CHAPTER V

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

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

Democracy is based on equality. Most of the modern liberal democracies guarantee the right to equality. It cannot be assured merely by constitutional provision, but depends on different sorts of social groups which influence government. Usually the political parties are the major agents of democratic system to influence the government. In order to protect the
democratic theme, political parties are to be organised taking the political equality into account, so that citizens have opportunities to discover and to formulate goals. To act and to realise their goal, the political parties link them and bring integration among them.

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

Party represents the interests of a given class or a social group. Parties convert the demands and interests into decision and policies and parties mobilise the individuals and of all these functions, recruitment is a very important and crucial one. Recruitment, in the widest possible sense denotes training and preparation for leadership. Recruitment patterns of party members and leaders in great deal determine the characteristics of the political systems. Therefore, political parties are the creatures of modern political system.
Political recruitment is the process by which political roles are filled. Every political system selects political and administrative office holders. Recruitment has gained importance in the political process. In the opinion of W.H. Morris Jones, the scope of recruitment stretches from participation to leadership. Recruitment clearly throws light on the style and performance of various political institutions, viz., parliament, party and bureaucracy. In order to give importance to specific representation of a specific group, recruitment pattern changes.

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

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

Almond and Powell are of the opinion that, in the United States and Britain, political positions are open to the talented People. Usually education and class status are important conditions
for leadership recruitment. It is also believed that recruitment by political parties should be directed by permitting wider participation rather than producing defined policies and highly qualified status men. If this is not present, participation crisis arises and is often viewed as a historical sequence of demands by groups even lower on the social scale than their predecessors for admission to legitimate participation in the political system. William E. Wright discusses the concept of recruitment models. The two basic party models differ each other. As per the rational efficient model, recruitment is more open and flexible, because the party leaders recruit from a diversity of groups. These are less institutionalised career patterns and more possibility of self recruitment in this model. Secondly as per the party democracy model, political career patterns are highly institutionalised. In the party democracy model, career lines are very clear. Candidates for public office rise within the organisational structures.  

Milbrath gives importance to political participation model. However, the recruitment process is to be interpreted to contain a wide range of variables, including social background characteristics, patterns of political socialization, modes of entry into political and party activity, motivations and incentives for political activity, political attitudes, political career patterns and aspirations. Most studies deal only with selected aspects. Herbert Jacob adds personality, community and political structure variables to the usual social background variables.  

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

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

Women could play important roles if they are supported, encouraged and recruited to different positions in the parties. As is well known, various agents like family peer groups, school and
political organisations give different outlook to girls and boys. However, women leaders also get into active party politics, due to various factors i.e., personal interest, political influence, encouragement from party leaders and inspiration from the charismatic leadership. And due to some special conditions also women may get involved in politics. So different factors contribute to women's entry into politics, membership and leadership in the party. Some women start their political career with party membership activity and some women may be directly recruited to the higher positions after being offered the candidature for public offices. The respondents have been asked to mention the factors responsible for their recruitment. The multiple responses given, have been classified into 5 groups.

Family:

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

1. My family members are party members and so I am also recruited to the party.
2. "I joined the party due to the inspiration given by my husband".
3. "I am recruited to this position after the death of my husband".
4. "Though I am not interested, I have to take up the position, after the death of my husband". I have to complete the duties undone by my husband".
Specially some legislators in the past and present, are selected after the death of the husband or any other family head. Whether the concerned candidates have inclination to serve are not, they are being selected by the parties. Such an opinion is reflected in the writer's interview with Smt. M. Varalaxmi, a Congress Minister. She said, "though I am not interested, I have to complete the duties undone by my husband." In the same way family influence plays an important role in the case of recruitment to higher cadres in the party. That was expressed by Pasya Padma, Secretary of CPI Women’s Wing.

Party Ideology Interest in the Party:

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

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

The above are mostly the expressions of the women from Leftist parties. For instance, Ms. Chandra Raja Kumari, the present General Secretary at State Level of A.I.W.F. said that after
attending the student political classes and party training classes, she was recruited into the party and party position.\(^{16}\) Another opinion, close to this, was that of Gujjula Sarala Devi, who mentioned that in addition to the influence of her father and husband, she was recruited in recognition of her experience in her student life.\(^{17}\) An executive member of CPI ML party pointed out that as a young person, she got attracted to the party and the party executive position is the result of the recognition to her services.\(^{18}\)

Experience & Interest:

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

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

Some women leaders in the sample are those who are involved in the activities of organisations in their individual capacity. Here their experience is recognised and they are
persuaded by the party leaders. Smt. Durga Bhakta Vatsalam, the President of Manila Congress, said that she was recruited to several State level posts of the Congress party, in recognition of her independent organisational abilities and services to the people. Eeti Vijaya Laxmi, Congress Legislator, mentioned that on account of her financial status, she was selected to the party.

Socio-Economic Status

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

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

The fifth category of the respondents are those who entered the party positions through the other leaders. The respondents have been recruited, when the party leaders called for
new recruits. The following are some of the responses:

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

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

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

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

Women's leadership in political parties at the state level includes leadership in decision making, executive committees and leadership in affiliated wings like Women's Wings, Agricultural Wings, Trade Union Wings, District Executive Committees and membership as well as leadership in the state legislature. Leaders at all these levels take up key roles.
In respect of the Congress Party, at the state level, the Pradesh Congress Committee looks after the various organisational activities of the party. P.C.C. consists of members elected by an electoral college, ex-presidents of PCC Presidents of DCC, AICC and members elected by legislature. In the PCC and DCC 30% members are women. CPI has got 3 organisations at the state el. The Secretariat, Executive Committee and State Secretariat level consist of 9 members each but has no women membership. The Executive Committee, has only one woman representative out of 31 members and in the State Council, which consists of 125 members, 7 are women.

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

The TDP State Executive has two women members out of 20 to 25 members. Out of these two, one is the Vice-President of the party and the other one represents Telugu Mahila. According to the need some more women members may be included in it. In the CPI ML (Democratic) as per the strength the women members in the party, women will be recruited into State Executive Committee. A high percentage of the members are from downtrodden communities. The Total number of members of CPI ML was not revealed, but there is
higher percentage of women in the committee, compared to such committees of other parties.\textsuperscript{29}

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

Members of these organisations get representation in the legislature also through elections. Each party has its own trade union wing.\textsuperscript{145} INTUC, AITUC, CNTU, TNTUC, BMS are the trade union wings of the Congress, CPI, CPIM, TDP and BJP respectively. Political parties cannot remain indifferent towards women who constitute nearly 50\% of the electorate. All the parties have women's organisations to secure support. The Congress party formed its own women's wing in 1953.\textsuperscript{31} The CPI has National Federation of Indian Women, CPIM's women wing is the All India Democratic Women's Association. Telugu Manila, Mahila Morcha, Progressive Organisations for women are the women wings of TDP, BJP & CPIML respectively. These are mostly training grounds for members.
A correct assessment of the recruitment needs to be studied in relation to the background of those recruited. In the sample under study, direct recruitment is not possible in the left parties. But the other three parties namely Congress, TDP and BJP directly recruit members at different levels of the party and the public offices.

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

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

While the above is the general trend, the following is an assessment of the chief factor influencing recruitment in various parties. In the sample under study, the family influence is seen to a considerable extend in TDP, CPI, and CPM. This supports the
argument of Carol Wolkowitz. In a study entitled Controlling Women's Access to Politics: Power, she states that family is not always a site of oppression for women. A new theorization can be done, for in many societies women's position in the family gives them access to political power. Such access makes them gladiators or spectators.

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

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

Leader's charisma has served as an important factor in recruitment in the case of Congress and TDP. Influenced by the stature of Indira Gandhi, came new entrants into the Congress
Similarly, the charisma of N.T. Rama Rao attracted some women members to join his party and to take various party responsibilities. Of these women, many are educated.

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

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

The services of the women are recognised for membership in party organisation, but not equally recognised for entering the legislature because of the weak financial position of the members.
TABLE 5:1 RECRUITMENT PATTERNS OF THE RESPONDENTS - PARTYWISE DISTRIBUTION

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<th>Cong I</th>
<th>T.B.P.</th>
<th>E.J.P.</th>
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<th>C.P.I.</th>
<th>C.P.I. M.L.</th>
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<td>N=32</td>
<td>N=33</td>
<td>N=13</td>
<td>N=26</td>
<td>N=18</td>
<td>N=5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Family members &amp; party members</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)</td>
<td>(21.57%)</td>
<td>(30.30%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(30.76%)</td>
<td>(44.44%)</td>
<td>(48.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Interested in party ideology</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>(figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)</td>
<td>(15.62%)</td>
<td>(21.21%)</td>
<td>(38.76%)</td>
<td>(61.53%)</td>
<td>(11.11%)</td>
<td>(66.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Asked by local leaders</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>(figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)</td>
<td>(25.86%)</td>
<td>(15.15%)</td>
<td>(38.76%)</td>
<td>(71.69%)</td>
<td>(27.73%)</td>
<td>(28.99%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Social purpose</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>(figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)</td>
<td>(25.86%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.
REFERENCES


15. Interview, Dated 25-4-1993 with Pasya Padma.

16. Interview, Dated 26-12-1993 with Chandra Raja Kumari.

17. Interview, Dated 4-5-1993 with Gujjula Sarala Devi.

18. Interview, Dated 4-1-1994 with Lakshmi Alias Vijaya.


20. Interview, Dated 7-10-1992 with K. Padmashri, M.P.


22. Interview, Dated 27-4-1993 with M. Indira, Ex-M.L.A.

23. Interview, Dated 24-12-1992 with B. Vijaya Lakshmi, Member P.C.C.

24. Interview, Dated 22-9-1992 with Majji Tulasi Das, President P.C.C.


26. Interview, Dated 14-5-1993 with Nanduri Prasada Rao, C.P.M.

27. Interview, Dated 7-10-1992 with M. Venkayya Naidu.


29. Interview, Dated 4-1-1994 with Lakshmi Alias Vijaya.

31. Ibid., P 213.


33. Interview, Dated 20-6-1993 with Rajana Ramani.

34. Eeti Vijaya Lakshmi, M.L.A, told the researcher that because of her economic status, her candidature was finalised.


