

**WOMEN LEADERS IN POLITICAL PARTIES:  
PATTERNS OF RECRUITMENT, PERCEPTIONS AND  
PERFORMANCE IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. P. Manikyamba (Reader, Department of Political Science) and this has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

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## CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis is a bonafide work done by Ms. Challa Hymavathi, a student of Ph. D under my guidance and supervision in the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad.

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## P R E F A C E

Movements for social, political and economic upliftment of women have started in India in the 19th Century under the leadership of prominent personalities like Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu and Raja Ram Mohan Roy in India. In spite of legal and constitutional provisions and guarantees, the status of women has not improved to the expected extent. This has led to continuous and concerted efforts to study the position of women in all fields of social activity. Especially since the submission of the Status Committee Report in 1974, there has been a tremendous progress in women's studies. The areas of study include social reform movements, women's movements for political and economic rights, women and health, violence against women and women's political participation.

There has been an increasing realisation that women's political participation has been marginal and that this could be attributed, amongst others, to absence of adequate institutional support. In party based democracies, the role of political parties in encouraging women's political involvement is very considerable and in the development of leadership roles, including those of women, parties have vital role to play. But precisely in the recruitment of women into leadership roles, political parties seem to be showing inadequate interest around the world. As all social problems are related in one way or the other to political decisions and because leadership plays key role in decision making, the presence of women in leadership position is the pressing need of the time. The purpose of the present study is to examine the

position of women's leadership in political parties in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Sample :

The sample for the present study consists of women leaders of political parties, academics, leaders of organisations, male leaders of political parties and both men and women activists. The main sample consisting of these 127 women leaders, who includes, legislators, members of party executive committees, and members of party affiliates like members, including presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries of women's wings of the parties, and the trade union wings. The respondents in the sample are drawn from the state and district levels' leadership. These leaders belong to six political parties -- Congress (31), T.D.P (33), B.J.P (18), C.P.M (26), C.P.I (13) and C.P.I.M.L (5). The sample also includes a nominated member of the Congress government. Others who could be taken as forming part of the controlled sample include professors and other academics, social activists, journalists, former judges, party leaders, members of women's organisations, office bearers of civil liberties Association and party presidents. As nearly 50 respondents form part of the controlled sample.

Methodology:

The methodology adopted for the study is scientific. The tools of analysis include interviews and statistical techniques. For the purpose of interviewing the women leaders, an exhaustive schedule consisting of both closed and open ended questions has

been used. The interviews lasted for 3 to 4 hours and on many occasions more than one session has taken place. Since the study is the first of its kind in the state, the researcher noticed mostly enthusiasm and at times apprehensions amongst the women leaders in the sample. The statistical techniques include Univariate Analysis, and Linear Multiple Regression Analysis. The relevance and the manner of adopting these techniques are noted in the paragraphs relating to chapterisation. The "T" test is adopted for the examination of significance of scores of perceptions and performance of the respondents of political parties. To examine the validity or otherwise of the high scores in respect of perception and performance, the chi-square test is adopted. The data consists of 29 socio economic and political background variables which are regarded as independent factors and factors concerning the perception (17) and performance (9) are considered as dependent variables.

#### CHAPTERISATION :

The first chapter deals with feminism as a concept and movement with the objective of studying the emphasis that the feminists gave to the political aspect.

The second chapter is primarily concerned with women's participation in political process in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

In the third chapter, focus is laid on women's leadership roles in the political process in India.

The socio economic and political background of the political role incumbents will have considerable bearing on their perceptions as well as performance. Hence a study of the background factors of the respondents constitutes the essence of the fourth chapter. In this chapter, the Univariate Analysis is adopted graphically and linkages between different factors are also examined.

Recruitment is an important process through which leaders go up the ladder. In the political parties, different recruitment patterns are adopted. In the fifth chapter, patterns of recruiting women leaders are studied.

An examination of the perceptions of women leaders would be helpful for an understanding of their political awareness as well as their aspirations which influence their participatory potentialities. In the sixth chapter, the role perceptions of the women respondents are discussed. In this the Univariate Analysis is adopted for party wise distribution of perceptions. The T test is used for comparing the scores about the perceptions of respondents belonging to six political parties. The Chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test is adopted to examine the significance of high scores about perception and performance.

The seventh chapter dealing with performance of the respondents gives details of performance in the party activities, performance in the legislatures and performance in the Anti Arrack Movement. The Linear Multiple Regression Analysis, Univariate Analysis for linkages and the T test for the examination of

significance of scores of respondents of six political parties are used for analysis in this chapter.

In the eighth chapter, adopting Linear Multiple Regression Analysis, the association between the independent and the dependant variables is assessed. In addition, with the help of Correlation Matrix, the relationship within the groups of dependent and independent variables is studied.

The ninth chapter deals with the constraints for women's active political participation. An attempt is also made in this chapter to suggest measures for increasing women's role in the political process and in leadership positions.

## **CHAPTER - I**

### **FEMINISM AS WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS**

Contemporary feminism has attracted the attention of social scientists, policy makers, administrators, activists and women's organizations. Research regarding modern feminism finds that it is the outcome of 18th century intellectual and industrial revolutions. Before trying to understand the term 'feminism', its origin needs to be noted. The term 'feminism' came into English usage in the 1890's from the French word 'Feminisme'.<sup>2</sup> The term feminism appeared for the first time in a book review in 1895 issue 3 4 of the British Journal 'Athenaem', replacing the term 'WOMANISM'. That is why feminist movements during the 19th century were called women's movements on the liberal side and women's liberation movements on the radical side. Since 1972, women's liberation movements have gained momentum and began to be called 'Feminist Movements'.

#### **Defining Feminism:**

Feminism has been defined in different ways. Starting with opposition towards discrimination based on sex, feminism has moved to the status of a wide movement around the world, supporting the cause of women. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary 'Feminism' means advocacy of women's rights on grounds of equality of sexes. The Encyclopaedia of Britannica defines feminism as the belief that women are equal to men; should have right to vote, to hold public office and to go to college and to work on the same job as men.<sup>7</sup> This implies that men and women should have opportunities

of enjoying rights and sharing of **responsibility** in all walks of human life. According to the **Columbia** Encyclopedia, 'feminism is a movement for political, social and educational equality of women and **men**. This makes clear that men and women should be treated as human beings. Absence of equal treatment has led to a movement by the discriminated sex.

The liberal thinkers and the utilitarian have also thought on the above lines. Mary **Wollstonecraft** in her *vindication of rights of women* speaks of equality of men and women. J.S. Mill and others feel that because of the common nature as free human beings, men and women are to be treated as equals.

Juliet Mitchel, one of the well known writers of feminism, says that feminism discovered women as a distinct special group, a group whose identity is womanhood. In understanding feminism, writers like Juliet Mitchel, Boulby Rachel and Gallop Jane<sup>10</sup> are guided by gender as well as psychological factors. Hence their explanations could also be considered as **psycho-analytical**.

**Maim** Attalah's book *women* gives details of what women speak of feminism. Feminism enables one to understand it from women's point of view. Some noteworthy opinions are given here under. Anna Dickson feels that feminism is not a complement. Because of media, feminism equals man hater, lesbianism, ugly and common protester. To her, **feminism** should be viewed as a political aspect and can be applied to men as well and men can be

**feminists'**. Rebecca Fraser dislikes the idea of feminism if it is threatening to **men**.<sup>12</sup> Lady Anabel Gold Smith categorizes women of different countries adopting feminism. In her opinion, American women were aggressive and lost their femininity and French women continue to achieve what ever they want to. While retaining femininity, English women are more influenced by the Americans rather than by the French. The Latins tend to keep their **femininity**.<sup>13</sup> So feminism has been shaped in accordance with different social conditions in **different stages**.

Nicky Hart is of the view that feminism should not exclude men, but women wanting to be alone should get self confidence. She pleads for the co-existence of men **and women**.<sup>14</sup> To Blanche Lucas, **feminism** really means being fair to women and giving them the same place in society as to **men**.<sup>15</sup> Jenny Lumet says that feminism has made some people think that being a female is a burden. The ultimate feminism would be for a **woman** to succeed by thinking intuitively. She says that the feminists and effects of feminists **movements** are to be **balanced**.<sup>16</sup> Susan Mc Henry goes further saying that '**my** feminism is not **just** the gender thing, it is also race, clan and caste'. Susan stresses on the need for a **democratic** change in society and feels that any movement should not lead to division.<sup>17</sup>

Bel Mooney in the **1980's** dismisses the very idea of feminism, due to the bad name it got on account of extremists. She is apt in saying that radical feminists have extreme views and schemes.<sup>18</sup> Feminism is a very human movement and it is also a

female trade union movement for **Mully** Parkin. Penny **Perrick's** idea is that **feminism** should aim at equal opportunities in every aspect of life irrespective of sex. She is against radical feminism, which rejects **males**. These two opinions are **humanistic**.<sup>19</sup>

Feminism Categorised:

**Feminism** has evolved over the years with some ideologies, which has not always been even. **Feminism** with ideology as the base, could be classified into Social Welfare Feminism, Reasonable Feminism, Radical Feminism, Militant Feminism, Cultural Feminism, Marxists Feminism and Socialist Feminism.

As is widely known, feminism as a self conscious movement with some elements of organisation emerged by 1818 in Britain and by 1820 in America. In these countries, feminist movements could achieve the right to vote and equal status at which feminism chiefly aimed. Since it aimed at a simple cause, this kind of feminism has been called as reasonable feminism. This reasonable-feminism is the first wave feminism.<sup>20</sup>

Radical feminism has gained considerable importance in the second half of the 20th century. The defining feature of it is its insistence that sex is the fundamental factor of division of society. Exploitation of biological difference between sexes is termed by the radical **feminists** as male **dominance**. To them, male dominance, otherwise known as patriarchy, is said to be prevalent where men have the ability to exploit biological differences

between the sexes.<sup>21</sup> Patriarchy has often been used as the central concept to understand the nature of women's oppression.<sup>22</sup> So the radicals have laid stress on the need to root out the evil of women's oppression. They want to adopt a revolutionary method for goal achievement. They are not for **reforms**, but for women's integration, to act as potential sisters. Despite the unique strategies and techniques, radical feminism contains conflicting  
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tendencies. Semi-radical feminists characterize them as pro-women and argue that women are to explore their own **potentials**. Radical feminists regard women even as superior to men.

Some radical feminists have called themselves revolutionary and termed their approach as cultural feminism. Marxist feminism is based on Marxist political theory. These feminists are of the belief that class struggle is the primary activity aiming at overthrowing the capitalist system and the feminist movement should carry on only from the point of the class struggle. They also believe that feminist groups should work together to explore the autonomy of **ideology**.<sup>24</sup>

Militant feminism is known for its distinct techniques. These feminists use modern propaganda and techniques like street marches and processions, banners and floats and headlines hitting publicity. They also circulate news papers and picture magazines. In pursuit of votes for women, they practise civil disobedience. They believe in the principle of no taxation without representation. Militancy is shown by defiance of government and law. However, militant feminism, where ever adopted, has confined

itself only to the minority sections.

Lawrence A. Bobb identifies another type of feminism which in India is called **Brahma Kumari's feminism**. He says that feminism can be seen as a product of different cultures **and** argues that "will to be free " can be nourished in different ways by different cultures. **Brahma** Kumari's concept of the word is an idea of human alienation that draws its strength from the image of **women** as victims of corrupt institutions. This version of predicament however, differs some what from the one portrayed by **Western** feminists. This group of feminists concentrate on sexuality, rather than on the exigencies of child bearing and house keeping, as the significant factor in women's subordination. They gave importance to the divine family through which liberation can be achieved from the injustice of this world. So the fact would remain that feminism is essentially **indigenous**. **Brahma Kumaries** formulated their order by utilizing elements from within their own traditions.<sup>27</sup>

It can be now be said that there exist recognizable differences between various groups of feminists. Some would give preference to ideology, others plead for the status of women, while some others are against **patriarchy**. Yet some other **feminists** are **more** concerned about the techniques to be adopted in achieving the goals. However, one should accept William Wald's opinion that equal rights for women are vital ingredients. Moreover a recognition, realization and self confidence about equal rights are essential particularly among the two **sexes**.

## **Feminist Movements** Around the World:

Feminist movement had its origin in the French Revolution, when the Women's Republican Clubs demanded that liberty, equality and fraternity be applied regardless of sex. The French Revolution in turn, inspired women to think in terms of women's liberation. In 1792, "Vindication of Rights of Women", the  
feminists document was written by Mary **Wollstonecraft**. Various thinkers started exploring the required social **and** political changes, if the idea of equality were to become a reality. Feminist movements and theories of the 18th **and** 19th centuries were largely liberal in inspiration and are based on claims of justice **and** fairness.

## Feminists Movement in America:

**Feminism** as a movement became active in America earlier than any other part of the world. Even Europeans looked to America for a lead. This is the reason why every feminist movement was, up to a degree, considered as an imitation of the American feminist movement. Even though the legal and economic position of **women** was better in America than else where, women's rights and opportunities were very limited. At the beginning of the 19th century, there was no higher education for women and they played no part in professions. Inequality was very much evident in the occupational structure which was the fundamental determinant of individuals' class position and was the back bone of class structure. Occupational structure was again directly linked to the educational

system. Legal redress was possible only in some parts of North **America**.

The idea of partnership with women in many spheres of life was gradually superseded by the "cult of womanhood", in which the true middle class women were depicted as pious, delicate, submissive, domesticated and pure.<sup>30</sup> Feminist ideologies were materialized through campaigns to correct prostitutes and to promote temperance as early as the **1830's** and **1840's**. A substantial feminist movement began in the United States where women involved themselves in the movement to abolish slavery in the **1830's**. Three hundred men and women attended the famous convention held at Seneca Falls in 1848. Twelve resolutions of which women's suffrage formed a very important one were passed.<sup>31</sup> The Seneca Falls Convention was the first collective action for **change** in the position and rights of women.

Feminist political action in the United States has gone through a cyclic nature in the past 140 years. This cyclic pattern could be divided into three phases- the first phase occurring between 1848 and the Civil War, the second phase between the **1900** and 1920 and the third from **1960** to the **present**.

At the beginning of the first phase of the **feminist** movement, feminists focused on the suffrage issue. Two main suffrage associations were led by Elizabeth S. Carton and Susan B. Anthony. Social feminism,<sup>33</sup> that is the **involvement** of the women in reforming directly benefited women. By the **1880's** The National

**Women's** Suffrage Association **became more** respectable and by 1890 it merged with the American Women's Suffrage Association to form the National American Women's Suffrage Association. Elisabeth S. Carton and Susan B. Anthony thought that the fight for **women's** right now had to be waged by women alone.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, militant feminism became active. The suffrage movement itself entered the militant phase. Carrie **Champpann's** skillful leadership secured in 1920 entitled women to vote in the national as well as in the state elections.<sup>34</sup> The public at large presumed that women's emancipation had been achieved and the result was that feminism had subsided but it did not disappear.

The outcome of the first phase of feminism in America was the new ideology of equality. The emergence of liberalism and capitalism inspired women to apply for equal rights and doctrine to themselves. There by women were freed from many domestic female functions. But working class women remained with the burden of double shift. In the opinion of O'Neil the upper class and the educated middle class launched and dominated the women's movement.<sup>35</sup> They were more conscious about women's narrowing sphere and the man's expanding one.

During the second phase of feminism in America between 1920 and 1960, when feminism was supposedly dead, the descendants of the suffragists poured much of their energy into education and employment. They earned greater proportion of advanced degrees. But

during the 1940's and 1950 s the proportion of women in the labour force continued to **climb**. In this phase equal rights feminism was replaced as pointed by Banks, by welfare feminism or reasonable **feminism**. During the days of depression, the feminist movement supported welfare measures to alleviate poverty, and the feminists were also involved in peace movement.<sup>37</sup>

In respect of social status, during the 1950's there was a sharp rise in the employment of married women coupled with the long **term** decline in the fertility rate.<sup>38</sup> In the **opinion** of Rossi, 1961 could be suggested as the beginning year of the **marker**, 1966 as the transition to the second phase and 1972 as the standing power of that transition to the third phase.<sup>39</sup>

It is important to note that the second wave of **feminism** has not addressed itself to political questions and has characteristically ignored questions of citizenship. But it was primarily the women's party that pursued the question of equal rights. The larger NAWA became the league of women voters, concentrating on women's civil education and worked for welfare legislation.

The National Organisation of Women, played a central role in women's liberation movement. Under the first president Friedon, NOW adopted conventional patterns of organisation. Though primarily oriented towards equal rights, its platform has always included radical elements, reflecting in particular its changing relationship with the women's movement as a whole. NOW at its 1967

conference, demanded not only increasing equal employment opportunities but also legislation accepting or legalising abortions. After the withdrawal of conservative members from the NOW, the progressive women formed the women's Equality Action League in 1968. This league concentrated on legal and economic aspects of equal opportunities.<sup>42</sup> The National Organisation of Women claimed a membership of 50,000 and 500 local chapters by 1973. From then on it started supporting the decriminalisation of prostitution and the rights of lesbians.

Another important organisation was the National Women's Political Careers, a non partisan organisation founded in 1971 to function as a pressure group for greater representation of women and women's rights and issues in the mainstream of both the Republican and Democratic parties. In the 1972 political party conventions the number of women delegates increased- Democrats **from** 13% to 39% and the Republicans from 17% to 30%, **and** these women gave weight to feminist political pressure.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, the number of **women's** organisations increased giving support to the ERA. Feminist movement at its National Conference at **Houston** in 1977 **was** seen as a disaster or as a manifestation of robust political health. There were differences of ideological tendencies. NOW and ERA campaigns could, for specific purposes, bridge these divisions.

The third wave feminism which started from **1960's** has several important events at the beginning itself. The publication of Friedon's '**The** Feminine Mystique' in 1963 was a significant

marker, **as** enormous response was there **among** the American women in the years following its publications. Another event was the formation of Kennedy Commission, a Status Commission of women in 1961 and publication of its final report 'American Women' in 1963. Following these two markers, the National Organisation for Women (NOW) was founded in 1966.

### **Feminist Movement in Great Britain:**

British feminism was chronologically the second after the American movement to **emerge** in an organised form. It dates back to **1850's** though a few organisations were founded earlier whose implications were feminist in character.<sup>44</sup> In Britain, feminist ideas spread among **women** in the **1840's**. The first recognisable women's suffrage pamphlet was published in 1847 by Anne Knight, a quaker and the first suffragist organisation, Sheffield Association for **Female** Suffrage was formed in mid 1851. But as an organised movement, feminism emerged in the mid **1850's** a decade later than in America. The suffrage question came to the fore from the mid **1860's** and particularly/ following the defeat of J.S. Mill's attempt to get women included in the provisions of 1867 Reform Act. This led to the formation of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.<sup>45</sup> In fact Mill's Subjugation of Women had an incalculable influence on feminism. Almost every where social feminism began to flourish taking forms similar to those in America. Under the influence of Josephine Butler, a big campaign was launched against prostitution. In 1857, the Divorce Act was passed. As these reforms were in progress, opportunities were also expanding in the field of

education. In 1866 **female suffrage movement** presented to parliament a **petition** signed by 1,499 women demanding that suffrage reform then under consideration include votes for women. The leading **woman** until 1890 was Lydia Becker.<sup>46</sup>

Emma Patterson founded the British Trade Union League in 1873. It was led successfully by Mary Macarthur, its **secretary**. After 1903, various **women's** organisations were launched. The suffrage movement under the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies inclined towards the liberal party.<sup>47</sup> The conservatives several times voted against the female suffrage bills.<sup>48</sup> As a result, Women's Social and Political Union came into existence as a Radical Feminist Wing. By 1910, its prominent leader Mrs. Pankhurst launched a famous campaign of direct action, but it went in vain. During the First World War, a group of feminists intended to support the government, if their demands are conceded, while the other group extended unconditional support. **Despite** these  
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**differences**, feminism at the end of the war was still vigorous. The British feminist movement by the 1900 s became not only large and vigorous but also radical and successful. Its tactics which included frequent marches through the streets **and** demonstrations in the open air were more daring than those of any other feminist organisations outside the U.S.A.

Suffrage to the British Women was granted in two phases- to those aged 30 or above in 1918 and to all adults in 1928. This gave more life to British feminism in the **1920's**. **O'Neil** suggests that British feminism grew more radical than the American Feminism in the **first** decades of the twentieth **century**.<sup>50</sup>

In British, the WSPU disintegrated after 1919. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Society was **renamed** as National Union of Societies of Equal Citizens. It continued to press for equal rights. The drive to extend the vote to women under thirty was its central activity. But with considerable labour party support, feminists also secured a significant extension of women's **rights**. Women obtained equal rights to divorce and to the custody of children. In the place of militant feminism, both in Britain and America, welfare feminism prevailed in the **1930's**. Following the Second World War, most of the feminist in Britain **came** to believe that a new society in which there was the equality of sexes was institutionalized and marriage was conceived as partnership.

It is evident that in the 1950 s the contradictions in women's role multiplied and intensified. Continuously women experienced roles strains, with the expansion of higher education for women in **1960's**. As Rossi pointed out, unattached women played a central role in women's rights movement because of that relative independence from men. **Since** 1960 the age of marriage has moved up. The birth rate was dropped and the divorce rate has risen. <sup>51</sup>

It is interesting to note that, since the 1960 s British women began reemphasizing on equal political rights. Many younger women especially students got involved in politics, like in campaign for nuclear disarmament and Vietnam solidarity campaign. In 1969, the National Joint Action Committee for Women's Equal Rights was formed. It drew the attention of Marxist groups like the **International** Marxist Group. However, the British Groups lacked

continuous coordination **mechanism** other than conferences and publications and particularly Spare Rib a periodical launched in 1972. At the 1975 conference in Manchester, it was agreed to delegate, to a committee, responsibilities between the conferences **and** that committee came to be known as WIRES (Women Information Reternal and Enquiry Service ). After the circulation of Sheila Jeffney's paper 'A Need for Revolutionary Feminism', militants called themselves revolutionary feminists.<sup>52</sup>

### **Women's Movement** in Erstwhile U. S. S. R. :

During the Tsarist Regime, conditions were not **favorable** for the development of the feminist movement. 19th century Russia, governed by the authoritarian Tzar, was overwhelmingly rural and peasant in structure. Expression of feminism everywhere was only **literary**.

The **feminist** movement in Russia was more than usually isolated from men. Russian feminist **movement** emerged from **St. Petersburg** and Moscow. Mariya Trubrikona (1835-97), daughter of one of the aristocratic **dembrist** revolutions of 1825, derived her feminism from reading western literature and personal contact with Josephine Butler whom she met in England in the **1860** s. Feminist groups and organisations in Russia were encouraged by a letter of support from John Stuart **Mill**. It was the non-Russian literature that inspired women's cooperatives in this country. By 1895, Russian Women's Mutual Benefit Society was formed to concentrate on philanthropic causes. It helped to develop a feminist consciousness among its **members**.

Russian **feminist movement** which began as a **moderate** movement connected with the philanthropic society in the 1860 s underwent a transition to more radical aims and tactics after the revolution of 1905. Radical **feminism** was unable to emerge until the 1905 revolution because of the extremely repressive attitudes of the authoritarian **Tzarist** regime. The Russian feminist movement of the 1860 s was subjected to repeated frustration at the hands of the **authorities**. however, the social democrats and social revolutionaries believed in female equality. The movement carried its work of protection of working mothers. However, women played a minor role in the Social Democratic Party. Bolsheviks led by Lenin paid more attention to the recruitment of women into the party. But Bolsheviks regarded that the emancipation of women was something the world had to wait until the completion of the revolution.<sup>53</sup>

Since the time of **Kruschev**, there has been a steady stream of resolutions calling for the importance of **female** participation in the political process. During the 1970 s, there was evidence of a renewal of concern. **Breznev**, in a speech on 23rd Feb, 1981 at his last Congress said " It has to be acknowledged that so far not all possibilities are being used to promote women to executive posts". Mikhail Gorbachev also added to this point on 6 March, 1986, saying that "more women should be vigorously promoted to party posts". In spite of the stress on the promotion of women by the leaders, women's political education was not up to the mark. In the USSR, the sexual division of labour **exists** which gives women the major responsibility for the family. Traditional attitudes towards women persisted and female political

consciousness still fell below that of men. Moreover, women's own attitudes presented psychological barriers.<sup>54</sup> However, from Khrushchev's times, women started involving themselves in social activities. There is a womanly social organisation called '**Zhensovety**', which involved women workers in social activities and helped to organise public services. The Zhensovety appeared to have had the most success in mobilising women around the political and socio-economic decisions of the party and the state.<sup>55</sup>

Zhensovety tried to improve the lives of women, acting as a pressure group in the working **places**. It **frequently** intervened to improve women's working conditions. However, the main achievement had been to help women believe in their own strength and develop the relationship among them. Their growth helped to educate women towards collectivism, friendship and mutual support. Even though Zhensovety was organised as a women's wing for the cause of women, it was not as independent as the western women's organisations.

Feminist Movement in India:

Taking the lead from the early **efforts**, **some** Indian women began to work for the cause of women. Among the early prominent women reformists mention should be made of Panditha **Ramabhai** and **Ramabhai** Randey along with a host of men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy.<sup>57</sup> In the 20th century, the contribution of **Gandhiji** towards the emancipation of women is worth noticing. Writing in '**The Young India**' in 1926, **Gandhiji** said "the custom of child marriage is both a **moral** as well as a physical evil; ordinarily a

girl under eighteen years shall and never be given in marriage." Gandhiji boldly opposed the social evils that roan has made himself responsible. None is so degrading, so shocking or to brutal as his abuse of the better of humanity to the female sex, not the weaker <sup>co</sup> sex." Through his writings, Gandhiji tried to generate right thinking among the people. Gandhiji made the Indian woman into a person who is respecting and self confident.

In respect of women taking lead for the cause of other women, the establishment and functioning on the Women's Indian Association could be regarded as the first attempt to organise women on an all India basis. Started by Annie Beasant and Margaret Cousins on May 8th, 1917, this organisation developed 48 branches with a membership of 2700 by 1921 and 3000 by 1926.<sup>59</sup> The main objectives of the Women's India Association were to present to ~~women~~ their responsibility as the daughters of India; to secure for women the right to be elected and to bring ~~women~~ into a group for the purpose of self development and education. In 1917, the **WIA** submitted a memorandum to Montague, the Secretary of State for **India, requesting** extension of franchise to women of other dominions of the British Empire.<sup>60</sup>

In August 1919 the WIA decided to send representatives to England to work for female franchise. Mrs and Miss M.A. Tata followed by Sarojini Naidu submitted the statement regarding female franchise to the Joint Select Committee. As female franchise was regarded as a domestic subject, it was left by the parliament to be decided upon by the provincial legislative council. But it

ted an opportunity for the leading women in credit for this  
ent goes to Mrs. Annie **Beasant**, Mrs Sarojini **Naidu**, Mrs  
3ta and **Miss Mithan Lam Bar-at-law** whose arguments were.  
**vincing** to the **members** of parliament.<sup>61</sup>

On the 22nd and 23rd of April 1924 a National Convention  
Allahabad adopted a resolution to strive for equal rights  
on  
nd women to be incorporated in the constitution. The **WIA**  
ve like a pressure group and it had its links with the  
**ional Women's Suffrage Alliance**.

Another women's organization, the All India Women's  
ce, which came into existence in 1929 mainly campaigned for  
 **reforms** such as the Sarada Bill and for Women's Franchise.  
s during the 1920 s **and** 1930 s tremendous change occurred  
omen's movement in India. The movement consisted of  
ladies **and** Maharannies and these personalities were well  
ed with the Congress. The All India Women's Conference  
or the promotion of women's education and for the welfare  
and children. It had taken up problems of the national  
and by 1948, the middle class and working women had **come**  
64

This is a very far reaching development.

The constitution of independent India recognized the  
of sexes. Towards emancipation of **women**, the **Indian**  
**ent** passed progressive legislations which included the Hindu  
Act 1955, the Hindu Succession Act 1956, the Hindu  
and Guardian Act in 1956, the Suppression of Immoral

Traffic Act in 1956 and the Prohibition of Dowry Act in 1956. There are other acts like the Equal Wages Act, the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, the Special Marriage Act **1964**, entitling widows and divorced women to **remarry**, the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1972 and the Child Marriage prohibition Act 1976. The government propagated the Equal Remuneration Act (ERA) in **1976**.

The above discussion makes clear that the feminist movements in the U.S., USSR, UK and India initially focused more on their demand for social and economic equality based on gender. The political aspect, though visible, has not received first priority. In the recent decades, feminists have laid greater stress on political **equality**, quantitative and qualitative, as the prerequisite for other kinds of equality. It would be useful to give details of the concept of political equality. Political equality is having equal **opportunities** in public affairs. Equality is based on commonalty of **needs**. **Therefore** political equality means that all citizens should enjoy equal political rights without **limitations**.

Enjoying political equality is the need of every citizen. Before **feminism** has gained ground, women were deprived of political equality and they did not possess independent political status. In England and America, married women were not recognized as persons. Legal existence of women is suspended and incorporated into the husband.<sup>67</sup> Indian women also were maided in the same way on the lines of Manu's doctrines.

In the process of emancipation of women, political equality was considered as the last step. That is why Von **Hippel** aims at the inconclusiveness of women in the '**Rights** of Man'. If women are recognised as the fellow citizens of men, then the public status of men can be changed. The same arguments was expressed by Wollstonecraft during the French Revolution.<sup>fift</sup>

Among the efforts made by women to mobilise and involve women in the political process especially in the electoral process, mention should be made of women's parties established in different countries in 20th century. In Great Britain, Canada France, Ireland, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, Israel, U.S, Argentina, Chile, Australia, Japan, Malaysia, Korea, Philippines and now in Russia since 1993, women's parties got established. With the scarce data available about these parties, analysts have found that some of them have been successful, but none of them have been long lasting. The main objective of the early women's parties like those in Britain, Canada, U.S.A., Argentina and Australia is to get the vote for women. Since the 70 s of this century, **women's** parties emerged as a result of growing dissatisfaction with the limited number of women in elected offices and the scant attention paid by the politicians to women's concerns. The Norwegian Women's Party, the Women's Party of Netherlands and example of such parties. The Feminists Party of Canada, the women's party in Russia called Women of Russia could be also be mentioned. In Russia the women's party got more than 8% of the total vote in the recent election (1993-94). Whether women's parties are a successful strategy to get more women elected is a big question. Success depends on their

ideology, choice of **interests**, quality of leadership, interaction with the women's organisations **and** other **factors**. Only when a women's party can show that women's interests have their own political implications **and** relevance for political decision **making**, it will be able to attract and mobilise the female electorate. However, sharing of responsibility and participation in decision making by both the sexes in the political parties is a more feasible arrangement for realizing the goals of any system. In the opinion of Ursula it is not sufficient if political equality is granted. Women should also have the capacity and competence to participate **in** public affairs.<sup>69</sup>

To Barbara Rogers, the public issues are being defined by the political parties as entirely men's issues and women are reduced to choose among policies. Hence it is to be understood that political equality is an opportunity where by people can participate in policy **making** and forming political parties and leading them.

Feminists **in** Andhra Pradesh:

The above would suggest that feminism as a political movement has not been uniformly active around the world. The feminists have fought for political equality of women. Absence of institutional support like that of political parties is one of the strong hindrances for the active involvement of women in politics and for the assumption of leadership roles. In this context, the views of **some** prominent feminists in the state of Andhra Pradesh

could be mentioned. The writer has interviewed a number of prominent women in the state and also consulted feminist literature. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, the strong feminist organisations, led by women themselves like **Asmitha**, **Abhyudaya Samakhya**, **Strisakti Sanghatana**, **Progressive Organisation of Women**, **Democratic Women's Association**, **Andhra Mahila Sabha** are dedicated to the cause of women. Some organisations chiefly led by men, like the **Bhagavathula Charitable Trust**, **Jana Vignana Vedika**. **A. P Civil Liberties Association** are also concerned about the uplift of women. Very recently some of the above organisations are campaigning for the active participation of women in the political process. An organisation, whose main objective is that of encouraging women from local to national level politics, called (**State Committee of Women from the Panchayat to Parliament** emerged in 1995) Since 1980 more importantly in 1990's women's involvement in politics, campaign, political parties, representative institutions and decision making structures is felt to be the need of the day. **Vasantha Kannabhiran**, a committed feminist says that no importance is attached to women's experiences while framing political ideologies. Hence the programmes of political parties based on such ideologies will not be conducive to women's development. She strongly feels that women's experiences in daily life, their thoughts and desires are to be analysed for getting a right perspective about women and that it is necessary to frame ideologies, giving right place to women's experiences, aspirations and needs.<sup>70</sup> Arguing that '**personal is political**' a self declared socialist feminist and **writer**, **Volga** says that experience is personal and it has its relation to ideology. Continuing her

argument, she says **that** influence of patriarchy is higher over middle class and hence woman get less opportunity for political participation. She is against exploitation and gender **discrimination** and patriarchy and supports these evils.<sup>71</sup> Echoing Volga's views, Vasantha Kannabhiran says that feminism explains the politics of gender and it is a means to search answers to certain questions relating to gender **discrimination**.<sup>72</sup> In ~~an~~ attempt to bring out the differences between feminists and mass organisations (non-feminist organisations), K. Lalitha of Anveshi points out that the former observe democratic principles and the later are hierarchical. Hence women are denied of leadership roles in political parties and other organisations. In her opinion women's leadership in all organisations is necessary to solve several **problems**.

The feminists in the state in general, believe that the political parties are male dominated and they do not work for social change.<sup>73</sup> Hence feminists are against participation in legislatures. Dr. **Rampalli** Anasuya feels that political **parties** do not give proper training to women. Hence **women's** leadership is not developed. An interesting statement given by **Aparna**, a prominent leader of the Progressive Organisation of Women, is that attitude of feminists in general to keep themselves away from men is wrong. It is the patriarchy that is to be attacked. She favours active involvement of feminists in women's movements for achieving the goal of emancipation of women in the right direction.<sup>74</sup>

Feminists in Andhra Pradesh are in favour of superseding the hierarchies, achieving **women's** solidarity and **development** of women's studies **movement** which have also been supported by prominent women leaders like Devaki Jain **and Maitrei** Krishna Reddy of All India Women's Association. As suggested at the Global Summit of Women in 1992 by feminist leaders of states like Mary Robinson of Ireland, Igdris Finbogalloir of Ireland, the need for **identification** of a feminist method to evaluate the status of women is also felt by the feminists in India.<sup>75</sup> The need for coming out of barrier, while fight against barrier is realised. The Global **Summit** of Women and Political Leadership held at Taipei, Taiwan, February 1994, reemphasised on the need for increased efforts for mobilising women around the world for sharing political power and responsibility and decision making with men.

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## **CHAPTER-II**

### **POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ROLES OF WOMEN IN UK AND U.S.A.**

A study of the role of women in political parties and leadership positions in the U.S.A and U.K is very important because the first of these is one of the biggest democracies and the second is the oldest democracy in the world. Modern political thinkers usually compare these two states or anyone with these two for understanding the extent and nature of participation in political parties or in leadership roles. In both the countries, democratic systems are adopted. Though two party system is a common feature in these systems, the origins of political parties differ.

#### Women's Leadership in American Political Parties:

The origins of political parties in the U.S could be traced to the emergence of Federalists and Republicans in 1790's. Subsequently two parties -Democratic and Republican have evolved. In the opinion of William N. Chambers, the parties in America performed well by dealing with major problems, popular participation in a constitutional manner and so throughout the political system, political business was managed as the parties brought up new leaders. However, the democratic bent on the development of American parties found expression in the manner in which the parties performed political functions. American party leaders developed unusual skills in their group adjustment and combination, in compromise, in aggregating as well as mobilising interests and in practical rationalisation of political methods and processes.<sup>2</sup>

## Organisation:

Political parties in the United States are unique. Their structure, membership and recruitment patterns differ from other western political party systems. Western parties are described as mass parties, having mass membership, whereas parties in the United States are described as semi-mass parties. The cadre parties have different characteristics compared to mass membership parties. In the United States, different types of participation of people is considered as association to the party.

In some states, the voter enrolls with a party in the voter registration process. The voter assigns to himself a party identification. Volunteers and participants in the election campaign are also considered as party identifiers. Robert A. Blank classifies leaders and five other participants in the U.S.. They are general supporters, party identifiers, primary voters, members and workers.<sup>3</sup> James O. Wilson limits party membership only to leaders, workers and members.<sup>4</sup> In the opinion of Samuel Eldersveld primarily all are to be treated as members.<sup>5</sup>

Some important organisations such as Young Women's Christian Organisation, National Association of Business and Professional Women's Club, Women's War Council, the General **Federation** of Women's Club and more importantly the National Organisation of Women founded in 1966 by Betty Feidman **and** twenty seven other women. Contributed to raise in the subsequent decades the demand for equal political and other rights became more

vigorous. During Reagan's administration, a new Rights Movement was started in 1982 and consequently during the elections of the same year, 59% of women's votes went to the Democrats as **compared** to 38% of votes to the Republicans.

In spite of certain limitations, it was only by the time of Reagan's administration that women attained more top leadership positions than **before**. Three cabinet level positions were held by women in 1984. Margaret Heclar became the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Elizabeth Hansford Dole was **the** Secretary for Transport and Jeanne Kirk Patrik served as the **U.N.** Ambassador. Two women Nancy Lindon **Kassebaum** and **Poula** Haukins were the Senators in U.S.A. during that period. Whatever positions were held, these women leaders came from the upper strata and upper social origin. They had their education in prestigious private colleges and earned either Master's or Doctorate degree or Law degree. Women leaders earned advanced degrees compared to the male leaders. This strongly supports the argument that women need more **education** than men to

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compete effectively for top positions. Leadership of women has been less visible in the executive branch than in the Congress. In the Reagan's administration, women held a number of senior administrative positions, but they did not deal with women's issues. Failure of women's leadership in executive departments was found during this period as far as policies of **women** are concerned. This is mainly because women leaders were not having institutional mandate to address women's issues. During 1980-86, low priority was given to women's issues in the Congress. This shows a conservative

outlook, which did not last long. The Democratic recapture of the **Senate** in 1986 weakened Reagan's administration.<sup>9</sup>

#### Women **-Political Parties:**

As far as women's role and membership in American party system is concerned, there has been some change of situation in the years immediately following World War II. The educational system and political system got tremendously changed. Attempts have been made to constitute women's divisions within both the parties. but surprisingly in 1952 itself, those women's divisions within the party were abolished. It was thought that women should be integrated into the main parties but no change took place and the autonomy and activity of **women** were thereby destroyed.<sup>10</sup> Such a political situation faced by women in America was well noted by Linda Carstarphen Gugin, who said that participation of women is greater in the U.S.A. as it is with men in the functions of voting and expression of public opinion than in the party and **interest** group activity **and** in holding public office.

Steven D. Mclaughlin, giving an account of the changing patterns of American women, says that a generation gap was there from one decade to another. For instance, women born in **1920 s and** 1930 s differed **significantly** and in the same way women born between 1946 and 1964, have forced restructuring of the educational system, political system, labour force and the family. In his opinion Women's divisions in the political parties give **autonomy** to

women. But after the defeat in elections, in 1962, the Republican Party had **abolished** the women's division even without **consulting** them. Such measures destroyed the independence of women, because integration of **women** in a single organisation was not possible.<sup>12</sup>

As noted, women's participation was recognised much in **national** and state conventions, than in party activities and positions. Starting from 1920, both the major parties in the U.S.A. had the representation of women up to 10%. During 1948-68 women's representation in national conventions increased to **15%** in the Republican Party and to 13% in the Democratic Party. By 1984 there was a gradual increase of members in both the parties, i.e 44% in the Republican Party and 50% in the Democratic Party. From 1972 **onwards**, the democratic party kept up 10% representation of women over the Republican Party. But at the convention of 1988 both the parties showed a downward trend of women's representation in the national **conventions**. The Democrats could attract a good number of women professionals and technical occupants belonging to the economically sound strata of the society. This advantageous development was not seen in the Republican Party.<sup>13</sup>

Women members through different voluntary organisations like **Environmental**, School, Teachers, Ethnic, Women, Church and Public Interest Organisations have membership in both the parties. Comparatively for both the parties, there is less percentage of women from Teachers Organisations in the conventions of the years **1976**, 1980 and 1984. The Democratic Party attracted 55% to 60%

women from public interest groups or organisations, where as the Republican Party attracted 50% to 65% from church organisations during the four conventions, i.e. 1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984. From this type of representation, two important changes occurred between 1972-84. One was the increasing participation through voluntary organisations. In fact parties need such support. Secondly, women during this period, showed more interest towards male dominated groups. As an analyst says, women have the capacity to raise their strength in parties, if they raise their participation in such organisations.

In 1976, teachers associations helped to secure the nomination of Jimmy Carter for the presidency and in 1984 the efforts of NOW and other women's organisations were pivotal for securing the nomination of Gerald Ferraro, the first woman to contest for vice-presidency.<sup>15</sup> But formal equality did not bring power equality. As far as holding public offices is concerned, women are only seen in a negligible proportion. The percentage of democratic women holding public office at states' level raised from 5% to 15% during 1972-1984, whereas that of the Republican women from 2% to 20%. So gender is a consistent demarcator of attitudes towards women's role in politics in general and with in the political parties in particular. It is important to note that increasing involvement of women in political parties has not worked to lessen this sense of gender role consciousness. The increase in the proportion of women into public office has not been dramatic. It seems to be a piece with other developments, wherein women are

gradually acquiring social, economic and political positions, **formerly** reserved for men.<sup>17</sup> Some women did enter the rank of political leadership. Both male and female leaders reported at California Convention in 1964 were from large income groups and attained higher education.<sup>17</sup> The general similarity between personality characteristics of the Republican and Democratic female party leaders is noteworthy. The female political leaders differ from most other women in their attitudes. They are uncertain about themselves and about their situation in politics.<sup>18</sup> A substantially greater proportion of males held elective public offices during the 1917-64.

Women leaders were mostly locally oriented than male leaders. Added to this, women are politically active for only 10 years starting usually from their 50's. In spite of their short periods of service in the party, **women** take the organisational burden of the party in a realist **sense**. for male leaders, politics is only for enchantment and for women leaders, it is a 'labour of love'. Women show concern for party candidates and programmes. Male leaders are for self service and female leaders, for public service.<sup>19</sup> However, the Democratic Party encourages women more. It has its special auxiliary body to recruit women and it puts forth efforts in maintaining adequate representation of women at the national conventions.

In America, parties have an important political activity of conducting conventions at local, state and national levels. Thus the Democratic Party, by giving representation to women, is said to be shifting towards a purposive orientation.<sup>21</sup> If women are entrusted with the same duties, whether political or non-political, they fulfill them in a proper way to achieve the goals. Their concern is usually the duty and they may be hesitant or disinterested for power and authority in the political parties. That is why Irene J. Dabrouske stated that there were about 15,000 unknown women reporters and another 60,000 women became nameless party workers even though they have contributed their time, energy and competence in the campaign of Roosevelt's 'New Deal' policy in 1936.<sup>22</sup> Their perceptions also reveal that women are **more** favourable than men to the achievement of racial equality. Their outlook is liberal. There are women aspirants to the highest public office from both the parties. In the opinion of Frank and Jane, political women of both the parties now view themselves as potential candidates **for that office.**<sup>23</sup> They might have been inspired by Gerald **Ferraro**. for the same office, potential Republican candidates to be mentioned were Jeane Kirk Patrik, Nancy **Kassebaum** and Elizabeth Dole. The Democratic Party usually had more favourable links with women and their political participation. From the Democratic Party, the nationally recognised women politicians are Dianne Feinstein, Patricia Shroeder and Barbara **Mikulski**. If the U.S. political situation is compared with that of Norway, the former may be some what conservative than the Norwegian situation. The **Scandinavian** states are progressive in giving highest positions

to women. In 1980 s Gro **Harlem** Brundtland held the office of **Prime** Minister being a Labour Party leader **and** she could succeed in uniting the factional groups of the **party**.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Women in the Conventions:**

**Women** of America are found in some ranks of political leadership.<sup>25</sup> In spite of their low levels of participation, American women have very high perspectives of their roles. For the Republican and Democratic conventions at the national level, 97 women leaders attended during 1960 and 1964, out of which 17% were Republicans and 18% were Democrats. An important finding of Githens is that these women belong to high income groups and with high educational **qualifications**. As far as their perceptions are concerned, the women leaders are found to be having self confidence and their own achievements are a proof of their abilities as leaders. In this respect both the Republican and Democratic female party leaders have similarities. The personality characteristics of women of both the parties are found to be similar. These female political leaders differ from most other women in their tendencies towards their duties and their **services**.

#### **Women in Legislatures:**

In America, representation in the legislature is also considered as leadership in the party. During 1960 s a substantially greater proportions of males had held elective public

officers. Female leadership was only 29% **compared** to 48% of that of male leadership. For instance in the U.S.A. Congress between 1917 to 1964 only 70 women had served. Of these one half had their relatives in the Congress and the other half are either appointed or elected to fill the vacancies caused by the death of their husbands. In 1963-64, 4.5% of state legislators in the country were **women** compared to 2% members in the **Congress**. In the Jennings and Thomas Michigan study, women leaders found public office inaccessible. Women's representation in both the Houses of the Congress showed a slight difference. Anne Gibsons study showed that, from 1919-69 increase in the number of women representatives to the Senate was not conspicuous.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that a the more powerful body of the Congress, i.e., Senate had less women representative and the less powerful legislative House had more women representatives:

In the political caucuses, women participants are found to be young, highly educated and ideologically liberal. Before they were in **caucus**, they have been active in politics. It is apt to note the impact of Feminist Movement on the political participation of women in the U.S.A.. Karen **Beckwith** states that women relied on radio, T.V. and magazines for their political information as men as  
*no*  
used to. Women's participation across generations is noted as similar. The relationship between the support for feminist issues and political participation varies according to education. Education had its association with the political activities. Highly educated women become more feminist or active political

participants. In the year 1972, political participation of women was the strongest, when there was a great deal of feminist political activity. But by 1976, the relationship was negligible. As far as participation trends are concerned, working class women's participation was more than that of the middle class women. Women in the working class have lower levels of educational attainment.<sup>29</sup> The sources of women's political participation have not changed over time.<sup>30</sup> These conditions were justified by Marry Low Kendrigan.<sup>31</sup> To her, if political equality is to be realized, feminists must ask for increased political participation and political equality is closely related to women's participation in political parties. For instance the National Organisation of Women was highly responsible for increasing the political participation of women. So it is said that women's political caucus would have a lasting influence on political participation.<sup>32</sup> Again the general progress of **America** has its reflection on the improved women's place.<sup>33</sup>

Politics in 1992 in the U.S. have been regarded as remarkable, as American women played an emphatic role during the presidential elections. Ruth **Mandel** the director of the Centre for the American Women and Politics, is optimistic about the progress of women after the 1992 elections. A United States News poll found that 61% of those surveyed and 80% of women under 30 expressed that the country would be governed better if **more** women held political **office**.<sup>34</sup> When the same News Poll was conducted in the year 1986, only 28% held such view. The attitudinal change is mainly due to growing

**importance** of **women's** issues in U.S.A.. There is a feeling that female candidates are judged to be **more** honest than male candidates. Nancy **Kaszak**, who was campaigning for the Illinois legislature expressed confidence that more women would get seats in the state legislature. In spite of the confidence among some women candidates, the biggest obstacle for female progress was the power of male incumbency, which was partially reduced. It is interesting to note that during the 1992 **elections**, **more** than 12 women contested to the Senate and 140 to the House. Women proved themselves in **doubling** the **campaign** fund in 1992 to support **women** candidates.<sup>35</sup> The expectations of the women have come true as after 1992 elections 6 out of 100 Senators are women and 49 representatives out of 435 are **women**. Out of the 6 women Senators, Carol **Mosely** Brown is an African American woman. Of the 49 women **members** in the House of Representatives, 37 are Democrats and 12 Republicans. Among them, women of different races are to be **found**. This shows the change of outlook of voters on one hand and extension of leadership positions to different races on the other. In the opinion of Ruth **Mandel**, "In the State Legislature also the gains for women were solid". Again it is stated that women legislators are fair in making domestic policy decisions and so it is expected that women's political leadership is a sign of growth.

In addition to legislative roles, 21 women held the executive offices at the state's level after 1992 elections, i.e. 22.2% of all positions. This change, to Americans, is the product of decades of hard work and **preparations**. Talented and young women occupied

the positions. In 1993, the American Women's Movement **reemphasised** its **stand** of achieving more advantages for women. **Ruth E. Mandel** Director of **C.A.W.P.**, states that women kept up their progress at the states' level and that would increase at every elections, "Inch by inch, election year by election year, the women in the states moved us towards parity for women and men in politics". Thus by the 1992 elections, women's leadership in the state legislatures showed a continuous growth. There has been an increase of 2% from 1992 to 1993. This increase added confidence **among** the aspirants.<sup>37</sup>

In the opinion of Susan Carroll, '**Gender** gap in voting also is to be considered for estimating leadership roles of women'. In 1988 the gender gap was only 45 and it increased to 13% in 1992 elections, and similarly, assessment of women's leadership can be made with the figures relating to campaign funding as the base and during 1992, there has been an increase in the campaign fund raising.

#### Women's Leadership in British Political Parties:

The party system in Britain **has** been a product of some important factors- the electoral system, the homogeneity of the country and the class base. The two party system is said to be the life blood of the British politics.<sup>39</sup> Though some changing trends could be identified, there are two major parties in Britain- Conservative and the Labour. The Conservative Party has been for a long time the leading ruling party. It is the strongest among the

middle class and upper class in addition to the support from **other** sections of the people. Following the elections in **1979**, **Margaret** Thatcher was chosen as the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. She is the first woman Prime Minister of England.<sup>40</sup>

As is well known, women's economic and social status mostly shape their roles and positions in the political parties and governmental organs. Women in the British society have gained confidence due to the development of feminist outlook and the feminist **demands** through innovative leadership. The radical women leadership in this country was successful only to strengthen women's movement. Surprisingly, women were discouraged by Thatcher's government from holding key positions. The government compromised with the traditional roles of women. In the society, a traditional general outlook makes men the main earning **members** of the family and the women's earnings are only **supplementaries** to it.<sup>41</sup> Before 1970 s 40% women were employed in the British labour force and promotions were rarely given to **women**. Such an attitude reveals that women were given only lower economic roles. It was through the feminist movement, some changes by organising women at different levels have been brought. So the role of women inside the political parties and governmental organisations slowly began to grow. The feminist movement succeeded in realising some of its goals resulting in the passing of Equal Pay Act of 1970, and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. Women achieved equal opportunities in education, employment and housing. They began to divert their

attention towards leadership roles in the trade unions, political parties and public offices. There have been some fluctuations to be found **from** time to time as far as women's roles are concerned. Women in Britain constitute 52% of the electorate.<sup>43</sup> During the Thatcher regime, 7% **M.P.s** were women. In the year **1981**, 23% of women secured certain positions in consumer societies, trade unions and industries. The change is largely due to the constitution of Equal Opportunities Commission in the year 1977 and its efforts. Even though in several organisations women's membership increased, it has not been conspicuously visible. Their participation has been mainly confined to direct action. They participated in protest marches, health campaigns and anti-poverty lobbies.<sup>44</sup> These activities have only been short lived and did not give long standing leadership to women. Women were not found conspicuously in the political leadership roles also.

In spite of the above situation, to a certain extent, **women** occupied roles in political parties' representative bodies. Christopher T. Husbands estimates women's leadership roles in the year 1985. Neil Kinnock and Jo Richardson took keen interest and initiation **and** as a result, the national executive of the Labour

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Party, decided to form the Women's Rights Division. The Liberal Party has been supporting women's issues and decided to be in front of women's rights campaign. Recently, the Social Democratic Party published an extensive policy for women giving membership to women in its national executive, which has 8 members. As it is a raising political party, it has tried to avoid gender gap.<sup>46</sup>

In the opinion of **Joni** Lovenduski, the British political culture encourages considerable degree of government secrecy and discourages new aspirants for the high posts. As new categories to the highest posts, women were denied these roles. Therefore women have never been as much as 5% of the membership of the House of Commons. Upon first entering the House, women have been older than their male colleagues. The House of Lords after 1958 consisted of 5% to 6% of women. The low number of women in the House of Commons is due to the reluctance of political parties to select **women** candidates at the constituency level. Women are likely to be candidates in England and Scotland and in Wales it is a discouraging situation. Women **M.P.s** are found to be right in feeling that constituency selection committees are biased against

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women candidates.

During the first **term** of Margaret Thatcher, only one woman, was included in the cabinet in September 1981. In 1983, 3 women were given lesser ranks. In view of these **factors**, Lovenduski states that Margaret Thatcher was not an enthusiastic promoter of women. Usually women have been given the portfolios of education, health and consumer affairs. Only two women held portfolios other than these. Margaret Bondfield held the Ministry of Labour and Barbara Castle held the Ministry of Labour and Transport.

In 1983, there was an increase in women's membership of the House of Commons. Thirteen Conservative women and ten Labour

women were elected. Women's representation increased from 29 in 1964 to 41 in 1987 and to 60 in 1992 in the House of Commons. As pointed out by Amanda **Muir**, a member of the group of 300 which works towards equal representation of women in parliament, sheer hard work, determination and insistence have helped the success of women members of parliament. Within the parliament, women have been better distributed through the committee system than in the cabinet positions.<sup>48</sup>

Regarding voting behaviour, certain changes can be observed. In the years 1945-46, the Labour Party had a clear lead of male voters, i.e. 19% over the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party had a 15% more female score in 1951 and 13% in 1955.<sup>49</sup> In the elections of 1979, 1983 and 1987 much difference was not found in the voting percentage of males and **females**. In 1983, **women** voted more for the Conservative Party and less to the Labour. Corresponding to voting behaviour, the Conservative Party got more women parliamentarians. Between 1964 and 1976, there were about 5% of women candidates in the House of Commons, whereas in 1979 there were 9% and 1983 11%. So there has been a gradual increase of women candidates and members in the House of **Commons**. Although women were elected to the Conservative Party, there was less scope for women to get leadership positions.<sup>50</sup>

## Local Governments:

In the local governments also men dominate. In 1964, 12% of councilors were women and this increased to 17% in 1985. The Senate Committee reported that each council has only one women representative on it and the women councillors are aged. The younger women were not having a place in the council.<sup>51</sup> In 1976-77 County Councils' elections, women constituted 17% of the total candidates of the elected councilors. Lovenduski points out that geographical mobility was undoubtedly a constraint upon the participation of most women in national political offices. In 1983, women were better represented at the local than at the national level, though regional variations were apparent. In England 19% of councilors' positions in Shire Counties, 13.5% in the Metropolitan Counties and 14.1% in the Greater London Council have been occupied by women. Women were only 11% in the Council of Ministers. In 1983 women occupied only 12.2% of chairpersons in Shire Councils and in Metropolitan Councils, women occupied 5.7% of the committee chair positions. In Wales only 2.2% of women leaders were present. No women served as the leader of Greater London Council. A subject specialisation was evident at this level.

In Britain, political parties have 10% of adult population as members. The Conservative Party had 50% and the Labour Party had 40% of women membership. In other two parties i.e. Liberal membership was approximately about 40%.

Both the labour **and** Conservative parties have women sections in the party **organisations** and special provisions are made for **women's** representation at the national level. For the Labour Party, women are poorly represented at party **conferences**. The Labour Party reserved 5 seats to women at the party's national executive. In the Conservative Party, women have places reserved throughout the party structure. Conservative women are about 38% of the annual **conference delegates**, about 20% of the executive committee members and 18% of the membership of the important advisory committee on policy at the central office. But **women** were under represented at the decision making levels. At the leadership levels, the Social Democratic Party decided to include two women. In addition, there were two women groups within the Labour Party. These groups specially campaign for equal representation and women's equal rights. **Forman** states that self-made women managed to enter parliament through getting candidature from the Conservative Party.<sup>53</sup>

After 1983, elections, Emma Nicholson, vice-president of the Conservative Party was given responsibility to encourage more women and in the Labour Party Joyce Gould was the party's women's officer. It is to be noted that women's representation has barriers as far as the selection process is concerned. First, a woman must make herself available as a candidate. Secondly, she roust be approved by the party and finally she must be adopted by a constituency. Constituency selection is the most troublesome stage.<sup>54</sup> The Labour Party candidates are supported by trade unions.

It is also believed that the British electoral **system** impedes the political promotion of women.

However, the parties are significant gate keepers of the political careers of women. The political promotion of women has yet to become an important priority in Britain. From 1958 to 1988, the life peership to women was increased to 47. By life peership, women were given certain roles in the House of Lords.<sup>55</sup>

From the above discussion, it is clear that women in Britain gained legitimacy as political leaders through apprenticeship system controlled by party leaders. But the U.S. party system does not give complete support to the leaders and so women are not able to hold the highest positions. This is also because of the complex and costly system of selecting the candidates for the posts. Selection process is different in both the systems and structural differences are there between these two systems. Of these two, parliamentary **democracy** of Britain has **more** impact on Indian democracy and so an assessment of women's roles in U.S.A. and Britain is useful to deal with the leadership roles of women in India.

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## **CHAPTER-III**

### **WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS IN INDIA**

Any assessment of **women's** participation in Indian politics and leadership roles requires a study of their roles during freedom movement and their part in political processes and organisation. These roles, as is well known, are **influenced** by religion, customs, patriarchy and other factors. In **this** context some assessment are worth mentioning.

Girija Khana and **Mariyamma** A. Vergheese give a picture of social customs and **smrities** that shaped the behaviour of **women** in India and narrate how their freedom was curtailed. **Marcus** B. Fuller in her book 'The Wrongs of Indian Womanhood' **explains** how Hindu religious customs became obstacles to the **emancipation** of women. Malladi **Subbamma**, author of several books in **Telugu**, traces the causes for subjugation of women and stresses that **religion** is the basic factor for the backwardness of Indian women. 'Thinking on similar lines Maria Mies in her 'Indian Women and **patriarchy**, deals with the conflicts and dilemmas of Indian women **students** and working women. Maria Mies mainly deals with women's biographical case studies which reveal the incapable roles **and** conflicting situations in the changing society.

**Vijay** Agnew in her book 'Elite Women in Indian Politics', Neera Desai in 'Women in Modern India', Manohar Kour in 'Women in Indian Freedom Struggles', **Veena Majumdar** in 'Symbols of Power' deal with political roles and political participation **of** women in India. Recently certain books have come out on the roles **of** women in Panchayat Raj written by writers like **Manikyamba and Suseela**

Koushik. In 'Women in Politics', Vibhuti Patel deals with the need for participation of women in decision making process. Susela Patni in 'Women in Political Elite' examines the implications of role perceptions and role conflicts and Uma sekaran in 'Women Power' stresses on the need for creating gender positive environment. J.K. Chopra in 'Women in the Indian Parliament' wrote about the role played by women in the Parliament.

In the opinion of Veena Majumdar, no serious examination of the emergence of women's questions in India and women's equality as an issue was taken as a study. To her, until women's equality issue is taken as an ideology for nation building, a change is not to be expected. To the question 'Women have fallen behind', why? according to her, the answer is that women are not being accepted in the political deliberations. During the freedom movement thousands of women participated, but the details of women who participated and sacrificed for the nation have become 'nameless and faceless'. Moreover, about the role of women in other popular movements, nothing is brought out. There are popular movements, peasants' movements, workers' movements, in which women participated in considerable numbers and played important roles. The Status Committee report finds that the role performed by women as a pressure group on the political process had become virtually

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nil.

## **Women In the Freedom Movement:**

With regard to participation of women in Freedom Struggle, India had a rich past, unlike western countries.<sup>3</sup> During the freedom movement, a few women belonging to the upper strata of the society were brought into the mainstream of politics.<sup>4</sup> Gandhi's attempt to uplift women had less impact at the grass root level.<sup>5</sup> Usha and Usha give an estimate of women's participation in the Indian National Congress. After the setting up of Indian National Congress, ten women delegates from educated and progressive families, attended the Congress session in 1889 for the first time. In 1897, many women attended the Congress as delegates. Most of the women who attended the Congress worked as volunteers and very few participated in deliberations. However, there is no denying the fact that their very presence at the Congress session was enough to make a qualitative difference in the nature of organisation. As Sarojini Naidu said, 'when the air is full of the spirit of non-discrimination, I do not see why it is necessary that a woman must speak.'<sup>7</sup> Even though in large numbers, women's participation was a part of mass national movement, certain roles were performed by them during the Freedom Movement, in the Ashrams, Congress committees, leadership roles in Salt Satyagraha. And their part was not negligible in revolutionary, peasant, workers and such movements which were part of the national Freedom Movement.

Duvvuri Subbamma a dynamic woman from Andhra Pradesh served as a member of All India Congress Committee for 14 years from 1922 onwards.<sup>o</sup> Eminent women like Sarojini Naidu, Rukmini

Dasgupta also served as members of All India Congress Committee. But in the Provincial Congress Committees, as Durgabayamma reported, women members were negligible and the result was that women were not selected as candidates to contest for the provincial legislatures.' But Kamala Nehru was a member of U.P. Congress

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Committee and participated in key decision making in 1931. Duvvuri Subbamma played a key role in the Kakinada Congress in 1922 and was included as a member of All India Khaddar Board which was meant for propagating the need for production of Khaddar.

#### Women as Presidents:

Some women occupied the highest positions of the office of the president of All India Congress. Annie Besant became the Congress President in 1917 and Nelli Sengupta in 1933. Annie Besant stated 'the strength of the Home Rule Movement is rendered ten fold greater by the adhesion to it of a larger number of women who bring to it the uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self sacrifice of the feminine nature. The league's best recruits and recruits are among the women of India.'<sup>12</sup> Annie Besant along with Balgangadhar Tilak started the Home Rule Movement in India. Sarojini Naidu dedicated her life in the service of the mother India. At the memorable session of the Indian National Congress in 1915, she had read a poem and inspired the delegates. She became the Congress President in 1925. Emphasising on the unity of India,

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she gave the shortest and the sweetest presidential address. Sarojini Naidu asserted in her speech, "No sacrifice is too heavy, no suffering is too great, no martyrdom is too terrible that

enables us to redeem our mother from the unspeakable dishonour of our bondage".

Though before independence, 3 women were given the roles as presidents of the Congress, after independence, it was Indira Gandhi, the only woman to occupy that position. Swarna Kumari Devi, sister of Rabindranath Tagore and K. Ganguli were the eminent participants during the first decades of 20th century.<sup>15</sup> Since then women of proved eminence could reach the peak. Annie Besant organised the Theosophical Society, worked as a prominent leader of the Home Rule Movement and edited news papers for the purpose of educating the people.<sup>16</sup> She brought new ideas, new talents, new resources and altogether a new method of organisation and a new outlook in the field of Congress. In the same way Sarojini Naidu also brilliantly played a variety of roles. Sarojini Naidu was the key person along with other prominent leaders for the arrangement of peace between the Congress and government in 1931. Consequently, Gandhiji was convinced to lead the Congress for talks.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Women in Ashrams:**

Most of the prominent women during the Freedom Struggle either spent in the Ashrams or got political training in Ashrams while serving the **Ashramites**. For this purpose, Raj Kumari **Amrit** Kour, Sushila Nayyar and Mira Ben served the Ashramites in a big way as per the observations of Prithvi Singh Azad. Raj Kumari Amrit Kour spent for some time in **Sabarmati** learning from **Gandhiji** and serving the Ashramites. Sushila **Nayar** started her political career

in Snbnm;iti , serving the poor patients as a young doctor. Prithvi Singh Azad wrote 'Mira Ben' continued to serve the cause of the Indians if it were the cause of Bapu himself, sincerity and devotion. By writing her book, 'The Spirit's Pilgrimage, she did to India a great service<sup>19</sup>.

Along with Gandhi, Kasturaba Gandhi did notable service, especially by awakening women and propagating **Khadi**. All the women members of Nehru's family actively participated in **the** Civil Disobedience Movement. **Kamala** Nehru displayed a talent for organisations and became a strong willed woman capable of leading people after her.<sup>20</sup> **Vijaylakshmi** Pandit and **Rameswari** Nehru were also active in the nationalist movement. **Vijayalakshmi** Pandit also held the role of the president of General Assembly of the U.N.O.<sup>21</sup>

#### Women and **Revoluti ons**:

Revolutionaries also took part in the Nationalist Movement, by adopting the extreme and violent methods for achieving the goals. **Kalpna** Dutt, inspired by Chittagong Armory, joined the revolutionary organisations at an early age and she worked vigourously in the movement from 1930 to 1933 and got transportation for life. Prithi Latha, a senior revolutionary during freedom movement, led a group of seven in an attack on the European Club at Pahartali in the suburbs of Chittagong on 25th sept, 1931. All other members of the group escaped but Prithi Latha **committed** suicide. In her pocket, she carried a message to **the** women of India. It said, "Women today have taken the firm resolution that

they will not remain in the background... I earnestly hope that our sisters would not nurse the feeling that they are weak. With this hope in my heart, I am proceeding today for **self-immolation**". While expressing her will she wanted to show that women could also sacrifice their lives for the country.<sup>22</sup> Such was the dedication of women in the Freedom Movement.

#### Women's **Participation** in Army Upsurge & Trade Union Movement:

Participation in trade unions and working in **army** upsurge were recognised as part of patriotic activity. Ahilya Rangenkar and **Vimala** Ranadive participated in various strikes during freedom movement. They led the women and organised women towards supporting historic struggles in 1946. When an **Army** Upsurge was going on in 1946, it was women who performed services to the army people and were attacked by the police. 32,000 army personnel in different posts were supported by the organised leadership of **Vimala** Ranadive and Ahilya Rangenkar. According to **Vimala** Ranadive, women's participation was '**very efficient**' during that struggle.<sup>23</sup> **Leela** Sundarayya dedicated her life for the working class and participated in Telengana Peasants' Movement. Subsequently, she worked tirelessly for the Communist Party of India. **Ushatai** Dange, an eminent woman leader of the working class, ~~was~~ fought against the social evils on the one hand and on the other ~~she~~organised the working class women, poverty stricken peasants, and also lower class women. Renu Chakravarthi from Bengal, Parin **Ramesh** Chandra from Punjab, Suseela Gopalan from South India, Moturi **Udayam** from Andhra Pradesh participated for the working class benefits.

Bharathibai Bhore served for the working class and women's development. Suseela Gopalan devoted her life for the cause of women. Moturi Udayam worked through Praja Natya Mandali. Aruna Asaf Ali, a militant Congress leader, joined Congress as **sevika** and dealt with women's issues. She participated in **militant** activities and went to the underground during the Quit India Movement. She hoisted the national flag with extraordinary courage and leadership defying the rules according to the British. Same kind of courage, in a different way, was shown by captain **Lakshmi**, who joined Azad Hind Fouz as a commanding officer of women's regiment. She played the role of a soldier in serving the cause of Indian Freedom Movement.<sup>27</sup> The heroic role of women in the revolutionary movements during the **Freedom** Struggle continued to inspire the people even today.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Women in Women's Movement:**

While participating in political **movement**, Indian women tried for their own liberation. As pointed out by Arpana Basu, 'In India, **feminism** and nationalism were closely interlinked'.<sup>29</sup> Hence, Indian women's **movement** had a unique nature. Between the **two** world wars, women had to play two roles and a variety of objectives were sought by women from time to time, through their leadership and organisational abilities. At the beginning of the century, women's movement was confined to campaign **and** education for **women**, linked with social reform movement. The role played by Banduru **Atchamma** was that of a silent campaigner of awakening women. In the path of reforming women, Panditha Rama Bai started Sarada Sadan. Such

roles were taken over by Sarala Ray, Sunitha Devi, Nalini Datta,<sup>31</sup> and Rameswar' Nehru in Northern India and Kadnukuri Rajyalaxmi, Subhalaxmi Ammal, Sarojini Naidu and Durga Bai Deshmukh in South India.<sup>32</sup>

Durga Bai Deshmukh, popularly known as Bayamma, a social reformer and a leader of the nationalist movement, carried on her mission till the last, establishing several service activities for the development of women. Her most important achievements was that she established Andhra Manila Sabha at Madras and Hyderabad for the conduct of these activities. Her dynamism and leadership were recognised by the Congress Party and she was nominated to the Constituent Assembly. Subsequently she served as the member of the Planning Commission and contributed to the development of the nation.<sup>33</sup>

Mass women's movement and mass organisation grew among women in various parts of India. The most important among the organisations were the Mahila Atma Raksha Samithi of Bengal, Andhra Mahila SanghaiD and Mahila Sangham of Kerala.<sup>34</sup> In the Indian women's movement, the first organisation was 'Women's India Association' formed by Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Muthu Lakshmi Reddy, Margaret Cousins, and Kamala Devi Chotopadhyaya in 1917. These women laid the real foundation for the women's movement in India and tried to promote women's political participation by giving prime importance to women's suffrage and the next objective was to secure nomination in the legislature.<sup>35</sup>

Another women's organisation was the All India Women's Conference, started in 1927. Its prominent leaders and presidents were Sarojini Naidu and Vijaylaxmi Pandit. Among the secretaries, mention should be made of Hansa Mehta, Kamala Devi Chhotopadhyaya and Peddada Kameswaramma. They developed branches all over India and by the mid 1930s the association claimed a membership of over

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10,000 women. While the women's organisations found it easy to take a firm and consistent stand as patriots, they found it difficult always to accept the priorities and tactics dictated by male dominated political parties. As far as the All India Women's Conference is concerned, there was a rift between women members participating in the freedom struggle and women members, who claimed the association to be apolitical. Among the active women of the association who resigned between 1939-43 were Hilla Rustomji, a Parsi from Hyderabad Muslim educationist, Rahamathunnisa Begum and Yuvarani Saheba of Pithapuram. Begum Hamid Ali, President of the A.I.W.C. in 1940, was critical of the Central Legislative Assembly for passing one sided laws.<sup>37</sup> The issues taken up by A.I.W.C. were pardah, legal equality and child marriages. Relentless efforts of Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, Charulatha Mukherjee, and Renuka Bay and many others resulted in the appointment of Narasingh Rau Committee to inquire into women's legal disabilities and to suggest reforms.<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion, it could be said that women in the women's movement during the Freedom Movement worked for the emancipation of women to root out social evils and also worked as a pressure group on the Assemblies to bring legal reforms towards uplifting the

status of women. The need of bringing a social change through Hindu Code was supported by liberal thinkers like **C.D.Deshmukh**, V.V. Joshi and Hari Singh Gour before and after independence.

After independence the women's movement was passive till 1970s. But from **1975**, women's prominence started slowly increasing either through organising women or taking up women's issues and also through trying to enter legislatures. For instance '**Saheli**', the Institute of Social Studies Trust in New Delhi, Uma in Bangalore, Priya in New Delhi, **I.W.I.D.** in Madras, Stree Atyachar Virodhi Parisada in Nagpur, Sahiyar in Baroda are working for women's local problems from 1970s and also doing participatory research about women's problems. Recently certain women's **movements** have taken the objectives of protecting environment and those movements include '**Chipcho** Movement', '**Sarovar** Bachao Andolan' by **Mamta Benarji** and '**Narmada** Bachao Andolan' by **Medha Patkar**.

During the 60s, specific women's issues did not surface prominently, yet women were mobilised in large numbers in general struggles of the rural poor, tribals, industrial workers and other mass movements. Participation of women in anti-price rise demonstrations, rural revolts in **Dhule** District in Maharashtra and the Anti-Arrack Movement in Andhra Pradesh are some of the struggles. During the International Women's Decade (1975-1985) women's autonomous organisations revitalised their activities. Another step forward was the organisation of women's **conferences**. Towards exchanging the ideas, to discuss general problems of women and to draw possible solutions, certain women's **conferences** have

been organised by women's study centres. Some examples could be noted here. In 1975, **Street Sakti Sangharsh** organised a **conference** of working class women at **Pune**. In February, 1988 a Conference of **Women's Liberation Front** was held. Thereby **Indian Association of Women's Studies** was born. To bring the women academics and women activists and women leaders of political parties on to a common platform, the **Indian Association for Women's Studies** has been playing an important role. Women's associations have been trying to exchange their views even with feminist organisations.<sup>39</sup>

#### **Women in the Legislatures:**

In independent India, women entered the parliament and their participation has been extended to the legislative deliberations also. Women have been active participants in the voting process. In the 1952 **general** elections, **women's** participation was minimal as the percentage of voting was only 37.1. But it had interestingly moved up to 58.17% in 1984, but declined to 47.30 in 1991.

In 1952 women's membership in Lok Sabha was only 4.4 percent, but in 1984, it moved to 7.9 percent. Thus, the increase in the percent of women members is not significant. In 1991, women membership in the Lok Sabha is only **6.6** percent. It declined in 1989 to 5.3 percent. The situation compelled women's organisations to agitate for the 30 percent reservation in the state legislatures and in parliament. This is also due to the reason that support from the political parties is not encouraging.<sup>40</sup> Not only in the

parliament, even in the central cabinet, very few positions are held by women. In Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet only one woman, other than her, was a cabinet minister during the entire period of her leadership. The absence of women in adequate numbers in the cabinet is a reflection of the strength of women members in the parliament.

In spite of limited membership of women in parliament, they have duly participated in its proceedings. J.K. Chopra's Study makes clear that in the four decades during 1952-1989, women parliamentarians introduced in all about 150 bills. Out of these 110 were introduced in the Lok Sabha and 40 bills in the Rajya Sabha. In the Seventh Lok Sabha, the maximum number of bills introduced by women were 35. And in the Fourth Lok Sabha, women introduced only two bills. It is to be noted that women introduced bills specifically concerning women. General issues were not taken up by them, at the bills' introduction stage.<sup>42</sup>

The prominent women, who took initiative in introducing the bills in parliament include Raj Kumari Amritha Kour, Suchetra Kripalini, Durga Bai, Deshmukh, Renu Chakravarthi, Indira Gandhi, Parvathi Krishnan, Rukmini Devi Arundale, Tarakeswari Sinha, Suseela Nayyar, Sarojini Mahishi, Nandini Satpathy, Margaret Alva, Geeta Mukherji, Pramila Dandavathy, Sheila Kaul, Nazma Heptulla and Mohishini Kidway. The women who introduced the bills, belong to the upper strata of the society. They had political affiliations of their families or association with the national movement. Most of them were elected to parliament again and again and got much

experience as parliamentarians. During the said period, they represented on 126 parliamentary committees of different nature.

After independence, women joined the realm of politics in large numbers. Even the younger generations started showing keen interest in politics.<sup>44</sup> During I and II Lok Sabhas, women raised in the Lok Sabha issues mostly connected with the partition of the country. During that period, women who were dynamic and keen participants in discussion were Amritha Kour, Durgabai, Deshmukh, Suchetra Kripalini and Farvathi Krishnan. In the III Lok Sabha, women from South and West Bengal were more active. In the IV Lok Sabha, participation of women was very difficult due to problems of strength of the majority party. In the V Lok Sabha, national emergency had become a setback to women candidates. Again popularity of women legislators gained in the VII Lok Sabha and they have contributed considerably in discussions.<sup>45</sup>

Women were under represented in the Upper House and Key positions were rarely held by them. In each decade, a marginal number of key positions were occupied by women. After a long gap, it is Jayalalitha, who is holding an important position at the state level, i.e. Chief Ministership in Tamil Nadu. Due to her initiative and charismatic leadership, she continues to hold the position. That is why, towards women's development, their voice is to be introduced in the larger decision making process.<sup>46</sup>

## **Women in State Legislatures:**

(Women's representation in the state legislatures in India emerged from 1935 onwards.) By 1940 there were 80 women members in the state and provincial legislatures. Dr. **Muthu Lakshmi** Reddy was identified as the first woman to secure nomination to Madras Legislative Assembly. **Kamala** Devi Chotopadhyaya contested for the Madras Legislature but lost. **Ammanna** Raja was elected as Deputy Speaker in the Madras Legislative Assembly. She held the position with high dignity and proved her capabilities and subsequently got elected to Rajya Sabha after independence. In 1946 **Rukmini Lakshmipathi** became not only a member of the legislature but was also inducted as minister in the **Prakasham** Ministry.

After independence, women like Nandini Satpathy in Orissa; Suseela Gopalan and Gouri in Kerala; Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu; Roda Misthi, Sarojini **Pulla** Reddy, Sada **Laxmi** in Andhra Pradesh; Yasoda Devi, **Kamala** Beniwall, Girija Vyas and Sumitra Singh in Rajasthan emerged as powerful women in their respective legislative assemblies.<sup>49</sup> They proved their abilities and among them Jayalalitha, Suchitra Kripalini and Nandini Satpathy could handle the highest power and authority of Chief Ministership at the state level.

The above are some of the examples to suggest that eminent women have been present in state legislatures. Women can contest and participate if 30 percent of reservation policy is properly implemented.

## Women in Elections:

In India women dominate the election scenario, but disappear after elections. Women generally participate in election adopting certain campaign techniques. In the elections for parliament and state assemblies, women mainly carry on propaganda through door to door campaign. Election rallies are also attended by them. In India, there are some charismatic women leaders. Indira Gandhi and Jaya Lalitha are the best examples in this context. In four **parliamentary** elections and assembly elections since her entry into politics, Indira Gandhi was leading the election campaign. She used to attract the Indian masses in the public meetings. Her charisma and economic programs secured for the Congress 51.3% votes and 441 seats in 1971 elections.

In the general elections of 1967 the Congress party lost elections in nearly half of the states and returned to parliament with a simple majority. To overcome the political situation, she tried to manage the crisis by the slogan '**Garibi Hatao**'.<sup>51</sup> She tried to delink the elections to the parliament **from** those of the state assemblies. In 1971, she had become India's only national personality by calling the first midterm parliamentary elections before the full five years of the Lok Sabha had been completed and 1971 elections were conducted in the name of plebiscite about the single issue of who should be the leader. The state assembly elections in 1972 provided similar opportunities.<sup>52</sup> It was a success for the crisis management of Indira Gandhi. In 1977, Indira Gandhi had to face the surprise defeat but for her emergency

excesses. She had utilised the media in 1980 and campaign process became centralised. Usually electoral campaign in India have been highly personalised affairs. During the elections, she toured extensively on the road and gained 351 seats to Congress in 1980, securing absolute majority in the parliament. It was considered as a Second Indira Wave, the first taking place in 1971-72 elections. However, in 1971 and 1977, Indira Gandhi fought the elections adopting socialist oriented programme with the objective of 'Garibi Hatao'.<sup>53</sup> She converted the elections and the government from 1971 to 1977 as one woman show. All ministers became hench men and came to the sero level of existence.<sup>54</sup> But the percentage of votes for Congress came down in 1977 due to the failure of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's strategies and the creation of a centralised party structure.

In Tamil Nadu, Jaya Lalitha joined A.I.A.D.M.K.in 1982 and took the charge of election campaign. She was made the propaganda secretary till 1987 and after the death of M.G.R. she became the party chief. A.I.A.D.M.K.- Congress (I) alliance in 1984 proved to be much more effective than D.M.K.-Congress(I) alliance of 1980. This marks the change in the election campaign due to the charismatic leadership of Jaya Lalitha. A.I.A.D.M.K. received 18.8% of total vote and 61% of the seats that it contested. In that election also, Jaya Lalitha did well in the Lok Sabha election campaign and proved her ability and established charismatic leadership. In the 1991 Assembly Elections of Tamil Nadu, Jaya Lalitha came to power with a thumping majority. For her charisma, power and authority, she is called 'Maharagni'.<sup>55</sup> After she was

recognised by **M.G.R.** in **1982**, she has been leading a key role in the Tamil Nadu politics, despite facing certain problems.

The present well known rising women leader in Andhra Pradesh is no one else than **Lakshmi** Parvathi, wife of T.D.P. **supremo** **N.T.R.** Starting **from** November 1993, Lakshrai Parvathi attended each T.D.P. Praja Sadassu held at **Rajahmundry**, Nalgonda, Nellore and Praja Garjana in Hyderabad. All these political meetings were aimed at the success of T.D.P. in the **Assembly** Election of 1994.<sup>57</sup> She attracted huge crowds at a meeting held at Hyderabad in 1994 with Praja Garjana, a unique technique, the aim being **'show your strength and win the elections.** **Lakshmi** Parvathi addressed these gatherings and participated in the election campaign along with **N.T.R.**, who used to introduce her to the people.<sup>59</sup> **'Lakshmi Parvathi'** factor was an **important** attraction during 1994 elections in Andhra Pradesh. Before and after these elections, she has been playing a key role in selecting the party candidates also.<sup>60</sup> Even the T.D.P. activists have realised that she is all important. Added to this N.T.R. used to praise her saying "I am here because of her". Her prominence found expression in an interview by Lalitha A. Iyer with him during election tour when he said "talk to Lakshmi Parvathi, she will answer all your questions". The above remarks give strength to a rising woman leader in Andhra Pradesh.

It important to note that known and unknown roles are being played by women in India both at the central and at the state levels. Women's **participation**, especially in the election activity

is most intensive. In Bihar they have proved their abilities in the parliamentary elections in the 1991. But it is observed that their political identification and political awareness are not as much present as they were thought to be. Attitudes and skills about politics could be developed through political training.

Women in the election process usually adopt moral and non-violent methods. In the opinion of Indiresan, who says, the important point is not how many elections have been held, but how well they were held. So in the election process women's participation is a healthy sign.

To conclude, women leaders and women with the support of 'political dynasty' have played an important role in the Indian elections and women leaders supporting ideology, charisma and commitment participate in a big way for the success of elections. But how far the elections have empowered these women is a big question. Their services are usually better utilised for the success of elections.

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## **CHAPTER-IV**

### **THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS**

Leadership constitutes an **important** aspect of studies relating to political behaviour. Leadership studies **imply** the study of behaviour and personality of persons holding positions. Leadership is present wherever political structures exist, Political parties and legislatures are the political structures, where political leaders could play purposeful role. So political leadership studies are '**potentially** relevant' in Political Science.

In leadership studies, an understanding of the socio-economic and political background of leaders is essential to assess the type of leadership. The quality of leadership is considerably shaped by the totality of such **factors**. The socio-economic status is largely linked with factors like parental occupation, economic status, caste, residential status and father's education. So the socio-economic background **factors** can be considered as role determining factors of political leadership. As the social and demographic variables are quite visible, the social positions can be easily **measured**. It is to be noted that social and economic factors have considerable association with attitudes,<sup>2</sup> behaviour, personality **and beliefs**.

The studies of Evans, Lovenduski, Goot and Reid (1975), note that political behaviour of women differs to some extent from that of **men**. Milibrath in this context, says that the traditional division of labour which assigns the political role to men rather

than to women has not vanished. The opinion that men are more likely to participate in politics is substantiated by some studies<sup>5</sup> conducted by Campbell and Cooper (1956), Lane (1959), and Rokkan (1962). Available literature on the participation of citizens in politics supports this. However, there are some exceptions. Argentina is a very good example in this context.

Modernisation causes changes in situations. The five nation study of Almond and Verba in 1963, comparing the participation rates across countries has identified the change. The participation gap between males and females in India and America is found to be smallest compared to other countries. This gap between males and females is likely to close further as literacy increases, income rises, women find jobs outside the house and women's liberation movements progress.<sup>7</sup> The study of Lovenduski shows that the gap began to disappear, in European countries in general and in 1979 a changing trend in the voting behaviour of women in Britain is noticed.

The socio-economic factors of leaders in political parties include personal factors, familial factors and parental status factors. In addition, organisational affiliation i.e. membership in unions, parties, other partisan and non-partisan associations could also be considered as important determinants of individual participation. The studies of Nie, Powell and Verba trace the relative importance of organisational affiliations as a determining factor of uniformity.<sup>9</sup> Association of the women

respondents with social group like ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional also need to be **studied**. Verba and his associates are of the opinion that women are inhibited by internalised or externalised social constraints.

In the Indian society the reality of women's socio-economic conditions have put them into the most disadvantageous and deprived community. As pointed out in one study, the mode of socialisation of girls, the very rigidly defined roles and activities of women have contributed to the social degradation of women in the Indian society in **general**.

While studying the socio-economic background of the respondents age, education, occupation, marital status, residence before and after marriage, parental economic status and educational **qualifications** are taken as important **factors**. As women are said to be having more responsibilities at home, the number of children and their age are also taken into account. Limited studies are there in India which analysed the relationship between the socio-economic background and the perceptions general, Research in Women's studies is laying increasing focus on the socio-economic background for assessing the behaviour of voters, roles of legislators and also roles of women in professional status.<sup>12</sup>

In democratic politics, the struggles of the political parties are directed to winning the alliance of the people to their respective ideologies and programmes. In a true democracy, a

political minority status is never a permanent status.<sup>13</sup> In table 4.1 the distribution of the socio-economic scores of women of different parties is presented. The total scores of all the respondents are classified into four categories as low, medium, high and very high. These categories are distributed party wise and the frequencies of these categories are also calculated. As per the socio-economic scores, the Congress and the C.P.M. respondents secured the maximum percentages of the lower score, (51.61% and 42.30% respectively). The respondents of T.D.P (42.42%), B.J.P.(69.23%) and C.P.I. (44.44%) have the medium scores. T.D.P., B.J.P. and C.P.I.M.L. are having no scores at all at the very high score category. Very limited respondents have the very high score. Usually low and medium scores of the respondents are due "to general backwardness of women in their socio-economic status. Usually the economic position of women respondents is lower and so they needed the economic support from the nearest relatives and moral support from parents or husband. Due to these factors, they are holding less number of positions in the public offices and also less number of leadership roles in the political parties at different levels.

The leadership positions of the respondents are distributed party-wise as shown in table 4.2 . The scores are given to the different leadership positions for different categories at different levels. There are four categories of leadership positions and again each is classified into four levels, namely local, district, state and national. In all these categories, women respondents holding positions in the parties in Andhra Pradesh are

included. The four categories of leadership are executive category, women's wing, trade union wing and **representation in** state legislature. The scores are given according to the hierarchical levels giving **more** score to top positions. Among these categories, executive committees of the parties are considered as important decision making organs. The score given to the respondents are divided into low, medium and high. These total scores have been distributed party-wise. It is interesting to note that the Congress party is the only party to secure the highest score regarding executive positions. The other parties got lesser scores. All the parties except the Congress secured the highest medium percentage. Presumably it is due to the fact that the Congress party has given some important roles to women at the state and national levels and from other parties women have not received such encouragement.

In table 4.3 the mean **and** standard deviation for the scores of party categories are presented as the standard deviation is a significant statistical measure. The standard deviation is found to be significant.

Age:

Age of the respondents is an important background factor. Age and gender are the two important personal factors associated with participation in politics.<sup>14</sup> **Narayan** Pillai while comparing the leaders of Communist party and the Congress noted that age plays a dominating role in political participation. As far as seniority in his sample is concerned, the Communists are ten years

senior to the Congress.<sup>15</sup> His argument is supported for political reasons. In the opinion of Nie, Verba and Kim also age has impact on political participation. Participation rises in early years, peaks in middle ages and falls in latter years.<sup>1fi</sup> Further, it is noted that among young women, there was low voting rate.

As per the party-wise distribution of the age of the respondents, table 4.4 makes clear that a considerable majority of respondents are aged (41 and above) and they are equally distributed in the age group of 41-50 and 51 and above. A majority of the respondents of the B.J.P. and C.P.I.M.L. are in the age group of 31-40, the percentage being 46% and 60% respectively. The Congress and the T.D.P. respondents are in the highest percentage in the age group of 41-50. The Congress scores 39% as its highest percentage in this group and the T.D.P. scores 42%. The respondents of the C.P.I. and C.P.M. secured the highest percentages in the age group of 51 and above. The C.P.M. scores 35% as its highest score and C.P.I. 50%. Parties like the C.P.M., C.P.I. and G.P.I.M.L. have long experience in the party and they are ideologically committed and due to these reasons, they continue in the party at a later age also. The members of T.D.P. have got 12 years experience as the party came into existence only 12 years before and a considerable number of the recruits are young. Hence respondents above the age of 51 are very limited in T.D.P.. The members of the Congress whose age is above 51 are also comparatively less in number. This is due to discontinuation in active party politics and absence of support from the party.

### Age of Respondents and Age of Children:

It is usually understood that women have more responsibilities at home especially due to the need to take care of children. And for this reason the age group of the respondents is linked with the age group of children in table 4.5. It is obvious from the table that the respondents belonging to the age group of 51 and above had their children in the age group of 26 years and more. From the table, it can be noted that women respondents in the age group of 41 and more are 67% of the total number. Respondents between 31 and 40 and another group that is 41 and 50 secured the second rank and they have children in the age group of 11 and 25. 18 respondents out of 127 respondents have children below the age group of 10 and among these, one third i.e. 33.33% have children below 10 years. This shows that women in different political parties in Andhra Pradesh are able to participate only in lesser numbers when their age is below 30 years. The table represents no disparity between respondents in the age group of 31 to 40 and 41-50. The percentages of women in these two age groups is equal. The women of these two age groups have children of 11 to 25 age group. Their burden is relatively less and so more participation is presented and there is the possibility of more women of these two age groups getting into leadership roles in the parties. More over, the women of these two age groups are more fit to hold the responsibilities outside the home. Another point that could be noted from the same table is that the respondents in general have more leadership positions in all parties from among the age groups

of 31 to 50. In the opinion of Parry, married women with children are less **politically** involved and so the personal factor could appear to be deviating women relatively to men.<sup>17</sup> In table 4.6 respondents' age according to scores is classified and the standard deviation is calculated. And the standard deviation seems to be **non-significant**. This shows that the age group of respondents is not to be considered for generalisation purposes in estimating their activities in politics. And so in general, according to the age group, participation of women may be having its own difference and if initiation of women is taken into consideration, there may be more participation of women irrespective of their age.

#### Place of Birth:

The mean and standard deviation for the place of the birth of all respondents of the parties under study are represented in table 4.7. The scores were classified into different categories and frequencies are noted. And the mean and standard deviation were found out in order to check the significance of standard deviation. The table shows that the standard deviation is not significant. This is due to the reason that the respondents' place of birth has no impact, because though they have noted their place of birth, they may not continue to live in the same place and so the place birth has not been found as a determining factor.

## **Education:**

In the opinion of Lipset, even though education is not a sufficient condition for any political development, it has its strong association with the political participation of a person.<sup>18</sup> But **some** studies note that education has no impact on recruitment. In the opinion of Jorgan, the nature of participation at the local levels, that is at the County levels not influenced by education. In spite of not having educational **qualification** and occupational status, the members are recruited to the parties in America at the local level, and so education is not to be regarded as an **important** factor for political participation.

Duverger is convinced that education is the most decisive factor for women's political participation. In his opinion, the economic independence has not more succeeded in banishing a general mentality born out of traditional outlay.<sup>20</sup> The above studies indicate the relevance of education. Jennings emphasises that relevance of education is cumulative. **And** so it is not possible to deny the fact that education is an important independent variable in support of political leaders.

In the study of Parry and **Moyser** it is evident that education has positive association with political participation.<sup>21</sup> Alfred D. Souza also feels that the level of education of women is an important indicator for understanding the present and future status of women in a **country**.<sup>22</sup> The educational background of the

respondents is shown party-wise in table 4.8. It is evident from the table that women leaders with secondary educational qualification from the B.J.P., C.P. M., C.P.I. and C.P.I.M.L. are highest in number i.e. 62% of the B.J.P., 50% of the C.P.M. 56% of the C.P.I and 80% of the C.P.I.M.L.. The T.D.P. respondents show the highest percentage in respect of graduate members. Again the T.D.P. has the highest percentage of (39.39) Post Graduates, Medical and Technical Graduates. In both graduation and other higher professional educational qualifications, Congress scored the second rank.i.e. 26% in the case of the graduates and 38.7% in case of other higher qualifications. This difference between left parties and the other parties is due to the reason "that the respondents in the Congress and T.D.P. are direct recruits with higher educational level. For the left parties, more than educational background, there is another significant factor influencing their recruitment. It is the political education which has more importance. As Gibbins opines, education widens the outlook and enables a person to understand the needs of the people.<sup>23</sup>

Occupation:

Political behaviour is very much influenced by occupation. In India during the freedom movement, lawyers were playing a dominating role and the teachers and the journalists also were active in the movement. In India the traditional dominance by lawyers in the party is declining. Their place is being taken over

by farmers, and agriculturists. The farmers do represent the **rural** interest more than the urban interest.<sup>24</sup>

Rajni Kothari is of the opinion that in India the Communist parties draw members overwhelmingly from trade unions, professional politicians and journalists.<sup>25</sup> In the opinion of Narayan Pillai in larger societies, politicians are more than likely to be drawn from the dispensable occupations like those of law and journalism. While discussing the voting behaviour, Scott Greer points out that the above opinion **may** be supported. In the opinion of Lipset and Stein Rokkan, class interests are politically

27

relevant in different degrees in the western **democracies.**<sup>6</sup> While discussing legislative roles, scholars like Laswell and Mc. Dougal referred to the participation of lawyers in the legislatures. In Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly and also in Lok Sabha the recent trend is the domination of the agriculturists. This stands as evidence to the finding of Rajni Kothari.

The occupational background of the respondents is distributed party-wise in table 4.9. The occupations of women respondents are classified into 7 categories. Under the first category, women not having any occupation are included. But they do not have any occupation outside the home. They are usually called as house wives as they are not paid job holders. Some of the modern economists are of the opinion that household work is also to be considered as a part of the work force. Under the seventh category certain jobs like **M.D.O.s**, Extension Officers, Women Welfare

Officers are included. The remaining include teachers, lawyers, doctors, businessmen and land owners. Under the teachers category all the teaching professionals from primary to post graduation level are included.

It is interesting to note that the highest number of the respondents from each party are from no occupational group. In the no occupation group, fulltime party workers are also included. The fulltime party workers usually do not have any other earnings. From this group the respondents from C.P.I.M.L. (80%) scored the highest percentage. Next come the respondents of C.P.M. and B.J.P.. From the teaching profession T.D.P. scored the highest percentage (18%). From the lawyers group again T.D.P. scored the top rank that is 12%. And this finding also supports Rajni Kothari's opinion that women lawyers are also declining in number in political parties.

B.J.P., C.P.I. and C.P.I.M.L. do not have doctors as representatives. And T.D.P again scores the highest percentage (6%) differing with other parties. From the business group, interestingly, B.J.P. scores the highest percentage (8%). Even though B.J.P. is differing with T.D.P. and the Congress, they are having the highest scores from business groups. It is interesting to note that the Congress is the only party, which is having women leadership from land owners' group. Land owners group is very less in numbers because women are not enjoying property rights on par with men. From this study, it can be concluded that women respondents are mainly from non-occupational group. Women of other

professional groups are holding leadership positions only with the support of family members. Iqbal Narain (1971) is of the opinion that working women including professionals indicate a higher degree of awareness, but that is not necessarily reflecting in their participation in political parties. In India, no particular occupation is more possibly associated with the leadership of women in politics. However, wealth has a positive association with the overall participation.<sup>30</sup> So higher occupation and higher wealth will result in higher political participation. In contrast, as far as direct action is concerned, women from poorer sections and working classes participate in large numbers.

#### **Community:**

While examining women's political participation in India, the impact of caste has also to be noted. As per Vickey Randall's study, it is women from the middle tiers of the caste hierarchy who participate most.<sup>31</sup> Women in lower social strata, are too busy serving their time and the upper strata women are confined to homes and so middle social strata women participate in politics. D. Venkateswarlu in his study links the caste background to the political participation in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>32</sup> Atul Kohli in his book 'Democracy and Discontent' finds caste as an important factor to secure public positions in Andhra Pradesh. He deals mainly with the important role played by two castes in Guntur District, during the elections. Robert L. Hardgrave Jr. in his book 'Government and Politics in a Developing Nation', Rajni Kothari in 'Politics in

India', Morris Jones and others find caste as an important factor influencing political recruitment and **participation**.

In table 4.10 the caste of the respondents is distributed party-wise. It is interesting to note that except **C.P.I.M.L.**, all parties have representation **from** all castes. Therefore caste may not be a major criteria for women's leadership in political parties. In the sample, Brahmins and **Reddys** are found to be less in number in the Congress, the percentage being 6.4% amongst each. Rank wise, minorities and other castes together score the highest percentage. But the Kapu caste **stands** at the second place in Congress. B.C., S.Cs, **S.Ts** together score the third rank. The table shows that the affiliation of the Congress with Kapu caste is **significant**.

The T.D.P. respondents, caste wise give another picture. B.Cs, S.Cs, S.Ts together score the highest percentage in the party's women leadership. The second place is scored by **Kamma** caste and the third by the minorities and other castes. It is to be noted that under this group, Muslims, Christians, Kshatriyas, Visyas etc. are included.

In the B.J.P. sample, both **Kamma** and Brahmin castes secured the top rank, the percentage being 23%. And the same evidences are seen in the previous studies. In B.J.P., Reddys and **Kapus** scored the second rank getting 15% each. B.C., S.C., S.T.s together also secured the second rank. In the **C.P.M.** sample, **Kammas**

scored the first rank, the percentage being 38%. The Brahmin secured the second rank and the last two groups minorities, B.Cs, S.Cs and S.Ts scored the third rank. In the C.P.I., Kapus scored the first rank B.Cs, S.Cs and S.Ts together scored second rank and Brhamins score the third rank. It is evident from the table that each party has women all castes. But no caste is completely ignored excepting in C.P.I.M.L. The findings of previous studies showed as different picture compared to that in the present sample consisting of women respondents.

Table 4.11 shows that all the forward castes combined together showed them highest percentage in each party. Among these highest percentages C.P.I.M.L. tops the rank and that is followed by B.J.P., C.F.M., C.P.I., Congress and the T.D.P. The percentage of forward castes has been the lowest in T.D.P. compared to the other parties. There is no significant difference between the Congress and the C.P.I. Compared to the percentage of forward castes each lower caste has got less percentage. In Congress, B.C. representation is not found and it is interesting to note that S.Cs, S.Ts and minorities are not having positions in B.J.P., C.P.I., C.P.I.M.L. In C.P.M. minorities are not represented in the leadership roles. From this sample, it is quite evident that the T.D.P. seems to be the only party which had given place to all castes. Almost all castes are represented in all parties which can be said to be a positive sign. It is again interesting to note that the B.J.P. has no representation from minorities. And in the same way, minorities are not having a place in the left parties. Form

this it is clear that no particular caste is dominating in any of the parties as far as the leadership of women is concerned.

#### Marital Status:

In table 4.12 the marital status of the respondents is presented. Marital status and its significance is to be examined as a background factor for women participants. It is apparent from the table that a majority of the respondents are married. In this sample, C.P.I.M.L. scored the first rank, B.J.P. scored the second rank. This is followed by C.P.I., T.D.F., C.P.M. and the Congress. Except B.J.P. and C.P.I.M.L. the other four parties have unmarried women as the leaders. The percentage of widows is high in both Congress and T.D.P. as there is the practice that women are given a place after the death of their husbands. This practice is to show sympathy to the family of the departed political leader on one hand and to secure profit to the party on the other. The practice is also due to respect for the heredity principle and it has become a part of the Indian political culture.

In table 4.13 the mean and standard deviation scores on the marital status of the respondents of all the political parties are presented. The standard deviation is found to be non significant.

## **Residence :**

In table 4.14, the residential location of the respondents during their childhood is presented. With the help of class value and frequencies, the mean and standard deviation are calculated. The standard deviation is found to be non significant. The women respondents **seemed** to be not having any influence of the residence during childhood. Table 4.15 denotes the party-wise distribution of respondents' residential location before and ' after marriage. It is clear from the table that women respondents changed their place after marriage. Usually women migrate after marriage as they have to go to their husband's house. **Usually** they will accompany their husbands whenever change of place due to husband's job occurs. For the proper organization and conduct of regular activities, a fixed place for political participants is a necessity. In this aspect, women definitely face a set back. Table shows that women's political activities are stronger in towns and cities than in rural areas.

Alfred D.Souza observes that in the countries of South-Asia, rural-urban migrations are predominant. Due to marriage or by association, women migrate along with their husbands.<sup>35</sup> It is obvious **from** the table that after marriage women, political leaders in the sample have migrated to towns and cities. There is also an indication of decreasing number of women leaders in the rural areas. This could be due to the following reasons. The parties may have their organization at the grass roots level and women may not

be active in the rural areas. In the cities, after migration, women may be more active due to the support from their husbands. Lastly, women in towns and cities may be more active due to the support from political parties. It is to be noted from the table that C.P.I.M.L. respondents are more in percentage in villages than in towns during the early age. In the villages, the C.P.M. leaders are more in percentage than in other parties. In towns, the Congress respondents are high in percentage after marriage than the other parties" respondents. In cities, the B.J.P. has got the highest percentage of respondents after marriage compared to other parties. However, Veena Majundar in the report 'Towards Equality' (1974), pointed out that urbanization cannot be identified with high political awareness or participation. There is no significant difference between the participation of women in urban area compared to rural area. Women in the present sample have become active in cities and towns mostly due to migration.

#### **Education of the Nearest Relatives:**

As a socio-economic background factor, respondents' parental educational qualifications and husband's educational qualifications and their significance are necessary to be examined. The facts are shown in table 4.16 . It is interesting to note that father's education of the B.J.P. respondents top the rank under the category of higher education. In all the three, relatives educational qualification are presented in the same table and the qualifications are grouped as primary, secondary and higher. Under

the higher qualification, the educational qualification from the +2 onwards are included. Respondents of T.D.P. have scored the highest percentages from the secondary education group. In the rest of the parties, the higher percentages of respondent's fathers had only primary education. From these findings it is clear that educational background of father can be linked with daughter's political participation. Education of father has a corresponding influence on the participation of women in political parties. But in the left parties, education of father is not the main criteria for motivating daughters.

In the same table, mothers' educational levels are also presented. Mother's education secured the highest percentage in the primary category. For the respondents' political role, mother's education is not so significant. In the case of husband's education, the table reveals that the B.J.P. and C.P.M. had the highest percentage compared to other parties. Except the Congress and C.P.I., the husband's education is at lower ranks as far as secondary education is concerned. Comparatively, only the C.P.M. respondents have shown higher percentage in the context of husband's primary education. It is interesting to note that higher the qualification of the husband, higher is the possibility of the women getting recruited to leadership roles. And so women political leaders have more political prospects due to husband's support as the more educated husbands are likely to be progressive in outlook and to encourage and to support the political participation of women.

### Economic Status of the Nearest Relatives:

The economic status of the respondents' relatives is presented in table 4.17 . The respondents' relatives' economic status is classified into high, medium and low. In the case of medium and high groups, the ranks showed no difference. Husbands' economic status showed the first ranks followed by father's economic status, respondent's economic status and mother's economic comes at the last.

Interestingly, in the low income groups, mother's income tops the rank followed by respondent's income, father's income and husband's income. In the case of medium and high status respondents', husbands' economic status is considered as the support factor of the respondent's political participation and in the case of low income group, mother's economic status may be considered as support factor. In the opinion of Carol C.Gould (1988), there are certain characteristic traits that have been traditionally associated with women. They are supportive and communicative. So it is noted that women's experience will be the out come of the development of the characteristic trades of the respondents.<sup>37</sup> Mother's influence is some what significant on daughter's and husband's encouragement also adds to it.

## Political Experience During Student Careers

Women respondents' political experience when they were students, is shown in table 4.18 . It can be seen from the table that the respondents of the T.D.P. and Congress were not involved in political activity while being students. Some of the women respondents of C.P.M., C.P.I., and C.P.I.M.L. were involved in politics as students. The C.P.I. respondents got (34.61%), and the C.P.I.M.L. respondents 80%. And so early political careers were well initiated in the case of the respondents of these two parties. The T.D.P. and Congress respondents had the active involvement only in Mahila Mandals and this has influenced their recruitment into these parties. The B.J.P. respondents with the exception of one have no political involvement during the student days. The C.P.M. and C.P.I. and also C.P.I.M.L. party respondents have had more involvement in the student wings of parties. It is clear that a good number of the women in the sample have either played the role of leaders or have had leadership training in their student career. It is also to be noted that a significant proportion of women have experience in Mahila Mandals which could be considered as a stepping stone for political participation in the future. However, fresh recruits, i.e., women with 'no involvement' outside their homes and study place are also found.

In the opinion of Robert E.Lane (1972), one learns to participate in politics, through the involvement in politics in early life. Experience in any field develops right attitudes and

beliefs. In conclusion, early experience strengthens the confidence among the respondents to hold any position. So experience in Mahila Mandals has also been useful to hold any political position as Mahila Mandals can be treated as peer groups.

#### Political Experience:

In the opinion of Lawson, emphasis should be given to political background as an important factor. Party leader have grown up in politicized homes and have become interested in politics and have adopted partisan identification at an early age.<sup>39</sup> The party wise distribution of the respondents' political experience is presented in table 4.19 . Political experience is calculated in number of years. It is quite clear from the table, that the higher percentage of the respondents in the parties namely, Congress, T.D.P. and B.J.P. have political experience, ranging from 6 to 10 years. A high percentage of the C.P.M. and the C.P.I. members have longer experience compared to other parties which is more than 16 years. Whereas C.P.I.M.L. is the only party which has the highest percentage of members in the age group of 11 to 15 years experience. In the case of left parties, once a person is recruited to the party, she/ he would definitely continue in the party. That's why, in the left parties, the respondents have gained more political experience.

Of the six parties under study, it is the Congress which gave more opportunities to women to become leaders at all levels.

The other parties recruit them only at the local level. A study of the socio-economic background of the respondents revealed that a magnitude of women recruited to leadership roles are of the age falling between 31 and 50 years. Again the B.J.P. gave more preference to the youngsters.

It is generally noted that women between the age group of 31 and 50, have less burden of the family and they found accessibility to the political roles. For women, the place of birth is not important. Instead, education is the decisive factor in the promotion of women's roles in the political parties. After T.D.P. has come into existence, educated women were recruited both for the party organizations and as party candidates. For the left parties, political education is the significant factor. Significantly, women in different occupations have shown little interest in politics and women, not having occupation showed more inclination to enter politics.

Women from wealthy sections, have more opportunities for active political involvement. From the social background, it is noted that caste is not the main criteria for women to take up leadership roles. Interestingly, married women occupied higher positions in the political parties than the unmarried. Whenever, widows participate, they have come to occupy their husbands' positions. This enriched the hereditary principle. Residence of women is an important background factor, as a high percentage of women in the sample are from urban background. It is evident from

these findings that migration from rural to the urban areas after marriage, takes place and they are able to spend their time for performing their political roles. Active participation and recruitment of women in the political parties is evident, when the father's education is high. Political experience is significantly higher in the left parties than in the other parties, because the respondents are committed to ideology and as they discourage party defections.

TABLE 4:1 DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO - ECONOMIC SCORES OF DIFERENT PARTIES

Score for Category	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I		C.P.I. M.L	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
75 - 100 Low	16	51.61	12	36.36	2	15.38	11	42.30	6	33.33	1	20
101 - 125 Medium	8	25.80	14	42.42	9	69.23	9	34.61	8	44.44	2	40
126 - 150 High	5	16.12	7	21.21	2	15.38	5	19.23	3	16.66	2	40
151 - 175 Very High	2	6.45	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	3.84	1	5.55	-----	-----
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

Fig I

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCORES  
OF DIFFERENT PARTIES

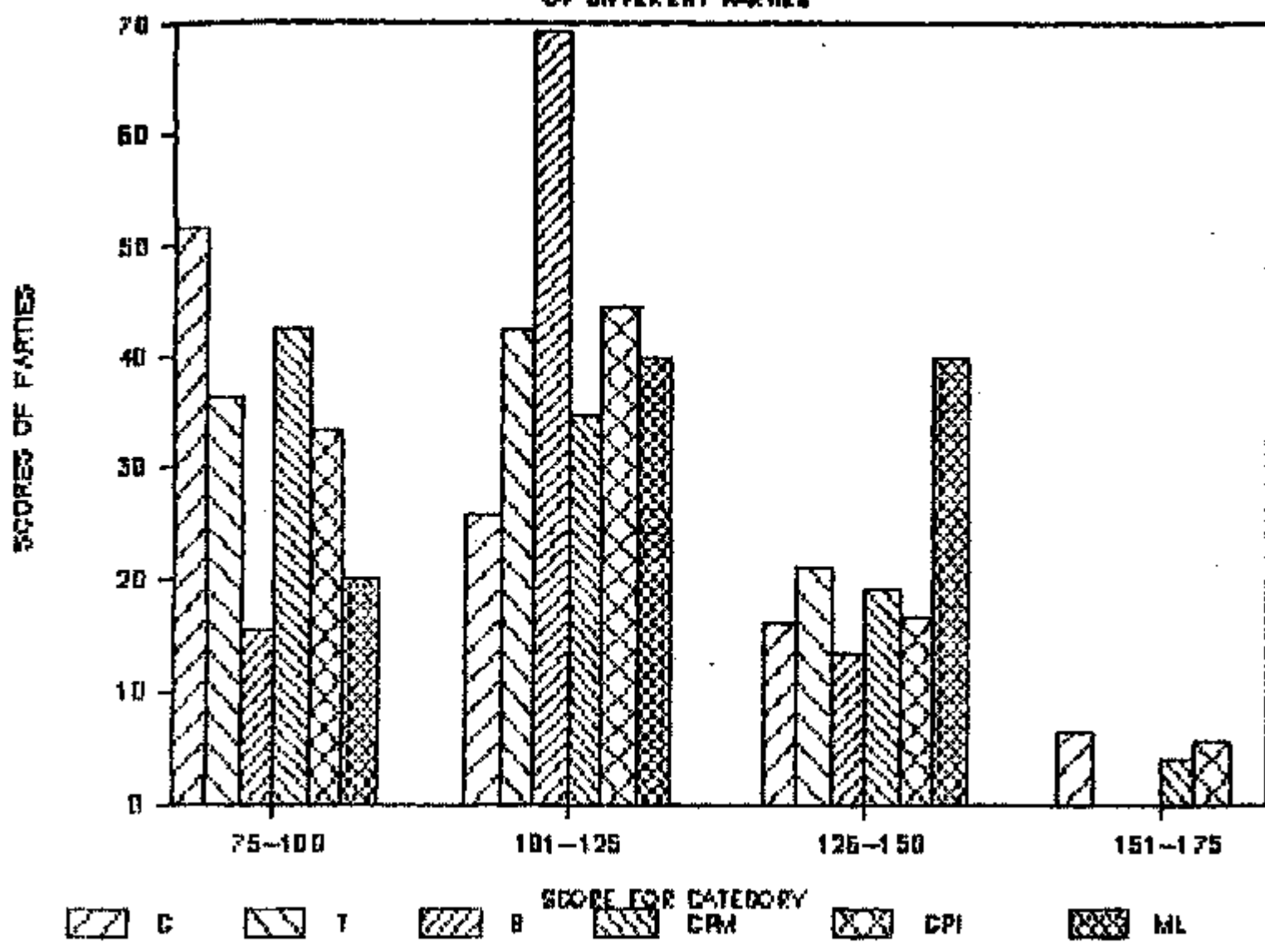


TABLE 4;2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTY WISE LEADERSHIP POSITION

Score for Category	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I		C.P.I. M.L	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Lowest Upto 4	2	6.45	10	33.3	4	30	9	34.6	2	11.13	-	--
Medium 5 to 10	14	45.1	19	57.5	7	53.8	14	53.8	13	72.2	5	100
Highest 11 and above	15	48.3	4	12.12	2	15.3	3	11.5	3	16.6	-	--
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

TABLE 4:3 MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION ON PARTY CATEGORIES OF WOMEN RESPONDANTS

Class	Class Value	Frequency	Frequency X Class Value	Deviation from Mean	Deviation Squared	Deviation Squared X Frequency
	X	f	fx	d(7.87)	d <sup>2</sup>	fd
3 - 5	4	68	272	3.87	9.42	648.56
6 - 8	7	28	140	8.87	4.9	98.88
9 - 11	10	18	180	-2.93	8.58	154.44
12 - 14	13	16	208	-5.93	35.16	562.56
15 - 17	16	4	64	-8.93	79.74	318.96
18 - 20	19	1	19	-11.93	142.32	142.32
Total		127	883			1916.84

S.D. = 3.78

Significant at 4% (Table Value = 3.22)

TABLE 4 5 4 PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGE OF THE RESPONDANTS

Age	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I		C.P.I. M.L	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
below 30	1	3.22	3	9.09	1	7.69	4	15.38	1	5.55	1	20
1 - 40	7	22.58	9	27.27	6	46.15	7	26.92	2	11.11	3	60
1 - 50	12	38.71	14	42.42	3	23.07	6	23.07	6	33.33	1	20
1 Above	11	35.4	7	21.21	3	23.07	9	34.61	9	50.0	-	--
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

FIG - II

PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF  
THE AGE OF THE RESPONDANTS

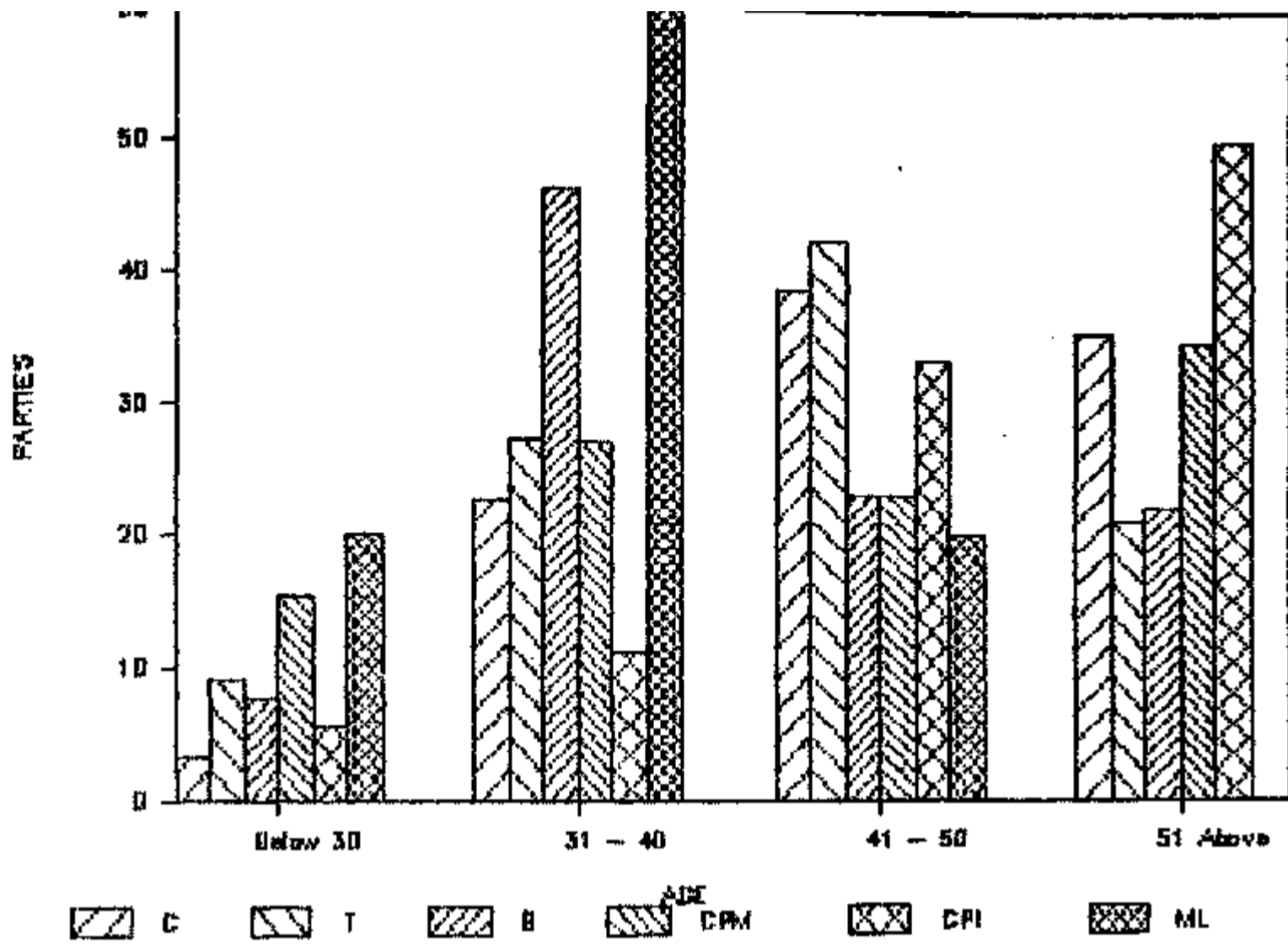


TABLE 4;5 AGE GROUP OF RESPONDANTS LINKED WITH THE AGE GROUP OF THEIR CHILDREN

Age group of respondents		Age Group of Children in Years							
		Upto 10		11 - 25		26 & more		Nil (No Children)	
Years	N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Upto 30	10	6	33.33	1	2.0	-	-	3	0
31 - 40	32	4	22.22	21	42.00	2	4.25	5	0
41 - 50	43	5	27.77	21	42.00	15	31.91	2	0
51 Above	42	3	16.66	7	14.80	38	63.82	2	0
Total	127	18	100%	50	100%	47	100%	12	

FIG - III

AGE GROUP OF RESPONDENTS LINKED WITH  
THE AGE GROUP OF THEIR CHILDREN

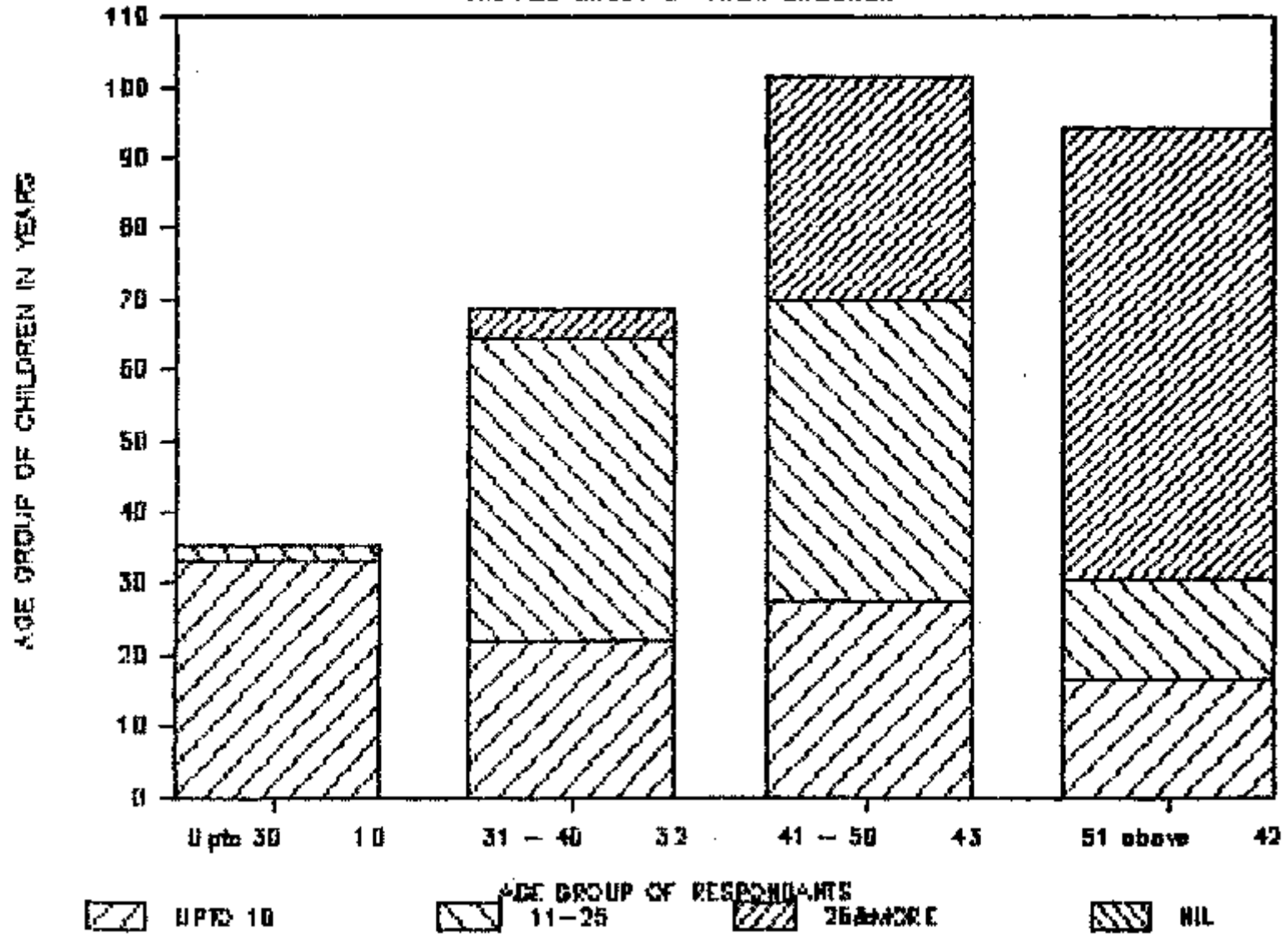


TABLE 4:6 MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION ON ASE OF THE RESPONDANTS

Class	Class Value	Frequency	Frequency X Class Value	Deviation from Mean	Deviation Squared	Deviation Squared X Frequency
	X	f	fx	d(2.85)	d <sup>2</sup>	fd
1	1	11	11	1.85	3.42	37.62
2	2	35	70	0.85	0.72	25.20
3	3	42	126	-0.15	0.02	80.84
4	4	39	156	-1.15	1.32	51.48
Total		127	363			115.48

S.D. = 0.27

Non Significant

TABLE 4:7 MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION ON PALCE OF BIRTH OF THE RESPONDANTS OF ALL PARTIES,

Class	Class Value X	Frequency f	Frequency X Class Value fx	Deviation from Mean d(2.48)	Deviation Squared d <sup>2</sup>	Deviation Squared X Frequency fd
2	2	48	96	0.48	0.16	6.4
3	3	41	123	-0.58	0.36	14.76
4	4	46	184	-1.68	2.56	117.76
		(N) 127	397			138.92

S.D. = 0.5863

Non Significant.

TABLE 4:3 PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDANTS.

Educational Qualifications of Respondants	Cong 1		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Primary	4	12.90	1	3.03	-	-	3	11.53	1	5.55	-	-
Secondary	7	22.58	10	30.30	8	61.53	13	50.00	10	55.55	4	80
Graduation	8	25.80	9	27.27	3	23.07	6	23.07	3	16.66	-	-
P.G./Technical Medical&Others	12	38.70	13	39.39	2	15.38	4	15.38	4	22.22	1	20
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

**FIG IV**  
**PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL**

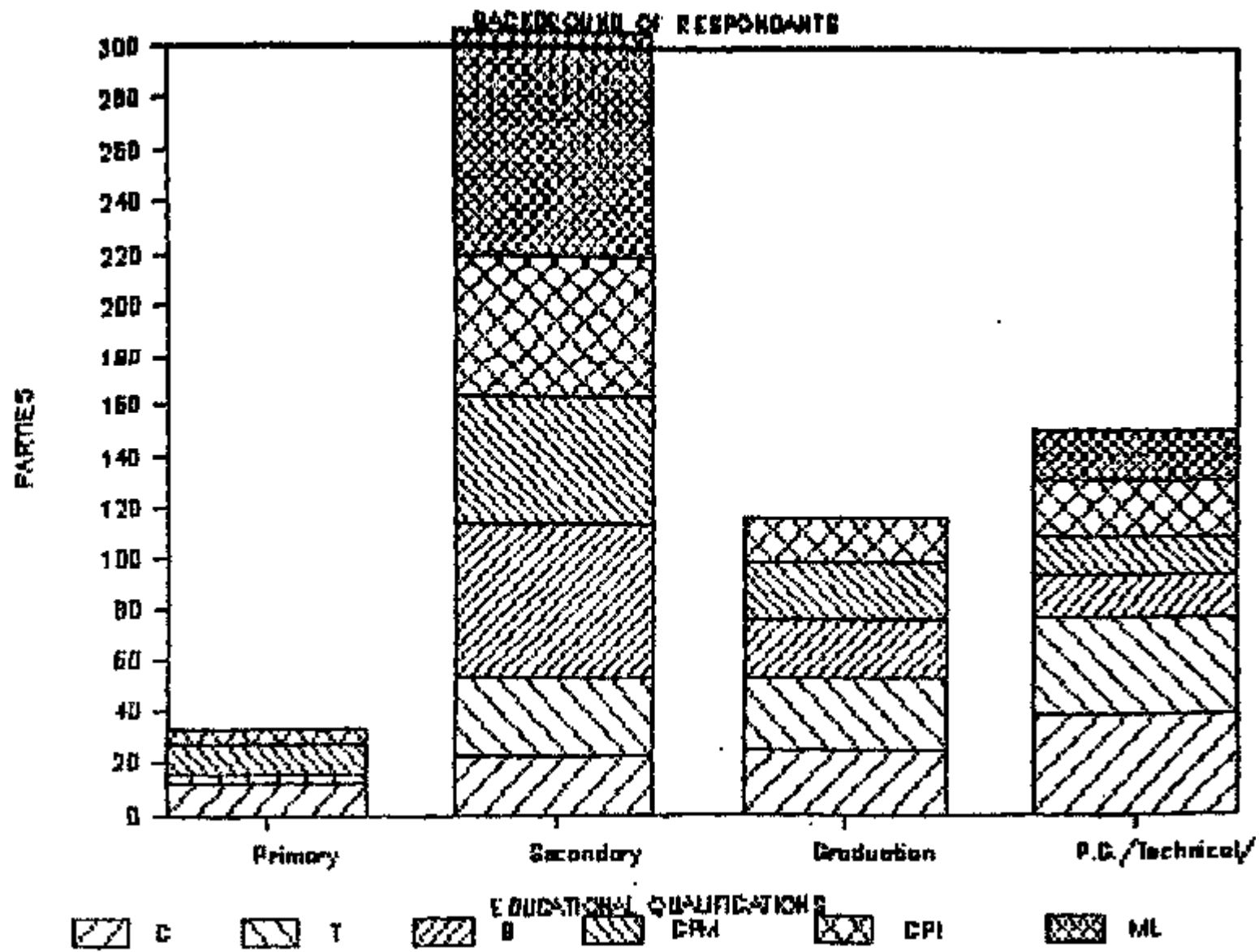
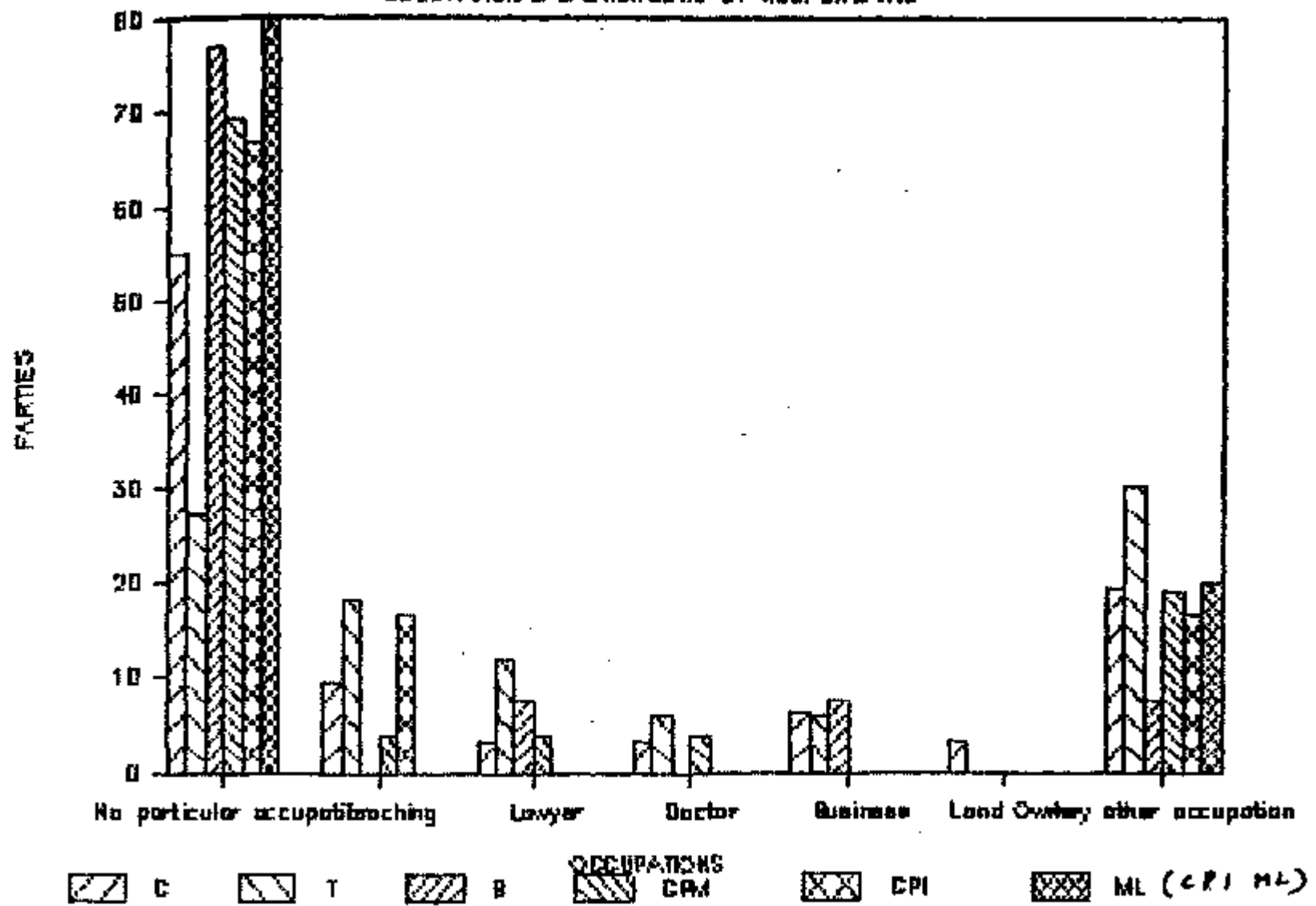


TABLE 4;9 PARTYHISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDANTS

	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		E.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
No particular Occupation	17	54.83	9	27.27	10	76.92	18	69.23	12	66.66	4	80
Teaching	3	9.67	6	18.18	-	-	1	3.84	3	16.66	-	-
Lawyer	1	3.22	4	12.12	1	7.69	1	3.84	-	-	-	-
Doctor	1	3.22	2	6.06	-	-	1	3.84	-	-	-	-
Business	2	6.45	2	6.06	1	7.69	-	-	-	-	-	-
Land Owner	1	3.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Any other Occupation	6	19.35	10	30.30	1	7.69	5	19.23	3	16.66	1	20
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

FIG V

PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDANTS



C - Congress  
 T - Telugu Desam Party  
 B - Bharatiya Janata Party

TABLE 4:10 RESPONDANTS COMMUNITY DISTRIBUTED PARTY WISE,

Caste of Respondant & Minorities.	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
	Brahmin	2	6.45	2	6.06	3	23.08	5	19.24	3	16.67	-
Kaana	4	16.12	8	24.24	3	23.08	10	38.46	2	11.11	3	60
Reddy	2	6.45	3	9.09	2	15.38	2	7.69	2	11.11	-	-
Kapu	7	22.59	3	9.09	2	15.38	1	3.85	5	27.78	-	-
Others & Minorities	9	29.04	4	12.12	1	7.70	4	15.38	2	11.11	2	40
BC+SC+ST	6	19.35	13	39.40	2	15.38	4	15.38	4	22.22	-	-
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

FIG VI Caste-wise distribution of respondents.

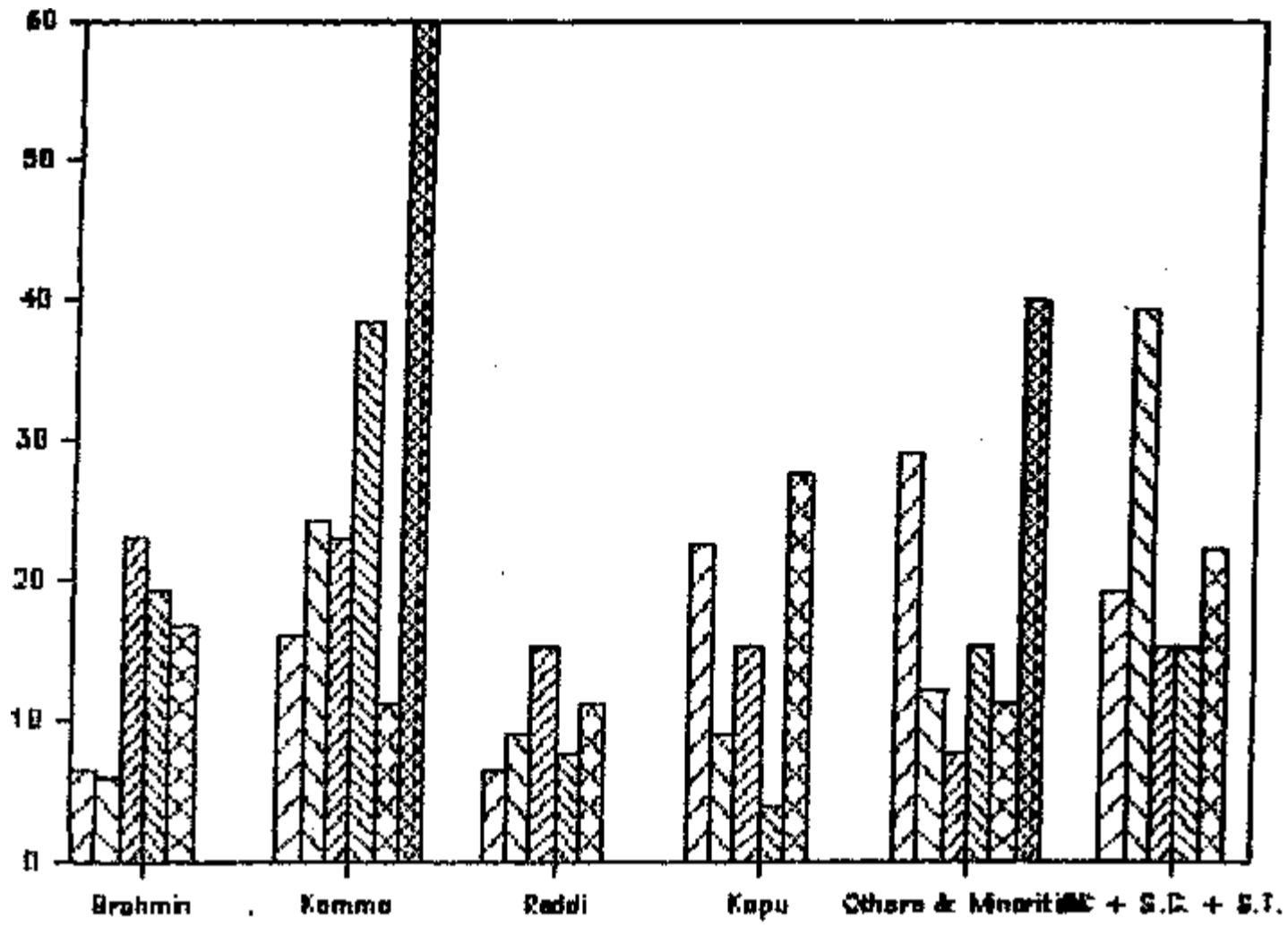


FIG VII caste-wise distribution of respondents

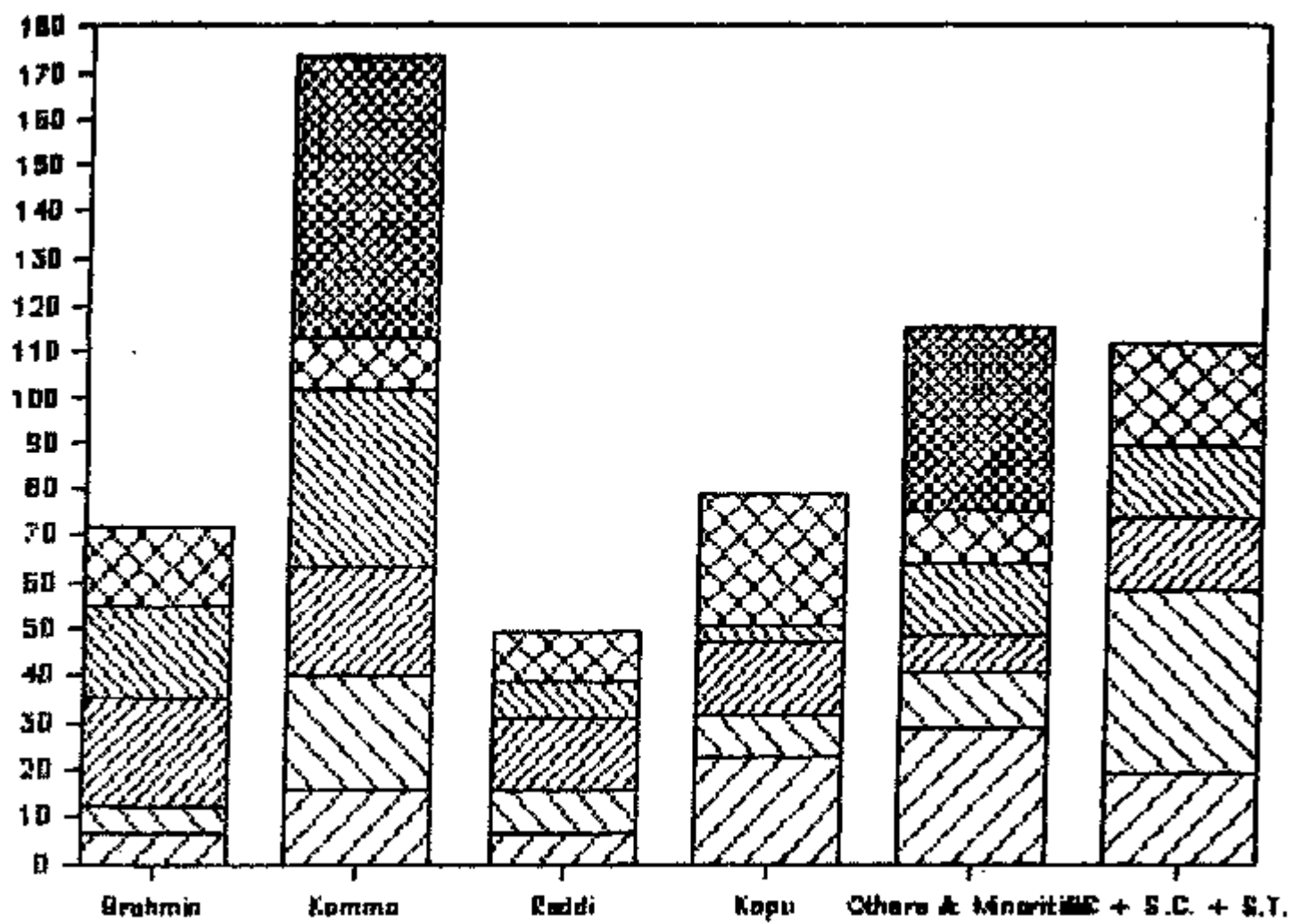


TABLE 4.11 PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDANT'S COMMUNITY.

Caste of Respondant & Minorities.	Cong I		T.D.P.		S.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
	R.V		R.VI		R.II		R.III		R.IV		R.I	
O.C.	24	77.41	18	54.54	11	84.61	21	80.76	14	77.77	5	100
B.C.	-	-	9	27.27	2	15.38	3	11.53	4	22.22	-	-
S.C & S.T.	4	12.90	4	12.12	-	-	2	7.59	-	-	-	-
Minorities	3	9.67	2	6.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

FIG VIII

PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF  
RESPONDANT'S COMMUNITY

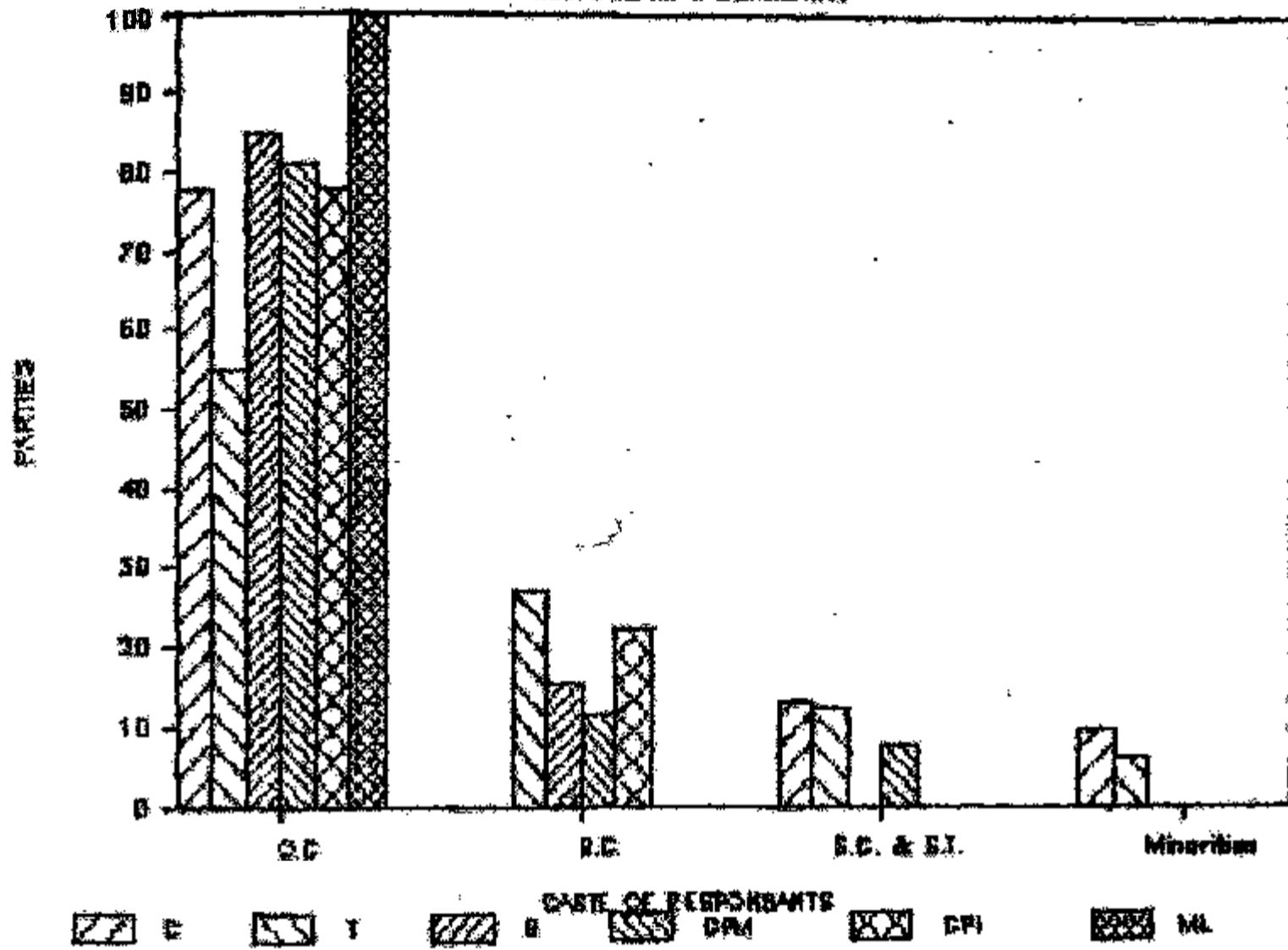


TABLE 4:12 PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDANTS.

	Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Unmarried	2	6.45	2	6.06	-	-	3	11.53	1	3.55	-	-
		R.V		R.VI		R.II		R.III		R.IV		R.I
Married	24	77.40	26	78.78	12	92.30	20	76.92	15	83.83	5	100
Widow	5	16.12	5	15.15	1	7.69	3	11.53	2	11.11	-	-
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

R for Rank - (given only to Married category)

FIG. 1A

PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF  
MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDANTS

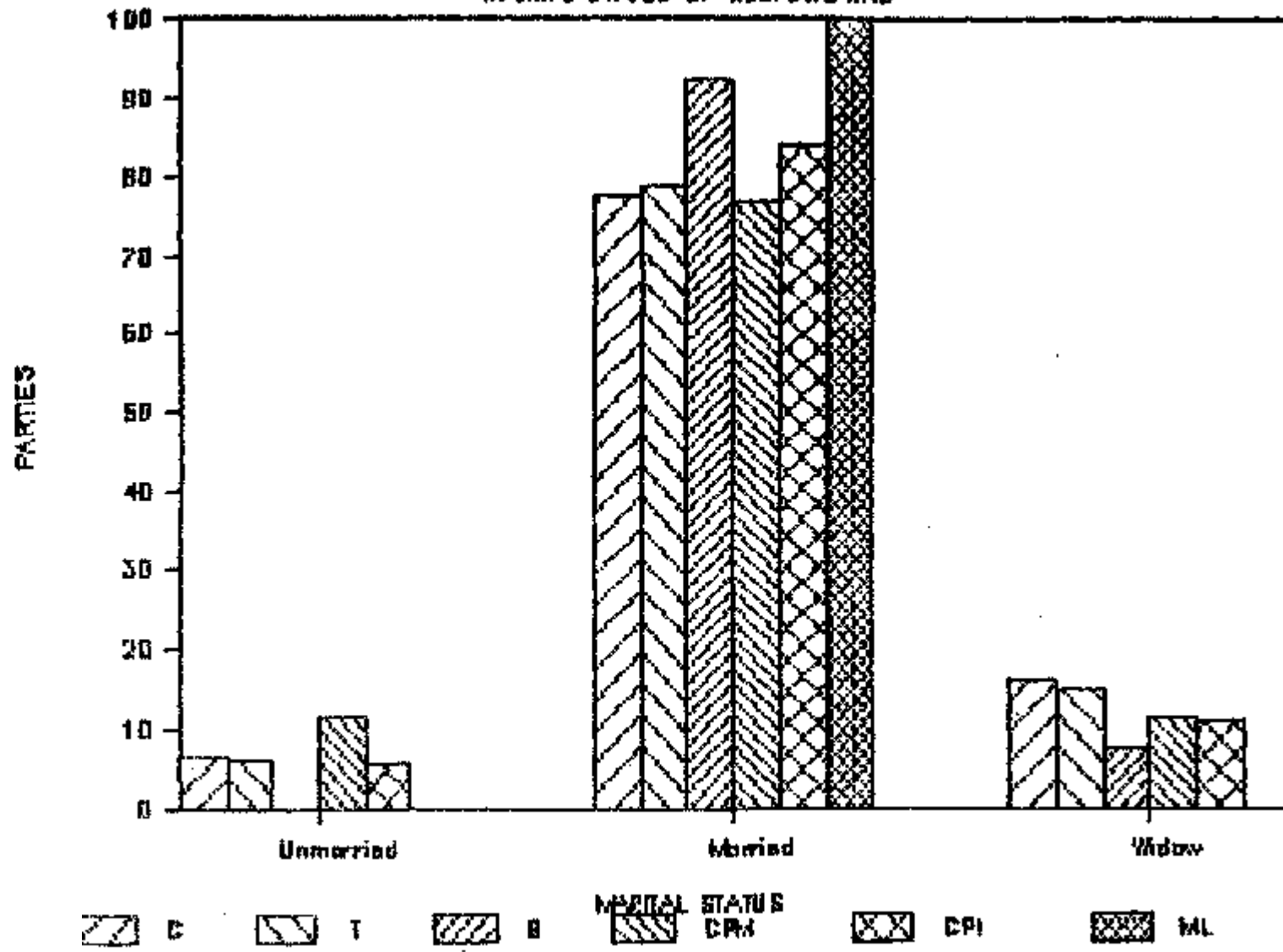


TABLE 4:13 MEAN STANDARD DEVIATION ON MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDANTS OF ALL PARTIES.

Class	Class Value	Frequency	Class Value	Mean	Squared	Frequency
	X	f	fx	d(3.23)	d	fd
1	1	16	16	2.23	4.97	4.92
2	2	8	16	1.23	1.51	3.02
3	3	183	389	0.23	0.85	0.15
Total			341			8.89

S.D. = 0.14

Non Significant

TABLE 4:14 MEAN AND STANDERED DEVIATION ON RESIDANCE DURING CHILDHOOD OF RESPONDANTS.

Class	Class Value	Frequency	Frequency X Class Value	Deviation from Mean	Deviation Squared	Deviation Squared X Frequency
	X	f	fx	d(2.236)	d <sup>2</sup>	fd
2	2	35	70	1.236	1.527	53.44
3	3	33	66	0.236	0.055	1.81
4	4	57	171	-0.764	0.583	33.23
5	5	2	6	-1.764	2.89	5.78
Total		(N) 127				94.26

S.D. = 0.81

Non Significant.

TABLE 4:16

PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS AND HUSBANDS OF RESPONDANTS.

	Cong I		T.O.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.L.	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Father's Education												
Higher	8	25.80	18	58.38	6	46.15	5	19.23	3	16.66	2	48
Secondary	17	41.93	15	45.45	3	23.87	8	30.76	7	38.39	-	-
Primary	18	32.25	8	24.24	4	38.76	13	52.88	8	44.44	3	68
Mother's Education												
Higher	3	9.67	2	6.86	-	-	1	3.84	1	5.55	-	-
Secondary	5	15.12	3	9.86	4	38.76	5	19.23	2	11.11	2	48
Primary	23	74.19	28	84.84	9	69.23	28	76.92	15	83.83	3	68
Husband's Education												
Higher	14	45.16	26	78.78	8	61.53	11	42.38	6	33.33	3	68
Secondary	15	48.38	4	12.12	4	38.76	18	38.46	18	55.55	2	48
Primary	2	6.45	3	9.89	1	7.69	5	19.23	2	11.11	-	-

TABLE 4:15 PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDANCE OF RESPONDANT BEFORE AND AFTER MARRIAGE.

		Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. N.I.	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Village	B.M	8	25.88	9	27.27	3	23.87	9	34.61	3	16.66	3	68
	A.M	2	6.45	3	9.09	1	7.69	5	19.23	2	11.76	-	-
Town	B.M	9	29.83	7	21.58	3	23.87	8	30.76	4	22.22	2	48
	A.M	18	32.25	5	15.12	1	7.67	2	7.69	1	5.17	1	28
City	B.M	14	45.16	15	45.45	7	53.84	9	34.61	11	61.11	-	-
	A.M	18	58.86	23	69.19	11	84.61	19	73.87	13	76.47	4	88
No fixed place (frequent change of residence)													
	B.M	-	-	2	6.86								
	A.M									1	5.88		
Total		31		33		13		26		18		5	

B.M = Before Marriage.  
A.M. = After Marriage.

**TABLE 4:17 ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RESPONDANTS AND THEIR NEAREST FAMILY MEMBERS.**

Kinship Relationship	High		Rank	Medium		Rank	Low		Rank	N	!27
	F	X		F	I		F	Z			
Father's economic Status	26	20.47	II	51	63.78	II	20	15.75	III		
mother's economic Status	3	2.36	IV	3	2.36	IV	121	95.23	I		
Husbands's economic Status	29	22.83	I	83	65.35	I	9	11.82	IV		
Respondants economic Status	4	3.14	III	13	10.24	III	111	86.62	II		

TABLE 4:18 PARTY VISE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDANTS AS STUDENTS

Msturs of experience as • . Member	Cong I -		T.D.P.		B.S.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. N.L.	
	F	Z	F	Z	F	Z	F	Z	F	Z	F	Z
Student wing	-		-	-	1	7.69	9	34.61	2	11.11	4	Si
Youth wing	1	3.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Student union in school of college	2	6.45	5	9.09	3	23.87	-	-	-	-	-	-
College leader ship camps	4	12.90	4	12.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mahilla Mandals	14	45.16	20	60.60	3	23.07	7	26.92	2	11.11	1	20
Involvement	10	32=25	6	18.18	6	46,15	10	38.46	14	77.77		
Total	31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	5	100%

FIG 8

PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL  
EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDENTS AS STUDENTS

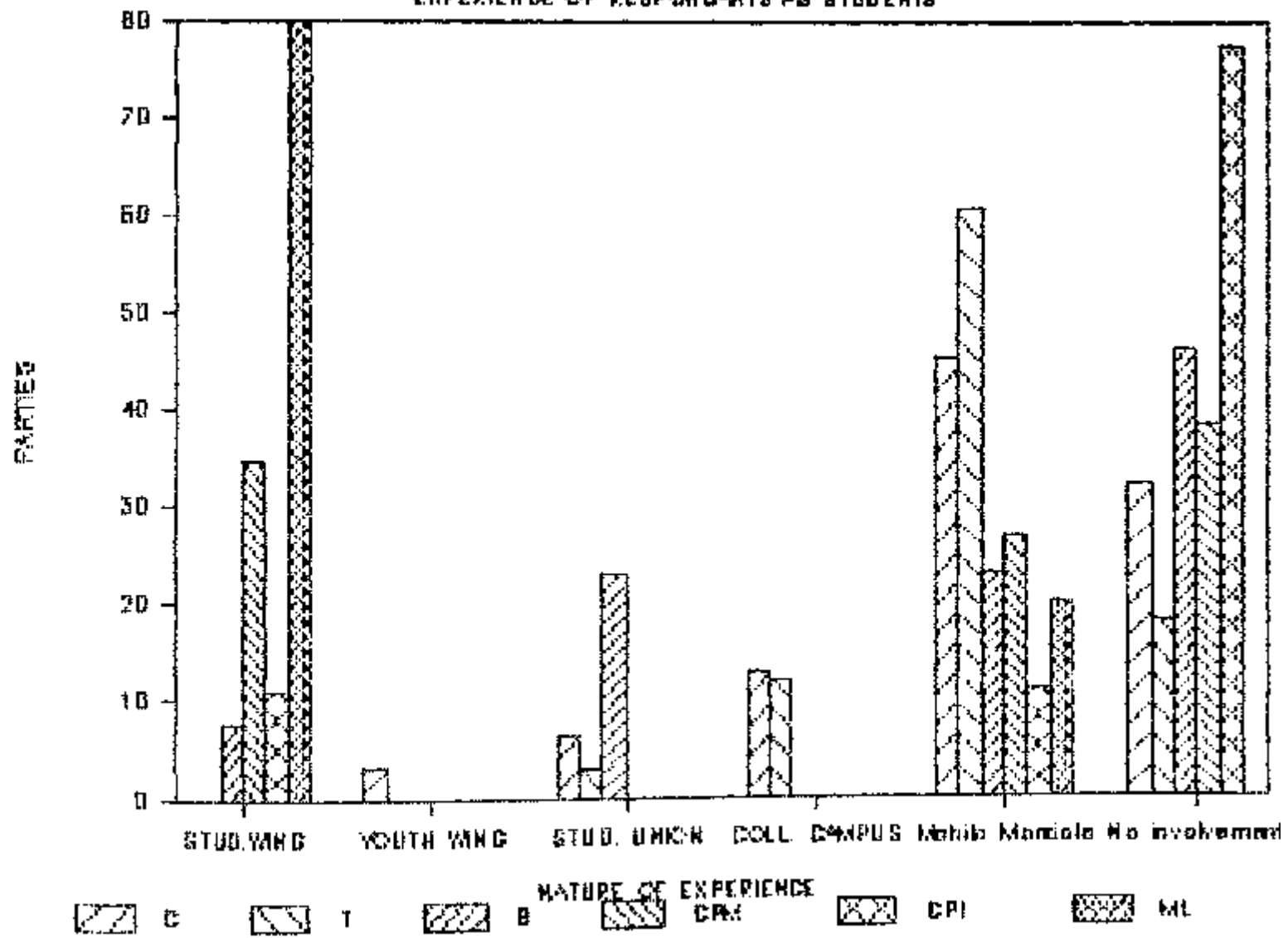
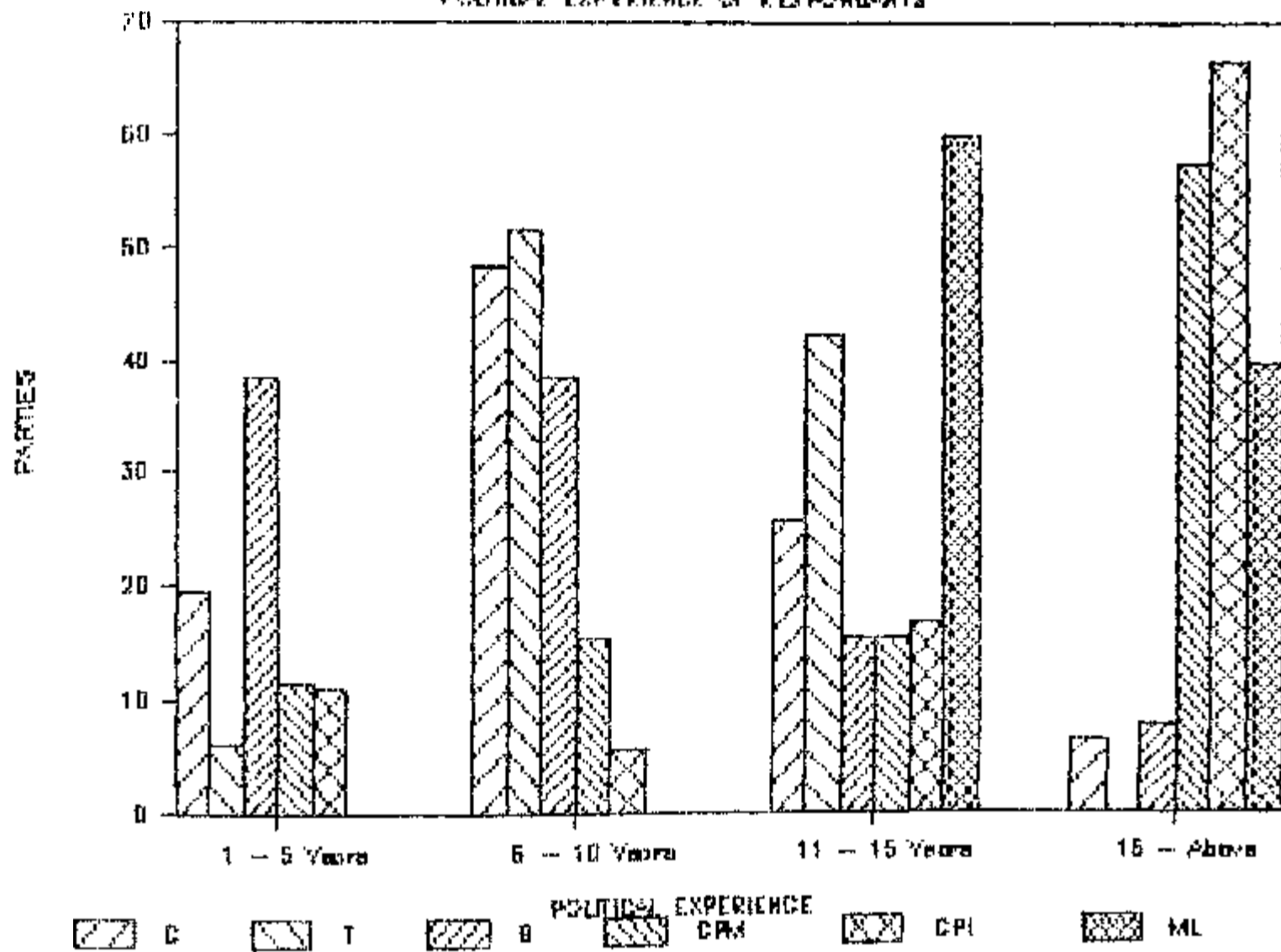


TABLE 4:10 PARTY WISE BISTRIBJTION OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE RESPONDANTS..

Political experience of the respondants		Cong I		T.D.P.		B.J.P.		C.P.M.		C.P.I.		C.P.I. M.I	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1-5	Years	6	19.35	2	6.06	5	38.46	3	11.53	2	11.11	-	-
6-10	Years	15	48.38	17	51.51	5	38.46	4	15.38	1	5.55	-	-
11-15	Years	8	25.60	14	42.42	2	15.38	4	15.38	3	16.66	3	60
16-	Above	2	6.45	-	-	1	7.69	15	57.69	12	66.66	2	42
Total		31	100%	33	100%	13	100%	26	100%	18	100%	8	100%

FIG XI  
 PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF  
 POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDENTS



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## **CHAPTER-V**

### **RECRUITMENT PATTERNS**

In participatory democratic systems, active participation of the people is to be cultivated, so that participants involve themselves in the political process and more importantly in the decision making and in the execution of decisions if democracy is to be meaningful. Modern democracy is understood as majority rule, but the vitality of democracy is found when the minority is recognised and the rights of minority are guaranteed .

In liberal democracies there is more emphasis on the participation of citizens. States like Britain, United States and India are treated as liberal democracies. But even in such societies, women are not still having adequate representation. They have the leadership positions only to a limited extent. Citizens' potential is still to be recognised and they are to be recruited to those positions. As Samuel Beer rightly puts it, people have unrealised potential for self cultivation, self direction, self understanding, and creativity. These potentialities can be realised in a participatory democracy, when people come out of isolation and participate in community activity<sup>2</sup>.

Democracy is based on equality. Most of the modern liberal democracies guarantee the right to equality. It cannot be assured merely by constitutional provision, but depends on different sorts of social groups which influence government. Usually the political parties are the major agents of democratic system to influence the government<sup>3</sup>. In order to protect the

democratic theme, political parties are to be organised taking the political equality into account, so that citizens have opportunities to discover and to formulate goals. To act and to realise their goal, the political parties link them and bring integration among them.

Political parties are agencies through which democratic activities could be carried. They bring together unacquainted individuals who share common beliefs, common interests and aspirations. They, recruit train and send members to the top leadership positions. In the words of Key Lawson, parties are often a nation's important personnel service<sup>4</sup>. Thus the parties perform the functions of conversion, aggregation, repression, integration, persuasion, representation, recruitment and choice of leaders, deliberation, policy formulation and control of the government<sup>5</sup>.

Party represents the interests of a given class or a social group. Parties convert the demands and interests into decision and policies and parties mobilise the individuals and of all these functions, recruitment is a very important and crucial one. Recruitment, in the widest possible sense denotes training and preparation for leadership. Recruitment patterns of party members and leaders in great deal determine the characteristics of the political systems. Therefore, political parties are the creatures of modern political system .

## RECRUITMENT :

Political recruitment is the process by which political roles are filled<sup>7</sup>. Every political system selects political and administrative office holders. Recruitment has gained importance in the political process. In the opinion of W.H. Morris Jones, the scope of recruitment stretches from participation to leadership. Recruitment clearly throws light on the style and performance of various political institutions, viz., parliament, party and bureaucracy. In order to give importance to specific representation of a specific group, recruitment pattern changes.

In democratic systems, political and administrative positions are open to any candidate with sufficient talent.<sup>9</sup> Recruitment patterns will have some influences. If new goals are adopted, recruitment patterns will change. Adoption of new recruitment patterns bring a change in the political system and its characteristics also.

Again, political recruitment depends on elite theory. The political systems goes on changing as and when the recruitment and dismissal of elites are done alternately in a critical juncture.<sup>10</sup> So wherever recruitment process is present, strong candidates will be recognised in the competition.

Almond and Powell are of the opinion that, in the United States and Britain, political positions are open to the talented People. Usually education and class status are important conditions

for leadership recruitment. It is also believed that recruitment by political parties should be directed by permitting wider participation rather than producing defined policies and highly qualified status men. If this is not present, participation crisis arises and is often viewed as a historical sequence of demands by groups even lower on the social scale than their predecessors for admission to legitimate participation in the political system. William E. Wright discusses the concept of recruitment models. The two basic party models differ each other. As per the rational efficient model, recruitment is more open and flexible, because the party leaders recruit from a diversity of groups. These are less institutionalised career patterns and more possibility of self recruitment in this model. Secondly as per the party democracy model, political career patterns are highly institutionalised. In the party democracy model, career lines are very clear. Candidates for public office rise within the organisational structures.<sup>12</sup> Milbrath gives importance to political participation model. However, the recruitment process is to be interpreted to contain a wide range of variables, including social background characteristics, patterns of political socialization, modes of entry into political and party activity, motivations and incentives for political activity, political attitudes, political career patterns and aspirations. Most studies deal only with selected aspects. Herbert Jacob adds personality, community and political structure variables to the usual social background variables.<sup>13</sup>

From the above discussions, some important propositions could be made.

1. Political leaders and activists are usually from higher economic status than party members, identifiers and voters.
2. Socio-economic status of leaders in turn increases the status of public officers and level of the party.
3. Members of the right parties usually belong to a higher status than the left party members.
4. Leaders are from the families, where family members are politically active.
5. Leaders follow the foot steps of their parents and join the parent's party.
6. Leaders develop loyalty towards a party at an early age.
7. Leaders generally have the political competence and political efficacy.
8. Leaders are attracted by some ideology.
9. Both policy incentives and material incentives attract the leaders.
10. Some leaders rise to the higher positions, if they are motivated.
11. If competition is less, the minority party tends to recruit more candidates than the majority party.
12. In the competitive situation, both or all parties are likely to recruit candidates.

Women could play important roles if they are supported, encouraged and recruited to different positions in the parties. As is well known, various agents like family peer groups, school and

political organisations give different outlook to girls and boys. However, women leaders also get into active party politics, due to various factors i.e., personal interest, political influence, encouragement from party leaders and inspiration from the charismatic leadership. And due to some special conditions also women may get involved in politics. So different factors contribute to women's entry into politics, membership and leadership in the party. Some women start their political career with party membership activity and some women may be directly recruited to the higher positions after being offered the candidature for public offices. The respondents have been asked to mention the factors responsible for their recruitment. The multiple responses given, have been classified into 5 groups.

#### Family :

Respondents in the first category are those whose family members are also party members. Some responses given by the women in the sample are the following :

1. My family members are party members and so I am also recruited to the party.
2. "I joined the party due to the inspiration given by my husband".
3. "I am recruited to this position after the death of my husband".
4. "Though I am not interested, I have to take up the position, after the death of my husband" . I have to complete the duties undone by my husband".

Specially some legislators in the past and present, are selected after the death of the husband or any other family head. Whether the concerned candidates have inclination to serve are not, they are being selected by the parties. Such an opinion is reflected in the writer's interview with Smt. M.Varalaxmi, a Congress Minister.<sup>14</sup> She said, " though I am not interested, I have to complete the duties undone by my husband." In the same way family influence plays an important role in the case of recruitment to higher cadres in the party. That was expressed by Pasya Padma, Secretary of CPI Women's Wing.<sup>15</sup>

#### Party Ideology Interest in the Party :

The second category of the respondents got into the positions, due to earlier experience, or due to interest in the ideology of the party. Some of the opinions are quoted below :

1. "I am interested in the party ideology and I will work for strengthening the party".
2. "After attending the youth camps of the party, I got interest in the party".
3. "I have read party literature and decided to join the party".
4. "I worked as a member of student wing and so got interest in joining the party".

The above are mostly the expressions of the women from Leftist parties. For instance, Ms.Chandra Raja Kumari, the present General Secretary at State Level of A.I.W.F. said that after

attending the student political classes and party training classes, she was recruited into the party and party position.<sup>16</sup> Another opinion, close to this, was that of Gujjula Sarala Devi, who mentioned that in addition to the influence of her father and husband, she was recruited in recognition of her experience in her student life.<sup>17</sup> An executive member of CPI ML party pointed out that as a young person, she got attracted to the party and the party executive position is the result of the recognition to her services.<sup>18</sup>

#### Experience & Interest :

On occasions, Leaders of the party pursue women to get into the party and party positions. In these cases usually the local leaders initiate and identify active women, having a bent of mind for leadership. The third category of the respondents gave the following responses.

1. "Because of my higher education, status and participatory abilities, the local leaders asked me to join the party and to hold party position".
2. "I joined the party through Mahila Mandals".
3. "The party persuaded me to join the party, on account of my financial status".

Some women leaders in the sample are those who are involved in the activities of organisations in their individual capacity. Here their experience is recognised and they are

persuaded by the party leaders. Smt. Durga Bhakta Vatsalam, the President of Manila Congress, said that she was recruited to several State level posts of the Congress party, in recognition of her independent organisational abilities and services to the people.<sup>19</sup> Eeti Vijaya Laxmi, Congress Legislator, mentioned that on account of her financial status, she was selected to the party.<sup>20</sup>

#### Socio-Economic Status \$

The fourth category of the respondents are those from groups having reservations. The following are the responses from the women of the reserved categories :

1. "I got involved in politics with the objective of serving my community".
2. "The party has gender equality as one of the objectives to realise, and so I joined the party".
3. "I joined the party as there is a need for contesting from a reserved constituency".
4. "It is only through the political party, we can be active". Ms. Padmasri, a Congress member of Lok Sabha said that, she was recruited only to contest from a reserved seat.<sup>21</sup> M. Indira stated that she was attracted by the party

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programmes.

The fifth category of the respondents are those who entered the party positions through the other leaders. The respondents have been recruited, when the party leaders called for

new recruits. The following are some of the responses :

1. "The high command directed the party members to recruit me into the party".
2. "I am attracted by the schemes of Indira Gandhi, I joined the party".
3. "As the leaders of the party gave the call for new recruits I joined the party. Added to that I hate the other parties".

B. Vijaya Laxmi, a member of Pradesh Congress Committee stressed that women are inspired by the stature of Indira Gandhi, and such an inspiration paved the way for her recruitment into the party.

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The above indicates that the background factors are, to an extent, linked to the recruitment patterns of women in political parties. It would now be useful to mention the general pattern of recruitment.

Some political scientists studied the recruitment pattern of the member and leaders in general at different levels. Milbrath deals with recruitment in "Political Participation".

Women's leadership in political parties at the state level includes leadership in decision making, executive committees and leadership in affiliated wings like Women's Wings, Agricultural Wings, Trade Union Wings, District Executive Committees and membership as well as leadership in the state legislature. Leaders at all these levels take up key roles.

In respect of the Congress Party, at the state level, the Pradesh Congress Committee looks after the various organisational activities of the party. P.C.C. consists of members elected by an electoral college, ex-presidents of PCC Presidents of DCC, AICC and members elected by legislature. In the PCC and DCC 30% members are women.<sup>24</sup> CPI has got 3 organisations at the state el. The Secretariat, Executive Committee and State Secretariat level consist of 9 members each but has no women membership. The Executive Committee, has only one woman representative out of 31 members and in the State Council, which consists of 125 members, 7 are women.<sup>25</sup>

For the CPM, there are two organisations at the state level. One is State Committee which consists of 65 members and among these 2 are women. In the second organisation, i.e., the  
26  
State Secretariat, there are no women members. BJP has 3 women members out of 50, members in the State Executive Committee and at the District level also 3 women members are there out of 30 members.<sup>27</sup>

The TDP State Executive has two women members out of 20 to 25 members. Out of these two, one is the Vice-President of the party and the other one represents Telugu Mahila.<sup>28</sup> According to the need some more women members may be included in it. In the CPI ML (Democratic) as per the strength the women members in the party, women will be recruited into State Executive Committee. A high percentage of the members are from downtrodden communities. The Total number of members of CPI ML was not revealed, but there is

higher percentage of women in the committee, compared to such committees of **other parties**.<sup>29</sup>

Each of the parties has its own affiliating organisations and these function as agents of various sections of the society. These sections like workers, youth and women are socialised by the trade unions, youth fronts and **women's** organisations of the parties. The members of these organisations, fulfill varied programmes and extend support to the parties in addition to financial help. The political parties fill the executive committees recruiting from these organisations. These agencies are usually called as party's wings.<sup>30</sup>

Members of these organisations get representation in the legislature also through elections. Each party has its own trade union wing. **INTUC, AITUC, CNTU, TNTUC, BMS** are the trade union wings of the Congress, **CPI, CPIM, TDP** and **BJP** respectively. Political parties cannot remain indifferent towards women who constitute nearly 50% of the electorate. All the parties have women's organisations to secure support. The Congress party formed its own women's wing in 1953.<sup>31</sup> The CPI has National Federation of Indian Women, **CPIM's** women wing is the All India Democratic Women's Association. **Telugu Manila, Mahila Morcha, Progressive Organisations for women** are the women wings of **TDP, BJP & CPIML respectively**. These are mostly training grounds **for members**.

A correct assessment of the recruitment needs to be studied in relation to the background of those recruited. In the sample under study, direct recruitment is not possible in the left parties. But the other three parties namely Congress, TDP and BJP directly recruit members at different levels of the party and the public offices.

The linear Multiple Regression Analysis and Correlation Matrix adopted in the study helped to conclude that background factors have their influence over the recruitment patterns of women leaders in party. For instance, education plays an important role in the recruitment of the person into party position.<sup>32</sup> As Patterson observed, education and political background play important role in the recruitment of persons into the party. It is quite evident that the TDP adopted this pattern, when the party came into existence. Many of the contestants for public office from this party are found to be those in high professions.<sup>33</sup>

The other background factor is the economic status or occupation. Eeti Vijaya Laxmi revealed that economic status is an important criteria for recruitment.<sup>34</sup> In spite of these factors, the final push is needed for some party members. As Milbrath stated, a kind of threshold must be crossed before a person changes roles.<sup>35</sup>

While the above is the general trend, the following is an assessment of the chief factor influencing recruitment in various parties. In the sample under study, the family influence is seen to a considerable extend in TDP, CPI, and CPM. This supports the

argument of Carol Wolkowitz. In a study entitled Controlling Women's Access to Political Power, she states that family is not always a site of oppression for women. A new theorization can be done, for in many societies women's position in the family gives them access to political power. Such access makes them gladiators or spectators.

In connection with women holding public offices, Carol pointed that, 'male equivalence' deserves to be investigated. Interest in ideology makes the respondent a more committed activist. As per Milbrath's note, such recruits become gladiators.<sup>37</sup> It can be inferred that the influence of ideology has lesser significance in the TDP and the Congress and surprisingly in the CPI also.

Table 5 shows that, the BJP members have significantly responded to the call of local leaders. The BJP has scored the highest in this context. Contrary to this, CPM members got the last score i.e., 7.69%. This shows that commitment to work in party is the motive force. Interestingly, both the CPI and TDP members equally scored 33%. The two parties having contrasting ideologies seem to adopt the same method in the recruitment. If the persons to hold public offices are to be persuaded, the activity of the respondents may not be significant in all aspects.

Leader's charisma has served as an important factor in recruitment in the case of Congress and TDP. Influenced by the stature of Indira Gandhi, came new entrants into the Congress

party.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the charisma of N.T.Rama Rao attracted some women members to join his party and to take various party responsibilities. Of these women, many are educated.

In conclusion, women are less represented in the state party decision making bodies i.e., State Committees of the parties. Congress Party's State Executive Committee has nearly 7% women on it. Each of the remaining parties have less than 5 women in their Executive Committee. CPI and CPM do not give representation to women in the highest decision making body at the state level, i.e., State Secretariat. From this, it is possible to conclude that women are not being encouraged to be in the highest party positions.

As noted, family influence plays an important role, if the women are to be recruited to party positions. For instance, Mallu Swarajyam, Moturu Udayam and Punyavathi of CPM, Chandra Raja Kumari and Gujjula Sarala Devi of CPI, Vijaya alias Lakshmi and Sandhya of CPIML are the activists, holding state executive party positions. Their family support and influence counted much for their continuously holding party positions. Santha Reddy, and Samanthaka Reddy gave primary importance to the ideology of the BJP party, but they are being encouraged by the party and also supported by the family.

The services of the women are recognised for membership in party organisation, but not equally recognised for entering the legislature because of the weak financial position of the members.

TABLE 5:1 RECRUITMENT PATTERNS OF THE RESPONDENTS - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
A. Family members & party members	7 (21.87)	10 (30.30)	-	8 (30.76)	8 (44.44)	2 (40.00)
B. Interested in party ideology	5 (15.62)	7 (21.21)	4 (30.76)	16 (61.53)	2 (11.11)	3 (60.00)
C. Asked by local leaders	7 (21.87)	11 (33.33)	8 (61.53)	2 (7.69)	6 (33.33)	1 (20.00)
D. Social purpose	8 (25.00)	5 (15.15)	2 (15.38)	3 (11.53)	1 (5.55)	-
E. Leaders Call or attracted by charisma of leader	5 (15.62)	9 (27.27)	-	-	1 (5.55)	-

if multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

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## CHAPTER-VI

### ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Political parties are very important political institutions for the functioning of participatory democracy. So, their leaders should have clear perceptions of the goals and programmes of the party and personal tasks of the leader. As a leader of the party and as a candidate for public office, the leader should also have a clear perception of his/ her role. Regarding role perceptions, several theories have been developed.

The concept of role perceptions has become popular in leadership behavioural research. In the opinion of Charlesworth (1969), the behavioural approach is able to deliver reliable knowledge with regard to political common place. Political knowledge and political behaviour are inseparable. As the behaviour is an individual act, the process of perception springs from the inner self. What is actually perceived and how it is understood can be affected by prior socialization. So perception is said to be a social phenomenon. In the opinion of Goldstein, an understanding of how people arrive at their impressions of reality requires considerations of the dimensions of the social context.

David Easton is of the opinion that political life is a system of behaviour which operates with in and responding to social environment.<sup>3</sup> The social behaviour has either a purpose or a consequence. So the meaning of an act is what the act 'stands for' and it represents in a perceptual space. So there is a close

relation between action and perception.<sup>4</sup> To Uday Pareek, perception is the source of our knowledge of the world and perception is the process of receiving, selecting, organising, interpreting, checking, and reacting to sensory stimuli or duty.<sup>5</sup> As far as behavioural approach is concerned, Whalke and Eulau in the Legislative System (1962) deal with legislators as a leadership study in which they analyse the role perceptions of legislators.

Regarding the perceptions of party leaders, Samuel Eldersveld conducted a pioneering survey. His study is mainly concerned with the perceptions of party leaders about organization, financial and communicative skills. The inquiry was also done about the responsibility of decision making and about the problems of role behaviours.<sup>7</sup> Nilima Acharji's study, refers to the leadership perceptions of state politics about the trade unions in India and some aspects of trade union leadership. William N. Chambers in his essay on parties and nation building deals with the leadership, purpose and political styles of leadership. He identified the skills as inter group adjustments and combinations, compromisation, aggregation and mobilisation of interests, rationalisation of party methods and processes.<sup>9</sup>

The above thinkers\* is the behavioural approach which is mainly related to role perceptions. Glenn D. Paige, in his book 'Scientific Study of Political Leadership' deals with the conception of leadership and also about the behaviour of leaders. Campbell (1960) while dealing with party candidates and issues

emphasised on the behavioural relations between the leader and the follower. Such a behaviour is found in the leadership interactions. Mathews identified four types of leaders concerning legislative behaviour. They are the patricians, amateurs, professional politicians and agitators. All these four categories are classified in accordance with the role perceptions. The patricians have the high social background, the amateurs have low social status and the professional politicians have low status but high political accomplishments. Lastly, the agitators have low status and low political accomplishments.

While considering the role perceptions, Barber described the legislators as law makers, advertisers, spectators, and reluctant. On the basis of role perceptions, legislators could also be classified as persuaders, neutrals and automatic partisans. Whalke, Eulau and Ferguson have provided role orientations to the representative images. They are trustees, delegates and politicians. The kinds of roles to them are a real roles, state oriented roles, district oriented roles and pressure group roles, under the purposive roles, inventors, brokers and the tribunes could be added. Under pressure group roles there are three categories of role i.e. facilitators, resistors and neutrals. In the opinion of Eldersveld, leaders of political parties could be classified as vote mobilizers, ideological mentors and socio-economic welfare promoters.<sup>10</sup> Wilson classified the party leaders as utilitarians, solidarity achievers and purposive leaders. Utilitarians give importance to patronage, solidarity leaders to social interaction

and leaders of purposive motive to achievements. Thus according to the perceptions and also performance leaders could be variously classified.

#### **Responsibilities of the Leaders:**

An examination of the party leaders' responsibilities, particularly the executive members of the party on the basis of role perceptions will be added to the present analysis. In accordance with the perceptions of the respondents, the significance of the leadership roles and responsibilities are identified. According to the perceptions women leaders may be categorised as women welfare promoters, party organisers and general welfare promoters. Women welfare promoters are concerned with the promotion of social awareness among women and to increase women's membership in the party. The party organisers work for the training of lower cadres of the party and also development of party organisation and coordination of party activities. The third category is the general welfare promoters who are interested in identification of general problems of the people and also problems of women and in solving those problems. There are some leaders who are the issue makers and some other who are concerned with rural development.

According to table 6:1, the first category of perceptions deal with the welfare of women and development of women. So it can be concluded that women are more interested in involving themselves for solving women's problems and women's issues. The second

category of perceptions indicates the role of party organisers. Under this role, the party leaders act as ideological mentors and party organisers. Eledersveled gave one more category of leadership according to the perceptions that is vote mobilizer's role. But this kind of leadership in the present sample is not found, even though the women in general are more involved in vote mobilisation. Under the category of women welfare promoters, B.J.P. leaders gave importance to social awareness among women. Under the same category C.P.M. respondents have the perceptions of increasing women's membership in the parties. So C.P.M. members can be said to be more concerned with the increase of the women's strength in the party.

The above indicates that the perception about the increase of women members of the party has a corresponding interest that is promoting women's participation. The organisers in the sample mentioned three important responsibilities. The first one is training to the lower cadres. Another function is development of party organisation and the third is coordination. The women leaders interviewed, feel that women should also be involved in the leadership of the party in training the lower cadres. Even though organisers' role is concerned with party organisation, the perceptions are not clear about how to organise the party and also regarding reforming the organisation of the party. Under the same category, there is another activity namely coordination of the activities of the party. This perception is also not specific about the different activities which are to be coordinated.

In the opinion of Patterson, organisers in a party perform different types of roles and leaders of the dominant party tend to be more organisational oriented than the minority party leaders who tend to be more campaign oriented.<sup>12</sup> From this an inference from the present sample can be drawn. The women leaders who are not specific about the organisational roles and behaviours may not be able to dominate the party and so they may be treated as the minority group of the party who and those are involved in campaign activities. This table gave the different roles played by different political party women leaders and in this aspect, 46% of B.J.P. women leaders are highly concerned with the promotion of social awareness among women. A very high percent (65%) of the C.P.M. women leaders prefer to increase women's membership in the party. 55% of C.P.I., women leaders have stressed on the training of lower cadres. 57% of the T.D.P., women leaders emphasised on the development of party organisation. About these three activities, C.P.I.M.L. candidates expressed cent percent support. The C.P.I. women leaders give importance to coordination of party activities. 37% of Congress women leaders are interested in solving women's problems. Regarding the new issues and the involvement of party leaders, the concern of the B.J.P. women leaders is the highest. The highest percent of the perceptions of T.D.P. women leaders are in favour of rural development. The B.J.P. women leaders expressed their concern about the promotion of awareness about laws and judiciary.

In conclusion it can be said that the women leaders in the sample feel that they should have reasonable roles in all the functions of the parties and that they do not, in reality, are involved in important functions relating to discharging executive responsibilities and recruitment process.

#### Perception Regarding Women's Wings:

Women wings of the political parties play a key role in the political process in Andhra Pradesh. John M. Nelson observed that for the improvement in individual political participation, membership in unions, parties and other partisan associations are considerably more important. Nie, Powell & Prewitts, reanalysing the data in 'Civic Culture' argued that membership in secondary associations affected participation much more uniformly and

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directly than did the socio-economic status. So, these thinkers stressed on the importance of peer groups and secondary associations. It can be noted from table 6:2 that 100% of C.P.I.M.L. respondents expressed satisfaction about the functioning of women's wing (POW). Other party women leaders also supported this argument. Women members of all the parties with the exception of one, are happy with the functioning of their women's wings. Only the B.J.P. members felt that the functioning of women's wing is not satisfactory. This statement is a bit deliberate than Congress and TDP.

In general there seemed to be limited awareness among the respondents about the importance and functioning of women's wings. As regards the purposes of women's wings, party leaders in the sample stated that the main purpose of women's wing is achieving equal status. In this regard, the C.P.M. scored the highest percentage (50%). Promotion of political awareness among women is considered to be very important by all the respondents. About the promotion of political awareness, the left party members have shown greater concern than those of the right parties. Regarding the integrating women's organisation, B.J.P. leaders were silent, but T.D.P. and C.P.I. stood in the first and second ranks.

The perceptions of all women leaders have been very clear about extending support to the party. As can be seen in table 6:3, 100% of C.P.I.M.L. leaders supported this statement. And the respondents of the remaining parties supported this argument, the percentage ranging between 38% and 78%. Regarding the propagating of party ideology, general perceptions of different political parties are not reasonably high. In this aspect, C.P.I.M.L. member's concern has been the highest compared to others. About the propagation of patriotism 9% T.D.P., 11% C.P.I., and 3% C.P.M. leaders expressed their concern. It is interesting to note that women's wing members of BJP consider and want to propagate women as a symbol of mother and want to propagate this idea. Promotion of self confidence is not found to be among the priority factors.

From the above it can be concluded that regarding the purpose of women's wing, the perceptions are not very clear. There are similar perceptions regarding women's equality promotion of women's political awareness, and women's support to the party. In spite of the fact that the respondents do not have clear views about the need for integrating women's wings, they have proved themselves in playing important roles in the Anti-Arrack Movement in an integrated manner.

#### Present Politics:

It is important to study the perceptions of the respondents to understand the nature of leadership. Leaders with knowledge of and perceptions about present politics could function as opinion leaders. Lazarsfeld and Katz developed the concept of opinion leaders. To them, opinion leaders are important communication links in the society. They pass on information to others who are not so closely tied to the communications system.<sup>14</sup> In the opinion of Milbrath and Goel, the opinion leaders have some characteristics like higher socio-economic status, higher integration into social group, higher gregariousness, more activity in group, greater interest in a subject, greater exposure to media, and they personify certain values.<sup>15</sup>

To the question about present politics, multiple responses are received and there are presented party wise in table 6: 4 The first response is that violence and corruption are rampant

during elections. A considerable percentage (65%) of **the** left party **members** feel that these are present, and not an **insignificant** percentage of the TDP and Congress members have expressed similar views. The reason for a majority of the TDP and the Congress members not openly saying that corruption and violence are rampant could be that these are the only parties **that** have had the chance to form government and that it is difficult for a ruling party to accept that the administration is defective. Further T.D.P. and Congress are the only parties which have chances of winning power.

Women respondents in general felt that corruption is curtailing the development process. More over, women seem to be more moralistic than men. Vicky Randall noted several instances of women being moralistic in England. Women have also been depicted as more plutonic. That is why, women are more concerned with reforming the system. <sup>1fi</sup> In the background of these views, the women respondents from C.P.M. supported the argument against violence and corruption. C.P.M. scored 65% compared to the least percent of Congress respondents (25%). Women respondents also expressed concern over bureaucratic corruption. In this aspect C.P.I.M.L. stood at the highest compared to C.P.M. which scored only 4%.

Thirdly, the respondents have been asked to say whether India is frequently facing capitalistic intervention or not. As Maitreyi Krishnaraj pointed out, due to the new **economic** policy several changing consequences are to be faced by the people.

Devaluation makes imports costlier. The chances of increase in exports may be bright. Such new changes were experienced by many third world countries. They are facing so many difficulties in annual repayment of debts. In view of such consequences anybody will have doubts about the present economic situation which is having its own changing trends.<sup>18</sup> In this aspect the respondents under study have also expressed their own doubts. 20% of C.P.I.M.L., 15% of C.P.M., 5% of C.P.I. and 3% of T.D.P. respondents supported the statement that the new economic policy is likely to adversely effect women. The economic situation is said to be understood by all parties according to their ideologies. All the three left parties have doubts about the new economic policy. Interestingly, party respondents either supported the policy or kept silence.

The view that 'the common man is in danger' is supported by a higher number of C.P.I.M.L. respondents followed by the other two communist parties. In support of the statement that women's problems are not being solved, C.P.I.M.L. scored highest in percent, and the Congress lowest. 20% of the C.P.I. respondents, and 19% of C.P.M. respondents agreed that 'democracy is in danger\*'. The Congress has got only 6%. A high percentage of the women the sample have felt that opportunists are dominating the politics. But only 34% of the Congress supported the statement. However this is not a negligible percentage.

While reacting to the present politics a majority of the respondents stressed that morality is lacking in Indian politics. In support of this argument, T.D.P. and leftist party respondents scored the highest percentage compared to B.J.P. and Congress members. However in these two parties also, a minimum of 30% of the respondents supported it. In conclusion it can be said that a majority of the respondents from each party are against violence and corruption and they favoured moral values to be promoted during the elections.

#### Qualities of Party Leaders:

The leaders of the party are usually considered as heads of the party. But at different levels, the party leaders dominate the followers or the members. Different political thinkers narrated the qualities of the leader.<sup>18</sup> Roth is of the opinion that effective leadership is perhaps depends on the leaders' personal traits and skills. More over socio-economic background, personality, political ideology, skill and political styles have their influence on leadership.<sup>19</sup>

As far as skills of the leader are concerned, political style of the leader is an important characteristic feature. An individual who is ideologically committed will have more motivation to participate in decision making, because she/he wants to give importance to ideology. An important source of leadership is the ability to command respect. The leader should have an innovative

mind. He/she should cooperative with others and have the ability to perceive the needs and demands of the people.

It can be observed from table 6:5 that there are 9 skills or characteristics of the leaders. When the respondents have been asked to tell the characteristics of the leader, they gave multiple answers which are identified. Organisational capability was perceived as an important characteristic feature of the leader. This view is supported by more than 40% of the respondents from each party. But only 20% of C.P.I.M.L. respondents supported it. Some respondents have felt that leadership at the district level is necessary for climbing to higher levels of leadership. This is again supported by 60% of C.P.I.M.L. members followed by members of other left parties and the lowest percent of T.D.P. members supported this. So in the case of T.D.P., leadership promotion is not found to be hierarchical.

The third perception is about the need to have skill in tackling situations. Members of almost all the parties expressed support to this idea and the percentage ranges between 30% to 80%. Another important characteristic of the leader, which can be noted from the table is understanding and supporting party ideology. As far as party ideology is concerned, members of left parties gave more support to this trait than those of other three parties. Party loyalty has also been considered as an important characteristic feature. It is clear from the table that 60% of the respondents from C.P.I.M.L. supported it followed by T.D.P. and

C.P.M. members. The other three parties secured less than 23% support of its members. As for ideology, the two left parties showed more concern for loyalty and when T.D.P. respondents' perception is noted, loyalty to the leader is found to be more important.

Social and economic status is considered as an important trait for leadership. As far as recruitment to public offices is concerned, economic status is given much importance. About the charisma of the leader, it is one T.D.P. member that responded positively. And same is the case with caste. However, if a person has to lead a party or acquire leadership, interest and initiative are considered important. In this aspect there is significant difference between different parties regarding perceptions. In conclusion it can be said that the respondents have laid more stress on capabilities and support for ideology as the important features for acquiring leadership of the party at the state level.

#### Single Leadership (Vs) Collective Leadership:

The respondents have been asked to mention the kind of leadership they prefer. With the purpose of knowing whether democratic principle is recognised by the concerned member and party. It is an open ended question, and for that three types of answers have been given.

Those statements are given below :

1. Collective leadership is always better, as it protects **democracy**.
2. Collective leadership is better, as it avoids the gap in the leadership ranks.
3. Collective leadership is preferable as it acts against the tyranny of a single person.

Basing upon these answers some respondents are recognised as supporting collective leadership.

2. The second group answers is given below :

1. Single leadership should go hand in hand **with** the collective leadership in the party.
2. Single leadership should be supported by collective decision making.
3. Single leadership should be at the apex, but balance should be maintained with the setting up of collective advisory body.

These answers reveal that some members preferred combination of single and collective leadership. The respondents here suggested that for the implementation of the policies, single leadership should be there, and for the decision making, collective leadership is necessary.

3. The third category of answers are given below :

1. Single leadership is a better kind of leadership.

2. For the uniformity of action, single leadership is needed.
3. Single leadership is a source of strength, and it avoids cleavages.

These answers reveal that single leadership is preferred for facilitating uniformity and strengthening of the party.

All these above perceptions of the leaders under study are grouped into three categories and distributed between the six parties. It is now apt to refer to Laswell who says "playing a role in politics does not have the same meaning to different persons".<sup>20</sup> Thus perceptions differ from one respondent to another. On the basis of different perceptions, role preferences could be identified. Whalke and Eulau gave different images as per the perceptive role orientation. These roles are 'trustee role, delegate role and politico role'. A trustee is a person, who acts according to the responsibilities entrusted to him. A delegate is interested to participate in the deliberations and a politico is an opportunist.

As per the above categories, a trustee supports single leadership, a delegate collective leadership and a politico both the types of leadership or a combination of these two kinds of leadership. In the trustee's view, non democratic perception is present and in a delegate's view, democratic perception and in the view of politico, there is a balanced view.

It is obvious from table 6:6 that all the C.P.I.M.L. respondents supported collective leadership and more than 65% of the respondents of all parties supported it. But from T.D.P. only 42% of the respondents supported it. Single leadership is preferred by the highest number of T.D.P. respondents. The highest percentage of B.J.P. members supported a combination of two kinds of leadership. In the case of TDP, the charismatic single leadership of N.T.Rama Rao, the party had to carry on its functions. So there is less possibility of democratic principle in the party.

#### Activity of Interest:

The respondents of all parties have been asked to tell the activity of their interest. It is an open ended question and five answers are mainly identified. The first is that 'I am interested in participating in the legislature'. This gives the impressions of a law maker's role of the respondents. It is clear from table 6:7 that 22% of the respondents from Congress deliberately expressed this opinion. Surprisingly, the respondents from other parties are hesitant in this regard. It is clear that the Congress and the T.D.P. give more chances to women to enter the legislature than the remaining parties.

The second statement is that 'I am interested in dealing with public issues concerning women'. Mostly women are interested in and react to women's issues. Than to the general issues. In

this regard the C.P.M. a the T.D.P. members supported with a high percentage, with a narrow difference between them. The remaining parties supported this argument only for names sake. The third reply was that 'I am ready to do any activity and I have no particular interest'. The women members with this view are not having a clear idea about their prospects. A high majority of the members of T.D.P. followed by B.J.P. supported this statement. So it can be said that the respondents in the limited percentage of the C.P.M. members have held this view. The members of C.P.M. party have joined the party as committed workers. Women leaders of T.D.P. have not freely expressed their views. In the case of BJP, women leaders at the state level and not those at the local levels have clear perceptions about their prospects. Further, fresh members do not have clear views about their roles.

The fourth statement is 'My objective is economic justice and to achieve the objective, I work with the people towards liberating people'. This supports the activity concerning the upliftment of downtrodden. Respondents with this view can be recognised as liberators. In this context, the members of C.P.I.M.L. secured the highest score and the C.P.M. got the lowest percentage. While stating this, the members seemed to have been greatly influenced by ideology. The fifth statement is 'I am interested to work with women's organisations to achieve social justice and to train women party workers'. This statement reveals the interests of women working only with women and working for women. This idea is mainly expressed by women working in women's

wings of the parties. They are found to have been satisfied with the positions they hold and are not found to be showing interest in getting higher positions in the party hierarchy. This view seems to have been influenced by the fact that women do not have encouragement to hold higher positions in "the party hierarchy.

the above statements reveals that women are not given higher positions and have given less opportunity to contest for elections. So most of the women are seen to have compromised with the positions they have held.

#### Kind of Party Leadership Vs Age:

Respondent's perceptions about the type of leadership of the party may be differing according to age. Attitudinal patterns and commonalties of interest as per the age will provide for a meaningful analysis. It is apparent from table 6:8 that there is no possibility of change in the attitude of women leaders after the age of 41. Some percentage of women members of the two age groups namely 41 to 50 and 51 and above stated that there should be collective leadership, where as in the age group of 31 and 40, there is a difference in the opinion about the type of leadership. 18% of the women in this age group have laid stress on collective leadership. 8% in the same age group supported single leadership. So it is clear that a majority of the respondents opted for democracy with in the party.

## Perception-Political Parties:

In this section, an attempt is made to compare **the** mean scores of the parties and the significance is noted as per the T-test. In this chapter, two types of analysis have been done. They are multivariate regression analysis and univariate **analysis**. For comparison, party's means and standard deviation have been tested and the significance of T-values are noted as 5%. For the test of perceptions of different political parties, means, standard deviation and positive values of different political parties are comparatively dispersed on table 6:9. The perceptions of each of the party members are compared with those of the other parties starting with Congress.

It is obvious from the table that the mean score on perceptions of Congress party are less than the scores of CPM, CPI, TDP & CPIML. But the mean score of BJP is less than that of Congress. But as per the T-test the difference between Congress verses TDP, CPM & CPIML tends to be significant. But the difference between Congress with the mean score of BJP and CPI tends to be non-significant as per the T-test at 5%.

The perceptions of TDP members are compared with the remaining parties excluding Congress. It is found that the mean score of CPM & CPIML are higher than those of TDP, where as the mean score of CPI & BJP is less than the that of TDP. As per the T-test, difference between the mean scores of TDP & CPI is non

significant and other comparisons tend to be significant.

The mean scores of BJP are less than those of CPM, CPI, and CPIML. But the differences between BJP with CPM & CPIML are significant as per the T-test where as the difference between BJP and CPI is non significant.

The mean scores of CPM are compared to those of CPI and CPIML. It is obvious from the table that difference between the CPM and CPI is significant and difference between CPM & CPIML is non-significant.

Lastly the difference between the mean scores of CPI & CPM are significant. From this it can be concluded that the perceptions of CPM, CPIML & TDP are generally highly significant and the perceptions of the respondents of the Congress of the respondents of CPI and BJP are not higher as per the performance of party activity. it might be due to the lack of political training to the respondents of those parties. It may also be due to lack of interest to serve the people. They seem to be more interested in roles for power than roles for service.

#### **Perception and Performance-Tested:**

Chi Square Test has helped to find the significance of the influence of variables on two functions namely perception and Performance. The influence of the following facts is checked.

### Perception and Performance:

1. Association with father's education.
2. Association with mother's education.
3. Association with husband's education.
4. Association with political experience
5. Association with political influence.
6. Association with place of birth of respondent

### Father's Education:

It is apparent from the table, that the association between the independent variable (father's education) and the dependent variable i.e. perception and performance of the C.P.I.M.L. party members, the Chi Square value is 0.3957 which is less than the table value and hence it is non-significant between the variables.

The study indicates that father's education of the C.P.I.M.L. party women workers has no impact on the perception and performance. Therefore, the independent variable (father's education) has no direct bearing on the dependent variable. (perception and performance). The reason for non-significance might be due to the fact that most of the women members are married where the influence of husband would have significant bearing rather than the father's education. As the political activity will be significant after 30s, husband's influence gets more significant on the perception and performance of women leaders.

### **Mother's Education-Perception and Performance:**

The association between the mother's education and perception and performance of the C.P.I.M.L. women members is presented in the table.

It is interesting to observe that the association between the above variables is significant at the 0.50 level of probability where the Chi Square Value (6.5401) is higher than the table value (5.348). This finding is contrary to the previous situation. Though parents education is the prerequisite for the human resource \* management of the women folk, mother's education had a direct bearing on the women party workers in terms of their perception followed by performance.

### **Husband's Education-Perception and Performance:**

It is apparent from table 6:13 that the association of the husband's education with the perception and performance of the C.P.I.H.L. women workers is significant at 0.99 probability, where the  $X^2$  value 1.17 is higher than the table value.

The table indicates that high impact of husband's education over the respondent's perception and performance is significant. It is nothing but the influence of patriarchy where husbands play a dominant role. Higher education of husbands has its impact on role perceptions and participation levels of the

spouses. Here Chi Square Values are higher than that of table value and so it shows a balance between the **perception** and performance of the respondents of CPIML.

Political Experience- Perception **and** Performance:

It is evident from table 6:14 that the political experience of the respondent had its impact on the perceptions and **performance**. The association of political **experience** on respondents' perceptions and performance is tested and Chi Square Value is 2.27, which is strongly significant at 0.090 probability at the table value of 2.204. This indicates that the perceptions of respondents are influenced by political experience and this has positive results on **performance**. It is significant that experience would influence the perception, right attitude and performance. Higher perceptions and higher performance would be implicitly and explicitly influenced by higher political experience. There is no denying the fact that CPIML respondents' perceptions and performance have high scores and are significant too.

Political Influence- Perception and **Performance**:

Political influence over the respondents' perceptions and performance are tested. The Chi Square Test has shown that even though some of the relatives are leaders, their influence on the **members** of **C.P.I.M.L.** is not significant as far as perceptions and **performance** are concerned. These women needed more support from

relatives rather than Just influence. It may be useful to form opinion. But without initiation and support of relatives who are leaders, it may not be possible for the women respondents to participate in the political parties.

It is evident from Lawson's study that political experience develops self confidence and confirmed opinion among the activists of the party. Lawson is clear in emphasising the association of political experience in the party leaders to their perceptions.

#### Place of Birth of Respondents- Perceptions and Performance:

Significance of the influence of place of birth on perception and performance is tested. The table shows the impact of place of birth on the perceptions and performance of respondents of CPIML. The value of  $\chi^2$  is 1.048, which is strongly significant at 0.99 probability. From this an inference can be drawn that the impact of place of birth tends to be strong over the perception and performance and so higher perception and performance rates are shown.

In conclusion, it can be said that, women leaders felt that they do not have important executive functions and that the roles assigned to them are reasonably good. Women respondents of all political parties felt that integration of women wings of all Political parties is not possible. On the one hand ideologically,

they have different orientations and on the other conflicting views about leadership. Despite these, they worked with solidarity and integrity during the Anti-Arrack Movement. For the conduct of elections, respondents felt that in the place of violence and corruption, morality is to be uplifted.

To acquire leadership of the party, respondents have laid more stress on capabilities and support for ideology as the important factors for acquiring leadership. Women of different parties got satisfied to work in the women's wings, as they are not usually offered higher position in the party. They are given limited chances to contest the elections. Women leaders have stressed on the need for democracy within the political party and they are mostly against single leadership in the party. For party leaders usually long careers are needed. In addition to ideological commitment, considerable, parental influence, long residence during childhood to the present in the same place and continuity of service fetch more opportunities for women in the political parties.

TABLE 6:1 RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE LEADER - PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. S-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Promote social awareness	2 (6.25)	7 (21.21)	6 (46.15)	6 (23.07)	2 (11.11)	-
Increase women membership	8 (25.00)	13 (31.41)	4 (30.76)	17 (65.38)	11 (61.00)	5 (100.00)
Training to lower cadets	5 (16.00)	12 (36.36)	7 (53.84)	12 (46.15)	10 (55.55)	5 (100.00)
Develop party organisation	16 (50.00)	19 (57.57)	3 (23.07)	9 (34.61)	5 (38.46)	5 (100.00)
Coordinate activities	4 (12.28)	6 (15.38)	1 (7.69)	8 (30.76)	5 (38.46)	1 (20.00)
Solve problems of working Women	12 (37.5)	12 (36.36)	1 (7.69)	5 (19.23)	6 (33.33)	-
Opinions about new issues	3 (9.37)	4 (12.12)	2 (15.38)	3 (11.53)	1 (5.55)	-
Organise from rural levels	2 (6.28)	4 (12.12)	1 (7.69)	3 (11.53)	1 (5.55)	-
Awareness about Judiciary	1 (3.13)	-	2 (15.38)	-	-	-

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 6:2 PERCEPTION ON THE FUNCTIONS OF WOMEN'S WING - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Functioning of wing satisfactory	23 (71.87)	22 (66.66)	9 (69.23)	22 (84.61)	15 (83.33)	5 (100)
Not satisfactory	6 (18.75)	7 (21.21)	3 (23.07)	1 (3.84)	-	-
To work for the benefit of women	2 (6.25)	4 (12.12)	-	3 (11.53)	2 (11.11)	-
No idea	1 (3.12)	-	1 (7.69)	-	1 (5.55)	-

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 6:3 PERCEPTIONS ON IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S BINS - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.O.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. n-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Equality	9 (28.12)	6 (18.18)	4 (30.76)	13 (50.00)	3 (16.16)	1 (20.00)
Promote political awareness	18 (31.25)	14 (42.42)	6 (46.15)	16 (61.53)	12 (66.66)	5 (100)
To get women's support to the party	16 (50.00)	26 (78.78)	7 (53.84)	16 (61.53)	7 (38.38)	5 (100)
Integrating women's organisations	4 (12.05)	8 (24.24)	- ( - )	5 (19.23)	4 (22.22)	1 (20.00)
Propagate party ideology	2 (6.25)	4 (12.12)	1 (07.69)	1 (03.84)	3 (16.66)	1 (20.00)
Propagate patriotism	-	3 (09.09)	- ( - )	1 (03.84)	2 (11.11)	-
Propagate motherly respect	1 (03.12)	1 (03.03)	1 (07.69)	-	-	-
Propagate self confidence among women ;	3 (09.37)	6 (18.18)	-	-	1 (05.55)	-

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 6:4 PRESENT POLITICS - PERCEPTIONS DISTRIBUTED PARTY WISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
Violence and corruption	8 (25.00)	13 (39.39)	9 (61.53)	17 (65.38)	18 (55.55)	3 (60.00)
Corruption	4 (12.05)	2 (6.06)	1 (7.69)	1 (3.84)	-	1 (20.00)
Facing capitalistic intention	-	1 (3.03)	-	4 (15.38)	1 (5.55)	1 (20.00)
Common man in trouble	3 (9.37)	-	2 (15.38)	5 (19.23)	4 (22.22)	3 (60.00)
Women's problems not solved	3 (9.37)	6 (18.18)	2 (15.38)	9 (34.61)	3 (16.66)	2 (40.00)
Democracy in danger	2 (6.25)	4 (12.12)	1 (7.62)	5 (19.23)	1 (5.55)	-
Opportunism	11 (34.37)	26 (78.78)	8 (61.53)	16 (61.53)	13 (72.22)	5 (100)
No morality	14 (43.75)	28 (84.84)	4 (30.76)	16 (61.53)	7 (38.88)	3 (60.00)

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 6:5 PERCEPTION ON QUALIFICATIONS OF STATE EXECUTIVE MEMBERS - PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Organisational capabilities	13 (40.62)	16 (48.48)	7 (53.84)	15 (57.62)	9 (50.00)	1 (20.00)
Leader at the district level	5 (15.62)	2 (09.09)	2 (15.38)	6 (23.07)	4 (22.22)	3 (60.00)
Handle situations	12 (37.85)	12 (36.36)	4 (30.76)	17 (65.38)	10 (55.55)	4 (80.00)
Support party ideology	6 (18.75)	6 (18.18)	4 (30.76)	19 (73.07)	9 (50.00)	3 (60.00)
Loyalty to the party	7 (21.87)	10 (30.30)	3 (23.07)	9 (34.61)	3 (16.66)	3 (60.00)
Social and economic status	7 (21.87)	9 (27.27)	3 (23.07)	7 (26.92)	3 (16.66)	2 (40.00)
Charisma	-	1 (03.03)	-	-	-	-
Basic interest initiation	15 (46.87)	14 (42.42)	6 (46.15)	12 (46.15)	7 (38.88)	-
Caste	-	1 (03.03)	-	-	-	-

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.



TABLE 6:7 AREA OF INTEREST - PERCEPTION PARTY WISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Legislator	7 (21.87)	4 (12.12)	1 (8.69)	2 (8.69)	2 (11.11)	-
Public issues	5 (15.62)	10 (30.88)	2 (15.38)	8 (30.76)	2 (11.11)	-
All the activities	5 (18.62)	11 (33.33)	4 (30.76)	2 (8.69)	4 (22.22)	1 (20.00)
Liberating people	4 (12.85)	2 (8.68)	1 (8.69)	1 (8.94)	5 (27.77)	2 (40.00)
Work with women organisation	1 (8.12)	6 (18.18)	1 (8.69)	10 (38.46)	5 (27.77)	2 (40.00)
social justice	10 (31.25)	-	4 (30.76)	3 (11.53)	-	-
Other opinions	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 6:8 PERCEPTION AN TYPE OF PARTY LEADERSHIP - LINKED TO AGE

	Below 30 Years	31 - 40 Years	41- 50 Years	Above 51 Years
Collective leadership	10 (87.87)	23 (19.11)	29 (22.04)	28 (22.04)
Single leadership and collective decisions	1 (8.15)	1 (07.70)	5 (83.93)	3 (82.36)
Single leder - uniformity	2 (01.59)	11 (88.66)	9 (87.88)	7 (85.51)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage. N = 127.  
As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

TABLE 6:9

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF PERCEPTION OF PARTY SCORES COMPARED &amp; TESTED THE SIGNIFICANCE

S.L.No.	Party	x	S.D.	t Value	Significant or) Non significant at 5% Table Value	
1.	Cong I	106.28	19.61			
	Vs					
	T.D.P.	117.12	25.38	1.62	Significant at 5%	1.51
2.	Cong I	106.28	19.61			
	Vs					
	B.J.P.	99.15	19.49	1.78	Non Significant at 5%	1.79
3.	Cong I	106.28	19.61			
	Vs					
	C.P.M.	127.92	48.48	3.87	Significant at 5%	1.67
4.	Cong I	106.28	19.61			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.	118.88	32.99	8.67	Non significant at 5%	1.88
5.	Cong I	106.28	19.61			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.M.L	138.8	19.77	7.89	Significant at 5%	3.67
6.	T.D.P.	117.12	25.38			
	Vs					
	B.J.P.	99.15	19.49	3.83	Significant at 5%	1.79
7.	T.D.P.	117.12	25.38			
	Vs					
	C.P.M.	127.92	48.48	1.73	Significant at 5%	1.67
8.	T.D.P.	117.12	25.38			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.	118.88	32.99	1.23	Non significant at 5%	1.79
9.	T.D.P.	117.12	25.38			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.M.L	138.88	19.77	4.18	Significant at 5%	3.67
10.	B.J.P.	99.15	19.49			
	Vs					
	C.P.M.	127.92	48.48	4.19	Significant at 5%	1.79
11.	B.J.P.	99.15	19.49			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.	118.88	32.99	1.61	Non significant at 5%	2.11
12.	B.J.P.	99.15	19.49			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.M.L	138.8	19.77	4.82	Significant at 5%	3.84
13.	C.P.I.	127.92	48.48			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.	118.88	32.99	2.28	Significant at 5%	1.93
14.	C.P.M.	127.92	48.48			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.M.L	138.8	19.77	1.41	Non significant at 5%	3.67
15.	C.P.I.	118.88	32.99			
	Vs					
	C.P.I.M.L	138.8	19.77	3.69	Significant at 5%	2.67

TABLE 6:10 ABSTRACT OF X TESTS (C.P.I.M.L.PARTY)

S.L. No.	Association of Independent & Dependent Variables	2	X Value significant or Non significant
1.	Association of Fathers education on perception and performance.	0.3957	Non significant
2.	Relationship of Mother's education on perception and performance.	6.541	Significant.
3.	Association of Husband's education on perception and performance.	1.170	Significant.
4.	Association of political experience of Respondents on perception and performance.	2.277	Significant.
5.	Association of political influence on perception and performance.	0.076	Non Significant
6.	Relationship between place of birth of Respondents with perception and performance.	1.048	Significant.

TABLE 6:11

## ASSOCIATION OF FATHER'S EDUCATION ON PERCEPTION &amp; PERFORMANCE

C.P.I.M.L.(D)	Perception	Performance	Total
Respondents Father's education - Secondary or Higher	135	54	189
Father's education - Primary	141	64	205
Total :	276	118	394

2

X = 0.3957 is value of non significant.

TABLE 6:12

## RELATIONSHIP OF MOTHER'S EDUCATION ON PERCEPTION &amp; PERFORMANCE

C.P.I.M.L.	Perception	Performance	Total
Mother's education Primary	129	88	217
Mother's education - Secondary	153	62	215
Total :	282	150	432

2

1

X Value 6.5401

Significant at .50 level of probability

Table value = 5.342.

TABU 6:13

ASSOCIATION OF HUSBAND'S EDUCATION ON PERCEPTION & PERFORMANCE

D.F.I.M.L.	Perception	Performance	Total
Husband's Education (Secondary)	58	129	187
Husband's Education (Higher)	63	151	214
Total :	121	280	401

2                      \*\*  
 $\chi$  Value = 1.17  
 Significant at : .99 Probabilities.

TABLE 6:14

ASSOCIATION OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE ON PERCEPTION & PERFORMANCE

D.F.I.M.L.	Perception	Performance	Total
Political experience in years 11-15	173	62	235
16 and more	135	57	192
Total :	308	119	427

2                      \*\*  
 $\chi$  Value = 2.27  
 Strongly significant at: .98 probability.  
 table value 2.284.

TABLE 6:15

## ASSOCIATION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF RELATION ON PERCEPTION AND PERFORMANCE

C.P.I.M.L.	Perception	Performance	Total
Political influence of nearest relatives (High)	155	65	220
Political influence of nearest relatives (Low)	128	57	185
Total :	283	122	405

2

X Value = 0.0764414

Non significant.

TABLE 6:16

## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE OF BIRTH ON PERCEPTION AND PERFORMANCE

C.P.I.M.L. (Respondent)	Perception	Performance	Total
Place of birth and residence during childhood (Urban)	135	54	189
Place of birth and residence during childhood (Rural)	141	64	205
Total :	276	118	394

2

X Value = 1.046

Strongly significant at: 0.99.

Probability (Table) Value =

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## **CHAPTER-VII**

### **PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS**

Performance is the role played by the role incumbents or carrying out the functions associated with the role. The function of the political parties include attaining goals, choosing and presenting candidates, initiating policies, educating the public, campaigning during elections, raising party funds, contribution to the people of the constituency or district or the needy and execution of party ideology and programmes . In the opinion of Sirsikar and Fernandes, these functions also include goal attainment, environmental adjustments, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political mobilisation. Such activities of the respondents are to be examined to judge the role patterns.

For the present analysis, some activities are identified to examine the role performance of the respondents. These activities are concerned with 1).election, 2).executive committee meetings, 3.)decision making, 4).ideology formulation, 5). party programmes, 6.)fund raising, 7). visiting local areas, 8). expenditure and 9.other contributions. Here expenditure refers to identifying financial resources to carry out party activities. Other contributions relate to the other activities.

The role patterns are examined taking into account the relation between independent and dependent variables. Respondents' social and personal background factors are grouped as independent variables and the activities of respondents as dependent variables. The 28 independent variables are categorized into 4 groups, such as personal factors, kinship relations, family attributes and

political attributes. From Independent variables place of birth, age, caste, education, occupation, marital status, number of children are grouped as personal factors. For kinship relations, father's education, father's economic status, mother's education and mother's economic status, number of brothers, sisters and residence before marriage are included under Family attributes, family type, family's consent, husband's education and economic status and residence after marriage are included. In political attributes, which is the fourth group, political experience as student, political influence from relatives, previous membership in other parties, previous political experience, political experience within the party, party position and party leadership position are included.

#### Performance in the Political Parties :

In this chapter an attempt is made to study the association of 28 independent variables relating to background with 9 dependent variables concerning performance. Tables 7:1 to 7:4 represent the regression coefficient, followed by standard error and "t" values for assessing the association between the independent variables and dependent variables on performance.

The place of birth of the respondents has a negative association with the contribution to the religious institutions and it is significant as 0.05 level of probability where the "t" value (1.98 at 0.05) is greater than the table value (1.97).

Age has positive association with commitment to party ideology since the "t" value (2.32) is higher than the table value (1.97 at 0.05 level).

Occupation has a strong negative bearing on the two factors namely collection of party funds and sources of expenditure, as the "t" values 2.44 and 2.70, respectively are higher than the table value at 0.05 and 0.01 levels of probability.

#### Personal Factors :

Association is seen between the marital status with that of performance during executive meetings which is evident from table 7:1. The "t" values is 2.15 at 0.05 level. There is also strong association between the number of children corresponding with the collection of party fund, as the "t" value 1.9 is higher than the table value (2.61). Age of children has a strong positive association with contribution to religious institutions. The "t" value is 3.13 at 0.01 level, the table value being 2.61. There is a strong positive association at the probability.

#### Kinship Relations:

It is apparent from table 7:2 that mother's education has direct positive influence on the performance during executive meetings and on visits to local areas, the values being 2.67 and 2.55 at 0.01 and 0.05 probability levels respectively. It is interesting to observe that the number of sisters and brother has

got influence over the same variable i.e. collection of party fund. The values are 2.40 and 2.31 at the 0.05 level of probability respectively. Residence before marriage has positive association with contribution to religious institutions. The "t" value is 2.31 at the 0.05 level probability.

#### **Family Attributes :**

Table 7:3 presents the Regression Coefficient, Standard Error and "t" values between the family attributes of all the women respondents with the performance variables. Except that strong association ((t value 2.89) appeared between the husband's economic status with election performance, all other independent and dependent variables have no significant relationship as the "t" values are less than the table values. (1.97 and 2.61). Husbands being the heads of the families, their support is persistent specially and economically towards the performance in previous studies.

#### **Political Attributes:**

Contrary to association of family attributes with the nine dependent variables it is obvious from table 7:4 that four political factors are to be having found direct bearing with the dependent variables as follows :

Significant positive association is found between Political experience status with that of sources of expenditure as

the "t" value (2.81) is higher than the table value at 0.01 level of probability (2.61). Positive significance is found between political influence from relatives with the election performance of women respondents. The "t" value is 2.13 at 0.05 level of probability. Similarly, positive significant association is found between the political experience within the party, with that of performance during decision making as the "t" value is 2.49 at 0.05 level of probability. Strong positive association is found between political experience within the party with that of regular political activity as the "t" value (3.26) is higher than the table value (2.61 at 0.01 probability). Party leadership position had direct bearing on commitment to party ideology and contribution to religious institutions, "t" values are 2.73 and 2.16 at 0.01 and 0.05 levels probability respectively.

Robert H. Blank is of the opinion, that age is an important factor in relation to party affiliations and stronger identification with the party is developed as the age increases.<sup>2</sup> The person's political experience is gained due to the older age. In the sample table also, the age is found to be associated with the ideology of the party.

Occupation as an important background factor is noted in the British social attitudes' Survey (1986).<sup>3</sup> Success in collection of party fund and sources of expenditure has a strong influence on occupation on the basis of which economic status can be determined and this definitely influences the activity of the leaders.

Marital status is supposed to be having its impact on any political activity of women respondents. In the Indian context and in the present study, the influence of marital status stabilised the political positions of women leaders in the party. Again it is interesting to note that collection of party fund is found to be associated with the number of children. It can be understood that devotion of time for such an activity depends upon the relative leisure that members have.

Through multiple regression analysis, influence of mother's education is noted. It is the mother who can shape the character and thought and mould the personality of children and the girl child in particular. So, educate mothers will put forth efforts for the progress and development of daughters also. Another important finding is that brothers and sisters of the respondents also are a source of strength and influence in the party duties like collection of fund. The secular outlook of women respondents is indirectly influenced by the place of residence during childhood i.e before marriage. Not only perception of the respondents, the performance of the respondents is also very much influenced by the parents.

Family attributes have their impact on the political activities of women leaders. Under this, husband's economic status is said to be the only important influencing factor on the participation of women leaders. There is possibility for them to hold public office, if there is financial support. Women leaders get the financial support, if the economic status of husband's is

high. It shows that financial position plays a dominating role in political participation.

Political leadership of women in parties is highly influenced by the political attributes. The identified political attributes are political experience as student, political influence of parents and relatives, experience as member in any other party, number of years of political experience, the party position and leadership position in the party. It is noted that women party workers in general, have not changed their previous political affiliations, and changing the party is not prevalent. All the other political attributes have a high bearing on the performance of the women respondents. For instance, as a student, the respondent gets the basic idea on political participation and if the close relations are political activists, she would have chance to identify herself with the party and get involved in the party activities. Her membership in political party will have a considerable bearing in shaping her capabilities to participate in decision making at different levels of the party organisations and to provide benefits to different sections of society.

#### Party Policy Decision:

Participation in the party policy decision is an indicator of the efficiency of leadership. When the respondents are asked about their participation in party policy formulations, multiple responses are noted. They are the following:

"We are concerned with the implementation of policies and programmes of the party. Towards implementation political classes are conducted".

"There is a scope for policy formulation as women leaders at the state level meetings express their opinion".

"Suggestions are given by the leaders to rectify faults in policy decision".

"Participation is not possible".

While expressing the above views, the respondents are not found to be hesitant. It should be noted that only one third of the respondents have participated at the implementation stage..

As regards those who participated in policy formulations, the C.P.I.M.L. respondents stood first and only less than 27% of the respondents from other parties have such participation. Regarding the rectification of policy decision, both B.J.P and C.P.M members are on the same lines. Understandably,, a good percentage (30.76%) of the B.J.P. women leaders said that participation in policy making is not possible. This is because of the centralisation of policy making. Of the leaders at the districts and the state level, only a limited number have attended the party's executive meetings.

**Performance as Leader of the Party :**

Women leaders of different parties in the sample are mainly from women wings of the parties. As noted, women gave Primary importance to women's problems. The percentage of women involved in solving women's problems ranged between 15 to 65. Women

welfare programmes are taken over by the party women leaders. They are more concerned these days about the legal counselling activities. In this aspect C.P.M. respondents have scored the highest percentage i.e.65%.

Women leaders have shown concern in meeting the local necessities of the people in general. Their services in this respect made them the activists of the party. The local problems which are to be solved by the party leaders may be called the problems of the constituents. Members of the legislature in the sample have shown concern for constituency service. Is the political power is held by the legislators, people appeal to the legislators to get services. In serving the people C.P.I.M.L.'s performance is found to be the highest. As far as the general performance is concerned, the respondents of all the parties scored either or more than 60% support of the people. As far as the general local problems are concerned, the Congress party participants are found to be having less performance. In respect of constituency service only the T.D.P. and the Congress party leaders have solved the general problems.

In the context of general political activities,, the women members of the parties are mainly concerned with the function of either organising Manila Mandals or maintaining contacts with the local Mandals. This activity seems to be a source of women's strength of the party and Manila Mandals are chosen as agencies to establish contacts with the people. In this kind of performance the

C.P.M. respondents scored 46% and the second highest score is that of the T.D.P. (36.3%) respondents.

"Imparting political education" is an important function of the political parties. In this, the B.J.P. scored the highest i.e. 46% and the Congress scored the lowest percentage i.e. 12%. Regarding day to day activities, women members other than the Congress women seem to be having more links with the people. Towards promoting links with the people, it is quite surprising to note that mass worships and traditional customs are being observed and in this connection, there is no response from the left parties and the performance of B.J.P. respondents is conspicuously significant as they have 15% score compared to 3% score of the Congress.

To conclude women leaders are generally active in the party performance. Their performance is mainly concerned with women's activities. They maintain regular contacts with the people and try to integrate themselves with the people. The C.P.I.M.L. respondents say that they are more concerned with the strengthening the party in rural areas.

#### **Collection of Funds:**

Fund collection is an activity of political party for its survival. About the collection of funds to the party, five types of answer are drawn from the respondents. "We are not concerned with Party fund collection" is the feeling of a high majority of the

Congress respondents. That fund collection is not the concern of the leaders is the opinion of some TDP, BJP and CPI members. Another statement is that, party fund is collected through new membership campaign. In this respect, the CPI leaders got the highest score (33.33%), and the BJP the lowest. the CPIML and CPM members are found to be active in collecting funds from different professionals. They say that the party depends on the people. It is obvious from the table that, the respondents are also engaged in collecting funds from people as well as professionals. It is interesting to note that the Congress Party is the only party to state that, collection of party fund is the concern of the "High Command". To conclude, the Congress is found to be having an approach different from that of other political parties regarding the collection of funds.

#### Performance of the Respondents Outside Native Area :

To measure the extent of this kind of involvement, the leaders have been asked to state whether they visit areas other than their native areas. All the women leaders tend to devote good amount of time to visit places outside their native places. For maintaining rapport with people, the CPI leaders spend much time and for attending to the problems of local people, the highest percentage was scored by the CPIML leaders. It seems significant that while solving the problems of the people, the CPIML women leaders also got involved in police cases. Almost all women leaders reported that they would visit places during calamities. In this aspect, interestingly, the highest percentage is scored by the

TDP women leaders and the lowest by CPIML leaders. In respect of conducting visits to study people's problems, the BJP members stand first. The CPM members also adopted this method for working with people. In attending meetings at the district level, the CPIML and BJP members are found to be more interested. In respect of attending public meetings, the Congress leaders scored the highest percentage.

From the above, certain inferences could be drawn. The left parties are more interested in regular meetings with the people in and outside their local areas and the Congress and TDP and BJP women leaders visit places outside their native areas for attending party responsibilities.

#### **Source of Expenditure:**

The sources of expenditure for various activities is to be examined to estimate the status of the respondents and the party's status. Alan Ware pointed that of all the aspects of parties, one of the least known is that how they finance themselves and what they spend from their income.<sup>4</sup> In many cases, parties do not wish some of their transactions to become public knowledge, either because they would be the subject of extensively public debate or because they are illegal. Consequently, generalizations about trends in party finance remains a highly speculative matter.

As far as expenditure on various party activities is concerned, the left parties are more open in saying that the party

being spent by the party leaders, and that the members themselves cannot bear the expenditure. Usually the left party leaders are mostly full time workers of the party and they do not have any earnings outside the party activity.

It is also clear from the table that, about 91% of the IDP, 87% of the Congress and 84% of the BJP leaders responded saying that they spend from their own purses for party activity.

It might be because, they are of high economic status or they have their own fund raising or they may be depending on party funds and are hesitating to reveal the financial position of the party. In some countries, like the Scandinavian, there is state funding of

Some members said that expenditure is met by local party level. This may be due to organisation of any activity by local people. However in this respect also, it is not possible to identify the exact source of expenditure of the activity. In particular, the regional parties in Andhra Pradesh accumulate party funds from the fee for application for party candidature, which is a source of income to the party. Moreover as Alan Ware pointed out the regional parties are the supplementary sources of funds as well as expenditure.

**Performance - In the event of clash between Party Ideology and National Integration: -**

Performance is likely to be negatively affected, when there arises a clash between ideology and national integration. The party leaders have been asked to express their reaction to this. The respondents seemed to be somewhat hesitant to answer this question. A good number of the CPM and CPI respondents feel that there is no scope for clash between party ideology and national integration. It is interesting to note that the BJP and the CPIML respondents have kept silent. The highest percentage of the BJP members expressed that no such situation has been faced by them as national integration is recognised as their party ideology. Support to party ideology is seen among a very high majority of the CPIML (80%), TDP (33%) and BJP (31%) leaders.

In conclusion it can be said that the respondents in general see to be giving preference to ideology and national integration, while ideology is given more preference by the left party members.

**Activity Vs Religion:**

To examine the secular outlook of the women leaders of all Parties, their responses about this moral and material support to the religious institutions are noted. It may be mentioned that the Babri Masjid problem was very crucial during the time of

interviews. Except the CPIML respondents, all the others are never hesitant in giving contribution to religious purposes. Again it is the C.P.I. and C.P.M. members, who declared that they have no religious belief. A meagre percentage of the respondents **from** other parties stressed on the need for secular outlook. More than one third of TDP and left party members are not ready even to give monetary contributions. Interestingly, it is only the TDP leaders, who openly expressed support to contribute to both Hindus and religious minorities. The left parties by not supporting and giving contributions to specific religious organisations, have shown secular outlook. The left parties keep on ideological confession, by not contributing to religious purposes.

#### Election Activity:

One of the very important activities of political leaders is involvement in elections. Alan Ware deals with the performance of party activists during electoral competitions.<sup>7</sup> Valen and Katz also deal with the election activities of the leaders. The election campaign activity includes planning of public Meetings, distribution of election material, coordination of **campaigns**, talking to people, defining campaigning, leadership role during campaigning, appeals to organisations, designing campaign **methods**,  
o  
and open meetings. In their multiple answers, only some **important** activities are mentioned by the respondents. The following are the election activities, the respondents are involved in :

1. Door to door campaign.
2. Small group discussions and meetings.
3. Speeches in big gatherings.
4. Propagating party performance and selecting party candidates.
5. Propagating party manifesto.
6. Dealing with various activities.
7. Campaigning from village to village.

Women leaders of different parties have been asked to define their role and performance during the election preparation work, and election campaign activity. Most of the leaders seemed to be a bit confused in estimating their activities. Their area of activity seemed to be limited.

Door to Door campaign has tended to be an important activity of the leaders. This activity promotes rapport with the people and the leaders can impress and convince voters. The personal capabilities also can be utilised in adopting this method. Interestingly, more than 60% of the respondents favoured and are involved in this activity. Among these who reported that they had involved in this activity, the TDP members constitute the highest percentage i.e. 87.87% and the CPIML members lowest i.e. 60%.

Group discussion is another method adopted by women leaders of the parties. Group discussions are mainly adopted by the TDP and left party members. All the four remaining parties scored more than 30%. It seems only 9% of Congress leaders participated in group discussions.

The third method adopted by the party leaders during elections is giving speeches in big gatherings. This activity has the resemblance of open meetings with speeches noted in Valen and Katz. This activity gives opportunities to the women leaders to interpret various general issues before the public. These features give an insight into the problems of the people and new issues before them. Regarding this activity Congress respondents scored 50% followed by TDP, CPM, CPI, CPIML and the BJP members.

For the fourth, fifth and sixth categories, the respondents expressed views about the party performance, party manifesto and various issues. These aspects of the party activity are not understood by the respondents. None of the parties scored more than 40%, because women mainly involved themselves in door to door campaign and group discussions rather than in participating through public platform. The last activity is village to village campaign. Mostly, this campaign was adopted by CPIML followed by Congress and TDP members. In India there are several other political campaign methods like, campaigning through, Radio, D.D. Programmes, and election videos. But they are not mentioned by the respondents. they might not be having opportunity in such programmes. Therefore, the Indian women's political participation in general and Andhra Pradesh women party leaders in particular are confined to limited election activities. They are more involved in door to door campaign. Women leaders having higher educational qualifications and initiation, participate in other election activities.

## Performance - Political Parties :

In this chapter performance of the respondents is analysed according to multiple regression linear analysis and correlation. A comparative analysis of the respondents' performance between parties is made with the help of univariate analysis without linking the different variables. The significance of all the variables is measured according to the computed value of multiple regression analysis. The statistical measure T. test is used for comparing the mean and standard deviation of the members of six political parties under study. The mean and standard deviation for all party scores are calculated to "T" value which is calculated for its significance 5%.

Parties' mean and standard deviation are presented in table 7:13 to display the significance of the value of the parties. The table has five divisions. The Congress was compared with all the other four parties i.e. TDP, BJP, CPM, CPI. The mean values of each party are compared to those of every other party. It is noted that the means of Congress party with TDP and CPIML are significant. But the difference between the means of Congress and BJP and CPI parties are not significant at 5%.

The mean score of the TDP respondents is 46.45. When compared to the mean score of the other parties excluding Congress, the difference between the TDP and BJP is not significant. But as Per the T-test of the means, the difference between TDP mean and

other parties means are found to be significant. The performance of other parties respondents seems to be significant.

The mean difference between BJP and CPM and CPIML is found to be significant as per the T-test at 5%. Here mean difference between BJP and CPI respondents seem to be non significant. Not only in T-test, in the Chi-Square test also, the association between perception and performance of CPIML proved to be significant. There is consistency between perceptions and performance among the respondents of the CPIML and CPM.

It is apparent from the table that the performance as per mean score of CPM is significant over CPI. Similarly, the mean score of the CPIML seemed to be significant over the mean score of CPM.

Women's Participation in Andhra Pradesh State Legislature :

In a parliamentary democracy, legislature is a significant institution, where political leadership is well recognised. The skills and abilities of the legislator can be adequately expressed and well utilised in the legislature. But Huntington says that institutions like legislatures and political parties are more elusive and where in recurring patterns of behaviours are prevalent.<sup>10</sup> The distinctive role of institutions will have its effect on the political system and role of members or representatives will have its effect on the institutions.

One of the very important defects in representative democracies is that women are disproportionately represented in the legislative bodies. Women ought to play roles in legislatures, but they are not encouraged to contest. Without giving opportunities, women can not be judged as incompetent for holding certain positions.

The general political environment in the country and in the state of Andhra Pradesh is such that leadership positions are given only to a limited extent to women. Some parties never give opportunity to women to occupy positions in the party executives. This point has been, interestingly, admitted by national leaders like Venkayya Naidu of BJP.<sup>12</sup> But the point is, as Hamid Hussain, a woman activist of Bangladesh pointed out at the time of interview by the writer , Indian women are more active than Bangladeshi women in and outside political parties.<sup>13</sup> Women leaders in parties in India have proved their capacities in looking up women's issues and in working for women and the public.<sup>14</sup> Hence given the opportunity, women can shape themselves as active legislators.

Rajyam Sinha an activist and journalist says women are not recognised as fit for holding the public office and within the limits of reservation, women are selected for some positions. But they have enough talents.<sup>15</sup>

Participation in the legislature is an important political activity. Veena Majumdar says that, the process of acquisition and exercise of power are part of political Participation.<sup>16</sup>

Womens' representation in the national and state legislatures should be understood in the background of the absence of encouragement by political parties to field them as candidates, in addition to several other constrains. Thus women are seen more or less as vote-getters. There have been occasions when aspiring women failing to get party tickets, contested as independent candidates and when some women have contested with the chief purpose of giving political education to people.

Given the above situation, women's representation in the legislative bodies, in respect of numbers has always been less. In the state legislatures in India, womens' representation has been less than 6%, even when the strength is the highest. During 1970-72, in all the state assemblies put together, the number of women was 161, while that of men was 3103. This indicates that only 5% of the state legislators then were women. During 1979-80, when womens' strength in the state legislatures was considered to be significant, there were only 112 women legislators compared to 2478 male legislators.<sup>17</sup> Hence women legislators constituted 4.3%.

Studies relating to the background and role of women in the legislatures of the state of Andhra Pradesh, conducted by K.Lakshmi, V.Prabhavathi, Rohini and T.Padmaja, found out that the quantitative presence of women legislators is limited. But qualitatively their presence is reasonably good and in some cases, exceptional. Among the first women legislators, mention should be made of Ammanna Raja who had legislative experience since 1937.

The strength of women in the legislature has not been constant. It ranged between 3 and 28, which was the highest in 1972.<sup>18</sup> The total number of women who served in the A.P. legislature is less than 150. The situation in States like Rajasthan and Orissa is still worse. For instance during 1952-91, only 48 women entered the state legislatures and 14 in the Parliament.<sup>19</sup> It should be pointed out that 67 women contested in the elections of 1989 but the figure has come down to 54 in 1994. Another discouraging trend is that while 25.37% of the women contesting the elections came out successful in 1989, only 8 women (14.81%) of those who ran for the elections succeeded in 1994. The successful women candidates are from the Congress and Telugu Desam Parties. i.e., 11 and 5 respectively. In the elections of 1984, of the eight the women who entered the legislature 6 are from TDP and one each from the Congress and the CPM. It should be pointed out that on behalf of the CPM, only one woman Pathumdaka Bharathi contested and succeeded. It is also to be noted that the success of candidates from TDP and failure of candidates of other parties are due to the TDP wave. The Congress, BJP, BSP, TDP, CPI(ML) and CPM fielded 18, 16, 12, 7, 4 women respectively. Interestingly 1/5 i.e., 4 out of 20 CPI(ML)'s candidates are women. Surprisingly, the senior women leaders were denied seats by TDP and the Congress. For instance, Kuthuhamma of Congress, who served as Congress legislator, earlier for several years contested as an independent candidate, as she was not fielded by the Congress.<sup>20</sup>

With the above in the background, the role of women legislators in the sample could be studied. Their participation in question hour, zero hour, law making process and budget discussion are some of the aspects detailed below. The following analysis is based on a study of debates of A.P. Legislative Assembly during 1989 to 1991 and on the interviews held with women legislators in the sample.

During the Question Hour, which is an important instrument through which executive responsibility to the legislature is ensured, women members participation is reasonably good. Some examples could now be given. Smt. Prathibha Bharathi and E. Seetha Ramamma, both from the TDP, have been active in raising starred questions and probing through supplementaries. Smt Padala Aruna through her question on 26.9.1991, relating to sanction of moratorium to agriculturists, has shown considerable interest in the welfare of farmers.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Jayamma on 25.4.1990, raised a question and emphasised on the need for broadening national highways and on the desirability of solving traffic problems caused by road side hotels. The questioner's attempt was successful because the Minister's reaction was positive.<sup>22</sup>

The number of Short Notice Questions raised by women members are very limited. To give an example Dr. G. Kuthuhamma through a Short Notice Question, brought to the notice of the House, how serious is the drinking water problem in Chittoor District. The Minister for Panchayat Raj answering the question, assured to take necessary action.<sup>23</sup> Kuthuhamma's interest during

the Question Hour could also be noted, when she raised question relating to regularisation of jobs of doctors and social welfare. Smt. Amritha Kumari of Congress, brought to the light of the House, a case of embezzlement and the need for providing adequate water to the Steel Plant in Visakhapatnam. Smt. Eevuri Sitharamamma has shown concern for women's welfare, development of agriculture and irrigation and for meeting the needs of her constituency.

Women ministers like Prathibha Bharathi, Semantha Kumari, and Kuthuhalamma tried to give answers to the satisfaction of the members of the House.

ZERO HOUR :

During the zero hour, women members tried to bring certain cases of violence, rape and the like to light.

Smt. Prathibha Bharathi on 28.8.1991, brought to the notice of the House a rape case of a women by 12 men at Satyanarayanapuram village in Vijayawada on 25.8.1991. She was extremely agitated by the incident and her concern, sympathy and her stress on immediate action are clear, when she questioned the government, weather it has closed it's eyes.<sup>24</sup> The Home Minister replied in the positive assuring that he would intervene in the matter.

Disturbed by the floods of the river Nagavali and Problems of the people of Palakonda, P.T. Amritha Kumari wanted t

concerned Minister to take steps for providing relief measures in her **constituency** Palakonda.<sup>25</sup>

An incident of murder causing problems to law and order **maintenance** have been pointed out by Mary Ravindranath and Vangaveeti Ratna **Kumari** during the Zero Hour.<sup>26</sup> Thus it is clear that women legislators showed concern towards public issues as well as womens' issues.

#### DISCUSSIONS UNDER RULE 304 :

During discussions under Rule **304**, which facilitates considerations of matters of urgent importance, women legislators have successfully highlighted the realities in public problems and made practical suggestions. **Mary** Ravindranath, **K.Lakshmi** Devi, **Sitharamamma**, **P.Arunamma**, Eeti Vijaya **Lakshmi**, Uma **Venkatrami** Reddy, N.Rupa Kumari are found to be active in the discussions under this Rule/ The incidence of corruption in the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, inhuman treatment towards women belonging to weaker sections, drought and drinking water problems, atrocities against women are some of the issues about which women **members** have raised discussion under Rule **304**.<sup>27</sup>

#### SHORT DISCUSSIONS :

The Assembly Rules 60, 61, 62 provide scope for short discussions on matters of urgent public **importance**. On a few occasions, women members have invoked these rules for discussion on matters relating to atrocities against women, education **and** other

atters. ( On 19th April 1990, K.Prathibha Bharathi initiated discussions on atrocities against women. She rejected the notion that women form part of weaker sections of the society and felt that it is men who are weaker by committing atrocities against women. Continuing her argument, she pointed out that legislators, who are supposed to stop the evil practice of dowry, really encouraged it. She questioned the government's irresponsible behaviour in dealing with cases involving rape, dowry and other evils and blamed the police department for not being committed. The suggestions that came during discussion included enactment of law for rooting out these atrocities, provision for punishing the culprits; increase in the number of women judges; selection of women legislator as Home Ministers and strengthening of women protection cells. The point is, several male legislators were absent during discussions showing their disinterest in matters relating to women. However the discussions concluded with assurances by the concerned minister.<sup>28</sup> During short discussions, women legislator have also showed their concern towards population control. i

#### LEGISLATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS :

Some of the legislators in the sample like N.Raja Kumari, B.Seetharamamma, Prathibha Bharathi and G.Kuthuhamma participated in discussions relating to legislative proceedings on constitutional amendments. Sitharamamma, speaking on the Andhra Pradesh Cooperative Societies Act 1991, opposed an amendment Providing for nomination of women members and said that they should

be election instead of nomination.<sup>29</sup> N.Raja Kumari speaking on appropriation Bill 7, 1991, applauded Congress Party's services and attributed the continuous development only to the Congress Party.<sup>30</sup> Reacting to Bill No. 5 of 1990 she said that the treasuring is emptied by the Telugu Desam Government and it has become impossible for the Congress Party to repair the roads affected by floods. She emphasised on the need for financial assistance from the central government and World Bank.<sup>31</sup>

When the 62 Constitutional Amendment Bill of 1989 was moved in the Assembly for discussion, Prathibha Bharathi of TDP and Kutuhamma of Congress participated extending their support. Prathibha Bharathi, defending the Bill, reiterated the need for reservations towards achievement of self sufficiency. Proceeding with her argument in support of the Bill, she quoted the views of Ambedkar, who said "a nation over other nations or nationality over the other Nationalities should not exercise authority". Kutuhamma said that social security is to be ensured to the downtrodden and felt that the amendment would give to the Scheduled Castes complete freedom.<sup>32</sup>

#### BUDGET DISCUSSIONS

Only a few women legislators are vocal during budget discussion. On 2nd April 1990, Prathibha Bharathi expressed dissatisfaction over the budget and pointed out that allocations for social welfare activities are not satisfactory. It should be noted here that, she was very bold enough to oppose the allocations

on behalf of the TDP. She gave valuable practical suggestions for the situation. These suggestions were openly supported by Kuthuhamma of the Congress Party. /

Mary Favindranath, a Congress legislator extended wholehearted support to the Budget of 1991-92. E.Sitharamamma opposed the demands for social welfare and G.Arunamma supported the allocation. G.Geetha Reddy, Minister for Social Welfare assured that the questions raised and suggestions given would be given due consideration.<sup>33</sup> /

| It is clear that women legislators are active when demands relating to social welfare and women and child welfare are discussed. Male legislators seemed to have less interest when such demands are put to discussion. It is to be noted that women in the legislature have moved a little away from party considerations when women's issues are discussed.<sup>34</sup>

A few women have participated during the discussion of Governors' address and condolence resolutions. It should have been proper if senior women legislators are given opportunities in such discussions because the practice of senior legislators taking part in these discussions is present.

In the present context, the opinion of K.Seshadri needs mention. He says, "compositions of our legislature and Parliament is becoming less representation of public grievances of general knowledge of affairs."<sup>35</sup> While this is the general trend associated with the legislators, male and female, it is necessary to take

measures for increasing the standard of participation of the legislators, especially women legislators who are in limited numbers.

#### ANTI ARRACK MOVEMENT :

The Anti Arrack movement that started in a village Dubagunta, in Nellore District in Andhra Pradesh is of the sensational movements in which women participated on a mass scale. The role of women in the movement during 1992-93 is a very important example to show that women are endowed with excellent abilities to influence public opinion as well as public policy. The movement acquired unique place in its purpose and participation.

To assess the nature of the movement and to study its objectives, process and results, data is collected from two groups of respondents. The first group forms part of this sample itself.

The second group which can be called controlled group consists of both men and women who are concerned with the cause of women the supporters and activists in the movement, academics and members of organisations like Jana Vignana Samithi which has indirectly shaped the movement through its programmes, ideas and operational details.

With the chief objectives of improving family health among the poorer sections; bringing social change and promoting

social and political awareness; facilitating coordination between various women's organisations and bringing about change in policy, the movement was conducted.

Women members of political parties, on important occasions have become active in dealing with women's issues. These include social issues, women's struggles, and health issues. In these struggles, women participated in large numbers transcending party, caste, class and other considerations.

BEGINNING :

Most of the respondents interviewed have accepted that the literary programme called "Akshara Jyothi" which is intended to bring social awareness among the village people, was responsible for planting new ideas among women. For instance, items like Mana Badi and "Mahammari Sarai" are referred to as thought provoking dialectics. Why children stop going to school? Are they joining work force for livelihood? Such thought provoking questions are there in each and every booklet produced by Jana Vignana Vedika. It is interesting to note that within the 30 paged book relating to the programme there are more than 60 questions of such nature. This attempt gave a new outlook relating to the social and economic life and awareness among the people. These new ideas inculcated among the villagers, a readiness for the new programme. This new technique has been useful for the starting the Anti Arrack Movement.

## THE ACTION PROGRAMME t

When the villagers of Nellore district got inspiration on attending this programme, Jana Vignana Vedika gave an action programme to be adopted by the villagers. In this context a slogan "Maa Vuriki Saara Vaddu" (Our Village should not have Arrack) was the first expression of the villagers and with this slogan, the villagers started opposing the coming in of arrack to their village. Dr. Vijayakumar, the convener of the Anti Arrack Movement, was of the opinion that this experiment was exclusively directed by Jana Vignana Samithi and the District Mahila Sangham of Nellore. As a second step in the programme, two lakh seventy five thousand signature have been collected from eight hundred villagers in Nellore district, and a memorandum was submitted to the District Collector with the above slogan forming the main theme.

In 1992, when the Anti Arrack Movement was rampant, women were ready to strengthen the movement because of their sad experiences. Through the literacy programme, the village people could understand the government's policies and reacted even against the government. For instance arrack was locally called as "Varuni Vahini" through which the government's income increased from Rs.150.5 crores in 1981-82 to Rs.630.27 crores in 1991-92. Moreover, there was no law prohibiting consumption of arrack. Arrack was distributed through government Arrack shops. The participants and supporters of the movement contended that instead of improving the health and economic conditions of poor people, government was supporting the Arrack auction at the people's cost.

That was why, the reaction was severe and people properly understood the real socio-economic dangers and reacted in a right way. The fuel was added to the fire when the people received coupons for Arrack instead of paying agricultural wages. That was the precipitating cause of the Anti Arrack Movement.

As far as literacy programme in the Nellore district was concerned, a post literacy campaign was started. Another slogan "If women are united" (Aadavalle Ekamaithe) was given as a second step under "Akshara Jyothi". This brought inspiration among women and they have courageously come out. They started resisting the supply of Arrack into the villages. In this programme they had to attack the contractors on one hand and on the other they had to resist the police. For reacting against these contractors, villagers were inspired by the story called "Sithamma Katha" that was another story "Ee Chavuku Karakulevvaru" (who is responsible for this death?) which gave further inspiration to them.<sup>40</sup>

In all the literary books, the above reaction of the people of Dubagunta village was printed and distributed to all the literacy centres. That is how, the Dubagunta story was spread to other interior villages also and the whole of Andhra Pradesh was inspired by the experiences in Dubagunta. Towards propagating volunteers were specially given training at Sullurupeta by Jana Vignana Vedika. Another important contribution was from a Telugu Daily, Eenaadu, which propagated the movement devoting a special column. In the literacy centres the day to day success stories of the Anti Arrack Movement were spread out. Each day a new method was

adopted by the villagers taking the load by those stories. That is how the Anti Arrack Movement starting from Dubagunta spread through out the Nellore district, and women with united effort continued to participate in the movement. Not only women of villages but various associations and party women wings joined hands and worked in the direction of realising the objectives. The pressure given by village women and women leaders was so strong that the government was compelled to stop the auction of Arrack in Andhra Pradesh and even to abolish its consumption.

Women in other parts of India got involved earlier in combating some social evils in a manner similar to the against the sale and consumption of Arrack in Andhra Pradesh. The Naga Women's Association fought against the social evils like alcoholism and drug addiction. Students and youth joined that movement under the Presidentship of Mrs.L. Haralu in 1984. Towards conducting the movement, students, youth and women propogated against the potential dangers of drug addiction. Several rallies and processions were held to achieve the objectives. The agitations erected several check posts at every entry point to confiscate and destroy alcoholic beverages. Mrs. Haralu said that several student bodies, Church organisations and Naga Mother's Association joined together in punishing the offenders. This movement was led to uphold womanhood, human values and rights. ' In the opinion of Vandana Siva the Chipcho movement is also to be considered as a people's movement, in which people living in and around the forests of U.P. participated in it. So people usually have to solve their own problems. In the opinion of Paul Feyeraband "In a free society,

intellectuals are able to find out the problems and the people concerned have to solve the problems".<sup>42</sup>

#### TECHNIQUES :

During the process of the Anti Arrack Movement, the techniques followed by women were to close Arrack shops, to destroy Arrack packets and to resist the pressures from Arrack contractors, police personnel and officials. Even though at the beginning, only village women started the movement subsequently youth and associations of downtrodden extended their solidarity. To coordinate various organisations, a Co-ordination Committee for the Anti Arrack Movement was formed. Women wings of the political parties also joined the movement. As noted earlier Dubagunta was the starting point of the movement, it was extended to Sai Peta, J.J.Peta and other places. This trial of Akshara Jyothi Movement was a complete success in motivating the illiterate people and eradicating the social evil and such programme was previously implemented by Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad also.

It is obvious from table 7:14 that there is a marginal difference between the observations of the controlled respondents and those of the respondents in the main sample. Women leaders of different political parties (85.71%) stated that women of all parties participated in the Anti Arrack Movement. The respondents of the controlled group also expressed similar opinion.

Even though, at the beginning village women initiated the movement, political parties also extended their support later. All the women of opposition parties got involved in the movement. Women leaders of the ruling party expressed their moral support to the movement through they were not active participants.

It is again evident from the table that 91.42% of the respondents stated that the Anti Arrack Movement was the outcome of the literacy campaign. This statement was supported by 88% of the females and 80% of males of the controlled group. The opponents of this statement were of the opinion that it was not fully the outcome of literacy campaign but it was the result of sufferings of women which made them launch the movement.<sup>4b</sup> However both the conditions are to be considered as important aspects of the movement.

It can be noted from the table that 62.85% of women respondents expressed that the Anti Arrack Movement was a mass women's movement in Andhra Pradesh since independence. The feelings of women respondents were supported by 100% of the controlled respondents. In the opinion of Moturi Udayam a prominent member of CPM in Andhra Pradesh, the Anti Arrack Movement is to be considered as another independence movement. She stated that it is not possible to stop this movement without achieving its objectives. While attending a rally she stated that more than thirty thousand women from different parts of Andhra Pradesh participated in that rally on September 28, 1992 at Hyderabad. Even though it was considered as women's movement, it was supported by

people of all sections of the society either directly or indirectly. 71.42% of the women respondents said that in organising the movement, at different levels, men extended support it. "If the social evil is to be eradicated both men and women should join and work for the objective", said Jana Vignana Vedika, convener of the movement in Nellore District- He was the main spirit behind the movement.

The woman respondents stated (100%) that, though the middle class women did not participate in the Anti Arrack Movement, because of the constraints to come out, they are not free from these sufferings. The opinions of the other two groups were close to this. ,80% and 88% of the other two groups expressed the same opinion and so it is quite evident that middle class women could not participate in large numbers. In the opinion of Rama Malkote, an academic and a feminist activist, even though lower classes women also joined the movement, it can be called a people's movement. Middle class women also has face so many problems, but they are in the chains of social customs, she said".

#### Results :

It is evident from the table 7:14, that social awareness among women is an outcome of the movement. Women gained self confidence and proved their capabilities. Unity and integrity of women were established. )

The table also gives an idea of the respondents' observations about the empowerment of women. They said that new a

leadership is the outcome of this movement. Though not all of them were supported by political parties, only a few of the new leaders were recognised by the various state level organisations. In the opinion of Dr. Bala Gopal, Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, Women's empowerment has become possible as a result of the Anti Arrack Movement, but not all the new leaders of the movement were recognised by the institutions. More over usually women leaders rise to the fulfillment of certain goals and discontinue their active participation later . The Civil Liberties Association in the State recognised two women leaders and recruited them into the organisations. <sup>50</sup> Punyavathi, Secretary of the Mahila Wing of CPM, also stated that the Marxist party recognised the new women leadership at the rural level and expressed its preparedness to recruit new women leaders into the party. In her opinion, women during the Anti Arrack Movement were active and successfully participated to realise the objective. But, if a new role is to be taken, they need further motivation and initiation. But they require support from the family.

The Anti Arrack Movement continued till the complete prohibition was declared, and in fact the activists who bent upon it. For instance, Surya devara Rajyalaxmi and activist and freedom fighter, while giving an interview to a Telugu daily, stressed on the need of launching the complete prohibition movement. She emphasised that women should continue their movement for achieving complete prohibition and should not be merely satisfied with the success of Anti Arrack Movement. This has come true with the launching of Complete Prohibition Movement in 1994. Consequently.

most of the parties included a complete prohibition as the goal in their election Manifestoes and the TDP successfully declared the prohibition immediately after winning the election in 1994. This is a far reaching achievement, but implementation needs lot of care and commitment.

Women's participation in the Anti Arrack Movement, which took place on a mass scale, has produced new women's leadership. **Women's** organisations have come together forming a joint coordination council. Women's organisations gained confidence and started complete prohibition movement, which gained fruitful results in the declaration of complete prohibition by the government of Andhra Pradesh.

TABLE 7.1 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

Personal factors	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Place of Birth	(RC) -3.48 (SE) 1.82 (T) 1.91	0.03 0.38 0.11	0.01 0.15 0.11	-0.32 0.25 1.38	-0.28 0.33 0.82	0.14 0.13 1.11	0.87 0.29 0.26	-0.18 0.13 0.79	-0.38 0.15 1.98*
Age	(RC) 1.83 (SE) 1.61 (T) 0.64	0.38 0.27 1.41	-0.87 -0.13 0.56	0.51 0.22 2.32*	0.87 0.29 0.24	0.18 0.11 0.91	-0.45 0.28 1.68	0.86 0.11 0.59	1.17 0.13 1.34
Caste.	(RC) 0.91 (SE) 0.88 (T) 1.13	0.88 0.13 0.85	-0.81 0.86 0.19	0.81 0.11 0.89	0.15 0.17 1.85	-0.88 0.85 0.14	-0.88 0.12 0.88	-0.88 0.85 0.11	0.88 0.86 0.11
Education.	(RC) 0.88 (SE) 0.33 (T) 0.26	-0.84 0.15 0.79	0.81 0.82 0.48	0.84 0.84 1.82	0.86 0.66 1.88	0.81 0.82 0.41	-0.86 0.85 1.26	0.81 0.82 0.44	-0.81 0.82 0.53
Occupation.	(RC) -0.67 (SE) 0.95 (T) 0.78	-0.85 0.16 0.34	0.87 0.88 0.86	0.15 0.13 1.15	-0.84 0.17 0.26	-0.16 0.86 2.44*	-0.13 0.14 0.89	-0.18 0.68 2.78**	0.84 0.87 0.62
Marital Status	(RC) 3.21 (SE) 1.88 (T) 1.74	0.16 0.31 2.15*	-0.81 0.16 0.12	0.88 0.25 0.82	0.37 0.35 1.86	1.14 0.13 1.86	0.87 0.29 0.26	-0.88 0.13 0.64	-0.88 0.15 1.21
Number of children	(RC) 0.98 (SE) 1.12 (T) 0.88	-0.81 0.19 0.85	-0.88 0.89 0.88	0.87 0.15 0.51	0.18 0.28 0.51	0.16 0.88 1.97*	-0.18 0.17 0.68	-0.88 0.88 1.88	-0.16 0.89 1.55
Age of children	(RC) 2.42 (SE) 1.62 (T) 1.43	0.87 0.28 0.29	-0.14 0.14 0.99	0.21 0.23 0.98	-0.46 0.31 1.48	-0.13 0.12 1.29	-0.89 0.26 0.37	0.85 0.12 0.42	0.42 0.13 2.13**

Table value of 't' value D.F. 127 (2.616) at 0.01 level\*\* (1.979) at 0.05 level\*

TABLE 7.2 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN RESIDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Kinship Relations.										
Father's education	(RC)	-0.18	0.16	0.21	-0.24	0.04	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.03
	(SE)	1.49	0.25	0.12	0.20	0.27	0.10	0.23	0.10	0.12
	(T)	0.06	0.64	1.69	1.17	0.14	0.48	0.43	0.38	0.28
Father's economic status.	(RC)	0.91	-0.27	0.02	0.15	0.09	0.18	0.51	0.22	0.20
	(SE)	2.15	0.36	0.18	0.29	0.40	0.15	0.33	0.15	0.17
	(T)	0.42	0.74	0.15	0.51	0.43	1.16	1.52	1.42	1.41
Father's family count.	(RC)	-2.54	-0.20	-0.35	0.26	-0.23	-0.38	-0.76	0.35	0.22
	(SE)	5.38	0.91	0.46	0.40	0.54	0.21	0.83	0.30	0.44
	(T)	0.47	0.31	0.75	0.54	0.43	1.80	0.91	0.92	0.49
Mother's Education	(RC)	0.73	-0.10	-0.01	0.00	0.06	-0.02	0.11	0.03	-0.00
	(SE)	3.18	0.15	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.02
	(T)	0.23	2.67	0.51	0.20	1.12	0.96	2.55	1.47	0.10
Mother's economic status.	(RC)	0.00	-0.02	-0.46	0.01	0.05	0.09	-3.34	0.02	-0.01
	(SE)	0.00	0.54	0.27	0.43	0.59	0.23	0.49	0.23	0.26
	(T)	0.07	1.51	1.70	0.03	0.09	0.42	0.60	0.10	0.04
Number of brother	(RC)	0.10	0.03	0.19	0.17	-0.19	0.30	0.28	0.03	-0.02
	(SE)	1.73	0.29	0.14	0.23	0.32	0.12	0.26	0.12	0.14
	(T)	0.06	0.10	1.33	0.72	0.59	2.40	1.04	0.31	0.19
Number of sisters	(RC)	-0.10	-0.04	-0.29	0.11	0.47	0.31	-0.20	-0.04	-0.00
	(SE)	1.49	0.31	0.16	0.25	0.35	0.13	0.29	0.13	0.15
	(T)	0.06	0.13	0.61	0.42	1.35	2.31	0.60	0.36	0.02
Residence before marriage	(RC)	-0.65	0.00	-0.07	0.64	-0.09	-0.02	-0.23	0.00	0.31
	(SE)	1.65	0.20	0.14	0.22	0.30	0.12	0.25	0.11	0.12
	(T)	0.39	0.31	0.52	2.88	0.30	0.19	0.92	0.74	2.31

Table value of 't' value D.F. 127 (2.616) at 0.01 level (1.979) at 0.05 level

TABLE 7.3 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN RESIDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

		Performance during election.	Performance during exe meeting	Performance during deci sion making	Comsitment to party ideology	Regular party activity	Collection of party fund.	Visit local areas	Source of exp enditure	Contribution to religious Institutions
Family Attributes		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Family Type.	(RC)	-0.18	0.32	-0.26	0.20	-0.23	-0.38	0.29	0.01	0.15
	(SE)	2.35	0.39	0.25	0.40	0.54	0.21	0.45	0.21	0.24
	(T)	0.07	0.09	1.13	0.50	0.42	1.00	0.64	0.51	0.61
Family Count.	(RC)	-0.29	-0.32	0.30	0.23	-0.63	0.04	-0.52	0.05	0.15
	(SE)	0.32	0.39	0.20	0.32	0.43	0.17	0.36	0.17	0.19
	(T)	0.91	0.00	1.90	0.71	1.46	0.26	1.43	0.30	0.79
Husband's education	(RC)	1.04	0.04	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.70
	(SE)	2.36	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.02
	(T)	0.77	0.97	1.63	1.02	0.24	0.51	0.53	1.04	0.52
Husband's economic status.	(RC)	0.05	-0.15	0.39	-0.24	0.66	-0.27	-0.02	0.33	-0.07
	(SE)	0.29	0.40	0.20	0.32	0.43	0.17	0.36	0.17	0.19
	(T)	2.89**	0.39	1.94	0.73	1.50	1.00	0.09	1.95	0.30
Residence after marriage	(RC)	-0.91	-0.10	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.12	-0.13	0.22	0.19
	(SE)	1.60	0.27	0.13	0.22	0.29	0.11	0.24	0.11	0.10
	(T)	0.57	0.27	0.02	0.23	0.30	1.07	0.55	1.02	0.40

Table value of 't' value D.F. 127 (2.616) at 0.01 level\*\* (1.979) at 0.05 level\*

TABLE 14 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (20) WITH PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

Political Attributes		Performance during Election	Performance during executive meetings	Performance during decision meeting	Commitment to party ideology	Regular party activity	Collection of party fund	visit to local areas	Sources of expenditure	Contribution to religious institutions
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Political Experience (as student)	(MC) $\frac{1.01}{2.88}$	0.05	-0.001	0.14	0.16	0.05	0.16	0.11	-0.01	
	(SE) $\frac{0.52}{-}$	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.10	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.04	
	(T) $\frac{1.87}{-}$	0.59	0.27	1.90	1.65	1.40	1.92	2.01 <sup>**</sup>	0.39	
Political influence from relatives	(MC) 2.65	0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	(SE) 1.24	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	
	(T) 2.33 <sup>*</sup>	0.70	1.25	0.48	0.61	2.02	0.46	0.24	0.37	
Previous membership from other party	(MC) 5.52	0.35	1.23	0.34	0.83	-0.21	0.44	0.31	0.76	
	(SE) 4.63	1.35	0.68	1.10	1.48	0.58	1.24	0.57	0.64	
	(T) 1.19	0.25	1.79	0.33	0.55	0.31	0.37	0.34	1.17	
Previous political experience	(MC) 1.01	0.58	0.74	-0.80	0.18	-0.18	-0.44	-0.06	0.17	
	(SE) 0.54	0.78	0.39	0.63	0.84	0.33	0.71	0.13	0.38	
	(T) 1.87	0.74	1.88	1.25	0.21	0.53	0.61	0.20	0.97	
Political experience within the party	(MC) -4.79	0.11	0.26	-0.07	0.75	0.15	0.88	0.89	0.05	
	(SE) 7.99	0.21	0.10	0.17	0.23	0.09	0.19	0.69	0.14	
	(T) 0.59	0.54	2.49 <sup>*</sup>	0.43	3.28 <sup>**</sup>	1.73	0.64	1.75	0.32	
Party position	(MC) 0.01	$\frac{0.21}{0.89}$	0.01	0.06	-0.05	-0.00	0.41	0.88	-0.00	
	(SE) 0.33	$\frac{0.04}{2.08}$	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.02	
	(T) 0.05	$\frac{0.05}{0.05}$	0.42	1.37	0.08	0.80	0.19	0.38	0.34	
Party leadership position	(MC) 0.68	-0.00	0.03	0.18	0.12	0.34	-0.07	0.01	0.08	
	(SE) 0.48	0.08	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.01	0.07	0.03	0.03	
	(T) 1.41	0.03	0.72	2.73 <sup>**</sup>	1.41	1.95	0.94	0.81	3.16 <sup>**</sup>	

Table Value of t value

D.P. 127 (2.616) at 0.01 level<sup>\*\*</sup>

(1.979) at 0.05<sup>\*</sup>

TABLE 7:5 PERFORMANCE OF RESPONDENTS IN POLICY MAKING - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. N.L. N-3
Implementation of policies	19 (59.37)	12 (36.36)	5 (38.38)	8 (30.76)	6 (33.33)	2 (40.00)
Participation in the policy	5 (15.62)	7 (21.21)	1 (7.69)	7 (26.92)	5 (27.27)	2 (40.00)
Rectifying the faults in policy	6 (18.75)	6 (18.18)	3 (23.07)	6 (23.07)	3 (16.66)	1 (20.00)
Participation not possible	2 (6.25)	8 (24.24)	4 (30.76)	5 (19.23)	4 (22.22)	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 7:6 PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF RESPONDENTS - DISTRIBUTED PARTYWISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
Women's problems	15 (46.87)	17 (51.51)	5 (38.46)	17 (65.38)	8 (44.44)	3 (60.00)
Local problems	19 (59.37)	23 (69.69)	9 (61.53)	16 (61.53)	13 (72.72)	5 (100.00)
New Mahila Mandals	4 (12.85)	12 (36.36)	3 (23.07)	12 (46.15)	4 (22.22)	1 (20.00)
Reporting political education	4 (12.85)	9 (27.27)	6 (46.15)	9 (34.61)	5 (27.77)	3 (60.00)
Motivating people	3 (9.37)	14 (42.42)	6 (46.15)	7 (26.92)	1 (5.55)	1 (20.00)
Mass worship	1 (3.12)	1 (3.03)	2 (15.38)	-	-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As multiple answers are presented, total percentage are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 7:7 PERFORMANCE IN FUND RAISING - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
No funds collection	20 (62.85)	15 (45.45)	4 (30.76)	-	4 (22.22)	-
Fund from membership	8 (25.00)	7 (21.21)	1 (7.69)	4 (15.38)	6 (33.33)	-
Fund from people	2 (6.25)	8 (24.24)	6 (46.15)	19 (73.07)	6 (33.33)	5 (100)
Fund from people + membership	-	3 (9.09)	2 (15.38)	3 (11.53)	2 (11.11)	-
High commands concern	2 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 7:8 VISITS TO OUTSIDE NATIVE AREA - RESPONDENTS PARTYWISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.O.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I N.A. N-5
Report with people	3 (89.37)	3 (89.89)	1 (87.69)	7 (26.92)	11 (61.11)	2 (40.00)
Problems of local district	10 (31.25)	6 (18.18)	1 (87.69)	8 (30.76)	4 (22.22)	3 (60.00)
Visit in times of calamities	10 (31.25)	12 (36.36)	4 (30.76)	7 (26.92)	-	1 (20.00)
Visit and study problems	3 (89.37)	4 (12.12)	4 (30.76)	2 (87.69)	1 (85.55)	-
Attend district meetings	4 (12.85)	7 (21.21)	2 (15.38)	2 (87.69)	2 (11.11)	1 (20.00)
Attend public meetings	5 (15.62)	2 (86.86)	1 (87.69)	2 (87.69)	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

TABLE 7:9 EXPENDITURE FOR THE TOURS - PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.N. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I N.L. N-5
Party fund	3 (89.37)	4 (12.12)	-	18 (69.23)	7 (38.88)	5 (100)
Onselves	28 (87.05)	38 (98.98)	11 (84.61)	4 (15.38)	8 (44.44)	-
Local people	1 (83.12)	4 (12.12)	2 (15.38)	4 (15.38)	3 (16.66)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

TABLE 7:16 COMMITMENT TO PARTY IDEOLOGY - PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
No scope for clash	5 (15.62)	5 (15.15)	-	9 (34.61)	18 (55.55)	-
Objectives of Party ideology	8	2	5	6	2	1
include national intergration	(25.00)	(26.06)	(38.46)	(23.07)	(11.11)	(20.00)
Supports national integration	9	18	2	8	-	-
	(28.12)	(30.30)	(15.38)	(30.76)	-	-
Supports - party ideology	6	11	4	3	3	4
	(18.75)	(33.33)	(30.76)	(11.53)	(16.66)	(80.00)
No answer	4	5	2	-	3	-
	(12.50)	(15.15)	(15.38)	-	(16.66)	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 7:11 PERFORMANCE TOWARDS RELIGIOUS PURPOSES - PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-19	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
Monetary contribution	29 (98.62)	18 (54.54)	18 (76.92)	6 (23.07)	6 (35.29)	-
No religious relief	-	-	-	2 (7.69)	5 (29.41)	-
Secular outlook	-	2 (6.06)	1 (7.69)	1 (3.84)	1 (5.53)	-
No contribution	3 (9.37)	11 (33.33)	2 (15.38)	17 (65.38)	6 (35.29)	5 (100)
Contributions to Hindu convocations minorities	-	2 (6.06)	-	-	-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 7:12 PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION WORK - PARTY WISE DISTRIBUTION

	Dong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-24	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I M.L. N-5
Door to Door	21 (65.62)	29 (87.87)	11 (84.61)	22 (84.61)	15 (83.33)	3 (60.00)
Group discussion	3 (29.37)	10 (30.30)	1 (07.69)	13 (50.00)	9 (52.00)	3 (60.00)
Speeches in big gatherings	16 (50.00)	16 (48.48)	2 (15.38)	9 (34.61)	6 (33.33)	2 (40.00)
Party performance	4 (12.05)	5 (15.15)	5 (38.46)	7 (26.92)	1 (05.55)	2 (40.00)
Party manifesto	10 (31.25)	8 (24.24)	1 (07.69)	7 (26.92)	1 (05.55)	2 (40.00)
various issues	2 (06.25)	6 (18.18)	3 (23.07)	5 (19.23)	1 (05.55)	2 (40.00)
Village to village campaign	9 (28.12)	9 (27.27)	3 (23.07)	5 (19.23)	1 (05.55)	2 (40.00)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

TABLE 7.13 MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF PERFORMANCE OF PARTY SCORES  
 COMPARED AND TESTED THE SIGNIFICANCE.

Sl No	Party	Mean x	Standard deviation	't' value	significant (or) nonsignificant at 5%	Table value.
1.	Congress I vs Telugu Desam	48.98 46.45	15.29 19.93	2.85	significant at 5%	1.51
2.	Congress I vs B.J.P.	48.98 48.53	15.29 28.54	0.89	Nonsignificant at 5%	1.79
3.	Congress I vs C.P.M.	48.98 51.88	15.29 18.33	0.85	Nonsignificant at 5%	1.67
4.	Congress I vs C.P.I.	48.98 36.66	15.29 17.68	1.28	Nonsignificant at 5%	1.79
5.	Congress I vs C.P.I.M.L	48.98 68.28	15.29 24.91	8.21	significant at 5%	3.67
6.	Telugu Desam vs B.J.P.	46.45 48.53	19.93 28.54	1.39	Nonsignificant at 5%	1.79
7.	Telugu Desam vs C.P.M.	46.45 51.88	19.93 18.33	1.98	significant at 5%	1.67
8.	Telugu Desam vs C.P.I.	46.45 36.66	19.93 17.68	2.63	significant at 5%	1.79
9.	Telugu Desam vs C.P.I.M.L.	46.45 68.28	19.93 24.91	4.79	significant at 5%	3.67
10.	B.J.P. vs C.P.M.	48.53 51.88	28.54 18.33	3.13	significant at 5%	1.93
11.	B.J.P. vs C.P.I.	48.53 36.66	28.54 17.68	8.78	Nonsignificant at 5%	2.35
12.	B.J.P. vs C.P.I.M.L	48.53 68.28	28.54 24.91	4.63	significant at 5%	3.64
13.	C.P.M. vs C.P.I.	51.88 36.66	18.33 17.68	5.86	significant at 5%	1.93
14.	C.P.M. vs C.P.I.M.L	51.88 68.28	18.33 24.91	4.33	significant at 5%	3.67
15.	C.P.I. vs C.P.I.M.L	36.66 68.28	17.68 24.91	7.88	significant at 5%	3.64

TABLE 7.14 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ANTI-ARRABO MOVEMENT;  
OBSERVATIONS OF RESPONDENTS & CONTROLLED RESPONDENTS.

	Respondents Women N-35		Controlled Women Respondents N-25		Controlled Men Respondents N-25	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
All Parties participated.	30 (85.71)	05 (14.28)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)
Outdoor literacy programme.	32 (91.42)	03 (8.57)	22 (88.00)	03 (12.00)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)
Mass women's movement.	22 (62.85)	13 (37.14)	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-
20% to 25% men participated.	25 (71.42)	10 (28.57)	23 (92.00)	02 (8.00)	20 (80.00)	-
Participation by lower class	30 (85.71)	05 (14.28)	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-
Middle class not participated.	35 (100.00)	-	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)
Middle class under social pressure.	32 (91.42)	03 (8.57)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)
Rise of women's empowerment.	25 (71.42)	10 (28.57)	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-
Awareness of women.	35 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-
Development of confidence in women.	32 (91.42)	03 (8.57)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)	20 (80.00)	05 (20.00)
Integration of women.	20 (57.14)	15 (42.85)	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-
Proved capabilities of women.	25 (71.42)	10 (28.57)	25 (100.00)	-	25 (100.00)	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

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## **CHAPTER-VIII**

### **LINEAR MULTIPLE REGRESSIONAL ANALYSIS**

This chapter is intended to assess the relationship between the background of the women leaders and their perception and performance as the background factors are the independent variables and those of the perception and performance are dependent. In other words, an attempt is made to establish the relationship between the independent and dependent **variables**. For this the technique of linear multiple regression analysis is followed. To assess the relative importance of a series of independent variables, standardized regression coefficients are also calculated. The statistical significance of a controlled relationship with independent variables could also be derived from multiple regression equation. Regression coefficients, standard errors, and the results of linear multiple regression analysis values are also noted. They are regression coefficient, standard errors and 't' values. Multiple regression is the preferred technique in political science for observing multivariate relationships. As for the value, 't' value is to be tested at 120<sup>0</sup> D.F. and at 0.01 level and 0.05 level.

As per the results of multiple regression analysis, two sets of relations are noted. One type is between the independent variables and the dependent variables of perception of the respondents and the other relationship is between independent variables and the dependent variables of **performance**.

As regards perceptions, 4 tables are formed. The independent variables are divided into personal factors, kinship

factors, family factors and political attributes. All the independent variables are used for association with the dependent variables on perceptions. All the independent variables did not give higher weights.

#### Personal Attributes:

In the first table 8.1 high loads are found in case of age and present politics and the 't' value is 2.17 at 0.05 level (table value). The association is positively and highly significant. The association between, occupation and interested activity is significant. The 't' value is 2.36 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97) Association of age of children and responsibility as executive members is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.40 at 0.05 (table value 1.97). Association between age and the status of women is loaded highly, the 't' value being 7.98 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of education and agricultural labour is highly loaded and the 't' value is 2.45 at 0.01 level (table value 2.61). Association of the number of children and S.C. and S.T. is highly loaded at 2.01 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97).

#### Age:

It is apparent from table 8:1 and **Ia** , that the age of respondents has its bearing on the perception and perceptions on present politics. Age is an important factor for the fluctuations in the perceptions of the **respondents**. The respondents of the younger age are more committed to the ideology of the party and the old aged are usually conservative and pragmatic and so their age might have reflection on perceptions.

According to Narayan **Pillai's** findings, age played a **dominating** role in the activities of different parties in India. His finding also shows that communists are 10 years younger than the Congress in playing important roles. So age is an important factor associated with participation. Participation rises in early years and peaks in middle ages and falls in later years. This also supports the fact that age has its impact on both political participation and perceptive role of the respondents. From this it may be said that participation displays a rising and falling patterns with the age. Older the age, longer is the experience of the participant and the participant might play an important **role**.

#### Number of **Children:**

It is interesting to note that the number of children of the respondents which is an independent variable, had its negative influence on the perceptions of respondents on the variable i.e. about status of S.C.'s and S.T.'s. The 't' value of **2.01** at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Most of the respondents are positively inclined towards reservation policy but are not satisfied with the manner in which it is implemented. Mostly respondents are particular about reservation for S.Cs and S.Ts.

#### Age of the **Children:**

It is apparent from table 8:1 and **Ia** that, age of children has a negative influence on the independent variable of **the respondent**. that is the responsibility of executive members of

the party or the responsibility of the party leaders. If the age of children is low, a **woman** leader cannot fully devote herself in rearing children. Similarly, if the age of children is considerably high, she can bear more responsibilities as a leader of the party. Age of children has a special influence on women leaders.

#### **Marital Status:**

As far as the dependent variables of perception are concerned there is no indication of the influence of marital status even though married women are more in number in the present study. There is direct or indirect impact of marital status on party leaders and not on the role perceptions of party's women leaders.

#### **Education:**

Education also had positive bearing on the role perceptions of women party leaders about agricultural labour. **L.Milbrath** and **M.Goel** found that political participation frequently  
2  
has positive association with education. Usually general political participation can be **differentiated** with women's participation in party leadership position. This study stands in support of **Milbrath's** opinion as perception on agricultural labour is positive. **Nilima** Acharji's findings also are very near to those of this study. It is found that, instead of formal education, knowledge of the leader has more weight on perceptions.

Caste:

It is interesting to note that caste has no **bearing** on women's role perceptions and political participation in the leadership positions. But the earlier studies of political participation had shown the impact of caste on political parties in India. Studies of **Hardgrave, Rajani Kothari** and Morris Jones, point out that castes has its impact on participation through parties or on the social system. Again social stratification had no bearing on the political participation of women respondents of the parties. This may be due to the fact that women's participation in general is less in politics and that women supported by their families and leaders of the parties have entered politics.

Occupation has a negative bearing on the activity of interest of the respondents. For the association of occupation with the activity of interest, the 't' value is 2.36 at 0.01%.

The opinion of Narayan Pillai, occupation has an important role to play in the perceptive roles of the respondent.<sup>4</sup> To him, politicians in the larger society, are more likely to be drawn from the dispensable occupations like those of law and journalism. Geraint Parry said that wealth also has generally positive association with the overall participation.<sup>5</sup> Even then, it was noted that in contrast to those in certain activities, the poor participate **more.** On the one hand wealth is **acquired** and on the other hand is inherited. Acquiring wealth is **associated** with certain occupations. So, occupation is directly or indirectly associated with role perceptions.

### Kinship **Relations:**

It is obvious **from** tables 8:2 and 2a, association between mother's education and perceptions of the respondents towards present politics is highly loaded, the 't' value being 3.49 at 0.01 level (table value 2.61). Association of father's economic status with influence of caste conventions is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.25 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of the number of brothers and perception towards minorities is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.31 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of the number of brothers with caste conventions is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.22 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of sisters and attitudes towards **minorities** is also highly loaded, the 't' value being 2.74 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97).

### Residence Before Marriage:

It is evident from tables 8:2 and 2a that there is no association of the respondents' residence before marriage with perceptions. It is usually noted that during the teen age, family, peer groups and parties may be said to be the influencing factors but this study shows no evidence of such association.

### Father's Family Count:

Father's family count had no bearing on the respondents' Perception in **general**, where as the numbers of brothers of the **respondent** had its influence on two factors of the perceptions of

the respondent. **Number** of brothers has a negatively significant associations with perceptions on **minorities** and also on caste conventions. Caste conventions have **became** very frequent in the present political situation and in the same way minorities" position need support. On these issues, perceptions might be formed by the respondents with kinship support.

The number of sisters has bearing on perceptions towards minorities and their positions. Sisters' and brothers' support and engorgement has the explicit and implicit influence on the perceptions of the respondents.

#### **Mother's Education and Economic Status:**

As noted, mother's education is strongly significant on the perceptions of the respondents on present politics. Mother's education has an indication of source of knowledge of the respondent. Usually, mother's education may be considered as the valuable background for the development of child in general and daughters development and progress in particular. Usually, the daughters have a closer association with the mothers and the broad out look due to education of mother would have its own bearing on the progress of the girl child and for the same reason mother's education had its strong significance for the same perception of the respondent.

The economic status of the mother had also its significance on the perception of respondents on the influence of

**caste** convention on parties. In the present politics in Andhra Pradesh, there is a frequency of caste conventions. Instead of caste indirectly supporting a particular party. As noted by Hardgarave, and **Rajni Kothari**, caste conventions have become the pressure groups and in this context all party leaders may have their attitudes. Even though caste is said to be a subject of detailed study in the state politics, as **G.Ram.Reddy** and **Iqbal Narayan** pointed out, it would be superficial to say that the caste alone matters in the state politics. It is not the caste or caste conventions which play important role regarding the influence on the participation of women, but it is the parental influence which had a bearing and particularly, mother's influence which, can be estimated as an important influencing factor in women's participation in politics.<sup>7</sup>

#### **Father's Economic Status:**

Father's economic status has association with all the dependent variables with the exception of the perception about industrial workers. Knowledge of respondents on various aspects of the issues and sections of society are to be tested to know the purposive role perceptions. As far as the ideological perceptions of the respondents are concerned, father's economic background may be having the right orientation about the industrial **workers**. In the present circumstances all the political participants in general and party leaders in particular may be having the right orientation about industrial workers. As they strive to solve their **problems** in

an organized way, i.e., through trade unions. Their organized behaviours might be rightly perceived by the **women** respondents of the present study.

Table 8.2a explains the association of variables of kinship relationship and the perceptions of the respondents. Under kinship relations education of parents, economic status of the parents, number of brothers and sisters of the respondent and residence and family count of father have been taken for assessing the correlation with some of the perceptions of the respondents. A woman respondent may be having the association of the above said characteristics over her perceptions, because it was hypothesized that women should have support from the kith and kin if she had to reach the leadership positions.

#### **Father's Education:**

It is evident from table 'B' that father's education has no weight over the perceptions of the respondents. All the seventeen perceptions tested, have no association with the father's education.

#### Family Attributes

It is apparent from table 8.3 and 3a, under the family attributes, the association between type of the family and **qualities** of executive position is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.55 level (table value 1.97). The family count and present

politics is highly loaded. The 't' value 2.22 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association between responsibilities of executive members and residence after **marriage** are highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.24 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of husband's education with the type of leadership is loaded highly. The 't' value is 2.03 at 0.05 level (table value is 1.97).

It is apparent from table 8.3a that some of the independent variable as family attribute as computed and the linear multiple regression analysis adopted to know their correlation with perception of the respondents. The type of family, family count husband's education and economic status and residence after marriage of the respondents are considered as the background factors for the analysis.

It is evident from the table that the type of the family over the qualities of executive positions has a positively significant association at 2.55 't' value.

Residence after Marriage:

Residence after marriage has a negative association with responsibility of executive members. Women in Indian social structure usually migrate from their parental residence to husband's residence. This change of places has an influence in the behaviour patterns of women. They learn new social condition on the one hand and also may adopt new political behaviours. And so **perceptions** have the influence of migration of women after **marriage**.

The perceptions of the respondents in the **sample** are formed independently and the residence after marriage and living in a new environment have no bearing on perceptions.

#### Husband's Economic Status:

Husband's economic status is taken to be an important independent variable, hoping this would influence the perceptions and participation of women. According to this analysis all the variables of perceptions are independent of husband's economic status. His economic status has no bearing on the perceptions of the **respondents**.

#### **Husband's** Education:

It is apparent **from** tables 8.3 and 8a that an independent variable, i.e., education of the husband has a positive association with the type of leadership. There is a possibility that higher the education qualifications, higher the leadership position held by women **respondents**. Higher the education gives broader out look and so it has its association with perceptions.. The support of husband is said to be dominating factor as far as the leadership patterns of women in the party structures are concerned. Whenever, men have higher education, there is a possibilities of confirming their support for a particular political ideology and that itself has an implicit association with the encouragement given by them to the **women**. Male spouses due to higher education may be less conservative or give more support and encouragement to the women

respondents. So **women** keep on holding leadership positions in the party organizations.

#### Family Count:

It can be noted from the table that family count, an independent variable has its association with the dependent variable perceptions present politics. It is apparent that it is negatively significant because, if family count increases, perceptions on the present politics decreases and in the same way if the family count decreases perception of respondents increases.

#### Political **Attributes:**

Under political attributes association between political experience as student and industrial development is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.63 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of political influence from relations has negative indication over qualities of executive position. The 't' value is -2.53 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). The political experience is associated with the responsibility of executive member, present politics and qualities of executive position and industrial development, 't' values being 2.65, 2.36, 2.20 and 2.73 respectively at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Again party leadership and qualities of executive are strongly associated. The 't' value is 2.45 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). Association of political experience as a student with associated with S.Cs and S.Ts is highly loaded. The 't' value is significant at 1.99 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97).

The association between previous political experience and B.C.s is highly loaded. The 't' value is 2.37 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97). The association of party position on S.Cs and S.Ts perception is highly loaded, the 't' value being 2.00 at 0.05 level (table value 1.97).

Table 'D' is mainly concerned with two types of variables. On the one side, political attributes of the respondent as independent characteristics and on the other side perception of the respondent are noted. All the observations have been computed and Regression, Coefficient, Standard Errors and 't' values are obtained.

Political experience as a student is said to be an important characteristics features of the respondents. Political experience gives scope to have insights into various issues of the society and also about the range of economic development in India, the new policies of the government and its impact on various communities and other **factors**.

If a person enters politics as a student, he / she may acquire knowledge of party ideology and develop vision about the social, political and economic structure of the country. Political experience has association with the perception on industrial development and on the S.Cs and S.Ts. Early political socialisation provides opportunity for quick understanding of social situations and this will give to individuals specific identity and recognition.

Previous **Membership in** other Party:

Membership in social organization enriches the behavioral qualities and experience in political parties facilitates capabilities required for moving upwards into the leadership leader. So previous membership in any party had its influence over perceptions **and** especially on the type of leadership. There is also the possibility of attaining perfection.

Political **Influence** of Relatives:

Perception of the respondents are likely to be clear by observing the relatives' political activities. In the absence of this, perceptions about required **qualifications** and functions of the executive members of the parties may not be developed because opportunities for close observations are absent. From table 8:4 and 4a it can be noted that relatives' political influence has a negative association with the perceptions regarding qualities of executive members of the party.

Political Experience within the Party:

Political experience within party enables the party leader to understand ideology, policies, the way dealing with various issues in addition to capabilities. In the **sample**, experience within party has positive association with perceptions relating to the responsibility of executive member in present Politics, qualities of the executive position, industrial

development. Political experience within the party has a negative association if the perceptions regarding B.Cs.

Long political experience would lead to an increase the understanding of responsibilities of executive members, present politics, qualities needed for leader and awareness about the **development** of the nation in general. Political experience also gives wide knowledge about the nation, and consequently the position held. If perceptions on these matters are clear, it could be said that there is real link between these two types of variables. Political experience of the respondents had a negative association on the perception about B.Cs. During the present study several caste people involved in direct action to achieve their goal of including their caste in the **B.C.s**. This situation may be one of the reasons for negative relation between these two variables.

Party position of the respondent has its bearing on the dependent variable, i.e., perception of about S.Cs and S.Ts Leaders in the highest position at the state and district levels have to be aware of the stand of S.Cs and S.Ts and also should understand their position and policies relating to them. In Indian **politics**, parties, and personnel are more interested to protect the S.Cs and S.Ts and they do not want loose the support of these sections. The objectives may be on the one side protection of party Position and on the other side safeguarding of the S.Cs and S.Ts.

It is obvious from table 8:4 that the party leadership which is an **important** characteristic of the respondent had an association with the qualities required for a leader to recruited. **From** this relationship, it may be inferred that if a person wants to continue as leader, she should have clear perceptions **about** the qualities required and in the **same** way, if the necessary qualities are acquired, one can hold the leadership position.

Correlation **Matrix-Socio-Economic** and Political Factors:

Correlation matrix is the measure for the study of relation between two variables and the correlation commonly used in statistics is called the coefficient correlation and the quantity is denoted by the symbol ' $r$ '. The correlation coefficient like the mean value and the standard deviation is a numerical character of the population and is estimated from a sample of the bipartite population. A case of particular importance in testing the significance of deviation of the estimates of correlation from the hypothetical value zero. Once the coefficient has been calculated, it can be checked against the appropriate table to determine if it is above or below the criteria level of statistical significance. So statistical significance is known at 0.05 level and 0.01 level. In the present study, correlation analysis is used to denote the strength of the relationship among 29 different variables of socio-economic and political background **factors**. So correlation **matrix** shows the relationship between variables. As the correlation can be present in 10 **factors**. the matrix is shown in 3 parts about the independent variables of 29 numbers.

To examine the interrelationship of independent variables. Correlation coefficients were computed. The determined parameters are personal factors, familial **factors**, parental influence factors and political factors were represented.

The correlation matrix is presented in tables 8:5, 8:5a and 8:5b which shows association among independent i.e. socio-economic variables. Among the 29 independent variables in the study only nine variables exhibited correlations within them. The party position possessed strong relationship with the three variables- marital status, residence after marriage and number of children of the respondents as the 'r' values 0.483, **0.376** and 0.358 respectively are higher than the table values at 0.01 probability.

The marital status of the women respondents exhibited relationship with the residence after marriage and strong relationship with the number of children. Similarly occupation showed direct relationship with the number of bothers, father's education and father's economic status. Husband's education shows close relationship with husband's economic **status**.

It is obvious from tables 8:5, 8.5a and 8.5b that the background factors namely marital status and residence after **marriage** had correlation with the number of children.

The following are the 'r' values of these variables.

1. Correlation between marital status and residence **after** marriage has the 'r' value 0.337 at 0.01 level (TV

0.273).

2. The marital status has a strong correlation with the number of children and its 'r' value is 0.376 at 0.01 level (TV 0.345).

These above correlations are important factors which have influence on the activity of the women respondents and these factors seemed to be strongly and positively significant and so women leaders with such background can hold leadership positions in the party. The leadership position needs regular involvement in the political activities starting from campaigning to participation in solving public issues. However, campaign activity only will not give any long term chance of getting into political leadership roles.

The occupation of the respondents has its correlation with the variable, i.e., number of brothers. The 'r' value of this correlation is 0.014 at 0.01 probability (TV.0.354). Such a correlation is not found in the previous studies. An interesting finding is that the number of brothers has a bearing on occupation influencing the economic status. And the economic status in turn influences the political participation of women.

The number of brothers of the respondent may be having a bearing on occupation in terms of support and encouragement. Moreover, the number of brothers may be regarded as the support variable not only in respect of leadership position but also membership in the party.

Another interesting finding is that father's education has an association with his economic status. The 'r' value of these two variables is 0.546 at 0.01 level (TV 0.354). Usually, in the case of positive correlation the increase of one variable will be corresponding influencing the other. So the economic status of the father has an association with education and vice versa. As per this finding the economic status and education of father will definitely have an indirect influence on the respondents' political position. The people belonging to high economic status will have more opportunities for political involvement. In such case the women respondents may not be having hurdles to get leadership position.

Husband's education and husband's economic status are loaded higher and their correlation is positively and highly strong and significant. The 'r' value is 0.654 at 0.01 level (TV 0.35). Out of all the correlation coefficients, this value is having the highest loading. This is because husband's education and economic status have a strong influence on women's leadership position. As per the table higher the economic status higher is the education of the husband. This is an interesting **finding** because most of the respondents are married women and so married women seem to be getting more opportunities in party politics. Higher education of the husband may be helpful to the wife as there is the possibility of encouragement from her husband. Moreover, his economic status is likely to contribute favorably to participation in the politics. Therefore, this correlation has an indirect favour for the Promotion of political activity of women.

### **Correlation Matrix- Perception Linked with Performance:**

One of the aims of this study is to determine the interrelationships of different behavioural patterns of the respondents. For this purpose correlation coefficients are computed. Tables 8:5c, 8:5d and 8:5e show the correlation between perceptions and performance of the 127 respondents belonging to six parties under study which were computed for quantitative measurement. There are seventeen variables of perception and nine variables of performance. The correlation coefficients can be identified as 'r' values. Correlation matrix shows the degree of association between two factors and loading give both positive and negative correlation between two **factors**. The positive loading is to be measured at table values 0.273 at 0.05 level and 0.354 at 0.01 level. If the table value is 0.273, association is strong and if it is (table value) 0.354, association is **significantly** strong.

Out of nine variables of performance, three variables are highly loaded leaving six variables. Those six variables are neither significant nor **in-significant**. There is no relationship between those six variables. These three highly loaded variables are related to the activities of respondents' visits to the local areas. Visits to local areas have a significant correlation with sources of expenditure. It has a negatively strong association with the sources of expenditure as the 'r' value is 0.540 at 0.01 level (table value 0.354). As the association is negatively strong the, increase of one is followed by a decrease of the other. Visits to local areas by the respondents may **significantly** depend

upon expected sources of **finances**. There is an indirect relation between these two variables.

From the matrix correlation table, it can be seen that only nine findings are highly loaded after **computation** for correlation matrix of independent variables of which, two findings are seen among variables of performance, one between the perception and **performance**, and the remaining six **findings** show the relationship among the variables of perceptions.

Another interesting observation is the relationship between the responsibility of executive member, i.e., leader and the contribution to religious institutions. Here the '**r**' value is shown as 0.441 at the table value 0.01 which is strongly significant. Even though it is not a material contribution, the leader is supposed to be secular. So here the perception on secular outlook seemed to correlate.

With the responsibility of executive membership as it has positive association, increase in one variable is correspondingly relative to another. Secular outlook of the leader is indirectly suggested. The leader may gain power due to the support of different groups. He/she should develop secular approach and the propose is the welfare of the all religious sections and in turn, he/ she gets the support of the minorities. So these two variables are interrelated. In view of the special approach towards the **minorities** and their problems in India, the correlation between these two variables is highly loaded. Moreover, the leader as per

his/her responsibilities may be named as 'General Welfare Promoter'. It is interesting to note that there is strong positive relationship between perception about the B.C.s and perception about present politics. This relationship is measured by 'r' value of 0.359 at the table value of 0.01 probability. Any policy on B.Cs and only decision regarding on B.Cs and their development is linked to present politics. That is why it is to be considered as an important observation, because the perceptions about the present politics may have their influence on the development of B.C.s. Since the setting up of the Mandal Commission, there is a raising urge among the people of some caste that they should be included in the B.C. group. In July 1994 *dharanas* by a Kapu community leader, achieved success to a very limited extent for the benefit of their caste. The situation is to be tackled by the leaders of all parties. As far as the perception of the respondents are concerned, there seems to be some confusion and between B.Cs and S.Ts. However, B.C.'s issues added a new dimension to the problems of the present politics.

Minorities are to be protected and minorities development is again based on the policy decisions of **the** leaders. The leader must be a better communicator than ordinary members and citizens in solving several problems and tackling them. And same is the case with S.C.s and S.T.s. The S.C. & S.T. communities have been guaranteed reservation and special schemes for their development have been drawn. For the realisation of these, harmony between **Political** leaders and the community is very much needed. In India especially with the diversified communities, a leader should

maintain balance in dealing, **leading. communicating**, protecting and supporting these varied **communities**. Such a relation is said to be:

The perceptions, i.e., regarding qualities of executive position has three important correlation links with the perception about industrial development and development of minorities and S.C., S.T.s. Correlation of these are shown as ' $r$ ' values of 0.379, 0.403 and 0.480 respectively at the table values of 0.01 probability. All the three association are negatively strongly significant. The qualities of party leader particularly have their influence directly on the above three variables. The leader is supposed to have perception on these subjects and it is a negative indication, if leaders cannot decide about policies and do not have right perceptions about contemporary situations and issues. As far as industrial development is concerned, the present economic policy of India has a strong influence over it.

It is evident from the table that the relationship between perceptions regarding agricultural development and industrial development in India have positive linkage. The relationship between agricultural development and industrial development is shown as the table value of 0.05 probability. It is a positively significant finding. This is an interesting finding because industrial development and agricultural development should go hand in hand. These variables have correlation. If agricultural development is given priority, industrial development also is to be given priority and vice versa. The knowledge of the respondents about the present Indian economy seems to be positive. They could

estimate the nature of the present transitional economy influenced by liberalization. It can be said that correct perceptions definitely lead to correct **activities** of the respondent.

Another link is between the industrial development and the position of agricultural labour. This is shown as a negative association as 'r' value is -0.306 at the table value 0.05 probability. This means industrial development is likely to have its impact on the future of agricultural development. In accordance with the present liberalisation policies of the central government and GATT agreements, the future of agricultural labour seems to be negatively perceived. The increase in industrial development will definitely show a decreasing trend in agricultural development and will lead to a decline in the status of agricultural labour. The unorganized and rural based agricultural laborers suffer from unequal wages, negligence and insecurity.

Another interesting observation on the perception side is the relationship between minorities and the S.C and S.T. s. It is positively strong, having 'r' value of 0.628 at table value of 0.01 probability. This is because the position of both minorities and S.Cs, S.Ts is considered as an important area of interest for the **upliftment** purpose. Those groups are being paid special attention. No political perception has negative bearing on these variables among the respondents under study.

There is strong association between caste conventions and influence of caste conventions, as its value is **0.894** at the table

value of 0.01 probability. The perception of **women** leaders are very clear as far as the conduct of caste conventions and their influence on political parties.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that, difference of perceptions are there between young and old aged respondents. Marital status has its direct or indirect impact on the party leaders. Political knowledge instead of primary education has its impact on the perception of the women leaders. Educated may not have the required political knowledge. Industrial support and family support play an important role on the perception of the leaders. It is interesting to note that caste has no bearing on women's role perceptions, and participation. It is the wealth, which is the supporting factor for participation in the political field.

Several activities in the political field can be carried on without hesitation, if support is given from kith and kin. Women are mainly influenced by the mothers in particular and by father in *general*.

As per as molding the personality, encouragement and moral and material support of relations highly influence women to reach leadership positions. Support and encouragement from husband is highly needed, if women have to occupy higher positions. Mostly men having higher educational qualifications may be less conservation and support their women to hold leadership positions. If the family is big in size, women leader can share their

household responsibilities with the other **members** of the family.

Depending on the availability of **funds**, women leader can visit the local areas or constituencies. As per the correlation between the leader and the contribution to religious institutions, the leader is supposed to have secular outlook. As far as qualities of the leader are concerned, she should have perceptions on the contemporary situations and issues. This is why, an association of the quality of leader is closely significant with perceptions relating to development of the agriculture, development of minorities, S.Cs and S.Ts. It is to be noted that knowledge of the respondent about the present Indian economy seems to be positive. The respondents in general have shown interest in the **upliftment** of the minorities, B.Cs, S.Cs and S.Ts. Towards the upliftment of the downtrodden, no political perception is negative.

There is a close relationship between the number of brothers and occupation. Here two important factors namely money and support from brothers are distinctly related to holding higher positions. Support of kith and kin is very important. Fathers support also is needed for holding higher positions, and husband's education and economic status have a strong bearing on leadership **positions**.

TABLE 8:1 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERCEPTION OF WOKEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

Personal factors	Responsibility of executive members.		Functions of women's King.		Importance of women's King.		Present politics activity		Interested activity		finalities of executive positions,		Development Africa- Industrial. tries.	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.						
Place of Birth	(RC) 0.03 (SE) 0.02 (T) 0.03	0.09 0.15 0.57	0.14 0.95 0.15	-0.90 0.07 1.24	-0.08 0.57 1.09	-0.46 1.15 0.39	-0.27 0.28 1.37	-0.27 0.69 0.39						
Age	(RC) 0.61 (SE) 0.73 (T) 0.83	0.13 0.14 0.93	0.06 0.04 0.07	1.66 0.76 2.17	-0.15 0.50 0.30	1.12 1.01 1.10	0.00 0.17 0.04	0.48 0.68 0.66						
Caste	(RC) 0.31 (SE) 0.36 (T) 0.85	-0.03 0.07 0.45	0.26 0.42 0.62	-0.71 0.38 1.07	-0.02 0.25 0.11	-0.53 0.52 1.05	0.01 0.08 0.21	0.34 0.30 1.14						
Education.	(RC) 0.11 (SE) 0.15 (T) 0.77	0.05 0.02 1.70	0.13 0.17 0.78	0.22 0.16 1.36	0.15 0.10 1.43	0.16 0.21 2.74	0.02 0.03 0.54	0.11 0.12 0.91						
Occupation.	(RC) -0.18 (SE) 0.43 (T) 0.43	-0.07 0.00 0.86	-0.13 0.49 0.28	-0.69 0.45 1.52	-0.70 0.29 2.36	-0.96 0.60 1.60	-0.28 0.10 1.95	-0.04 0.35 0.11						
Marital Status	(RC) -0.35 (SE) 0.05 (T) 0.40	0.02 0.16 0.13	-1.23 0.98 1.25	0.58 0.59 0.65	-0.27 0.50 0.46	0.08 1.10 0.07	-0.23 0.20 1.12	-0.01 0.71 1.14						
Number of children	(RC) -0.12 (SE) 0.51 (T) 0.24	-0.17 0.09 1.73	-0.72 0.50 1.23	0.78 0.53 1.47	0.04 0.34 0.11	1.34 0.70 1.09	-0.05 0.12 0.44	-0.13 0.42 0.31						
Age of children	(RC) -0.18 (SE) 0.76 (T) 2.42	0.28 0.14 1.94	-1.64 0.08 1.06	-0.44 0.00 0.54	0.14 0.52 0.20	0.77 1.06 0.73	0.02 0.10 0.02	-0.51 0.63 0.00						

0  
t=12 D.F at 0.01= 2.6188  
0.05= 1.978

TABLE 8:1a ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

Personal factor	Perception on minorities.	S.C & S.T	B.C	Agri cultural Labour.	Indus- trial workers.	Status of women.	Caste influence.	Type of leader-ship.	Development of Agri- cultural sector.	Industrial sector.
Place of birth	(RC)	-0.14	-0.54	-0.90	-0.55	-0.50	-0.02	-0.10	-0.24	-0.34
	(SE)	0.52	0.57	0.87	0.66	0.46	0.50	0.29	0.26	0.21
	(T)	0.27	0.94	1.00	0.82	1.25	1.64	0.35	0.93	1.66
Age	(RC)	0.17	-0.21	1.45	0.88	0.62	0.80	0.34	0.17	20.25
	(SE)	0.46	2.58	0.79	0.58	0.51	0.44	0.26	0.23	0.18
	(T)	0.38	0.41	1.84	1.49	1.50	1.90	1.30	0.76	1.35
Caste	(RC)	0.02	0.12	0.20	-2.31	0.06	-0.02	0.25	0.04	0.17
	(SE)	0.23	0.25	0.39	0.29	0.20	0.22	0.13	0.11	0.09
	(T)	0.09	0.48	0.50	1.00	0.31	0.29	0.43	0.36	1.56
Education	(RC)	0.03	0.15	0.13	0.30	0.10	0.06	-0.07	0.04	-0.01
	(SE)	0.09	0.10	0.16	0.12	0.00	0.09	0.05	0.04	0.19
	(T)	0.37	1.41	0.83	2.45	1.23	0.71	1.30	0.91	0.88
Occupation	(RC)	0.07	0.20	0.06	-0.20	-0.10	-0.13	0.07	-0.26	0.02
	(SE)	0.27	0.29	0.40	0.34	0.24	0.26	0.15	0.13	0.10
	(T)	0.26	0.67	0.14	0.57	0.74	0.50	0.51	1.94	0.21
Marital status	(RC)	0.53	-0.72	0.41	-0.00	0.34	-0.03	-0.14	0.14	0.23
	(SE)	0.54	0.59	0.92	0.60	0.40	0.52	0.30	0.27	0.21
	(T)	0.98	1.22	0.45	0.00	0.71	0.07	0.46	0.51	1.09
Number of children	(RC)	0.13	-0.74	-0.05	0.07	0.00	-0.16	-0.20	0.07	0.06
	(SE)	0.32	0.36	0.55	0.41	0.20	0.31	0.10	0.16	0.12
	(T)	0.42	2.01	0.10	0.17	0.20	0.51	1.10	0.43	0.40
Age of children	(RC)	-0.49	-1.04	-0.37	-0.62	-0.00	-0.20	-0.00	-0.51	-0.01
	(SE)	0.40	0.52	0.02	0.61	0.43	0.46	0.27	0.24	0.19
	(T)	1.01	1.97	0.45	1.00	0.00	0.61	0.31	2.10	0.00

t=12 D.F at 0.01 = 2.610  
0.05 = 1.970.

TABLE 8.2 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERCEPTION OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

Kinship relation	Responsi-	Functions	Inport-	Present	Intereset	Qualities	Development	
	bilty of executive members.	of womens wing.	ance of women wing.	politics.	activity.	of execu- tives positions.	Agri cultral	Indus tries,
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Father's (RC)	0.33	-0.07	0.80	-0.59	-0.10	0.95	-0.18	-0.99
Educa- (SE)	0.67	0.13	0.78	0.71	0.46	0.94	0.16	0.56
tion. (T)	0.48	0.59	0.02	0.83	0.23	1.01	1.12	1.75
Father's (RC)	0.91	-0.26	0.74	0.82	-0.82	-0.57	0.12	0.70
economic (SE)	0.97	0.18	1.12	1.02	0.67	1.35	0.23	0.81
status (T)	0.93	1.41	0.65	0.79	1.22	0.42	0.51	0.86
Father's (RC)	-2.17	-0.15	-3.32	-3.02	1.22	-2.69	0.18	0.70
family (SE)	2.44	0.47	2.81	2.56	1.68	3.39	0.59	0.81
count (T)	0.88	0.33	1.18	1.17	0.72	0.79	0.30	0.86
Mother's (RC)	-0.09	0.00	-0.12	0.49	-0.02	0.22	0.00	-0.02
education (SE)	0.13	0.02	0.15	0.14	0.09	0.18	0.03	0.11
(T)	0.67	0.16	0.81	3.49**	0.26	1.20	0.13	0.22
Mother's (RC)	-1.09	-0.25	-1.88	-1.25	-1.39	0.05	0.10	0.43
economic (SE)	1.44	0.27	1.66	1.52	0.99	2.01	0.35	1.20
status (T)	0.75	0.91	1.12	0.82	1.40	0.02	0.30	0.36
Number (RC)	-0.66	0.20	-0.28	-0.20	0.28	0.39	-0.04	0.34
of (SE)	0.78	0.15	0.90	0.82	0.54	1.09	0.19	0.65
Brothers (T)	0.84	1.34	0.31	0.24	0.53	0.35	0.25	0.52
Number (RC)	0.86	-0.10	0.73	0.03	0.93	1.90	0.13	0.56
of (SE)	0.85	0.16	0.98	0.89	0.58	1.19	0.20	0.71
Sisters (T)	1.01	0.63	0.74	0.03	1.58	1.60	0.65	0.79
Residence (RC)	-0.89	0.17	-0.20	-0.94	0.70	-1.32	0.14	-0.30
before (SE)	0.75	0.14	0.86	0.78	0.51	1.04	0.18	0.62
Marriage (T)	1.19	1.20	0.23	1.19	1.35	1.26	0.80	0.49

t=12 D.F at 0.01 = 2.61\*\*  
0.05 = 1.97\*

TABLE 8.2a ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (28)  
AND PERCEPTION OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

	Perception on minorities.	S.C & S.T	B.C	Agri cultural labour.	Industrial workers.	status of women.	caste conven- -tions	Influence of caste conventions.	Type of leader -ship.
Kinship relations	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Father's education	(RC) 0.33 (SE) 0.43 (T) 0.77	-0.35 0.46 0.75	-0.22 0.73 0.31	0.45 0.54 0.92	0.22 0.38 0.59	0.18 0.41 0.43	0.18 0.24 0.77	-0.85 0.21 0.25	0.17 0.17 1.83
Father's economic status	(RC) 0.87 (SE) 0.62 (T) 0.11	-0.72 0.67 1.87	1.88 1.05 0.94	0.86 0.78 1.89	1.35 0.55 2.45†	0.81 0.59 0.01	-0.31 0.35 0.88	0.58 0.31 1.62	-0.24 0.24 0.99
Father's family count	(RC) -0.73 (SE) 1.55 (T) 0.47	-0.89 1.68 0.85	0.49 2.64 0.18	-2.36 1.96 1.28	-0.61 1.38 0.44	2.84 1.49 1.37	0.24 0.87 0.27	1.18 0.77 1.52	1.17 0.62 1.89
Mother's education	(RC) 0.16 (SE) 0.88 (T) 1.97†	0.81 0.89 0.14	0.81 0.14 0.11	-0.81 0.18 0.89	0.85 0.87 0.69	0.84 0.88 0.58	-2.88 3.92 0.51	0.88 0.84 0.16	-0.82 0.83 0.67
Mother's economic status	(RC) -1.21 (SE) 0.92 (T) 1.31	0.22 0.99 0.22	0.98 1.56 0.57	0.51 1.16 0.44	0.69 0.81 0.84	1.82 0.88 1.15	-0.85 2.27 0.37	1.84 0.46 2.25†	-0.35 0.36 0.97
Number of brothers	(RC) -1.15 (SE) 0.58 (T) 2.31†	0.75 0.54 1.39	-0.38 0.85 0.35	-0.83 0.63 0.86	-0.14 0.44 0.32	0.13 0.48 0.29	0.62 0.28 2.22†	-0.44 0.25 1.78	0.23 0.19 1.17
Number of sisters	(RC) 1.49 (SE) 0.54 (T) 2.74†	0.52 0.59 0.89	0.29 0.92 0.32	0.48 0.68 0.72	0.51 0.46 1.86	0.18 0.52 0.19	-0.28 0.91 0.31	0.33 0.27 1.23	0.11 0.21 0.53
Residence before Marriage	(RC) -0.53 (SE) 0.47 (T) 1.11	0.18 0.51 0.35	0.18 0.81 0.13	-0.46 0.68 0.77	0.12 0.42 0.28	0.83 0.45 0.88	0.48 0.27 1.79	0.25 0.23 1.88	0.27 0.19 1.42

t = 12 D.F at 0.2% = 2.61††  
0.85 = 1.97†

TABLE 8.3 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN FAMILY ATTRIBUTES (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES) WITH THE PERCEPTION OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

Family Attributes		Responsibility of executive members.	Functions of women wing.	Importance of women wing.	Present politics.	Interest activity.	Qualities of executives.	DEVELOPMENT	
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7. Agri	8. Indus
Family type	(RC)	0.23	0.03	-0.00	2.37	0.62	4.72	0.33	-0.00
	(SE)	1.33	0.25	1.53	1.39	0.91	1.88	0.32	1.10
	(T)	0.17	0.15	0.00	1.70	0.60	2.55*	1.03	0.00
Family Count	(RC)	0.99	-0.24	1.04	-2.49	-0.90	-0.46	0.06	-0.00
	(SE)	1.06	0.20	1.23	1.12	0.73	1.40	0.25	0.09
	(T)	0.93	1.10	0.04	2.22*	1.22	0.31	0.24	0.00
Husband's education	(RC)	0.99	-0.24	1.04	-2.49	-0.90	-0.46	0.06	-0.00
	(SE)	1.06	0.20	1.23	1.12	0.73	1.40	0.25	0.09
	(T)	0.93	1.10	0.04	2.22*	1.22	0.31	0.24	0.00
Husbands economic status	(RC)	0.17	-0.17	0.11	0.35	0.62	1.25	0.17	0.30
	(SE)	1.07	0.20	1.23	1.12	0.73	1.40	0.26	0.09
	(T)	0.16	0.03	0.00	0.31	0.04	0.03	0.66	0.43
Residence after Marriage	(RC)	1.63	-0.10	-0.15	0.24	0.34	0.50	-0.22	-0.13
	(SE)	0.72	0.14	0.03	0.76	0.50	1.01	0.17	0.60
	(T)	2.24*	0.70	0.10	0.32	0.66	0.50	1.27	0.21

0  
t = 12 D.F at 0.01 = 2.61\*\*  
0.05 = 1.97\*

TABLE 8:3a ASSOCIATION BETWEEN FAMILY ATTRIBUTES (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES)  
WITH THE PERCEPTION OF WOMEN RESPONDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

Family Attributes		Perception on minorities.	S.C fc S.T	B.C	Agri cultural Labour.	Indus- trial workers.	Status of women.	Caste conventions.	Influence of caste convention.	Type a leader ship.
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Family type	(RC)	0.16	-1.35	-1.35	0.67	0.28	0.57	0.19	0.36	-0.15
	(SE)	0.04	0.91	1.43	1.06	0.75	0.81	0.47	0.42	0.33
	(T)	0.20	1.47	0.94	0.63	0.37	0.71	0.41	0.86	0.48
Family count	(RC)	0.51	0.46	1.53	-1.25	-0.20	-0.68	0.32	0.37	0.32
	(SE)	0.67	0.73	1.15	0.86	0.60	0.65	0.38	0.34	0.27
	(T)	0.75	0.61	1.32	1.45	0.33	1.04	0.83	1.08	1.11
Husband's Education	(RC)	0.14	0.09	-0.14	0.01	0.04	0.05	-0.01	0.22	0.07
	(SE)	0.09	0.10	0.15	0.11	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.03
	(T)	1.51	0.80	0.92	0.15	0.52	0.56	0.07	0.48	2.031
Husband's Economic Status	(RC)	-1.10	-0.11	0.60	-0.79	-1.10	-0.53	0.17	-0.30	0.02
	(SE)	0.68	0.74	1.15	0.66	0.60	0.65	0.38	0.34	0.27
	(T)	1.73	0.14	0.51	0.91	1.95	0.62	0.45	1.13	0.10
Residence after Marriage	(RC)	0.06	0.10	-0.48	-0.69	-0.48	0.75	0.24	0.26	0.29
	(SE)	0.46	0.50	0.78	0.58	0.41	0.44	0.26	0.23	0.18
	(T)	0.19	0.21	1.25	1.19	0.90	1.69	0.92	1.14	1.68

0  
t=12 D.F at 0.01 = 2.6111  
0.05 = 1.971.

TABLE 8:4 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES)  
WITH THE PERCEPTION OF WOMEN RESIDENTS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

Political Attributes		Responsibility of executive members.	Functions of women's wing.	Importance of women's politics wing.	Present politics activity	Interested activity	Qualities executive positions.	DEVELOPMENT	
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7. Agr. cultural 8. Indus trial	
Political Experience (as student)	(RC)	0.37	0.04	0.20	0.19	0.05	0.44	0.00	0.53
	(SE)	0.24	0.04	0.20	0.25	0.16	0.34	0.05	0.20
	(T)	1.50	1.03	0.90	0.75	0.32	1.28	1.39	2.63
Political influence from relatives	(RC)	0.03	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	-0.14	0.00	0.03
	(SE)	0.04	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.03
	(T)	0.07	0.75	0.27	0.14	1.65	2.53	0.33	1.12
Previous membership from other party	(RC)	-0.81	0.06	-0.41	4.61	4.37	1.95	-0.12	-4.53
	(SE)	3.63	0.69	4.10	3.81	2.50	5.04	0.80	3.02
	(T)	0.22	0.00	0.10	1.20	1.74	0.38	0.14	1.50
Previous political experience	(RC)	0.04	0.10	-1.23	-2.20	-0.77	-3.50	-0.40	0.43
	(SE)	2.10	0.40	2.42	2.20	1.44	2.92	0.51	1.75
	(T)	0.40	0.46	0.50	1.03	0.53	1.22	0.79	0.27
Political experience with in the party	(RC)	1.50	-0.16	0.69	1.40	0.14	1.73	0.20	1.20
	(SE)	0.56	0.10	0.65	0.59	0.30	0.78	0.13	0.47
	(T)	2.65	1.54	1.07	2.36	0.37	2.20	1.49	2.73
Party position	(RC)	-0.30	0.00	-0.34	-0.04	0.11	0.16	-0.01	0.13
	(SE)	0.15	0.02	0.17	0.16	0.15	0.21	0.03	0.12
	(T)	2.01	0.26	1.94	0.29	1.13	0.77	1.45	1.04
Party Leadership	(RC)	0.21	0.01	0.27	0.21	0.24	0.74	0.06	0.27
	(SE)	0.21	0.04	0.25	0.22	0.15	0.30	0.05	0.10
	(T)	0.96	0.35	1.10	0.91	1.64	2.45	1.26	1.50

t=12 D.F at 0.01= 2.6108  
0.05=1.970



TABLE 8.1 CORRELATION MATRIX ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES).

	Party position	Party leadership position	Age	Place of birth	Marital status	Residence before marriage	Residence after marriage	Caste	Marriage type	Number of children
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Party position	1.000	0.235	0.173	1.172	0.483**	0.077	0.376**	0.240	0.166	0.358**
2. Party leadership position		1.000	0.229	0.015	0.212	0.189	0.221	0.075	0.011	0.176
3. Age			1.000	0.112	0.114	0.165	0.135	0.036	0.043	0.150
4. Place of Birth				1.000	0.100	-0.023	0.125	0.165	0.225	0.031
5. Marital status					1.000	0.268	0.337*	0.242	0.192	0.376**
6. Residence before marriage						1.000	0.098	0.105	0.033	0.222
7. Residence after marriage							1.000	0.133	0.155	0.236
8. Caste								1.000	0.214	0.130
9. Marriage type									1.000	0.087
10. Number of Children										1.000

cos of correlation D.F.55. 0.273 (0.05 level)\*  
 Table value 0.354 (0.01 level)\*\*

TABLE 8.5a CORRELATION MATRIX ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES)

	Age of children	Education (rs)	Occupation	Number of brothers	Number of sisters	Father's education	Father's economic status	Father's family count	Type of family	Family count
	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
11. Age of children.	1.000	-0.114	-0.056	0.158	-0.117	-0.002	-0.092	-0.026	-0.149	-0.105
12. Education.		1.000	0.233	0.100	0.177	0.207	0.085	-0.036	-0.017	-0.044
13. Occupation.			1.000	0.414	0.221	0.193	0.129	0.038	-0.060	0.264
14. Number of brothers.				1.000	0.000	-0.065	-0.130	-0.030	-0.055	0.021
15. Number of sisters.					1.000	0.196	0.238	-0.007	0.170	0.125
16. Father's education.						1.000	0.546	-0.028	0.090	0.147
17. Father's economic status.							1.000	-0.290	0.130	0.067
18. Father's family count								1.000	-0.007	-0.009
19. Type of family.									1.000	0.242
20. Family count.										1.000

coe of correlation D.F.55. 0.273 (0.05 level)\*  
 Table value 0.354 (0.01 level)\*\*

TABLE 8.5b CORELATION HATRIX ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES)

	Husband edu cation	Husband economic status	Mother edu cation	Mother's economic status	Political influ ence	Pre exper ience	Pre member ship	Pre poli tical	Political experience student	Performance during Election
	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.
21. Husband's education	1.000	<b>0.654**</b>	0.230	0.011	0.022	0.044	-0.030	0.039	-0.005	-0.202
22. Husband's economic status		1.000	0.125	0.048	0.047	-0.064	-0.023	0.085	-0.195	0.012
23. Mother's education			1.000	0.043	0.029	0.096	0.131	-0.16	0.139	-0.151
24. Mother's economic status				1.000	0.144	-0.024	0.054	0.070	0.109	0.022
25. Political Influence					1.000	0.033	0.041	0.021	-0.113	-0.020
26. Political Experience						1.000	0.044	-0.030	0.135	-0.120
27. Previous membership in other party							1.000	-0.055	-0.053	0.038
28. Previous political experience								1.000	-0.055	-0.053
29. Political experinece as student									1.000	-0.099
30. Performance during election										1.000

coe of corelation D.F. 0.273 (0.05 Level)\* Table Value 0.354 (0.01 Level)\*\*

TABLE B.5c CORELATION MATRIX AMONG THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE (PERCEPTION & PERFORMANCE)

	Performance of the members in the executive	Deci- sions	Party Ideo- logy	Party acti- vity	Colle- ction funds	Visits local areas	Sources of exp enditure	Contribution to religious institutes	Respons ibilities of ex ec	Functions of women wi
	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.
31. Performance of the members in the executive.	1.000	0.046	0.195	0.011	0.158	-0.12	-0.029	0.097	0.009	0.012
32. Decisions.		1.000	0.046	0.195	0.011	0.10	-0.123	-0.029	0.097	0.081
33. Party ideology			1.000	-0.101	0.096	-0.19	0.154	0.012	0.091	-0.184
34. Party activity				1.000	0.076	0.10	0.137	-0.012	-0.072	0.029
35. Collection of funds.					1.000	-0.06	0.232	0.102	0.070	0.063
36. Visits to local areas.						1.00	-0.5401*	0.037	0.022	0.058
37. Sources of expenditures.							1.000	-0.070	1.000067	-0.020
38. Contribution to religious institutes.								1.000	0.4410*	0.115
39. Functions of women's wing.									1.000	-0.117
40. Functions of women's wing.										1.000

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coe of correlation D.F.55. 0.273 (0.05 level)\*\* Table value 0.354 (0.01 level)\*\*

TABLE B.5d CORRELATION MATRIX AMONG THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES (PERCEPTION & PERFORMANCE)

	Importance of women's wing.	Present politics	Acty of interest	Qty of executive position	Agricu) tural develop ment.	Indus trial develop ment.	mino rities + S.T'S	S.C + B.C'S	Agricul tural labour.	
	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.
41. Importance of women's wing.	1.000	-0.250	-0.066	-0.210	0.174	0.051	0.035	0.046	-0.061	-0.119
42. Present politics.		1.000	0.227	0.202	-0.044	-0.007	-0.004	0.007	0.359**	0.132
43. Activity of interest.			1.000	0.164	-0.039	-0.018	0.028	1.149	0.066	-0.254
44. Qualities of executives.				1.000	-0.195	-0.379**	-0.423	-0.400**	0.014	-0.033
45. Agricultural development.					1.000	0.350**	0.064	0.101	-0.195	-0.117
46. Industrial development.						1.000	0.254	0.260	0.019	-0.306**
47. Minorities.							1.000	0.620**	0.151	0.111
48. S.C. + S.T'S								1.000	0.028	0.099
49. B.C'S									1.000	0.225
50. Agricultural labour.										1.000

coe of Correlation D.F. 55 0.273 (0.05 level)\*\* Table value 0.354 (0.01 level)\*\*

TABLE 8.5a CORELATION MATRIX AMONG THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES  
(PERCEPTION & PERFORMANCE)

	workers in industry	Status of women	Caste conve ntion	Influence of caste convention	type of leader ship
	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.
51. Workers in industry.	1.000	0.159	-0.061	0.021	0.087
52. Status of women.		1.000	-0.133	-0.135	0.056
53. Caste conventions.			1.000	0.894**	0.171
54. Influence of caste conventions.				1.000	0.126
55. Type of leadership.					1.000

coe of Corelation D.F.55. 0.273(0.05 level)\*\*  
Table value 0.354(0.01 level)\*\*

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## **CHAPTER-IX**

### **HINDRANCES TO WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP**

**Women** in general are insignificant in politics and only a limited **number** of public offices are filled and limited roles are held by women in the party leadership positions too. Women's representation in numbers is much lower than their participation. In the opinion of **Usha Mehta** and Usha **Thakkar**, 'Women are discriminated against in the selection of party candidates', (1) 'Subordination issue of women's role is to be enquired ' says Veen **Magumdar**. (2) In the opinion of **Susam J. Carrol**, Women are being recruited in low prestige position and not in high prestige **offices**. (3)

Vicky Randall in 'women In **Politics**', states that women assume leadership roles only when men folk are too demoralised. (4) what ever be the area of study about women, participation of women is discouraging and the same is true in the party positions in general and party leadership positions in Andhra Pradesh too . Some questions that deserve consideration about the study are why women are not able to hold leadership positions? Why women are few in the party positions? What are the constraints for these women? Vicky Pandall, referring to women politicians, points out that socialisation is the main constraint. The problems confronting women in politics have been attributed chiefly to tension ascribed and achieved status created by female **socialiation**. Githens and Prestige referring to American women in politics have pointed out that women politicians adopt **amateur** rather than professional **political** styles. (5)

In the opinion of Pai and Arun Sud, women are statistical rarities and their status can be explained in terms of specialisation that assigns household chores to them. A small number of women of exceptional ability do find their way into active politics, though their entry in this field is fairly a recent phenomenon.(6) Nona Glazer states that the fate of women has always been tied to the organisation of the family.(7)

The above views reveal that women in general have sociological constraint to political participation and to hold political leadership positions. Consequently, women participate less in politics. In the present study, the respondents were asked to mention the constraints to women's leadership in political parties and multiple responses are noted. The following are the details : 1) As per table 9.1, the first constraint is the negative influence of traditional society. Usually traditions are formed from religious and social customs. It is obvious from the table 9.1 that 50% of the respondents of C.P.M and 33% of T.D.P women noted this constraint. In this respect interestingly Thara Reddy of C.P.I. and N.F.I.W says that even the political parties are organised with in the fold of Indian social system and the result is the lack of institutional support. This is specially emphasized by Chandra Rajeswara Rao leader of C.P.I also. Prem Pavani and Ravi Bharathi have thought on the same lines.(8)

The second constraint is patriarchal domination. Women are made subordinates as they are made to think that they need the permission of male members of the family and that without the cooperation of male members women cannot come out and hold leadership positions. The table shows that 100% of the C.P.I.M.L. respondents supported this statement and more than 50% of each of the other parties under study favoured the statement. In support of the argument Sandhya Rani of C.P.I.M.L. says that patriarchy is a hurdle to the development of women. This obstacle is also observed by Thara Reddy of National Federation of Indian women. Y.Seetha Devi of T.D.P Justice Gopal Rao Ekbot and Chandra Rajeswara Rao the leader of C.P.I'.(9) The third constraint is low economic status, Pasya Padma, secretary women's wing of C.P.I states that women's economic status is considered as a myth'. The property right approved on the floor of Assembly and granted to women of Andhra Pradesh is confined to a large extent, only to paper. A good number of women employees do not have independence to spend their own earnings. This situation may be attributed to the male chauvinism.(10) It is also obvious from the table 9.1 that 80% of the respondents of C.P.I.M.L stated that this constraint is really one of the major. A large number of the C.P.I respondents also held similar views. In support of these views ,Balgopal, The secretary of A.P.civil liberties committee, says that lack of economic status to women is a predicament to their leadership.(11) Avula Jaya Prada an activist and Sugunamani former secretary of Andhra Mahila sabha also emphasised on this. In the words of Sugunamani "women cannot carry on in politics, which is shaped by money"(12)

Putting it in a different way Juluri **Jamuna** says financial stability is needed for political leadership. (13)

Another practical constraint is 'non-cooperation from the family members'. This statement is supported by 38% to 73% of the respondents from all parties Chandra **Rajeswara** Rao, former general secretary of C.P.I states that women in politics are not supported by other members of the family and also by the party, reluctance of party members to recruit women in to party leadership positions is itself a big predicament.(14) Responsibility of rearing children also comes in the way of assuming leadership positions by women especially young women. In the opinion of feminists, the responsibility is to be shared by both men and women . From the table 9.1 , it is interesting to note that less than 31% of women in the samples stated this as a constraint. A general complaint from the respondents is that character assassination is an important hurdle to women politicians. Eeti Vijaya **Laxmi** says that "we women legislators face the problem of character assassination". Women show political apathy due to this constraint says **Rajyamu Simha** an activist. Indira Naidu of B.J.P and Dr. **Jayamma** of T.D.P hold the same opinion and 25% of the respondents of Congress and 30% of T.D.P expressed strong resentment in this regard. It is interesting to note that this constraint is stated only by the non communist respondents in sample. Lack of self assertion is noted as an obstacle T.Savitri of **A.P** Manila **Sanakhya** and **Rajyam** Simha expressed about it.(16) Besides the above constraints, role conflict is also common. In the opinion of Joni

**Lovenduski**, domestic roles inhibit **women** from seeking political prominence.(17) In the present study, role conflicts of respondents as a restraint is **examined**. It is obvious from table 9.2 & 9.3 that 80% of **C.P.I.M.L** women do not feel role conflicts and interestingly domestic work is shared both by male and **female** members of the party. Added to that children's responsibility is not taken by them, as the nearest relatives take up that responsibility. To avoid role conflict the respondents say that they adjust the work at **home**. About 72% of Congress respondents expressed that, they have to adjust the work at **home**. Above all lack of adequate education is a **prominent** hurdle for women politicians. If women have to take greater role in politics, initiative and courage are considered as important traits. Veena **Majumdar** is of the opinion that women are not having proportionate leadership positions and it is noted that women are treated only as instruments of campaign. The respondents have given several useful suggestions for improving the status of women in politics in general and political parties in particular. The following are the details of suggestions for strengthening women's wings and political parties. B.V.Vijya **Laxmi** convnor of **A.P.W.W.A** of **A.I.T.U.C** says, women leadership is to be increased for the improvement of women's political status quantitatively and qualitatively. Many respondents stressed **that 30%** reservation is good because it gives leadership to a certain **extent**. Among the respondents, who supported reservations include, Dr Kalpana Devi ex **M.P**, **M.V.** Prabhavathy of Congress, Aruna Jothi of B.J.P and Chandra **Rajeswara** Rao, Leader of C.P.I.

Political parties support is essential factor for improving women's leadership. Political **parties** should allot more leadership position. Hargopal, an academic and an activist of A.P.C.L.C suggests the need for reorganisation of political parties. Some respondents suggested that important portfolios are to be given to women. Sahana Pradhan, a member of communist party in Nepal at the time of interview by the writer at **mysore** stressed that important portfolios are to be assigned to women, as power and position strengthens women's leadership. Rama **Rao, General** secretary of B.J.P is of the opinion that several social and political institutions' support and encouragement are needed to improve **women's** leadership. Venkayya Nadiu B.J.P is very confident of women's participation in political parties and says that it is only encouragement which is very much needed'.

Peoples organisation and peoples movements would give forth women's empowerment and increase of women's leadership, says Balagopal of A.P.C.L.C.

P.Aruna of **C.I.T.U** opines that women's wings should intensify women's movement to achieve particular objectives and general improvement of leadership among women. V.Sandhya **Rani** of **C.P.I.M.L** and Suguna man of Andhra Manila Sabha also support this **view.**

Volga, a famous feminist points out that all women's organisations should work together for solving women's problems and look after women development in various ways.

A **women's** awareness **generation** is very essential for preparing women to involve themselves in politics, Ravi Bharathi, says awareness generation is concern of political parties. putting it in different way. **P.Santha** Reddy, B.J.P says , self awareness is the need of the day and interestingly **Sumathi** Reddy of T.D.P also suggests on the same lines.

Stressing the initiation as the part of women, Thalluri Suguna, convener of Lakshmi Pavaravati Fans Association, says that women should come out of their shells to take up and positions.

Asiya **Khattoon** of Congress suggests that women should acquire economic independence as a foundation for their political stand and leadership.

**Vimala** Farooqui of C.P.I emphasises on a change of outlook and adds men should tolerate and not to humiliate women. Manikonda Suryavathi of **C.P.M** also stress on the need for **psychological** change on the part of men and women for women's leadership.

**Rajyam** Sinha an activist suggests that women's potentialities are to be recognised.

'**Women's** education would bring a change in the position of women in **politics**' says **M.Padma** Sri of **C.I.T.U.**

Jupudl **Hymavathi** of B.J.P, stresses on the need for self discipline for women to get promotion to leadership positions. **T.N.Sadalaxmi** also expresses **same** opinion.

'**Democratic** consciousness on the part of women is essential for getting opportunities in the **politics**' says **Hargopal(A.P.C.L.C)**.

An optimistic view is expressed by K.Raroa of **P.O.W**, To her women would definitely bring social change. 'If opportunities are given, they prove their capabilities' says **Venkayya Nadiu**, **Renuka Choudari** is also of the same opinion.

**Nanduri Prasad Rao** of **C.P.M.** says 'women's membership and women's activity through women's wings of the political parties would promote women's leadership'.

**Dr.chiranjeevini kumari A.P.Mahila Samakhyya** says 'the activities of women's wings are not autonomous and their activities being curtailed resulting in women occupying less leadership positions'.

'Roll conflict could be overcome by, shorting domestic responsibility and that would result in women's leadership', says **Chandra Rajeswara Rao** of **C.P.I.**

These above constraints to women's leadership and the suggestions **made** by (the opinions of) the respondents relating to the status of **women** in politics, help one to identify the important suggestions which are as follows: Firstly women wings of Political parties are to be organised as the training grounds. All the parties have their women's wings either emphasizing its ideology or as for getting support, promotion of Public relations, democratic consciousness and self discipline. Secondly women's leadership can be increased providing reservation. Thirdly political parties should allot more party positions, in spite **demand** and pressure from the others. It is mainly through political parties and support from political parties. Women leadership can be promoted. Fourthly, generation of awareness and self awareness is useful to promote initiation as the part of **women** to compete for leadership positions. Fifthly, women's movement on the one hand and linking of women's organisations on the other is useful to facilitate empowerment and to work for the achievement of common cause. Lastly **emphasising** women's education to broaden their vision and to carry out certain activities on the call of the hour. So political parties should understand it to recongnise the parties on the new lines. Working for the integration of women in each and every aspect of party activity and encouraging them to occupy leadership **positions** should be amongst the objectives of political parties.

TABLE 9:1 CONSTRAINTS TO THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.N. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I. M.L. N-5
Traditions of society	6 (18.75)	11 (33.33)	2 (15.38)	13 (50.00)	5 (27.77)	1 (20.00)
Patriarchy	17 (53.12)	17 (51.51)	7 (53.84)	20 (76.92)	12 (66.66)	5 (100.00)
Lack economic status	10 (31.25)	9 (27.27)	2 (15.38)	16 (61.53)	9 (50.00)	4 (80.00)
No cooperation of family	13 (40.62)	20 (60.60)	5 (38.46)	19 (73.07)	10 (55.55)	3 (60.00)
Responsibility of children	3 (9.37)	3 (9.09)	1 (7.69)	8 (30.76)	4 (22.22)	-
Character assassination	2 (6.25)	4 (12.12)	2 (15.38)	-	2 (11.11)	-
Don't have constraints	8 (25.00)	2 (6.06)	2 (15.38)	3 (11.53)	-	1 (20.00)
Treated as inferiors	3 (9.37)	10 (30.30)	1 (7.69)	1 (3.84)	-	-
Lack of education	1 (3.12)	-	2 (15.38)	-	-	-
Lack of initiation	7 (21.87)	9 (27.27)	1 (7.69)	-	3 (16.66)	-

As multiple answers are presented, total percentages are not noted.

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 9:2 ROLE CONFLICT - OPINIONS DISTRIBUTED PARTWISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.N. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I N.L. N-5
No role conflict	9 (28.12)	9 (27.27)	4 (30.76)	10 (38.46)	9 (50.00)	4 (80.00)
To adjust	23 (71.87)	12 (36.36)	4 (30.76)	7 (26.92)	3 (16.66)	1 (20.00)
Priority to party activity	-	11 (33.33)	3 (23.07)	7 (26.92)	5 (27.77)	-
Role conflict	-	1 (3.03)	2 (15.38)	2 (7.69)	1 (5.55)	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

TABLE 9:3 RESPONSIBILITIES AT HOME - OPINIONS DISTRIBUTED PARTWISE.

	Cong I N-32	T.D.P. N-33	B.J.P. N-13	C.P.M. N-26	C.P.I. N-18	C.P.I N.L. N-5
No responsibility at home	12 (37.5)	14 (42.42)	2 (15.38)	11 (42.30)	8 (44.44)	4 (80.00)
Responsibilities shared	7 (21.87)	12 (36.36)	4 (30.76)	11 (42.30)	7 (38.89)	1 (20.00)
Adjust work at home	13 (40.62)	7 (21.21)	5 (38.46)	4 (15.38)	2 (11.11)	-
No answer	( - )	-	2 (15.38)	-	1 (5.55)	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

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## I N T E R V I E W W I T H

8. Tara Reddy (24/04/92)  
Chandra Rajeswara Rao (06/05/93)  
Prem pavani (03/05/92)  
R.Bharathi (26/04/92)
9. Sandhya Rani C.P.I.M.L (15/10/92)  
Thara Reddy C.P.I. (24/04/92)  
Y. Seetha Devi T.D.P. (29/06/93)

- Justice Gopal Rao Ekbote (04/09/92)  
Chandra **Rajeswara** Rao(06/05/93)
10. Pasya **Padma** C.P.I (28/04/92)
  11. **Bal** Gopal **A.P.C.L.C** (16/05/94)
  12. Suguna **Mani** Andhra Manila Sabha (26/12/92)
  13. **J.Jamuna Congress-I** (17/01/93)
  14. Chandra Rajeswara Rao(06/05/95)
  15. Eeti Vijaya **laxmi** (07/10/92)  
**Rajyam** Sinha (28/12/93)  
Indira Nadiu (22/06/93)
  16. T. savithri **A.M.Samakhya** (02/05/93)  
Rajyam sinha (28/12/93)
  17. Joni Lovenduski, *Women and European politics*, Harvester Press,  
**Brighton,Sussex**, 1986, p 161.

### **Summing Up:**

Socio-economic background factors have impact on women's leaders in the state of A.P. The general background of women leaders has shown either medium or low scores. So general backwardness in the socio-economic background of women leaders is the cause of less number of women in the party's leadership positions. Among the different parties, the Congress party has more women leaders at the state level party's executive body. Women leaders are more active in the age group of 31 and 50. Place of birth is not a determining factor for women's leadership in general. It is very obvious that left parties gave importance to political education and TDP gives more importance to educational qualifications. There is no evidence of occupation as a determining factor. Most women leaders do not have specific occupation. The Kamma caste occupies a significant place in respect of the numerical strength of leadership positions including those of women. However, as regards women's leadership, caste considerations have less significance in assigning roles. Marital status is the significant factor for sustaining women's leadership. It is obvious from the study that women with urban background are more in holding political leadership positions. Husband's higher education has greater impact on women leaders than parents' education. Marital status is an influencing factor. Higher economic status of husband also becomes another factor of influence for women's political leadership. Women leaders of left parties got more political experience than those of Congress, TDP and BJP- But leadership

positions to women are more in TDP, Congress and BJP. The influence of background, traditions and culture are marginal in the recruitment of some women leaders who got into their roles due to chance or opportunity. Women leaders with clear perception are not getting higher party positions. Despite their clear role perceptions, they seem to have contended to work with implicit interest in higher leadership positions. Thus assignment of roles is not guided by these factors. It is found that early socialisation has its implicit value in perception and the present social position has its association with the political leadership positions of women. Political experience is a strong guiding factor for both perceptions and performance of women, but the same factor has not contributed to promotion of women to higher political cadres. Though they occupy lower level leadership positions, their presence is conspicuous in constituency activities, dealing with women's problems and in election campaigns. Women are explicitly active in case of women's issues both inside and outside the legislatures. Their roles are insignificant in key party roles and women leaders condemn corruption and criminalisation of politics. A majority of the women leaders are found to be secular in outlook.

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## SCHEDULE

01. NAME

02. Party Age: Below 30

31-40

41-50

51 or above

03. Place of Birth

Village

Town

City

Remote

04. Marital Status

Unmarried

Married

Widow

Separated

04. Place of residence during childhood

06. Place of residence after marriage

07. Caste :

08. No. of children:

1 2 3 4 5

Age groups of children :

09. Education :

Secondary +

LLB +

Degree +

MBBS +

P.G. +

B.E. +

Doctorate +

C.A. +

10. Primary Occupation :

(Present)

Teacher

Doctor

Lecturer

Business

Lawyer

Landlord

House-wife

Any other

11. Previous Occupation, if any

12. Family Details :

No.of Brothers:

No.of Sisters

Father's Education:

Occupation:

Mother's Education:

Occupation:

(b) Own Family

Joint/Nuclear

No.of Members in the Family

Husband's Education :

Occupation:

13. Please tell about the political involvement of your parents and other relatives?

a) Father's

b) Mother's

c) Father-in-law's

d) Husband's

e) Paternal or Maternal Uncles'

f) Brother's or Sons'

14. How long have you been a member of the party :

1-5 years    6-10 years    11-15years    16years & more

15. Experience :

Please detail about the political activities you were involved in your teen age and 20's and also the social service activities?

16. You are an active leader at the state level of your party or Mahila Wing. Before being elected to state level leadership, you must have held party position at different levels. How long have you held each position?

Party

Mahila Wing

Position

Position

Village

Mandal/Division

District

State

National

17. Being a member of the executive of the party and **Mahila** Wing, you must have been involved in election work. How did you participate in election preparation process ?

18. Service :

Are you elected to any of the following ? If yea, what position did you occupy ?

Local Bodies

State Legislature

Parliament

Any Other

19. How often you meet your constituents or people of your area?

a) Once in a Month

b) Once in 6 months

c) Once in a Year

d) 5-10 times in a year

20. In the last 5 years :

a) How did the party members react in the executives committees?

b) How did you react at the time of party policy formation ?

c) How did you react when the issues of national integration are in clash with party ideology ?

21. What will be your activities between elections.

22. What will you do for fund raising ?

23. How often have you travelled in the state outside your constituencies and your native areas ?

a) Once in a month

b) Once in a year

c) Once in five years

d) Twice or more times in five years

24. Given the limited funds available to the party, how do you go to various areas to education and mobilise people ?

25. What is your contribution as a Minister ?

(Policy formulation, cabinet discussions, constituency service etc.)

26. As one who is interested in promoting the cause of women, you must have done some service (as a student, as a sympathiser etc.) even before your taking up party activities. May I know something about this ?

27. I would like to know your responsibilities as a member of State Executive of the party/ State Women's Wing/ city Secretary/ legislator.

28. Are you satisfied the way in which the Women's Wing of your party is functioning ? What is the importance of Women's Wing ?

29. Please tell your impressions about present day politics (eg. elections, government performance, parties, bureaucracy)

30. I would like to know the activities of your interest for promoting the cause of your party (mobilising the people) campaign, mediation among members and in the legislature etc.)

31. What qualifications you feel are needed for a member of the state executive of the party/State Women's Wing ?

32. I would like to know your views on industrial and agricultural development in our State.

33. Please tell about your contribution to the following :

1. Mosque development
2. Christian Conventions
3. Hindu Conventions
4. Any other

34. Please tell your opinion on the following sections and problems?

- a) Minorities
- b) SC & ST's
- c) BC's
- d) Agricultural Labour
- e) Workers in Industry
- f) Women's Status

35. Caste has become an important factor for party mobilisation and activities these days.

- a) What is your reaction to caste conventions.
- b) What is the influence of these conventions on party activities

36. Leadership is very important to parties. What kind of Leadership do you think is good ?

- a) Single
- b) Group
- c) Collective

37. What are the constraints to Women's Leadership ?

38. Party activity as you are aware, requires spending a lot of your time.

a) Then how do you **manage** to attend to your responsibilities at home?

b) Do you face any role-conflict ?

39. Do you think that the strength of women in the party is satisfactory ?

If yes, Why ?

If no, Why ?

40. What programmes and plans you have in your mind to increase women's strength in the party ?

41. Any other information which you would like to give.

42. According to you what are the factors that enable you to get yourself recruited in to party/Mahila Wing.

The Sample

Details of the respondents of the main and the controlled sample.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Place of</u>	<u>Date of</u>
			<u>Interview</u>
<u>CONGRESS PARTY-MEMBERS:</u>			
1. K.PADMASRI	M.P	Nellore	07/01/94
2. P.GODAVARI BAI	State Mahila Congress	Hyderabad	17/10/92
3. Mrs. ASIYA KHATOON	Mahila Congress	Hyderabad	16/10/92
4. S. UMA VENKAT RAM REDDY	M.L.A	Hyderabad	24/14/93
5. S. RAMA DEVI	Mahila Congress	Hyderabad	10/05/93
6. T. NANCHARAMMA	.	Guntur	14/05/93
7. EETI VIJAYA LAKSHMI	M.L.A	Hyderabad	07/10/92
8. M. VARA LAKSHMI	MINISTER	Hyderabad	07/09/93
9. Pluri SESHUMAMBA	Mahila Congress	V.Patnam	23/06/93
10. VANGAVEETI RATHNA KUMARI	M.L.A	Vijayawada	14/05/93
11. SANTA GOVINDA RAJU	I.N.T.U.C.	Hyderabad	18/10/92
12. P. SAMANTAKA MANI	M.L.A	Hyderabad	16/01/93
13. JULURI JAMUNA	Ex. M.P	Hyderabad	17/01/93
14. B.VIJAYA LAKSHMI	P.C.C	Hyderabad	24/12/92
15. NANNAPANENI RAJAKUMARI	M.L.A (Chief Whip)	Hyderabad	21/04/94
16. BADHAM KAMALA DEVI	D.C.C, V.F, E.G.DIST	Kakinada	28/06/93
17. POTHRAJU RAJYA LAKSHMI	P.C.C	Hyderabad	13/10/92
18. M.LAKSHMI DEVI	Ex. Minister	Hyderabad	12/10/92
19. M.V. PRABHAVATHI	P.C.C	Hyderabad	23/12/92
20. MARY RAVINDERNATH	M.L.A	Hyderabad	15/10/92
21. P. DURGA BHAKTVATSALAM	President M.Congress	Hyderabad	20/04/93
22. Y.SAVITRI DEVI	Ex. M.L.C	Kakinada	10/05/92
23. MADDALA VENKAT RATNAM	Dist M.Congress	V.Patnam	22/05/93
24. ELI VARA LAKSHMI	Ex. M.L.A	T.P.Gudem	13/05/92
25. GALLA ARUNA KUMARI	M.L.A	Hyderabad	03/01/93
26. Dr. G. KUTHUHALAMMA	Ex.Minister	Hyderabad	17/05/93
27. AKUTHOTA RADHAMMA	M.Congress	Hyderabad	17/05/93
28. B. SARJONI PULLA REDDY	Ex.Minister	Hyderabad	20/09/92
29. Dr. KOLA RAJYA LAKSHMI	Ex President M.Cong.	Hyderabad	12/10/92
30. VEENA PASHA	V.President m.Cong.	Hyderabad	13/10/92
31. KARREDDULA KAMAL DEVI	M.P	Hyderabad	17/10/93
32. CHRISTINE LAZERUS	Anglo Indian Nomination	Hyderabad	14/10/92
<u>TELUGU DESAM PARTY-MEMBERS:</u>			
33. SRINGINEED SARASWATHI	Telugu Mahila	Eluru	10/05/92
34. DAYANA SATYAVATHI	Telugu Mahila	Eluru	10/05/92
35. PRATHI MANEMMA	V.P. Ex.Minister	Penugunda	20/05/92
36. MOTHE TRIPUA SUNDARI	Ex.M.Chair Person	Eluru	12/05/92
37. CHETTY NAGA RAJU	Dist. T.Mahila	Eluru	12/05/92
38. TALLURI SUGUNA	State T.Mahila	V.Fatnam	23/06/92
39. M. PADMA RANGA	State T.Mahila	Hyderabad	09/05/93
40. Dr. K. JAYAMMA	M.L.A	C.K.Peta	17/05/93
41. K. PRATHIBHA BHARATHI	M.L.A	Hyderabad	29/12/92
42. RAJANA RAMANI	Ex.M.L.A	V.Patnam	22/05/93
43. NIRMALA SUMATHIO REDDY	V.President	Hyderabad	25/12/92

	<u>Position</u>	<u>Place of</u>	<u>Date of</u>
		<u>Interview</u>	
44. M. INDIRA	Ex.M.L.A	Hyderabad	27/04/93
45. DEVURU SEETHA RAMAMMA	M.L.A	Tenali	17/06/93
46. PADALA ARUNA	M.L.A	Hyderabad	28/12/93
47. CHADUVULA JANAKI BAI	Dist. T.Mahila	V.Nagaram	22/06/93
48. SHEIK MUMTAZ BEGUM	Dist. T.Mahila	Guntur	17/06/93
49. G. RENUKA CHOWDARY	M.F	Nellore	07/01/94
50. C.V. LAXMI MADHVA REDDY	Sec'try, T.Mahila	Hyderabad	27/12/93
51. SAMASHAD BEGUM	T.N.T.U.C	Hyderabad	19/12/93
52. B. GEETHA VISDWANATH	Z.P.Chairman,D.E.C	Kakinada	28/06/93
53. CHANDRA DAKSHAYINI	V.P, Dist. Executive	C.K.Peta	17/06/93
54. K.V.SAI LAKSHMI	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	26/12/93
55. UFUNUTHALA RATNAMALA	State T.Mahila	Hyderabad	29/12/93
56. T.N. SADA LAKSHMI	V.P. Ex.Minister	Hyderabad	22/04/93
57. GADE DURGA PRASUNAMBA	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	21/04/93
58. Y.SANTHA KAUMARI	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	12/04/93
59. P.V.R.SUDHA	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	21/04/93
60. VASIREDDI KASI RATNAM	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	22/04/93
61. GARAGA PADMA NAGAMANI	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	22/04/93
62. YERNENI SEETHA DEVI	Ex.Minister	Hyderabad	29/06/93
63. Dr. T.KALAPANA DEVI	Ex.M.F	Warangal	19/12/93
64. B. RANI	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	09/10/92
65. MACHEELA PADMAJA	T.Mahila	Hyderabad	10/10/92

BHARATIYA JANTA PARTY-MEMBERS:

66. KODURU SANTHA REDDY	V.P,T.Mahila	Hyderabad	28/05/92
67. YERKARAJU VIJAYALAKSHMI	State Mahila Morcha	Hyderabad	12/10/92
68. ARUNA JYOTHI	State Mahila Morcha	V.Patnam	23/06/93
69. CHAMAKURI INDIRA NAIDU	State Mahila Morcha	V.Patnam	22/06/93
70. MUDDANA SAROJINI NAIDU	State Mahila Morcha	V.Patnam	23/06/93
71. JUPUDI HYMAVATHI	Ex. Dt BJP exe comm	Guntur	24/06/93
72. MANYAM SUSEELA	Dist.Mahila Morcha	Kovvur	24/06/93
73. FATIBANDLA USHA RANI	Dist.Mahila Morcha	Guntur	19/06/93
74. T. VIJAYA LAKSHMI	Corporator	Hyderabad	25/12/93
75. N.P.JHANSI LAKSHMI	Ex.M.F	CHITTOOR	29/06/93
76. ADASI VIMALA PRAKASAN	State Mahila Morcha	V.Patnam	20/06/93
77. A. SAMANTHAKA REDDY	State Executive	TIRUPATHI	09/10/92
78. K RAJITHA	State Mahila Morcha	Hyderabad	10/10/92

C.P.I.(M)-MEMBERS:

79. S.PLUNYAVATHI	State council CPM	Hyderabad	29/09/92
	Sec,A.P.Mahila Sangham	Vijayawada	
80. KONDAPALLI DURGA DEVI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	24/12/92
81. N.S.LAKSHMI DEVAMMA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	20/06/93
82. C.ARUNA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	25/12/92
83. MUNNURU PADMASRI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	24/12/92
84. ALLURI MANMOHNI	A.P. Mahila Sangham	Eluru	14/05/93
85. CHALASANI SAROJINI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Vijayawada	13/05/93
86. Y. DHARAMARAM	Dist. Mahila Sangham	V.Patnam	24/06/93
87. P.HYMAVATHI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	V.Patnam	24/06/93
88. K.SIVAMMA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	27/04/93
89. D.L.PRASANNA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	28/04/93
90. TAMMANNA JYOTHI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Hyderabad	26/04/93

Name	Position	Place of Interview	Date of
91. T.SAVITHRI	Dist. Mahila Sangham		05/04/93
92. KAMMA SABERA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	F.Vellore	11/05/93
93. PASUPULATI ARUNA	Dist. Mahila Sangham	F.Vellore	14/05/93
94. P.SESHA RATNAM	Dist. Mahila Sangham	F.Vellore	14/05/93
95. D.SARADA	C.N.T.U	Hyderabad	05/10/92
96. V. SOROJA	C.N.T.U	Hyderabad	02/10/92
97. K.SWAROOPA RANI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Vijayawada	13/05/93
98. MANIKONDA SURYAVATHI	Ex.M.L.C	Vijayawada	13/05/93
99. T.PRABHAVATHI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Vijayawada	13/05/93
100. KUTHUMBAKA BHARATHI	V.PDist. Mahila Sangham	Guntur	13/05/93
101. MOTURI UDAYAMA	C.P.M Leader	Vijayawada	28/09/92
102. Dr. K.HEMALATHA	C.N.T.U	Vijayawada	24/06/93
103. CHALASANI VIJAYALAXMI	Dist. Mahila Sangham	Vijayawada	14/05/93

C.F.I-MEMBERS:

104. S.SUGUNA	S.M.Samakhaya	Hyderabad	17/09/92
105. PASYA PADMA	G.S. M.Samakhaya	Khammam	25/04/93
106. BRIJRANI GOUD	C.P.I	Hyderabad	12/04/93
107. POLICHETTI SUBBALAXMI	C.P.I	V.Nagaram	29/06/93
108. R.SATYAVATHI	Dist. M.Samakhaya	V.Patnam	23/10/93
109. K.YSARODA DEVI	Dist. M.Samakhaya	V.Patnam	24/10/93
110. VASUPALLI PRABHAVATHI	Dist. M.Samakhaya	V.Patnam	25/10/93
111. P.LALITHA REJESWARI	Dist. M.Samakhaya	Hyderabad	21/10/93
112. GUJJULA SARALA DEVI	State Leader	Hyderabad	04/05/93
113. P.PREM PAVANI	Sec S.M.Samakhaya	Hyderabad	03/05/93
114. P.CHIRANJEEVINI KUMARI	S.M.Samakhaya	Kakinada	26/06/93
115. B.V.VIJAYA LAXMI	M.Samakhaya	Vijayawada	20/10/92
116. T.VANI RANGA RAO	S.M.Samakhaya	C.K.Peta	17/06/93
117. T.SAVITRI DEVI	S.M.Samakhaya	Hyderabad	02/05/93
118. CHANDRA RAJ KUMARI	Member S.Council	Hyderabad	26/12/92
119. YETESWARAPU KAMESWARI	Dist.M.Samakhaya	Kakinada	28/06/93
120. YADLA LAKSHMI	S.M.Samakhaya	Rajamundry	22/12/92
121. J.LAKSHMI SUNDARAMMA	N.C.A.W.A+C.F.I	Hyderabad	03/10/92

C.F.I.M.L-MEMBERS:

122. LAKSHMI /VIJAYA	State Executive	Rajamundry	04/01/94
123. G.JHANSI	P.O.W	Vijayawada	05/06/93
124. R.VIMALA	P.O.W	Hyderabad	15/10/92
125. V.SANDHYA RANI	President (P.O.W)	Vijayawada	15/10/92
126. KATTA RAMA	P.O.W	Vijayawada	06/06/93
127. MALLU SWARAJYAM	State Council C.F.M	Hyderabad	28/09/92

Controlled Sample

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS-CONGRESS(I):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Place of</u>	<u>Date of</u>
			<u>Interview</u>
1. MAJJI THULISI DAS	President P.C.C	Hyderabad	22/09/92
<u>COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA-C.P.I:</u>			
2. CHANDRA RAJESWARA RAO	G.S. C.P.I	Hyderabad	06/05/93
3. POTTURI NAGESWARA RAO	A.I.T.U.C	Hyderabad	20/09/92
4. RAMA CHANDRA RAO	OFFICE Sec C.P.I	Hyderabad	20/09/93
5. JANDHYALA ANJANEYA SHARMA	C.P.I. Leader	Hyderabad	18/09/92
<u>COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA MARXIST-C.P.M:</u>			
6. NANDURI PRASAD RAO	G.S. C.P.M.	Vijayawada	14/05/93
7. N.T.RAMA RAO	President T.D.P	Hyderabad	06/10/92
8. RAMA CHANDRA REDDY	OFFICE SECRETARY	Hyderabad	15/10/92
9. D. SATHYA NARAYANA	Ex.Minister (now BJP)	Hyderabad	15/10/92
<u>BHARATHIYA JANATA PARTY-B.J.P:</u>			
10. K.VENKAYYA NAIDU	President A.P	Hyderabad	07/10/92
11. RANA RAO	A.P. G.S.	Hyderabad	07/10/92
12. G. KRISHNA REDDY	YUVA MORCHA	Hyderabad	07/10/92
<u>C.P.I.M.L.:</u>			
13. LAKSHMI/VIJAYA		Rajamundry	20/12/93
<u>ANDHRA PRADESH CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE</u>			
14. Prof. HARGOPAL	Dept OF P.S, H.C.U	Hyderabad	18/10/92
15. Dr. BAL GOPAL	G.S.	Hyderabad	16/05/94
<u>COMMITTEE FOR ANTI ARRACK MOVEMENT</u>			
16. Dr. V.VIJAYA KUMAR	CONVENOR	Nellore	06/01/94
<u>JANA VIJNANA VEDIKA:</u>			
17. Dr. RAMA DEVI		Nellore	06/01/94
18. USHA RANI		Nellore	06/01/94
19. VASANTHA		Nellore	07/01/94
20. D.K.PADMINI		Nellore	07/01/94
21. M.V.CHALAPATHI	SECRETARY	Nellore	07/01/94
22. G.MALYADRI	SECRETARY	Nellore	07/01/94
23. M.VENKATESWARLU		Nellore	07/01/94
24. K.PARANDHAMAYYA		Nellore	07/01/94
25. S.K.JAHI BASHA		Nellore	07/01/94
<u>PARTICIPANTS IN ANTI ARRACK MOVEMENT:</u>			
26. KAJA RAMATHULLA		Nellore	07/01/94
27. DANDU VAJRAMMA		Nellore	07/01/94
28. S.K.MASTANAMMA & OTHERS		Nellore	07/01/92
<u>ASMITHA: (FEMINIST ORGANISATION):</u>			
29. VOLGA		Hyderabad	10/09/92
30. VASANTHA KANNABHIRAM		Hyderabad	16/10/92
31. SANTHI PRIYA		Hyderabad	18/10/92
<u>ANVESHI: (FEMINIST ORGANISATION):</u>			
32. K.LALITHA		Hyderabad	14/10/92
33. RAMA MALE KOTE		Hyderabad	26/12/92
34. K.AJITHA		Hyderabad	14/10/92
<u>OTHERS</u>			
35. RAJYAM SINHA		Hyderabad	28/12/92
36. Dr. CHIRANJEEVINI KUMARI	PRINCIPAL, IDEAL COLLEGE, KKD	Nakinada	28/06/92
37. SUGUNA MANI	ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA	Hyderabad	26/12/92
38. AVULA JAYA PRADA	S.S & A.HUMANIST	Hyderabad	26/12/92
39. KANDHERLA BHUSHANAM	ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA	Hyderabad	26/12/92

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Place of</u>	<u>Date of</u>
			<u>Interview</u>
40. Dr. SARVAM SARADA	ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA	Hyderabad	26/12/93
41. GOPALA RAO EKBOTE	JUSTICE	Hyderabad	04/09/92
42. VIMALA FARUQI	C.P.I.	Khammam	24/04/93
43. THARA REDDY	C.P.I.	Khammam	24/04/93
44. RAVI BHARATHI	WRITER & LECTURER	Khammam	26/04/93
45. THURAGA JANAKI RAVI	WRITER & JOURNALIST	Hyderabad	27/12/93
46. PHUL RENU GUHA	Ex.M.P CALCUTTA	Mysore	03/06/93
47. SHANA PRADHAN	Ex.M.P NEPAL	Mysore	03/06/93
48. HAMIDA RUSSIAN	WOMEN ACTIVIST (DAWN) BANGLADESH	Mysore	03/06/93
49. CHARLOTTE S. KUMARI	FELLOWSHIP (A CHURCH ORGANISATION)	Hyderabad	20/12/93
50. CH. BHARANI KUMARI	PRESIDENT LION'S CLUB Tanuku E.B. Dist.	Tanuku	25/01/93