CHAPTER-II

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

Women's Leadership in American Political Parties:

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

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

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

Some important organisations such as Young Women's Christian Organisation, National Association of Business and Professional Women's Club, Women's War Council, the General Federation of Women's Club and more importantly the National Organisation of Women founded in 1966 by Betty Feldman and twenty seven other women. Contributed to raise in the subsequent decades the demand for equal political and other rights became more
vigorous. During Reagan's administration, a new Rights Movement was started in 1982 and consequently during the elections of the same year, 59% of women's votes went to the Democrats as compared to 38% of votes to the Republicans.

In spite of certain limitations, it was only by the time of Reagan's administration that women attained more top leadership positions than before. Three cabinet level positions were held by women in 1984. Margaret Heclar became the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Elizabeth Hansford Dole was the Secretary for Transport and Jeanne Kirk Patrik served as the U.N. Ambassador. Two women Nancy Lindon Kassebaum and Poula Haukins were the Senators in U.S.A. during that period. Whatever positions were held, these women leaders came from the upper strata and upper social origin. They had their education in prestigious private colleges and earned either Master's or Doctorate degree or Law degree. Women leaders earned advanced degrees compared to the male leaders. This strongly supports the argument that women need more education than men to compete effectively for top positions. Leadership of women has been less visible in the executive branch than in the Congress. In the Reagan's administration, women held a number of senior administrative positions, but they did not deal with women's issues. Failure of women's leadership in executive departments was found during this period as far as policies of women are concerned. This is mainly because women leaders were not having institutional mandate to address women's issues. During 1980-86, low priority was given to women's issues in the Congress. This shows a conservative
outlook, which did not last long. The Democratic recapture of the Senate in 1986 weakened Reagan's administration.

Women - Political Parties:

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

Steven D. Mclaughlin, giving an account of the changing patterns of American women, says that a generation gap was there from one decade to another. For instance, women born in 1920s and 1930s differed significantly and in the same way women born between 1946 and 1964, have forced restructuring of the educational system, political system, labour force and the family. In his opinion Women's divisions in the political parties give autonomy to
women. But after the defeat in elections, in 1962, the Republican Party had abolished the women's division even without consulting them. Such measures destroyed the independence of women, because integration of women in a single organisation was not possible.  

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

Women members through different voluntary organisations like Environmental, School, Teachers, Ethnic, Women, Church and Public Interest Organisations have membership in both the parties. Comparatively for both the parties, there is less percentage of women from Teachers Organisations in the conventions of the years 1976, 1980 and 1984. The Democratic Party attracted 55% to 60%
from public interest groups or organisations, where as the Republican Party attracted 50% to 65% from church organisations during the four conventions, i.e. 1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984. From this type of representation, two important changes occurred between 1972-84. One was the increasing participation through voluntary organisations. In fact parties need such support. Secondly, women during this period, showed more interest towards male dominated groups. As an analyst says, women have the capacity to raise their strength in parties, if they raise their participation in such organisations.

In 1976, teachers associations helped to secure the nomination of Jimmy Carter for the presidency and in 1984 the efforts of NOW and other women's organisations were pivotal for securing the nomination of Gerald Ferraro, the first woman to contest for vice-presidency. But formal equality did not bring power equality. As far as holding public offices is concerned, women are only seen in a negligible proportion. The percentage of democratic women holding public office at states' level raised from 5% to 15% during 1972-1984, whereas that of the Republican women from 7% to 20%. So gender is a consistent demarcator of attitudes towards women's role in politics in general and with in the political parties in particular. It is important to note that increasing involvement of women in political parties has not worked to lessen this sense of gender role consciousness. The increase in the proportion of women into public office has not been dramatic. It seems to be a piece with other developments, wherein women are
gradually acquiring social, economic and political positions, 
formally reserved for men. Some women enter the rank of political leadership. Both male and female leaders reported at California Convention in 1964 were from large income groups and attained higher education. The general similarity between personality characteristics of the Republican and Democratic female party leaders is noteworthy. The female political leaders differ from most other women in their attitudes. They are uncertain about themselves and about their situation in politics. A substantially greater proportion of males held elective public offices during the 1917-64.

Women leaders were mostly locally oriented than male leaders. Added to this, women are politically active for only 10 years starting usually from their 50's. In spite of their short periods of service in the party, women take the organisational burden of the party in a realist sense. for male leaders, politics is only for enchantment and for women leaders, it is a 'labour of love'. Women show concern for party candidates and programmes. Male leaders are for self service and female leaders, for public service. However, the Democratic Party encourages women more. It has its special auxiliary body to recruit women and it puts forth efforts in maintaining adequate representation of women at the national conventions.
In America, parties have an important political activity of conducting conventions at local, state and national levels. Thus the Democratic Party, by giving representation to women, is said to be shifting towards a purposive orientation.\textsuperscript{21} If women are entrusted with the same duties, whether political or non-political, they fulfill them in a proper way to achieve the goals. Their concern is usually the duty and they may be hesitant or disinterested for power and authority in the political parties. That is why Irene J. Dabrouske stated that there were about 15,000 unknown women reporters and another 60,000 women became nameless party workers even though they have contributed their time, energy and competence in the campaign of Roosevelt's \textquote{New Deal} policy in 1936.\textsuperscript{22} Their perceptions also reveal that women are more favourable than men to the achievement of racial equality. Their outlook is liberal. There are women aspirants to the highest public office from both the parties. In the opinion of Frank and Jane, political women of both the parties now view themselves as potential candidates for that office.\textsuperscript{23} They might have been inspired by Gerald Ferraro. for the same office, potential Republican candidates to be mentioned were Jeane Kirk Patrik, Nancy Kassebaum and Elizabeth Dole. The Democratic Party usually had more favourable links with women and their political participation. From the Democratic Party, the nationally recognised women politicians are Dianne Feinstein, Patricia Shroeder and Barbara Mikulski. If the U.S. political situation is compared with that of Norway, the former may be some what conservative than the Norwegian situation. The Scandinavian states are progressive in giving highest positions
to women. In 1980, Gro Harlem Brundtland held the office of Prime Minister being a Labour Party leader and she could succeed in uniting the factional groups of the party. 24

Women in the Conventions:

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

Women in Legislatures:

In America, representation in the legislature is also considered as leadership in the party. During 1960s a substantially greater proportions of males had held elective public
officers. Female leadership was only 29% compared to 48% of that of male leadership. For instance in the U.S.A. Congress between 1917 to 1964 only 70 women had served. Of these one half had their relatives in the Congress and the other half are either appointed or elected to fill the vacancies caused by the death of their husbands. In 1963-64, 4.5% of state legislators in the country were women compared to 2% members in the Congress. In the Jennings and Thomas Michigan study, women leaders found public office inaccessible. Women's representation in both the Houses of the Congress showed a slight difference. Anne Gibsons study showed that, from 1919-69 increase in the number of women representatives to the Senate was not conspicuous. It is important to note that a the more powerful body of the Congress, i.e., Senate had less women representative and the less powerful legislative House had more women representatives:

In the political caucuses, women participants are found to be young, highly educated and ideologically liberal. Before they were in caucus, they have been active in politics. It is apt to note the impact of Feminist Movement on the political participation of women in the U.S.A.. Karen Beckwith states that women relied on radio, T.V. and magazines for their political information as men as used to. Women's participation across generations is noted as similar. The relationship between the support for feminist issues and political participation varies according to education. Education had its association with the political activities. Highly educated women become more feminist or active political
participants. In the year 1972, political participation of women was the strongest, when there was a great deal of feminist political activity. But by 1976, the relationship was negligible. As far as participation trends are concerned, working class women's participation was more than that of the middle class women. Women in the working class have lower levels of educational attainment. The sources of women's political participation have not changed over time. These conditions were justified by Marry Low Kendrigan. To her, if political equality is to be realized, feminists must ask for increased political participation and political equality is closely related to women's participation in political parties. For instance the National Organisation of Women was highly responsible for increasing the political participation of women. So it is said that women's political caucus would have a lasting influence on political participation. Again the general progress of America has its reflection on the improved women's place.

Politics in 1992 in the U.S. have been regarded as remarkable, as American women played an emphatic role during the presidential elections. Ruth Mandel the director of the Centre for the American Women and Politics, is optimistic about the progress of women after the 1992 elections. A United States News poll found that 61% of those surveyed and 80% of women under 30 expressed that the country would be governed better if more women held political office. When the same News Poll was conducted in the year 1986, only 28% held such view. The attitudinal change is mainly due to growing
importance of women's issues in U.S.A.. There is a feeling that female candidates are judged to be more honest than male candidates. Nancy Kaszak, who was campaigning for the Illinois legislature expressed confidence that more women would get seats in the state legislature. In spite of the confidence among some women candidates, the biggest obstacle for female progress was the power of male incumbency, which was partially reduced. It is interesting to note that during the 1992 elections more than 12 women contested to the Senate and 140 to the House. Women proved themselves in doubling the campaign fund in 1992 to support women candidates. The expectations of the women have come true as after 1992 elections 6 out of 100 Senators are women and 49 representatives out of 435 are women. Out of the 6 women Senators, Carol Mosely Brown is an African American woman. Of the 49 women members in the House of Representatives, 37 are Democrats and 12 Republicans. Among them, women of different races are to be found. This shows the change of outlook of voters on one hand and extension of leadership positions to different races on the other. In the opinion of Ruth Mandel, "In the State Legislature also the gains for women were solid". Again it is stated that women legislators are fair in making domestic policy decisions and so it is expected that women's political leadership is a sign of growth.

In addition to legislative roles, 21 women held the executive offices at the state's level after 1992 elections, i.e. 22.2% of all positions. This change, to Americans, is the product of decades of hard work and preparations. Talented and young women occupied
the positions. In 1993, the American Women's Movement reemphasised its stand of achieving more advantages for women. Ruth E. Mandel, Director of C.A.W.P., states that women kept up their progress at the states' level and that would increase at every elections, "Inch by inch, election year by election year, the women in the states moved us towards parity for women and men in politics". Thus by the 1992 elections, women's leadership in the state legislatures showed a continuous growth. There has been an increase of 2% from 1992 to 1993. This increase added confidence among the aspirants.

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

Women's Leadership in British Political Parties:

The party system in Britain has been a product of some important factors- the electoral system, the homogeneity of the country and the class base. The two party system is said to be the life blood of the British politics. Though some changing trends could be identified, there are two major parties in Britain- Conservative and the Labour. The Conservative Party has been for a long time the leading ruling party. It is the strongest among the
middle class and upper class in addition to the support from other sections of the people. Following the elections in 1979, Margaret Thatcher was chosen as the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. She is the first woman Prime Minister of England.40

As is well known, women's economic and social status mostly shape their roles and positions in the political parties and governmental organs. Women in the British society have gained confidence due to the development of feminist outlook and the feminist demands through innovative leadership. The radical women leadership in this country was successful only to strengthen women's movement. Surprisingly, women were discouraged by Thatcher's government from holding key positions. The government compromised with the traditional roles of women. In the society, a traditional general outlook makes men the main earning members of the family and the women's earnings are only supplementaries to it.41 Before 1970s 40% women were employed in the British labour force and promotions were rarely given to women. Such an attitude reveals that women were given only lower economic roles. It was through the feminist movement, some changes by organising women at different levels have been brought. So the role of women inside the political parties and governmental organisations slowly began to grow. The feminist movement succeeded in realising some of its goals resulting in the passing of Equal Pay Act of 1970, and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. Women achieved equal opportunities in education, employment and housing. They began to divert their
attention towards leadership roles in the trade unions, political parties and public offices. There have been some fluctuations to be found from time to time as far as women's roles are concerned. Women in Britain constitute 52% of the electorate. During the Thatcher regime, 7% M.P.s were women. In the year 1981, 23% of women secured certain positions in consumer societies, trade unions and industries. The change is largely due to the constitution of Equal Opportunities Commission in the year 1977 and its efforts. Even though in several organisations women's membership increased, it has not been conspicuously visible. Their participation has been mainly confined to direct action. They participated in protest marches, health campaigns and anti-poverty lobbies. These activities have only been short lived and did not give long standing leadership to women. Women were not found conspicuously in the political leadership roles also.

In spite of the above situation, to a certain extent, women occupied roles in political parties' representative bodies. Christopher T. Husbands estimates women's leadership roles in the year 1985. Neil Kinnock and Jo Richardson took keen interest and initiation and as a result, the national executive of the Labour Party, decided to form the Women's Rights Division. The Liberal Party has been supporting women's issues and decided to be in front of women's rights campaign. Recently, the Social Democratic Party published an extensive policy for women giving membership to women in its national executive, which has 8 members. As it is a raising political party, it has tried to avoid gender gap.
In the opinion of Joni Lovenduski, the British political culture encourages considerable degree of government secrecy and discourages new aspirants for the high posts. As new categories to the highest posts, women were denied these roles. Therefore women have never been as much as 5% of the membership of the House of Commons. Upon first entering the House, women have been older than their male colleagues. The House of Lords after 1958 consisted of 5% to 6% of women. The low number of women in the House of Commons is due to the reluctance of political parties to select women candidates at the constituency level. Women are likely to be candidates in England and Scotland and in Wales it is a discouraging situation. Women M.P.s are found to be right in feeling that constituency selection committees are biased against women candidates.

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

In 1983, there was an increase in women's membership of the House of Commons. Thirteen Conservative women and ten Labour
women were elected. Women's representation increased from 29 in 1964 to 41 in 1987 and to 60 in 1992 in the House of Commons. As pointed out by Amanda Muir, a member of the group of 300 which works towards equal representation of women in parliament, sheer hard work, determination and insistence have helped the success of women members of parliament. Within the parliament, women have been better distributed through the committee system than in the cabinet positions.48

Regarding voting behaviour, certain changes can be observed. In the years 1945-46, the Labour Party had a clear lead of male voters, i.e. 19% over the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party had a 15% more female score in 1951 and 13% in 1955.49 In the elections of 1979, 1983 and 1987 much difference was not found in the voting percentage of males and females. In 1983, women voted more for the Conservative Party and less to the Labour. Corresponding to voting behaviour, the Conservative Party got more women parliamentarians. Between 1964 and 1976, there were about 5% of women candidates in the House of Commons, whereas in 1979 there were 9% and 1983 11%. So there has been a gradual increase of women candidates and members in the House of Commons. Although women were elected to the Conservative Party, there was less scope for women to get leadership positions.50
Local Governments:

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

In Britain, political parties have 10% of adult membership as members. The Conservative Party had 50% and the Labour Party had 40% of women membership. In other two parties i.e. the membership was approximately about 40%.
Both the labour and Conservative parties have women sections in the party organisations and special provisions are made for women's representation at the national level. For the Labour Party, women are poorly represented at party conferences. The Labour Party reserved 5 seats to women at the party's national executive. In the Conservative Party, women have places reserved throughout the party structure. Conservative women are about 38% of the annual conference delegates, about 20% of the executive committee members and 18% of the membership of the important advisory committee on policy at the central office. But women were under represented at the decision making levels. At the leadership levels, the Social Democratic Party decided to include two women. In addition, there were two women groups within the Labour Party. These groups specially campaign for equal representation and women's equal rights. Forman states that self-made women managed to enter parliament through getting candidature from the Conservative Party. 53

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

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

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