. With regard to improving the health conditions of the women in the state, there is a dire need for the garnering of sex-disaggregated data on health status and ailments, as well as health care utilisation. Further, policies and programmes will have to broaden in scope to include all age groups, including older women.

EDUCATION

Chapter 3 has examined the educational status of women using key indicators of

participation and performance in school in comparison with men. Using data relating to enrolment, retention, dropout, out of school and attendance, the analysis which has taken into account changes over time has given certain key results as far as participation is concerned. Likewise, performance is estimated using literacy, transition rates and percentage of pass in the SSLC examination. The study concludes that broadly, girls have improved their visibility in schools and colleges over the years at all levels of education and are almost on par with their male counterparts. These positive results have been possible due to a number of incentives and the sustained effort of the state particularly under the national flagship programmes.

As regards the status of education of girls in urban areas, the study shows improvement in the educational status. It is noteworthy that with respect to literacy attainments, females have even overtaken their rural male counterparts. However, the most disconcerting trend is the widening of the literacy gap between urban and rural women and not so much between the male and female population. The literacy gap among women in urban and rural areas has widened from 18.0 per cent points in 1951, to 22.0 per cent points in 2011, which is far wider than that of the overall male-female literacy gap of 14.7. Girls outperforming boys in all the board examinations has become an accepted reality and this is quite evident with girls improving their performance year after year.

It is notable that girls seem to have gained significantly in higher education over the years. From the 1990s onwards, there appears to be a drastic improvement in girls' participation in higher education at the degree level. They

are almost trying to catch up with their male counterparts. This trend, indeed, is praiseworthy. Even in professional education, including in some of the male dominated courses such as engineering, law, agriculture etc, women do not seem to be lagging behind. Although one could speculate that all these gains have accrued largely to urban girls, yet one needs to probe the extent of divide that persists between urban and rural or even among different population segments. It is interesting to note that more than half the enrolment in private educational institutions in regions such as Bangalore, Mysore, Mangalore and Shimoga, constitute girls. This clearly indicates the persistence of regional disparity, and hence, the need for the state to put in more intensive efforts to promote women's participation in backward districts.

WORK AND POVERTY

The study finds that women's participation in the labour force has declined drastically in both rural and urban Karnataka and more so in urban areas. Higher participation in labour is seen among women belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who most of the time belong to low economic strata indicating that distress is pushing the women to participate in labour. It is also observed that more women of the upper classes, in terms of economic status, who are highly educated are involved in high professional work.

Two thirds of rural women and one third of urban women work in the informal sector. These women workers receive only Rs. 62.77 per day in rural areas and urban women receives Rs. 67.88 per day. Further, it is also observed that these women receive only 65% of what their male counterparts receive in rural

areas and 55% in urban areas. In the majority of these households, since it is the women who shouldered the full household responsibilities, low wages would lead the household into poverty and measures should be taken to provide fair wages. However, it is heartening to know that the labourers in public works, i.e., MGNREG, receive the prescribed wage i.e., Rs. 110 for males and 108.9 for females. Juxtaposing the information from the district-wise analysis with wages, if the Government takes steps to strengthen the MGNREG programme in the districts of Bijapur, Bidar, Raichur, Koppal, Dharwad and Bellary, where high rural poverty and low work participation rate indicating non availability of work is present together, rural poverty would be reduced to a great extent. The situation also is not so good with respect to regular wage/salaried employees. The average daily wage received by these workers is Rs. 112.6 in rural areas as against the all-India average of Rs. 155.87. Women in urban areas receive Rs. 293.37 as the daily wage as against the all-India average of Rs. 308.79.

India, being known as the "office of the World", and Bangalore the IT hub, one would expect a larger chunk being absorbed in these formal sectors. However, the picture is not so encouraging. Even though it is heartening to know that in urban Karnataka 13% of the work force are legislators, senior officers and managers and about 12% are professionals, yet, 1/3rd of the urban women are informal workers at the bottom of the economic pyramid i.e., domestic workers, home based workers, street vendors, waste collectors, etc. Since these informal workers are part of the economy basically providing services at affordable prices, policies to protect them in terms of

minimum wages, providing credit etc. should be emphasised.

An analysis of the information on poverty shows that, despite being one of the socially advanced states, Karnataka suffers from many disabilities and has striking disparities. The State ranks 7th among the 15 major states of the country, based on various human development indices. The study has argued that a lack of income and livelihood security has continued to force people to migrate or undertake work at great risk to their health. Deprivations of many sorts like access to public services, customary belief systems, low levels of literacy, absence of proper nutrition, unequal wages and denial of human rights at work, in family and sexuality like reproductive and sexual rights- all of these factors have affected women, based also on systemic hierarchies based on patriarchy, gender, caste, economic class etc.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The political status of women can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in the shaping and sharing of political decision making and in the value given by society to this aspect of women's empowerment. Political rights are key to democratic functioning and it is in this political sphere that women have been inadequately represented. Articles 325 and 326 of the Constitution of India, guarantee political equality, equal right to participation in political activities and the right to vote respectively.

The chapter on 'Women's Political Participation' deals with the Constitutional provisions that ensure equality in women's political participation and also examine the

enabling and impeding factors for their low participation. It reviews the situation of women in politics in Karnataka, discussing in detail the political status of women in panchayats. Special attention has been paid to the marginalised sections of women and their experience in politics. The chapter also looks at the status of women in decision-making positions at the administrative and judiciary levels in an attempt to make a comparative analysis. Capacity building initiatives taken to promote women's participation in politics have also been studied in this chapter. In conclusion, several recommendations have been made to strengthen and promote women's effective participation in politics.

Karnataka was the first and only state to pioneer reservation of seats for women in the Panchayat Raj in 1983. It was among the states which had shown remarkable progress in local governance. The two-tier system of Mandal and Zilla Panchayat of the 1980s was known for its decentralised governance. The concept of 'power to the people' was the key to this ideology. Reservation for women was introduced in the Panchayat Raj by the late Mr. Abdul Nazir Sahib, who was then Karnataka's Minister for Rural Development and Panchayat Raj. His strong commitment to people-centred decentralised governance, clearly articulated the need for active participation of women making them an integral component of the concept of 'people'.

The study finds that despite Karnataka being a pioneer in promoting women's political participation at the local level the same did not translate into women entering the State Assembly in corresponding large numbers due

to factors that impede women's participation in politics. In the current Karnataka Legislative Assembly which has 225 seats (all filled) only 6 seats are occupied by women. Similarly, in the Karnataka Legislative Council of 75 members, there are only 69 members of which only five are women.

When the 33.3% reservation in PRIs was enforced, India had over a million women as elected representatives thereby changing the face of grass roots politics. In 2010, this reservation for women was increased to 50%, effective in all states of the country and leading to greater participation of women in local governance. Reservation for women in Central legislatures has been pending for the last 16 years.

In conclusion, the chapter makes studied recommendations for the facilitation and improvement of women's enhanced political participation.

Some of these are: i) Holistic and empowering capacity building of women in PRIs that will embolden them to challenge the oppressive power structures of caste and class ii) focus on women in urban governance as these are aspiring candidates that will eventually move into state and parliamentary levels iii) sensitization trainings for line department functionaries so that they recognize women's issues more empathetically. iv) support services for women in politics v) an increase in honorarium and sitting fees and timely payment, especially important for women who are not in control of resources and are obliged to seek family help to participate in meetings vi) need to challenge rotation of

seats in PRI elections, as it affects women the most vii) tenure of presidents and VPs in PRI needs to be reviewed, it affects governance on the whole and for women who are still learners in the political field, it is a very disempowering experience (Karnataka is the only state that has a 20 month and 30 month rotation in PRIs for the position of President and Vice- President viii) Need to evolve a panchayat level plan to incorporate gender indicators into its data collection to highlight the sex ratio, IMR, MMR etc., and to review data in consequent gram terms to enable a gender audit.

GENDER AND VIOLENCE

Violence against women has a wide ambit, and is prevalent across economic, political and social spheres. Since violence is a cross-cutting issue, it manifests itself as gender-based, caste-based and cultural violence. This is perhaps the most unremitting form of violence humankind has seen, and historically, the most ignored and taken for granted. Patriarchy and feudal controls coupled with traditions continue to inflict violence on women, and oppress and dehumanise them. Complicating the issue is the culture of silence that is inculcated among most women from childhood

The Platform for Action (PFA), the core document of the Fourth UN World Conference on Women (Beijing Sept.1995) declared that "violence against women constitutes a violation of basic human rights and is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace."

The chapter examines violence against women (VAW) with specific reference to Karnataka. The chapter has 6 sections which

detail different forms of violence against women and the depth of this crime which is often garbed under wraps of social norms. The role of the state in the implementation of laws to check crimes against women has been studied in considerable detail. Measures taken by the state to protect the girl child and to reduce violence against women are critically reviewed. Another section of this chapter provides an overview of the gaps in the justice system. In conclusion the chapter on VAW elaborates the possible ways forward with recommendations and suggestions to protect women and create a violence-free environment for their development.

The chapter sites the recent *Crime in India 2010* statistics of the NCRB, Ministry of Home Affairs New Delhi; the statistics on 'Incidence of rate of Crime committed against Women in States', shows that Karnataka stands 9th and Bengaluru stands 3rd which is a disturbing rating for a city which otherwise ranks high in the national metropolitan hierarchy.

Different areas where violence against women exists in Karnataka have been located and these are i) gender based ii) caste based iii) in the Devadasi system iv) in child marriage v) under different forms of physical abuse vi) unnatural deaths of women and girls vii) violence on single women viii) domestic violence within the confines of the home ix) acid attacks on mostly young adult girls xii) female foeticide xiii) trafficking of poor rural girls and women ix) the practice of *Banamati* (witch hunting) x) moral policing and physical assault on women under the pretext of protecting culture and xi) human rights denial and physical violence against sexual minority groups and communities.

In the end, the study proposes several recommendations for state action including 1) regular review of the efficacy of the justice system *vis-a-vis* women's cases. 2) periodic social audit of the schemes and legal benefits meant for women survivors of violence 3) creation of a cadre of sensitive and concerned officers across ranks to address cases of VAW 4) trainings and orientation programmes for enforcement agency officials e) increase in fast track courts 5) Need to set up crisis centres 6) initiatives like the *Nari Adalats* and other institutional mechanisms linked to the legal justice process 7) disaggregated gender data on conviction rates 8) activation of the social justice committees of the panchayat which the *Karnataka Mahila Samakhya* has already put in place 9) provision of adequate funds for the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (*DV Act*) 10) Surgeons to issue proper medical reports in the stipulated time period for acid attack victims, in order to make use of the benefits of the Karnataka State Women Commission's *Suresh Yojanae* 11) the PNDA Act needs to be stringently applied. Doctors urged not to indulge in unethical practices 12) sexual harassment at workplace should be addressed 13) convictions under the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, (Act 33 of 1989) to cover violence against Dalit women as a special category.

WOMEN AND GENDER BUDGETING

The government's concern is in addressing women's issues and moving towards achieving equality by allocating public funds, and ensuring it reaches women through appropriate programmes and schemes. The chapter on gender budgeting tried to capture the government's commitment to public expenditure

and policies for the upliftment of women, in particular for the most disadvantaged women. Karnataka is the first state to introduce inter-sectoral allocation of funds by earmarking 1/3rd of its resources for individual women oriented schemes and for labour intensive schemes of various departments called as 'Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane.

Though it provided training to all the officials implementing programmes on preparing the gender responsive budget and gender audit, the implementing agencies were able to prepare gender-disaggregated data only at the lower levels. The lack of aggregation at the state level made it difficult to highlight the changes brought about by the introduction of gender budgeting. the gender budget in the state is not able to capture women's contribution toward the market and care economy. Another problem is the slow release of funds.

The Women and Child Development department's mandate to carry out impact assessments of the utilization of resources to check whether it has any impact on the lives of women is still underway. Timely evaluations of women-oriented schemes will be able to throw light on the changes made on women and enable the implementers to make necessary changes in order to achieve gender equality. There is a need for policy to be put in place to recognize the gap between constitutional rights and other legislations meant for women and the actual reality.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE WOMEN'S AGENDA

Civil society organisations, especially the women's movement and women's organizations,

played a vital role in sensitizing policy makers and implementers on women's issues, though their focus was mainly on issues of violence faced by women and advocating women's economic empowerment. The majority of them who worked for the economic upliftment of women were in rural areas, and those in urban areas concentrated on the issue of violence against women.

The lack of personnel and funds has been a barrier in reaching out to the vast majority of suffering women. Accessing government programmes meant for women by NGOs has become difficult, since they cannot get it easily sanctioned.

The media plays a significant role in creating awareness but it tends to misrepresent women-related issues and is largely responsible for the commodification of the physical form of women due to the market forces. The media does not give serious coverage to the real and nuanced concerns and issues raised by civil society. It is time for the media to play a role in bringing about an attitudinal change in the society towards women's dignity and rights.

Women's study centres and Universities have to come out of stereotyping women and to look at the issues affecting them. They also need to advocate policy changes that would progressively improve the quality of life of women. There is a need for all of them to continually interact and share their findings with a larger audience.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS FOR WOMEN IN KARNATAKA

This chapter examines institutional structures and mechanisms and has seven

sections, besides the introduction and the conclusion.

The first section traces the emergence of the concept of "Institutional Mechanisms for Women's Advancement" through the agency of the four United Nations International Conferences on Women's Advancement, which took place from the nineteen seventies to the nineteen nineties. The second section provides a concise overview of how these impacted the Indian State. The third section details a home-grown model of an institutional mechanism for women that emerged in India in the 1950s, long before the UN Conferences. The fourth section specifically looks at the ground situation in Karnataka- looking at human resources, achievements, gaps in gender training, infrastructure and administrative priorities, and the need for more and better incentives in relation to women and development. The fifth and sixth sections look at specific projects like KMAY and Stree Shakti/other SHG programmes. The seventh section draws lessons from the Mahila Samakhya programme in Karnataka relating to the 'collective' as mechanisms that empower women in villages. The last section of the paper consists of conclusions drawn from the previous sections along with recommendations for the future, directed mainly at the State Government.

The chapter details how the four UN Conferences on Women impacted the national level policy making for women through each succeeding conference and the different mechanisms that were put in place as national machinery. By 2000, the Central government had established the following institutional mechanisms i) The National Commission for

Women ii) Central Social Welfare Board iii) National Institute for Public Cooperation and Child Development iv) Rashtriya Mahila Kosh v) Departments in the State Governments of 'Women and Child Development' vi) Women Cells in important Ministries and Departments of the Government of India vii) Panchayati Raj Institutions. In 2001, the Central government brought out the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women.

Of significance is the section on institutional mechanisms in Karnataka where much to the credit of the State government, one is informed that as far back as 1957, a separate Department named as the Probation and after Care Services Department was created for looking after the subject of social legislation. The work relating to the Social and Hygiene and After-Care Programme and Welfare Services in Prisons was also entrusted to this new Department. After the announcement of the International Women's Year in 1975, the Karnataka Government converted the Department looking after After-Care Services into the entity named 'Department of Women and Child Welfare'.

The Karnataka Government's earliest programme for women - the Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane (KMAY) in 1996 in the wake of the International Women's Decade, witnessed new ideation relating to women's status and development, including the need for new State-sponsored development programmes. The author records that recent information shows the following progress-

- A KMAY cell was started in the Directorate of Women and Child Development in May 2003 to monitor the intersectoral

allocation of funds for women in the KMAY programme.

- During the year 2011-12, 25 departments have identified 254 schemes
- Out of a total outlay of Rs. 5748.97 crores, the 1/3 allocation for women comes to Rs. 2803.84 crores
- Out of these funds allocated for women, Rs. 1792.56 crores was spent up to December 2011.

Other programmes like the Stree Shakti and SHGs as also the Mahila Samakhya collective for rural women's empowerment have been examined for their efficacy and pioneering work.

The Conclusions and Recommendations of this chapter are important, as they bring to the table the expertise and experience of a senior bureaucrat. The author emphasizes that:

- 1) The outcome of each UN Conference on Women is critical and to take the agenda forward the Centre and State governments must ensure through appropriate institutional mechanisms, the implementation of policies and programmes, fulfilling the needs and aspirations of women, especially those at the lower rungs of the social and economic ladder.
- 2) Given the diversity of the country and its demographic size, both the Central and State governments need to be sensitive to this formidable challenge and ensure to its citizens 'equal and egalitarian' access to rights as inscribed in the Constitution, especially to women of the country.
- 3) The legal right to equality for women, on par with men, is now more than sixty years

old. The gap between de jure and de facto has still to be bridged. Special provisions as part of women's Constitutional entitlements should be broadened when planning for women's development.

- 4) Understanding of the dynamics of gender should be urgently promoted in Indian governance. The inherited baggage of a thousand patriarchies is still with us.
- 5) Institutional mechanisms and structures cannot come from, nor be put together, 'outside' the world of women and their lives. Women's agency has to be totally recognized, hence women's ownership of the institutional mechanisms and structures should be beyond questioning and alternatives.
- 6) Sensitization of men to 'gender' issues has been on-going; what is critical is to understand that it is not a question of individuals, but of a system in its entirety. Therefore, a more comprehensive vision of 'gender' is required, which would help women, as well as men, face challenges in the workplace.
- 7) Women are not a homogenous entity – this fact has still not been fully ingrained into programming activities relating to women in Karnataka. Institutional mechanisms need to be based on female leadership emerging from amongst under-privileged groups of women.
- 8) There is an emergent need that the voices of the underprivileged be heard to change the trajectory of governance: meaning to say that demands be heard so that it changes the supply input of services and goods.
- 9) Prioritization of education and training related to gender (not only 'women')

across the State, not limited to members of bureaucracies and technocracies, but covering all schools and colleges and other educational institutions, including technical institutions.

- 10) The Government of Karnataka urgently needs to draft a policy document on gender with priority on the status of women in Karnataka. There is a strategic need for such a policy to be framed. The specificities of the Karnataka State can be grasped only if the State has its own policy (many States in India have framed their own policies on women several years ago. State ATIs and civil society groups should be involved in this exercise.

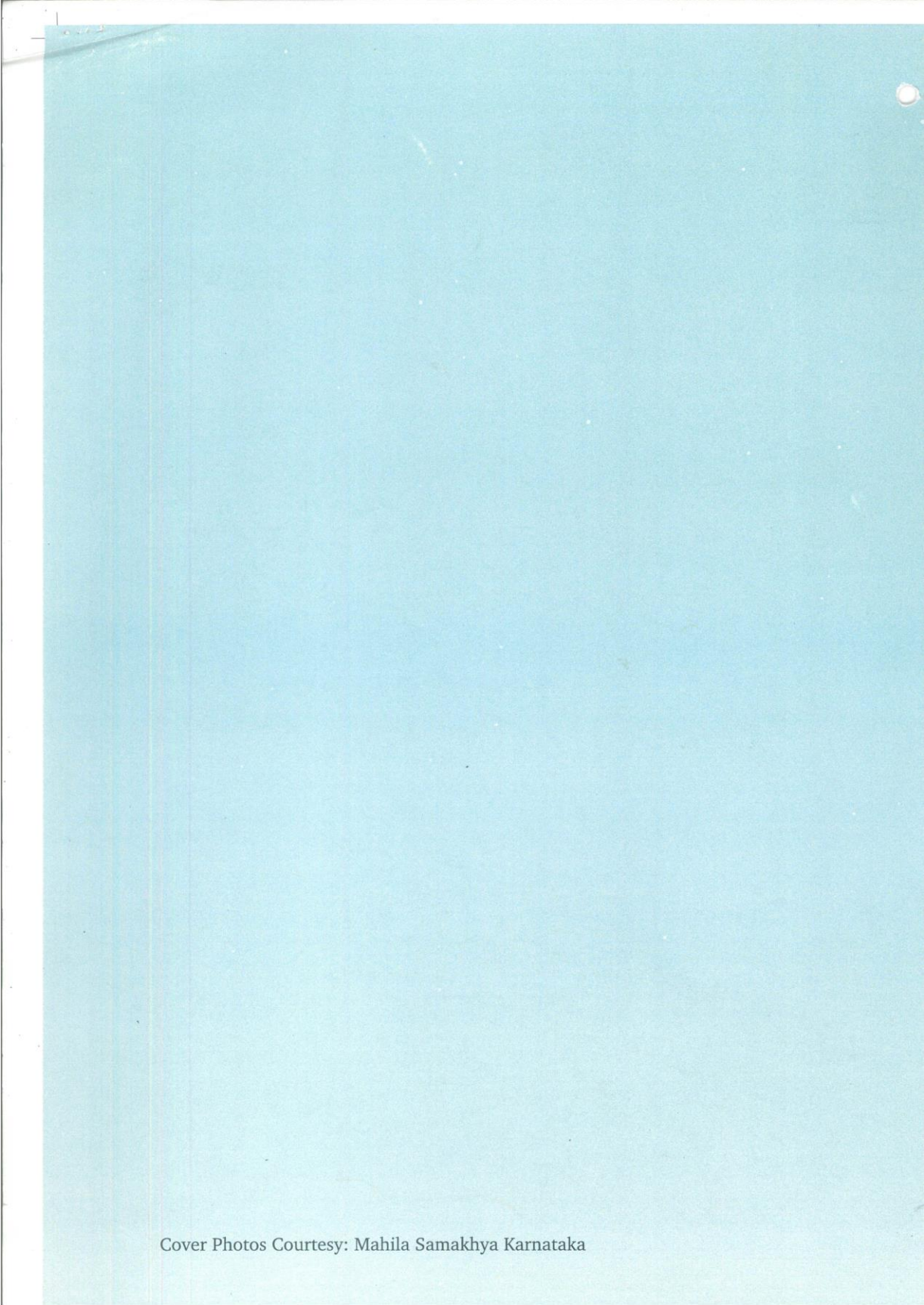
BROAD RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

In the preceding chapters, an analysis of the data on various dimensions of the status of women has been made. The continuing challenges to improve women's lives have been spelled out in detail along with suggestions on how to meet these challenges. Broadly, the urgent next steps are outlined below:

- It is required that gender audits, reviews and evaluations be conducted at regular intervals to assess the trajectory of progress in the status of women.
- Adequate budgetary allocations should be set aside, not just for implementation of the various schemes, but also for monitoring mechanisms to ensure that the schemes are indeed enabling in improving the status of women.
- A task force should be set up, comprising senior bureaucrats, gender activists, academicians, legal experts, senior persons from the enforcement agencies, and a

- nodal officer who should coordinate with all the different departments, under the chairpersonship of none other than the Chief Minister. This is necessary so that the women's agenda is centre-staged and perceived as an important sectoral concern.
- Accurate data and information systems should be put into place for the effective monitoring and evaluation of programmes. It should be ensured that all data collection is disaggregated in terms of sex and caste.
 - There is a need for a State Women's/ Gender policy to be developed at the earliest.
 - There should be stringent monitoring of the PNDT Act and the Domestic Violence Act, with strict punitive action for non-compliance.
 - Information on Education and Communication activities regarding the adverse effects of adolescent marriage and child bearing, and the positive outcomes of institutionalised and professional health care should be intensified.
 - The focus of health programmes should be expanded from the current one on Maternal and Child Health to include both adolescent and older women. Indeed, a life cycle perspective is essential when addressing inequalities in health care.
 - The districts in the state which are less socio-economically developed such as the northern and western districts should be targeted to improve women's economic situation, utilisation of health care, and enrolment rates.





Cover Photos Courtesy: Mahila Samakhya Karnataka

