

**GENDER GAP IN PERCEPTIONS AND PERFORMANCE
OF LEGISLATORS IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

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DECLARATION

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

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PREFACE

Participatory democracy implies participation of citizens - male and female at all levels in the political process. Participation in the representative bodies like the legislatures is all the more important because these are the centers of decision-making. The behaviour and performance of representatives is influenced by several factors like the socio-economic background, recruitment process, perceptions, political culture and the larger political environment. Another significant factor that has a bearing on participation is gender.

Gender studies which are generally understood as women's studies, have increasingly been realised as important since the 1970s. There has been a tremendous growth in studies relating to women and society, women and family, women and work and women and politics. The chief reason for this growth is that men and women react to and influence differently the socio, economic and political systems and conditions though they belong to same country, community and even to same family. In most of the contemporary societies, women do not have any legal barriers in enjoying rights on par with men. But in exercising these rights, there are certain obstacles for women which men do not have.

There has not been adequate attention paid to gender comparisons in social and political behaviour studies. Hence, studies with focus on gender differences are few in number. Gender based studies of legislators are fewer. The perceptions and performance of male and female legislators differ in several respects. Apart from other factors, this is due to experiences based on gender and different sets of challenges thrown by political culture to men and women. Differences in experiences would cause differences in the nature and extent of

interactions; perceptions regarding individuals, groups and society; subjects of interest, particularly women related subjects; acting independently and in the methods adopted to solve various problems. Gender based studies of legislators are very useful for explaining the dynamics and for a meaningful understanding of legislative processes. Hence, a study of gender differences in the perceptions and performance of legislators in Andhra Pradesh is taken up.

The chief objective of the study is to identify gender differences among the legislators in Andhra Pradesh, For this purpose, the background, recruitment process, role perceptions and performance of the members of the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh are examined. These are the inter-related factors and any systematic study of legislators requires an examination of these. And in the absence of engendered analysis there is a possibility of endangering it.

SAMPLE : The Tenth Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh elected in 1994 is taken for purposes of analysis. Hundred legislators of whom, eighty two are men and eighteen are women form part of the sample. The Tenth Assembly had only eight women members in the beginning and three more women joined the Assembly successfully contesting bi-elections. Hence, it is proposed to increase the women's component in the sample. Accordingly, some women of earlier assemblies have also been included in the sample. Every effort was made to see that women's component in the sample as large as possible. Twenty schedules have been mailed to the home constituency addresses of the former women members. Only three out of these responded and returned the schedules after incorporating their views. Of the hundred members in the sample, 54, 16, 12, 10, 1, 1, 1 are from TDP, Congress, CPI, CPI(M), BJP, MIM and NTR TOP

respectively. Five of the legislators in the sample are independents. Care is taken to include members of all the parties irrespective of their strength in the House.

METHODOLOGY : The methods adopted for the study are empirical and comparative. An extensive schedule consisting of both close and open ended questions is used for collection of data through personal interviews ranging from two to three hours. The researcher had to spend a lot of time for fixing interviews and on several occasions, a minimum three visits had to be made for this purpose. For a clear understanding of the gender differences, simple tables are given wherever required.

The House performance is studied with the help of content analysis of the debates of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly and on the basis of information obtained through interviews. While studying the House proceedings, the performance of the members other than those in the sample is also noted. Special focus is laid on identifying the subjects of interests and proceeding-wise participation of male and female members. The purpose, as mentioned earlier, is to study the gender differences and not to go deep into what they spoke.

CHAPTERISATION : A clear understanding of concepts prepares the ground for any systematic study. The first chapter is devoted to explain the concepts - Political Participation, Representation, Role Perceptions and Performance.

The second chapter is devoted to the review of literature relating to gender differences in attitudes and participation at both the citizen and elite levels.

A study of the socio-economic background of the representatives helps to understand their attitudes, policies and goals. The third chapter of this

dissertation deals with the socio-economic backgrounds of the legislators with the gender at the focal point.

Periodical elections to legislative bodies is a prerequisite for representative democratic systems. Selection and election of candidates constitute significant parts in the process of forming legislative bodies. The details of selection process, sources of expenditure, campaign issues and success factors are discussed in chapter four

The fifth chapter is essentially concerned with gender differences in the perceptions of the respondents regarding various parts of House proceedings. Further, the subjects of interests, voting behavior, aspirations and constituency service.

For understanding the dynamics of male dominated political process and to identify the attitudinal change, it is necessary to elicit the opinion of male and female legislators regarding the role of women in politics. This aspect is covered in the sixth chapter.

Legislature is a forum for its members to effectively perform their representative roles. The performance of male and female legislators in the proceedings of the House, which include Motion of Thanks on Governor's Address, Question Hour, Matters of Public Importance., legislation and finance business are detailed in chapter seventh.

The major findings of the study are given in the last chapter.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.L.A.D Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly Debates

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party

CPI Communist Party of India

CPI(M) Communist Party of India (Marxists)

ERA Equal Rights Amendment

ML A Member of Legislative Assembly

MIM Majlis Itedullah Muslimeen

MBT Majlis Bachao Tahreek

NDP National Democratic Party

CHAPTER -1

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation on perceptions and performance of legislators with special focus on gender comparison is related to political participation, an important area of study in the general discipline of Political Science. Political participation is an important indicator to assess the degree of political development. The twentieth century has witnessed the emergence of large number of democratic systems, especially in the period following the Second World War. The growing interest of the Political Scientists in studying the patterns of political development, has lead to several studies relating to political participation. Participation of citizens in the political process would be present in democratic as well as non-democratic systems. But, the channels of participation will be relatively more in democratic systems. Political participation should be understood along with other concepts like representation, role perceptions and performance. This chapter explains the meaning and content of these concepts.

The origins of political participation could be traced to ancient times. The City-states of ancient Rome and Greece functioned on the basis of the principle of direct democracy. The small size of these states and also of the population have facilitated the working of direct democracies. With an increase in the size of population and territory and with an innate desire for innovations, indirect democratic structures and processes came into use.

The above would make clear that political participation is present in all systems though, the forms, extent and influence vary from state to state.

Participation is related to the form of government, the kind of leadership, the level of awareness and other related factors. Political participation helps to explain the nature of the behaviour of elites, legitimacy of the system, the input processes, the policy outcomes and also the nature of feed back. In totalitarian systems, participation of citizens is used to reinforce and strengthen regimes. Citizens in those systems may be forced by the leadership to attend political meetings, read political literature, listen to state owned broadcasts and engage in activities that supports those who man the government,¹ the difference between the two systems is that, democracy demands participation, whereas totalitarianism commands it. It means that people's initiatives in democratic systems and regime's initiatives in totalitarian systems are prominent. Participation, both as a right and *duty* is more relevant in democratic systems, but in totalitarian systems, emphasis is more on duty. This does not mean that participation will not influence the structures and performance of government. It may even lead to change in the form of government as it happened in Russia.

There is a general agreement, as noted above, among scholars that in democracies, citizens' participation is more possible than in any other form of government because, it is based on the principles like popular sovereignty, political equality and majority rule. Contemporary scholars would consider democracy as a way of life. As pointed out by an eminent writer, "The keynote of a democracy as a way of life may be expressed . . . as the necessity for the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living men together—no man or limited set of men is wise enough or good enough

to rule others without their consent,...all those who are affected by social institutions must have a share in producing and managing them".² Though who all participate do not enjoy effective power, non participants definitely do not exercise or share power.³ Participation is the only means through which people can either grant consent or withdraw it to the government. Thus, in democracies, political participation is not only influential but also valuable.

Writers have differed in explaining as to what constitutes political participation. Hence, a clear understanding of the concept requires an examination of various views relating to the nature and content of political participation.

MEANING & CONTENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Political participation is a multidimensional activity based on multivariable factors. Participation is considered as legitimising act by some. To Salisbury, it means expression of support to the system by the people. Some regarded it as an 'instrumental act' i.e., reducing individual grievances or gaining power or benefits. Yet, some others thought of it as 'a solvent of a social conflict', which means reaching consensus in resolving conflicts.⁴ During the behavioural movement, political participation was considered as an activity relating to voting and studies relating to voters' turn out had become prominent in this period. In the post behavioural movement period starting from late 60s, activities other than voting came to be regarded as forming part of and also important part of political participation.

With the above in the background, a detailed understanding of the concept of political participation could be attempted by considering the views of prominent writers. The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences says that political participation refers to "those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy".⁵ The voluntary participation could be divided into two categories - passive and active. Voting, seeking information, discussing, proselytizing, attending meetings and contributing financially to parties and candidates could be considered as forms of passive participation. Membership in political parties, campaigning in elections, trying to hold any office in public or in party could be treated as activities forming part of active participation. Participation also includes involuntary activities relating to the duties which are performed by individuals as employees in public offices. Activities like paying taxes, serving in armed forces and the role of jury are excluded from political participation.⁶ This is a very broad definition as it includes both direct and indirect activities of people influencing public policy. It should be noted that policy making is influenced by activities - intentional or unintentional of citizens. People's reactions to public policy may not have the intention of influencing future policy. But without aiming at influencing, they may affect the policy-making process. The affect may be positive or negative. The definition of political participation in the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences though looking broad, is narrow in that it is silent over unconventional or the 'illegitimate' forms of participation, which include protests and demonstrations, which may even assume violent

forms. These are no longer considered as negative indicators of participation, importantly in developing systems.

Milbrath and Goel in their *Political Participation- How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* consider participation as "those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics"⁷. This definition includes both passive and active, supportive and opposite activities based on the relationship of individuals with government. By using the words government and 'politics' they further broadened the scope of participation. It means that individuals' behaviour influencing not only decision making but also other acts of government could be considered as participation. This view is in widespread use.

To Verba and Nie political participation refers to "those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/ or the action they take"⁸. Verba, Nie and Kim in their *Participation and Political Equality - A Seven Nation Comparison* say "by political participation we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and /or the actions they take"⁹. They narrowed the scope of definition by excluding passive, supportive and unconventional forms of participation to avoid certain practical difficulties. These activities are more informal and indirect and make accurate measurement difficult as they themselves agreed.

Huntington and Nelson in their *No Easy Choice; Political Participation In Developing Countries* have tried to clear the ambiguity

in explaining the concept of political participation by raising all related and relevant questions of participation and by trying to provide reasonable answers. Some important questions are following;

Does political participation mean behaviour only? or does it encompass the attitudes and perceptions which are the prerequisites to participatory behaviour? Are both legal and illegal activities to be viewed as political participation ^{Could} any action directed to government decision-making be regarded as participation, or only those actions that are effective? Do we include activities organised by the government in support of itself in the purview of political participation? Is action taken out of fear or respect of some one constitutes participation? Is it participation when the participant is paid but not intended to influence governmental decision-making.¹⁰

To Kim, Nie and Verba, political participation is "an activity private citizens designed to influence governmental decision making. They also mentioned the underlying attributes to make it more clear. The following are the details.

Objective political activity and subjective political attitudes are separate variables. Political participation includes, activities but not attitudes. Participation includes activities of private citizens and not those of political professionals. Efforts designed to influence governmental decision-making can come under participation. These efforts may involve either persuasion or pressure (whether legal or illegal) over decision makers to act or to refrain from acting in certain

ways. Any activity of citizens designed to influence government comes under political participation even if it does not effect the government. Mobilized actions can also be included in participation.¹¹

Very convincing arguments are given by Huntington and Nelson in explaining the meaning of political participation. They said that sometimes there could be unintentional activities having potential impact on governmental authorities. These activities should be regarded as having rightful place in the process of political participation. The affective orientations of citizens followed by positive or negative reactions will have recognizable impact on decision-making. Therefore, any politically relevant acts of private citizens trying to influence governmental activities or influencing governmental activities could be regarded as part of political participation.

Closely related to the view of Huntington and Nelson is that of Myron Weiner. To him, "political participation refers to any voluntary action successful or unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, sporadic or continuous and any action employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of political leaders at any level of government., local or national".¹² The only difference between Myron Weiner's and Huntington's views that the latter included mobilized activity also in participation which is absent in Myron Weiner's. Another significant point is that participation is viewed as continuous, not forgetting specific events. Thus, voluntary action is given importance by Myron Weiner. He includes both organised and unorganised activities in the gamut of political participation.

Margaret M. Conway gives importance to goal orientation in relation to political participation, defining it as the "activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities, or the policies of government".¹³ Passive, active, supportive, conventional and unconventional activities come under participation.

Jack H. Nagel refers to participation as "actions through which ordinary members of a political system influence or attempt to influence outcomes"¹⁴. There is a very clear evidence of the influence of the systems analysts on the thinking of Nagel. Like Huntington, Nagel excluded the psychological aspects like knowledge, beliefs and attitudes from the purview of political participation arguing that they do not require movement, energy and efforts.

TYPOLGY OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION : Starting with voting behaviour as the focal aspect., researches on political participation began to include several usual and unusual activities in their studies, thereby widening the rich area of political participation. Based on the parameters like nature of participation, required energy, motivation and intensity of influence, political participation styles, forms and levels could be categorised. There are active and passive participation; conventional and unconventional participation; apathetic, gladiatorial and spectatorial participation.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE PARTICIPATION : Any activity that involves least effort, less influence, less time and less knowledge is considered as passive participation in general. Active participation is that activity involving

greater effort, energy, time, influence and knowledge. Voting, seeking information, discussing and prolitizing, contributing financially and communicating with representatives come under passive participation. According to International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, active participation includes formal enrollment in a party, canvassing and registering voters, speech writing and speech making, working in campaigns and competing for public and party offices.

CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL PARTICIPATION;

Conventional political participation refers to the activities acceptable to the dominant political culture influencing political authority. Activities like voting, seeking elective office and campaigning are examples of conventional forms of political participation. The base for conventional and unconventional participation is political culture. The methods which are not accepted by the dominant political culture are considered to be unconventional. These include protests, violent activities and other illegal activities,

APATHETIC, SPECTATORIAL & GLADIATORIAL PARTICIPATION

: Involvement of the citizens became the guiding factor for Milbrath and Goel in categorising political participation. Their analysis helps to identity three types of participation - Apathetic, Spectatorial and Gladiatorial. Apathetic participation is that of citizens withdraw from the political process. Minimal involvement in politics is regarded as Spectatorial participation and citizens with minimal involvement are spectators. Combating actively is considered as Gladiatorial. Participation and such participants are Gladiators.

Closely resembling the division of participants by Milbrath and Goel is that of Robinson who classifies participants into three groups, (a) Spectators - who regard

election as mass spectacle (b)Citizens - whose primary concern is to vote (c) and Partisans - who seek to ensure the election of their candidates and party.¹⁷

From the above classification it would appear that participants who involve in para-political activities like participation in cooperatives and volunteerism, which would influence the political process and violent activities opposing government and its policies are not included in any three of the groups.

Sydney verba and Norman Nie have listed six types of participants. These are, (1) "The Totally Inactive" (2) "The Voting Specialists" (3) "The Parochial Activists" (4) "The Communalists" (5) "The Campaigners" and (6) "The Totally Active". The totally inactive persons' participation is completely nil. The voting specialists do not involve in any activity except voting regularly. The parochial activists contact government officials on minor, local and personal issues. The communalists are active participants in community associations and programs which are non-partisan. The campaigners are the active members of the political party involving in campaign affairs. The totally active participants are those who do all the above mentioned activities.¹⁸ This classification is made on the base starting from least influence to greater influence of participation in political system. This classification did not recognise supportive acts, protests, parades and the like which also form some kind of participation or the other.

Based on the previous sociological and political literature, a new typology comprising six roles is developed by Marvin E. Olsen in his Participatory Pluralism. In a hierarchical order, participants are grouped into;

1. Political Leaders - who exercise dominant power in the political system by virtue of their positions (elected or appointed) in the formal governmental structures.
- 2 Political Activists - active members of any political or para-political organisations

influencing the political system from outside the formal governmental structure with their collective efforts especially when their interest or concern is impinged by various issues and programmes. 3. Political Communicators - individuals who, through their communicative actions, bring some impact on the political system. They perform a 'vital linking function' between leaders and activists and the masses of citizens and marginals. 4. Political Citizens - voters whose influence individually is nothing, but collectively, they constitute a powerful foundation of a democratic political system. 5. Political Marginals - having minimal contacts with the system, participating when the issues of their personal concerns are touched. Virtually their impact is nothing, as their activities are sporadic. 6. Political Isolates - who cut off from the political system either because of their deprived political status or negligence. They rarely have any impact or influence on political affairs.¹⁹

Based on cross national studies conducted by Verba, Nie and others, Milbrath grouped the actors in politics into the following categories.

1. Voters, who participate in voting and do not have any motivation to influence the political system.
2. Party and Campaign Workers, whose work is that of mobilising voters, working for a party or candidate, attending political meeting or rally, contributing money to party candidates and getting membership in political clubs.
3. Community Activists, who try to solve social problems and work on public issues. Those who contact officials, whose activity is directed towards realising self interest.
- Protestors., who take part in street demonstrations, riots, protest marches and meetings to reject or criticise immoral acts of public officials and unjust laws of government. Communicators who acquire information about politics, send messages of support and protest messages to political leaders, engage in political discussions, inform others about politics, acknowledge one's views to public officials and write letters to the editors of newspapers.²⁰

The above classification is made on the basis of information required, motivation, nature of activity and related aspects. These modes of participation exist in most of the democratic states.

Rush and Althoff have grouped the participants on the basis of their actions and also with the help of the diagram resembling a pyramid. They believe in the hierarchical model of political participation keeping in view the range of political activity which the citizens are involved in. Political participation to them consists of ten varieties of activities. 1. holding political or administrative office, 2. seeking political or administrative office, 3. active membership of a political organisation, 4. passive membership of a political organisation, 5. active membership of a quasi-political organisation, 6. passive membership of a quasi-political organisation, 7. participation in public meetings, demonstrations etc., 8. participation in informal discussions, 9. general interest in politics and 10. voting.²¹

The participants at the top of power hierarchy wield and exercise power and they are conspicuously being different from those at other levels. Rush and Althoff considered the interest groups and political parties as important actors in the political system. In fact, these are, in their words the 'agents of mobilisation'. These agents persuade and prepare the citizens for participation in public meetings, demonstrations and related activities. Participation in informal discussions would have either positive or negative influence on future participation. In other words, informal discussions provide for valuable channels for exchange of information, sharing of views and experiences and also for information dissemination. The effects of informal discussion, positive or negative, depend on the nature of discussions. General interest in politics is likely to lead to special interest and to a

desire to climb up the **ladder** of **political** hierarchy. Voting which is, the first and perhaps the most important type of political **participation**, is a means of deciding about who should be the decision maker. This primary activity of **voting**, thus is closely and **directly** linked to explain the nature of the government entrusted with the duty of realising the goals of the system. Membership of citizens, active or passive in quasi-political organisations, is the preparatory ground for political leadership. Active membership in **political** organisation takes the citizens nearer to power positions.

Seeking political ~~or~~ administrative office is a **step-below** holding political or administrative office ~~because~~, not **all** those who seek **could hold**. The holders of political or administrative offices having sought the mandate from their citizens have both power and responsibility implying that they are trustees who should work for strengthening the systems **responsive**, distributive, extractive, regulative and **symbolic** capabilities. The task of ~~the~~ holders of **political** and administrative offices in strengthening the **system's** capabilities is more in the developing systems.²²

The detailed classification of Rush and **Althoff** offers the possibility of understanding the relative importance of different levels in the **political** hierarchy.

DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION : Political participation is influenced by several factors like age, education, occupation, gender, life experience, environment and form of government. It should be noted that political participation is **part** and parcel of social activity. As **Olsen** says, political participation could be seen as an integral part of the total web of social conditions in which one lives so that one **will** become politically active to the **extent** that one's social environment encourages and supports involvement in politics. Expressed in

action terms, it activates people in one or more realms of their social existence and they tend to participate actively in politics.²³

The influence of the above factors on political participation is relative in terms of **time**, space, individuals and also of gender.

Political environment also has its significance on political participation of citizens. One can expect least participation in a society where conflicts and tensions are **alleviated**. Conventional and unconventional political activities can be seen when certain groups of individuals feel that they are neglected.²⁴

The form and structure of government also influence political participation. Where democracy **prevails**, **there**, naturally participation **will** be more. Where a federal system is **existing**, multiplicity of elections provide more opportunities for electoral participation. Laws and regulations of government and election procedure have considerable impact on political participation.

Studies conducted by various scholars about the determinants of political participation reveal that participation is greater among persons of higher social status, better educated and among those having higher income, among the members of **ethnic groups**, men and urban residents.

Explaining participation without touching social environment and social status of individuals often **misspecifies** their relationship with the political system. Citizens with higher economic and social status generally participate more than low status individuals. In **particular**, socially based political activity is encouraged by higher social status people whereas low status people are discouraged in socially

based political activity.²⁵ In Verba and Nie's study also, it is found that upper class people participate more in politics than lower class people. Variables widening the participatory gap between the upper and lower classes include political beliefs, political party affiliation and affiliation with voluntary associations. The obvious inference is that the view of upper classes tends to be over represented because, they are politically more active. Their active participation enables them to have the decisions of elites in their favour.²⁶

A detailed study on the determinants of political participation was made by D.H. Smith, J. Macaulay and their associates. In "Participation in Social and Political Activities", they point out that people with greater education tend to engage in more conventional forms of political participation than those with less education. It is true both in developed and developing nations. The effect of education is not uniform across all forms of participation.²⁷ In most of the developed countries highly educated are least active in politics. Reasons given for this are the hostile, anomic and less patriot[c] nature of the citizens.²⁸

It is generally agreed the more prosperous persons are more likely than less prosperous to participate in conventional politics. Higher income individuals can have greater education, interact with others in social and political groups and are more exposed to mass media. Active participation appears to be a luxury afforded only by those who have fulfilled the basic necessities.²⁹

Another important determinant of political participation is occupation. It is highly intertwined with education and income. Characteristics of some occupations either encourage or discourage political involvement because of their prestige level or for other venal (able to be bribed) reasons. In participatory democracy, work

place is a training ground for **political** democracy.³⁰ According to **Olsen** socio-economic status, education, income, occupation and related factors have more influence on passive **participation**.³¹ To **Olsen**, more than any other factor, it is **associational involvement**, which has greater impact on individual's political participation. Membership in voluntary associations, **attendance** and position holding have additive effects on participation. Because, they can mobilise individuals for electoral, organisational, partisan and governmental political participation. They also affect cognitive and expressive participation. Involvement in voluntary associations is related to **all** forms of political activity **regardless** of the extent to which these organisations have engaged in political **actions**.³²

Regarding the place of residence, it is **generally** said that urban residents are more politically active than the rural. The urban residents generally have higher involvement due to their closeness to the center of **society**, opportunity for interaction and communication. **However**, there is no consensus on how and to what extent community size effects **individual** political action. A number of studies have found little positive correlation between urban living and political activity, **especially** voting.³³

Political participation of various kinds (except protests) rises in the early years, reaches a peak in the middle years and declines in **old** age.³⁴ So, we can say that participation is active mostly in the middle age of the **citizens**.

One important factor **focussed** in the present study is gender, **AH** over the **world**, it is accepted **that** women participate **less** than men in politics though there are no legal barriers. Except in **voting**, in all other political activities there is a wide gap between men and women. The reasons for this are various. **Women's** status is secondary to men in society because of the division of labour in society and within

family They are less exposed to **political** society and their nature of work keeps them away from political activities and does not enhance political efficacy. The difference begins at the stage of early socialisation. In many parts of the world, 'girls' brought up' is different compared to that of boys. This difference in socialisation makes women to be more family and home oriented. Since 1970's there is a slight increase in the political involvement of women because of women's liberation movement. However, women are far away from the situation of sharing of power on equal partnership basis along with men. Besides these factors, ideologies, attitudes and other psychological factors also determine the nature and extent of political participation. But, their role cannot be assessed easily (due to lack of sophisticated methods to study them) and they are ambiguous factors which do not give scope for generalisation.

PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION : Political participation does affect the quality and characteristics of representation . One can also say that active political participation is an avenue to occupy seats in any representative body. Many observed that representatives come to office with some experience of political participation. Political activities of individuals and also groups have greater influence on the election and performance of representatives. Sometimes participation breaks the government also. Through participation, individuals express their opinion, needs and desires to the government. Then government has to react and respond to them through its decision making. Similarly, the outcomes of government also influence participation. Thus, both are interlinked and also interdependent. So it is essential to discuss the concept of representation also here.

REPRESENTATION : Representation is found both in political and non-political fields. But the significance that it has in political field is greater than that in

other fields. The history of political representation as **Ratan Swamy** says, is the story of transformation of the nominated powerless councillors into a sovereign assembly. In the place of small city-states of ancient Greece and Rome, large states were found in **medieval** Europe as a consequence of barbarian invasions.³⁶ As the monarch **alone** could not **rule**, he used to seek advice from **councillors** chosen by himself, in whom he found capacity and trust. He made them to report about **all** the land and to convey his orders and tax demands to the people. But, during periods of crisis, the king needed the cooperation of councillors, resulting in, the councillors demanding and acquiring the right to meet periodically to deliberate on public issues. They became the masters of the **agenda**, started answering **collectively**, made collective deliberations and rendered them obligatory and **compelling**. Now they are acting as representative houses with fixed number of members and speaking for the people as a whole. The practice of holding periodical elections also got established. **Gradually**, power also shifted to assemblies along with political legitimacy in the name of **representation**. Members of assemblies established their rule indeed. King who was a natural representative became the head with minimal powers. **Thus**, parliamentary system of representation originated in England. **It** is the one which lasted for the longest **period**.³⁷ Later, it has been adopted by a number of **countries**.

It is clear that nature of '**representation**' has undergone many **changes** because of changes in its nature of **functions** from ancient to modern period. The modern legislatures have representatives. It would be appropriate now to give details of the meaning and content of **representation**.

MEANING AND CONTENT OF REPRESENTATION : The first theorist who prescribed a pragmatic conception of representation was Montesquieu. To **him**, representation should be having a geographic base, elected from geographic **districts**,

which are now commonly called as constituencies and should act on behalf of the community which itself is vested with legislative power. His suggestion that representation should have a territorial base is based on the ground that a locally elected representative would be better acquainted with **his/her** own neighbours than any other representative. His view took an important turn in the theory of representation, because of his emphasis on constituents' interest protection and **redressal** of their grievances.

Contrary to the views of **Montesquieu**, Burke presented a different thought on representation. To Burke, constituency and its importance are secondary to that of national. **To him**, representatives should give greater weight to the general good of the nation and that the representatives should be guided by their own wisdom in addition to **looking after** the needs of the constituents. This view of Burke is more clear in his statement that "parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interest, which interests each must maintain as an agent and advocate against the other agents and advocates, but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one **nation**. with one interest that of the whole - where not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole".³⁸

Voegelin traces the origin of representation from the beginning of human society. **To him**, the concept of representation should be understood in the elemental and **existential** senses. Elemental representation refers to representation from the conceptual view point and existential refers to representation from the point of what is really existing. **To Voegelin**, a government which enjoys the legitimacy of the people could be regarded as representative government. **To him**, the content of representation in the **political** debate, **in** the press and in the public literature is

mostly of the first **type**³⁹ The ruler or rulers acts or act for the society as a whole. And the **ruler's/rulers'** pronunciations are for the members of the society as a whole. Hence, it becomes obligatory for the members of the society to allow the rules issued by the ruler. The **ruler**, thus becomes the representative of the society, which he rules.⁴⁰

Herman **Finer's** views on representation are broad based. He says that "**members** (of parliament) are representatives of the whole nation. They are subject to their conscience **only** and are not bound by any instructions".⁴¹ It is clear that he gives no importance to individual **representative's** relation with his constituents and the kind of pressures and considerations that influence **his** behaviour in representative houses,

Pitkin in her **empirical** work 'The Concept of **Representation**', gives a logical **explanation** of the **functions** of representatives and argues for the need on the part of representative to respond to both local and national interest. To her, representation is "**acting** in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them. Representative must act in such a way, that there is no conflict, or if it occurs an explanation is called for. He must not be found persistently at odds with **the** wishes of the represented without good reason in terms of their interests and without a good explanation of why their wishes are not in accord with their **interests**".⁴² She further viewed that a representative should safeguard primarily local as well as national interests **because**, he/she is primarily a representative of **his** or her constituents and later **his/her** job is also governing the **nation**.⁴³

When representatives find themselves in conflict situations in providing harmony between national and local interests, **it** is necessary for **them** to make use of

their discretion and judgment, to explain the reasons for taking a stand using judgment. However, as Frankt pointed out, Pitkin does not explain how representatives should reconcile tension between local and national interests.⁴⁴ The conflict resolving function is crucial in countries experiencing tension situations. The emphasis laid by Pitkin on the need for reconciling tensions is important to be noted here.

Pitkin's views on representation had great influence on the thinking of later writers. Ingram and others in A Policy Approach to Political Representation say that, representation is related to the broad institutional level rather than the individual level of legislator and his/her constituents. These writers had also agreed that, the process of representation requires that the attitudes and opinions of citizens be linked to those of representatives.⁴⁵

Jewell, a prominent writer on legislative behaviour supported Pitkin's views, because, he is interested in representatives' responsiveness to constituents' both articulated and unarticulated interest. Therefore, to Jewell, representation contains four components.

1) Communication with constituents consisting of three aspects - a) accessibility to constituents, b) seeking to learn about the views of constituents and c) exercising leadership, educating constituents and explaining about their activities, 2) Policy responsiveness, 3) Allocation of resources for the district and 4) Service to constituents.⁴⁶

Some Indian scholars, who have worked on the role of representatives in India, are also influenced by Pitkin's view. Representative government is one of the important characteristic features of the Indian political system. Representative

government's essential **ingredients**, which include franchise, periodical elections and territorial constituencies have been accepted in this country. In the view of **Shrikant Paranjpe**, party's influence is considerable on **the** Indian representatives. He observes **that**, Indian representatives represent **party's** views and they are bound by party **decisions**.⁴⁷ R.B.Jain who wrote Comparative Legislative Behaviour, lays emphasis on the responsive **role** of the representatives. He pointed out that, Indian representatives' behaviour is influenced by electoral connection of representatives and the represented because, Indian representatives are the products of **socio-economic and cultural environments**.⁴⁸

The above discussion would enable one to arrive at some important **conclusions**. They are as follows :

1. The origins of representation can be traced back to very ancient times. It can be traced to the ^{beginning} of human society itself. But the meaning and content of representation have changed from **time** to time.
2. Representation exists in all forms of government. The form of government determines the quantitative aspect of representation.
3. Representative may be a person or a group of persons.
4. A representative should reflect the characteristics of the represented and should function as the protector of their interests.
5. Associated with the concept of representation is a continuing tension **between** the ideal and real. The ideal should not be regarded as a condition that never materialises. It should be considered as a point which the representative is expected to reach. However, tensions are bound to arise in the process of realising the ideal. It is not desirable to abandon the ideal in times of tension or conflict.

6. Representation presents a '**continuing**' but not a '**hopeless**' choice. As **Pitkin** pointed out, it is necessary for the representative to constitute institutional and train individuals in such a way, that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest.⁴⁹

7. The nature and pattern of representation are conditioned by the type of political system. In the communist systems, the party and state power **largely** limit the activities of the representatives. In other words, representatives heavily depend on the **guidelines** of the party and **constitutional law**. For **example**, in the case of **China**, the Chinese Communist Party exercises considerable influence on the representatives though some writers argue against this. For example M. Frankt says that, many political struggles in China can **be** analysed as adjustments in the **relationship** between **the** leaders and the masses **that is**, the representative and the represented and **Mao's** concept of representation is that the **leadership** cannot do anything independently of the masses.⁵⁰

8. Contemporary trend seems to be in favor of representative bodies elected on the basis of adult franchise.

REPRESENTATIVE : An understanding of the concept '**representation**' enables one to define '**representative**'. A representative is a person who delivers the function of representation. Representative **formulates** policies and operates government on behalf of large number of individuals.⁵¹

To **Voegelin**, representative could be understood as a "person who has power to act for society, by virtue of his position in the structure of **community**, without specific instructions for a specified business and whose acts will not be **effectively** repudiated by the members of the society".⁵²

According to **Finer**, a **legislator** is a policy **maker**, a broker in articulating constituency's interests and presenting them in **legislature**, a politician due to his relation with other legislators, friends in and outside **legislature** and to interest groups a parliamentarian (his duty during session) and a party member **also**.⁵³

REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURES : Without **political** institutions or structures it is not possible for representatives to discharge their duties in any political **system**. **Because** decisions made by representative are through institutions and not individual. Most of the modern scholars consider legislatures as the best representational structures of **political** systems. For example, **Dayadhar Jha** says "modern legislatures are the best representative barometers of public moods and feelings." Thus, legislature can be regarded as an important representative structure to articulate **public** opinion and to bridge the gap between people and government.

ROLE PERCEPTIONS : The effective functioning of a representative is very much influenced by how he/she perceives **his/her** roles and how these roles are **performed**. In this connection, it is necessary to explain the meaning of role. Role literally means **actor's** part, **one's** function, what one is appointed or expected or has undertaken to do,

The concept '**role**' is helpful to understand a model of the legislator who as an individual, works in institutionalised human group. **It** is also equally helpful to understand the functions of legislative structure for which it has been organised. This makes clear that individual legislator should act according to set forth '**norms**'. These '**norms**' are applied to all individuals occupying the position of '**legislator**'. These in turn make one to expect some roles from legislators. It is to be noted that the behaviour of legislators may not be **totally** in consonance with the normative aspect.

Role expectations are not static but dynamic because they get influenced by factors like structure of **legislature**, contemporary **socio-economic** situations, form of government and prescribed rules. An examination of **role** expectations and their **determinants** would be **helpful** for a systematic analysis of political behaviour. The **political representatives'** perceptions and performance of roles provide us with a very valuable means of understanding or assessing the nature and functioning of political systems.

ROLE OF LEGISLATORS AS REPRESENTATIVES : Legislators play important roles in given circumstances as representatives of people. There is a vast literature on their role with a few disagreements. A legislator is at once several persons, a decision-maker and a party man.⁵⁶ As members of **legislatures**, legislators should maintain discipline in the House, be familiar with **available** strategies and take part in legislative process.

As representatives of constituencies, legislators **carry** the interests of constituencies, reflect them in the House and respond to them. It is through **representation**, legislators act in legislature. **Eulau et.al** classified the roles of legislators into three types. The first type is **Trustee** role, in which representatives make decisions on their own **conscience**, based on the judgment of facts involved in issues and on what they think is right. The second type is Delegate role. In this, representatives make decisions **on** the instructions of constituents and other clientele. The third one is **Politico** role, where balance between trustee and delegate types is maintained by legislators, according to conditions existing.⁵⁶ **Neal Remier** who wrote **Representative : Trustee ? Delegate ? Partisan? Politico?** added a **new** role that is, **Partisan**. in this role, as legislators are elected from party, their decisions are based on the views of the party to which they **belong** As **Mac Crone J. Donald** and

Kulinski H. James pointed out, the delegates could be more active in **small** nations and in modern days legislators' trustee orientations are more **realistic**.⁵⁷

Modern legislators are coming to power through parties, rather than through their individualities. Legislators abide by **party** discipline and safeguard the interest of the party and act on party guidelines.

In **legislatures**, there is some accommodation for the demands of interest or pressure groups. Legislators yield to an **extent**, to the demands of the pressure groups which use various techniques such as **lobbying**, strikes and contributions.^{6%} Some legislators come to power mainly through pressure groups. Such representatives are obviously spokesmen of those pressure groups which influence them. **G.G. Swell** assigns to legislators, the functions of representing constituency **interests**, providing **link** between constituents and **legislature**, making laws and giving political education to people. Swell viewed that, imparting political education is a very important function in countries like India where 48% is **illiterate**.⁵⁹

Participation of representatives in and outside legislatures is very much determined by their understanding of their roles, their desire to effectively perform them and the actual environment for **role** performance. Representative should possess the required knowledge of the functions assigned. Knowledge without motivation would not contribute to reasonable performance level of the **role**. In addition to the knowledge and intention, to effectively function an environment or situation, conducive to satisfactory performance is in fact, needed. An environment which determines the actions of citizens as well as legislators consists of various factors. They include **socio-economic background**, **education**, **age**, **personality**, **culture**, social norms of society, religion and region. Sex of legislators also influences

their behaviour. If a legislator is a female, she participates more when women's problems are discussed and is more likely to argue for better facilities for women.

A negative atmosphere would put the representatives in a helpless situation, though the intention and knowledge are there, on their part. High party discipline, limited number of legislative sessions, political threats and insecurity, regional, linguistic and cultural factors would act as hindering factors for effective role performance.⁶⁰

Criticising legislators as those who would be subservient to party, Finer says, it is illusion and unnecessary to believe that legislators are policy creators because, policies are invented by party in power.⁶¹ Dayadhar Jha holds similar views,

PERFORMANCE: To be the representatives of people, legislators are facing problems which are numerous. There are three main obstacles viewed by Pitkin, Jewell and Paranjpe. These include a) the problem of determining constituency's interest which are diverse in number. b) the problem of public and private pressure groups and c) the problem of realising their views and objectives. Legislators are expected to actively engage themselves in the performance of their tasks in building support structures and in the mobilisation of diverse elements on accepted lines. In the developing countries, the role of the legislators are all the more important because, they have to bridge the gaps of social status existing among various classes. The challenges that the representatives of legislative bodies in the developing countries have to meet are really many.

The role of representatives in modern political systems is multi-dimensional. The avenues for role performance are more within democratic

governments than in systems with **non-democratic** governments. Representational role assumption is influenced by several factors which include **demographic**, **socio-economic**, political and environmental. An important dimension which is much debated in the recent decades is, gender. Modern representatives have several responsibilities as well as challenges.

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CHAPTER -2

LITERATURE REVIEW

One important objective of this study is to identify the impact of gender on political **participation**. It is this aspect which has not received considerable attention so far, though a few studies have been made. This chapter proposes to review the literature relating to gender **differences** in political participation.

There is a steady growth in the literature relating to women and society, women and family, women and work and women and politics. Since politics is consisting of '**power**' to influence other areas of activities, women and politics received greater attention in the recent years. Researches have been touching various aspects of women in politics varying from voting behaviour to the behaviour of women as national leaders. In between them are - women contestants, women in political parties and pressure **groups**, women in decision making bodies like legislatures and local governments, reasons for women's limited political participation, measures to improve their strength in politics, background characteristics, perceptions, priorities of women in representative bodies and challenges they have to face to enter into male arena. The literature on these aspects though limited is interesting.

Objectivity in studies relating to participation cannot be achieved without giving adequate importance to '**gender**'. To explain the role of '**sex**' in **political** activities, gender based studies act as a key. Apart from these, their relevance is there to inquire the reasons for the existing gap between men and women in various fields and perhaps in reducing them also. Studies about gender differences in political matters started receiving adequate concern of political

scientists during 1970s. Gender differences in political area need more attention because alterations in political roles would lead to equalities in other fields like economic and social.¹ **Commac** and others in their Third World Politics : A Comparative Introduction viewed that by **untouching** gender relations economic development and social and political change cannot be made **possible** as they are very dynamic in nature. By making gender studies crucial, gender differences existing in any area can be verified and scrutinised.²

Most of the literature on women and politics identified gender gap in different political activities varying from voting in elections to **occupying^{the} highest** political office. Very little attention has been **paid** to gender comparison in attitudes and performance of individuals and politicians. Some such studies are made **in** the US and Canada. In India such studies are almost **say** nil. It has not always been systematic. Studies have taken place at mass and elite **levels**, local, provincial and federal levels, on perceptions and performance, behaviour of legislators inside and outside the legislatures, in political parties and other para-political organisations. Available literature is reviewed here under.

CITIZEN LEVEL : **Public** or mass as a whole is the least organised group. They act as individuals by being members of society or a part of it. Attitudes and behaviour of any individual **are** determined by factors like demographic status (SES), **education**, age and psychology. Gender is one of the important determinants.

Differences across the **sexes** are evident more in politics than anywhere both **in** attitudes and behaviour. Compared to men, **women's** political efficacy, **interest**, information and participation are very less in general. More than

socialisation **process**, **situational** factors of women have also been responsible for these **differences**.² Women are *far* more **disadvantaged** when it comes to the resources that facilitate active political activity. Some of the agencies that facilitate pathways to political activities are non-political organisations like charity houses and churches. For example, women of America are equally affiliated **with** them on par with men, ^{but} **significant** differences are there between the sexes in contributing to **campaigns**, contacting officials and belonging to political organisations. Further, the role of money has to be given **weightage** in understanding these differences. Voluntary organisations play a significant **role** in promoting political participation and **especially** ⁱⁿ **bringing** women into political life. But financial contributions to these organisations have a bearing on women's involvement in politics. Another point **is**, women are at a disadvantageous position in making frequent contributions due to traditional division of labour **in** the house which disables them to claim equal economic status along with men and prevents them from catching political power through such organisations which play instrumental role in enhancing political participation.⁴

Researchers on women's political orientations and behaviour made generalisations about gender impact on the electorate in evaluating candidates. Women are more candidate oriented and they personalise politics and politicians. Personal characteristics and family background are supportive grounds for women's voting behaviour, whereas **men's** voting behaviour depends more upon the issues supported by contestants. Though this **is** the finding of many studies, **Kristi** Anderson expressed a contrary view by saying that neither supportive arguments nor systematic evidence is given in them. While conceptualising **men's** and women's responses towards political leaders ^{she} **found** that men and

women respond in the same manner in the political environment. Neither men nor women are monolithic groups. Political interests and attitudes of both are similar. Within the same sex differences influenced by education, age, occupation and experience do prevail.⁵ Thus studies finding and unfinding gender influence on the views of electorate towards political leaders are available.

Some studies concentrated on eliciting different expectations of voters based on the gender of contestants. Hurdy and Terkildsen in their "Gender Stereotypes And The Perception Of Male And Female Candidates" surveying 297 undergraduates, expressed that warm and expressive candidates are competent to handle the military and economic issues. Masculine traits increase candidates' perceived competence on a broader range of issues than feminine traits or warmth and expressiveness. In other words, male candidates are identified as the best suited to handle tough issues like military and finance, whereas female candidates to handle soft issues like social welfare, education and health⁶

A 16 years (1956-72) study on the perceptions of American public on ten controversial issues mostly related to foreign, social and women revealed that women are more liberal in attitudes than men at the elite level and less liberal at the citizens' level. Adult Americans' Opinions (1956-72) and 1972 National Convention formed the sample for the research of John S. Soule and Wilma E. At the elite level, differences between sexes are found very high. Through out 16 years, differences between men and women are very less on conventional political participation. Women in public are less liberal than men on these ten issues.⁷ At the elite level, a sample of 326 delegates was interviewed (181 men

and 145 women). When they were asked to respond to ten controversial issues consisting of contemporary foreign policy matters, economic and social issues related to America, it is found that women were more liberal virtually on every item than men. Sex differences in ideology between male and female elites were found not due to SES factors, but are associated (among women) with awareness of sex discrimination and experience in women's movements. Women generally feel less efficacious about politics than men.³

For a long period it was assumed that women's voting behaviour is more right wing than that of men. This assumption was in dominance since Maurice Duverger's *The Political Role of Women* is published and also the same voting pattern was seen ⁱⁿ women in several European countries and America until late 1960s. This established that, women are more conservative in nature. But in 1980, '82 and '84 elections in America, women reversed their voting pattern. This change in voting behaviour of the American women made Pippa Norris to identify the relationship of sex and voting behaviour in 10 member states in the European Community, in her article *The Gender Gap : A Cross National Trend?* Its main aim is to see whether "women's vote" is existing distinctively. But she found that nowhere women were more conservative than men and women were similar to men in voting patterns except in Italy. In Denmark, women moved to left parties in voting due to generational differences only. Young women were slightly more left wing than young men in Europe. But there are only marginal differences. But this is not to say that their attitudes are also similar. On issues like nuclear energy, unemployment and defence policies, women's perceptions are more left oriented than men. However, it is not probed why this difference in opinions did not reflect on behaviour.⁴

Marjorie Random Horsey in her study, "**The Politics of Andrology?** Sex Role and Attitudes Towards Women in Politics", interviewed 107 undergraduates students of Indiana University. It is found **that**, students (both male and female) ^{the} **of same** educational level possessed similar views on most issues except about **women's** issues. They did not differ in acquiring political information, the media they use and also attitudes on most general items. But they greatly differed on issues concerned with women and women in **political** offices. Women students were found more liberal than men on abortion and Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) issues. In supporting **ERA**, **they** did not **differ**. But about its consequences, women students expressed very positive outlook expecting equality in law and other matters. Male students showed less interest about **ERA's** consequences and found confusion in its provisions. Similarly women expressed more liberal views about women contestants than men. 87% of women said that they have no special objection in women contesting for Presidential position whereas, only 40% of men expressed the same views. For office of City Council 98% women and 90% men **said** that they **will** show equal consideration for the candidates of both the genders. A less percentage of women and a high percentage of men cannot give equal **consideration** for women contesting to seek high positions including that of the President,

Marjorie Random also noted that, men were positive and neutral to the statement "**women** who run for political office are probably concerned mainly with **women's** issues " to which women refused to agree. The results of the study showed minimal differences between the respondents towards effectiveness of women **legislators**. The investigation made clear that except gender, other factors like **size** of home **city**, parent's income, age and birth have no correlations for their dissimilar views on women related matters. **Overall**, it can be said that

except in matters of women in politics, respondents did not differ on the basis of gender. Regarding women in **politics**, existing differences are noticeable. Women respondents gave more positive rating to women national figures (**Betty Ford** and **Bella Abzug**) than men.¹¹

In 1956, with the publication of *The American Voter*, it was understood that men's **interaction** with social and political environment enabled them more than **women**, to conceptualise **politics** in evaluating presidential candidates and political parties. Traditional female role orientations were identified for this as the reason. But gender differences continued in 1980 also, though improvement in women's involvement in social and political environment have taken place. **However**, it is found that gender differences were insignificant among women supporting egalitarian role and men in general. It also suggested that dispersal of egalitarian women could reduce gender differences in conceptualising of politics.¹²

Data given by four national surveys conducted by Hans organisation in 1975, 1979, 1982 and 1986 formed the basis to give a longitudinal analysis on gender differences in ^{The} perceptions of general public in the US on foreign policy goals and orientations and foreign policy data. Clear and significant gender differences were found after controlling various demographic variables. Women are found to be supportive of altruistic goals and less supportive of those containing communism using troops and military aid. More than men, they supported increasing U.S. contacts with Soviet Union.¹³

To explain the politics of gender **Celinda C. Lake** and Vincent **J. Breglio** in their article, "**Different** voices Different views :**The** Politics of Gender" brought out the areas of divergence, differences in priorities and perspectives among men

and women. The authors expected gender differences for some reasons like men and women **differ** in their ideas about the direction of the country because of differences in their perspectives and priorities. The world is seen differently by men and women having similar agendas and making similar conclusions between sexes **is** possible but reasons behind them are different. About health care, **education**, helping the poor, **homelessness** and protecting American jobs, women showed lot of worry. But for men **deficit**, taxes, energy and defence policy were important issues to worry about. Thus they differed in giving priorities to areas while mentioning important national policy issues.

On a large number of issues though men and women did not have **dramatically** different positions, they possessed different perspectives. The issues touched during interviews were **work**, **wages**, and family; war and peace; energy and environment; social issues; issues about people; public safety issues; **women's** rights and abortion; partisan preference and voting behaviour and differences at ballot box. Among all these issues, women had different views mostly on economic issues, war and peace, and public safety matters. Women are found most likely to be in favour of increasing minimum wages than men. They also expressed that the economic conditions of women are more vulnerable than men, as most of them are **serving in** low pay sectors and **pink collar** jobs. They showed preference to community development whereas men showed interest in profit and money **making**.¹⁴

More than men, women preferred the government to use peaceful means than adopting war and other **violent** means to resolve international **problems**. Women viewed that government's interference should be more in resolving various social problems whereas men did not feel much for it. Government's

imposition of limits on individuals is supported by women for **public** safety purpose. As men appear to be more individualistic, they opposed government's interference on personal freedom of **individuals**.¹⁵

On matters like energy and **environment**, **women's** rights and **abortion**, no qualitative and quantitative difference has been found in the study. But they differed in the intensity of their feelings. On energy and **environment**, women showed greater intensity against installation of nuclear plants than men. Though both sexes equally supported **women's** rights and **abortion**, women gave special consideration to the candidates in elections supporting those two issues.¹⁶ The persisting dissimilarities on priorities and perspectives led to the differences in their party support also. Most of the women interviewed identified themselves as Democrats **whereas**, most of the men identified as Republicans.¹⁷

Most of the literature on electoral behaviour with gender as the chief component confined itself only in eliciting gender consciousness and gap among voters in their preferences. Gender component or consciousness among voters was to a larger extent masked by ideology, partisanship, race and group interest. However, in general, women voters presume that female public officials act to pursue the interests of women as a group. There is considerable support to this presumption if literature on perceptions and priorities of women **public** officials is **carefully examined**.

Gender consciousness in voting preferences of electorate **is** noted by **C.S Rosenthal** in her "The Role of Gender in Descriptive Representation". Vast literature on women's voting behaviour and attitudes concluded that women candidates would be given importance by women voters. Towards descriptive

representation, which means women voters preferring women contestants and men voters preferring male contestants, women reacted with gender consciousness which was found very less among male voters. When a person's relationship with political world is more or less particularly shaped by being male and female, it is known as gender **consciousness**. With a **sample** of 416 individuals, gender consciousness among male and female voters evaluating candidates was investigated. For this purpose, they posed various questions related to representational preferences.¹⁸ Women are found to be much more gender conscious than men in their representative preferences. The gap between **men's** and women's preferences for candidate of same gender is **13.4%**. More number of men than women preferred women's representation in elected offices. With women officials, they would be more comfortable to contact if any problem that can be resolved by their interference arises. They preferred to vote for a woman than to a man if both have the same **qualifications**. However, women as a group did not respond in a similar way. Their views were associated with their ideology (**liberal** and conservative), economic and psychological independence, age and other related matters. Economically and psychologically independent women with liberal ideology belonging to young age supported women candidates more than men of the same category. In a very less percent of **men**, gender consciousness was present. Above 50% of men were neutral in their representative preferences.¹⁹

Significant gender differences in perceptions about economic, nuclear and social issues were found present in Canada **also** 52% of men and 42% of women felt **that** future development of Canada should depend on mixture of private and public control. 75% of the **male** respondents and less than 50% of the female respondents preferred to have self business instead of being employees **under**

somebody else. More men than women thought that foreign investment should be encouraged. 8% more women than men supported government's expansion of welfare programmes. Women are most likely to look to government for adequate retirement incomes whereas men are most likely (above 50%) to rely on the private sectors.²⁰ Women and men divided in unarmed and armed camps over nuclear weapons and war. 57% of women opposed Canada testing nuclear missiles **whereas** 57% of men supported it²¹

7% more women (89% women and 82% men) than men felt that there should be financial recognition for **women's** contribution to family life. 15% more women supported T.V censorship and raising drinking age to **21** years through out Canada. 10% more women than men disagreed with less amount of pension for women as they are likely to live **longer**.²²

Political parties in democracies are the main channels to reach important positions of political power. Most of the politicians gain fame and power primarily through their service to any political party. Sometimes parties act like filters by barring some candidates in entering electoral arena. Mostly this happens to women. Some scholars studied political party activists with gender as the basis.

Though women are integral components of party organisations, most of them ^{remaining} are found to **be in** less powerful positions.²³ Less number of women than men become presidents and **vice-presidents** at local level and very few of them assume executive roles at the provincial and federal level **organisations**. **Women's** activities in political parties are mostly confined to housekeeping chores like **controlling campaigning** offices, serving at fund raising

dinners and march door to door with campaign literature. Thus, most of them occupy pink collar jobs and not decision making offices.²⁴

Over a wide range of issues, women are more found liberal than men. General differences were still greater on issues of women and foreign policy. Gender differences are higher at the rank and file level than at national convention. Though it has no direct impact on the nomination of candidates, it plays a key role in shaping long term policy interests of the parties.²⁵

In 1970s, in an investigation on political ambition of power, it was observed that female party activists are not motivated for power benefits and prestige, generally acquired by occupying ascendant political careers. But men were motivated in a different way.

For many, the notion of the game of politics understandably evokes images of unremitting conflict where, the only object is victory. The prizes take the form of public offices gained; the players aim for personal glory; the style and language of play is harsh and the competition is tough. In a word, images are stereotypically 'masculine'.²⁶ But now politics is not a game of men alone. It became common place for both the sexes. And the motivational gap in gender has come down due to "females' integration into larger community and their modernity with the blossoming of contemporary feminist movement.²⁷ This study notes that the gender gap in political ambition is closed but the sexes want different things from political power. Men of the parties are tending to specialise in power dimension whereas women have strong concern for party programmes and principles.²⁸ These results are drawn after interviewing 3000 Californian political activists and leaders on political motives over a period of twenty years.

Kim F.Kahn who examined the political advertisement of contestants observes **that**, male and female candidates in U.S. Senate Elections held during 1984-86 focussed on policy matters with similar campaign strategies in their appeal to voters through T.V. But men have tended to concentrate on economic issues, while women have been found much more likely to discuss social issues, education and health policy. These differences were evident in campaign but not present in media coverage.²³

Tremblay's "Political Party, Political Philosophy and Feminism : A Case Study of the Female and Male Candidates" observes the influence of gender, political party, political **philosophy** and feminism among candidates of 1989 Quebec General Election. The main concern of the study is to examine the reactions of male, female candidates to the demands formulated by **feminist** movement. These demands are related to family and reproduction, employment, politics and culture. Though candidates belong to three **different** political parties (New Democratic Party of Quebec, the Liberal Party of Quebec and the Party of **Quebecois**), **in** all the three parties, a majority of women than men expressed favourable opinions towards the demands of feminist movement. The differences among them were high specifically on family and reproduction, employment and **culture**. Similar conclusion is drawn by **Brodie** who did research during 1983-84. She states that women are always more likely than men of their political group to support feminist demands.³⁰

Unlike **in** the U.S., party discipline **is** high **in** Canada. Therefore, more than gender, party **philosophies'** and **ideologies'** influence could be seen **in** the opinions of candidates on feminist **demands**. Male candidates of **NDP** are more

in favor to the demands of feminist groups than women of Liberal Party and Parti Quebecois.³¹

Candidates' attitudes towards representation of women in Canadian parliament and their recruitment gave a kind of gender comparative study. 75% of female candidates and 50% of male candidates **favoured** more number of women in parliament. Incumbency, though not an essential **condition**, is required to get elected easily. Only 15.9% of non-incumbents **among** ^{the} **total** number of women parliamentarians were elected whereas 23.6% of male non-incumbents were elected in 1993 elections. These are the findings of Linda **Ericson** in her **Entry to the Commons : Parties, Recruitment and Election of Women.**³² As reported by **non-** incumbent candidates about their **recruitment**, 40% of men reported to have been encouraged only by local party officials whereas 25% of women also reported the same. 58% of women said they were encouraged by local and outside party officials whereas, 31% of males expressed the same view.³³

ELITE LEVEL : Gender comparison at elite levels is another important aspects of study in gender politics. Elites are those elected to those representative bodies either at the states' or at the federal level. Occupying a seat in a representative body is one of the highest political activities. It is possible mostly after performing other minor political activities **like** voting, mobilising voters, campaigning in elections and holding any position in a **political party**. Successful candidates for legislative roles can work to achieve their objectives, goals or **aims**. Gender comparison at elite level is **very** essential because they are members of a body and they do not act **uniformly**. Dissimilarities in their behaviour **is** due to their different perceptions, **background**, ideologies and also

gender. The found and **unfound differences among** male and female legislators are discussed below.

Several theories related to gender socialisation explained the reasons for paucity of women in political offices. One explanation comes from lack of financial support **for** campaigns which has not been tested **properly** so **far**. Generally, it is viewed that women **face** discrimination in raising financial resources to conduct credible campaigns which are very essential *for* success in elections. But this explanation was refuted by Barbara **C.Burrell** who examined elections campaign records of the House of Representatives from **1972-82**.³⁴

Disparity among candidates in raising finances has been very **insignificant**, notes **Burrell**. Donors, political action **committees** and parties have not been found to be showing any prejudice to women. On occasions, women outdistanced their male counterparts in raising campaign finances. They got votes in proportion to their spending without **loss**.³⁵ A slightly **different** result was drawn in another study. **It** is found **that**, on an average, a woman raises one dollar **less** for every **six** dollars raised by a male candidate. The reason is not that women are discriminated in having control over finances or raising funds, but they were nominated to least winning **seats**, they were less incumbents and chairpersons of various committees. **Since** donors **wish** to get something in **return**, obviously they donate to the candidate having more **chances** to win the elections, but do not see whether it is a male or a female. Since more men are incumbents and committee **chairpersons**, **they** are able to raise more finances than women. Thus, indirectly and unintentionally, women become victims of gender based discrimination.³⁶

Women legislators are remarkably similar to men in many aspects of their lives most relevant to politics. But they differ from male **legislators**, primarily with regard to economic **role**, occupational experience and age of entry **into** legislature.²⁷ By studying a comparable group of male and female **legislators**, **Kirckpatrick** reveals that men are more **educated**, came **with professional** background (mostly lawyers) **without** interruptions in service and entered politics at an early age and were fathers of more children compared to female legislators. Most of the women legislators entered politics after 40 **years**, with less number of children.³⁸

But Charles **S.Bullock** and Patricia Lee have made it clear **that**, regularly elected women have similar background of male legislators. **41%** of women in the Congress have been found occupying the seats vacated by the deaths of their husbands. These **widows'** background is dissimilar to that of regularly elected women and male legislators. Most of the widows were less educated and had no work experience. 20% of the regularly elected women were lawyers whereas, none from the widows is a lawyer. Congressional position is a career for women elected in general elections, but not for women elected in **by-elections**. That is the reason why regular women seek reelection to which widows do not give **preferences**. But participation **wise**, not much of difference **is** seen between widows and regular women legislators. The only difference that is found between the sexes is most women winning regular elections had longer office holding and **party** work experience than men who entered Congress for the first time.³⁹

Members of any legislature come to office **with** certain goals, aims and ambitions which could be realised through legislative power. **It** is possible for

them when they could **influence** others in this multi-member institution. Generally, seniority, political fame and other factors may enable a legislator to be an affective member. What other qualities are essential to the more influential persons? Pertaining to this **question, perceptions** of the representatives of Arkansas and Texas differed based on their gender. Males' emphasis was on "**tact and accommodation**", whereas **females** emphasis was on projection of force. Men suggested to renounce all smooth ways and moral approaches that saved world. To get along with everybody, women gave suggestions like '**command respect**', '**speak forcefully**', '**show assurance**', '**be aggressive**', '**be assertive**' and '**have a strong will**'. Self-possession and composure of women is **understandable**, though some male legislators attributed '**hyper-emotionalism**' and '**weakness**' has problems of **women**.⁴⁰

All legislators admitted that apart from '**expertise**', '**bonds of friendship**', '**like**', '**respect**' and '**mutual personal relations**' are some and easy ways to lead a successful **legislative role**. For **that**, all legislators have to be very intimate with their colleagues and the Speaker outside the business place. To form such personal relations, women however felt that they are **disadvantaged** due to their socialization and societal norms. They also viewed that they have to be very **careful** in dressing while dealing with male **colleagues**, especially in social **events**.⁴¹ However, women legislators felt that they cannot be effective legislators through personal relations, they can be so by attaining expert knowledge and hardworking where men do not have any special advantageous **place**.⁴²

Self conscious strategies, depending on the qualities of legislators, have significance **in** one's legislative role. These **strategies**, may be conflict or cooperation are useful to get bills passed **in** the House. To examine the gender

factor in this **aspect**, the authors of this article hypothesised **that**, women legislators use more ‘**power to**’ strategy than men who use ‘**power over**’ strategy. The former one is win-win situation which involves mutual cooperation rather than threats and coercion. The later one power over strategy **is**, win-lose situation like **zero-sum** game which provides place for threats and **coercion**. But in their **investigation**, the authors could not find gender based differences. Male and female legislators are equally critical over ‘**power over**’ strategy and coercive, manipulative and threatening methods to attain their policy goals. Longstanding legislative norms - **colleagual**, courteous and cooperative and realisation of consequences of ‘**power over**’ strategy is the explanation given for the lack of gender **differences** among Arizona and California legislators in using their **self-conscious** strategies. **However**, it has to be confirmed by examining the real behaviour of legislators rather than depending totally on what they said as may **very** well say one thing and do another⁴³ In another way, **Kirkpatrick** in her Political Woman made it clear that women legislators do not differ from male legislators in their perceptions about **interpersonal** relations There is no sex specific perceptions of social **reality**.⁴⁴

Reingold says that the general assumption among public **is** that, female legislators **give** importance to women's issues and are more likely to represent them. The women legislators of Arizona and California were found to be more likely to accept the **link** between descriptive and substantive representation, that **is**, being a woman, actively representing **women's issues** But the male colleagues rejected to agree such a **link** The male and female legislators reacted contradictorily to represent **groups** Women expressed a **kind** of commitment to represent women's concern **which** was rejected by men by saying that representing group **is** against **their duty**, their **job is working** for the entire

constituency. (Out of 49 men 3 men gave support for representing **women's concern**.) More than **men**, women legislators perceived strong support from female constituents as an essential need for **reelection**.⁴⁵

Differences in party affiliations and presence of women's caucus in California caused differences between California and Arizona representatives in their perceptions about **women's** representation. An important finding noted in this study is **that**, increase in the number of women in public offices may not increase attention to **women's** issues. In Arizona state legislature, women's strength is two times more to that **in** California. But the women legislators of California showed strong support for women's representation than that of Arizona.⁴⁶

On most objective measures, Congress women and men were similar in their behaviour but women consistently differed from men in opposing others' **programmes**. It is uncomfortable for them to oppose proposals of others due to their **socialization**.⁴⁷

Some studies **in U.S** have tried to observe whether the impact of gender on **female** legislators, is more than that of male legislators. **In one way, this** kind of research tried to **find** out how far women elites worked for women in public **through** their power. The following are some **details**.

Sue Thomas and Susan **Welch**, before examining the twelve state legislators, predicted that male and female legislators do not differ in their legislative **activities in general**. But they **differ in** their **priorities**. Legislative activities include participating **in** discussion on the floor and in committees,

bargain, meet with lobbyists, introducing bills to realise their preferential objectives. There is scope for women's priorities tilt towards family, child and women welfare policy making. Their **different** priorities, make them to work as a block to influence policy. This became more or less true in their **study**. Both the sexes were equal in introducing bills and getting them passed by using various **means**. But differences are noted in their priorities. All these female legislators were socialised in two ways; as women and also as a political **women**. This made them to be more oriented towards other women welfare issues like health and education. Their priorities reflected on their legislative behaviour and also in occupying **committees**. Men introduced and get more number of bills passed than did women while women were slightly more successful than men in passing **priority bills**. In eight of the twelve states, priority lists of bills are those mostly relating to children and family and women. Men in all twelve states mentioned business bills in their priority lists. These differences are attributed to **women's** preferences rather than discrimination. However, discrimination cannot be ruled out, as men got appointed to prestigious committees like finance and revenue towards which they had greater tendency to **occupy**.⁴⁸

More men than women, listed business accomplishments, whereas, more women than men listed women **related** issues as accomplishments which gave them most satisfaction and pride. Gender differences in activities and priorities of these **legislators**, however statistically are of low significance. More changes in their **priorities** would take place **with** the increasing number of women.

Proving the impact of gender on legislators' roles, Michelle **A.Saint** clearly **said that**, in **Arizona** state **legislature**, more **proposals** to enact laws on women's areas of interest and feminist issues came from female legislators than from male

legislators. Their legislative activity increased by **getting** enactment to their non-women related areas' proposals too. Compared to **men**, they were successful in getting approval to their proposals. In their study they also attempted to give longitudinal analysis **(1969-86)** on Arizona state legislature to investigate qualitative and quantitative changes in the **effects** of gender on public **policy**. Differences in the number, subject matter and enactment rate of women's bills were found as the proportion of women in the state legislature increased by **10%**. Proportionally more **legislation** in traditional women's interest areas and in support of feminist interests than do male legislators, without ending their contribution to public policy in other **areas**.⁴⁹

Ruth **Mandel** and **Debra Dodson** in their, "Do Women Office **Holders** make a **Difference?**", based on the survey conducted by Centre for the American Woman and Politics in **1988** on national women and men lawmakers, brought out the gender differences in attitudes, priorities, policy issues and legislative actions, especially in their priority items getting passed.⁵⁰ Women officials hold more liberal and feminist views than men of same political parties. Women are strong supporters of passing ERA and opponents of banning abortion than that of men **with 18% and 13% difference**. Even on non-women concerned issues, women lawmakers expressed liberal views than their male counterparts. On issues **like** the ability of private sector to solve economic problems **with** less central **government control**, increasing nuclear power plants, death penalty they expressed opposition **with** more percentage than men. **This** study also made similar conclusions about policy priorities (social and human) and actions. Women are having a significant **effect** on the extent to which legislative agendas address both the special concerns of females **in society** and broader human and family **concerns**.⁵¹

To **Gluck Mezey**, sex does not seem to be an important variable in determining attitudes towards women as **equal** participants in the political process. Male and female legislators of **Hawai** shared similar views on the "feminist policy", **position**, but differed in their advocacy of "**feminist**" position.⁵²

Women **legislators** are liberal in voting behaviour **than** their male counterparts. Women in the House of Representatives voted liberally on economic issues connected with the central issue of **government** intervention in the economy. On ERA and abortion they were more feminist than men.⁵³ Gender impact is followed by party impact on voting behaviour of legislator. It is found that Republican women are more feminist than that of Democratic women. When the voting patterns of the members of Congress are examined during **1981-92**, it is found that Congress women are slightly more liberal than Congress men, with few exceptions. During **1981-92**, an average of 47.9% female representatives got conservative support score while men maintained 59.1% score for a **11.2** difference. Neither the patterns are contradictory nor the difference is **significant**. Because, when the regression was applied, gender lost its importance. But it cannot be denied that the Congress women are distinctive from male counterparts by giving **weightage** to women related matters in their **representation**. It is concluded that greater number of women would be representatives in future and **would** create a distinctive legislative **behaviour**.⁵⁴

One important **activity** of any legislator at the state or the central level is **constituency service**. Very little literature comparing the gender performance **in** **this** area **is available**. Devotion to **this** service **is** essential to develop public confidence **in legislatures**. It is also equally important for reelection prospects.

Gender comparison in **this aspect**, enables researches to identify the fundamental differences in their **approach**, political **ambition**, **orientation**, time allotment and devotion in resolving grievances.

Richardson and Freeman controlled the nature of constituency (urban or rural), **leadership**, differences in culture, legislative **careerism** and staffing arrangements in four states - Colorado, Maryland, North Carolina and Ohio to specifically observe gender impact in constituency service. Three measures were applied by the researchers to get accurate results;

1. The number of requests received by a legislator on an **“average”** in a week ;
2. The legislator's belief that "I put more emphasis on constituency service than the typical legislator in my state";
3. The response of the legislator towards the **statement** , **“I would increase constituency service if I had more staff”** .

On an average, women received two extra requests per week than their male colleagues. Female legislators are more than twice **likely** to agree with the statement that they do more casework than others in the state. Women are three times more likely to agree that they would perform more casework if additional staff were available.⁵⁵

Based on her personal experience as a **politician**, **Mrs. Audrey Mc Laughlin (NDP)** noticed certain gender **differences**. She **says**, "women tend to **listen**, men tend to **talk**. Women's style of listening before talking extended with the realm of **decision-making**" "Women are less comfortable with confrontation than **men**".⁵⁶ **Women's ideas**, perceptions and activities are mostly based on moral values than

men. When a difficult issue comes before **women**, their **natural** attitude is how to resolve it? But a man's attitude is how to win it? Power for women is a responsibility. They see it in positive and active terms which is not same for **men**.⁵⁷

Female members of Lok Sabha in one study are found to be more active and **less** inactive compared to their male colleagues in their verbal performance. Those members spoke for more than 50 times in the House during the whole term are categorised as the most active, those spoke between **20-50** times have been grouped as to **B** category (active) and those who spoke for not more than 20 times are treated to **be** coming under category **C** (less active) and those who never uttered a word in the entire term were categorised as **D** (inactive). In the first Lok Sabha 13.7% women were most active whereas, 12.30% men were most active. Among active members 45.5% women were there, but only 17.11% of men were there. 4.8% of women were inactive where as **13.9%** of men were inactive in the first Lok Sabha. 55.5% of women of Fifth Lok Sabha were most active and 3.19% of women were inactive whereas, **12.32%** of men were inactive in the fifth Lok Sabha.⁵⁸

Women members of Indian parliament were mostly interested in **subjects** like railways, family planning, health, nutrition, **education**, marriage and divorce and inheritance. They ignored the issues like international affairs, foreign policy, science and technology, industries and constitutional and legal problems in which men had dominant participation.

The above discussion makes very clear that in political arena, gender differences are more prominent than in other areas of social **activity**. Women voters are more candidate oriented whereas men voters are issue **oriented** There

is a general feeling among the citizens that male candidates are capable of handling tough issues whereas female candidates can do the soft issues well. Marked gender based **difference** is noted in issues like economic, **social**, nuclear energy, environment and women related matters. **There** is also a marked difference in respect of legislators' priority issues. In respect of legislation women are found to be more inclined to introduce women related bills. It is difficult to establish the fact that female representatives are less power oriented than male **representatives**, though women are found in less number in power positions.

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CHAPTER -3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF LEGISLATORS

Representative assemblies occupy an important place in democratic political systems as they are expected to play key roles in shaping the destinies of people . As R.Mulgan says, the main type of political representative is the member of an elected legislative assembly.¹ The character of the representative assembly, to a larger extent, is determined by the demographical factors of the members occupying the office. Generally, representatives are expected to share the characteristics of the constituents whom they represent. Political elite in democratic societies belong to different groups with different ideologies and struggle with one another for the loyalty of the people.² Behaviour, values and opinions of legislators are, to a great extent, influenced by their background and environmental factors, which include early life experiences, group memberships, identifications and affiliations.³

There is a close relationship between the socio-economic background and the behaviour of any individual . Because through background, it is possible to know the early socialization of the personality of individuals which influences the day-to-day interactions with other members and regulates the behavioural patterns. So a study of socio-economic background of elite bears special significance as they participate in community level decisions⁴. In other words, a study of the socio-economic background of the representatives serves different purposes . It helps to identify the answer to questions relating to their attitudes and policies; their role as a microcosm of society and the goals they would like to realise.

Further, socio-economic background helps to know more about society, predict the nature of decision-making strategies and to identify the norms and parameters fixed by the society to elect representatives⁵

There is also an argument which, to an extent, relegates the importance of socio-economic background. According to it after being inducted into 'elite culture' one has to undergo a long series of professional socialization. Therefore, more than socio-economic background, it is their involvement in decision-making process and leaning towards certain political ideologies that give them a big hand in decision-making mechanism⁶ As Shashi Lata Puri says, political power is opened for all classes of society including the exploited and depressed and it is important to study the background of representatives because such studies would enable us to know how far people are following democratic principles in choosing their representatives. She concludes by saying that it is easy to understand the political participation and dynamics of mobilization through the socio-economic background of legislators.⁷ It is also possible to know the aspirations of society and to differentiate the background of elite from that of the masses⁸ A number of studies conducted in India on the subject of socio-economic background of representatives have made clear that, legislators in general are those that have relatively higher social and economic status in society. It should be noted here that, while ideology will have a bearing on participation, some important components of socio-economic background like gender, caste, religion, economic status and physical power would definitely influence the selection and election of candidates. The influence of caste and religion is most important in systems which are experiencing a process of transition from tradition to modernity.

In this chapter it is proposed to present a brief account of the SEB of the members of 7th -10th Lok Sabhas with gender based comparison also. The background of the members of the X Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh is also studied.

Table 1.1
Women's Representation in Lok Sabha

LOK SABHA	TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS	NUMBER OF WOMEN	%
First	490	22	4.4
Second	500	27	5.4
Third	503	34	6.7
Fourth	523	31	5.9
Fifth	521	22	4.2
Sixth	544	19	3.4
Seventh	544	28	5.1
Eighth	544	44	8.1
Ninth	529	28	5.29
Tenth	509	36	7.07
Eleventh	544	32	5.8

In Lok Sabha, the lower House of the Indian Parliament, the strength of women members never crossed 8% (eighth Lok Sabha or 1984) of the total number. Details about women's strength in each Lok Sabha can be seen through table 11.

AGE: Age is a very important factor influencing the degree and extent of participation. In general, young and middle aged compared to the old could be expected to participate more actively in any institution. It is said that increasing age makes a legislator more conservative in performance and in views on policies.

TABLE 1.2

Age - Wise Distribution of Male - Female Members of Seventh to
Tenth Lok Sabha

Sl.	Age Group	Seventh Lok Sabha					Eight Lok Sabha					Ninth Lok Sabha					Tenth Lok Sabha				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
1	25 - 30	9	1.83	0	0	9	6	1.23	1	227	7	13	2.62	1	3.7	14	4	0.85	4	11.11	8
2	31 - 35	42	8.55	1	3.57	43	34	6.98	2	454	36	15	3.03	2	7.4	17	28	5.97	3	8.33	32
3	36 - 40	68	13.64	3	10.71	71	57	11.7	3	681	60	53	10.7	2	7.4	55	46	9.8	4	11.11	50
4	41 - 45	71	14.46	4	14.28	75	68	13.96	5	1136	73	71	14.34	5	18.5	76	67	14.28	8	22.22	75
5	46 - 50	64	13.03	6	21.42	70	70	14.37	7	159	77	87	17.57	5	18.5	92	83	17.69	4	11.11	87
6	51 - 55	80	16.29	4	14.28	84	65	13.34	9	20.45	74	78	15.75	4	14.81	82	69	14.71	2	5.55	71
7	56 - 60	81	16.40	6	21.42	67	75	15.4	5	1136	80	66	13.33	2	7.4	68	60	12.79	5	13.88	65
8	61 - 65	38	7.73	3	10.71	41	68	13.96	6	1363	74	66	13.33	2	7.4	68	63	13.43	3	8.33	66
9	66-70	24	4.88	0	0	24	24	4.99	5	11.36	30	40	8.08	1	3.7	41	31	6.8	1	2.77	32
10	71 - 75	10	2.03	1	3.57	11	10	2.05	1	2.27	11	9	1.81	3	0.6	12	12	2.55	2	5.55	14
11	76 - 80	3	0.61	0	0	3	6	1.23	0	0	6	61	0.2	0	0	1	4	0.85	0	0	4
12	81 - 85	1	0.2	0	0	1	3	0.61	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	1
13	86 - 90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	491	100	28	100	519	487	100	44	100	53	496	100	27	100	522	469	100	36	100	605

whereas young legislators are likely to be more radical in expression and also in experimentation.⁹ Young legislators bring new ideas and **thinking** to the House. A peaceful transformation can take place with the cooperation of old **legislators**.¹⁰ **Narayan Pillai** views **that**, legislators who enter politics at young age have more opportunities to become experts by the length of time spent in politics and they take it as career much more than the late comers and they are also motivated by it.¹¹ “**Different** ages imply variations in life experiences and **affect** left or right political behaviour in at least two ways; through **generational** differences (with the crucial experiences of adolescence and sometimes shaping the political outlook of an entire age group) and through differences in the typical patterns of **social** experience associated with different age groups **adolescence, maternity** and old **age**”.¹² It is necessary to mention here that the minimum age limit for contesting to **Lok Sabha** and Legislative Assemblies in India is 25 **years**.

It is clear that majority of the (above 50%) male members of Lok Sabha belong to the age group of 41 - 60 years and majority of the (above 50%) female members belong to the age group of 41-55. No woman above the age of 75 was elected to any of the Lok **Sabhas**. Compared to **men**, least or **nil** number of women belonging to 25-30 age group were elected to **7th**, 8th and 9th Lok Sabhas. Only in the **10th** Lok Sabha equal number of male and female members of the age group of 25-30 were **elected**. Perhaps that **is** the sign for women taking up political careers at a young age **in** future also. The table also shows that the political career of women is shorter than that of men and begins **in** later **age**.

EDUCATION : Neither the constitution nor Representation of Peoples' Act in India prescribe minimum educational qualifications for a person to be **elected** as a **representative**. But education has **its** own **significance in** the formation of

TABLE - 1.3

Educational Levels of Male and Female Members of **Seventh**, Tenth Lok Sabha

Sl.	Education Level	Seventh Lok Sabha					Eight Lok Sabha					Ninth Lok Sabha					Tenth Lok Sabha				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
1	Under Matriculates	46	92	7	25	53	39	7.97	3	6.81	42	18	3.71	1	3.7	19	16	3.41	2	5.55	18
2	Metri / Inter / Hig. Sec.	114	226	4	14.28	118	98	20.04	14	31.81	112	87	17.93	7	25.92	94	97	20.73	4	11.11	101
3	Graduation	204	40.8	9	32.14	213	224	45.8	14	31.81	238	223	45.97	10	37.03	233	203	43.37	17	47.22	220
5	Post Graduation	129	258	7	25	136	121	24.74	10	27.72	131	118	24.32	6	22.22	124	137	29.27	8	22.22	145
6	Doctor / Other High. Acc. Qual	7	1.4	1	3.57	8	7	1.43	3	6.81	10	14	2.88	3	11.11	17	15	3.2	5	13.88	20
	Total	500	100	26	100	500	469	100	44	100	533	485	100	27	100	512	468	100	36	100	504

opinions and behaviour of **legislators**. While analysing the significance of education Ram **Ahuja** says "education tends to '**humanise**', to enhance the capacity for empathy and thus to achieve an appreciation of the **interests**, aspirations and values. With the increased **self-understanding** provided by **education**, one achieves a broader knowledge of the determinants of human **action**. Besides this, the political involvement and acceptance of those **values**, which sustain democratic processes and **institutions**, increase with the amount of **education**. It has also been noted that opposition to authoritarian **political** elites, political tolerance and support for freedom in expression and civil liberties tend to increase with **education**".¹³

The need of educated **legislators** is recognised in India and hence, there is a proposal to fix metric and graduation as minimum educational qualifications for members of Legislative Assemblies and Parliament **respectively**.

Table 1.3 shows the educational levels of members of Seventh -Tenth **Lok Sabha** along with gender **comparison**. Though there is a wide gap in literacy rate between men and women of **India**, that has not reflected much in Lok **Sabha**. Gradual growth in educational levels of Indians has impact on educational levels of Lok Sabha members. It can be **clearly** noted that the strength of under matriculates is coming down gradually from the Seventh to Tenth Lok Sabha and there **is** a gradual increase **in** the number of members possessing higher academic qualifications. A majority of men and women of Lok Sabha **belong** to the educational group of metric to **graduation**.

Gender comparison of the educational levels of Lok Sabha is **clearly** indicating that a higher percentage of women members of Lok Sabha are **having**

high academic qualifications compared to those of **men**. For example in the Seventh Lok **Sabha**, 3.57% of women **were** with high academic qualifications whereas 1.40% of men belong to this category. Women of mis educational level increased to 13.88% in the Tenth Lok Sabha but the increase in respect of men is **only** 3.20%.

OCCUPATION : Another important factor that influences the behaviour of representatives is their occupation. This feat has been established by various **scholars**. **Walke** and **Eular** said "a person's occupation can affect his perceptions and behavior in many more ways than just giving him a particular **ideological bent**".¹⁴ Charles **S.Hyneman** in his '**Who Makes Our Laws**' **observes that**, lawyers in legislatures represent public as their clients than acting as spokesmen of middle class people or a particular interest of a **society**.¹⁵ Whatever may be the occupational background of a legislator, it definitely reflects on **his/her** attitudes, understanding and efficacy.

There are certain occupations in **India**, that throw more opportunities to acquire legislative roles. Those occupations are **agriculture** (in fact owners of **land**),**legal** practice and political and social work. Lok Sabha always has drawn members mostly from these three **fields** In the three preceding X Lok **Sabha**, more than 80% of members came from these three **occupations** In the Tenth Lok **Sabha**, representatives from these categories though constitute less than those in the previous Lok Sabhas, form more than 60% of the total membership of the House.

Gender-wise, there is a wide qualitative gap **in** the **occupational** background of Lok Sabha members. A **majority** of the male members were

TABLE - 1.4
Occupational Background of Male and Female Members of Seventh - Tenth Lok Sabha

Sl.	Occupation	Seventh Lok Sabha					Eight Lok Sabha					Ninth Lok Sabha					Tenth Lok Sabha				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
1	Agriculturists	195	46.26	11	39.28	206	192	43.3	14	32.55	203	227	51.01	3	12	230	158	33.82	5	13.9	163
2	Artists	1	0.24	0	0	1	4	0.9	1	2.32	5	2	0.44	2	8	4	4	0.85	1	2.77	5
3	Civil & Military Services	4	0.99	1	3.57	5	15	3.38	1	2.32	16	6	1.34	0	0	6	16	3.42	0	0	16
4	Diplomats	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.67	0	0	3	4	0.85	0	0	4
5	Economists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.22	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
6	Engineers & Technologists	6	1.48	0	0	6	4	0.9	0	0	4	11	2.47	0	0	11	7	1.49	0	0	7
7	Former Rulers	1	0.24	0	0	1	2	0.45	1	2.32	3	2	0.44	0	0	2	3	0.64	0	0	3
8	Industrial Workers	4	0.99	0	0	4	7	1.58	0	0	7	1	0.22	1	4	2	4	0.85	0	0	4
9	Journalists / Writers	15	3.71	0	0	15	7	1.58	0	0	7	13	2.92	1	4	14	11	2.35	0	0	11
10	Judges	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.22	0	0	1	1	0.22	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
11	Lawyers	116	28.71	0	0	116	101	22.8	0	0	101	79	17.75	1	4	80	82	17.55	0	0	83
12	Physicians	10	2.47	0	0	10	20	4.51	1	2.32	21	18	4.04	0	0	18	22	4.71	1	2.77	23
13	Pilots	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.21	0	0	1
14	Political & Social Workers	77	19.05	13	46.42	90	70	15.8	15	34.88	85	78	17.52	11	44	89	78	16.7	14	38.9	92
15	Religious Missionaries	1	0.24	0	0	1	1	0.22	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.64	0	0	3
16	Educationalists	32	7.92	3	10.37	35	33	7.44	8	18.6	41	36	8.08	5	20	41	39	8.35	10	28	49
17	Traders & Industrialists	33	8.16	0	0	33	34	7.64	2	4.65	36	18	4.04	1	4	19	15	3.21	1	2.77	16
	Total	404	100	28	100	432	443	100	43	100	486	445	100	25	100	470	467	100	36	36	503

drawn from agriculture followed by legal practice, political and social **work**. But in the case of women **members**, the first place comes to political and social work followed by agriculture and teaching **occupations**. This order has changed to political and social **work**, teaching and agriculture in the 9th and 10th **Lok Sabhas**. When agriculture is the main occupation for more than 50% of people in **India**, why women with agricultural background did not constitute a majority? This is a very important **question**. The main reason for less number of women members **with** this background is the absence of individual **land** holding by women, though a majority of women in India work in the agriculture **sector**. The 'lawyers component' of women members is also negligible and is far less than the male counterparts.

More percentage of women than that of men are elected from the field of political and social work. The reason is women have developed a public image of their **personality** first by serving the **society** as social or political **workers**. For men, though **this** occupation **is** helpful to capture power, **it is** not a primary occupation for them.

Male domination **in** respect of representation from various **categories** of professions like artists, engineers and **technologists**, **journalists**, traders and industrialists ^{is seen} and from certain categories of occupations **like** diplomats, economists, **judges**, pilots, **religious** missionaries so far, not a single **woman is** elected.

LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE : Legislative experience of members has **lot** of impact on the functioning of representative **bodies**. **This** experience not **only** identifies the proportion of the members **who** opted for legislative role as a career

TABLE - 1.5

Legislative Experience of Male and Female Members of Seventh - Tenth Lok Sabha

Sl.	Legislative Exp.	Seventh Lok Sabha					Eight Lok Sabha					Ninth Lok Sabha					Tenth Lok Sabha				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
1	Members with Exp.	380	72	18	64.28	378	240	49.07	29	65.9	269	229	47.02	21	77.07	250	302	64.52	19	52.77	321
2	Now Entrants	140	26	10	35.7	150	249	50.92	15	34.09	264	258	52.97	6	22.22	264	166	35.47	17	47.22	183
	Total	MO	100	28	100	526	489	100	44	100	533	487	100	27	100	514	468	100	36	100	504

and also their winning chances. Apart from it, it also discloses the capacity of the members to gain public support repeatedly. Members with legislative experience may be more efficient and confident in discharging their duties and tackling various problems. For members without legislative experience, it may take some time to adjust in that role and also to win confidence of public especially their constituents. All this, ultimately would have impact on the formation of their opinions.

Table 1.5 reveals the legislative experience of Lok Sabha members. Members elected for more than one term to Lok Sabha and also are regarded as those with legislative experience in the present context. New entrants are those elected to Lok Sabha for the first time and those who had no experience in state legislatures.

One important point to be noted in table 1.5 is, the proportion of fresh and experienced members of Lok Sabha, elected in different elections has been fluctuating indicating the absence of an identifiable trend. But in the case of women members of Lok Sabha, more than 50% of them are those with experience of more than one term. This does not mean that, more than half of the women in Lok Sabha have long political careers. One established trend is that, the parties while selecting women members give preference to election chances. While taking care of not ensuring long careers, Political parties express oral support for fielding good number of women candidates. But in the process of selection of candidates to power positions, women have always been relegated backward. Success chances, money power and caste have very great relevance in the selection of candidates.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF LEGISLATORS IN
X ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY : Detailed information
regarding socio-economic background of members of Tenth Legislative Assembly
is discussed here under.**

CASTE : Caste in Indian politics plays a predominant role than any other factor. Study of caste in Indian politics has become so essential that giving less importance to caste in state politics obviously leads to deficiency of the study.

Available research findings reveal that **caste**, which originally had only social and ritual significance became significant in politics; became an important determinant of hierarchical interaction and inter-relationship, is raising **its** head especially at the time of elections to party president-ships, **legislature** party leadership - local bodies, chair positions and at the time of giving party tickets. And in the name of **socio-economic** transformation, policies in favour of leading castes are coming up. It is **also** revealed that caste feeling inevitably **swayed** electoral loyalties and that political parties impose **party** ideology on the candidates representing Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes.

In **Andhra Pradesh also**, caste occupies a special place **in politics**. Most of the members of the legislature **in this** state belong to **Reddy, Kamma** and **Kapu** castes which are regarded as **forward**. For a clear understanding of the caste profile of the legislators, they are divided **into** those belonging to **FCs, BCs, SCs** and **ST s**. In **addition**, a few members are from minority **communities**. Members elected in **bi-elections** are not included **here**.

Table 1.6
Caste Profile of Members of X Assembly in A. P.

CASTE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Forward	162	58	5	62	167
Backward Classes	21	8	2	25	23
Scheduled Caste	33	10	1	13	34
Scheduled Tribe	13	5	0	0	13
Minority	10	4	0	0	10
Not Available	44	6	0	0	44
Total	283	100	8	100	291

Table 1.6 displays that a majority of the members of Tenth Assembly, belong to forward castes. But 4% more women than men belong to these castes. In the next two caste groups also, more women over men are there with the gap of 13% and 3% respectively. But no woman is elected from the Scheduled Tribes and minority groups. Though the Schedule Caste women's percentage is more over men, compared to the previous assemblies their strength is low. In the Ninth Assembly, the Scheduled Caste women's percentage to their total strength was 33% which is the maximum among all the Houses. In Sixth and Eighth Assemblies, it was 27% and in Seventh Assembly 23% women were elected from Scheduled Castes. In 1972 elections that is, to the Fifth Legislative Assembly where more women of lower classes were elected, Wolkowitz viewed that, this enables Congress party to fulfill its promise to give more seats to women at the same time saving seats for dominant castes' men, who are real political actors. In the Fifth Legislative Assembly, women belonging to SC and ST groups were more than men representing these groups¹⁷

AGE: Age of the representatives of Tenth Assembly when they entered the House is taken for the purpose of analysis. For a clear understanding, MLAs are classified into five age groups beginning from 25-35 to 66-75.

Table 1.7
Age-wise Distribution of X Assembly Members.

AGE GROUPS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
25-35	28	10	0	0	28
36-45	103	36	5	62.5	108
46-55	78	28	2	25.0	80
56-65	35	12	0	0	35
66-75	13	4	1	125	14
76-85	1	0.35	0	0	1
Not Available	25	9	0	0	25
Total	283	100	8	100.0	291

Through table 1.7 it can be noted that there are some similarities and dissimilarities between the genders. The chief similarity is in both the genders, a large proportion of members belong to the age group of 36-45 and 46-55. It is 54% male members and 87.5% female members that are together falling in these two age groups. But 40% more women are there in the age group of 36-45 and 3% more men are there in the age group of 46-55.

From the age group of 66-75 6% more women over men are elected. From the remaining three age groups, women are not elected at all. Table 1.7 makes us to assess that women at early age are not assuming legislative roles and are also not having long political careers as that of men. This Tenth Assembly is

different from the previous assemblies, because for the first time, very few women were elected and 73% seats were occupied by the TDP, which fielded only 8 women in 1994 elections. Out of the eight fielded women candidates, six got elected.

The age-wise distribution of female members of previous assemblies gives a different picture. From Fifth to Ninth Assemblies, a reasonably good number of women were there in the age group of 25-35. Nine out of twenty eight three out of eleven, four out of thirteen, and five out of eighteen were women members of V, VI, VII, VIII and IX Assemblies respectively. In all these assemblies, no woman was there in the age group of 66-75. But in the present Assembly there is one woman falling in this age group. It is clear that a large number of women are not permitted to have long political careers. Wolkowitz aptly says. "opportunities for women to sustain career in politics and thereby gain the political power, social prestige and financial rewards, which office holding potentially carries are restricted in part by the unwillingness of party leaders to encourage them in long term".¹⁸

EDUCATION : To have an understanding of the educational background of the members of the Tenth Assembly, education levels are grouped into five levels. As in the case of Lok Sabha, here also we can expect the impact of the educational levels of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly members. Table 1.8 reveals the educational background of the legislators in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 1.8
Educational Background of X Assembly Members.

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Primary	12	4	2	25	14
Metric / Inter	88	31	2	25	33
Graduates	73	26	3	37	76
Post Graduates	11	4	1	13	12
Professional /Other Higher Qualification	74	26	0	0	74
Not Available	25	9	0	0	25
Total	283	100	8	100	291

*In the category of professionals, lawyers, doctors, engineers and others who held degrees above post-graduation are included.

Table 1.8 reveals that there is more number of women in the pre-metric group than that of men. The gap is so wide that women of this educational level are 6 times greater than that of men. At the second level of education figuring in the table, 6% more men are there over women members. Among graduates and post graduates it is more percent of women over men with a gap of 12.5% and 8.5% respectively. It is a discouraging factor that none of the women members are with professional or other higher qualifications. (In bi-elections one of the women elected is possessing above P.G qualification) whereas 26% of men equivalent to that of graduates among themselves are holders of M.B.B.S, B.E., B.Tech, M.Tech. B.L M.L and MBA degrees. It should be noted here that, women with pre-metric qualification were less in percentage in all the five

previous Assemblies. And a minimum 9% women were there with profesional or other high qualifications. These women were mostly holders of MBBS degrees and possessed above post graduation qualifications. Existing gender differences in educational levels of the Tenth Assembly show a contrasting situation to that of Lok Sabha,

Table 1.9
Occupational Background of X Assembly Members

S.NO	PROFESSION	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Agriculture	144	51.00	1	125	145
2.	Political/Social work	46	16.25	4	50	50
3.	Legal Practice	21	7.42			21
4.	Business	17	6.00			17
5.	Teaching	9	3.18			9
6.	Medical Practice	15	5.30			15
7.	Contractors	4	1.41			4
8.	House Wives			3	37.5	3
9.	Others	10	3.53			10
10.	Not Available	17	6.00			17
11.	Total	283	100	8	100	291

OCCUPATION : The behavioural pattern of legislators is directly related to the occupations followed by them Table 1.9 displays the occupational background of the members of the X Assembly

In all the occupations mentioned in the table 19, there are significant gender differences. Men elected from agriculture sector are four times greater

than women. In fact, there is a gradual decrease in the number of legislators elected from this sector to Lok Sabha and Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. Similarly, women elected from the occupation of agriculture are also decreasing gradually from Sixth Assembly onwards. 27% women were with agriculture as the occupational background in the Sixth Assembly. This percentage came down to 11% in the Ninth Assembly. The limited presence of women with agriculture as their occupation is due to absence of land holding for women. There is 34% gap between men and women who came with political and social work experience 37.5% of women without any occupation were elected to the Tenth Assembly. This large group of house wives were never there in the preceding five assemblies. The elections in 1994 brought more women who belong to 'house wife' category. The reason is the attitude of political parties in selecting women to their husbands' vacated places.

There are no women with medical practice, legal practice, business and contractors as the occupation. From Business class and from contractors, women were not elected to the previous assemblies also Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly had seen women with medical practice and teaching experience in a reasonably good number. Only in the Eighth Assembly, one woman with the background of legal practice was elected A large number of men (67%) in the Assembly are falling in the first two kinds of occupations And the remaining 27% are distributed to different occupations as given in the table

Under the category of 'other', members who served as workers in industries, engineers, bureaucrats are included None of the women in the present assembly has this background.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE: To an **effective** and active **politician**, knowledge regarding this game and capacity to work are highly **required**. This **knowledge** can be acquired by a person **depends** on **his/her** individual calibre, exposure to political field and experience earned in it. Political experience at local or state or national level would help in successful **role performance**. Political **roles**, to a considerable **extent**, **are** influenced and shaped by experience. Political role is understood here as involvement and activity in the political process. Several studies relating to women's political chances revealed **that**, women are selected as candidates either for marginal or hopeless seats. This limits the chances of women earning political experience. **For** example, **Mulville Currell** has pointed out **that**, in Britain there is evidence to show that women are chosen for '**unsafe**' seats. **Thus**, trend, however has changed and the safe seats to women candidates have increased. In **India**, the practice of allotting unsafe seats to women is still continuing.

To estimate the political experience of the Tenth Assembly members - experience earned in '**para-political**' **organisations**, local governmental bodies and legislatures are examined. '**Para-political**' organisations **in** the present context are **those**, which are neither totally political **in** nature nor independent from them. They include cooperative **banks**, primary **agriculture**, cooperative societies and district cooperative markets. Experience gained **in** these organisations could be a channel to get **into** power at the state **level**. **Sometimes** political parties accommodate their pals in these bodies to satisfy them.

Local governmental **institutions** include **Panchayat Raj** bodies **like** Gram **Panchayats**, **Mandal Parishads**, **Zilla Parishads**, Municipalities and Municipal Corporations. These provide chances for direct involvement **in** deliberations and

decision making. This experience would facilitate good background for membership in the representative bodies at the state level. In fact, these are important pathways to assume leadership roles and prepare members to get elected to legislatures.¹⁹ An American scholar, W.J.M Machenzie in his article "Local Government Experience of Legislators" viewed that legislators who held posts in the local governmental institutions see the problems in an angle different from those representatives who do not have such experience.²⁰

Table 1.10
Political Experience of Members of the X Assembly.

S.NO	EXPERIENCE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	Para Political	54	19	3	37	57
2.	Local Government	108	38	2	25	110
3,	Legislature	140	49	6	75	146
4	Totalno.of members	283		8		291

Legislative experience includes service in Parliament or in previous assemblies or in Legislative Councils. Opportunities of reelection, maturity in behaviour in the House can be assessed through studying the nature and extent of experience. Table 1.10 gives details of the experience of X Assembly members.

Some of the members in the House have experience in more than one field. Therefore the totals in the sub items do not tally with the total number of members.

Through the table it is clear that in 'para-political' organisations more women than men are having experience with 18% gap. In local government experience it is men who are more than women with 13% difference. But it is identified that 11% male and 12.5% female members are having experience, both in 'para political' and local government bodies.

Nearly 50% of male members have previous legislative experience and it is 26% more women elected to the Tenth Assembly are those with legislative experience. There is a woman serving as **M.L.A** for the fourth term which is the lengthiest legislative career for any of the **Andhra** Pradesh Legislature women member. A male legislator in the sample is serving for the 7th term, which is the maximum number of terms for than any member so far in the **House**.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES : Being associated with voluntary or social or recreational organisations is considered by some as the stepping stone for political roles. Membership and participation in and through these associations helps to gain knowledge of social problems, evolve problem solution methods and work for solutions. Such organisations are also training centres of leadership. As **Kirkpatrick** says "membership in civic and other 'do good' organisations rests on two pre-dispositions; a tendency to identify public problems as private concerns and a tendency to seek solutions through cooperative action". Spirit of cooperation, sense of give and take also could be improved through these associations.

As a large number of members did not give full details regarding their affiliations with various associations, a detailed analysis or particulars cannot be given. However within the information relating to 182 members, (174 male and

8 female), it is noticed that 111 male members and 3 female members are having relations with various associations and 63 male members and 5 female members are not associated with such organisations. There are differences in **the** quality of organisation in which men and women are having activities. Trade **unions**, Olympic associations and sports organisations, caste **groups**, clubs like **Nizams**, Madras, Lions, Rotary, religious associations like **Ayyappa Seva Samithi**. Officers clubs, literary and educational, welfare oriented associations are the organisations to which more number of men are having **connections**. Some members belonging to Left parties are associated with organisations like Peasants' Association. The three women having activities in organisations are associated with women related groups like **Mahila Mandals**.

With the above in the background, a detailed account of the background of the respondents is given here under. As noted, the sample consists of 82 male and 18 female legislators.

AGE: As **mentioned** already, age of a person has influence on attitudes and behaviour. Table 1.11 gives the age-wise distribution of male and female legislators in the **sample**. Age at the **time** of entering the House **is** taken for purposes of analysis.

Table 1.11
Age-wise Distribution of the Respondents

S.NO	AGE GROUP	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	25-35	8	9.75	1	5.55	9
2.	36-45	32	39.02	12	66.66	44
3.	46-55	24	29.26	3	16.66	27
4.	56-65	12	14.63	1	5.55	13
5.	66-75	6	7.31	1	5.55	7
6.	76-85	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
	TOTAL	82	100.00	18	100.00	100

It can be noted that those in the age group of 36-45, males or females, constitute the single largest group. But interestingly, a very large proportion of women members belong to this group and the proportion of male members to their total is far less than that of female members of their total.

A majority of women members elected for the first time are those under the age of 35. Of those who have crossed the age of 55, the proportion of male members in total is far higher than, in fact, more than double to that of women members proportion, to their total, in this age group.

There is a gradual decrease in the number of men and women of the later age groups. But comparatively women are less than those of men in these groups. The difference among men of 36-45 and 46-55 age group is 10% whereas, among women of these two age groups it is 50%. This indicates that middle aged women have more opportunities to assume legislative roles than those in later age groups.

EDUCATION : While deciding the educational levels of the respondents, the categorisation adopted for educational levels of Tenth Assembly is taken. Table 1.12 displays the educational levels of the respondents.

Table 1.12
Distribution of the Respondents Based on Educational Background

S.NO	EDUCATIONAL LEVELS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Primary	5	6.09	4	22.22	9
2.	Metric/Inter(PUC)	26	31.70	3	16.66	29
3.		23	28.04	7	38.88	30
4.	Post Graduates	4	4.87	3	16.66	7
5.	Professional/other					
6.	High Qualifications	24	29.26	1	5.55	25
	TOTAL	82	100.00	18	100.00	100

Table 1.12, giving details of educational background of the respondents, makes clear that the proportion of male members, to the total, having pre-metric education is far less than that of female members to their total. The percentage of graduates among the women members is significantly more than that of the male members. Same is the situation in respect of post graduates. Amongst the professionals, the trend is reverse and the proportion of male members is far higher than that of the female members.

CASTE : Caste in India is one of the chief determinants of social status of any individual. Legislators in the study belong to forward castes, backward classes.

Scheduled Castes, a few Scheduled Tribes and minorities. Table 1.13 gives the caste profile of the legislators in the sample.

Table 1.13
Caste Background of the Respondents

S.NO	CASTE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Forward Caste	53	64.63	13	72.22	66
2.	Backward Class	11	13.41	2	11.11	13
3.	Scheduled Castes	11	13.41	2	11.11	13
4.	Scheduled Tribes	4	4.87	0	0.00	4
5.	Minorities	3	3.65	1	5.55	4
	Total	82	100.00	18	100.0	100

Table 1.13 shows that a majority of the male and female respondents are drawn from higher social strata, which is a common feature of Indian politics. There is a gender gap in case of Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. As mentioned earlier, after 1972 Assembly elections, no Scheduled Tribe woman is elected to the House. The gap existing between men and women belonging to minorities is 2%, which is not really significant.

OCCUPATION : For clear understanding, occupations of the respondents are categorised into eight groups. Government servants, students and players are formed into the group of 'others'. Table 1.14 gives the occupational details of the respondents.

Table 1.14
Occupational Background of the Respondents.

S.NO	PRIOR OCCUPATION	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Agriculturists	37	45.12	1	5.55	38
2.	Political/Social workers	16	19.51	6	33.33	22
3.	Lawyers	10	12.19	0	000	10
4.	Business	9	10.97	0	000	9
5.	Teachers	3	3.65	2	11.11	5
6.	Doctors	1	1.21	0	000	1
7.	Contractors	3	3.65	0	000	3
8.	Others	3	3.65	2	11.11	5
9.	House wives	0	0.00	7	38.88	7
	Total	82	100.00	18	100.00	100

The occupational background of male and female members of the sample makes interesting revelations. The highest percentage of male members are drawn from the profession of agriculture and the highest percentage of women members are house wives, doing unpaid jobs. Very less percentage of women respondents have identified themselves as agriculturists. It is also noted from the study that, entry into legislative roles in the case of women is through social and political work. This aspect has been found to be less significant, though not absent in the case of male members. Women belonging to the professions of law, business and medicine and contractors are significant by their absence. Male members of these professions are constituting a sizeable proportion to their local

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE : If prior occupation influences the ideology of a legislator, political experience determines the length of his or her political career. The members in the sample are classified into three groups viz :

Members with (1) 'para political' experience, (2) local government experience and (3) legislative experience. Table 1.15 gives details of political experience of the respondents.

Table 1.15
Distribution of the Respondents Based on Political Experience.

S.NO	EXPERIENCE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Para political	20	24.39	4	22.22	24
2.	Local Govt.	40	48.78	3	16.66	43
3.	Legislature	39	47.56	10	55.55	49
	Total	82		18		100

Some of the respondents are having experience in more than one field and some are not having at all. Therefore, the total number does not tally with the number of the sample i.e, 82, 18 and 100, for males, females and total respectively

Table 1.15 discloses that gender difference among the respondents with 'para political' experience is least significant, as only 2% more men over women are there. But regarding experience in local government, there is a wide gender difference. Male respondents are almost three times greater than female respondents. It is the local government experience, that counts much for candidates election, political fortune and role performance. In fact, local

government experience provides a strong base for growing up in the hierarchical political ladder. The reason for less number of women legislators with local government experience is that, until recently women's entry into politics has been discouraged. They are kept far from positions in the local government institutions. But with the enforcement of 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, not less than 1/3 of the positions in the local government institutions are occupied by women. Hence, more women with experience in local government institutions could be expected to assume legislative roles in future. It is noted that women with legislative experience are more with the difference of 8% more than men .

DURATION OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE : Table 1.16 discloses the duration of political experience gained by the respondents separately at local and state level.

A study of the duration of political experience of the respondents has resulted in interesting findings. The table is clearly indicating that, long political careers for women is a rarity and a luxury Women having legislative careers between 11-20 years are only two in number, making it only 11% of their total Male members having experience ranging from 11-20 constitute 19 5% of their total None of the women members have more than twenty years experience

Table 1.16
Duration of Respondents' Political Experience.

S.NO	EXPERIENCE IN YEARS	LOCAL LEVEL				Total	STATE LEVEL				Total
		Male		Female			Male		Female		
		No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%	
1	1-5	15	18	4	22	19	41	50	8	44	49
2.	6-10	11	13	2	11	13	20	24	8	44	28
3.	11-15	10	12	0	0	10	13	21	1	55	14
4,	16-20	6	7	0	0	6	2	2.4	1	5.5	3
5.	21-25	2	3	0	0	2	2	2.4	0	0	2
6,	26-30	1	1	0	0	1	1	1.2	0	0	1
7.	31-35	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	1
8.	Total Respondents	82		18		100	82		18	100	100

NUMBER OF CHILDREN : Kirkpatrick in her Political Woman clearly mentioned that, women who opted political careers are with less number of children compared to political men²² The reason is that political life requires devotion of more time to activity outside the home and hence, women who primarily lake up the responsibility of rearing children cannot devote enough time to political life The position in Andhra Pradesh is different Table 1 17 gives details of the number of children of the respondents in the study

Table 1.17
Number of Children of the Respondents.

S.NO	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Unmarried	3	3.65	0	0.00	3
2.	0	3	3.65	1	5.55	4
3.	1	4	4.00	3	16.66	7
4.	2	21	25.60	7	39.00	28
5.	3	24	29.26	5	8.00	29
6.	4	18	21.95	0	0.00	18
7.	5	6	7.31	1	5.55	7
8.	6	2	2.42	1	5.55	3
9.	7	1	1.21	0	0.00	1
	TOTAL	82	100.00	18	100.00	100

Among men in the sample, three were unmarried by the time they were elected to the assembly. They married later. But among women, all were married by the time they entered the legislature. Age-wise, these unmarried men are younger than other members of the House, though they belong to 25-35 years age group.

Those legislators with more than three children are 33% among the males and 11% amongst the females. It can be inferred that responsibility of taking care of children has prevented women more than men from assuming legislative roles. Because, the percentage of men having more than 3 children is three times more than that of women. Women legislators having more than three children are

those from politically active families. One of the two respondents of this group is committed to public service since her childhood. It is her total commitment, that contributed to active involvement. Her case could be taken as an example to support the argument that, role conflict is not an unsurmountable problem.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OR MEMBERSHIP IN ASSOCIATIONS: Table 1.18 gives details regarding the respondents' social activities.

Table 1.18
Respondents Affiliation with Associations.

S.NO	MEMBERSHIP	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		I	NO %	NO	%	
1.	YES		50 60.97	10	66.66	60
2.	NO	32	39.02	8	44.44	40
3.	TOTAL	82	100.00	18	100.00	100

The difference between male and female legislators in possessing membership in associations is not much significant. But the nature of associations in which they are members is different. Men belonging to TDP and Congress(I) are having membership in such association which are social, recreational and cultural. To name a few are Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, Boats Club, Nataka Kala Parishad, Arasavalli Arts & cultural association, NTR fan's association, Lalita Kala Samiti. Apart from these, some of them are having membership in academic and literature oriented organisations like Mother and Wife's Academic Service and Indian Institute of Public Administration. Few of these parties' members are associated with trade unions, consumer protection organisations, SC\ ST, youth welfare organisation, lorry owners associations etc.

Members belonging to left parties are having connections with organisations like State Agricultural workers, Horticulture, Andhra Pradesh Agriculture Labour Organisation, Rythu, Geetha and Karmika Sanghams, Andhra Maha Sabha and Kisan Sabha. These groups are concerned about farmers' problems and interests. There are some left party members having membership in self employed welfare society, trade unions and youth organisations. Women respondents are mostly associated with Andhra Manila Sangam. Manila Mandals in their areas, Stree Samajam, Karuna Society.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP : Property is a good indicator of the economic status of individuals. Entering election fray needs huge amounts of money, especially when there is a strong opponent or opponents. Role of money in elections begins from 'purchasing a party ticket' onwards. Some times that is the chief determinant of electoral success of candidates. Absence of property has become an important obstacle to enter active politics and also explains why women are far away from holding power positions. Table 1.19 gives information about the property ownership of the MLAs in the sample.

Table 1.19
Property Ownership of the Respondents.

S.NO	NAME OF PROPERTY	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	House	3	3.65	3	16.66	6
2	Land	64	78.04	11	61.11	75
3	Business	23	28.04	0	0.00	23
4	Nil	11	13.41	4	22.22	15
	Total	82	100	18	100	100

The table 1.19 show **that**, eight men and two women are owners of only **land**. Those who are having business are also owners of land and house. None of the women respondents are having business in their name. It is obvious that men are having stronger hold over property than women. Among the **male legislators**, who are not having property are members of Left parties. One **male** member of the ruling party without ownership of property said "in our families property won't be in the name of men. So our land and house are **in** the name of **my wife**". He further said **that**, they are inheritors of **Dravidian** culture, hence preferential treatment to women in respect of **property ownership**. But another legislator who is a woman aptly questioned that "**how** can I, a woman, be the owner of property? It is in the name of my **husband**".

The above discussion reveals that gender **differences** in the background of members of **Lok Sabha, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly** and also among the respondents of the study are **noted**. In **Lok Sabha** female members belonging to **the** 41-55 age group, men belonging to **the** 41-60 age group are **more**. In the Tenth Assembly and among the respondents women and not men largely belong to the age group of 36-45. In the other age groups men are predominant over women. Women with higher educational levels are more than men with the same educational levels. In the Tenth Legislative Assembly and also among the respondents women are more with less educational levels. There are **both**, qualitative and **quantitative** gender differences in the occupational **background**. Agriculture is the occupation from which men were elected in large number **whereas**, political and social work is the occupation of a large number of women elected to **Lok Sabha**. Similar gender difference is found among the members of Tenth **Assembly** and also among **the respondents**.

Significant proportion of women elected to the Assembly are without any **occupational** experience. **Pre-legislative** experience is more to men than to women. **Though**, more percent of women than men is having legislative experience, it is men who have enjoyed **longer legislative** careers than **women**. Among the respondents in the study, male **members** than female members are **having** more number of children. Very visibly, women are unequal **with** men in owning **property**. These noted differences may reflect on their **priorities**, perceptions and behaviour.

FOOT NOTES

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- 7 Pun, ShashiLata. Legislative Elite in an Indian State 1978 pp 31-32
- 8 Mishra, K K Op.cit p.70
- 9 Walkhe, C.John et.al. Op cit pp 239-242
- 10 Puri, ShashiLata Op cit p.51
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CHAPTER -4

SELECTION AND ELECTION EXPERIENCES

Free election to legislative bodies is a prerequisite for representative democratic systems. Such elections not only facilitate free choice to the electorate but also popular control over representation. More than what rulers do, who the rulers are is an important aspect that gained importance in behavioural studies. Legislative roles constitutionally are accessible to all citizens. But those with adequate capacity need to be chosen to make these structures effective. There are several operational problems associated with the choice of representatives. Caste, money, influence, control and several related factors have a bearing on the election of representatives. The ultimate result is uneven representation of social groups in the legislative bodies. This is the reason why the legislatures are considered by some as unrepresentative houses, even misrepresentative houses. In the process of selecting candidates, in party based democracies, the political parties, while playing crucial roles, are faced with several problems. Political parties are the important instruments of candidate selection in the process of elections and parties are expected to adopt democratic means. Apart from interest aggregation the parties have the functions of fielding candidates, conducting campaigns, raising funds and working for the success of their nominees. In the process they involve in negotiations, persuasion, representation, recruitment, deliberation and given the opportunity, make determinant of government. In the process of recruitment, they identify talent and prepare leaders. These become crucial factors in the working of representative government.

Selection and election of candidates to legislative bodies constitute significant parts of political recruitment in general. The recruitment process

will have its influence on the subsequent behaviour of the recruited. The style of recruitment also will have its impact on the image that a party has. The mechanisms adopted to field candidates and the approaches to understand the nature of political recruitment have also become the subject matter of research studies of contemporary. It would be useful to understand the views of writers like Barber. To him, political recruitment and official behaviour could be studied through three main approaches- First of these, the Traditional approach seeks to examine the conditions of political organisation in a constituency and the affects of inter and intra-party competitiveness.

The second approach, that is. Sociological approach intends to study the background of legislators and tries to observe how the background differs from that of the general population. The third approach. Motivation approach would lay emphasis on testing the interest capacity and need of the legislators. It can be said that, none of the approaches would help to fully understand the nature of recruitment. A combination of the 3 approaches would be useful to identify the chief factors contributing to the success of the candidates.

George Blair has identified the mechanisms that are generally adopted to field candidates in elections. They include Conscription, Self Recruitment, Cooption and Agency Recruitment mechanisms. In conscription mechanism the party persuades loyal candidates to contest even when chances of success are poor. Candidates enter the race with the support of friends before being cleared by the party, when self-recruitment mechanism is used. Persuading persons whose names carry prestige due to social status is called cooption mechanism. The last of the mechanisms, that is agency recruitment mechanism is that through which the candidates are encouraged by interest

groups, but they hope that they represent and protect the interests of the groups. Thus, in the process of recruitment, the initiative may come from either the candidates themselves or the groups or parties.

In addition to the above, inter-party competitiveness has considerable relevance in the selection process of contestants. As is well known, each party wants its candidates to succeed and in the process of fielding candidates, each party would begin to weigh the strength of other parties and also assess the possibilities of success?

In this context, it is necessary to give some details of candidate selection in centralised and decentralised party systems. In centralised party systems, existing in countries like India and England, the party president has a very important role in finalising the names of candidates. In this function, the party leadership relies heavily on the reports of the local organisations and the leadership of the party. The party president's decisions are also guided by candidates' length of experience in the party and its organisations, articulating abilities, image in the constituency, contacts with party's rank and file, hold over the communities to which they belong, economic capacity, affinity with the party leaders, gender and political background of the families⁴.

In addition to the above, there are several informal stages before the names of candidates enter ballot papers. Cases of threats, offering money to party leadership or contributions to party funds are some extra legal activities which are not made public by persons seeking candidatures. These become activities in camera and cannot be proved. Such activities are considered forming part of 'private affair'.⁵ As Palanithurai viewed, in a system where

party establishes dominance, decision of the party leader is for legislative bodies. Legislature in such systems could be called 'reactive legislatures' according to him. The success chances play a predominant role in choosing candidates.

In systems having decentralised party systems, the selection of candidates is done at different levels. For example, in U.S., candidates for elections to Senate are selected by the leadership at states' level. Decisions about the candidates for the House of Representatives are taken by the leadership at the district level. Local contests are left to the decisions of local leaders.

A study conducted on recruitment process adopted by two major political parties in Andhra Pradesh, that is, TDP and Congress- I party, in the Assembly elections of 1994 reveals very interesting facts. The Congress - I has set up a two member committee to prepare a plan for candidate selection. The committee advised scientific method for selections and suggested the selection of those who have 'track record' and have winning chances. In this situation, it is difficult to explain the meaning of scientific method with objectivity. The final selections, in fact, have not been made by the party president using his judgment. The caste pressures and more importantly, the decision of the C M of the state prevailed over the central leadership. The result was that the party president was forced to distribute party tickets on the bases mentioned above. It is also to be pointed out that those who were close to the Chief Minister got selected in large number and the appeals of some caste associations made to the Prime Minister to choose some members have been of no avail, because the hold of the C M - K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy is too strong.

been considerable over the party rank and file. In this context, the personality of the Chief Minister has influenced the Prime Minister's (P.V.Narasimha Rao) decision. It should be noted that, in these elections, the leadership at the state level played a decisive role in candidates' selection irrespective of the fact that the general trend is in favour of centralised decision-making. A large number of rejected candidates by the party leadership at the state level entered the fray as rebel candidates.⁷

The TDP supremo, NTR started searching for candidates since a year before elections. Renomination of sitting MLAs and fixing of 'merit' and 'capabilities' have been declared as bases for recruiting the contestants. In the process, his two sons-in-law and his newly married wife Mrs.Lakshmi Parvathi have had considerable influence. The role of the wife has been more influential than that of sons-in law, though the verdict has been declared as that of party president NTR. And the number of aspirants has increased and in fact, the increase was tremendous. The party president is reported to have declared that party tickets would be given to those who mobilise participants in TDP's rallies. The party aspirants spared not even a single effort to impress their leader by mobilising people's attendance in large numbers in the rallies organised. The media has reported that, those who contributed large amounts of money could easily get tickets. It is clear that, in the case of the Congress party, caste and decision of the then C.M., who is also a senior leader of the party have had a big say in candidates' choice. Mobilisation of people in party rallies and money have been the decisive factors in the process of recruitment by the TDP⁸

Gender difference could be expected to have its influence in the selection and election of candidates for representative **houses**. The recruitment process adopted in the case of the **legislators** under study is analysed on the basis of interviews with the respondents.

INITIAL DECISION : In the **political** process, participation starts with thinking and discussing matters related to **politics** and assuming the **role** of **candidates** for selection will definitely ^{be} preceded by other roles. As it is generally accepted, participation in politics implies the decision to participate or not, the direction of participation and the intensity of participation. The first stage of entrance into political roles and the factors responsible for the entry **deserve** careful investigation and understanding. These factors directly or indirectly influence the candidates' image and **recognition** in the party, which have **some** bearing on the success or otherwise in elections.

KINSHIP AS A FACTOR IN CANDIDATES' SELECTION : Democracy and **hereditary** principles are contradictory to each other. **But**, kinship holds a **pre-dominant** place in the choice of candidates for several public offices. This is true in both developed and developing systems. Modern democracies with **written** constitutions make clear mention of the fact **that**, political positions **are** elective and not **hereditary**. But the reality is, public offices are occupied by people with hereditary factors in the background. Some political parties have earned **reputation** of uncle-nephew parties implying the role of **family** members and relatives in the distribution of positions. **In** the case of **women**, the role of family and **relatives** is stronger around **the world**. This is precisely the reason why the widowhood qualification has been set up and accepted **by** political parties, **especially** when vacancies created by death or **resignation** of husbands

are to be filled by the wives. It is the sympathy factor and also the place of deceased legislator that largely contribute to the success of the widow of deceased legislator. In the constituencies, where the widows are fielded as candidates, preferences to winning elections but not to field a woman candidate seems prominent. Table 2.1 makes clear that the status of spouse has a very great relevance in the case of women candidates compared to male candidates.

Table 2.1
Distribution of Respondents Based on the Family Members' and Relatives Involvement in Politics.

RELATION	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Father	13	16	3	17	16
Spouse	1	1	8	44	9
Uncle (paternal/maternal)	6	7	0	0	6
Family	8	10	1	6	9
Others(cousms/distant relatives)	19	23	3	17	22
None	39	48	5	28	44
Total no.respondents	82		18		100

It can be seen from the table 2.1 that 56% of the respondents have either close or distant relatives in politics. 44% of the women respondents have their spouses in politics, whereas only 1 % of the male respondents have spouses in politics. It is important to note here that this respondent entered politics prior to his wife's entry. Both he and his wife have been members of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly during 1967-71, Women whose husbands were active politicians, entered political life after husband's political

entrance. They became legislators to fill the vacancies through widowhood qualification. None of the women legislators had uncles in politics. The 'others' in the **table** include **brothers**, cousins and other relatives. Among 19 male respondents who have 'others' in politics, 3 members have brothers in politics. One among these 3 had a brother in local politics, who was murdered during local bodies' elections. The 3 women respondents, whose fathers were politicians **also** had politically active husbands. One among the eight women **respondents**, whose husbands were active politicians, was given party tickets by the CPI(M) only after her **husbands'** death, though she has been an active party member and worked in several organisations of the party from 1964. 48% of the male and 28% of the female respondents are not having any political relatives.

POLITICAL ENTRY OF THE RESPONDENTS : In democratic nations, entry into politics, theoretically speaking is not difficult. These systems provide a large number of political structures, periodical elections and political rights like universal adult **franchise**, to contest **from** political associations, due to which political involvement becomes easier in democracies. However, using all **the** avenues depends on individuals' decision to assume political roles which ultimately depends on various factors. In India, a set of people took up political careers being influenced by contemporary conditions like freedom struggle and emergency. The birth of new political parties **also** gave scope for new comers to **politics**. Apart from these, influence and encouragement given by individuals, self motivation and initiative also facilitate political entrance of many citizens **into politics**. To find out the key factor/factors that have contributed to the entrance of respondents into politics, five options have been examined. The options

include party, special event or conditions, specific individuals, self motivation and others. The 'others' include party workers, ideology of a party, important persons^{and} organisational activities of a party.

Table 2.2
Distribution of the Respondents According to the First Entry into Politics.

S.NO	FACTOR	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Party	7	9	2	11	9
2.	Special Event or condition	12	15	3	17	15
3.	Specific Individuals	28	31	8	44	36
4.	Self motivation	31	38	4	22	35
5.	1 Others	11	13	3	17	14

Table 2.2 reveals the determinants of the respondents' political entry. It suggests self-motivation and influence of specific individuals have been the two chief factors leading to entry of the legislators in the sample into politics. But the influence of self-motivation has been far more in the case of male legislators compared to female legislators. One interesting and determining factor is that women's entry into legislative roles according to the study is largely due to encouragement given by specific individuals. Though the influence of specific individuals is seen in the case of male as well as female legislators, it has been less in the case of male legislators. Those have mentioned party as the contributing factor for their political entry are mostly from the TDP and Left parties. Freedom struggle, conditions during national emergency, miserable conditions existing in the society have influenced 15%

of men and 17% of women to **join** politics. The significant gender gap which can be identified is that, 38% of the male respondents identified self-motivation as **the** cause for their **political entry**, and only 22% of women assumed political roles with this factor as the contributing one. The **role** of individuals or encouragement given by them caused **political** entrance of 44% of women respondents whereas, **31%** of male respondents too mentioned the same. Most of the specific individuals who encouraged the respondents involvement are politically active and visible. The specific **individuals** who have influenced **the** women respondents are, no other than their own blood relations. **Male** and female respondents who mentioned self-motivation as a determinant of political career have been mostly active in student politics. Some details of the interviews are worth mentioning here.

Kodanda Reddy, a senior Congress -I legislator said, "in my childhood **only**, I had an **ambition** to speak in the Assembly by holding the **mike**. This desire persisted in me and **inspired** me to join **politics**. Later I received encouragement from the Congress party members like **T.Anjaiah**, **Sarojini Pulla Reddy**, **Chenna Reddy** and others". A male respondent, who had been a member of **CPI**, Congress and **TDP** at different times and elected as an independent candidate in **1994** elections said that he is influenced by the emergency conditions.

It is only one **legislator**, **B.Durga Prasad** who said that the individual who encouraged him is one other politically active person. It is the friendship between the legislator and an advocate in **his** place, that started during the student life of the legislator that has established links between the two. **This**

legislator, later became a lawyer when the friendship got strengthened also due to peer group connection.

Ch. Rajeswar Rao of CPI, one of the very senior leaders who has long experience as legislator said that, the anti-people policies during Nizam's rule and the oppression of people by the Zamindars have had its influence on thinking about joining politics and the anti-Nizam and the anti-Zamindari movements inspired and forced him to decide in favour of entering the political arena and serving people through politics.

A representative, P.Mahender Reddy said that, certain events during the elections in 1988 to Zilla Praja Parishad in Ranga Reddy district have had impact on his deciding to join politics. In his words "my brother who contested for a seat in the Zilla Praja Parishad, Ranga Reddy district faced political murder. The people have been in our favour and the TDP offered the party ticket to me". Implied in this statement is the influence of the sympathy factor and the TDP's decision to choose a winnable candidate.

Narra Raghava Reddy, a senior CPI(M) legislator had his first entry into politics during freedom struggle. He said, "Mr M G Khan a communist party leader drew my love towards motherland. I entered freedom struggle. Since then, this legislator is actively associated with politics".

Mallu Swarajyam, a CPI(M) member to Klong experience a 5 . legislator for two terms, elected in 1978 and again in 1983 said "my brother entered freedom struggle. He encouraged me and other siblings to take part in this

movement I also took active role in the anti-Nizam and Razakar and Telangana agitation.

Uma Venkatram Reddy who got elected for two terms to the legislative Assembly in 1983 and 1989 after the death of her husband Venkatram Reddy, who was active in politics, said "the party workers requested me to contest for the vacant seat".

Annapurna Devi of the TDP said "the close political associates of my husband requested me to take politics as career. I accepted because, I want to complete the unfulfilled works of my husband". Similar responses have been given by Lakshmi Devamma of TDP.

It should be pointed out that some women members who have assumed legislative roles through widowhood qualification have also been concerned with fulfilling the job of deceased husbands. An intense desire to see that what the husbands have aspired is done, is evident in the minds of some women legislators.

Evuri Sitaramamma who contested on TDP ticket while her husband contested and lost in another constituency on behalf of the Janata Dal said "the worst conditions of society made me to take up political role. She also said that her husband who was a close friend of the then TDP leader NTR had been offered a seat. He refused to contest on behalf of TDP as he did not like to change Janata Dal affiliation. This had led to the seat being offered to Sitaramamma who successfully contested the elections.

In party based democracies, the selection of candidates is an important stage in the process of election. According to the legally accepted **procedure**, any **citizen with** requisite **qualifications** **is** entitled to contest, campaign, get elected and assume and perform **legislative** roles. But these practices get relegated to the position of secondary importance and **in** the process, the leadership of the political parties has an important role in choosing candidates. These does not mean that, the parties and their leadership are free from several influences. Seniority, service to party organisations and **winning** chances are some important considerations that the party leadership takes into account while choosing the candidates. Apart from **these, preferences** to **males** and to those who can afford to spend **money** does figure prominently in the selection process though not with explicit acceptance by the leadership. Table 2.3 gives details of the determinants of **selection** of the **respondents** in the **sample** as candidates.

Table 2.3
Determinants of Candidates Selection.

S.NO.	DECIDING FACTOR	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Party leadership	68	83	13	72	81
2.	Service to the party	5	6	1	6	6
3.	Popularity	4	5	3	17	7
4.	Economic Status	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Others	1	1	1	6	2
	Total number of respondents	78		18		95

It can be seen that in the case of a majority of **the** respondents, it is the decision of the party leadership that had decided the fate of several contestants to be **fielded**. But more than 50% of the respondents of both the genders have made **clear** that party decision was in their favour because of their service to the party and popularity that they have built in their constituencies. Perhaps that is the reason why some of the senior members of different parties **specifically** stated that their service to the parties helped them to secure party tickets. **Though** party **leadership** is the chief factor for selection of **81%** of candidates, there is a difference between Left parties and other parties. **In** the Left **parties**, members cannot contest until party offers seat. Whereas in other parties, members apply for tickets and the decision is later taken by the party **leaders**.

Table 2,3 makes clear that in the selection of women candidates, preference by the party leadership is less compared to that of male candidates. In the context of popularity, the female candidates have an edge over the male candidates. The gender gap in identifying popularity as a decisive factor in candidates' choice is clearly visible. The respondents said that money does not have any role in candidates selection but this statement does not seem to be matching with what has been reported several times by the media. **Further**, the quantitatively low position of women candidates in **all** elections justifies the argument that women **have** not succeeded **in** assuming the roles of vote getters. For instance in the **1994** Assembly elections, only 61 women secured tickets from all the parties put together.

Five respondents in the sample have contested and won as independent candidates. Of these, four have tried to secure TDP candidatures. But their efforts went in vain. One of them won the previous elections and the other has made an unsuccessful bid, both on behalf of TDP. Thus, at least 2 of the 4 independents have been rebel candidates.

The **respondents** have been asked to identify the determinants of secondary importance. A majority of them identified single determining factor. Five female and thirteen male respondents identified secondary determinants. Of these, one woman and twelve men said that public support and service to the party have been the second influencing factors for their selection as candidates.

MONETARY SOURCES : The election expenses are more burdensome to the candidates in developing systems. Intending **candidates** take the risk of **election** costs hoping that political offices would give financial returns to them. The growing number of aspirants for political positions and the competition that **follows** would also contribute to an increase in election expenses. In the event of electoral **corruption**, continuous flow of money becomes a **very** visible factor. Apart from this, **campaigning**, preparation of material which includes leaflets, **posters and** display cards, wages to workers, maintenance of vehicles, election offices and telephones require considerable amounts of money to be spent. In addition, the **polling** day expenses '**formidable**' in **particular** constituencies with polling stations numbering between 500 -1000 spread over the constituency and finally the vote **banks** of '**bankers**' (local bosses) **again** need lots of money. Money **is** paid by some candidates to see that other candidates withdraw from the election fray. Candidates would also

be expected to contribute to party funds. Distribution of money, liquor, **sarees**, dhotis and utensils has also been reported to have taken place in different elections. Thus, there is a big gap between permitted and real expenses of the candidates **before** ^a during and after elections. Apart from their personal sources, the candidates seek donations from industrialists, film **stars**, estate agents, financiers, large scale tax evaders, smugglers and the like.¹⁰

It is true that where does the money come from is an important question to understand the realities in the process of **election**. Another question of **considerable** relevance is the means of raising money by **male** and female legislators. In the case of **women**, absence of control over or inaccessibility to the means of production have been **responsible** to a good extent for the low representation of women in decision making bodies like the **legislature**. An attempt is made in the study to identify the sources of fund raising by male and female legislators in the sample.

The respondents have pointed out that every party assists its nominees either financially or materially or through both. However, **there** has been unanimity among the respondents in stating that help given by parties both in cash and kind has been inadequate. This has made them to try for contributions from the **public**, well **wishers**, businessmen, farmers and others. Some respondents have given unconvincing answers saying that since permissible expenditure is **fixed by** legislators and since rules relating to **elections** are stipulated by **election** commission, the need for **raising** big amounts does not arise.

Candidates of the Left parties have pointed out that the election expenditure has always been less to them when **compared** to that of other parties. The **constituencies** they contested from have, in general, been rural and dominated by poor sections of the **society**. **Thus**, campaign finance to them has relatively be less. The committed party cadre and the sympathisers of the left party candidates have been helpful in conducting campaigns and in extending support to these candidates. The party cadre has **also** been **involved** in performing the watch dog functions at polling booths to prevent malpractices.

A few respondents expressed **the feeling** that it is **difficult** to buy elections and **succeed**. It is an admitted fact that election expenditure has reached enormous **proportions**. The increased costs could also be related to the strength of the opposing candidate or candidates. Some respondents **said** that they have disposed **off** their houses to get money for **electioneering**. Since party assistance is limited, **other** sources of money for **them** are, **friends**, well **wishers**, public **donations**, small business groups, **relatives**, family income and properly. Among the 82 male respondents, 10 purely depended on family income and among women two out of **eighteen**. The remaining members of the sample raised money from more than one source. 75% of the respondents **said** that well wishers did contribute to **electioneering**.

A woman ex **MLA** of Congress who contested for four times from 1983 onwards to the state **legislative Assembly** said that when she **contested** for the first time in 1983, she got donations from public worth **Rs.5 lakhs**. But she had **spent** only Rs.3 iakhs out of **it** and distributed the remaining money as **gift**

to the party workers who helped her in elections. When she contested for 1994 Assembly elections, she became a debtor and went in heavy losses.

"I am one among those who have sold away property for the sake of elections" were the words of a male respondent of TDP.

"I raised some money legally and some illegally" was the response of another male respondent of TDP. However he declined to give details of illegal raising of money !

While saying that his father gave him money for election campaigning a TDP respondent said "my father had a strong desire to become a legislator but he could not get opportunity. Since I got a chance to contest in elections, he gave me money for elections. Thus, he satisfied his desire through me".

25% of the respondents said that though money's role is limited, several persons do try to win elections by spending large amounts of finances. While saying that the elections have become very expensive, an experienced MLA belonging to CPI party revealed that in 1954 when he contested for the first time, he spent only Rs. 1500/- but in 1994 elections, his expenditure was Rs 50,000/- Given the exorbitant expenditure patterns in contemporary times. both the figures mentioned by the respondent are low.

A TDP respondent who won elections for 3 times out of 6 times contested said, "I am a doctor by profession. I have no property in the form of house or land. I could not raise enough money for elections. This is the reason why, I could not even show my face to the colleagues in the party".

This respondent feels that his defeat in elections is because of lack of money. The reason for his not owning house or land could be due to use of large amounts money he earned in elections. Thus, there is a clear **evidence** of the enormous **importance** that money has in the elections.

ISSUES IN CAMPAIGNS : To get a favourable **mandate**, election campaigns play key role. Some times they **change** the fate of parties. **Therefore**, making campaigns more **attractive**, educative and vote catching has become common. These are much useful to inform the electorate about the policies to be adopted for the development of entire society, if they are given power. Political parties **therefore** are **considered** as policy brokers. As part of election campaign, several political parties keep their manifestos before the public. These manifestos reveal to which section of society, to what **kind** of policies and issues the parties are giving importance and how far they promote general **development**. **Commitment**, sincerity and responsiveness of parties can be tested through their manifestos.

Before the 1994 **elections** to the **Andhra Pradesh** Assembly, all major political parties released their manifestos concentrating on schemes for poor sections and developmental issues. The **TDP** which first released its manifesto assured several schemes to attract poorer sections of the **society** (**Rs.2 kg rice**, free education, clothing and **shelter** to the needy people **etc.**.) it also promised assistance to widows, old aged and the rural unemployed. It **promised** commitment to prohibition and completion of irrigation **projects**.¹¹

Congress-I in its lengthy manifesto **devoted** more to the accomplishments of the **party** in power at the centre. To compete **with the**

TDP, the Congress mentioned attractive policies for poorer section. Its manifesto included Rs.2 kg rice scheme to white card holders, prohibition from 1st January, 1995, 10 kgs free rice to students (in a month) to prevent discontinuity in education, 30% share for women in economic growth, irrigation and supply of power to farmers.¹²

BJP which mostly received support from traders and small businessmen, concentrated on farmers and rural people to get their support too. It assured power supply, completion of irrigation projects and 2000 jobs in each assembly constituency.¹³

Apart from the manifestos of political parties, campaigns carried out by the individual contestants also influence voters' decision. Generally, individual campaign involves propagation of party aims, achievements of party while in power, exposing the mischievous acts of other parties, defects of opponents; specific problems of constituency and its development.

The respondents were asked to identity the issues (social and economic) to which importance was given in the campaigns. Social issues include atrocities against depressed sections like SCs, STs, women, social discrimination, untouchability, eve-teasing and others. Economic issues include removal of unemployment, eradication of poverty, development of agriculture, industry, subsidies to poor, free housing facilities to the poorer sections etc., Table 2.4 gives details of these.

Table 2,4
Campaign Issues of the Respondents

S.NO	ISSUES	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1-	Social	20	24	10	56	30
2.	Economic	6	7	0	0	6
3.	Both	36	44	4	22	40
4.	Constituency/ Developmental	17	21	4	22	21
5.	Total	79*		18		97

* Two of the male respondents belonging to the TDP gave importance to party manifesto in their campaigns. One of the 5 independents assured that he would work as a honest representative rather than speaking on several issues.

Table 2.4 discloses that 56% of women and 24% of men gave importance to social issues. 44% of the respondents gave priority to both the issues and 22% of women also did the same. While answering, a male respondent expressed that issues can not be separated into social and economic. Both are interdependent and interrelated. The secondary status of women might have influenced them to give priority to social issues. Among 17 men who gave importance to social issues in their campaign 7 are those who are socially backward, that is, those belonging to Scs, ST s, or BC s. Though constituency is not given in the list of options 21 % of the respondents mentioned that developmental issues of the constituency received more attention in their campaign.

It is also to be noted that none of the women respondents gave importance to **only** economic issues to which 7% of men gave **weightage**. There is clear indications of differences in **respondents'** tastes, aspirations and experiences. In these too, gender variations are noted.

ELECTORAL SUCCESS: Victory in the elections to the legislative assembly qualifies one to occupy a seat in the **legislative** office. Behind this victory, lot of time; energy, money, **ideology**, party to which they are **affiliated**, cooperation and coordination of party workers are involved- In **addition**, support given by family, **friends**, public, the party **candidate's** individual identity, **political** experience, strength and weaknesses of opponents, situations prevailing in constituency; general problems of state and **intra** and extra party competitiveness are also involved. In **fact**, it is not easy to identify a single factor **totally responsible** for **electoral** success of a candidate. These **multi** variable factors involved in the **election** accomplishments of candidates are interdependent.

Before going into details of respondents' individual opinion of their success, a brief discussion **of** 1994 Assembly elections to the **Andhra Pradesh** state legislature is needed. The number of contestants belonging to prominent **parties** is **TDP - 253, CPI - 21, CPI(M) - 16, BJP - 285, BSP - 274, MIM - 27, MBT - 10**. There was an alliance between **the** TDP and the Left parties in sharing seats. The TDP won **219** seats and the Congress 26 **seats**. The CPI secured 20 seats and the CPI(M) got **15** seats. The MIM won **1 seat**; the MBT 2; the **BJP** 3 seats and the BSP failed to get even a **single** seat.

It was an unexpected and unprecedented victory to the TDP and none of the other parties have the status of opposition. It was a major set back to the Congress-I, which it tasted never before. Political analysts, election commentators and pollsters felt that there was no wave towards any of the parties and the chances of securing majority were equal to both the Congress and the TDP which were the chief competitors. A little sign of getting majority towards TDP without much gap was smelled by a very few predictors. There were no traces of success to other parties like BJP and BSP though they contested from a large number of constituencies. Leaders of both Congress and Telugu Desam expressed confidence of forming government. But the unexpected election results, shocking to everyone, gave absolute majority to the TDP. This was a pleasant surprise for NTR also as it was beyond his imagination.¹⁴

The reasons given for loss of Congress are negative vote to the party, corrupt administration of party under the former Chief Minister Dr.Chenna Reddy, Janardhan Reddy and Vijay Bhaskar Reddy, caste-based administration and party in-fighting.

TDP's attractive election manifesto, jumbo rallies held by NTR, assurance of implementing Rs.2 kg rice scheme and prohibition; affective articulation of disaffection and discontent among large sections of electorate towards Congress government; TDP being considered as the best alternative for people who preferred change in the government, caste role reduced to the peripheral level within the party; high toned voice of NTR for the provision of minimum facilities for poor sections and also the presence of NTR's new wife

Mrs.Lakshmi Parvati in public meetings have all contributed the massive victory for TDP.¹⁵

The positive reflection of TDP's election outcome which brought exciting success to the left parties though contested for a few seats. Other parties like the BJP, the MIM and the MBT received a token result in their favour. Though the BSP contested for 274 seats, it lost all seats as it had no support base in Andhra Pradesh. The independent candidates secured 12 seats.

To know the individual opinion of the respondents about the causes for their success in elections, they were asked to identify any three of the six options - party aims, personal character, money, public support, family and friends' cooperation in order of their preference. Table 2.5 discloses the factors responsible for the election of the respondents.

Table 2.5 makes one to find that, though a majority of the male and female respondents attributed their success to the party aims, there is 17% gender gap in it. There is no surprise in it since they belong to TDP and the Left parties which got elected from many of the constituencies they contested. A majority of this category of respondents have identified personal character and public support as secondary and the next factor of importance in their election.

There is an 11% gender gap among the respondents who had marked personal character as the primary factor for their success. A careful examination of the situation enables researchers to say that most of them are Congress members and the independents. Very few TDP members also are

Table 2.5
Respondents' Factors of Success

SNO	FACTORS	PRIORITY - I					PRIORITY - II					PRIORITY - III				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%	
1	Party Aims	55	67	9	50	64	5	6	7	39	12	3	4	2	11	5
2	Personal Character	23	28	3	17	26	40	49	4	22	44	4	5	5	28	9
3	Public Support	1	1	0	0	1	16	19	4	22	20	25	30	7	39	32
4	Family Support	1	1	5	28	6	1	1	0	0	1	2	4	2	11	4
5	Friends Support	1	1	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	3	8	10	0	0	8
6	Money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	81		17		98*	65		15		80	42		16		58

* Two of the total respondents (a male and a female) gave other factors as first priority which are not mentioned in the table.

As all members did not mention the three factors contributing for success, total number in second and third priority factors does not tally with total number of respondents.

there, who are either the most experienced in politics or those having strong hold over constituencies. After one gets established as a strong political figure, the dependence on party identity for success is less and **this is** noticed through the interviews. The Left party members, irrespective of their personality traits, have appeared as more party **loyalists**, because except two or three members from these parties, none has said that personality **factor** played a key role **in** success. The women respondents who felt that personal character played an essential role in their **election** were mostly Congress members. One among them later joined in **TDP** and two are ex **MLAs** of Congress party.

Two of the Congress respondents who were elected for the second term stated that party helped them in their first elections. But in **1994 elections**, despite **Congress's defeat**, they could be pushed on to the House due to their personal character and service to their constituencies.

Another **male** member of Congress 1 felt **has** the belief that he cannot give credit to his party because within the party there were several members who worked against him. He has overcome such difficulty and won elections because of his personal character which enabled him to go closer to the voters. This implies **that** the presence of dissidents is an additional challenge to the contestants and sometimes causes defeat also. This trend is noticed more in Congress than in other **political** parties.

There is a \wide gender gap among the respondents who said **that family** played the **most** significant role in **their** achievement in **elections** **1%** or one male respondent whose **family** is **responsible mainly** for his election **belongs** to

a politically active family. Both his father and grand father were prominent members of Congress party and he too belongs to the same party. Among this category of women, 4 of them could succeed their husbands who were legislators. One woman's father-in-law was a legislator. Male respondents who identified family support as a factor of second and third importance-received assistance from family members though they do not belong to political families.

None of the lady respondents identified friends' support as a factor for success. Overall, 12 male respondents identified it as one of the factors. One male respondent of CPI who gave importance to friends for his election achievement was a trade union leader and his friends belonging to union worked hard for his electoral success. 4% and 10% male respondents marked friends support as the second and third important factors respectively.

A male respondent who won as an independent feels that sympathy of voters, preceded by his defeat twice, helped him to get through the elections. He was actually a TDP member. This time he was not given ticket. Therefore he contested as independent and won the elections.

A woman contestant Laxmi Devamma of TDP who won elections two of the three times contested, expressed that voters' sympathy brought her success in 1985 as she was the wife of an ex MLA. In 1989 she lost the election and in 1994 again she came back because of TDP. She viewed that her husband's death made her to be associated with the TDP.

M.Laxmi Devi of Congress party said "more than party and personal character, it is my father-in-law's dedicated service to the constituency that helped me very much in getting elected".

"Along with **party's support**, my moral values played equal role in my success" said a woman belonging to **TDP**. Abdul **Gaffor**, a CPI(M) member (male) said "along **with** party aims, the **anti** congress mood in public, weak opponent and the **alliance** with TDP played important role in my **success**⁴. A few other members of Left parties also shared this opinion.

A **senior** member of the **CPI**, **Ch.Rajeswar** Rao who was elected for the fifth term gave primary credit to the party and **next** to personal character. People elected him, he said, by appreciating his work in implementing party principles.

It is now clear that along with gender **differences**, **party-wise differences** are also **there**. More than the Congress and **TDP**, it is the members of CPI and CPI(M) who gave importance to party than to any other factor. The way the Congress party lost elections prevented them from giving priority to the party's role in **their** success. CPI and **CPM** members who found alliance with TDP **did** so **for** electoral success as the objective.

It must be pointed out that the true role of money in elections is hidden by the respondents. None of the respondents marked money at least as a third **factor**. According to them money has a limited role in election results. They said that it is necessary to campaign but not to buy voters. In their **opinion**, money is not the chief determinant of success, because, many of their opponents spent more money than what they did but faced defeat **only**. They also did not deny the fact that some have purchased party tickets. The **general** opinion of these legislators is that money plays role from getting **party** ticket to

securing an assembly seat. Most of the respondents tried to explain that their party is an exception to this general rule.

It is **only one respondent**, who came out openly and honestly saying that "nowadays, nothing but money is playing the role". She is no other than **Sarojini Pulla Reddy** who served as a legislator for a long time and who also served as a Minister for Municipal Administration during 1970s.

The above discussion makes clear that **political parties** are not **having** specific criteria for **candidate selection**. Their selection process is influenced by different factors at **different times**. Kinship relations have had **influence** in the selection of both male and female **candidates**. But spousal relation played a pre-dominant **role** in the selection of women whereas, in case of men, it is other relatives who had a great bearing. Kinship has **its** significance at the stage of entry itself and at the stage of assuming specific political **roles**. Encouragement by individuals in the case of women and self-motivation **in** case of male respondents that **have** influence **significantly**. Party leadership decided **largely** the fate of respondents **candidature** which also **made** the respondents to give credit to the parties for their **electoral success**. However, a reasonably good proportion of female respondents **said** that family is responsible for their success in elections. Social issues received **priority** in the campaigns of female respondents whereas, men gave importance to **both** social and economic issues. Secrecy regarding **the role** of money **in** elections is **maintained** by both the sexes. Apart from the above marked **differences** between the male and female **respondents**, party based **differences** are also notable.

FOOT NOTES

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CHAPTER - 5

ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Societal activity is influenced by people's desires, aims and perceptions about the functions associated with their roles. To study the behaviour of any individual, it is essential to know their perceptions towards their work. Role perceptions, since 1960's, became a popular concept for analysis in legislative behaviour research. The roles assigned to people's representatives of every political system are influenced by their perceptions and in accordance with the rules and regulations. Similarly, to study the performance of legislators, it is important to know their perceptions about their role.¹ To them, legislators' orientations are their expectations of the kind of behaviour they ought to exhibit in the performance of their duties.² In the opinion of a famous scholar, basic character and experience of people can be obtained through their perceptions about politics. To Walkhe et.al role is "a coherent set of 'norms' of behaviour which thought by those involved in the interactions being viewed to apply to all persons who occupy the position of legislator".³

Perceptions regarding the role of legislators vary from nation to nation and also from a group of nations to another group of nations. Walkhe et.al who studied about American legislators identified core, clientele, specialised and incidental role sectors and concentrated more on core sector consisting of purposive, representational and consensus roles. Purposive role deals with representatives' perceptions over their primary function and role. Regarding the perceptions over law making, which is the basic function of legislators, four state representatives of U.S. are identified as 'tribune', 'ntualist', 'inventor', 'broker' and 'opportunist'. They had mentioned that tribunes are in a majority.⁴

Tribunes are advocates of popular demands.

Ritualists are associated with law making orientation. They master rules of party procedure and be familiar with available strategies.

Inventors discover potential solutions to being sensitive to public issues.

Brokers are respondents to the demands of interests and programmes.

Opportunists are passive participants in legislative works, actually playing non-legislative roles which are not disclosed.

Opportunists hold the office without really "taking" the associated role, they accept the base minimum of expectations, such as voting on role calls and attending committee meetings or sessions as passive participants. But they mainly use legislative office or "play at" the legislative role while concealing that they really play other, essentially non-legislative roles.

French deputies are categorised into 1. Mission participants - mainly concerned with ideology; 2. Program participants - having high political ambition and 3. Obligation participants - motivated by morals.

Milsher and Mulgan classified Scottish and Welsh parliamentarians into legislative activists, party loyalists and porkbarrel activists. Those representatives acting on behalf of constituency and constituents are called pork barrel activists.⁵

Those representatives who take active part in legislative process are 'insiders'. These involve in law making functions like introducing bills. Those are interested in committee work are known as committee activists. This categorisation is made on the basis of purposive role perceptions of Canadian MPs⁶

Studies made on non western and Third World countries concluded that legislators are laying more emphasis on constituency service man role. Their major responsibility is doing service to their constituencies. Research in Mexico, India and Philippines has drawn similar inferences. Parliamentarians of Kenya, Korea and Turkey devote much time in getting sanction of projects for districts, persuading bureaucracy to help their constituents and representing views of constituents. Serving constituency by informing government about the needs and demands of constituents is the main task of Tanzanian MPs. Similar result is found by Musolf and Springer in the case of Malaysian MPs.⁷

Presidential and parliamentary systems and different scholarly priorities in the academic communities are attributed for differences in categorising legislators perceptions in Western and non Western and Third World countries.

The above discussion makes clear that these legislators' perceptions are influenced by the existing political system, relationship between branches of government, party system and the scope of the roles assigned. Apart from these, their perceptions and orientations are highly influenced by the socio-economic background, membership in ruling or opposition party and life experiences.

According to an important assessment of the role perceptions of legislators, in their journey from a private citizens' status to that of legislators, both in direction and in attitudes, there will be difference in representatives' aspirations. Similarly, members conceive and evaluate their legislative status differently according to their own views.⁸

In a seminar conducted by the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training, New Delhi, on "The Role and Functions of Legislators Inside and Outside the Legislature", forty nine legislators from various states of India took part and expressed their views on the subject. **Balaram** Jakhar, the former Speaker of **Lok Sabha** said that the success of legislators depends on the personal attitudes and on the faith in the welfare of the people⁹. The participants discussed at length the multifarious functions to be performed by the legislators.

The participants of the seminar agreed that legislators should maintain cordial relations with people and their motives should be in the direction of serving the people, promoting their welfare and to ~~maintain~~¹⁰ the dignity of legislators. Twenty five percent of them strongly argued that **constituency** representation is the prime function of **legislators**. According to **T.R. Janarthan**, the first and the foremost role of a member is to represent the constituency. This requires the legislators' proper understanding of the people of his constituency and their problems which should be acquired by meeting them **frequently**¹⁰. In the opinion of **Pranab Mukherjee**, a legislator has to represent his constituency irrespective of the jurisdiction attached to him.¹¹ To **Bachittar** Singh, cordiality towards the electorate is the foremost of a **legislator's functions**¹². Legislators like **Balram** Jakhar and **Upreti** pointed out that national interest is more important than constituency interest. A few of the participants opined that the **main** function of legislators are to make laws, participate in the budget discussions and demands for **grants**. To **Gulshar** Ahmad Khan, an important function of legislator is to make laws in order to get them **implemented**¹³. In the opinion of **Ramesh** Prasad, legislators should lay down policy in regard to various social issues and formation as well as control of **government**.¹⁴ **Madhu Dandavate**, former Finance Minister, said that parliament should reflect the opinions of the **people**. If there is

hot or dull weather **outside** parliament, same weather should be found in the House.¹⁵

V.B.Raju, one of the important participants was a strong supporter of work through committees and said that committee **system**, which provides for **discussion**, dialogue and debate should be **effectively used**. **Pranad Mukherjee** also said that emphasis should be laid on the transaction of business through committee system because, committee system facilitates elaborate discussion and fruitful **decisions**.¹⁶ This discussion enables us to note that **differences** in the attitudes and of opinions of **legislators'** are obvious and these differences are many.

As this study is mainly concerned with gender **comparison**, an attempt is made here to examine the impact of gender on role perceptions of the respondents. A reasonably good number of studies on this aspect made clear **that**, gender based differences are more likely to exist in legislative **roles**, priorities, approaches. Women are different from men in their **socialisation**, roles and life experiences which cause existence of **politically** important differences between the two genders. Division of labour or roles of men and women to which they are associated makes each sex to bring its own sensitivities, skills and **perspectives**.¹⁷ "Presence of women in public offices promises something new **in** policy **making**. New and valuable perspectives and priorities might otherwise be ignored because they are not typically the perspectives men have brought to public office."¹⁸ Sue Thomas and Susan Welch **felt**, women representatives than **male** representatives give top priority to women and family **issues**. It **is** natural **that** women representatives aim to ease out the **burdens** of common woman **through** legislation, where it is publicly evident **that** women are having problems **in**

maintaining home and career. Thus, their attitudes transform into legislative priorities.¹⁹

Barbara Kennelley a member of House of Representatives in the U.S said "my business is to get legislation through. My added business is to get legislation through to help women."²⁰ In their study, Susan and Welch found that women than men give priority to legislation pertaining to children and family. Men, more than women gave priority to legislation dealing with business.

Government can be made more sensitive towards women's concerns because women representatives are more sensitive to these issues. A woman is more likely to understand the gravity of rape than a man though both sexes may show concern about crime and violence. Increase in women's strength in legislature possibly changes legislature's agenda.²¹

Whether it was in freedom struggle or in post-independent politics in India, women assumed important roles mostly due to male patronage and being close relatives of active politicians.²² That indicates different political entrance for women which is discussed in the previous chapters. Women have to struggle against constraints and conditions created in work place, though they have occupied some important positions which are male dominant so far. At work place, females should give assurance of their capacity whereas men are immediately accepted as capable and competent.²³ Thus different political entry and constraints at work place not only make women to form different perceptions but also cause role conflict for them.

To identify gender differences in role **perceptions**, the opinions of the respondents on House proceedings, subjects of **interest**, determinants of legislative voting and constituency service matters are covered.

PERCEPTIONS ON HOUSE PROCEEDINGS : According to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of **Andhra Pradesh** Legislative Assembly, members are given wide opportunities to take part in the proceedings of the **House**. These proceedings include Question Hour, Zero Hour, Matters under Rule 304, Discussions on Budget and Bills and Debate on **Governor's** Speech. Opportunities given to members of the House can be discussed in **the** following manner,

1. Private Members Business :- Generally, the last two hours of a sitting on Fridays shall be allotted for the transactions of private **members'** business. Apart from Fridays, private members business can be conducted as directed by speaker.
2. Legislation :- Initialing bills, discussion on bills, debates on select committees **bills**, amendments to the provisions of bills fall in the group '**legislation**'.
3. Financial Procedure :- Annual Financial Plan or Budget **Discussion**, Demands for Grants, Budget Motions, Cut Motions, Appropriation **Bills**, Vote on Account are the items mainly covered in financial proceedings.
4. Committees :- These include Public Accounts, Estimates, Public Undertakings, Subordinate Legislation, Assurances and Privileges.

Perceptions of the respondents on House proceedings are given in table-3.1. Members were asked to identify the proceedings of their interest. It is found that they are interested in more than one proceeding. Sample members' perceptions are largely determined by their party affiliations, time allotment for

each proceeding, opportunity given to them not only by the Speaker but also by party leadership in the legislature.

Table 3.1
Respondents' Perceptions on House Proceedings

SNO	NAME OF THE PROCEEDING	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Question Hour	43	52	7	39	50
2.	Zero Hour	14	17	9	50	23
3.	MUR : 304	9	12	4	23	13
4.	Budget Discussion	23	28	5	28	28
5.	Bills Discussion	7	9	2	11	9
6.	All Proceedings	22	27	5	28	27
	Total number of respondents	82		18		100

Almost equal percentage of male and female respondents are interested in all proceedings of the House. They said every proceeding has its own importance and purpose. Moreover they felt, it is the issue that comes in the proceedings that creates interest or no interest. This opinion is shared more or **less** by both male and female respondents who are interested in all proceedings.

In proceedings like Bills and Budget discussion, gender **differences** are insignificant. There is a noticeable gap between male and female respondents regarding their interest on MUR.304. **11%** more women than men of the **sample** have **shown** interest in **MUR:304** respectively. More men **with 13%** gap are interested in Question **Hour** In the case of Zero Hour, **it is 33%** more **women**

than men. Overall 50% respondents are interested in Question Hour. The reason generally given for is **'they** can elicit information and make government **answerable'**.

Members of both ruling and opposition parties showed **dissatisfaction** for not being given opportunity to take part in the proceedings for different reasons. Some of the ruling party respondents felt they are remaining as **'viewer'** than as **'participants'**. The reasons are the large strength **of** TOP members in the House, party-wise time allotment and opportunity to senior leaders to speak. Members other than senior members are mostly getting time during budget and demands discussion.

Some of the responses from interviews are given below as examples.

M.Laxmi Devi an ex **MLA** of Congress party said usually **MLAs** use Question Hour, Zero Hour and **MUR :304** as they enable to **putforth** the problems of public and especially of constituency.

Mary **Ravindranath** felt Zero Hour is preferable as it permits to speak on current issues. Supporting the same **Annapurna Devi** said Ministers react immediately and resolve the problem. This view is shared by **B.Durga** Prasad of TDP. **P. Bharati** said party decides who should speak **in** which **proceedings**.

Left party members like **Biksham Kunja, G.M.N.V.Prasad, Nandyala Narasimha Reddy, B.Pullaiah** who are interested **in** Question Hour, **Zero** Hour, CAM send their proceedings. These proceedings **enable** them **to** focus on irregularities, corruption, **misappropriations**. They make Ministers **getting** information answerable and accountable and **they** are **having wide scope** of **these** benefits absent **in** other proceedings. **K.Prakash** Reddy of TDP expressed **that** through Question Hour and **MUR304** **politicians** can exhibit **his talents**. To

Biksham Kunja and **G.M.N.V.Prasad**, **Budget** and demands discussion give wide choice to focus on various issues and interest of general public or state can be represented. **G.Ram** Mohan who is elected as independent viewed that issues can be taken to the notice of government through Question Hour and constituency can be represented in Zero Hour.

The ruling party members Like **SingannaDora**, **Bhaskara** Rama Rao, **K.Madhusudhan** Rao expressed that ruling party members are not having opportunities to take part in the proceedings. **Bhaskara** Rama Rao said that "we gain knowledge of various issues by listening to others and as **TDP's** strength is more in the House he is not getting opportunity to take **part**". Sharing this view **K.Madhusudan** Rao said opposition is preventing the smooth conduct of the House by opposing everything.

Y.Kista Reddy an independent legislator said all the proceedings are important. But political parties are given more importance in the distribution of time He said that though some independents formed as a front, which **is** recognised by the **Speaker**, it is divided by the **ruling** party.

Ch.Raji Reddy of **CPI(M)**, who **said** that he **is** interested **in** all proceedings felt that all proceedings permit to represent **public** problems.

One important thing to note is that not only ordinary citizens form negative opinion about the conduct of the House. But the elected **representatives** also expressed the same view. Few examples of negative views on **House** proceedings need to be **mentioned**.

V.Ratna Kumari **said** "**Actually** every proceeding has **its** own **importance** But they are misused by the members due to **which** House has lost **its** **significance**" **K.Madhusudana** Chary **said** that **discussions in the** House are no* fruitful Absolute majority to **TDP** **is** appearing harmful to **public welfare** Because of **its** majority, the ruling party **is** failing to **identify constructive**

criticism. This respondent is a loyalist of **NTR TOP**, a group formed **after** elections.

A male respondent of **TDP** mentioned that he has no special interest **"But I** cannot comment negatively on the House as it amounts to contempt of the House and ^{am} worried about the present **politicians** giving importance to **self** interest at the cost of public". Another male member of TDP said **"there** is no proper way of conducting business of the House. Deep discussions with sincerity are not taking place. As a member of the ruling party, I hesitate to **participate** in the House **as,** several times, my **views** are contrary to party **views"**.

S. Sambaiah of congress party clearly said that time allotment is very bad in the House. Ruling party members are praying their leader and wasting precious time. House is not a forum to bring out defects of **government'**.

Through the respondents' **answers**, it is clear that party influence though **present**, is not extreme over the perceptions of the sample members. Some of them formed opinions which are based on realities. But party-wise differences along with gender differences are found.

SUBJECTS OF INTEREST : Generally individuals form or develop interest towards certain subjects. For some, this interest formation takes place due to their '**natural character**'. Some develop due to their surroundings, ^{and} **conditions** of the nation. These possibilities of forming or developing interest on subjects are applicable to public officials and **representatives**. Being **representatives** of **people**, legislators develop interest towards certain issues **due to** conditions existing in their constituency, personal experiences in life, being **influenced** by thoughts of **others**, occupational experience, social status and largely by **their** gender.

The respondents were asked to mark any three out of eight subjects of their interest in the order of priority. The subjects included

1. Economic - like **revenue, taxation**, new programmes and schemes for poverty **eradication**. 2. Law and order - violence, **illegal activities**, existence of **anti** social elements **etc**. 3. Industry, 4. Agriculture, 5. **Health**, 6. **Education**, 7. Social **Welfare** - backward sections, atrocities against **Sc.** and **SSTs**, economic development of socially backward people and 8. Women welfare.

Two women and sixteen men of the respondents said that they are interested in all subjects equally. As people's **representatives**, they felt that it is their responsibility to be concerned every subject of public importance. One of the male respondents, **Bhaskara Rama Rao** of **TDP** said, he has no **special** interest in any subject.

Table 3.2 clearly indicates that women respondents are giving least preference to matters related to economic, industry and **health**. More men are interested in agricultural matters where as more women are interested **in** women welfare issues. The gap in top priority is 33% and 63% in agriculture and women welfare **respectively**. That is, 33% more men than women respondents are interested in **agriculture**, where as 63% more women than men are interested **in** women welfare subject. Even in social welfare, overall (**I, II & III priorities**) 44% of women have shown interest and only 33% of among men of **the respondents** are interested.

Occupational background, **constituencies'** problems and to some **extent** social status of the respondents are having reasonably good **influence** on the interesting subjects of legislators in the **study**. Men who **are showing** keen interest **in agricultural** matters are **with** the same **occupational experience** and

Table 3.2 Respondents Subjects of Interest

SNO	SUBJECTS	PRIORITY I					PRIORITY II					PRIORITY III				
		MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%		NO	%	NO	%		NO	%	NO	%	
1	Economic	9	11	0	0	9	6	7.3	0	0	6	4	5	0	0	4
2	Law & Order	2	2.4	2	11.1	4	0	0	1	5.5	1	0	0	3	16.6	3
3	Industry	4	5	0	0	4	4	5	0	0	5	2	13	0	0	2
4	Agriculture	32	39	1	5.5	33	4	5	3	16	7	2	24	2	11.1	4
5	Health	1	1.2	1	5.5	2	3	3.6	0	0	3	3	3.6	0	0	3
6	Education	4	5	1	5.5	5	7	8.5	0	0	7	3	3.6	1	5.5	4
7	Social Welfare	12	14.6	3	16.6	15	11	13.4	4	22	15	4	3	1	35	3
*	Women Welfare	3	3.6	12	66.6	15	6	7.3	3	16	9	1	1.2	0	0	1

elected from rural areas where agricultural sector is dominant. The following are some details of the **respondents'** views.

M.Lakshmi Devi, while saying **that** women welfare is the most interesting **subject**, mentioned that **12** years experience as women welfare extension officer has been responsible for this interest in **her**. She also felt that if women welfare matters are given importance by all, the entire society develops.

P.Bharathi, who is interested in agriculture, social welfare and women welfare said our legislature party decides '**who** should speak on which **subjects**'. "I requested the party (**CPI(M)**) to give me opportunity to speak on the subjects of my interest".

E.Sitaramamma while emphasising on the importance of women welfare expressed that most of the laws related to women welfare are confined to paper only. "**Women's** development is **state's** development". (She mean to say that women's development only leads to development of the **state**) **Lakshmi Devamma** whose second priority is women welfare complained about meagre amount allotted for women welfare department in the **budget** **B Durga Prasad Rao** who is interested primarily in education subject and then in health **said** "without education no culture and without health no **existence**" **Badhu Chowhan** said "I am very much interested in constituency **matters** and **housing**" Constituency oriented perceptions are important for **him**.

Md.Gafoor said, "**as** a trade unionist I am much concerned about **workers** problems in **industries**". **Appaiah Dora**, who belongs to **BC** community, viewed that '**as** representatives' of **people**, legislators should **give** equal importance to all issues. But issues of downtrodden **sections** needed **more** attention. **R.Gandhi**, **S.C** representative, gave utmost **importance** to social

welfare. **Rambhupal Reddy**, while giving top priority to economic issues said that "if economic needs are satisfied, other problems do not arise at all".

Bodepudi Venkateswara Rao, who said that he has equal interest in all subjects, mentioned that all these are interdependent. "**CPI(M)** party trains its legislators to speak on all issues" he pointed out.

Ch.Raji Reddy another **CPI(M)** legislator who is concerned about agriculture and economic matters, said "I thought we, as legislators can project several issues and can make the government sensitive. But the House is acting against parliamentary system and has become an **anti people's device**". **Sambaiah** a Congress **MLA** said "though I am interested in focusing some issues in the House, the **TDP** members are not allowing us to raise voice and not letting the leaders (**NTR**, then Chief Minister) to give us answers. Now the legislature is in the lowest ebb", he lamented.

VOTING BEHAVIOUR: Voting is a device most commonly used to decide the fate of bills, budget, demands, appropriation bills and other matters discussed in the House. Generally, legislators are issued with party whips to be followed in House voting. An attempt is made to identify gender differences in House voting.

Members in the study were asked to mark one of the options - **individual** opinion, constituency interest, party guidelines, prevailing situations and **others**. Table 3.3 reveals the voting determinants of the respondents.

It can be noted that none of the male respondents is voting on the basis of constituency interest, but 11% of women's voting pattern is determined by constituency though these two women are affiliated to one or the other party. It

is **Vangaveeti Ratnakumari** and **Rudrama** Devi who vote in the House according to constituency interest. **V.Ratnakumari** was elected on **Congress** party ticket for the second time in 1994 but was suspended from the party shortly after elections.

Table 33
Voting Determinants of the Respondents

SNO	VOTING DETERMINANTS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Individual Opinion	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Constituency Interest	0	0	2	11	2
3.	Party Guidelines	79	96	15	83	94
4.	Situations	1	1	1	6	2
5.	Others	2	2	0	0	2
	Total Respondents	82		18		100

This presumably is the reason for her giving priority to party guideline in voting. Shortly after the interview by the **researcher**, she joined the **TDP**. Though more than 80% of the respondents follow the party order in voting, it is 13% more men than women that follow it. The reason for this gap is not only that 11% women respondents vote according to constituency interest, but also 3 of the 5 independents interviewed are following TDP guideline though technically they are not members of it. The respondents whose voting is based on situations, (one is a male and the other is a female) one is an independent (male) and the other is

Mrs. **Lakshmi Parvathi**, who is the President of **NTR TDP** who can take decisions whole and sole. Though percentage wise there is some gap, it is negligible.

No female respondent could be categorised under others, in which two male respondents are falling. One of these two respondents, **Sri.P.Purshottam Rao**, gives importance to public interest in voting. Another respondent Dr. **Vijay Rama Rao** said that he gives importance to state interest in the House voting.

Some of the **respondents'** opinions defending their voting behaviour determined by party orders are given below.

N.Gade Lingappa, a loyalist of **NTR TDP** elected on **TDP** ticket before the division into **TDP** and **NTR TDP** in 1996 said "while voting in the House, I follow the party guideline. But I do not hesitate to oppose **party's** decision when it is wrong. I do not like losing my **individuality**".

Similarly **Madhusudhana Chary**, a loyalist of **NTR TDP** said "**before** party finalises the **decision**, we do have internal **discussions**" **Madhusudhan Rao** of **TDP** said "whatever the opinions legislators have, they express them in legislature party meeting without any fear. But voting takes **place** as **party orders**". **Narra Raghava Reddy** and **Sri.Bodepudi Venkateswar rao** of **CPI(M)** said that they follow **party's** decision. To them, it does not mean **that party's will** is imposed on **legislators**. Members elected to the House from **CPI(M)** sit together and take one decision. They also said that the question of **constituency** does **not** arise as voting in the House decides matters **related to the state** as a whole

Ch. Rajeswar Rao of **CPI** said that the guideline given by the party **is** followed by the members. Individual **opinion, constituency interest** and **party guideline** are not **different things** "In feet all **the** three are **in** a single **direction** for me", he **said**.

The above answers are revealing that party interest is protected without individuality receiving any damage. It is also to be noticed that **left** party members intend to protect the interest of larger section of the people rather than **party's**.

ASPIRATIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS : Politics is a field viewed by different persons **differently**. ~~It is a~~ field to serve public, a field to gain power and become **leaders**, for some. It is just a profession like any **other**, it is to gain good name and become famous to some others. Some think that it gives good returns materially. For some, it is an easy way of earning money and to some, it permits people to be above law. Usually these are all the opinions of the people who are not in politics. Representatives elected by people have some or other motivation of becoming a representative. **Iqbal Narain** and **Shashi Lata Puri** in their study of legislators in **Rajasthan** asked the respondents as to why citizens prefer to become legislators. Many of them had a combination of ~~motivations~~ and the combination **mostly** related to service through political power.²⁴ The respondents mentioned public service, money earning and gaining political power as the motivating factors. The proportion of the respondents giving preference to the first of these are more than those giving priority to the second and those preferring the second are more than those giving importance to the third one of the given **options**.

Table 3.4 discloses the aspirations of the respondents in the **sample** under study. For gender comparison, legislators were asked about what they would like to achieve as legislators. They were given five options - **power, money, name** and fame, service to people and **others** ~~And~~ were asked to identify their preferences

Table 3.4.
Aspirations of the Respondents.

SNO	ASPIRATIONS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Power	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Money	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Name & Fame	4	5	4	22	8
4.	Public Service	69	84	11	61	80
5.	Name & Public Service	7	9	2	11	9
6.	Others	2	1.7	1	5.5	3
	Total Respondents	82		18		100

Two males and a female respondent gave answers which are forming part of 'others'. J.Venkaiah said "no particular motivation is there for me". M.Anjaneyulu's main intention is making people politically conscious and active. E.Sitaramamma said that upliftment of women is her main intention of becoming MLA.

Table 3.4 discloses that more percentage of women are motivated to have good name in public. 17% more women than men of the respondents are having this aspiration. Doing service to the public is the chief aim of the respondents of the both the genders. But there is 23% gap between the two sexes in this aspect. More men than women confess to serve public through legislative roles. There is no significant gender differences among respondents interested in getting good

name and doing public service. A former woman legislator with long experience and who also served as minister, **Sarojini Pulla Reddy**, said "**women** are treated as door mats. They should assert their position and get a good place in **society**. We are not against men but change is needed in women's status to which **legislator's** role is useful*.

G.Malles, who intends to serve public said that justice can be done to public through the assembly. Therefore, I expose, in the Assembly, malpractices that are effecting people of lower strata **N.VaradaRajula Reddy** said "providing minimum needs to **SCs** and **STs** and **upliftment** of downtrodden especially poor of agricultural section is my objective". **P.Srinivasula** Reddy made clear To be useful to **others**, MLA post is meant for **people**". **Bhaskar** Rama Rao pointed out "**Resolving** constituency problems is my main aim. I sincerely try to get schemes to eradicate problems in irrigation and supply of drinking **water**" Ch **Vidyasagar** Rao said "**uplifting** and helping suppressed people in remote areas is my aim" To **N.Yethi Raja Rao**, who is working as MLA for the 7th **term**, "totally developing constituency - water supply, **transport**, communication, housing to **Harijanwadas**, roads, electrification are **important**". "**I** have already **achieved** what **I wished**" **M.Sashidhar** Reddy said "**I** hope to continue credibility and **win** the **confidence** of people".

G.Yadagiri Reddy expressed that "**through serving public**, I would like to fill the gap between people and government" Ch **Vital Reddy**, a senior legislator said that his aim is eradicating exploitation system existing everywhere **J Ranga Reddy** said "I interested in serving people. But I never promised that I will change the entire situation. As a **representative**, I put all **efforts**" Ch **Raji Reddy** made clear "I thought, as a legislator, I can do a lot by bringing **pressure** on government. But I realised that my voice is **paid** a deaf ear by the **ruling party**

Parliamentary system is not much useful. I am regretting a lot for being an **MLA** and decided not to contest in **future**".

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP : Legislative bodies carry their business through various committees. In fact, in the **US, Congress** is considered as Congress at work. As law making process is complex and **technical** and as legislatures transact a great deal of business other than law-making committee device has become inevitable. Legislatures in several countries including India have neither the time nor the technical expertise required for the detailed discussion on various bills. Therefore, various committees act as miniatures parliaments Business Advisory, **Select, Rules, Public Accounts, Estimates, Assurances, Privileges, Public Undertakings** are examples of committees regularly maintained by Indian legislatures. Apart from them, today we find some committees on Women and child **welfare** ^{and} **B.C. welfare**. Ad hoc committees known as House Committees are also **organised**. These committees are entrusted **with** inquiring into matters like **irresponsibilities, irregularities, illegal activities, corruption and misappropriation**.

In Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, distribution of membership and chairpersonship is determined by legislative experience, social status, occupational background, party affiliations and gender. In committees on Privileges and Petitions, fresh members are included. In committees on Public Accounts, Public undertakings and Estimates seniority plays a key role. In general membership in committees to various parties and groups, is determined on the basis of their strength in the House. Legislators elected from the constituencies where investigation has to take place are made members of the committees entrusted with enquiring specific matters. Committees on social

MEMBERSHIP OF MALE FEMALE LEGISLATORS IN VARIOUS COMMITTEES

SNO	NAME OF THE COMMITTEE	MEN	WOMEN
1.	Petitions	7	0
2.	Privileges	15	0
3.	Rules	10	1
4.	Public Undertakings	15	0
5.	Public Accounts	15	0
6.	Estimates	15	0
7.	Business Advisory	11	0
8.	Amenities	8	0
9.	Inquiry on Boycott of SC s in Korpai village, Medak	9	1
10.	Subordinate Legislation	12	0
11.	Government Assurances	12	0
12.	Welfare of Scheduled Tribes	9	0
13.	Welfare of Backward Classes	9	0
14.	Women Welfare	4	5
15.	Library	7	0
16.	Corporate Hospitals	12	0
17.	Irregularities in Modernisation of Zaheerabad Sugar factory	12	0
18.	Irregularities in Scholarship amounts in Social Welfare Hostels	12	0
19.	conversion of Pushpatota into shopping complex	12	0
20.	Misappropriations in text books printing	12	0
21.	Girijan corporation	12	0
22.	Cooperative Central Banks	12	0
23.	Prawn Culture	12	0
24.	Wakf Properties	13	0
25.	Dundigal Lands	12	0

welfare, committees on the welfare of **SCs, STs** and **Bcs** are filled mostly with members belonging to those **sections**.

Women of **Andhra** Pradesh Legislative Assembly served as chairpersons and as members of committees like Privileges, Assurances, Public **Undertakings**, Education, Tourism and mainly of Women welfare.

Investigating committees in this Assembly are totally male dominated under study. In **fact**, committees appointed for the year **1995** show how women members are discriminated.

In the given committees except in three committees, women are not provided place. Largely depending on the background of the **respondents**, these are filled. **E.Sitaramamma** was the chairperson of Women Welfare **Committee**. When **Lakshmi Devamma** was interviewed, she said that women members asked the Speaker to appoint women in other committees also. The Speaker seems to have **said** that as the strength of women **is** very less **it is** not possible to **give** them membership in committees other than Women Welfare **Committee**. Paucity of women is restricting the role of women in **mini** legislatures. Due to lack of careers, also women are not given membership **in powerful committees in** Subordinate Legislation, Estimates, Investigating Committees ^{and} Public Accounts Committee.

Four doctors are given membership in the House **Committee** on **Corporate Hospitals**. An active trade unionist was given membership in the **Committee to Inquire into Implementation of Minimum Wages to the Workers**

Members of the House belonging to **SCs, STs, BCs** and minorities are appointed to the committees on **the** welfare of these sections. No doubt '**gainful**' committees are distributed to men. In Women Welfare Committee, along with **women**, men are also given membership. Women respondents who **served** in committees like **Education, Tourism, Petitions, Assurances**, Subordinate Legislation and Finance Corporation for Physically Handicapped are either **ex-MLAs** or sitting **MLAs** who also served in previous committees- Overall we can say discrimination towards women and male domination are clear in committee membership distribution or allotment.

CONSTITUENCY SERVICE : Constituency work which **is** one of the duties of legislators gained lot of importance in contemporary legislative behaviour research. As pointed out in the first chapter, some American **Scholars** insisted that representatives' first duty is to serve the constituency and protect their interest. Writers like Burke and **Jakhar** viewed correctly and **said** that '**macro** interest should win before micro **interest**', though, **this** does not mean to strike off the micro interest representation **completely**. As legislators are elected on territorial basis, it is also their duty to respond **to** their district people's **interest**, which fact is **largely** admitted by Indian **legislators**. **Constituency** work **is** important to understand the relationship between the **representative** and constituents because, persons assume the role of **legislators after getting elected** by voters of particular **area**. Hence, there will be close relationship **between** legislators who are channels between **government** and **people** and **the represented** who elect **them**. Constituencies differ **in** their demographic **characters** and **problems**. These problems also vary from one area to **another**. To **understand** a districts characteristics and **problems**, **it is necessary** to **investigate into** constituency service of **legislators**. As Taggarant and **Durant** **said**, **the essence of**

'house style' lies in how attentive the incumbent is personally and how the incumbent **allocates his/her** resources within the state.²⁵

According to Jewell " how legislators represent their constituency would seem to depend on how they **present** themselves to the constituency, **the** components of legislative activities that all stress and their **style** of representation as well as their representational **focus** ²⁶ The **legislators**, whom the above writer interviewed, **themselves** felt that representing the **constituents'** interests is the proper function of **legislators**. Differences in constituency service may affect the attention to the **legislative** duties and reelection prospects. **Examining** gender differences in constituency service is useful to link sex role socialization.

The respondents in the sample were asked a few questions **concerning** constituency service. These relate to 1. number of requests from constituents to the representatives in a **week**, 2 The kind of problems **with** which **the** constituents approach, 3. Views about solving **individual problems**, 4 **Time** allotment for constituency **in** a month and 5 **Methods** adopted to **resolve** constituency problems.

The details are the following :

An **open-ended** question was asked about the number of requests **they** receive **from** the constituents **in** a week. It **is** included **in** the schedule to see **how** far **the** respondents are approachable to the constituents and also **to** make out gender differences in this aspect.

Table 3.5 gives interesting **revelations**.

E Peddi Reddy of TDP **said** I **identify** the **problems** of **consutients** before they approach me He means to say that **constituents** need not reach **him** with

requests to solve problems* **Jakka Venkaiah** of **CPI(M)** said **"I** get 1000 petitions in a **year"**.

Table 3.5.
Number of requests From Constituents to the Respondents

SNO	NUMBER OF REQUESTS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	1-25	2	2	1	6	3
2.	26-50	5	6	1	6	6
3.	51-100	7	8.5	1	6	8
4.	In 100s	40	49	3	17	43
5.	Not possible to give number	27	33	12	66	39
6.	Total	81	100	18	100	99

* This male respondent is not included in the table 3.5 Table3 5 reveals that in both the genders, respondents receiving less than 100 requests from the constituents is less. Of course, it is 4% more women than men that get less than 25 requests in a week. More men than women are getting requests between 51 - 100. 34% gap is there between men and women of the respondents who said it is not possible to give exact number because, they cannot be counted and also they received repeated requests from same persons sometimes 67% of women and 33% men in the sample expressed this opinion

CATEGORIES OF PROBLEMS : **Constituents'** problems **can** be classified **broadly in** two categories - number based and nature based. First category is based on the nature of problem like economic, social and legal. Second category is based on the problem **related** to number of persons. If the problem is of a single **person**, it is recognised as individual personal problem and if it is related to a group, it is known as **community problem**. In this study, the second category is taken into consideration.

Representatives are expected to solve the problems of the constituents as the latter would look to their leaders (legislators) for **help**. In the Third World systems, a kind of **patron-client** relationship visibly exists. The constituents need the **representatives** who request to solve personal, group and district problems. It is true that the legislators, who are representatives of people receive all these kinds of problems. However, some legislators receive more problems which are personal in nature than the group and **district problems**. Similarly the group problems received by some legislators **will** be more than personal and district problems.

Shriram Maheshwari in his study found that an overwhelmingly large portion of Indian MPs' agenda is **filled** mostly **with individual requests**⁹⁷. He grouped **certain** problems under 'individual problems' and others under 'community problems'

Requests that come to the representatives related to

- 1 Employment, police **action**, actions of revenue **officials**, civil **service matters**, land **disputes**, agricultural **inputs**, water, **seeds**, **fertilizers**, **credit**, **civil supplies** (such as food grains, coal, cooking oil), **caste** and character **certificates**, admission to **educational** institutions vary from rural to urban **constituencies**
- 2 Requests for **providing schools, colleges, irrigation** and **drinking water** facilities, civic amenities like **roads**, transport and **medical facilities** are identified as **community or group problems**⁹⁸

3. The members in this sample were asked to mark one of the four given options - individual, group or community, district and others. The **purpose** is to identify the kind of problems the constituents approach ~~with~~. The responses are detailed in table 3.6

Table 3.6.
Categories of Constituents' Requests to the Respondents

SNO	PROBLEM	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Only Personal	7	9	0	0	7
2.	Only Group	6	7	0	0	6
3.	Only District	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Personal & Group	27	33	3	16	30
5.	Mostly Personal	27	33	13	72	40
6.	Mostly Group	10	12	1	6	11
7.	Personal, Group & District	5	6	1	6	6
8.	Total Respondents	82	100	18	100	100

Table 3.6 shows that a large proportion (more than 75%) of **the respondents** are approached by constituents with personal or individual problems **But** more female than male respondents are getting individual **requests**. The gap is **33%** between the **genders**. This difference is there in receiving **requests relating** to community or group. ^{all more} **35%** male respondents than female **respondents** are approached with community problems. More **women than** men are receiving group requests next to personal and followed by **problems of the entire district**

It is clear through the above discussions **that** more women **respondents** than . men are approached **primarily with personal** and **secondarily with**

group problems. It is noticed that 33 male respondents get equal number of individual and group problems. It is found during the interviews that women are more approachable than men. As women legislators, they are easily accessible to women constituents also, where as it is the female respondents who said that women approach them with purely personal problems like domestic harassment especially at the hands of their husbands. **V.Ratnakumari** during her **interview** said that a **woman** who came from her constituency showed bums caused by husband on her body. Women constituents would be inhibited to approach male legislators in such instances. However, the reason for **this** gender gap needs to be **examined**ⁱⁿ **more** detail by studying the constituents **also**.

The personal problems mentioned by the respondents are related to **jobs**, transfers, promotions, release from police custody, harassment by police, loans, issue of **pattas**, caste and income certificates, installation of **borewell** to their lands and free houses constructed by **government**.

Community problems are mostly related to civic amenities **like roads**, transport, drinking water and educational **institutes**. They also request to **provide irrigation schemes**. **Sarojini pulla Reddy** of Congress **said that mostly, she** used to get individual requests for **jobs** and release from police **custody**. She also **said** that it would be **difficult** to comply **with** all these requests and at all times.

V Ratnakumari, TDP legislator **said** "people approach us for getting **loans** sanctioned and also with family matters". **Annapurna Devi** of TDP **said that the** constituents approach her mostly for ration cards and **allotment of houses** meant for weaker **sections**. **Sitaramamma** of TDP who **gets mostly group problems** **said**

people come to her for drainage facilities, roads, drinking water **schemes** and police stations.

To Lakshmi Devamma "resolution of personal **disputes**, getting **sanction** of ration cards and bores etc., are the requests with **which** constituents **mostly** approach me". D.S.Redya Naik of Congress who gets both individual and group problems said "constituents want me to get their kith and km released from police custody," Request for "construction of houses, supply of electricity and roads etc.," also come to him. Biksham Kunja of CPI elected from a tribal constituency **is** being approached by **the** constituents for bores, loans, **oxes**, shops, houses etc .

A V.Surya narayana Raju of TDP said "**allocation** from Chief Minister's relief fund, **housing**, transport, roads, bridges, **jobs**, transfers etc.. arc the mixed demands of my constituents".

Dr.N.Mula Reddy to whom . 90% of the problems received are personal in nature said "people used to think of larger sections and had public spirit. **Nowadays** we are getting requests, 90% of which arc **personal**"

R Gandhi a representative from Scheduled Castes **gets requests** for housing colonies, bores, motor pump sets, **pipe** lines, water **tanks**, **ration cards**, Schedule Caste assignments, land disputes, **job**, college and hostel **admissions**

Anne Babu Rao who gets individual requests for **his assistance** expressed how **unfortunate** the **legislators' position** is He said "**though** our work is chiefly law making and other allied duties, people do not **understand** They fed that A legislator is meant to do all things **Without entertaining individual requests, it is** difficult to survive **in this career** In **fact**, our **performance is** influenced by these, because of which we are not able to do some home **work** required to **take part in** the proceedings*.

VIEWS ON RESOLVING INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS : The above discussion disclosed that representatives mostly get requests to solve individual problems. This is not specific in **Andhra Pradesh**. It is most common in systems that are in the process of development fighting against **illiteracy**, **red tapism**, ignorance (lack of proper awareness) poverty. Actually each state legislator elected on territorial basis should represent the **interests** and problems of **his/her** constituency and should put **all** efforts in redressing the grievances of the represented. The growth in individual problems, raising **expectations** coupled with new hopes and change in attitudes of people do give lot of pressure on elected representatives when they are met by **people with** individual **problems**. The constituents as noted, frequently meet their representatives **with** requests of different kinds. This enables the legislators to understand the nature and **intensity** of problems of the representatives. For the problems to be really solved, it is important that the representative should have the intention and also the knowledge of '**problem** solution ways and **means**' An **attempt** has been made to understand the perceptions of the representatives regarding solving **the** personal problems of the constituents with the help of an **open-ended** question **Table 3 7** gives a clear **idea** of the views of respondents **in this** regard

Table 3.7
Respondents' Perceptions on Resolving Individual Problem*

SNO	MEWS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	Yes	57	70	17	91	74
2	No	11	13	0	0	11
3	Unavoidable	12	15	1	6	13
4	Least Importance	2	2	0	0	2
	Total	82	100	18	100	100

Solving personal problems may be treated as not falling in the **perview** of **legislators'** official responsibilities. But their effort towards positive **results** is not only acceptable but also appreciable.

The answer of a large portion of both male and **female** legislators in the sample is categorical 'yes'. Of the 57 male **respondents**, only one said that in some cases, I accept individual requests. This indicates that the respondent has some reservations in entertaining individual requests. As can be noted from the table, few respondents said that they do not give much importance to individual problems of the constituents. Not an insignificant percentage of the respondents, both male and **female**, consider entertaining personal problems as an unavoidable function of the representatives. One significant gender **difference is** that a very **high** majority of female representatives felt that solving personal **problems is** to their liking. In resolving individual problems of the constituents 22 % **more** women than men supported the **idea** of solving personal **problems**. It **is** also equally important to note that none of the women **respondents** firmly opposed **the** idea of **MLAs** resolving individual problems but 13% of the **male** respondents are against legislators entertaining individual problems of **constituents**. Only one woman respondent (Mrs. **Lakshmi Parvathi**) said 'for legislators it is **unavoidable**'. 14% of male respondents also **said** that **they** do not **like MLAs** **entertaining individual** cases and **it is** unavoidable for **them**.

Respondents have justified **their views** by **giving various reasons**. Some of them are presented here under :

Sarojini Pulla Reddy's response is "yes, but it is difficult to fulfill their demands". M Lakshmi Devi who supports legislators serving individuals said, "hope should be created in every one. Serving poor persons is important and no individual

should get any **discouragement**". **M.Swarajyam's** reply is **"yes**, if government **help** is required for their problem solution". Mary **Ravindernath** said **"definitely"**. **"They** voted for me and they **have^a right** to **expect** from me. In the **beginning**, I too thought not to entertain **individuals'** cases. But later I realised the need" . To **Rajana Ramani** **"there** is nothing wrong in it if requests are not against law and if they are genuine". **Annapurna** Devi feels **"as representatives**, we have to care them and avoid delay in clearing the problems of individuals". **P Bharathi** mentions **"I** do not entertain all. But it **is** inevitable **in** some **cases"** **M.Sikha mani** said **"yes**, whenever it is possible". **B.Durga Prasad** Rao made **clear**. **"yes"** They are part of state problems. There should be correlation. **Asaduddin Owaisi** said **"yes**, when it leads to peace and harmony". **K Prakash Reddy** feels **"yes**, where justice is **needed"** To **N.Anjaneyulu**, **"there** is nothing wrong Constituents feel that **MLAs** are more **powerful** Red **tapism** and ignorance of people also force us to accept **them"**. **M.Ranga Reddy** said **"people** turn to us when there is no other source. Due to their attachment, **they** approach us"

Madhusudana Chary feels **"it is MLA's** responsibility People of society are **not** in a position to solve problems by **themselves** Non cooperation of **officials** makes people to approach us" **Govind Naik** views, **"as we need** votes in reelection, we **give** preference to solve individual problems" **M Anjaneyulu** said **"to some extent I** support it Sometimes problems appear as **individuals** but **they** relate to entire **society** For example, if a person's land **is encroached by others** illegally, it appear as individual problem of that **person only** But illegal encroachments have become **most** common Unless **they are** checked in the beginning itself, problem becomes **severe"** **B Venkateswar Rao** said **"yes**, if they are not against **law** No legislator **in** tact can **solve** all problems **brought to him**

J Ranga Reddy categorically said **"no"** **"I am against it** But to see that people do not lose faith in us, we **accept problems** and **try to solve them"**

P.Purushottam Rao said "no, it is degrading **legislators'** position". **Md.Gafoor** made clear, "though I personally do not like **it**, due to some pressure on me I have to accept them". **Sriram Maheswari's** study notes **that**, a large proportion of the respondents do accept individual problems. One of his respondents said" **MP** can abstain from involving himself in individual cases only at his own peril"²⁹ Individual problems are brought by both poor and **wealthy**. The needs of the community as well as those of locality are articulated by the influential and politically conscious groups in the constituency.

TIME ALLOTMENT FOR CONSTITUENCY SERVICE : Several studies on the role of **legislators** and their perceptions found that **Indian** legislators **give** utmost importance to their **constituencies** **Andhra** Pradesh legislators are not different from other legislators of our nation. The respondents were asked to say how much time they devote to constituency **service**. Table **3.8** reveals **male** and female **respondents'** time **allotment** for constituency service

Table 3.8.

Time Allotment by the Respondents for Constituency Service

SNO	TIME	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	25%	1	1	1	6	2
2	50%	14	17	5	28	19
3	75%	33	40	10	56	43
4	100%	34	42	2	11	36
	Total	82	100	18	100	100

It is clear **from** the study that the female respondents spend **relatively** more time than the male legislators for constituency service. **However**, the **male** legislators who mentioned that they spend **cent** percent of their time to the constituency service are more than the women **legislators** who declared **that** they spend cent percent of their time to **serve** the constituents. From what the respondents said, it can be inferred that constituency service has been accepted as an important part of their roles. Constituency service would brighten **reelection** chances. Apart from this, this service would enable the legislators to reach the constituents and derive the satisfaction of a people's representatives. One point deserves to be noted here is that legislators devotion of cent percent time for constituency service should be understood as that which **is** spent when the House is not sitting.

The gender gap in respect of whole time devotion for **constituency** service **is** due to the following reasons.

The patriarchal system and sex based division of labour **in** the **family are** important factors coming in the way of **whole time devotion** to constituency **service** by the female **legislators**. Some women legislators **said** that they **have** to do several **sacrifices** and also have to bear blames for not **concentrating** on **family matters**. However, one clear fact that came out from **the** study **is that**, family responsibility has not been an insurmountable problem for a large **majority of the** women respondents. The '**role conflict**' as a hurdle for **political involvement** of women is now not really a serious **hurdle**.

RESPONDENTS' METHODS TO RESOLVE CONSTITUENCY PROBLEMS: Through the discussion on **categories of problems** that the respondents get from constituents, it is clear that a large number of individual and

group requests would come to them. In this **context**, it is relevant to know the methods adopted by the respondents in resolving constituency problems. Status of legislator in the constituency and **his/her 'political complexion'** are some important factors influencing problem solving strategy. Most often the legislators have recommendatory status only and do not enjoy executive authority in any field. Four methods were put forth before the respondents to **identify** their methods in order of usage. The methods include - House **meetings**, meeting the concerned authority, corresponding with the concerned official and **others**. An attempt to compare the approaches of both the genders in solving **constituency** problems is also made here.

Table 3.9 reveals that a majority of the male and female respondents of the sample rely mostly on meeting officers or concerned authority for **resolving** constituency **problems**. But 16% more women respondents than men depend on **this** method. Again a good number of men and women respondents correspond with officials either through writing letter or through phone as a second **resort to** solve constituency **problems**. **12%** more men **than** women depend on contacting The House proceedings are utilised by the respondents to a **very limited extent**. But even here, 16% more women than men do **rely** on it as a **third preferable method**. The male respondents who utilise all the three **methods** are **two times** more **than** those of the female **respondents**.

Four female and three male respondents **said that they adopt two methods** - meeting officials and corresponding with them most frequently. Five male respondents of left parties and a **BJP** male respondent **said that they adopt** methods like dharnas, agitations and gheraos to get the problems solved. It is found that they adopt it almost as second resort **as they are more tirwibl fiar**

Table 3.9
Methods Used for Resolving Constituency Problems

S.No	METHODS	PRIORITY I					PRIORITY II					PRIORITY III				
		Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
		No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%	
1	House Proceedings	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	14	17	6	31	20
2	Meeting Bureaucrats	55	67	15	83	70	4	5	1	6	5	0	0	0	0	0
3	Corresponding with Officials	7	9	5	28	12	46	56	8	44	54	0	0	0	0	0
4	AH	20	24	2	11	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Others	0	0	0	0	0	6	8	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0

immediate **redressal** of **constituents'** **grievances**. None of the **female** respondents has identified this method. This is due to the fact that most **women** prefer to follow '**conventional** methods'.

The reason for a majority of legislators choosing the method of meeting the bureaucrats could be explained in the context of roles of **political** and **permanent** executives, especially in the Third World **systems**. As noted **earlier**, the constituents expect services from the representatives they choose to the legislative bodies. The representatives find it more advantageous to contact the concerned bureaucrats for achieving benefits to the **constituents**. While speaking in the House is not **unimportant**, securing favours to the constituency is more important to the legislators. As pointed out by **Sriram Maheswari**, since the 'affairs of the **land**' are decided by bureaucracy than by the political executive, meeting or corresponding **with** them would be more useful than speaking **in** the House or roaming after **ministers**. What an ordinary clerk and PA **s** of ministers could **do**, cannot be done by **ministers**.³⁰

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT IDEAL REPRESENTATIVE : The roles of legislators are **multi dimensional**. Depending on **their charisma, position in the parties, political and economic status, leadership position in their party** are some **important** factors influencing their **multi-dimensional activities**. Recent trends in Indian politics have led to people forming negative opinion **about representatives**. To some, a **legislator** is a law evader, **self-centered person, corrupt, misuser of political power, exhibitant of authority, scam creator or involver and power monger**. Such views of people have **influence on representatives too**. They too form opinions about how a representative **should be?** as individuals as well as members of the **House**. To assess the **individual** nature of **the respondents and** fc>

find out the gap between ideals and realities, it is **useful** to know the perceptions of the respondents about ideal representatives. For **this**, an **open-ended question**, what qualities should be there in an ideal representative ? is **asked**. **Answers** given by them are influenced by contemporary situations.

There are variations in the given responses. Representatives elected to the same legislative body and who are given similar powers and **responsibilities** do not have uniform views and behaviour. The reasons are several but one among several is, individual qualities that they possess. Table 3.10 details **the** views of the respondents about the qualities of an ideal **representative**.

Table 3.10.
Perceptions About Ideal Representatives

SNO	QUALITIES	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	Easy Accessibility	21	27	7	39	28
2	Honesty	20	24	6	33	26
3	Service Mindedness	35	43	13	72	48
4	Hardworking	4	5	3	17	7
5	Selfless ness	3	4	2	11	5
6	Efficiency	9	11	1	6	9
7	Moral Values	8	10	2	11	10
8	Others	15	18	4	22	19
	Total Respondents	82		18		100

The table 3.10 reveals that accessibility, honesty, service mindedness and dedication are the qualities identified as ideal by a large majority of the respondents. The gender difference with this identification of qualities of ideal representatives is present but not significant. The respondents, both males and females have not attached much importance to the moral values. It should be mentioned that all the qualities mentioned by the respondents are in some manner or the other are related to morality. The respondents have given details of what they feel about ideal representative. Referring to easily approachable and accessible representative, they said that representative should mingle with ordinary citizens by representing mass character. They also expressed that the representative should be one among all but not be above all. Those who emphasised on honesty pointed out that the representatives should be honest in discharging their duties and should be away from corruption. They have all agreed that corruption is rampant in the society. The women representatives are found to be having a slight edge over male members in emphasising on honesty, because the gender difference is 9%. 29% more female legislators than male legislators pointed out that every legislator should have the quality of sacrifice, dedication and service mindedness.

The qualities identified by the legislators are inter connected because, selfless service is possible by honest and dedicated representatives. Hard work, honesty and efficiency are necessary for ideal representatives. The following are some details of the respondents' feelings

Respondents like M Swarajyam, P Bharathi, N Moola Reddy, Yethu ftt*fa Rao clearly and firmly said that representatives should be educated. In

important to know that all these members are educated **upto** Metric or below it **They** felt that knowledge of reading and writing **English** is very essential **because**, it is necessary to understand bills and other matters which are available in **English** only. These members also informed the researcher about the difficulties **they** are **facing** due to lack of English knowledge.

Mary **Ravindranath** and **M.Sasidhar Reddy** said that a representative should be "**sensitive** to human **problems**". **G Rudrama** Devi gave a list of qualities to be possessed by ideal representatives. She felt that corruption, favouritism and partiality should not be there. One should be an **intellect**, meritorious and powerful person being self-reliant and honest. A good representative should assume that failure **is** the stepping stone for success and should think "what I gave to this country before thinking what I **got** from **this** country".

Annapurna Devi said that an ideal representative **is** one who **has** individuality, independence and self reliance **To Bharathi**, a representative should be self confident and should behave in such a way where **public** can have faith in him/her. Further, a representative should have **intimacy** with **officials** and be in a position to question the **authorities** This opinion more or less **is** shared by **G Hanumanth Rao** **Potharaju Saraiah** said that representative should have the ambition of changing the society **To A.V S Raju**, a representative should behave in such a way where none can find **fault** in his functioning **To P Keshav**, * representative should have **simplicity**, **approachability**, **patience** and **vision** to be ideal to others. **K.Madhusudhana Chary** said "**no ideal** **feg*\$ttor** **is** **there** Qualities are confined to books only **Including myself** **none** of the **MLA s** are discharging their duties properly" **Y.Krishna Reddy** feels that **legislature** should be

above **casteism** and **communalism**. **Rambhoopal Reddy** viewed **that** a **good** legislator should be a **coordinator** and a mediator between government and **the** people. To **E.Haribabu**, **the** qualities of ideal representative are **unlimited**. Mainly he should reflect public opinion. **G.Appala Surya Narayana** said **"representatives should** be good in character and maintain **transparency in** life". **M.Anjaneyulu** says "there should not be any gap between the **words** and acts of the **people's** representative. **He/she** should have power to make **people** think and the action **oriented**" To **Ch.Vittal Reddy**, a representative should be a person to be taken as an example or an ideal and be a guide to people. **J Venkaiah** says primarily a legislator should be honest and be able to promote democracy **in** administration. Representative should not shield party persons involved **in** corrupt and **illegal activities**."

While expressing views about ideal **representatives**, **it is noted that**, some respondents were hinting at somebody or keeping **somebody in mind**. Some of the respondents are vague in their expressions. These are mostly **women than** men. Men appeared to be better in **articulating their views** than **women**. Inhibitions, recruitment through **widowhood qualification**, **inexperience** and limited exposure to the **society** are some important **factors responsible** for this situation.

Both **qualitative** and **quantitative** gender **differences** can be noted in the role perceptions of the respondents. Among **the House Proceedings**, more men and more women are interested in **Question Hour** and **Zero Hour** **respectively**. **Agriculture** is the first priority of men, while **Women Welfare** is that of **women**. **Public service** is the **main** aspiration for a **large proportion** of **male** and **female** respondents but, it is more men than **women who** are **having this aspiration**.

Since none of the respondents marked either money or power as the priority factor, it can be understood that the respondents are not outspoken regarding **all** matters. It is noted that a large portion of men **receive** requests in hundreds from their constituents. But more women respondents expressed that it is difficult to give exact number of requests they receive from constituents. More than **men**, women are approached by constituents with personal problems and they also felt there is nothing wrong in legislators resolving personal problems. **Female** respondents are spending relatively more time for constituency service, but the percentage of men devoting full time for it is more. Respondents of both the genders meet concerned officials to resolve **constituency problems**. But it is female respondents who rely on this channel more than **men**. There are no qualitative differences among male and female respondents **regarding the** qualities to be possessed by ideal **representative**. However, it is noted **that more** women than men felt that service **mindedness** and honesty are **the pre-requisites** of an ideal **representative**.

FOOT NOTES

1. **Walkhe**, John C. Heinz Eulau. William Buchanan and **Le Roy Furguson**. The Legislative system. 1962. pp 246-249.
2. Ibid. p 246.
3. Ibid. p. 8.
4. Ibid. p.246.
5. Jewell, **Malcolm** "Legislator - Constituency Relations And The Representative Process". **Legislative Studies Quarterly** Vol 8, No 3. 1983 pp. 303-307.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 **Walkhe et. al** op cit. p. 135.
- 9 Synopsis Of The Proceeding of The Seminar on **"Role** and Functions of Legislators Inside and Outside the Legislatures" Bureau of **Parliamentary** Studies and Training, **Lok Sabha** Secretariat **New Delhi** 1982 p 2
- 10 **Jagannatham**, T.R Ibid p 5
- 11 **Mukherjee**. Ibid p 6
- 12 Ibid p 28
- 13 Ibid p 13
- 14 Ibid p 29
- 15 Ibid p 3
- 16 Ibid p 7
- 17 **Kirkpatrick**. op. cit pp 137-140
- 18 **Mandel**, Ruth and **Debra Dodson** "Do Women Office Holders Make a Difference" Op cit PP 149-177
- 19 **Sue**. Thomas and **Susan Welch** "The Impact of Gender On Activities and Priorities of Slate **Legislators**" op cit pp 445-456

20. Ibid.
21. **Mandel, Ruth and Debra Dodson. op cit .**
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CHAPTER -6

ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS-PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The chapter entitled 'Literature Review' revealed that gender differences exist in attitudes and participation of ordinary citizens and as well as of the elite. A number of studies have estimated the existence of gender impact in representatives' perception regarding women's issues and women's participation in politics. The background or profile of the legislators in general in India and the respondents in particular brought out the gender gap existing mainly in political experience, short and long term legislative services, marital status, kinship relation and occupation. It is also noted that the pathways for women (mainly widowhood qualification) are different from those of men's and that discrimination against fair sex in fielding as candidates is obvious. Role perceptual differences among the respondents revealed that apart from party affiliations, individual psychology, constituency and occupation, gender is having considerable impact on the attitudes of legislators. All this enables us to expect gender impact as far as women in politics are concerned.

Studies intended to identify gender differences in role perceptions and performance of legislators have been, as noted, are limited. These studies found that the perceptions, priorities and behaviour of male and female legislators differ significantly in some respects. Studies of the perceptions of male legislators about women's role in politics, especially in legislative bodies are almost nil. It should be mentioned that the views of male and female representatives should be studied for understanding the dynamics of political processes. The following discussion is based on the views obtained from the male and female legislators in the sample regarding priorities of women representatives, attitudes of political

ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS - PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS

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parties towards fielding women candidates, special responsibility if any of women representatives and other related matters.

Participation and representation based on the principle of equality, including equality of sexes is a prerequisite for the successful functioning of democracy. But there is a wide gap between men and women of the world both in influential participation and power sharing, thus indicating violation of equality. In India, women's representation in legislative bodies is presently showing a decreasing trend. Several reasons are given by the political scholars for the marginality of women in political roles. One important reason is, politics is treated as a masculine affair. Society prescribes different standards of roles for men and women due to which man's role revolves around occupation, but woman's role revolves around her family. Children imitate the parents accordingly.¹ Thus, 'social capital' which denotes social knowledge, skills and contacts used as winning strategies of competition in different fields including politics went into the hands of men. Women are left with 'emotional capital' consisting of skills, knowledge and tactics useful for private sphere. Unless women capture social capital by abandoning emotional capital they cannot be seen in political arena.²

Political science vocabulary is masculine, which largely excludes women from politics and politics is made inaccessible for women over a period of time. They are prevented from entering the spheres of learning and analytical persuasion. All this led to the establishment of an ideology that politics is meant for men only as women are unfit to handle it. And also the belief that women have only passive orientation towards politics has been developed. They can be allowed in politics only in exceptional circumstances, has been the largely

held view, Sushila Patni feels, all this is a myth accepted by our **culture**.³ As **Duverger notes**, very few women are permitted to resist the idea that **politics** is a game of men which caused minority protest only. **This ultimately** made men to **monopolise political power**.⁴

In 1981, Elizabeth **Holtzman** contested for a District Attorney office in the US. Her male opponent indirectly gave a message to the voters that women **should** not come out of their traditional roles. In the electorate also, there is a conflict between the image of a political woman and an ordinary **woman**.⁵ If a woman runs for any **political** office by not attending to her children's needs at home, the immediate question she has to face is whether she has fulfilled her **responsibility** as a mother or not? If a woman **in** the same way campaigns **for her** husband's election, this question does not arise at all.⁶

To test whether this idea is earned by elected representatives **in** the sample also, they were asked to express their views on a statement **"Only men can handle politics efficiently"**. Table 4.1 gives details **of the respondents** views

Table 4.1.
Respondents' views on statement "Men Alone Can Handle Politics"

PERCEPTIONS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	5	6	1	6	6
No	77	94	17	94	94
Total	82	100	18	100	100

Table 4.1 discloses a changed **cultural pattern**. It makes clear that 94% of respondents viewed that politics can be handled by women also and is not meant only for men. Men and women who viewed that it is wrong to **assume** that **politics** can be handled by men only expressed **that** the field is filled **mostly** with men not because women cannot be active in politics, but because women are not given adequate **opportunities**. Most of the respondents said that women **like** Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sirimavo Bhandarnaike, Chandrika Kumaratunga, Margaret Thatcher, Khaleda Zia and Shaikh Haseena proved their **efficiency** in **politics**. Some of the responses are given below.

Sarojinipulla Reddy said "women are more capable and do a **better job** after **Mrs. Gandhi** no powerful Prime Minister **is** elected in **India**" **M Lakshmi** Devi denying the statement said that, "**any** capable person with motivation can handle politics. It is not the question of man and woman. **Mrs. Gandhi's services** can be remembered **here**". **Outrightly** rejecting this statement, Mary Ravindranath said "**we** have several women leaders in the world who are successful in politics". **G. Rudrama** Devi said that, a woman works **with firmness** which enables her to be efficient. **Annapurna** Devi felt "women can **handle** politics **efficiently** **Because**, they concentrate on any **given** work **with firmness**, they discharge **responsibilities**. They are more hardworking nature than men **P Bharathi** proudly said **71** **crores** of Indians were ruled **by** a **single woman** "How can we say that **only** men are **efficient in politics**?" Sharing this view, **Lakshmi Devamma** said "if opportunities are **given** all can do **it well**"

The views of some male respondents could also be given here

G. Mallesh and several other male respondents viewed that women and men equally efficient To them, only difference is, men got opportunities to prove

efficiency but women have not got any scope to exhibit their efficiency. Govind Naik said, "Mrs. Renuka Choudhary (an active TDP and Rajya Sabha member) is a talented woman. That shows women are also able to assume political roles and do justice to them". Rambhupal Reddy felt that the statement is not correct. Because women were not provided with opportunity OR par with men. That made several people to form the opinion that women are unfit for politics. E. Haribabu who accepted the statement said that till today politics are almost handled by men only. N. Narsimha Reddy while disagreeing with the statement said that merit is in everybody. But it is based on conditions available to bring out the merit. Puvvada Nageswar Rao who accepted the statement felt "it is due to men's lengthy experience in politics and women's limited presence and late entry, women are not considered to be fit for politics". Ch. Rajeswar Rao while totally rejecting the statement said that any dynamic person, irrespective of sex can fit in politics. Efficiency and skills are possessed by both the genders and women cannot be discriminated. R. Gandhi while supporting the statement said "75% of men are capable, but only 25% of women are fit to handle politics"

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT FIELDING WOMEN CANDIDATES BY POLITICAL PARTIES : Women's involvement in active politics, as is well known, is conditioned by several social, cultural and economic factors. One of the very important of these is the negative attitude of the political parties in fielding women candidates. Considerable gap between promise and performance is seen in the political parties, large and small, in supporting women's entry into political institutions. The discrimination is all the more visible in encouraging women to assume decision-making roles. As pointed out by Kirkpatrick, women are not given 'top level' positions. Door to door campaign, distributing party literature, arranging dinners during party meetings are the responsibilities usually

given for women **members**. But rarely they are given **opportunity** to decide matters of the party.⁷ In Indian political **parties**, with few **exceptions**, women are conspicuous by their non-involvement in party **decision-making** bodies. In the **politbureaus** of the Janata Dal and **Left parties**, **women's presence** according to one study is nil. Little involvement is provided for women in the **Congress** party though it claims to be providing wide range of **involvement**. It is the **male members** in all Indian political parties that have a say in fixing **candidature**.⁸

Andrew Adonis felt that sex discrimination played its part in preventing women to assume the role of parliamentarians in **Britain**. For '**winnable**' seats, local parties have traditionally been hesitant to choose women candidates. **Due** to this, **women's** success rate in **election** is poorer than that of men. **However**, gender discrimination is decreasing since the Labour party adopted **pro-women** policy in the distribution of party **tickets**.⁹ This indicates that increase or **decrease** of **women's** representation in decision-making bodies is **largely** determined by **political parties**.

Sex discrimination in **political parties** is **most** common in India. It **started** in **pre-independent period** itself. In 1936, when the **Congress Working Committee** was organised for which Nehru was **technically responsible**, it did not include even a single woman though. **Sarojini Naidu** from the **Congress** and **Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya** from the **Socialist party** were quite **deserving** women. Their **career** had **varied**, longer and more **successful** than **some** men appointed to the Congress Working Committee. A serious **criticism** was leveled by **AH India Women's Conference** for **excluding these two women**.¹⁰ They expressed protest in **Sri Dharma** (a women's magazine) in the following words: "This is an injustice of very **grave** order **both** to a **woman** who is a **pride** of her

country as a true and capable patriot as any man in the Congress, an astute national and international politician but her exclusion brings about also injustice to Indian womanhood generally for now there is no woman representative in the Congress Central Committee. These men think no woman good enough to share supreme responsibility. Three or four new young Socialist men may be brought in newly, but not the Socialist woman leader Kamala Devi. No woman need apply".¹¹

Even after Independence, nominating a few women candidates in elections, has become the most common practice though political parties show a lot of penpheral support for women as candidates. There is a steady decrease in the number of women contestants to Lok Sabha. It was 15% in 1962 and got reduced to 11% in 1991. All the major political parties, the Congress, the B.J.P., the Janata Dal, the CPT(M) in their election manifestoes have promised to bring in 33% reservation for women in the legislatures. The promise became significant for its non implementation, because the parties broke the promise and fielded only a limited number of female candidates. In 1996 Lok Sabha elections, RJP fielded only 23 women out of 477 candidates, 5 women were given tickets by CPI(M) out of 72, 4 by CPI out of 43 and 49 by Congress where its total strength of the candidates is 530.¹²

In 1994 Assembly elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly the total number of women contestants securing tickets from different political parties is 61 whereas 64 women filed nominations as independents. In states like Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal women were given limited number of tickets. Due to lack of political parties encouragement there are some state

legislative assemblies like Bihar, **Haryana**, Maharashtra where **women's** presence is nil.

Purnima Varma, a **BJP** candidate elected to **Uttar Pradesh** Assembly in 1991 said **that**, though women several times proved that they are not inferior to **men**, still there are **leaders** in political parties who feel that women are weaker than men. This orientation is also there among several women. Though females exhibited their capacity on par with **men**, discrimination is **still** continuing in distributing party tickets.¹³

Some unconvincing reasons are **generally given** by political parties for their failure in encouraging women with party tickets. These include the following :

Women are not coming forward to contest. They would be defeated if strong male opponent contests, women are inexperienced and untrained.

Some women seeking political power **complain** that parties are neglecting them **inspite** of long service in political field. **Husna Subhani** an active politician worked with **Jaya Prakash Narayan** in late 1970s, a reputed social **worker**, President of All India Muslim **Women's** Association and a member of Janata Dal National Executive Committee was denied a party ticket **successively** in 1989, '91 and '93¹⁴

Kushama Kushawa, former General Secretary of Congress and later a member of Bharatiya **Kisan Kamgarh** party which was **left in air** by **Ajit Singh** has tried to get a ticket for ten **years**, but her efforts went **in vain**. **This** victim of gender **discrimination** said " for twenty **years** I have **been** doing **social work**, I have been in active politics for the past 12 **years**, but have **been denied** a **ticket**"¹⁵

Discrimination shown by political parties came to the forefront in a recently held Uttar Pradesh elections where none of the parties fielded women candidates, not even one, though they have been active participants in the political battle for Uttarkhand and proved their leadership qualities too.¹⁶

To identify the views regarding the role of political parties in fielding women candidates, the respondents were asked to answer the question. "Are political parties interested in nominating women"? Table 4.2 helps to understand the position.

Table 4.2
Perceptions Regarding Fielding Female Candidates by Political Parties

PERCEPTIONS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	24	29	3	17	27
No	58	71	15	83	73
Total	82	100	18	100	100

The table indicates that a large portion of male and female respondents agreed that political parties are not giving party tickets to female candidates in adequate number. However, in both the views mentioned in the table, there is exactly 12% gender gap. 12% more women respondents than men perceived that political parties are not giving proper encouragement. 12% more men than women did not agree with that. Though a majority of men and women accepted the first view, the reasons given by them are different. The details are the following.

To **Sarojini Pulla Reddy** "the main cause is male domination in political parties. They are not at all ready to share power with **women**". **M.Lakshmi** Devi said "to give 1/3 rd reservation none of **political** parties are not coming forward. Do they voluntarily (without rule) allow women to contest in elections through **parties**?" she questioned. **M.Swarjyam** who denied that parties are **showing** discrimination towards women said "as far as our party **CPI(M)** is **concerned**, it is not correct. **In** our party, the number of women members is coming down mainly due to lack of economic sufficiency. Apart from it social reasons and family responsibilities prevent women to be active with political **parties**". **Mary Ravindranath** viewed" since it is a power game, men feel deprivation if women are fielded as candidates in **election**. They try to hold their place very strongly. There are men in Congress who objected to the party leadership's suggestion to give key roles to **women**". **Rajana Ramani** felt that **parties'** discouragement is due to lack of understanding towards women and due to male **chauvinism**. Political parties always doubt **women's** leadership qualities. **Annapurna** Devi expressed that men are afraid of women's **advancement**. Naturally political **parties** do not encourage **women**. Therefore women should come forward. **Bharathi** and **Lakshmi Devamma** also viewed that due to male domination, political **parties'** encouragement **is** lacking for **women**. They cannot see women enjoying political power, they **emphasised**. A part of **this** response **is** of **Md Gafoor's** opinion too.

P Aruna, Minister for Women and Child Welfare said "our party (**TDP**) **is** encouraging. Otherwise, we would not have come to this place". To the questions why this time **TDP** gave very less number of seats to women and why women elected previously were not given **tickets**, she replied **that**, due to

'peculiar' reasons it happened so this time. However she **did** not clarify what the 'peculiar reasons' are.

Y.Seeta Devi said that her party would like to **give tickets**, but male opponents are creating troubles to the elected women. Every act of elected women is over scrutinised and they prevent her to be efficient with their misdeeds. Destructive criticism **is** leveled against women. To counter the acts of opponents, TDP is **forced** to field male candidates. Bhaskar Rama Rao **also** felt that due to strong **male opponents**, women are not fielded by political parties. To K.Vijay Rami Reddy, "parties have their 'own problems' before **elections** due to which gender justice **cannot** be **considered**. At a single time, equality cannot be achieved". Purushottam Rao viewed that "more than parties' encouragement, women should rely on self effort which is absent in women". Same is the opinion of members like P.Srinivas Reddy ^{and} A.V.S. Raju. K Prakash Reddy said that due to lack of capable women, parties are **failing** to nominate women. M B Chowhan who came from a tribal area found that **touch with public**, awareness of **public** problems and training in taking risks are lacking in women. Hence, **they** are not fielded. To N.Moola Reddy, women are **not coming forward**. Those come forward do not have public attraction. Adding to this, Govind Naik said "in some places our party (TDP) had to search for candidates". M Ranga Reddy and A Babu Rao perceived that women are not reacting properly to party's offer and are **not able** to devote much time for party service. To N Gade Lingappa "the hindering factors are male **domination**, lack of **initiative** in women and lack of faith in their **efficiency**".

Madhusudhana Chary also viewed that male domination is the primary cause for less number of women being **nominated**. Other senior members like Vanka Satyanarayana, Venkata Ramakrishna, D Anjaneyulu also shared the

opinion of **Madhusudhana** Chary. These members **also** pointed out that lack of economic independence for women and selfishness of political parties as the additional reasons.

The **social** structure is considered as an important factor for paucity of women contestants through political parties by members like **Ambati Brahmanaiah**, **N.Narsimha Reddy**, **Appala Suryanarayana**. For **Ch.Rami Reddy** and **S.Sambaiah**, the reason is, women are lacking winning capacities. **Haribabu** and **B.Venkateswar Rao**, more or less gave similar reason. They said men feel that **women should** confine themselves to the home and since times **immemorial**, women are being suppressed.

K.R.Suresh Reddy exposed political **parties'** disinterest in giving **party** tickets to women in a different way. To him, there are various shackles for women to enter politics which **were** broken by a very few women. Parties do not encourage women who are really interested and efficient. But in cases where a male **MLA** vacates seat due to any reason, mostly due to death, **his wife** is forced to contest. Parties compromise on quality for the sake of **party's power**. He did not mention the name **of** parties which are practicing it.

B Pullaiah felt that women cannot take **firm** decisions as **they** are untrained and inexperienced. Lack of **awareness** about politics in **women** and lack of recognition to women's capabilities are the causes for not nominating women according to **Puvvada Nageswar Rao**.

A large number of male respondents who **viewed male domination** as a cause are elderly persons. **Party** impact is drawn in this context **only** on **few** male and female **TDP members**. The above **answers** make **clear** that the **respondents** Have similar **views**, though different causes are **identified** by them. **Parochial thinking**, **constituency** influence and **male tendencies** and **feeling** of

discrimination could be seen in the responses. The feeling that parties show discouragement is stronger, naturally, in women than men.

CONFRONTATIONAL SITUATIONS ARE UNCOMFORTABLE FOR

WOMEN : In any competitive field confrontation is unavoidable. But it is seen more in the political arena since there is a power game in this. The nature of political atmosphere changed tremendously as the growth of competition is unlimited. To capture political power, inhuman and illegal activities are adopted by politicians seeking power. Violence in politics, rowdism, goondaism which were having a minor part in Indian ballot struggle, have become dominant factors today. That there is a growing number of criminals occupying representative roles is strongly felt. Women, who in general, are not exposed to the society on par with men, naturally develop a negative tendency towards confrontations. The unpleasant and unlawful political atmosphere kept a large number of women away from politics. Obviously, women who are small in number seeking political power still are in the process of getting accustomed to the existing political culture. Several men and women therefore, developed a feeling that confrontational situations are uncomfortable for women and they cannot face every challenging and problematic situation.

Apart from this, as women, they have to face some abnormal situations which do not arise for men. Uma Bharathi a well known parliamentarian elected from Uttar Pradesh to the Lok Sabha said that women can not adopt rowdism and can not involved in violent activities, which can be easily done by men and which are most common during elections. Due to this, women are finding it difficult to face such situations. A Congress woman Galla Aruna, who contested to Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from Chittoor district in 1994 revealed

that women are proved inferior if **violence** occurs in elections. Through her experience, she learned **that**, to be successful in elections, if one serves people with **dedication**, it is not sufficient. But one must be capable of adopting **illegal** methods also and be able to exhibit physical power. In her **view**, rigging and **violence** ruled the 1994 Assembly elections. "Without even **seeing** that I am a **woman**, they attacked me and captured booths. When so much male chauvinism is **there**, how can I face it being a **woman**? She questioned.¹⁷

Women's physique is not exempted from comments when they enter **political** life. This is present in advanced systems too. When Nancy **Kessebaum** contested to the Senate in the US. **her's** small personality which **is** not an image of power and competence, was referred by a commentator as "wounded **wren**".¹⁸

Kim Camp Bell who served as the Prime Minister of Canada was **very** much appreciated both by her party and the press before and during **the initial** period of becoming the Prime **Minister**. When the party thought of changing the leadership and some forces in the party were working against her, the press reported that she was divorced twice with no children and **this** situation would have influence on her personality and hence **it** is desirable to have another Prime Minister.

When Clare Short made a speech **suggesting** banning '**glamour**' photographs in news papers, **in the** House of **Commons** in **Britain**, she **was** ridiculed by male colleagues. Similarly, **in early 1990s**, when an **excellent** speech by Diane Abbott was **given**, a newspaper confined **it only in describing** her dressing without reporting **the content of the speech**.¹⁹

In campaign **tactics**, women candidates are targeted in a different way. Personal life often comes up for public debate usually *by* **males**. A former 'Congresswoman' **Maratha Keyes** faced such problem at the hands of **her** opponent **Jaffries**. Maratha Keyes, a divorcee of Sam Keyes married another 'Congressman'. Later, in the election campaign she was attacked on this point by James **Jaffries**, a male **opponent**, who defeated her. After two **years**, her first husband Sam Keyes contested elections against **Jaffries**. Though Sam Keyes lost elections, the divorce **dimension** was never mentioned by **Jaffries** during the campaign.²⁰

Chennupati Vidya a former Indian parliamentarian **said** that, women after being elected to parliament also, have to face some sexual **harassment**. Several young female **MP s** informed to her about this problem. They were afraid to face parliament again, she noticed.

During the assembly sessions in **Andhra Pradesh** in 1997, **Lakshmi Parvathi**, who was elected to the House in **by-elections** from **NTR TDP** group was referred to as **wife** of her first **husband**, by no other than her male colleagues in the House. It became **difficult** for her to bear with their behavior. In fact, after she divorced her first husband only, she **married Mr. N. T. R.**, the supremo of TDP.

Thus, apart from preventing women from capturing political **power**, male domination creates additional abnormal **conditions**. **Few women**, no doubt, have overcome such **situations** as easily as men can do. **Women politicians** of **Madhya Pradesh** felt that they can easily compete with male **counterparts**. They expressed that they are not **facing** any problems as women and have not been the **victims** of gender discrimination.²¹ This is definitely an **ideal situation**.

Sudha Jain, an MLA and Beena Kak, a woman contestant to Lok Sabha in Rajasthan viewed that, though women are having some disadvantages, there are some advantages also, which are not there for men. They can easily approach female voters personally and can talk to them in their kitchens also Thus, contrary views were expressed by several female politicians themselves regarding embarrassing, abnormal and confrontational situations.

To identify gender impact on the respondents views regarding the capacities of women, they were asked to express their views on a statement - "Women are uncomfortable with confrontational situations". Table 4.3 discloses the opinions of the respondents in this aspect.

Table 4.3 reveals that, there is a considerable, if not a significant gender difference on the perceptions of the respondents in this respect. 17% more male respondents than female respondents agreed that women cannot face all confrontational situations as men can do. 11% more women than men felt that women can combat any kind of situations.

Table 4.3
Respondents' views on the statement
"Women are Uncomfortable with Confrontations"

OPINIONS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	46	56	7	39	53
No	32	39	9	50	41
Neither yes nor no	4	5	2	11	6
Total	82	100	18	100	100

Few male and female respondents viewed that it cannot be said that all women would feel difficult to face critical situations. They felt that some men also feel uncomfortable with confrontations. The research has shown a clear evidence of growing self confidence amongst the women respondents in facing confrontational situations. Some worth noting responses are given here under :

To Nannapaneni Raja Kumari "women, efficiency-wise are equal in all fields. They proved it also by overcoming several problems". Rajana Ramani viewed some situations are uncomfortable to men also and hence it is difficult to make out the difference between men and women. V.Ratna Kumari said "I do not accept this statement. Generally people feel it. But in my case, I face situations boldly". Y.Sita Devi and Pratibha Bharathi also viewed similarly.

Annapurna Devi while denying the statement said "usually women do not involve in groupism. Moreover, all it depends on individual mentality".

P.Bharathi who said neither yes nor no pointed out that due to male domination, that feeling is continuing in some men and women. But slowly change is taking place. Singanna Dora also felt the same. Lakshmi Parvathi viewed "Because women are looked down everywhere such feelings exist". P Aruna felt that due to social conditions, women are not able to solve problems on their own for which they are depending on men. Mental maturity of women is prevented. But today's women are not that dependent on men."

D.S.Redya Naik while accepting the statement, said that women are soft in nature. They get easily hurt by others due to which they cannot bear with all conditions. Asaduddin Owaisi elected from MLM, a minority party said "yes it is true". "Man is more fit to face confrontation based on nature's law. One cannot fight against nature and God". P.Srinivas Reddy felt, this does not apply to the

present women. Any how, where there is a will, there is a way for a woman or for a man, he made clear. A.V.S.Raju while denying the statement said that what Mrs.Renuka Chowdhary (a powerful woman member of TDP, presently a member of Rajya Sabha) could do in such situations, cannot be done by men also.

To P.Keshav, women are uncomfortable with confrontation due to the existing social conditions, discrimination against women and in some respects physical inequalities.

N.Moola Reddy felt that there cannot be a generalisation "In our women MLAs only there are members like Y.Sita Devi and Pratlba Bharathi who are bold and strong to challenge anything. At the same time, there are also some women who are dull and not equal to these two women.

N.Gade Lingappa who accepted the statement viewed that 'it is because women are not trained with education. Added to it our social conditions make them to be weak.'

Gone Hanumanth Rao while discarding the statement said that Mrs Gandhi faced several confrontational situations boldly Y Kista Reddy felt that women can face any situation except where the physical power is needed. Mentally women are stronger than men but are having some physical weaknesses. Juvvadi Chandra Sekhar Rao and Jakka Venkataiah expressed that by nature woman can fight. But due to male domination and oppression they are unable to face tough situations. Women who are above these, proved their capability.

Rambhupal Reddy, Karanam Rama Chandra Rao and Hariswar Reddy said that women are not uncomfortable to such conditions. But percentage wise women are less in politics than men in numbers. Mainly it is due to socialization process also inequalities are perpetuating.

Gade Venkat Reddy expressed that 'by nature there are differences between men and women. Hence, some circumstances are favourable to women.

and some are favourable to men." E.Han Babu said "women are more tactful and have keen observation which enable her to be confident in all situations".

N.Yethi Raja Rao who could not confirm the statement said that all that depends on socialization, training and education. For some men also this statement applies. K R.Suresh while supporting the statement viewed that women are facing 'rough weather' everywhere - in RTC buses, at work place, at home, in public and also in politics. But they have to go through all these and build confidence. Marri Sasidhar Reddy viewed "some men may feel uncomfortable with confrontations, while some women may not feel the same". Puvvada Nageswar Rao while agreeing with the given statement said that "societal changes contributing to promote consciousness in women have not come".

Bodepudi Venkateswar Rao's response is "yes. But there are some women who take them easily. There is nothing that women cannot learn". Ch.Raji Reddy's answer is "No It was in the past But changing conditions are enabling women to fight with every situation. In previous years women's participation in agitations used to be very less. But now it has increased tremendously".

WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES GIVING PRIORITY TO WOMEN'S

ISSUES : A good number of research workers give evidence to the fact that women representatives give priority to women's issues both in India and in other nations. This is considered as special 'qualitative bias'.²⁴ The chapter 'Literature Review' dealt with this aspect in some detail.

Available evidence suggests that legislative efforts for women welfare policies were put largely by women members of Indian Parliament. Bills related

to subjects like prohibition of dowry, women and child **welfare**, marriage, divorce and immoral traffic in women are introduced by women. Bills relating to equal pay for equal **work**, divorce, judicial **separation**, payment of **maternity** and **medical** benefits for **women**, prohibition of **Devadasi** and **Murli** in **India**, compulsory registration of marriages in **India**, protection of civil rights of married **women**, prohibition of test for **pre-birth** sex **determination**, **Viswa bharathi** marriage laws, prohibition of **sati**, welfare of **widows**, medical termination of **pregnancy**, **mother's** lineage, working women's welfare are introduced in **Lok Sabha** by women **members**.

Women members in the **legislature** of **Andhra Pradesh** have also made similar efforts. Some examples can be given in this context- **M.N.Vijaya Lakshmi**, an **MLA** of **Andhra Pradesh** moved a private bill in 1978, urging government to take immediate decision for providing equal rights and opportunities for women on par with men. There were also events where women members forced the Speaker to allow debates on atrocities **against women**. The best example for that is **Lakshmi Kantamma's** adjournment motion on 31st March, 1978 to have a discussion on the incident of rape, that took place in **Nallakunta** police station in **Hyderabad** on 30th March 1978. The Speaker refused to accept adjournment motion, but the lady members, of course some male members of **opposition** parties also brought **pressure** on the **Speaker**. In this act, **Lakshmi Kantamma** went to the extent of walking out of the **Assembly**. Finally, she was successful in persuading the Speaker to move the motion and was given reasonable time to express her feelings relating to injustice towards the woman and the brutal behaviour of **police**. She specifically mentioned the way police were insincere, irresponsible and inhuman with **Rameza Bee** the

victim and her husband in the police station. Lakshmi Kantamma demanded judicial inquiry into the incident.²³

For the first time in the history of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, a two hours discussion especially on atrocities against women was held on the demand of four female legislators and a male legislator. This discussion gave wide opportunity to women representatives to express their views relating to unfair treatment of the fair sex. Several incidents of gender discrimination, violence against women were brought to the notice of the House by them. While detailing some incidents, they became ferocious too. The day on which the discussion took place was referred as the 'Day of Eves' by a well known daily. Indian Express. All this shows that women representatives are giving priority to women's issues and react differently from their male counterparts when such issues arise.²⁴

To know the perceptions of the sample in the study in this regard, they were asked to answer a question - are women legislators giving priority to women's issues ? Differences in the opinions of the respondents can be noticed from table 4.4.

Table 4.4
Women Legislators Giving Priority to Women Matters

PERCEPTIONS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	38	46	9	50	47
So	44	54	9	50	53
Total	82	100	18	100	100

There is not much gap between the sexes regarding **women** legislators giving priority to **women's** issues. 4% more female respondents than that of **male** respondents viewed that women members of **Andhra** Pradesh Legislative Assembly are giving importance to women matters, 4% more men than that of women of the **respondents** denied the **view** that women representatives prefer to raise and discuss **women's issues**. Women respondents falling under the two categories of perceptions are divided into two **equal** proportions. But among men. 8% more male respondents of their total strength felt that women issues are not the **priorities** of women **legislators**. The following **responses**, for clear **understanding**, are given :

Mary Ravindranath viewed **that**, 'first of all' women **legislators** try to attend to women's **problems**. P.Bharathi said that women **MLAs** are not giving priority to 'women concerned' matters. But **they** should emphasise on women's problems by taking every opportunity. P.Aruna viewed that women **representatives** are giving importance to women's issues. The **people** who approach women MLAs are mostly **women**. Hulikuntappa felt that women **representatives** are much aware of women's **problems** and feel a sense of **responsibility** in focusing them. Male respondents like G Mallesh, Govind Naik, C Baganna, Ch Ram Reddy, J Ranga Roddy expressed **that**, when 'other than women concerned **matters**' come for discussion, women are **not** given time to **express** their feelings. Generally, when women issues arise, they take chance to speak. B Durga Prasad who **agreed** that female members of the House **give** preference to women's **problems**, immediately said that **sometimes** women members in the House get into **quarrels** also while expressing their **opinions**.

Respondents like Nandhyala Narsimha Reddy, A.V.S. Raju, M.Mallesha, M.Kodanda Reddy mentioned that women MLAs react more to 'women concerned issues', as they have keen observation over them.

*

Gade Lingappa and Vanka Satyanarayana rightly said that in general women's issues are given less importance and so, women members have to give preference to those matters and also due to suppressed feeling in them. E.Haribabu felt that women in the House compete with men in representing women related issues. That obviously and unintentionally is making them to speak more for women. Ch.Vidyasagar Rao thought that 'male chauvinism' in the society is making them to give more attention to women issues.

Jakka Venkaiah mentioned that women MLAs do not have specific priority, but when issues like atrocities on women arise in the House they speak ferociously. He also narrated an event of the House in 1985 as an example. Then during the Question Hour, a question related to an atrocity against woman was raised. During that discussion, one of the male legislators in the House asked the Home Minister whether government would pay any compensation to the female victim. All women in the House angrily reacted saying that compensation is a very light punishment and only separation of hands and legs of the culprit from the body is the right solution to the problem. Jakka Venkaiah also said that men will not react in such a way as women do.

Ch.Rajeswar Rao felt that it is not that women give priority to an issue. Because of their self experience they can articulate them in a better way than men.

More than through table 4.4, through the responses we can notice the depth of the gender differences in such matters.

SHOULD WOMEN LEGISLATORS REPRESENT WOMEN'S PROBLEMS : Around the world, women as a gender, are facing problems. They have only secondary status. Women in the Third World societies are deprived of the right to live due to female infanticide. There is a tremendous increase in dowry deaths, eve-teasing, rapes other atrocities against women and negative exposure of women by media. Frequent occurrence of dowry deaths, eve teasing and rapes is a common feature in India. Long standing problems like gender discrimination and harassment at work place are born out of the marriage between male domination and power game. Neither required attention is paid to these problems nor practical remedies were made. Education and high earning jobs were not equally accessible to men and women. Only 25% of earned income is shared by women and only 39% women's literacy is there. In states like Rajasthan the situation is still worse. Women are regular victims of violence at home. Overall, sexual abuse is a growing menace. Who can articulate all these problems in a better way - men or women? Several women representatives rightly claimed that it is their additional responsibility. The gradually growing number of women in decision making structures in America, Britain, Canada and other Western countries has changed the agenda of legislative bodies which has shown great impact on policy making, representing women's problems and interests.

The impact of women members in the House of Commons, has resulted in the devotion of longer time to women's and children's issues than it used to be. Private members' bills introduced by women representatives are usually those involving women's interests.

It is crucial for elected **women** to use their office for betterment of common women. Elizabeth , an American political woman **felt** that women legislators have been able to attack gender discrimination and their consequences. Congress would have never passed key legislation removing **discriminatory** barriers against women in areas like insurance, **pension, education**, health benefits and employment **fund**, without the presence and **initiative** of female members **in** the House. **Politically involved** women **give** serious attention and top priority to women's issues which are not cared by male **politicians** by considering them as 'under related **social concerns**'. This disinterest of male **politicians** towards women's matters made Democratic Vice-President candidate Ms. Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 to frustrate.²⁶ There is also a little number of women who **would** not like to be stamped as **pro-womanists** or feminists **by** giving priority to **women's** issues. They viewed all issues are **equally important** for them.

Through the above **discussion**, we can expect **gender-wise** variations regarding the **ideology** that women should represent women's problems. The respondents were asked whether it is a **special responsibility** of women legislators to represent women's view point. Table 4.5 discloses the details

Table 4.5.
Should Women Legislators Represent Women Interests?

VIEWS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	30	37	16	89	46
No	52	63	2	11	54
Total	82	100	18	100	100

The wide **differences** in the perceptions of the **respondents**, regarding female legislators representing **women's** interests. In two kinds of views mentioned in the table, there is more than 50% **difference** between **the genders**. 52% more female respondents than the male respondents **felt** that representing **women's** problems is an additional **responsibility** of women **legislators**. 52% more respondents regarded, it is not only that of women representatives but **also** that of **male** representatives. The two women respondents who denied that representation of **women's** interests is a special responsibility of women **MLAs** are **P.Aruna** and **Lakshmi Devamma**. The general opinion is **that** a woman can understand women's **problems** well.

Annapurna Devi **felt** that women representatives are acquainted **with** women's needs which brings clarity in representing them. **Bharathi** **made it** clear that common women's voice can be voiced **in** the House through women representatives. But they can influence **policy** making **with** more number of women **in** the House, **Lakshmi Devamma** viewed that **it is** not a special responsibility of women **legislators** but they avail **every opportunity** to represent **women's** issues.

Uma Venkatram Reddy felt "it is most natural since **they** are women. Further, the growing number of women's **problems** **makes** us **feel** that responsibility" **Pratibha Bharati** said "obviously it is women **legislators'** responsibility since **they** are neglected by **men**. One **cannot** expect **the** same reactions from men and women to the **problems** of women. As a **Women Welfare** minister, I **served** women and I would like to serve **in future also**".

To **Asaduddin Owaisi**, every women representative is elected to work for the entire constituency **bin** not only for women. **Representing women's** issues is only one of her **duties**.

Varadarajula Reddy felt that women should take more **initiative** in **matters** related to women and **children** especially, if reservation is enforced.

Md.Gafoor and **M.Malles** expressed that it need not be a special responsibility of women **MLAs**. But women know more about **women's** problems and needs than **men**. **G.Hanumanth** Rao who **felt** it is not a special or added responsibility of legislators representing **women**, said **that** they are problems of human kind, **therefore** it is responsibility of **all** **MLAs**.

Appaiah Dora while agreeing that it is the responsibility of women expressed that women elite can fight for women's rights. But at the same time they should work for other matters also. **Yathi** Raja Rao viewed that women legislators should share the feelings of 50% of the **population**. Some women cannot reveal their problems to **men**. So, through women representatives **they get** their **problems** noticed by government. **Appala Suryanarayana** thought **that** it is the responsibility of women representatives **because**, in a male dominated **society**, men **always** relegate such issues to last **position**.

K.Madhusudhan Rao felt that it is essential for women representatives. But justice to womanhood cannot be done **with** a small number **of** women **in the** House. Their number is needed to be **increased** to **get** their **rights**.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT 1/3 RESERVATION FOR WOMEN IN LEGISLATIVE BODIES: A true **participatory democracy** is **that** where avenues for political **authority** are **laid open to all by removing** the **existing** obstacles and **creating a favourable atmosphere**.

India, the largest democratic **nation** in the **world** failed miserably in distributing political power **equally between** men and **women** **inspite of the fact** that women **took active** roles in several **agitations** and **movements which are**

politically important and influential. In these movements, they exhibited their leadership talents too.

There is a gradual growth in the number of women occupying decision making roles in the Western countries like Britain, America, Canada and others over which Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark are far better. But in India, instead of an improvement in the political status of women, there is a steady decrease in it almost in every state. As mentioned previously, there are some state legislatures working with 'zero number' of female members. India is ranked 93rd among the member states of UNO in empowering women and only 2.3% is the share of women in administrative and managerial positions²⁷

Women of India and also some men are demanding for improvement in the political status of women. The first step to this extent was taken in 1993 with the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments providing reservation of 1/3 seats for women in local self government bodies. This has brought reasonably good amount of awareness amongst women at the grass root level in acquiring and exercising their rights. But the situation at the state and national levels decision making structures remains unsatisfactory. To bridge the gap an initiative is taken by the United Front government by proposing 1/3 reservation for women in state and national legislative bodies through the 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill. One of the objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan is the empowerment of women and socially disadvantaged groups. To realise these objectives it has suggested to adopt 1/3 quota system for women in administrative spheres.

As Jayanti Natarajan writes "the arguments against reservation ranges from the openly chauvinistic to the pseudo intellectual and from synthetic

concern for the OBCs to a new found reluctance to further divide the category through reservation".²⁸ Madhukar Saropdar, elected to Lok Sabha from Shivsena felt that "there is no legal restriction on fielding women by political parties and where does the need for law on reservation arise?"²⁹

The main opposition for the approval of the 81st Amendment Bill came from the members of parliament like Ramkripal Yadav, Muktar Anees, P.N.Siva, Nithish Kumar belonging to Janata Dal, Samajvadi, DMK and Samata Dal parties respectively who demanded to include the OBCs clause. These champions of OBC determined not to allow reservation for women until justice is done to OBCs. The BJP is divided on this issue.³⁰ It is brought to light that OBCs representation has been more compared to the nominal representation of women in the legislature since care is taken by the social justice parties like SP, BSP and JD. Sharad Yadav's own admission reveals that there are some 280 MPs belonging to OBCs among total number of members in the Lok Sabha. Therefore, it has to be argued that more than caste based struggle, gender based struggle for reservation is needed. In OBCs, minorities and other categories like SC s, ST s, women are neglected.³¹

Dismissing the gender discrimination as the cause for low representation of women, V.S.Chandrasekha President of Tamilnadu state unit of Janata Dal said that unattractiveness of political career coupled with its moral degradation is the root cause. She considered reservation policy as a 'topdown' approach and hence not acceptable.³²

Another pretext shown by the opponents of reservation is 'women are not yet ready for political office' and they have 'to be sensitized and educated'

before giving them key **role**. But the **counter** argument to this is that there **is** nothing good to be educated about male dominated **politics**. **It is well known that** a large number of male representatives are **chargesheeted in** several cases **like murder, dacoity and economic offences.**³³

Madhu Kishwar argues that **marginalisation** of women is connected to **marginalisation** of decent and honest people as **political** field has become a citadel of corruption and **crime**. Since a large number of women are not **ready** to take risk of joining **politics**, reservation **would** be cornered by **dominant male** politicians by **fielding** their **wives** and daughters who act as **dummies**. Thus **biwi-beti** brigades would create further **maladministration**.³⁴ Such situations would emerge initially, but true **grass roots** women leadership would finally come into force after facing some teething troubles.³⁵ Answering the question **relating** to 'biwi-beti brigades', Sushma Swaraj said that **women's** wings of political **parties** would take care of not giving scope for **the entry** of **wives** of **political bigwigs**. It can be seen that several women have gone ahead and worked for the parties and these women deserve to have due share in **politics.**³⁶

Women's interest cannot be isolated from **economic, social and political** problems of the society as mentioned in 'Towards Equality' the first comprehensive document giving details of Indian **women's** status. But it is to be remembered that whatever be the problems of society **strata, groups or classes** sufferers and victims among women are far **more than those among men**. If such problems are seen from women's point of view, more **practical** solution would have come for solving the **problems** as well as to **attain gender equality**. To get women's opinion, adequate number of women in **decision making bodies** is a must.

An illogical argument of an editorial in a leading daily is that 33% of reservation for women would deny representation to 50% electorate in 33% constituencies. If the same point is seen from the other angle, it is clear that in 100% constituencies where 49% population is women, they received less than 6% representation in the parliament, (only 32 women got elected to Lok Sabha in 1996 general elections)³⁷ If the writer of the editorial feels that 33% reservation would result in deprivation of 50% electorate in 33% constituencies, the 50 years experience of women in India is that they have always been in low level representation as their strength in parliament and state legislatures did not cross 10% at any point of time. This criticism against reservation is based on a wrong notion that women representatives would represent women only.

Describing the reservation as a bad solution to the problem, another criticism is raised against it. The reservation method adopted till now has reached the tolerance limit, so, it has to be ended. Empowering women and women taking care of interests can be achieved even without reservation and hence no reservation is needed³⁸. The writer also felt that there is no guarantee of development in women's status by having more number of women. For the better representation of women's interests, best hearted persons are required whether they are men or women. But studies relating to women legislators' role in the proceedings of the Houses made clear that women can best articulate women's interests. Any method other than reservation, to realise the objective would only serve as an impractical method.

Reservation is considered as a gimmick and is unlikely to make any positive impact on the existing position of women. In fact there is no equality in

social life and elimination of exploitation and reduction at the worst can be **expected** through reservation. Reservation would provide an atmosphere conducive to achieve equality of opportunity given by the **constitution**. Reservation is a device to change patriarchal attitudes which imposed disabilities on women.

Opinions against reservation are strengthened by projecting the **experience** of India on reservation **system**. The **SCs** and **ST s** are enjoying reservation facility since the enforcement of the constitution. In 1980s **Karnataka** and Andhra Pradesh introduced the same for women in local bodies and the 73rd and 74th Amendments allotted 1/3 seats for women in **local bodies**. Critics argue that all these reservations did not yield the expected **fruits**. Reservation for **SC s** and **ST s** have **brought** marked benefits. These **deprived sections** have freer? recognised as forming important components of **political process**. The **constitutional guarantee** of equal status has helped to reduce the number and nature of atrocities on them and gave scope for raising consciousness as **well** as voice. The **politics** of the governments **at the centre** and states **will have to be in** accordance with the **principle** of social justice, **leaving aside operational realities**. These **sections** definitely have improved their **status** and dignity as **well a*** assertiveness. Their existence **is** recognised by the "forward **sections**". All this would indicate that **reservations** have been **gainful**. Implied in the **principle** of equality is the need for providing special **protection** to **the** deprived. Amongst those **sections**, that are considered to be **deprived**, there are some **personalities** who have come up on their merit and **talent**. The **President** of India **K. R. Narayan** is the best example of the **equals though belonging to unequals**.

Similarly, the 73rd and 74th Amendments brought a positive impact OR women's empowerment. Prior to these constitutional changes, women's presence in Panchayat Raj Institutions was very insignificant. A different picture has come out through these amendments.

The Parliamentary bodies today have a minimum of 1/3 women members on them which is really an encouraging situation. Some women have contested with personal interest. A good percentage of women in these institutions have 'on behalf of others status', while others were dummies whose only function is that of either signing or placing thumb impressions on the records sent to them. The situation is not altogether gloomy. Many females are showing enthusiasm to assert political rights like contesting and gaining candidacy which were not there even in the dreams of a majority of them.

Some find reservation for women as a very humiliating act which also suppresses article 14. Before assessing the value of this opinion it is to be remembered that women suffered several indignities through centuries past and any humility that might be caused by reservation is definitely a bearable one. Supporters of reservation have a strong argument that it would realise the spirit and purpose of articles 14 and 15.

Another argument is that material and social factors are major restraints for women's political power and hence it is essential to improve education and the economic independence rather than choosing reservation as a solution. But the point is, Kerala women are having better socio-economic status but do not have equal political status. Gang rapes have become rampant and the patriarchal laws of Kerala which gave women dominion over their property have

slowly been eroded⁴¹ Moreover, laws introduced for better socio-economic status of women did not bring any marked improvement in women's status. The reason is simple to some analysts. It is the lack of pressure on their implementation which should come from the representatives.

Another suggestion given by an intellectual is through a scheme. To this, in half the constituencies only women will vote and in the other half, men will vote, but there would not be reservation for candidates on the basis of sex. Women's interest can best be represented by conducting elections one term for women voters and the next for male voters. Those representatives elected by men also definitely give importance to women's aspirations as they should face re-election. Moreover, this also allows women to choose those candidates who can focus on women's interests whether it is a man or a woman.⁴²

Another argument by the same writer is, this scheme will not give scope for men complaining that merit is denied. It makes men to pay attention to women's issues and reduce the election expenditure to half as men and women vote separately in separate terms.⁴³ The scheme is silent over the number of women contestants. The author viewed that, women can choose either of the sexes when their turn of election comes. This again leads to non-fielding of women candidates by the political parties. They can offer male candidates only to speak about women's issues and project themselves as protectors of women which situation again prevents women from playing important roles in decision making. There is a possibility of bringing narrow outlook in public if elections are held for men and women at different times.

Three member constituency system instead of opting for reservation is another suggestion. The writer felt that reservation of 1/3 seats for women in law making bodies would be applicable and benefit only in 1/3 area⁴⁺. According to the model suggested, the number of constituencies should be reduced to 1/3 of the number. And from each such constituency, a man and a woman must be elected and the third member can be of either sex. This would make the occupation of more than 1/3 seats by women possible. In practice, it creates several problems. If voters choose three representatives belonging to three political parties, problems arise. The possibility of women occupying more than 1/3 of the seats is remote because, the political parties which are not genuinely ready to approve the 81st Amendment Bill, could not be expected to field more women candidates. 1/3 reservation of seats for women should be rotated all over the nation so that women of the entire nation get chance to avail it. However, this would not be less than the reservation of seats for women in decision-making bodies.

So far, the views of detractors on the question of reservation for women in law making bodies are examined. It is appropriate to see the other side of the coin also. Power occupies a predominant place in all human, national and international interactions. Political power is all the more important because all problems in society, in one way or the other are related to political decision, where the power game is prominent. Political development helps to bring forth other kinds of development. It is an established fact that women around the world have not gained equal status with men importantly because they are kept away from political power positions. That political empowerment would be useful to achieve women's empowerment in general is a widely accepted opinion now. The existing gender inequalities and discrimination could be attributed to a considerable extent to the absence of political empowerment to women. As

rightly pointed out by the participants of Beijing women's conference, to bring fundamental changes in socio-economic fields, women should be given half-share in political decision-making. For that reservation is to be adopted. Indian women's half a century experience with political discrimination in the post-independence period forces them to rely heavily on 1/3 reservation as the best weapon to achieve gender equality and status. In countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, the reason for having more number of women in decision making roles is due to their legal enablement.⁴⁵

There is vivid expression of the realities of women's status in one important study. Men of the government never cared women's sufferings. To some, they begin before birth itself. As an infant, as a girl, as a wife, as a widow, as a working girl, a woman has to face female infanticide, under-nourishment and illiteracy or less education. dowry death, life long seclusion and social harassment respectively. Woman is looked as a butterfly, decorative piece and as a window dressing in politics.⁴⁶ According to the data given by National Crimes Records Bureau, for every 54 minutes a woman is raped, for every 102 minutes one dowry death takes place, for every 51 minutes an act of teasing occurs and for every 7 minutes a criminal offence against women happens. In controlling these crimes and in developing the nation in areas like education, health, environment, food production, distribution, urban and rural development and drinking water there has not been satisfactory implementation. Women working in Panchayati Raj institutions now are confident of saving the country from maladministration, criminal politics and corruption.⁴⁷

Involvement of women in the agitations like anti-arrack, water shortage, violence and discrimination is indicating their agenda. In particular, the anti-

arrack movement in Andhra Pradesh received a special place in the larger dimension of Indian politics. This movement, not only succeeded in influencing government to impose prohibition on liquor (though for a temporary period) but also sent signal about women's unity in such issues which can pose a challenge to political parties in voters' mobilisation.⁴⁸ Women need a rifle place in government to implement their agenda* reservation or quota system makes this possible.

The perpetuating low political status of women and further degradation in it led to change in attitudes of women who were against reservation. Post independence women's movement in India brought out two shades of opinions regarding reservation. Some prominent women registered views against reservation in Towards Equality. But a shift in their stand, that is pro reservation could be seen in different feminist groups, as today, fielding of female candidates is opposed by stubborn political parties.⁴⁹ Begum Rasool, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly, in a recent interview said that, there had to be reservation for women for their meaningful role in the development process. When the drafting of the constitution was taking place, all women members of the Constituent Assembly met Nehru and expressed that, they could fight on their own in elections and need not have reservation. Begum Rasool regretting to her previous perception said it has been proved wrong.⁵⁰

Several freedom fighters adopted the innovative methods like Ahimsa and Sathyagraha followed under the guidance of Gandhiji though they have no belief in them. But such experiments gave good returns like national liberation. Similarly, reservation for women in political offices is regarded as a creative measure for the political equality of women.⁵¹ In fact, this has been in force in the

local bodies with the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendments. Their implementation to some extent, removed the myths and doubts leading to the argument that **reservation** would bring dummies and **proxies**. If not all, **10%** of those women elected to **Panchayati Raj** Institutions are movers and shakers. They have changed the priorities and programmes and set a new style of **functioning**. In Karnataka, an elected woman representative told an **official**, "I am the chairperson of the council. I walk and **BDO** drives in a jeep, who do you think the citizens will respect **more?**" Later, the official ordered jeeps to follow her likes. It is removing the doubts raised about **women's** efficiency in a rough atmosphere of Indian politics. In **Karnataka**, women have crossed the 1/3 quota by capturing 44% of the seats.⁵² A Scheduled Caste woman **was** fielded for Gram **Panchayat** President post in **Kodugu** district of **Karnataka**, **inspite** of her **husband's** refusal. Her husband did not favour the wife entering 'dirty politics' and also had no faith in her capacity. But today, she is recognised as the best president for **handling** tough situations and working for local **development**. These are only few examples to cite. There are many such cases reported from other parts of the nation.⁵³ This provides enough evidence to the fact that reservation has brought moderate change in the **participation** of women in local decision-making process. They could assert their **right** to contest in elections because of this measure, which came out of women's thought previously. One can expect more optimistic results if this is extended to state and **national legislatures** also.

Informal reservation of portfolios like women and **child welfare** which are **light** and soft and gender **stereotyped** should be brought to an **end**. Though **it is** true that women can articulate and handle **women's** problems in a **better** way than **men**, it should not lead to women confining to those **activities only**. The

general trend in India is, women are **always** given responsibility of the departments like women welfare, **social welfare** and **education**. Never they were heads of finance, **railways**, external affairs and home departments. Mostly they shared responsibility of the departments under the supervision of males by not assigning them with cabinet ranks. This led to the feeling that women are not self-esteemed or capable of **handling** other portfolios which are treated as **male's** job. To breach this practice, there is an urgent need to increase the number of women in legislative **bodies**.^{5*}

Appearance of a number of women in political positions, elevates the **morale** of **women** in general. Political empowerment through reservation speeds up the required change in the status of women. It is not the '**substantial measure**' or **alternative** for **women's** development. It is only a transitory weapon to exist until women enjoy a reasonably equal status with men. **In short**, the 81st Constitutional Amendment would be a natural extension of the 73rd and 74th Amendments.

To bring out the perceptions of the **respondents** regarding **1/3** reservation for women in law-making **bodies**, an attempt is made here. **It is** to be noted that in 1995, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed a resolution appealing to central government to make an amendment to provide reservation for women in state and **national legislatures**. However, it is found that some of the **male** members are personally against reservation for women. Table 4.6 reveals the views of the respondents about **1/3 reservation** for women in legislatures

Table 4.6.
Perceptions on 1/3 Reservation for Women in Legislatures

PERCEPTIONS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Yes	75	91	17	94	92
No	7	9	1	6	8
Total	82	100	18	100	100

The table no doubt, makes clear that above 90% of the respondents, both males and females, viewed that representation of women through reservation is necessary for different reasons. The gender difference existing in two categories of perceptions are least and negligible since it is only 3% that is, only 3% more female respondents than male respondents supported reservation and 3% less women respondents than that of men opposed reservation.

But the views supporting reservation expressed by male respondents are largely doubtful. Are they really mean what did they view? When there is strong opposition shown on different grounds with real intention of not to promote gender justice at the loss of political power at the central legislature to approve 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill, are male legislatures of Andhra Pradesh different from MPs? Are they really egalitarian in mind?

One of the male respondents belonging to the TDP who frankly opposed reservation said that several men of his party whom the researcher has interviewed might have given a supporting opinion towards reservation But it is not a true opinion he felt. Because within the party, most of the men vehemently

criticised the very idea of TDP leader's proposal to pass a resolution requesting the central government to make 1/3 reservation for women in legislatures. Men approved the proposal in the House only at parties orders. This sort of opposition cannot be ruled out in other parties. Added to it, many women respondents came out with a feeling that political parties are not at all willing to empower women. All this, compels us to believe that hypocrisy is well maintained at least by some of the male respondents.

M.Lakshmi Devi felt that reservation for women is needed as efficient women are there to participate in politics and exercise political power. Women's talents are not recognised. Though they are capable of handling any department, they are given women welfare only. When women members of the previous Assembly asked the C.M to give place for more women in the cabinet, then Mrs.Lakshmi Devi was given housing. Women's efficiency, motivation, capacity and interest should be encouraged.

Mallu Swarajyam while supporting reservation established its need with her self experience as the background. "I myself faced several problems in getting party tickets. None but my own brothers who were also active politicians opposed my nomination when party gave decision in my favour. My brother joined hands with the TDP and worked for my defeat".

Nannapaneni Raja Kumari, who served the Assembly for two terms strongly supported reservation on various grounds. She felt that "women's quantitative strength in legislature should increase to fight for the cause of women and to fight against dowry, sati, polygamy, obscenity in press and films and atrocities against women. These problems are not receiving proper attention mainly due to less number of women in legislature. Women parliamentarians

failed to bring pressure on government to make an **affective policy** to control polygamy mainly because of their **little** strength. As a **woman**, I **faced problems** in the **political field**. Character assassination **is** one among them. When I switched over to Nadendla Bhaskar Rao's group in **1984**, along with some male **colleagues**, my house was attacked by some of the supporters of **NTR**. Such incidents did not happen to **others**. If more number of women come to the **Assembly**, naturally such attempts can be **curtailed**, mainly character assassination.”

To Mary **Ravindranath** and **Rajana Ramani**, there will be some redressal for **women's** grievances if the number of women legislators **increases**. **Rudramma Devi** felt that justice can be done to women through **reservation**. **V.Ratna Kumari** supported reservation mainly because women are neglected by political parties. She said "political parties are deliberately not giving tickets to women. Therefore, the **alternative** left is the reservation **system** **P.Bharathi** viewed that more women are needed to emphasise on the need to take steps against injustice and **inequalities** that women **in** general are **facing** **E.Sitaramamma** expressed that women too can express their views and suggestions required **in** **legislation**. They are also capable of representing others instead of being represented by others. **Lakshmi Devamma** felt **that** to **give** political encouragement and involvement for women in **decision-making**, **reservation** is necessary. Without **reservation**, several **families** do not **allow** women to **enter** **politics**. This view is similar to that of **M Anjaneyulu Annapurna Devi**, the **only** woman respondent who opposed reservation **said** that women **elected through** reservation do not get proper respect and **recognition**.

Members like G.M.N.V Prasad, N.Nageswar Reddy. Juvvadi Chandrasekhar Rao made clear that reservation not only brings political power but also enhances the status of women. They get some dignity and recognition in the society. Appearance of more women in the political arena would develop selfconfidence in common women.

Other supporters like G.Malles, K Lakshminarayana, Appala Surya Narayana and Ch.Rajeswar Rao felt that reservation is needed to promote equal rights, to give women a role in legislation to strengthen the argument that democracy needs representation of all sections and also to display that women are also equally responsible. Saraiah viewed that reservation is useful for the quick development of women. A strong opponent of reservation felt that it is not required as women are not coming forward. He also said "first of all women should be brought into mainstream". One Congress and two TDP male respondents opposed reservation on the grounds that it is not right time as women are not yet developed to that level. In local governments, husbands are dominating where seats are reserved for women. Women in present politics are some what mild and not that active in debates. K.Prakash Reddy said "we want more women to be in the House, but they should be knowledgeable persons". Govinda Naik felt that through reservation, minimum justice can be done for women. G.Hanumanth Rao made clear that women cannot compete with men and for some time at least reservation is necessary.

Rambhupal Reddy and Madhusudan Rao viewed that without appropriate role to women a nation cannot be maintained. Similarly the nation also cannot be maintained without reasonable role to women. Construction and destruction of home and country depend on the role of women.

Naga Raja Reddy mentioned that through **reservation**, women can **seek** their own **welfare**. K.R.Suresh Reddy made clear that unless it **is made** a rule, **male** domination **will** not reduce and improvement in women's lives is not possible.

Another opponent of reservation from Congress party said that he does not like the very idea of reservation whether it is for women or for other categories, though it is good for social **upliftment**. But it has to be respected since providing opportunities is an obligation. A **TDP** male respondent while opposing reservation for **women** in law making bodies said that women cannot move in rough weather as practical difficulties arise. He mentioned **some problems** like **travelling** in a car **with** male colleagues, eating whatever is provided wherever they go, as situations that cannot be faced by women.

To Puvvada Nageswar Rao to give key role for women in social **change**, reservation is necessary. Narra Raghava Reddy, a senior most member of **CPM** while supporting reservation **strongly**, said “ it is **ashaming** that so **far**, women are not given their share of **power**”.

To J.Ranga Reddy, as women are doing more service as **mothers** as wives and as employees, their voice should be heard in decision making.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT REQUIRED FACTOR FOR WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT : A study of **women's** movement in **the developed** and **in developing** countries reveals that the nature of **the** demands has **shifted** over a period of time. If in the 1960s the demand was for equality, in **the 1970s justice** was demanded. The 80s have seen the demand for **contributors' role** along **with** the beneficiaries role in the process of development. The **90s** have **witnessed the** increasing emphasis on **empowerment**. The **respondents** have been asked to identify their **priority** factor for the **upliftment** of women **through empowerment**.

The options given to them are economic power, political power, social equality and all the **three** Table 4.7 gives a picture of the respondents' views.

Table 4.7.
Primary Factor for Women's Development

FACTORS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	
Economic Power	15	18	7	39	22
Political Power	14	17	4	22	18
Social Equality	37	45	5	28	42
All	16	20	2	11	18
Total	82	100	18	100	100

Table 4.7 enables one to say that more **number** of women viewed that economic power is required for the development of women whereas, more male respondents felt that social equality is most important for women's **development**. 21% more female respondents than **male** respondents felt the need of economic power whereas 18% more male respondents than that of **females** perceived that social equality has to be achieved for the empowerment of women. Among the respondents who mentioned the need of political power, 5% more **women** are there over **men**. However, 9% more male respondents than **female** respondents expressed that all the mentioned factors are **equally important** for the development of women.

M.Lakshmi Devi who felt social equality as the **primary requisite** for women's development said that when women have proper respect in the society, obviously that would bring economic and political power **K R Suresh Reddy**

who mentioned that primarily women need political power said that political power followed by economic power would definitely bring confidence in women and also change the picture of society but social equality is a myth that cannot be defined.

The above study makes clear that gender is the chief determinant of perceptions of the respondents than any other factor as far as women's role in politics is concerned. Women felt that they can represent ~~women's~~ problems in a better manner than men. This opinion is accepted by some male members only. Women's views are largely different *from* those of men regarding political parties fielding women candidates. Though a majority of the ~~respondents~~, both male and ~~female~~, accepted that parties are not fielding enough number of ~~women~~, they gave different reasons. It is right to mention that ~~some~~ male respondents are also having strong concern for the development of women in politics but not at the loss of their power.

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CHAPTER - 7

HOUSE PERFORMANCE

The strength of a democracy can be tested to an extent by observing how fully and frankly the legislators talk about public problems in the House. Legislature is a forum that gives opportunity for representatives to reflect public views about several issues. The expected role of a legislator has changed considerably since the idea of 'welfare state' came into prominence. His or her activities are not confined to law making alone. His/her role is also concerned with sustaining government, promoting public interest, influential participation in the matters before the House and safeguarding public money. House participation becomes an important indicator to assess the nature of representation. Performance of legislators can be tested through examining their articulating capabilities, sensitivity to the human problems, reactions to the proposed policies in the House, ability in scrutinising the functioning of government, capacity in supervising the finances and the initiative taken to participate in the deliberations of the legislators. In a democratic nation, public opinion has to be considered before finalising any decision. It is easy to identify it through legislature, which is a public forum. Thus, legislature is an institution helpful to act as a bridge between people and government and to act as a barometer of public opinion. However, the significance of House participation depends mainly on the nature of the political system.

In countries like the U.S, Britain, Australia and Canada, legislators have wide opportunities to initiate legislation as private members and also to take active part in government initiated bills by supporting or criticising bills or suggesting amendments. They also have scope to ventilate public grievances and to question the government for the lapses on part of the executive and

administrative branches. But in Communist countries legislature has less recognition as a law making body. It is mainly because decisions are finalised in the plenary meetings of **legislature** which are short and **infrequent**. Deputies in the Communist systems enjoy less powers compared to those in democratic countries. Theoretically **speaking**, the role of legislature is supreme in parliamentary system than in the presidential system. The main reason for it **is**, the real executive in parliamentary government is formed through legislature and this executive is answerable and accountable to the legislature. To control the executive, legislatures are given wide powers and means to exercise them. Few of these **are**, questions, cut motions, **no-confidence** resolutions, budget scrutiny and scrutiny of accounts.

Apart from the above, personal factors have considerable impact on the House performance of representatives. He or she should primarily have motivation, intention and abilities to take advantages of given opportunities. These, in turn are influenced by factors like education, occupation, nature of constituency and life experience. Another essential determinant of **representatives'** House performance is the frequency of sessions **held**. The number of days, time allotment, members confining to the agenda are factors of relevance here. Party discipline **is** also identified as one of the important determinants influencing institutional participation of **members**.

Every legislature has its rules and procedures for smooth and effective conduct of the proceedings of the House. Its rules are framed in such a way, where all parties yield to the common consideration of the business of the House. Generally, the rules are formed on the basis of certain norms. Members are informed with prior notice about the deliberations, so that

members are not taken by surprise. For meaningful and purposeful discussions, adequate time is allotted to different matters before the House. Decisions are taken by majority opinion. At the same time, minority has equitable opportunities to express their point of view.

Behavioural guidelines of representatives, **generally** are prescribed in the formal rules of legislatures. These norms are useful to help the House in realising its objectives as **well** as to impose discipline among the participants. Its significance is rightly pointed out by Truman. He says, these norms, values, **expectations**, ‘**rules of game**’, largely define the **institution** of government along with other institutions of the society. For the legislator, they set the appropriate limits within which his discretionary behaviour may take place.⁴

Commonwealth countries are having procedural similarities in the conduct of legislative business. Usually, the first hour in these bodies begins with Question Hour followed by government business. Legislatures **in** India through their Business Advisory Committees decide the **time** allotment for different items. In practice, it is the ruling party that **plays** a leading **part**, though other parties also have representation in the **committee**.

In this study, the emphasis is on gender comparison **in House** participation. It is not much concerned with how best the **opportunities** are availed by the members and how effective the **Andhra** Pradesh Legislative Assembly is, in **its** functioning- **The** participation of male ^{and} **female members** of the Andhra Pradesh **Legislative** Assembly **in** the year 1995 **is detailed here**. Since the study is focussing on gender **comparison**, **it is appropriate to** remind

that only 8 women out of total **291** (4 vacant) were elected to the House. Six of them were elected on **TDP** ticket and one from INC and the remaining other from CPI(M). To assess the scope of gender differences on party **basis**, it is essential to know each party's strength in the House. The TDP and INC had 213 (73%), INC -26 (9%)**seats** respectively. The **CPL,CPI(M)** secured 19 (7%), 5% respectively. The **BJP, MBT and MIM** had 1% , 0,68%, 0.34% respectively. The Independents were 12 in number securing 4% of the seats.

The proceedings that are examined in the study for gender comparison are Motion of Thanks on **Governor's Address**, Question-Hour, **MUR304** (Calling Attention to the Matters of Urgent Public Importance), Budget Discussion and Bills discussion.

DISCUSSION ON MOTION OF THANKS ON GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS : According to Article 75 of the Constitution, every year the first day of the first session begins with **Governor's Address**. In the case of first session held after elections, the Speaker's election shall precede **with** the oath or affirmation by the newly elected members. The **Speaker, in consultation** with the Business Advisory Committee **allots time** for the discussion of **the** matters referred to in such address, on a motion of thanks moved by a member and seconded by another member.²

The **X Assembly** members met for the first time in the month of January, 1995, after elections and were sworn in as **MLAs**. They **elected** Mr **Y Rama Krishnudu** as the **Speaker of the House**. These events are **followed by** Motion of Thanks on **Governor's Address**. Governor's Address **generally**, reflects governmental policies and its implementation A discussion on

Governor's speech provides opportunity to all the party members to **express** their opinion on policies and activities of government. The Governor's speech highlighted the newly elected **TDP's** announced policies - prohibition and **Rs.2** Kg rice scheme. In this motion of thanks, one female and twenty five male members took part. Table 5.1 gives details of the participation of male and female legislators in the Motion of Thanks on **Governor's** Address.

Table 5.1
Genderwise Participation in Motion of Thanks on Governor's Address

NAME OF THE PARTY	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL NO.OF PARTICIPANTS	PARTY CONTRIBUTION	
	NO	%	NO	%		IN	%
TDP	11	44	1	4	12		46
INC	4	16	0	0	4		15
CPI	3	12	-	-	3		12
CPI (M)	2	8	0	0	2		8
BJP	2	8	-	-	2		8
MBT	1	4	-	-	1		4
MIM	1	4	-	-	1		4
INDTS	1	4			1		4
TOTAL	25	96	1	4	26		100

Through the Table 5.1 we can understand that **men's** participation in the Motion of Thanks on Governor's speech **is** 96% **whereas** 4% **is** that of women's. As the time allotment in the discussion (usually in any **discussion**) is based on each party's strength the participation of each party **is** determined by its strength as shown in Table 5.1.

In the views expressed by **members**, the impact of factors like party, constituency and gender are very **clear**. The TDP members had spent considerable time in praising the leader of the party and the Chief **Minister (NTR)**, his policies which were announced and his government in previous period. They appreciated prohibition on consumption and sale of liquor, **supply** of rice at Rs.2/-kg. to the poorer sections and the importance given to various other matters.

The Congress members who formed the main opposition group in the House, criticised TDP's policies. When the CLP leader **P.Janardhan Reddy** started speech with serious criticism against TDP policies, several interruptions were caused by ruling party **members**. He said that prohibition policy is making several people unemployed and also causing heavy **financial** loss to the state. Another INC **MLA, S.Sambaiah**, said that in **1950s** Congress government spent crores of rupees on irrigation that is enabling TDP to carry policies like **Rs.2/- kg.rice**. He also said that the TDP government has no **real** intention in implementing **Rs 2kg** rice scheme and prohibition and so several loopholes in the implementation are taking place. To **him**, these policies **were** mentioned in election manifesto by the TDP only to catch votes of **people**.

The leader of the **BJP** in the **House, Ch Vidyasagar Rao**, found fault in the translation of **Governor's** Address from English to **Telugu**, where **several** changes were made in the translation process. He also **pointed** out **that matters** like prisons, endowments, Nizam's **properties**, **Srisailem** left bank **canal**, land **reforms** ^{and} child labour are missing in the **Governor's speech**.

The TDP's allies CPI and CPI(M) did not level any **serious criticism** against the TDP. They too appreciated **the** announced policies of the ruling party. But they expressed doubts about the implementation part. They represented the working class interests by criticising the closure of **industries**, failure of the schemes meant for the welfare of backward sections and also raised questions about privatisation which they opposed.

Two **members**, belonging to **Majilis Bachao Thahreek (MBI)** and **Majilis Itedullah Muslimee** maintained neutrality by discussing matters related to common public.

The participation of non-senior members of the House belonging to each political party has no equal significance to that of senior members and leaders of parties in the House. Most of them represented the constituency interest.

Y.Sita Devi of TDP ~~is~~ **the only** woman **member**, took part in ~~that~~ discussion. While supporting TDP **policies**, she requested the government to see the **Rs.2 kg** rice is supplied to the deserving **families**. She also **said** a **few** words about prohibition and asked the government to **give** protection to **female** victims of various atrocities and to withdraw the cases **registered** against women who took active part in **the anti-arrack movement**.³

Thus, in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on **Governor's Address**, it is clear that the impact of ruling and **opposition parties**, ~~their~~ ^{are present} ideology, constituency and gender **in** the views of participants.

PARTICIPATION IN QUESTION - HOUR : In parliamentary **system**, executive is to be responsible and responsive to the legislature. In this **context** Question-Hour plays a crucial role. It is the best device that enables members of the House to enjoy and exercise power to verify and supervise the activities of executive thoroughly. Through the practice of asking **questions**, legislators make minister answerable and accountable. They can also hint at government and make it cautious through the Question-Hour. It also permits the members to elicit information about administration and lapses if any.

The first hour of every sitting is devoted to asking and answering of questions, unless the Speaker directs **otherwise**. Every notice of a question should be addressed to the Secretary and should be delivered either **in** person or sent by post or left in the office notice box at **Assembly** office on any working day. The admitted question shall be forwarded to the government within 5 days of receiving the **question**. Answers have to be sent to **the** legislature secretariat by the government within 21 days. Extension of **time** to give answers can be taken by the government **with** the permission of the Speaker.

A member who desires an oral answer to **his** question should distinguish it by an **asterik** mark (*). **Otherwise it will** be listed **in** the questions for written answer. All the admitted questions are **entered in** the **list** of questions for a day and normally a member **is** not **permitted to give** more than two **questions**. Questions to which answers are **given**, but **not listed in** the business, till the last day of the **session**, should be placed on the **Table** of the House on that day. A copy of answer should be **sent** to the **member who** has giving notice.⁴

If **asterik** marked questions listed in the Business are not called for due to lack of **time**, they can be provided with written answers with a copy laid on the Table of the House and another copy in the library and no oral reply is required to such questions. Subject to the provisions of sub clause (2) a question may be asked for the purpose of obtaining information on a matter of public importance, within the special cognizance of the Minister to whom it is addressed.⁵

Questions on matter of public importance can be asked with short notice and if the Speaker feels that a question is of an urgent character, he may direct the concerned Minister to answer within eight days of the receipt of the question. Supplementary questions related to the star marked questions are discussed in the House and Short Notice Questions are permitted and in this, the final decision making power is that of the Speaker. It is to be remembered, any question relating to the involvement of government is **permitted**. Thus, there are three types of questions, starred, unstarred (written answers) and short notice questions. Supplementary questions are **not** allowed on written answers.⁶

Members of the **Andhra** Pradesh Legislative Assembly have been more enthusiastic in Question-Hour than in any other **proceedings**. It is the **device**, that has permitted relatively more number of members to take part than in other proceedings. Perhaps, party strength is not the criteria **that** LA **generally** **four** in other proceedings like **MUR-304**, Bills and Budget **discussions**. However, opposition groups have **availed** **70-80%** of the **given opportunity** in raising questions. **Party based**, district based and **constituency** based **questions**

were put by members of the X Legislative Assembly. Gender-wise participation in the Question-Hour is revealed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Gender-wise Participation in the Question Hour.

TYPE OF QUESTIONS	ONLY BY MEN		BY MEN AND WOMEN		ONLY BY WOMEN		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
Starred	308	92	21	7	4	1	333
unstarred	295	96	9	3	4	1	308
short notice	31	97	18	3	0	0	32
supplementaries	512	96	18	3.5	2	0.5	532
total	1146		49		10		1205

Table 5.2 makes clear that, there is very less participation of women in the Question-Hour compared to that of men. In all types of questions more than 90% were put by male members without women's involvement. The gap between men and women members raising starred and unstarred questions is 91% and 95% respectively. Whereas, in short notice questions, women's participation without men's involvement is nil. In asking supplementary questions, the gap between the genders without participation of other sex is very wide (95.5%). Questions those are raised by women alone are of individual questions. But those are mentioned as 'only men' are not individual questions. However, men's participation in raising questions individually is far greater than that of women. But it has to be mentioned that very few male members of their total number took part in it. It is these few male members

who participated more frequently. **Kedya Naik** of INC, **G.Vijaya** Rama Rao of TOP, **K.Subba Raju** of CPI and **K.Yerran Naidu** of TDP raised a large number of questions. **R.Gandhi**, **P.Pururshottam** Rao and **B Bal** Reddy, Kana **Subba Reddy** are the next active members in this category. All these members concentrated on general (state) as well as constituency matters. **Overall**, in Question-Hour, women's participation is only 5% **whereas**, men's participation is 95% and above. There are two women who did not take part at all.

Question-Hour is giving wide opportunity to members of the House to reflect on the problems of the people. Their participation helps to identify the problems of people in general. Problems of particular nature, district problems, loopholes in administration are the problems that received top priority of legislators. For these identifications subject-wise questions **raised** by both the genders are observed. Gender based differences **in representing** different subjects and in the priorities given by members have **been noted**. Table 5.3 gives the details.

Both male and female members gave priority to **irrigation**, agriculture and animal husbandry, irregularities as first three priorities **in the descending** order. With 1-5% variations women have exceeded men **in raising questions** over these 3 subjects. There are gender differences **in subjects** of later priorities. Matters related to education and **women** welfare **are** given **fourth** and **fifth** priorities by women **members**, whereas **subjects like roads** and **transport**, and welfare of backward sections are given fourth **and fifth priority** by male members of the **House**. To the questions **related** to **industry**, **both the** genders raised questions equal in **percent**. There are **significant gender**

differences in matters related to education and women welfare, where 6% more participation of women could be seen. **Similarly**, in matters like roads and transport, welfare of backward sections, **employment/workers**, men dominated women. On the matters related to tax and revenue, construction and housing, and **administration**, women's contribution is zero. The differences existing in the remaining matters are least significant **'Others'** are the questions related largely to subjects like minorities, **pollution**, tourism, drainage systems, poverty, slum **dwelling**, dealerships, accidents and compensation.

MATTERS BROUGHT TO THE NOTICE OF GOVERNMENT :

Legislative body is a place where all public matters are discussed in the process of which information is sought and disseminated. Members of legislature are given liberty to inform government about the matters of public interest which need government's action and involvement. These **also** consist of the failure of government or negligence of government that cause **problems**.

With the prior permission of the Speaker, any member of the House **is** permitted to bring matters to the notice of government under rule **304** and **the** concerned minister may make a brief statement thereon. Not more **than two** such matters could be raised at the same sitting unless the **Speaker** gives a special direction. No members shall make a speech and no debate **is permitted** when such matters are **raised**. Questions regarding such **matters can** be asked by only those members whose names are included **in the list** of business. **Rule 304** facilitates **accountability** of the ministers to the **representatives** immediately, and through **them**, to the represented at **large**. **Members of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly** look **reasonably** good **interest in**

Table 5.5 Participation of Male and Female Members in the Discussion of Resolutions.

SNo	NAME OF THE RESOLUTION	MEN		I	WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%		NO	%	
1.	The A.P. Prohibition Bill	10	91	1	9		11
2.	The A.P. cooperative Spinning Mills (Regulation) (Amendment) Bill	9	90	1	10		10
3.	The A.P. Educational Institutions Maintenance Grant (Regulation) Bill	1	100	0	0		1
4.	The A.P. College Service Commission (amendment) Bill	6	100	0	0		6
5a.	The A.P. General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill						
5b.	The A.P. General Sales Tax Commission (8% tax Continued on Sale of Lottery tickets) Bill	9	90	1	10		10
6.	The A.P. Gram Panchayats (Transitional Arrangement) Bill	10	91	1	9		11
7.	The A.P. Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill	13	100	0	0		13
8.	The A.P. Cooperative Societies (Amendment) Bill	15	94	1	6		16
9.	The A.P. Universities (Amendment) Bill	8	100	0	0		8
10.	The A.P. Small Scale Industries (Restriction on Sales Tax Holiday) Bill	4	80	1	20		5
11.	The A.P. Commission for BC s (Amendment) Bill	5	100	0	0		5
12.	Sri Venkateswara Institute of Medical Sciences (Deemed University) Bill	6	100	0	0		6
13.	The A.P. Sugar cane (Regulation of Supply & Purchase) (Amendment) Bill	11	100	0	0		11
14.	The A.P. General Sales Tax (III Amendment) Bill	4	100	0	0		*
IV	The Indian Stamp (A.P. Amendment) Bill	5	83	1	17		6
16.	The A.P. Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill	4	100	0	0		4
17.	The A.P. Transplantation (Prevention) of Human Organs Bill	9	100	0	0		9
18.	The A.P. Charitable & Hindu Religious Institutions and Endowments (Amendment) Bill	8	100	0	0		X
19.	The A.P. Lotteries (Amendment) Bill	3	100	0	0		3
20.	Ban on Sale of Other States Lotteries in A.P. (A Resolution Requesting Central Government)	13	93	1	7		14
21.	The A.P. Mutually Aided Cooperative Societies Bill	5	100	0	0		5
22.	The A.P. Mandal Nyay Panchayats Bill	11	100	0	0		11
23.	The A.P. Survey & Boundaries Bill	10	100	0	0		10
24.	The A.P. Entertainment Tax (Amendment) Bill	6	100	0	0		6
25.	1/3rd Reservation for Women in Legislative Bodies	12	100	0	0		12
26.	The A.P. Public Sector (Resolution of Management) Bill	2	50	2	2		4
27.	The A.P. Ground Water (Regulation for Drinking Purposes) Bill	5	100	0	0		5
28.	The A.P. Panchayat Raj (II Amendment) Bill	11	95	1	3		12
29.	The A.P. Municipal Laws (II Amendment) Bill	12	92	1	8		13
30.	The A.P. Municipal Laws (III Amendment) Bill	9	90	1	10		10
	Total	236	95	12	5		248

Table 5.3
Subjectwise Participation of Male and Female Representatives
in the Question Hour

SNO	SUBJECTS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1.	Agriculture/Animal Husbandry	49	7.63	6	12.5	52
2.	Irrigation /Drinking Water	94	14.3	8	16.5	96
3.	Power	35	5.25	2	4.0	37
4.	Roads and Transport	55	8.25	2	4.0	57
5.	Employment and Workers	44	6.5	1	2.0	45
6.	Irregularities/Misappropriations	62	9.3	5	10.5	67
7.	Industry	27	4.0	2	4.0	29
8.	Education	22	3.25	5	10.5	27
9.	Tax and Revenue	16	2.25	0	0.0	16
10.	Welfare of Backward Sections	53	8.0	2	4.0	55
11.	Women and Child Welfare	12	1.75	4	8.25	16
12.	Construction/Housing	18	2.7	0	0.0	18
13.	Law and Order	17	2.5	1	2.0	18
14.	Administration	33	5.0	0	0.0	33
15.	Health and Medical	35	5.25	2	4.0	37
16.	Others	93	14.0	8	16.75	116
	Total	665	93.26	48	6.74	713

Though the rules allow members to take active role in **law-making** function, there are certain practical constraints that come in the way. In parliamentary systems, legislation is largely initiated by the real executive. Strict party discipline, technicalities and complexities involved in **modern** legislation, inadequate staff assistance, **insufficient** time and inaccessibility of information are some serious limitations for representatives aspiring to assume 'law-maker' role. When the ruling party enjoys absolute majority, there is a possibility of legislation being made according to the party **interest** and resolutions get ratified without much discussion. It is a common feature in the states where the ruling party enjoys absolute majority. In a study on perceptions and performance of legislators of **Andhra Pradesh**, an interesting response from one of the respondents which is worth mentioning can be noted. The respondent belonging to **TDP**, said "the CM initiates legislation. the cabinet approves and the legislature ratifies".⁹ Since the interest of individual representative is constrained, it is only through the participation in bills discussion that is permitted by party to which **he/she** belongs and **the** sanction of time by the Speaker which is distributed according to the ratio of their position in **the House**, we can observe the performance of **men** and women in the discussion of bills. Table 5.5 reveals the **participation** of men and women in the resolution discussion irrespective of their **parties**

Table 5.5 enables us to understand that 5% of **women** and 95% of **men** could take part in bills and other resolutions discussions. Nearly in 66% of the bills that came for discussion, women did not take part. It can be observed that discussion of bills is not given much importance in the proceedings themselves. When bills or resolutions came for consideration of the **House**,

drawing the attention of members to the various events which are **related to** public interest. This provision is largely availed by the opposition groups. The ruling party members have mostly confined to the matters related to their constituencies. Table 5.4 gives particulars of **gender-wise** and party-wise contribution by invoking the rule 304.

Table 5.4
Gender-wise and Party-wise Distribution of Representatives in the House under Rule 304.

SNO	PARTY	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	PARTY CONTRIBUTION
		NO	%	NO	%		
1	TDP	63	97	2	3	65	25
2	INC	53	96	2	4	55	21
3	CPI	57	100	-	-	57	22
4	CPI(M)	38	88	5	12	43	18
5	BJP	26	100	-	-	26	10
6	MBT	3	100	-	-	3	1
7	MIM	4	100	-	-	4	2
8	INDTS	4	100	-	-	4	2
9	TOTAL	248		9		257	

It can be noted that women's performance out of each **party's** total participation is 3% (TDP), 4% **(INC)and** 12 % **(CPI(M))**

The table also helps **identify** the party-wise **differences in participating** in this proceeding. Though 25% **is** contributed by the TDP, the **largest** proportion, it is not balancing with its 73% **strength** The **participation of**

opposition groups is beyond the proportion of seats they occupied in the House.

Members of **Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly** have brought matters related to illegal activities, police firing, demolitions, leakage of question papers, illegal encroachments of lands and lakes and **constructions**, damages to dams, police **harassment**, political murders and arrests, closure of industries, strikes by workers, excavations of raw materials by private parties, misuse of powers by administrators and irregularities in recruitments of government services.

RESOLUTION DISCUSSION : **Members'** participation **in** the law-making process consists of four stages -introduction of bills, participation **in** the clause-wise discussion, suggesting amendments and **participation in** final discussion.

According to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of **Business in** Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, a member or minister who **wishes** to move **a** resolution shall give ten days notice by explaining the **intention** and should attach the text of the resolution which **he/she intends to** move **The** Speaker may allow it to be entered in the list of business **with 10 days short** notice. A resolution may be in the form of a **declaration** of opinion or recommendation or may be in the form so as to record **either approval** or disapproval of the assembly of an act or policy of **government** or **convey** a message or commend or urge or request an **action** or **call attention** to a **matter** or situation for consideration by **government** or **in such other form as the** speaker may consider appropriate.³

except that of senior and influential persons of every party or group **members'** participation is near nil. The reasons are **clear**. Passing the bills is usually a formality because the ruling party's decision in introducing the bills is meant for approval by all the members of that party. Members of parties should act according to party control and cannot behave against the party whip. All these make them to be apathetic to take part in bills discussion. *Or* in other words since there is no impact of members' views on the outcome of bills, naturally, members feel discouraged. Every party's leadership in the House decides whether to oppose or support the **bill** and issues whips to that extent which cannot be violated by members. The time allotted for bills discussion in practice is very limited. This prevents several representatives from taking part in it. To have fuller understanding over bills some legal knowledge **is** required which is not possessed by all members. To take part **in** the debate of any bill, a member has to do **lot** of home work on **it**. Table 5.6 reveals the details of party and gender-wise participation in resolutions discussions

Table 5.6 **discloses** that gender gap **is 80%, 96% and 76%** among **TDP, INC and CPI(M) respectively**. The largest **contribution of women is** from **CPI(M)**, **P.Bharati** of this party could claim **12% of the total CPI(M) contribution**. As is the case regarding **MUR 304**, here too we **find larger** part but not **in** proportion to **its** strength in the **House**. Whereas, other **parties** contribution is greater in proportion to that of their status **in** the House

Members of Congress and BJP opposed all bills other than Transplantation of Human organs which is supported by all the parties. Left parties behaved as friends of TDP wherever possible, without effecting party

principles. They opposed strongly when economic burden was imposed on people.

Table 5.6
Party and Gender-wise Participation in Resolutions Discussions

SNO	PARTY	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	PARTY CONTRIBUTION
		NO	%	NO	V.		
1	TDP	52	90	6	10	58	23
2	INC	50	98	1	2	51	20
3	CPI	51	100	-	-	51	20
4	CPI (M)	37	88	5	12	42	16
5	BJP	29	100	-	-	29	11
6	MBT	4	100	-	-	4	2
7	MIM	8	100	-	-	8	3
8	INDTS	13	100	-	-	13	5
9	TOTAL	244	95	12	5	256	100

BUDGET DISCUSSION : The purse of the state is to be controlled or managed by legislature. Government cannot raise a single ~~paise~~ by ~~tax~~ or spend money for any purpose without the approval of the House. Every year the budget is presented by the Finance Minister for approval of the House. On the day, as fixed by Governor, the statement of ~~estimate~~ receipts and expenditure of the state in respect of every financial year is presented. With minimum 48 hours interval, discussion on budget can take place.

There are two stages in the discussion of the budget **estimates** 1 A general discussion and 2. the voting of demands for grants. According to rules, 6 days are allotted for general discussion of the budget and **18 days** for voting of demands for grants. During budget **discussion**, the House **will** be at liberty to discuss it as a whole or **any** question of policy **involved therein**. Neither a motion should be moved nor budget is submitted to vote at this stage. ¹⁰ At the end of the budget discussion, the Finance Minister has a right to reply.

The proposed expenditure for each department is made in separate demand which requires the approval of the House. Two or three departments can be made as one demand for grants when clear cut demarcation **in** expenditure is not made under any particular **demand** ¹¹

Budget session is usually the lengthiest session of the House **This** session is important in that it provides opportunities to as many members as possible in its long sittings. And it also covers **all** matters of **government** and public. The year **1995** had 29 days of budget **discussion**

Senior leaders from each party made lengthy speeches on budget presented by the **TDP**. Other members (who are not seniors) confined to **small** speeches. **D.L.Ravindra Reddy, Ch.Rajeswar Rao, B Venkateshwar Rao, Ch.Vidya Sagar Rao, Asaduddin Owaisi, R Damodar Reddy, R Chandrasekhar Reddy** are the members of **Congress, CPI, CPM, BJP, MBT, MIM, Independents and TDP respectively** who **spoke in detail** on **budget** **This** indicates that only one member from each party took **opportunity to discuss** at length by mentioning various matters of the **budget**.

Table. 5.7
Participation of Male Female Members in Finance Business of the House

SNO	FINANCE BUSINESS	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
		NO	%	NO	%	
1	Discussion on Budget	22	100	0	0	22
2	The A.P Appropriation Bill. 1	9	100	0	0	9
3	The A.P Appropriation Bill. 2	9	100	0	0	9
4	Demands for Grants-Irrigation, Development, Electricity, Science and Technology, Environment, Minor Irrigation	18	90	2	10	20
5	Revenue, District Administration, Registration, Stamps, Rehabilitation, Natural calamities, Survey statistics, Commercial taxes, Abkari, Taxes	17	94.5	1	5.5	18
6	Civil supplies, Cooperation, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Dairy development, Forests	30	97	1	3	31
7	Tribal, Social, Women & Child Welfare	16	89	2	11	18
8	Urban Development, Allocations & Compensations for local bodies, Panchayat Raj bodies, Rural development	31	94	2	6	33
9	Treasury, Finance, Services, Pension, Government Employees & other loans, Justice, Jails, Fire Services, Stationary & printing	12	83	2	17	14
10	Industries, Mines, Minerals, Labour Welfare Rural & Large Scale Industries, Education, Sports, Arts & Culture	10	91	1	9	11
11	Public works, Small ports Development, Roads & Bridges, Transport, Medical & Health Services	12	100	0	0	12
12	Governor, Council of Ministers, Elections, Secretariat & other Administrative services	5	100	0	0	5
	Total	191	94.5	11	5.5	202

Table 5.7 helps to assess the gender difference existing in the Finance business participation that consists of discussing **budget**, appropriation bills (vote on account) and demands for grants on various departments.

Table 5.7 discloses that overall in Finance business, there is 89% gap between men and women of the House. But a very disappointing factor is that none of the women members have taken part in the Budget and appropriation (vote on account) bills. Women also did not participate in the last two groups of demands mentioned in the table. A minimum 72% gap is there **between** men and women under any finance matter as given **in the table** The maximum gender gap in financial matters is **96%**.

The members of the House gave top most priority to agriculture, irrigation and **Panchayati Raj** bodies **in** their deliberations **This could** be attributed to large number of members coming from agricultural sections and rural **areas** Lack of irrigation **facilities in** their **constituencies**, where a majority of **population depends** on **agriculture**, forced them **to** represent **this** seriously

Party impact on members' speeches is very clear **Ch Rajeswar Rao** belonging to **CP1** criticised **TDP's economic policies**, explained **problems** arising out of inadequate irrigation facilities, miserable position of **primary** education, criticised proposals of **privatisation** and **non-availability** and **non-**implementation of **welfare** schemes **to poor people**

B.Venkateswar Rao, from **CPI(M)** party criticised the government's decision to close industries because it causes unemployment to several people. The proposal to privatise **A.P.S.E.B, R.T.C** and education also has been subjected to severe criticism by him. He also talked about **non** implementation of land reforms, shortage of power supply and drinking water, delay in recruitment of teachers and poor functioning of civil supplies department.¹²

Ch.Vidyasagar Rao of **BJP** criticised **TDP's** economic **policies**, pointed out the intensity of economic crisis, non plan expenditure, growing tax evasion, allotment of inadequate amounts for agriculture and the failures of State Election Commission and Finance **Commission**

Asaduddin Owaisi, the only member elected from **AIMIM**, expressed dissatisfaction on the budget and criticised it for **increasing** tax burden on common **people**. He welcomed **prohibition**. He **said that** raising the income levels of persons is more important than giving **Rs 2/- kg rice**. He **pointed out that** the budget has not mentioned about **NRIs, SETWIN** and problems of **minorities**

D L Ravindra Reddy of Congress criticised the budget and the **1 DP's** policies. He emphatically stated that **employment opportunities** are more essential than food security. **Subsidies to poor, defects of State Election Commission and faults in implementing prohibition, privatisation of A.P.S.E.B, mistunctioning of cooperative sugar factories, rising prices of medicines and corruption in bureaucracy** were pointed out by him.¹³

R.Damodar Reddy, an independent member hailed the presentation of budget in a short time of 100 days. He talked much about social welfare, pension to old people ^{and} conversion of day schools into residential schools. He plead for power supply to farmers free of cost and implementation of irrigation project proposals.¹⁴

T. Nageswar Rao and R.Chandrasekhar Reddy of TDP devoted more time in praising TDP government, its policies and criticised the previous government of Congress. They discussed the problems relating to irrigation, transport, housing facilities to poor persons and pointed out several irregularities.¹⁵ The remaining members exhibited party and constituency orientation in their brief discussion by speaking about irrigation, drinking water, electricity and prohibition.

Impact of religion, social status mainly on ST members could also be seen on members like Bojji. Govind Naik, Amanullah Khan

Party-wise participation of men and women in the financial business as can be seen from table 5.8 shows that there is a 90% difference between the genders in taking pan in finance business. Gender difference in each party is the following - TDP -82%, Congress -94% and CPM - 72%. Except in CPI(M), the gender difference reveals a discouraging situation. It is Congress women who had participated less compared to those of other two parties.

In all the proceedings of the House, the extent of women's participation has never been less than their proportion in the House. However their participation is not satisfactory. We can identify certain reason* for discouraging participation of women in the House proceedings. As noted

time allotment is made according to each party's strength in it and to see all parties getting reasonable time to express their views in the House. Since the House is filled with 73% members of the TDP, it created greater disadvantage to several TDP members who are not seniors and politically influential but who aspired to take part in the House as several male respondents complained. In the process of time allotment, it is always the non TDP members who are benefited. As more women are there in the ruling party and less number of women in Congress and CPI(M) and zero number of women in the remaining parties, ^{it} became a great setback for women to have active participant role in the House. Lack of long political careers and absence of strong hold in their concerned parties and seniority in the legislature which are the key factors contributing to active participation in the House, also caused disadvantage for women.

When the Chief Minister, Chandra Babu Naidu moved a resolution of 1/3 Reservation for Women In Legislative Bodies (an appeal to Central Government), V Ratna Kumari appreciating it came out with inner feelings. She blamed all the parties for not giving opportunity to women though they proved efficiency in given situations. She also made a serious criticism for not appointing women to various committees. Further, she expressed anger and sorrow for not giving time to take part in the Assembly debates, though women are prepared to speak on few selected issues. She said "first of all you show some equality in this House. Even to thank the Chief Minister for raising this proposal, we are not given the mike", she said.²⁶

Overall, there are 2 women who can be regarded as non participants. They used their voice only once or twice in the House throughout the year.

But there are more proportion of men who can be considered as **non** participants. The active participants took part very frequently which reduced the chances to others.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSE PARTICIPATION : Though it is not an important part of study and no serious investigation is made in examining **influential** factors of the House **participation**, the study helps to make limited observation on it. The important influencing factors are - members' party affiliation; ideology and aim; legislative experience, social **background**, gender and religion.

Regarding the impact of party on the behaviour of members **in** the **legislature**, **it is** already noted that under **Motion** of Thanks on Governor's Address and budget **discussion**, many of the TDP participants expressed **loyalty in** words to their leader while taking part **in** the **debates**. They thanked him for enabling them to be **in** the **House** and also for giving opportunity to speak in the **Assembly**. Some of the Congress **party** members **criticised** TDP and **its** policies and promises made **before elections** stating that they are false. Members of **both** the **parties** spent **considerable time in** exchanging allegations against each **other**. The following are some **important examples**.

When the Andhra Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill 1995 came for discussion, P Janardhan Reddy of Congress criticised TDP's economic policies and the functioning of the government. G Buchanah Chowdary of TDP spent a large portion of given *mac* ID **criticise** P Janardhan Reddy's speech. Vanka Satyanarayana belonging to CPI, the party which tea* alliance with TDP, criticised Congress and **supported** TDP **indirectly** using the

given time purposefully. The ruling party members, who all took part in the bills discussion spoke in favour of the party.

Apart from party **orientation**, it is noted that party ideology is represented by members of the Left parties. **They** represented the interests of the poor **classes**, especially the working **class** and pleaded for promoting their welfare. Some examples can be mentioned here. CPI(M) and **CPI** members brought issues about irregularities in recruitment of teachers by District Selection Committee and strike in **Singareni Collaries**.¹⁷

Jakka Venkaiah of **CPI(M)** objected to the **proposal** for privatisation of **electricity** while speaking about the **Andhra Pradesh Appropriation Bill 1995**. Other members of the left parties who also took part in the same **discussion**, outrightly rejected privatisation suggested by **government**. While speaking in the budget and demands for grants discussion also, they **criticised closure** of several industries, **non** payment and low payment of wages to workers and retrenchment taking place in some industries.

The impact of social background of members on their participation is clear. Members belonging to BCs, SCs and STs represented the problems and needs of people belonging to those sections. **D S Redya Naik**, representing a Scheduled Tribe's constituency, asked the Social Welfare Minister as to why the huts of SCs and STs are gutted away in **Jamandapally**, a village in Warangal district. He also enquired about the number of white card holders (this is meant for identifying lower income groups) in Warangal ID the ST category, population of STs in **Dornakal constituency** after enumeration and number of beneficiaries of Rs 2 kg rice scheme.¹⁸

N.Jaya Raju of **TDP** an **ST** member elected from a reserved constituency asked Social Welfare Minister about the **amount** allotted in year **1994-95** for Integrated Tribal Development Agency (**ITDA**).

R.Gandhi, another **SC** representative asked the government whether it has considered to start a Model Cooperative Bank to finance Scheduled Caste loan applicants in cooperation with the District Scheduled Caste Finance Corporation.¹⁹ He also raised a question whether there is any proposal of unemployment allowance to **SC**, **ST** and **BC** candidates having 10 years seniority as **unemployed**.

When budget demands for Social Welfare, Tribal and **SC** and **BC** Welfare came for discussion, members like **Govinda Naik**, **M B Chowhan**, **Kunja Bojji**, **Demudu**, **K Biksham**, **Singanna Dora**, **Chitti Naidu** spoke exclusively on tribal welfare. All these members are elected from **ST** reserved constituencies. They brought to the notice of the House the sufferings of tribals and suggested measures required to be taken by the government for their development. **G M N V Prasad Venkata Ratnaiah N Anjaneyulu**, who also belong to socially backward sections spoke for the upliftment of deprived sections. It is important to make clear that a very few* members belonging to forward castes also gave top priority to the matter* related to deprived sections. The best example for this is **P Purushottam fijo** who considered development of tribals and **STs** as an important subject in his legislative career. There are also members of socially backward classes who did not give priority in representing their interests. **Rajendra Pratap Banj Doo**, **Dukku Labadi Benu**.

Seethamsetti Venkateswar Rao, Chanchaiah, Govindappa, Sudarshan, M.Rajaiah are some among these.

Religion's impact is clear on Muslim members elected to the House, especially on the **sole MIM** member. While taking part in the Andhra Pradesh Municipal Laws (II Amendment) Bill 1995, Asaduddin Owaisi requested the minister to include more number of members from minorities in the Municipal Corporation.^{9.0} Muslim members belonging to two different political parties asked a question about Wakf Board's insistence of Mandal Revenue Officers attestation on the marriage certificate issued by Quazis of Rayalaseema and Andhra regions.^{2.1} Mohd. Amanulla Khan objected to showing 'Bombai' cinema without cutting some objectionable part of the movie (which was against Islam) as directed by courts in places other than twin cities.

Asaduddin Owaisi. Md Rajah Ah and M A Gafoor wanted to know the reasons for the transfer of fixed deposits from nationalised bank to the cooperative bank by the Wakf Board

Asaduddin Owaisi requested to provide information regarding the provision for the enrollment of minorities (Sikhs, Christians, Muslims) in employment exchanges under the 15 point programme which is applied to Dalits and unemployed.

In spite of the numerically limited presence of women in the House women members have been vocal when women's issues came up for discussion. During the Zero Hour, P Bharati informed the House about the miserable conditions of Anganwadi workers and helpers who were women in

tribal and urban areas. ²² P.Bharati along with other male MLAs asked about the measures taken by government to control dowry deaths. E.Sitaramamma submitted a petition to the Speaker to be passed over to the concerned minister (it is a part of House proceedings) requesting to take action on a culprit who had committed atrocity on a woman in her constituency. She also said that due to obscenity in movies, atrocities on women are growing. Further, she asked to ban a Telugu movie (Alluda Majaka) which was demanded by many women organisations.²³

V.Rama Kumari and Y.Sita Devi expressed anger over the attitude of political parties in not fielding good number of women candidates. This was done when a resolution requesting the central government to provide 1/3 reservation for women in legislatures was passed by the House. While showing party loyalty Sita Devi, however said that Congress is not encouraging women though several women took part in the freedom struggle.

When demands for grants of the Tribal Welfare, Social Welfare, Women and Child Welfare and Tribal By-plan came up for discussion, P.Bharati^{and} E.Sitaramanima specifically spoke about women's and children's problems. They emphasised on the need to prevent female infanticides and atrocities against women. Other male members who took interest in matters concerning women welfare include P.Janardhan Reddy and P Ramaiah

The above discussion suggests that the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly has declined in respect of effective and efficient performance the fact which has been admitted by several responses themselves. The writer in her observation of the House Proceedings noted interruptions, walkouts and

heavy absenteeism, and other **indisciplined** behaviour. Even the limited time available has not been used for purposeful participation. Strict party control and preference to seniority for participation are also noted. Some male respondents belonging to opposition groups expressed that women members are mild in their behaviour.

FOOT NOTES

1. Quoted in V.S. Swarajya Lakshmi's Role Perceptions and **Participation** of Representatives of Legislative Bodies in India With Special Focus on the Members of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly and unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Hyderabad, 1990, p. 185.
2. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. p.9
3. A.P.L.A.D 17th -19th Jan, 1995.
4. Rules of Procedure **op.cit** p. 17.
5. Ibid . p.18.
6. Ibid . p.22.
7. Ibid . p.35
8. Ibid . p.38.
- 9 Lakshmi, Swaraj. **op.cit.** p. 198.
10. Rules of **Procedure** p.57.
11. Ibid. p.57.
12. A.P.L.A.D. 27th March, 1995.
- 13 **A P.L A.D 23rd and 29th March, 1995**
14. Ibid.
15. **A.P.L.A.D.** 23rd **March**, 1995.
16. **A.P.L.A.D.** 19th December, 1995
17. A.P.L.A.D. 20th **April**, 1994

18. A.P.L.A.D. 5th May, 1995.
19. A.P.L.A.D. 16th December, 1995.
20. A.P.L.A.D. 4th April, 1995.
21. A.P.L.A.D. 28th April, 1995.
22. A.P.L.A.D. 24th March, 1995.
23. A.P.L.A.D. 21st March, 1995.

CHAPTER - 8

CONCLUSION

Political participation is influenced by several factors like socio-economic background, opportunities for participation and representation, recruitment process, the nature of the political system, political culture and behaviour. Active and potential political participation enables participants to climb up the ladder of political hierarchy and to acquire representational roles. Representational roles are acquired and performed effectively not by many but only by a few. Gender, which is recognised as one of the important indicators for studying political phenomena has specific influence on the assumption and exercise of political power. The field of politics is often considered as a male domain. Women's active involvement in political process especially, in leadership roles, has not received adequate social acceptance yet. The two words, politics and women have harmonised neither on paper nor in minds for most people at most times. A century after, Virginia Sapiro said this, these two words have harmonised on paper, on public platform, academic discussions and also in some minds. The field of politics, which was considered unwomanly, is now not an untouchable one to women. The 73rd and 74th amendments to the Indian Constitution have facilitated the entry of nearly ten lakhs women in the local bodies both as members and as chair persons. This is a far reaching development in respect of women's entry into representational roles.

Being a leader depends on the possessing the qualities required and acting as a leader. In the case of women, recognition as a leader is also necessary. The present study on legislators in Andhra Pradesh has revealed marked gender differences in the background, recruitment, perceptions and performance of the

representatives. The difference, apart from others is **also** due to discriminatory policy of the parties **against** women.

All the male legislators in the sample have been contributors in the political process before they entered the Assembly. A majority of the male legislators have been substantial contributors in the capacity of party workers, members of local bodies and members of party executives. A good number of them have had political involvement right from their student career. A good proportion of the female legislators have been freshers to politics and have taken up legislative roles without any prior involvement in the field. They have neither been participants nor active participants before they contested for membership in the Assembly. They have started political participation and contest simultaneously.

Marked gender difference is noted as regards the age of entry into political roles by the respondents. The length of the political career of any individual would have decisive impact on assuming leadership roles. A very high percentage of women legislators in the sample have been late comers to politics. The age of first entry has been higher in the case of women compared to that of men. However, a few women legislators like M.Swarajyam, Sarojini Pulla Reddy, P.Bharati, Nannapaneni Rajakumari and Mary Ravindranath have had political involvement in their teen age. Especially women who have entered politics in post-independence period have been late comers. The women who entered politics at an early age have been those who took active part in the national movement. Women legislators in the sample, have been beginners in the political roles either in their late twenties or in early thirties. The number of male

respondents who have had long political careers is far higher than that of the female respondents.

The extent of participation would be influenced by the motivating factors to a considerable extent. The study made clear that in the case of most of the (38%) male **legislators**, self-motivation has contributed to enter politics. Most of the female legislators (44%) stepped into politics after being encouraged by **their kith** and kin and these kith and kin are males. It is not self-initiative but others' initiative that has led to a large number of women in the sample deciding to contest for membership in the legislature. Most **often**, it is the blood relations that have been responsible for women's entry into representative roles.

In the selection of candidates for elections, political parties, especially the leadership, is playing a very important role. While choosing candidates, parties are expected to give preference to seniority, service to party loyalty and public spirit. But the reality is that '**winning chance**' dominates all other factors. It is seen that neither specific criteria nor uniform methods are applied by political parties in the choice of candidates. The respondents irrespective of gender (males 83% and females 72%) expressed that the role of party leadership is very important in selection process. Service to party and **candidates'** popularity in the constituency are the factors next **in** importance to winning **chances**. It should be noted that winning chance is associated with several **aspects like money**, power **following**, ability and **caste**. The role of money **in candidates' selection** and election is kept very confidential by the respondents.

One important feature which the study revealed **is** that **in the** game of **power** politics, the political parties have often neglected the importance of **fair deal with**

fair **sex**. This has led to distribution of party tickets mostly to men and very rarely to **women**. This discriminating policy in the recruitment of contestants has brought very limited number of women into the legislative bodies. The selection criteria adopted for women candidates has been different in that parties have given utmost priority to **wifhood** qualification and widowhood qualification. This trend is seen in the developed systems also. In the context of **contesting**, women aspirants have to face 'rejection trend' and not 'supporting trend*' from the political parties. This has, some times, led to unwilling females being persuaded to contest leaving willing women out of picture. In other words women with real interest in politics are discouraged and women with no interest or near nil interest are fielded as candidates. This trend is found more in TDP than in other parties. The kinship connection is **also** found to be having very strong influence in the selection of female candidates and in shaping their career. The nature of the recruited is bound to have **effect** on their perceptions and performance.

It is found that there are significant differences between the male and female legislators in respect of politically potential background, that helps to establish long political careers. As regards age, a large number of women (66%) are found in the age group of 36-45. In other age groups the presence of **women** is either nil or poor. The largest number of the male **legislators** (39%) in the sample are seen in the age group of 36-45 but a good number of them are seen in other age groups **also**. The male **legislators** have longer careers in **politics** compared to the female legislators. The study confirms the findings of Wolkowitz that women are denied long **careers in politics**.

The educational levels of the male legislators are higher than those of female legislators. It is only one woman in the sample has qualification beyond the post graduation level. None of the women respondents have received professional education. The position with regard to the male legislators is that a majority of them **(31%)** are either under graduates or those with professional qualification (29%). A few of them have been post graduates. The percentage of male legislators (6%) with **pre-metric** educational qualification is very limited. The women legislators with pre-metric educational qualification is **22%**.

A study of the occupational background of the representatives shows that for most of them (38%) agriculture is the primary occupation. Contractors (3.65%), business person **(11%)**, medical (1.21%) and legal practitioners **(12.19%)** are **seen** among the male legislators. Women of these professions are not present in the House. A high proportion (39%) of the women in the sample have been **house-wives** or '**house-managers**'. And these women did not have any paid work experience. Women in the sample have not held any high income earning jobs. Political and social **work**, teaching and **agriculture** are the fields to which a few women legislators **belonged**. Women **legislators**, compared **with** male legislators are **having** less para-political and local government **experience**. 24% men and 22% women gained **para-political** experience and 49% men and **17%** women earned experience in local **government**.

In general, legislators having two or three children are more among the respondents. But a large proportion of women **(39%)** are having **two** children and a large proportion of men (29%) are having three **children**. A **majority** of the legislators (60%) irrespective of their gender are having membership **in** one or

other social organisations. However, it is 6% more women (67%) than men (61%) who are associated with various social organisations.

Land, which is the chief asset is possessed by a large proportion of male and female (75%) legislators. But more men (78%) than women (61%) are having it. Though there is very less gender gap among the legislators who are not having **property**, it is more women (22%) than men (13%) who are not owning any kind of property.

In terms of experience, occupations, educational levels and ownership of property women legislators are found to be holding secondary status, the primary status being that of male legislators. The near nil presence of women in higher age groups is a very clear indicator of absence of opportunities for long political careers to women.

The male and female legislators have shown marked difference in identifying the priority issues during electioneering. Amongst those who focused on social issues the number of women (56%) is two times more than **that** of men (24%). As regards giving **equal** preference to social and economic issues the number of men (44%) is two times more than that of women (22%). None of the female legislators gave importance to identify only economic issues during campaigning. But 7% of the male legislators preferred **to** focus on economic issues. The social status and constituency needs have had their influence on the preferences given by the **respondents**. More than **these**, gender **seemed** to be having specific influence on the preferences of the **legislators**.

Electoral success, as is well known will be preceded by contributing factors. A high majority (64%) of the respondents identified their parties as the most important structures that have contributed to their success. The party-wise breakup of the respondents' views regarding success factors shows that members of **TDP** and Left parties attached more importance to party than to personality factors. The legislators from Congress party have identified personality factors and party machinery in the order of importance. These statements should be understood in the background of **TDP** and Left parties' alliance and the declining strength of the Congress party in the electoral success. The respondents of the Left parties made it very clear the negative vote to the Congress and the absence of opposition from TDP contributed to their **electoral** success. The success of a reasonably good proportion (28%) of women legislators have been due to the role of their families, according to them. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the women who identified their families having influential role in their success are mostly those who have entered the legislative bodies through **wifehood** qualification. While the importance of **wifehood** qualification should be recognised, the influence of the party cannot be set aside.

The proceedings in the legislature give opportunities for members to express their stand on different issues. But the **legislators'** choice of subjects would be influenced by their role perceptions. It is found that both male and female legislators are interested in Question Hour which is the most lively pan of discussions in the legislatures. The percentage of male **legislators** (52%) showing interest in Question Hour is more than that of female **legislators** (39%). Experience, knowledge and service have **enabled** the **legislators** to be more **active** and freshers are often observers. More women (50%) than men (17%) have

shown interest in Zero Hour. It is difficult to say that gender's impact is visible in respect of raising questions, participating in Zero Hour.

The influence of party is seen more on the respondents' perceptions regarding House proceedings than on other matters. Participation in the proceedings is limited by time. This has led to several ruling party members, both men and women, complaining that they do not get adequate opportunity to take part in the House proceedings. They said that they have to compromise and confine themselves to 'viewer' role relegating participant role to the background. Thus, the desire to participate which is a consequence of perceptions need not be followed by performance which is 'perception in practice'. The gap between the perceptions and performance, to a considerable extent is due to party control and non-availability of time. The study has revealed noticeable gender-based variations in identifying the subjects of interest and priorities. Most of the women respondents (66%) have given preference to women related subjects and are found to be interested in discussing these subjects. A large majority of male legislators (39%) have given preference to agriculture as the subject of their interest. One important point to be noted is that percentage of women giving preference to women issues is far higher than that of men giving first preference to agriculture. Both male and female legislators gave second importance to social welfare. But when the preference is related to background, it is noted that caste background is linked up with preference more in the case of men than that of women. An encouraging trend is that womanhood has contributed to women members cutting across party lines to work for women welfare. The 'days of eves' in the legislative sessions are good evidences to substantiate this argument.

The impact of gender on voting patterns is almost nil. Legislators are expected to vote according to the directions of party leadership. The whips issued by the party leaders in systems with strict party discipline, do not give scope for floor crossing. Hence, individual opinions are over powered by party decisions. Aspirations of male and female legislators are slightly varied. **However**, public service through their office is seen more in **men** (84%) than in women (61%). Name and fame is aspired by 22% women and 5% men. This is due to the women's desire for identity in politics.

Gender differences in constituency service are **noted**. The majority of the male legislators (49%) said that they receive requests from constituents in hundreds per week whereas, a large number of women (66%) said that it is difficult to give the exact number of requests they receive. More women members (72%) receive individual requests than male members (33%). More women (94%) than men (70%) have justified the legislators role in resolving individual problems of the constituents.

Among those legislators spending cent percent of the time other than House performance, the percentage of the male legislators (42%) is more than that of the female legislators (11%). A majority of the legislators **(70%)**, irrespective of their gender, **rely** on contacting concerned bureaucrats **in** person. The gender **difference** in resolving constituency problems by contacting bureaucrats personally is 16% . More women (83%) than **men (67%)** **rely** on it. Apart from quantitative **difference**, qualitative difference based on **gender is also noted**. Women tend to avoid unconventional methods for **problem solution**. A small percentage (8%) of the male legislators depend on **unconventional methods**.

As regards the qualities required for an ideal representative, differences in opinions are noted between female and male legislators. Women in larger proportion than men stressed on accessibility to common people, honesty and service **mindedness** as the importance qualities of ideal representatives. Five percent more men than women stressed on **efficiency**, a quality that should be possessed by representatives.

Politics which is considered for a long time as a field of males has set new challenges to women seeking political roles. Women have been deprived of power possessions in politics though there is no law preventing them to **hold** such positions. Legally they are entitled, but functionally they are not. Hence, the struggles for women's identity and empowerment are very visible in the contemporary political systems. The just demand for women for equal political status has brought some but not adequate improvement. The need for equal representation of women both in numbers and in quality is now realised. The demand for **political** empowerment is emerging mostly from women. As noted earlier, adequate efforts have not been made to elicit the opinions of the male members on the need for **women's** active involvement in the political **process**. Both qualitative and quantitative gender differences regarding the need for women's active roles in politics are noted **in the study**. Equal proportion (94%) of male and female legislators admitted that politics is a field that can be handled **efficiently** by men as well as by women. A majority of **the respondents** (men 71%, women 83%) accepted that political parties are not coming forward **to** field women candidates. As to the reasons mentioned by **the** respondents for not fielding enough number of **women candidates**, gender **difference is clearly noted**. A high percentage of the **female** respondents (80%) identify male **domination and** gender discrimination as the chief reasons for the **non-fielding** of **women**.

candidates. A very few male legislators expressed similar views. A majority of male legislators offered absence of winning **chances**, women's disinterest are **the** chief causes preventing fielding of more women as candidates.

It is generally said that women are uncomfortable with situations of confrontations. This opinion is supported by 56% of males and only 39% of females in the sample. A significant proportion of the female (50%) and male (39%) legislators denied the statement by saying that it is only a **myth**. As regards women related issues being given priority there is a significant difference between the two genders. A very high percentage of women (89%) said that women's interest can be best represented by women **legislators**. Only 37% of the male legislators have held the same view. The gender difference in this regard is very high (**53%**). The demand for reservation of seats in Parliament and state legislatures have received very high (above 90%) support from both the male and female legislators. However, the support given by male legislators needs to be **rechecked**. Women and men have differed in identifying the primary pathway of women's development. A large proportion of men (45%) mentioned social equality whereas, a large proportion of women (39%) felt that economic power is essential for women's development in general.

The practice of giving opportunity to senior **members**, party and group and also to senior members of the House to express views is present in **the** Indian legislatures. In the distribution of time to parties and **senior members**, several aspiring members do not get chance to speak on **the floor** of the House. The possibilities of participation for the opposition **parties' members** is more because of the existing practice. Most of the women members of **the** House have **short** experience and are not leaders of political **parties**. Thus, neither do **they** have

seniority nor leadership positions in the party. These work as obstacles for active involvement of women in the House proceedings. From the quantitative point of view, women are at a **disadvantaged** position. But participation of women members in the House proceedings has never been less than their proportion in the House. The 'sacred cow' of seniority and low-level position in the party reduce the importance of the area of interest in respect of institutional participation. This is not to deny that those interested in speaking on specific issues are totally denied the opportunity to participate in the House proceedings. That the House is functionally weak and also unsatisfactory is the feeling present in the majority of the legislators in both men and women.

The study made clear that marked gender difference is present in the age of entry, educational levels, occupations and experience. Marked gender difference is noted in the responses to the statement, "**women** are uncomfortable with confrontations". In the context of interesting **subjects**, receiving requests from individuals and allotment of time for constituency service also significant gender gap is found. Notable gender difference in perceptions regarding the need for women members representing women's interests is evident. **In** respect of caste of the legislators, property ownership, aspirations and voting patterns, variations between male and female members is **marginal**. On points like reservation for women in legislatures, discrimination for women **in legislatures**, discrimination of political parties against fielding of women **candidates**, electoral success factors and measures for women's development the gender **difference is** marginal.

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Schedule for Conducting Interview

Part-I—Background

1. Name:
2. Party:
3. Age:
4. Caste: F.C /B.C./ S.C. /ST.
5. No. of Children :
6. Educational Qualifications :
7. Occupation:
8. Economic Status : (a) Poor class (b) Middle class (c) Rich class
9. Property on your Name : (a) House (b) Land (c) Business
10. Name of Social Organisation in which you are a member
11. Political Experience (a) Local (b) State (c)Both (d)No
12. Nature of Constituency (a) Rural (b) Urban
13. What was your age when you entered politics for the first time?
14. Are any of your relatives in politics?
(a) Father (b) Husband (c) Cousins (d) Others (e) No
15. Who encouraged you to enter politics?
(a) Party (b) Special Event (c) Individuals (d) Self-motivation
(e) Other factors

Part-II Selection / Election

16. Which factors contributed for the selection of your candidature? Mark them in the order of importance,
(a) Party Leadership (b) Public Support (c) Economic status (d) Others
17. What were the financial sources for your election expenses?
18. Did you face any problems in raising finances for elections ?
19. To which of the issues did you give importance in campaign?
(a) Economic Issues (b) Social Issues (c) Both
20. Which methods did you adopt for election campaigning?
21. Mark any three factors responsible for your electoral success in the order of importance
(a) Party Aims () (b) Personal Character ()
(c) Money () (d) Public Support ()
(e) Family Support () (f) Friends Support ()
22. In your opinion, what are the qualities that an ideal representative should possess?
23. Which proceedings of the House are most interesting to you and why⁹
(a) Question Hour (b) Zero Hour (c) Discussion under MUR 304
(d) Budget Discussion (e) Bills Discussion (f) Others
24. To which of the following subjects you give importance? Identify them in the order of importance.
(a) Economic Matters () (b) Law and Order ()
(c) Industry () (d) Agriculture ()
(e) Health () (f) Education ()
(g) Social Welfare () (h) Women Welfare ()
25. What is your aspiration as an MLA?
(a) Political Power (b) Money (c) Name and Fame (d) Public service

26. To which of the Following factors you give importance while voting in the House.
 (a) Individual Opinion (b) Constituency Interest (c) Party Guideline
 (d) Situations (e) Others
27. In which committee/committees you are a member/chairperson?

Part IV - Constituency Service

28. How many requests do you receive from your constituents in an average per week ?
29. With which problems do the constituents approach you ?
 (a) Individual (b) Group/Community (c) District (d) Others
30. Do you support legislators resolving individual problems of the constituents ? Yes / No
31. What percent of time do you devote for constituency service apart from House performance ?
 (a) 25% (b) 50% (c) 75% (d) 100%
32. Which methods do you adopt to resolve constituency problems?
 (a) House proceedings (b) Personally contacting concern bureaucrat
 (c) Corresponding with the concerned authority
 (d) All the three

Part V - Gender Politics

33. "Men alone can handle politics efficiently". What is your opinion on this statement ?
 Yes/No and Why?
34. Political parties are not fielding female candidates Give your opinion
 Yes/No and Why?
35. Give your opinion on the following statement.
 "Women are uncomfortable with confrontations".
 Yes / No and why ?

36. Should women legislators represent women's problems ?
Yes / No and why?
37. Are women legislators giving importance only to women's issues?
Yes /No and why?
38. Do you support reservation of 1/3 seats for women in legislatures ?
Yes / No and why ?
39. Which of the following factors is most important for the upliftment of women ?
(a) Economic power (b) Political power (c) Social equality
(d) All the three
40. Give any other information which you feel important.