CHAPTER I
CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A narrow definition of politics is termed as the electoral participation in a democracy. The various duties performed by an individual such as a voter or as an elected position holder are called political participation. This participation of an individual is very important for decision making in the public sphere which in turn is denoted as power. Politics is a game of power and power is the decision factor in molding relation in society. While the value and impact of women’s position in voting and pattern of their exercise of this power cannot be underestimated women’s participation and impact and role in their political activities are equally important. The activities of political participation are ongoing activities which take place during the policies, manufactures campaign issues, campaign methods and techniques and above all the choice of candidates by the parties in electoral tray. The women’s role and participation in elections as voters and candidates or as ministers and decision makers is also affected by many other factors as well such as in private realm of family and marriage women have to keep silence they have to face many unrecognized battles for survival and development. There are deliberative gender discrimination such discriminations and struggles become an unavoidable factors in schooling employment and political contests etc. While some women are capable of resisting them, many other merely accept them. These are many who exercise independent judgment while perhaps many others succumb to situations.

It is therefore necessary to study the electoral participation of women as well as their participation in the peasant autonomous women’s movements women’s wings /units within political parties and interest groups etc. There are few outbursts as well as informal struggles of unorganized women etc. which one need to understand to really gauge women’s political participation and awareness.

The present Indian socio economic conditions are not positive for successful involvement of women in political affairs. Women are politically less active and less dynamic. Political equality is not possible unless there is social equality. A better social economic and political condition of women is indispensable for political
involvement. Those who have powers, martial knowledge and resources are in a position to involve in the decision making process.

In India and some developing countries which have recently become independent women are enjoying a high and significant position. This could be possible because these women have participated in such struggles which had broken many socio cultural obstacles and inhibitions. The 73rd constitutional amendment Act of 1992-93 have opened a new horizon for women to alter their right to be heard in the decision making process. Reservation has led to the recognition of the identity of women and their presence in the public life.

In India a minority of women are generally politically aware of and capable of exercising the power of decision making. The reason for this awareness is confined to educated working and middle class women and that the uneducated rural and non elite women do not participate in politics not even in voting. If this is true of voting exercise of every citizen it is truer of these women emerging as active political figures and even more of those who are successful politicians.

Are these assumptions true anymore? What is the extent of women’s participation in politics either as politicians or as voters? What is the nature of their participation and at what level? What are the factors that have helped them emerge as political figures and what type of discrimination and disadvantages did they have to face? How many women overcame these obstacles and how many were frustrated by them? An answer to these and other nagging questions on women’s participation needs to be sought.

Very less research is been done on women politics in our country. It is as neglected as the women are in the Indian society. However the more important reason for less women studies is the lack of due weight accorded to the women in society. In today’s Indian context women studies are very few in number and women politics as a field of research is its inception condition. The current study is an attempt to fill up this vacuum and throws light on the political behavior of women.

The low standard of women in society have caused occurrence of rape, molestation, dowry killing female infanticide and domestic violence against women. Women’s active role and involvement in decision making process will lead to the
progress of standards of public life. These defects can be eradicated by empowering women. Awareness campaign should be created in support of women empowerment. The important responsibility to create awareness about the political empowerment of women is of Mass Media, Non-Governmental Organization, Political Parties, Self help groups and Mahila Mandals. There are several struggles in 21st century for the cause of gender justice by internationalizing struggles for equality by women and other oppressed people. The question of political participation of women in India in a dynamic manner deserves attention.

1.2 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation is both an activity and an attitude. Every political system has political participation as its important ingredient. These are various activities which are enlisted as political participation in all political systems. Political participation does not only mean use of right to franchise by maximum number of people. Political participation and involvement of the people in matters of state guarantees stability of political system and this stability of political system reinforces the legitimacy of political authority.

The political participation and active involvement of the people influences the decision making activity of the government. The citizen in democratic government are rational independent and interested political persons who can express their opinions independently regarding the persons aspiring for holding offices.

The basic way of participation in democracy is voting. The other ways or levels of political participation are as reading or listening or watching the mass media of communication, participating in political discussions, listening to political speeches, attending party meeting giving contribution to political parties, writing petitions or letters to public officials or news paper editors trying to influence the voters, contesting the elections for office etc.
1.2.1 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Behaviouralist have discussed the concept of political participation in political science. The arguments in favor of greater political participation are been extended by the republicans and democratic theorists from Rousseau onwards and are still in use by contemporary political theorists.

The classical view tried to show a distinction between state and individuals on the one hand and public and private on the other. Individuals favorable orientation to the state or government considers participation as an attitude. Due to this view any American can give participant political culture. Political culture became prominent in political science only from 1950’s. According to Gabriel Almond ‘political culture is the particular patterns of orientations to political objects in which a political system is embedded’. Orientations are determined by factors such as traditions, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions, and symbols. Orientations are predispositions to political actions. Almond and Verba later on developed types of political culture in which they tried to break down the orientations into cognitive orientations (knowledge and awareness of the political effects), effective orientations (emotions and feelings about the objects), ad evaluative orientations (judgment about them). According to Almond and Verba the ideal and best political culture is the participant political culture where people are more oriented to input processes and active in policy making. According to Almond and Verba the British, American and Scandinavian political systems best represent this ideal.

Birch writes political participation is the participation in the process of government. Communications have a question to the liberal concept of participation. They say that liberals have an individualistic view and they consider government as their locus. According to the communitarians running a community health club by a religious group or participating in a N.G.O. sponsored campaign for literacy can be seen broadly as participation in the political life of the community or civil society with different agents and levels of participation. Following the same logic political participation may be for serving political obligation of a democratic citizen to lead a participatory social life and just not for the civil obligations to the government on the question of law and order.
1.2.2 DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The term political participation has got several meanings. Political participation may be defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics. This is a broader definition of the term political participation because this term encompasses a wide range of activities viz from active roles of the people in order to influence political outcomes to ceremonial and support activities.

According to Almond and Powell “Political Participation is the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system.”

Verba and Pye defined Political Participation as “Those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take.”

According to Mc Closly “Political Participation implies those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formulation of public policy.”

The maximum political participation of the citizens decides the success ratio of democracy. In India Panchayati Raj is been introduced to make sure about the political participation of the citizens. This experiment of Panchayati Raj proves to be a training ground for citizens. It increases people’s political consciousness, awareness of their rights and direct participation in self rule. The political system becomes legitimate due to the citizen’s active participation in political affairs. As women comprise about half of the population it is pivotal and essential that a proper and equal attention should be paid to this section of the society as well. Men and women should be the equal partners in the nation building and political development. If womenfolk are not given equal rights and equal opportunities than it will be a failure of democratic political set up.

Democracy have a high potential if at least a minimum of people’s participation in the decision making process is there. Norman D Palmer defines ‘Political Participations as the involvement of the citizens in such political activities which directly or indirectly influence the behavior and actions of decision makers. Political culture of a society and political participation of individuals are directly
related to each other. Political Participation enables a citizen to show his disagreement and to criticize.

However if political participation is to have any concrete meaning, particularly in a democratic setup people should directly or indirectly take part in the decision making process which effect their day to day life.

1.2.3 LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (Lesser Milbrath)

Lesser Milbrath has given three levels of political participation. They are gladiatorial activities, transitional activities ad spectator activities. They are explained as follows.

1) Spectator Activities:
   Voting, influencing other’s vote, getting influenced by political stimuli, participating in political debates, wearing badges of political parties and distributing leaflets etc is called the spectator activities in which the number of people participating is very high whereas the degree of participation is very low.

2) Transitional Activities:
   The activities such as hearing the lectures of the leaders, donating to the fund of the party and maintaining contact with the leaders of the party are included as transitional activities. These activities are of the helpers and well wishers of the political parties.

3) Gladiatorial Activities:
   This category includes activities such as electrons to political post, participation in the election to legislature, gathering fund for the party movements to increase membership and organization of meetings everywhere to form public opinion in its favor etc. The degree of political involvement of citizen in these activities is very high but the number of people involved seems to be low as compare to spectator activities.

   The categories discussed by Milbrath indicate the various levels of political participation. According to Milbrath in American population sixty percent of the people are engaged in spectator activities, seven to nine percent people participate in transitional type of activities and one to three percent in
the gladiatorial activities. One person can participate in two or more than two categories of activities. The nature of political participation is explained by Lesser Milbrath with the help of this analysis. He said that 1/3rd people of American populations have no interest in political activities.

1.2.4 WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Till twentieth century women were not given right to vote therefore historically they have been outsiders in politics. As outsiders women were busy to promote cause of family and community welfare rather than to build careers. To have admission to formal electoral politics women have to struggle a lot. In the nineteenth and twentieth century middle class women tried to seek legislative remedies for social problems through their voluntary associations which tried to voice opinions on public policy.

In last two decades there has been a debate on the role of women in leadership situations. The United Nations Conferences on women have insisted upon the urgent need to increase the number of women in decision making positions. Within the Asia and Pacific region the leadership of women at central government was given much weightage. Whereas women are an important and integral part of their communities and they take a very active role in village life, towns and cities local government is much very much the first step into a political decision making arena. Women’s equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women’s perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality development and peace cannot be adhered.

Women’s are economically dependent on men. The reason for this dependence is women have unequal access in getting resources, education and training to develop their skills and also in employment. Due to these factors there is low participation of women in politics and women’s less participation in politics make them unable to keep control over the community’s resources and also to associate themselves. In Bangladesh women are not habituated to activities such as picketing, violence to convince, motivate and convince and influence public authorities.
Democracy gives equality for all human beings, men and women. But against to this equality women are excluded from different walks of life, more visibly in politics. True democratic spirit will be attained only with ensured better political participation. “In the Struggle for Gender Justices”, Usha Narayana argues political participation constitutes the first and for most step in that direction.

One of the aims of 73rd constitutional Amendment is to give training and practice to women in the process of decision making at the grass root levels i.e. at the local government level. By this amendment seats and seats of chairpersons are provided to women in all grass root level democratic institutions. This is a historic step of far reaching implications and significant repercussions on the political process in rural India.

In 1979 the U.N Convention on tile Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against women which is considered as the Human Rights Bill of women (CEADAW) came into being. This treaty upholds the following rights of women.

1. Their right to vote in all general elections and referendums and to be elected to general assemblies.
2. Their right to participate in the formulation and
3. Their right to participate in nongovernmental and socio political organizations

1.2.5 Women and Politics in India

There are various paradoxes found in the Indian society. For years together we have seen that those foreigners come in hordes to our country in search of spiritual peaces whereas Indians rank among the most corrupt people in the world. At one hand India is spending billions to send satellites to space to prove its scientific prowess but on the other hand the state cannot provide almost half the population with the basic necessities of food education, health and shelter.

The same dichotomy exists in the case of women too. On one hand the scriptures consider women on a high pedestal. An old Sanskrit proverb says where the women’s are held in reverence there we can find the God. It is traditionally believed in India that a society grows if the women grow. The Indian mythology regards God as half man, half women ardha narishwara, on the other hand the UICEF’S recent
international report mentions that more than 5000 dowry deaths occurs every year in India. The estimates drawn prove that women do two thirds of the world’s work. In exchange they receive only 10% of all the income and own a more one percent of the entire world’s means of production. It is very difficult to analyze women’s social status and the real level of political participation in isolation on the contrary it is interlinked with the socio economic conditions, political climate and inequalities inherent in the traditional and social structure, its norms and values customs and rituals. All together these factors determine the actual social status of women. Women are stopped from active participations in development process due to fundamentalism of tradition and religious beliefs.

1.3 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

Political Attitude means the beliefs and values which underpin the operation of a particular political system. These attitudes were seen as including knowledge and skills about the operation of the political system positive and negative judgments about the system. These attitudes determine how people participate, whom they vote for and which political parties they support. The factors which make attitudes are family, gender, religion, race, ethnicity and region.

Family

Family is generally the first and most enduring factor which influence on young people’s developing political opinions. Though there are generation gaps it is very much obvious that children tend to grow up and vote the way their parents do. If a family is more politically active the child is more likely to hold the same beliefs and attitudes. As children grow older other influences crisscross the family and naturally their attitudes tend to diverge from those of their parents.

Religion

Religious beliefs often affect the way people vote. Religion is the faith of the people in values and beliefs. The experiences of 1940s generally show that the Jewish voters are more likely to support democrats than are Catholics or Protestants. The recent experiences have shown that the religious right has supported more conservative candidates for public office in more favour of the Republican party than to the Democratic Party.
Race and Ethnicity

The experiences have proved that for the past half century African Americans are affiliated to Democratic Party than any other identifiable group. Some experts believe that this loyalty is weakening but recent elections have confirmed the strong tendency for black Americans to vote Democratic. It is very evident from some studies that Asian Americans tend to vote conservative, but there is still a lack of concrete evidence to prove this.

Region

The region where a person resides also affect a lot to which party he is voting for. The 1996 presidential elections have provided a statistical breakdown of the 1996 presidential elections. Democrat Bill Clinton won states in red, while states in blue were won by Republican Bob Dole. The solid tendency of to vote for Democrats have began to erode during 1950’s. This is the reason that both Republicans and Democrats are competitive across the south today. However the recent presidential election indicate a general support for Republicans in the south.

1.3.1 MEANING OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

The study of political behavior have political attitudes as its central element. Research in political science has since that date been focused on empirical research on political behavior and institutions. When we have to explain voting behavior, political attitudes have an intervening function since they are a predictor for vote choice. Lane (1959) emphasizes the importance of political attitudes in a larger segment of attitudes and beliefs. He connects political attitudes of respondents directly to other psychological factors. If we determine whether respondents remain stable on their attitudes about politics, we might be able to say something about the influence of political attitudes over time in the general study of political behavior research that political attitudes to remain the same.

1.3.2 DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

1) Azen (1988) defines attitude as “a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event.”

2) Kiesler Collins and Miller said that “Opinions should be defined as an overt expressions of a covert attitude”
3) Eagly and Chaiken define attitudes as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, pp.1). This definition evidently speaks of attitudes and stresses the point of expression and evaluation. This definition is most suitable considering the concept of an attitude in this study.

1.3.3 PROCESS OF FORMULATION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE

To ensure the smooth functioning of the society and system and to maintain peace and harmony within the society every society devices its ways. To have the effective governing of its people, every society develops few mechanisms or agencies such as the state, the government, the political parties and election or selection of representatives. The political attitude formation throws light upon how people cultivate their political beliefs and how they pass on their values to others from one generation to the next. Political attitudes formulation process is an essential element of a political system. Political attitude formulation and political attitude go hand in hand.

Political attitude formulation is a learning process by which an individual acquires orientations, beliefs, values and norms and behavior patterns in political system. Political attitude formulations determine the pattern of socio-political behavior. Political attitude formulation is a psychological concept as it is concerned with the society in general and with individual in particular.

1.3.4 DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION

1) Attitude Formulation in Childhood

The growth of the society is a social process like the growth of the child. A child develops his attitude towards the authority and obedience as per the obedience pattern at family. According to Easton and Dennis there are four stages in the process of political attitude formulation.

i) A child recognizes authority through particular individual such as parents, policemen and the president of the country.

ii) There should be a differences made between private and public authority.
iii) The understanding about impersonal political institutions such as national legislature, judiciary and voting behavior is developed.

iv) Distinction between political institution and person engaged in the activities associated with those institutions so that idealized images of particular persons such as the president or the congress.

2) Adulthood as the next Stage of Attitude Formulation

In this stage the attitude formulation takes places due to peer groups. The way the peer groups behave that way only patterns of obedience and disobedience are decided.

3) Attitude Formulation in Various Directions

The process of attitude formulation have its influence in various directions. Keeping in mind the example of U.S.A. Almond and Verba pointed out that since democracy is practiced in the country the people demand democracy everywhere such as in school, shops and churches. Since this demand is fulfilled children, workers and others develop articulation about debate and decision making. These experiences make them perfect to participate efficiently in political life and to accept changes in political life.

1.3.5 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION

1) Maintaining Political Culture

Maintaining of political culture is an important function of political attitude formulation in stable conditions. This function is performed by having communication between political culture from an generation to another generation. But in today’s conditions the political socialization does not always act for maintaining political culture.

2) Modification of Political Culture

Modification of political culture is an important function of political attitude formulation.
3) Creating Political Culture

Creating political culture is performed by means of process of political attitude formulation. Every society needs to create new political culture with the establishment of new political system.

4) Foundation of Present Pattern of Political System

There is no scope for difference of opinions opposition into totalitarian state whereas if we see there are in number of opportunities for difference of opinions and opposition in open societies.

5) Continuity and Change

There is continuity and change in attitude formulation and this is an important factor of the process of attitude formulation.

1.3.6 Agencies of Political Attitude Formulation.

A variety of institutions and agents are involved in political attitude formulation. The important agencies of attitude formulation are categorized as follows:

1) Family and peer groups which are the interpersonal agencies.
2) Schools, religious institutions and workplaces - Organizational Agents.
3) Mass Media, Newspaper, TV and radio.
4) The legislature, executive courts and the bureaucracy which are specialized political input structures.

1) Interpersonal Agents

Family and peer groups are two important interpersonal agents of attitude formulation. The patterns of authority and obedience found in a family decide a child’s pattern of obedience to authority.

The collective decisions made by the family are important to develop a sense of reward and punishment in a child. When a child in a family participates in decision making, it develops a sense of competence in him and enhances his skill for political interaction.
Another important agency which shapes a child’s political attitude plays groups friendship cliques and small work groups. Individual are likely to adopt or accept their friend’s views either because they respect them or want to be like them. To get accepted by a group the individual tries to modify their interests to that of others. When the influence of parents is reduced the influence of peer group becomes more dominant. The peer groups supplement the socialization function of the family and prepare an individual for more specific political roles. The interaction which takes place in peer groups socialize a person in to new ways of thinking feeling and behaving.

2) Organizational Agents

Schools religious institutions, educational institutions and work places are organizational agents of political attitude formulation. The knowledge of the political world as well as political process of a nation is provided to an individual by educational institutions. Schools import values and attitude of the society. The affection for political system is created by the school. Schools provide a common symbols for an expressive response to the system such as flag and pledge of allegiance. A sense of loyalty is also created by school. College and university education tries to develop more rational and radical political ideas in an individual. Thus schools usually confirm the attitudes and strengthen the belief system of the children.

The moral values which have political implications which have political implications are taught by religion. Many religious leaders attempt to socialize children through their religions preachings and services. The religious institutions are present in all political system but their influence varies from one country to another. For example the Islamic fundamentalism has a great impact on Islamic political system world whereas though the church teachers values, it is not in position to control the political system.

Attitude formulation is also affected by the nature of job, employment and workplace. The socialization is shaped at workplace through unions and professional associations. The worker participates in collective bargaining at workplace and this proves to be an important socializing factor. Many of the occupational and professional associations have the power to affect political
attitudes in modern societies. Through strikes and other pressurizing methods the workers learn that they can shape their future.

Mass media includes radio, television, magazines and newspapers etc. The responsibilities of mass media are to collect information from different sources, systematize them and transmit them to masses. The information which is collected by the government, the officials, political leaders and mass media give their own interpretation and provide information to the people. Thus mass media acts not only as an agent of political attitude formation but also as an instrument used by various agents of political attitude formation.

3) Specialized Political Input Structure

Political parties are the main agents of the mobilization of the masses. A key role is played by the political parties in the entire political attitude formation process. They try to arouse the interest of people in the political system and political issues. Elections keep people involved with political process and indicate their active participation in politics. Political parties try to influence the opinions of the people through wall posters, electoral campaigns, propaganda and canvassing.

The participation of an individual in the affairs of interest groups gives members opportunities to build an orientation toward the political activities. Thus an unintentional latent attitude formulation is done by interest group.

A labor union is established for the material benefits of the members of the union. It also imparts political education to its members. Though trade unions are non-political in nature they mobilize people along with other activities.

4) Specialized Political output structures

There are some output structures which are responsible for attitude formulation. They are such as legislature, executive, bureaucracy and courts. The personal experience and knowledge of individuals of what government stands for is likely either reinforced or weaken their ideas and attitudes. If government proves to be a failure than member of one political party or ideology may shift to another political ideology. Thus, politically conscious people either have old parties or join other parties that suit their interests or
end up establishing a new party altogether. Sometimes war, economic depression and prosperity have an impact on the entire process of political attitude formulation.

1.3.7 AGENCIES OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMULATION:-

Political attitude formulation is an ongoing process and it is accomplished through a variety of institutions and agents. Individuals pass through several stages before they completely get socialized. Various agents of political attitude formulation can be classified into five groups.

1. Interpersonal agencies - family and peer groups.
2. Organizations - schools, religious institutions and workplaces.
4. Specialized political input structures - the legislature, the executive, courts and the bureaucracy.

The following are the explanations of each of the agents.

1. INTERPERSONAL AGENCIES

Family

The first and the most powerful agent of political attitude formulations is the family. Which directly or indirectly influences the process of political attitude formulation? It is the family that has a distinctive power to shape the attitude towards authority. A family makes collective decisions and for a child these decisions may be authoritative in nature and failure to comply with the decision may result in punishment. On the other hand, an early experience with participation in family decision making process will increase the child’s sense of political competence as well as provide it with skill for political inter-action and make it more likely to participate in politics as an adult. Similarly the child’s pattern of obedience to decision can help to affect its future performance as a political subject. The family also shapes the political attitude by placing the individual in a vast social world, establishing ethics, linguistic and religious ties and social classes: pronouncing culture and educational standards: and directing occupational and economic aspirations. It is also observed that political activism in women affects the family’s functions as a
socializing agent. Education, to a great extent, reduces the apathy of the people towards politics, thereby making them observe the action carefully.

**Peer groups**

Though the family is undoubtedly the most powerful agent of social formulation, another important unit that shapes political attitude is peer groups, including childhood play groups, friendship cliques, and small work groups, wherein the members share views and have close ties. Individuals are likely to adopt or accept their friend’s views either because they respect them or want to be like them. A peer group socializes its members either by motivating them or by pressurizing them to accept their values or behavior of the group in general. A person might get interested in politics may be because their close friends do so. High school goers may prefer to join a college because the friends with whom they identify themselves have chosen to attend that college. In such cases, an individual tries to modify their interests to that of others so as to be able to acquire acceptance from the group. The influence of peer groups becomes dominant when young people tend to become more independent of the influence of their parents. The peer groups supplement the socialization function of the family and prepare an individual for more specific political roles. They, thus, instruct a person how to play their role and socialize them into new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL AGENTS

**School and educational institutions**

Educational persons are likely to be more active and have an impact on the government. They are more aware of the political situation and pay more attention to it as governments have an influence over the lives of the people. Educational institutions provide individuals the knowledge of the political world and the role they are expected to play in political process of the nation. Schools transmit the values and attitude of the society. They play a crucial role in shaping their attitude about the unwritten rules of the game of politics. Schools reinforce the affection for the political system and provide common symbols for an expressive response to the system such as flag and pledge of allegiance. These symbols develop a sense of feeling of loyalty to their country. Schools are also responsible for indirect socialization of young
minds. College and university education may also bring in new values and help in the formation of radical political attitude. Gabriel Almond and Bhingam Powell, in their work *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, explaining the educational system in South Africa and the influence of the same over the individual, comment that the main goal of the education system in South Africa has been the development and perpetuation of difference between the races. The apartheid culture is supported by inculcating attitude of separateness and by providing different skill and knowledge. For instance, there was no mixing of white and black children. White children learn from their parents and siblings that blacks are inferior. Thus, schools usually confirm the attitudes and strengthen the belief system of the children.

**Religious institutions**

Religions of the world have a tremendous impact on the minds of the people. They have the power to influence moral values which inevitably have political implications. Most of the religious leaders regard themselves as teachers and their followers usually attempt socialization of children schooling and socialization converts of all ages through preaching and religious services. The presence of religious institutions is felt in all political system; yet, the influence of the same varies from one country to another. The church, although it systematically teaches values, is not in position to control the political system. So, the emergence of religious fundamentalism also has a major impact on the Muslim world and, in recent times, has been a deciding factor in shaping the politics of Islam and others as well.

**Workplace**

Political socialization also depends upon job, the workplace and the nature of employment. Jobs, be it in formal organizations, provide for building unions, professional associations, and the like which act as effective means of political socialization. Individuals identify themselves with a group and become sensitive to the norms of the group and evaluate its actions according to their opinion of what is good for the group and what it stands for. One of the powerful socializing experiences for a worker or a laborer is participating in collective bargaining. By this, workers learn that they can shape their future by taking proper decisions and also gain knowledge about specific skill such as picketing, demonstrations, etc. Many of the occupational and professional associations have the power to affect political attitudes.
in modern societies. These associations with a large no. of memberships always defend their member’s economic and professional interests.

**Mass Media**

Communication act as a link between modern societies. Information about incidents or events in any part of world reaches everybody and becomes general knowledge in just a few hours. Much of the world today reacts in the same way to the same events and is also motivated by similar tastes. This is made possible only because of mass media that includes radio, television, magazines, newspapers and the like.

The effect of mass media is the same irrespective of the young or the old or whether one lives in rural and urban areas. However, the nature of mass media is not uniform in all societies. The composition of the society and the distribution of resources within the society exert an influence on the role played by the media.

However, one cannot assert the media is the only information as they collect the news from different sources and systematize them and transmit them to masses. The information first organizes at the government level, whereby the officials and political leaders and the mass media give their own interpretation and provide information to the people. Thus, mass media act not only as an agent of political attitude formation but also as an instrument used by various agents of political attitude formation. Mass media to a large extent is, however not a primary socializing agent. It only strengthens the already established orientations. It informs and interprets in order to maintain status quo.

**3. SPECIALIZED POLITICAL INPUT STRUCTURES**

**Political parties**

Political parties play a crucial role in entire process of political attitude formation. They try to mould the preference of the people, arouse those who are apathetic to politics, and try to find new issues as they mobilize the masses for support. Though parties differ in their ideologies and criticize the ruling government, they often support the basic structures and process of the entire political system. A continuous flow of political activities and elections after every few years keep the citizens always involved in the electoral process which increase their participation.
Sometimes the act political attitude formation taken up by the political parties has divisive tendencies also. They have the power to divide the people on the lines of class, language, religion, ethnicity and race and make citizens more aware of the differences. It is this devise ability that makes countries opts for a single party system than competitive system. In communist nations, and in many pre-industrial countries, government adopts a single party in order to inculcate common attitude of national unity, support to the government and an ideological agreement. A single party and a controlled media are potent. The media present a single opinion and the party activities reinforce the perspective by involving the citizens more actively and personally. In multiparty and especially democratic countries, each political party socializes the electorate in a way it likes, and makes them participate in political activities. Political parties have the power to influence the way one individual thinks of any matter directly or indirectly. Such influence is usually exercised through wall posters, electoral campaigns, propaganda and canvassing.

Interest groups

Interest groups neither have any political character nor do they impart any political education to the masses. It is a mere participation in their affair that gives members opportunities to build an orientation towards the political activities. Thus, it carries on an unintentional latent political attitude formulation.

Trade unions

Though non-political in character, trade unions have been established to carry out political education and mobilize people along with other activities. A labor union is always concerned with the material benefits of the members of the union and also aim at involving its members in political action give them political education.

4. SPECIALIZED POLITICAL OUTPUT STRUCTURES

Legislature

The process of political attitude formation is carried out through certain output structures like the legislature, executive, bureaucracy and courts. An individual experiences the functioning of the government through direct contact with personal and knowledge of what government stands for is likely either to reinforce their ideas.
and attitude or to alter them quite substantially. If the government is successful in
improving the conditions of the people, be it political or economic, it becomes a major
step forward towards political attitude formation. Followers of one political ideology
are likely to shift to another ideology if they feel that the government is a failure.
Thus, politically conscious people either have old parties or join other parties that suit
their interests or end up establishing a new party altogether.

Sometimes, certain events are likely to have an impact on the entire process of
political attitude formulation. Such events refer to war, economic depression and
prosperity. Fundamental culture style which is expressed in a consistent manner
through many socializing agents has a great effect on society. An important example
is the implicit message of modern technology and scientific culture. It has been
observed that modern attitude of people working in factories can bring about an
awareness of the possibilities of organization, change and control over nature.
Furthermore, factory work, education, mass media, information about various
political events, issues, leaders, openness to new experiences and readiness to accept
social change have brought about a change in political attitude formulation.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS OF RESEARCH

1) The level of education has a direct effect on the political attitude
   formulation of women.
2) Age is also another factor affecting political attitude formulation of women
3) Economic class has a direct impact on political attitude formulation of
   women.
4) Ideological factor also has an effect on attitude formulation of women.
5) Historical background of reform movement of both Muslim and non
   Muslim women.

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The present study intends to examine the changing role and status of Muslim
and non Muslim women in India. There is widely prevalent notion that women enjoy
the lower status in every sphere of social life as compared to counterparts. Status of
women all over the world has undergone change. However, degree of change varies
from country to country while Muslim countries have been somewhat slow and have
struck to the Quranic teaching while among the non-Muslim countries women have
been dealt with more liberty. In the discussion on the role of women in contemporary society, there is an unfortunate tendency to look at the relationship of men and women in an abstract manner, based on medieval knowledge and social codes; it is unfortunate since it ignores the contemporary historical, social and biological knowledge. Some of these relationships are products which are peculiar to the industrial society. This is in contrast to the role of women in earlier societies. Today, the structure and value system of society necessitates the active participation of women both in the professional as well as social work.

Many scholars like Andra Bonard (1962) Margaret Murray (1949), J. C Stobart (1925) and Philip K.Hitti (1966) are of the view that women’s position in the past was very low. Women had been subjected to discrimination, harassment and exploitation from time immemorial. Status of women in Ancient Rome was inferior and they were discriminated against in many spheres of social life. However many Indian scholars are argued that women in ancient India had high status. For example, Altakar (1962), Upadhyaya (1979), Shastri (1960), Varghese (1978) and Gosh (1989) are of the view that women in the Vedic period enjoyed high status and participated in many spheres of social and economic life. But Manu, the Hindu law giver, assign low status to women (Upadhayaya and Pandey, 1990:10). Even though Buddhism provided a better status to women, their position was not improved due to their economic dependence (Varghese, 1978:3). Similar was the state of affairs during the period of Bhakti Movement. (Ahuga, 1992:94-95)

If women are uneducated and illiterate, it will not be possible for them to organize a contemporary modern household which is efficient, and which does not require hard manual or tiring work for women further, They would not have the new knowledge about food and nutrition which is required to organize the household effectively lack of education and exposure to new ideas would deprive women of these possibilities with the result that they will be overworking and tiring themselves their household will be primitive unorganized and unhygienic what applies to This area also applies to other areas such as education . If they are not educated and effective what advice of training they would be able to impart to their children? What sort of help would they be able to provide them in their growth, and development? The absence of such help and advice would adversely affect. Their children who would suffer from a great handicap
However, the deteriorated position of women of the past has not lasted for long time. Owing to some factors like education, employment, protective legislation, urbanization and industrialization come across many changes in the role and position of women. The rate of participation outside the family has increased considerably. They are competing with men in almost all fields of life. They begin to share the same responsibility as men. “Today there is hardly any hindrance to women being placed or promoted on an equal footing with men even in areas until recently considered as men’s work” (Ghosh, 1981:11). In India, especially after Independence, women have begun to participate in certain spheres of socio-economic activities. They have started coming out of their seclusions and are actively participating in vocations that are largely the monopoly of males (Reddy, 1986:13). Kapur (1970) also states, “socially one of the most fundamental and remarkable changes brought about since independence is the comparative emancipation of women-kind its emergence from the seclusion of home into the activities of the world without”. Today women participate in private and public, organized and unorganized sectors, although their representation is low. “women are working in almost all type of job such as technical, professional and non-professional, in both private and public sector, residing in rural and urban areas with or without their kith and kin” (Reddy, 1986:13). “women are gradually realizing that they have personalities of their own as human beings and that their mission in life does not end with becoming good wives and wise mothers but also realizing they are all members of the civic community and of the body politic” (Reddy, 1986:14).

Even though many changes have taken place in the role and status of women in India and also in the world, no spectacular transformation has taken place in the case of Muslim women. Their participation in social and economic spheres is limited when compare to their female counter parts in other religious communities. E.H. White (1978) reports, into “in comparison with other major culture areas, the Muslim majority nations of the world have low rate of reported economic activity by women, low female literacy at all levels.” According to Bhatti (1976:99) “various impediments have been imposed on women by Muslim community, by a series of social sanctions which have limited her role principally to that of mother and wife and for all practical purposes denied her freedom to choose a role or a combination of roles…..” as a consequence they remain backward in every field of life.
Against this background it is necessary that we examine why Muslim women remained backward compared to the women of other religious communities in social, economic, cultural and political fields. When the British came to India in the sixteenth century A.D women had been completely degraded, as society was stagnated by religious customs and traditions. Pardah system, child marriage, female Infanticide, sati and restrictions on widow marriage, were common in those days when the British entered India with a new culture and social values based on equality. During the British rule in India, several laws were enacted to eliminate social evils prevalent in the society. Although only a few women belonging to the upper class took advantage to the new culture, the attitude and behavior patterns of Non-Muslims s change drastically. But Muslims did not take the benefit of the new culture. “The Non-Muslims s had taken more readily to the western concepts of a humanistic and democratic way of life. On the other hand, the Muslims despite their forward-looking leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan stuck to their conservatism and refused to imbibe democratic values and even modern education. Thus the hiatus between the Non-Muslims and the Muslims developed, giving rise to an inequality of status for which of course, no one but the Muslims themselves are to blame” (Sarkar, 1991:30-31).

The minority position of Muslims in India further discouraged them from accepting modern culture and values. They were scared of imbibing democratic culture for the reasons of losing their identity and maintained ancient customs and traditions backed by the support of religious Ulemas. This attitude affected the development of the Muslim women. The autonomy of the Muslim women has been severely eroded. Ahsan (1990:14) reports that the cause of Muslim backwardness is that the related social life with religion when religion should be a matter of personal faith. But both should be demarcated and one should lead life in common with the other citizens of India.

However, Muslim women have remained backward in most of the areas of life and are slow in taking the benefits of modernization and development. But in recent years there have been some signs of change. Modernization and development have brought about some changes in their role and status. They are no longer isolated from the outside world. In this process of change, they have surmounted several barriers. “Some of these changes have taken the Muslim women out of the protected environment of the past into the rush and confusion of the modern world… her world
I o longer bounded by the four walls of the house, but by the wider area of civic and national interests and even international relationships” (Woodsmall, 1983:355). Muslim women too started taken up carriers in administrative and political fields. Roy (1979:107) writes: “Muslim women are availing themselves the opportunities provided to an average citizen of India”. Nowadays, we can see Muslim women in the field of teaching, Medicine and even judiciary and the like. It is Miss Fatima Bivi a Muslim women who is the first women judge of the Supreme Court of India. The religious strangle-hold of Muslim fundamentalists is gradually weakening. If we look at the present position of the Muslim women in matter of education, employment, Purdah etc, we come across many changes. They have acquired greater autonomy in many spheres of social life. “Formerly, the frame of Muslim women’s life was her home. Her contacts were limited to her family. But within the last decade the radius of her interests have been lengthening so that today the periphery of her life has been extended beyond the quiet wall of the house” (Woodsmall, 1983).

Even though there is definite evidence of change among Muslims, there is hardly any literature available on the impact of modern forces on Muslim women and the changes that they have brought on their role and status. Many studies have been carried out on the issues relating to Muslim women. These studies are mainly on the problem faced by Muslim women, their past and present status, purdah system and the like. Some of these studies are Roy (1979), Siddiqi (1980), Brijbhushan (1980), Menon (1981), Engineer (1987), Qamaruddin (1980) and Anjum (1992). However, these studies have not focused much on the changes that are occurring in the role and status of Muslim women. A few studies reveal the changes that are taking place among the Muslims of India.Ahmed(1991), Jain (1986), Singh (1986) and Sarfarazuddin Ahmed (1991). But not in particular about Muslim women.

Thus it is important to understand role of society as much as that of religion. Women are oppressed not so much by religion as by society. In order to bring about change in the plight of women it would be equally necessary to bring about change in socio-economic condition of women in India. If women remain poor and illiterate, it will be very difficult to improve conditions of women.

Political participation of women refers to a process of "authoritative allocation of values in a society". All kinds and all levels of activity-voting, contesting in elections, campaigning, party activism , pressure group membership and extra-institutional or agitation activity of any kind at informal level aimed at influencing the
policy makers and ministerial office are subsumed to construct the profile of political participation of women in India.

Political Participation of Indian women started with the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi was very much instrumental for arousing political consciousness in the poor, illiterate for women and making them take part in the freedom movement. Political participation may be defined as voluntary participation in political affairs through membership, voting and partaking in the activities of the political parties and legislative bodies. The constitution of India guarantees adult franchise and provides the framework for women to participate actively in politics.

Women are excluded from participation in public affairs because of the presumption that they lack in leadership skills. Even though the constitution of most of the independents state have incorporated equal rights for men and women in principle it is never in practice expect in voting as most of the political parties bank upon women voters. Hence there are not many women in politics it is obvious that are invisible in decision making and in ensuring implementation of the decision. The male dominated political parties are interested only in the female vote bank. They are not interested to promote female membership in the party beyond a certain limit so that men could hold maximum number of important positions. Reservation of seats for men in Panchayats to parliament is a small step to realize the women's rising aspirations and much more remain to be achieved if women will have to play a significance role in decision making. While talking about women involvement in political sphere, we have see that while heavily involved in the independence movement and therefore due to much involvement debates over the extension of franchise to women are going on large scale. Women presence in the legislature has been low despite of the absence of legal constraints.

Due to the low involvement and low representation the women do not seem to have constructive political attitudes. They are less informed and least bothered about the day to day happenings of politics. Therefore, there is need to find out what opinion they carry about particular political issue.
1.6 RESEARCH QUESTION

From the light of the above discussion there was an urgent need to seek the answers of the following questions:

1) What are the reasons for the low participation of women in politics?
2) Whether their social cultural and political barriers have stood in their way to attitude formulation about politics.
3) Whether their age of women affects their attitude formulation about politics.
4) How ideological factors play a significant role in political attitude formulation of women.
5) What are the suggestions to improve the political participation and political attitude formulation of women?

So, the investigator planned and decided to carry out “Political Attitudes of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women”

1.7 OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

More specifically the present study has been undertaken with following objectives.

1) To study the political attitude of women with special reference to Muslim and non-Muslim women.
2) To know the Reason for women being less informed about politics in the following selected areas
   - Social
   - Political
3) To study how age, class and education level affects women political attitude formulation with respect to the selected variables
   - Age
   - Education
   - Socio-economic background
   - Voting patterns
   - Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
   - Family Income
4) To analyze how different political issues are opined by women in relation to the following variables.
• Age
• Education
• Socio-economic background
• Voting patterns
• Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
• Family Income

5) To analyze the different political issues about which women are unaware and do not have the basic information in relation to the following variables
• Education
• Socio-economic background
• Voting patterns
• Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
• Family Income

6) To have the comparison of the attitudes of Muslim and non Muslim women on different political issues in relation to the following variables
• Education
• Socio-economic background
• Voting patterns
• Influence of close Relatives/friends for Attitude formulation
• Family Income

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

While a change is visible in the status of Indian women, towards one of greater equality with men. And in her role towards greater participation in familial decision making and other social and economic activities. Women’s are considered to be lagging behind other religious communities in this regard. But, according to Jain (1986:115), “the women can be reasonably expected to be disturbed and affected by the changes which are taking place in the socio-cultural life of our society”. Imbibing modern or changing culture is very important for the progress of a community. Although women in India have started to respond to the modern culture, it cannot be denied that it is already late. Fundamentalisms of a few men have also prevented Muslim women from enjoying modern privileges. For the development of any community the contributions of both men and women are important. Both are
responsible for the weal woe of a family, community and society at large. The role of women should not be underestimated.

For the development of the community the participation of women is equally important. They should have equal vistas to education and employment, because it is important to keep up the rate of progress improvement. Women face numerous obstacles in achieving representation in governance. Their participation has been limited by the assumption that women’s proper sphere is the “private” sphere. Whereas the “public” domain is one of political authority and contestation, the “private” realm is associated with the family and the home by relegating women to the private sphere, their ability to enter the political arena is curtailed.

Women in government in the modern era are under-represented in most countries worldwide, in contrast to men. However, women are increasingly being politically elected to be heads of state and government. More than 20 countries currently have a woman holding office as the head of a national government, and the global participation rate of women in national-level parliaments is nearly 20%. A number of countries are exploring measures that may increase women's participation in government at all levels, from the local to the national. Increasing women’s representation in the government can empower women. Increasing women’s representation in government is necessary to achieve gender parity. This notion of women’s empowerment is rooted in the human capabilities approach, in which individuals are empowered to choose the functioning that they deem valuable.

For any meaningful action to improve the status and role of women there is a need for reliable information about the real state of affairs. What is the status of women amongst Indian Muslims and Indian Non-Muslims s? How educated are they? Do they posses autonomy? What roles do Muslim and Non-Muslims women play in the wider social, economic and political community as well of the nation? What is the level of understanding of Muslim and Non-Muslims women about various local and national issues? What are the changes which are taking place in the attitudes of women? What are the forces that promote or hinder such attitudinal changes? Hard facts about these issues are necessary for any meaningful forward action. The present study is a modest attempt in this direction.
1.9. LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

The study is limited to selected wards of a selected assembly constituency of Pune city. Being a case study, the findings of the study may not be universally applicable and appreciable. Applicability of this study is general. Few things of this study have impact on local level. They cannot be applicable overall. In this study the closed discussion have taken place between the interviewer and interviewee. Many a time the respondents were not available on the given time and the interviewee was supposed to visit the place twice.

The samples of this case study seem to be limited. The study conducted was only upon one group of society. Thus the data gathered only tells us about one group of society and how their behavior was in certain situation. The results are therefore hard to generalize to any other group as psychologists cannot be certain that any other individual would react this way in the same situation. The data gathered is also limited and over all questions the usefulness of this study as if the data cannot be generalized.

Another limitation of this study is that the longitudinal aspect and vast amount of data being collected can open up possibilities for researcher bias. It is harder to take an objective outlook on the data and reduces the scientific nature of the research. One of the biggest limitations of this kind of research strategy is generalization of conclusions that is the results produced are tentative not fix. Also generalizing the result for few cases may be dangerous for the research study, as most of the situations are typical in most of the cases. The result may be biased in disclosing some of the research issues or ignored some key facts. Therefore this study may not show the actual position of the problem and it is just a photocopy of the original research. It is very difficult to draw a definite cause effect relationship from this study. It is difficult to replicate. It is time consuming.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study is descriptive in nature. It keeps a record of secondary data, published and unpublished journals, newspapers, and research articles and books and booklets materials relating to the study. The present investigation was undertaken on “Political Attitude of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women”. Research methodology process includes a number of activities to be
performed. These are arranged in proper sequence of timing for conducting research. One activity after another is performed to complete the research work. This chapter includes the following aspects

1. Type of Research
2. Sources of Data
3. Instruments for Data Collection
4. Research Methods
5. Sampling
6. Statistical Tools for Data Analysis

1. Type of Research

The topic for the research study is “Political Attitudes of Women: A Comparative Study of Muslim and non-Muslim Women” the topic is theoretical and descriptive. The study has been conducted in, Hadapsar, Maharashtra Assembly Constituency of Pune city. From this Assembly Constituency three wards viz ward no.120, (Kondhwa), ward no. 121 (NIBM) and ward no. 122 (Mithanagar) were selected. The reason for the selection these wards was is that these wards have more muslim populations as compare to the average muslim populations in Pune city and an average muslim population of Maharashtra. The population of the present study is consisted of women voters both from Muslim and Non-Muslims community. A formal list of women voters was taken from the office of Zilla Parishad and Shiv Sena office of Kondhwa. The sample for the present study comprised of 478 women voters from the above mentioned wards.

2. Sources of Data

There are two sources of data collection

a) Primary Data
b) Secondary Data

a) Primary Data

For the study purpose both primary and secondary data are used. A formal list of women voters was taken from the office of Zilla Parishad of Pune. Primary data was also collected from the party offices of Shive Sena, Bhartiye Janata party and Congress from Kondhwa. The investigator has several meeting with politically active
citizens of that area. The investigator also visited the office of MLA of that constituency.

b) Secondary Data

The secondary data was collected after reviewing related literature from journals, articles, reports, books, dissertations and thesis. Investigator visited different libraries such as:-

1. Library, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Sadashiv Peeth, Pune-411007,
2. Jayakar Library, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Road, Pune - 411007,
3. Gokhale Institute of Economics and Political Science, J M Road, Pune-411007,
4. Department of Political Science, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Road, Pune-411007.
5. Abeda Inamdar Senior College, Azam Campus Camp, Pune- 411001.
6. Internet was also surfed for the related articles and literature.

3. Instruments for Data Collection

For collection of data the following instruments have been used:

(a) Questionnaire

I) Construction of the Tool

A questionnaire was developed by the investigator as a tool. Questionnaire is a set of questions prepared to ask a number of questions and to collect answers from respondents relating to the research topic. The questionnaire is in printed form. The questionnaire consists of fifty seven questions. The questionnaire is consists of close ended and open ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first section consisted of the Socio-Economic background of the respondent and the second section consisted of the Political awareness, the third section consisted of the questions related to Political Participation of the respondents and the fourth section consisted of the questions related to Political Attitude formulation. Finally questionnaire was ready to collect quantitative and qualitative data respectably.

II) Validation of the Tool

The questionnaire was given to different experts from Department of Political Science, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Department of Political Science, University of Pune, Ganeshkhind Pune, Department of Political Science Gokhle Institute of
Economic and Political Science, Pune. Experts were requested to check the tool regarding

- Relevance of content
- Response system
- Clarity of language
- Appropriateness of the directions

Suggestions and remarks of the experts were taken into consideration and before finalizing the tool necessary changes were incorporated.

(b) Interview

To obtain detailed and complete data a standard interview schedule was prepared for the two sets of respondent (Muslim women and Non-Muslims Women). Interviews were conducted by the researcher herself. In this method the interviewer personally met the respondents and asked necessary question to them regarding the subject of enquiry. Usually a set of questions or a questionnaire is carried by her and questions are also asked according to that. Before the beginning of the interview, the objective of the interview was explained and respondents cooperation’s was sought with an assurance that all the information given by them would be treated in strict confidence and their identity will not be revealed under any circumstances. In this process of data collection the researcher encountered some practical difficulties. Some women even insisted that they speak only in the presence of their men and therefore their condition had to be accepted. To tackle these problems, the researcher had to convince the respondents that the information obtained from them will not be shown to any other individual and their secrecy will be strictly maintained. She also promised that his intention was not to submit the report to the government or any other organization but only for use in her doctoral dissertation. To frank and free information, employed women were interviewed at their place of work and college going girls in the respective colleges and most of the housewives were interviewed in the absence of male members. On an average each interview took about 40-50 min. respondents were illiterate or had little education had some difficulty in reporting certain information. After completion of each interview the data was checked for their completeness and accuracy and edited carefully. After editing, the data was transferred to the code sheets with the help of a code design prepared for the purpose and tabulation was done from the code sheets.
4. Research Methods

For collection of primary data for this research work survey and observation methods have been used. Experimental method is not found suitable for this study because the topic is a theoretical topic and there is no need to have experiments.

(a) Survey Method

The Survey method is used to collect quantitative information about items of the questionnaire which is prepared for this particular research work. Surveys were conducted by the researcher in ward no. 120, 121, and 122 of Haqapsar assembly constituency for collecting the data. The respondents are contacted by the researcher personally, telephonically or through mail. This method took a lot of time and efforts but the data collected are of high accuracy, current and relevant to the topic. The survey method was utilized by the researcher in an efficient way for collecting information from a large number of respondents. Statistical techniques were used to determine validity, reliability, and Statistical significance. Only questions of interest to the researcher are asked, recorded, codified, and analyzed.

(b) Observation Method

Observation is a complex research method. The observer put herself in the actual situation and watched carefully. On the basis of her knowledge, skills and experience she collected the data. The results entirely depend on the talent of the researcher and her observation at the time of interview. Out of available methods for collecting primary data, survey and observation methods have been found suitable for the study. These have fulfilled the requirements for data collection properly.

5. Sampling

For this particular study data is supposed to be collected from the respondents. It is not possible to collect data from everyone of the population.

For this research study purpose out of different sampling methods the stratified random sampling has been selected. The universe includes women voter both Muslim and Non-Muslims s from Hadapsar Assembly constituency of Pune city (ward no. 120, 121 and 122) are selected through random sampling. So stratified random sampling has been used for the study. Keeping in view the proper representation of every segment of population and manageable size of the sample, the sample size selected is 478.
6. Statistical Tools for Data Analysis

For data analysis the technique of SPSS (statistical package for social sciences) is used. Frequency and percentage of each research question are presented in a tabular form. Cross tables also indicate frequency and percentage of each variable.

1.11. CHAPTER SCHEME

The present study is divided into six chapters and each chapter is devoted to a specific aspect included in the study

Chapter-I provides introduction to study, contains a definition of selected theme and hypothesis of the study. This particular chapter outlines the statement of the problem, scope and objectives as well as significance of the present study. It also presents the research method, sample, tools and techniques adopted in the present study.

Chapter-II provides review of literature. In this chapter the historical background of reform Movement of women from ancient period to modern period is discussed in detail. The Reform Movement which took place in various countries is also discussed. It traces the history women of political rise and also examines the various Movements launched by the women’s organizations during different periods for the grant of various political rights including the right to vote.

Chapter-III deals with the profile of the selected wards. In this particular chapter the geographical, historical, socio-economic and political profile of Maharashtra, Pune city, Hadapsar Assembly Constituency and ward no 120, 121 and 122 is discussed thoroughly.

Chapter-IV portrays the socio-economic profile of the sample respondents, viz, age, religion, education, language, marital status, income, occupation of the respondent, their place of residence and also their parents’ education level. In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the political awareness and political participation of women. An overview of women’s involvement in various political activities like boycott voting and Morcha is taken in this chapter. It also examines the attitudes of women about various concepts related to democracy, democratic organizations and various political issues. This chapter contains 57 tables and 57 figures in support of the tables. The data collected through questionnaire and interviews is presented in
tabular and graphical format in this particular chapter. In this chapter frequency and percentage of each variable is explained. On the basis of these frequencies and percentages the findings of this research work are finalized.

Chapter-V deals with the cross tabulation of the tables explained in chapter no. four. In this chapter twenty-four cross tables are included. The variables which are used for cross tabulation are age, education, socio-economic background and ideological factors. The above said variables are compared with various levels of political participation and opinions about various concepts of democracy, democratic organizations and various political issues. On the basis of these cross tables the findings of this research work are finalized.

Chapter-VI contains the major conclusions, findings and suggestions of the present study. An overview of the changing position of attitude formulation and also an overall assessment on the extent of their participation in political process is discussed in this chapter. Finally, few suggestions and recommendations are also included.
1.12 REFERENCES

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