CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

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

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

Objectivity in studies relating to participation cannot be achieved without giving adequate importance to ‘gender’. To explain the role of ‘sex’ in political activities, gender based studies act as a key. Apart from these, their relevance is there to inquire the reasons for the existing gap between men and women in various fields and perhaps in reducing them also. Studies about gender differences in political matters started receiving adequate concern of political
scientists during 1970s. Gender differences in political area need more attention because alterations in political roles would lead to equalities in other fields like economic and social. Commac and others in their Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction viewed that by untouching gender relations economic development and social and political change cannot be made possible as they are very dynamic in nature. By making gender studies crucial, gender differences existing in any area can be verified and scrutinised.

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

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

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

Researchers on women’s political orientations and behaviour made generalisations about gender impact on the electorate in evaluating candidates. Women are more candidate oriented and they personalise politics and politicians. Personal characteristics and family background are supportive grounds for women’s voting behaviour, whereas men’s voting behaviour depends more upon the issues supported by contestants. Though this is the finding of many studies, Kristi Anderson expressed a contrary view by saying that neither supportive arguments nor systematic evidence is given in them. While conceptualising men’s and women’s responses towards political leaders she found that men and
women respond in the same manner in the political environment. Neither men nor women are monolithic groups. Political interests and attitudes of both are similar. Within the same sex differences influenced by education, age, occupation and experience do prevail. Thus studies finding and unfinding gender influence on the views of electorate towards political leaders are available.

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

A 16 years (1956-72) study on the perceptions of American public on ten controversial issues mostly related to foreign, social and women revealed that women are more liberal in attitudes than men at the elite level and less liberal at the citizens' level. Adult Americans' Opinions (1956-72) and 1972 National Convention formed the sample for the research of John S.Soule and Wilma E. At the elite level, differences between sexes are found very high. Throughout 16 years, differences between men and women are very less on conventional political participation. Women in public are less liberal than men on these ten issues. At the elite level, a sample of 326 delegates was interviewed (181 men
and 145 women). When they were asked to respond to ten controversial issues consisting of contemporary foreign policy matters, economic and social issues related to America, it is found that women were more liberal virtually on every item than men. Sex differences in ideology between male and female elites were found not due to SES factors, but are associated (among women) with awareness of sex discrimination and experience in women's movements. Women generally feel less efficacious about politics than men.

For a long period it was assumed that women's voting behaviour is more right wing than that of men. This assumption was in dominance since Maurice Duverger's The Political Role of Women is published and also the same voting pattern was seen in women in several European countries and America until late 1960s. This established that, women are more conservative in nature. But in 1980, '82 and '84 elections in America, women reversed their voting pattern. This change in voting behaviour of the American women made Pippa Noris to identify the relationship of sex and voting behaviour in 10 member states in the European Community, in her article The Gender Gap: A Cross National Trend? Its main aim is too see whether "women's vote" is existing distinctively. But she found that no where women were more conservative than men and women were similar to men in voting patterns except in Italy. In Denmark, women moved to left parties in voting due to generational differences only. Young women were slightly more left wing than young men in Europe. But there are only marginal differences. But this is not to say that their attitudes are also similar. On issues like nuclear energy, unemployment and defence policies, women's perceptions are more left oriented than men. However, it is not probed why this differences in opinions did not reflect on behaviour.
Marjorie Random Horsey in her study, “The Politics of Andrology: Sex Role and Attitudes Towards Women in Politics”, interviewed 107 undergraduates students of Indiana University. It is found that, students (both male and female) of same educational level possessed similar views on most issues except about women's issues. They did not differ in acquiring political information, the media they use and also attitudes on most general items. But they greatly differed on issues concerned with women and women in political offices. Women students were found more liberal than men on abortion and Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) issues. In supporting ERA, they did not differ. But about its consequences, women students expressed very positive outlook expecting equality in law and other matters. Male students showed less interest about ERA’s consequences and found confusion in its provisions. Similarly women expressed more liberal views about women contestants than men. 87% of women said that they have no special objection in women contesting for Presidential position whereas, only 40% of men expressed the same views. For office of City Council 98% women and 90% men said that they will show equal consideration for the candidates of both the genders. A less percentage of women and a high percentage of men cannot give equal consideration for women contesting to seek high positions including that of the President.

Marjorie Random also noted that, men were positive and neutral to the statement “women who run for political office are probably concerned mainly with women’s issues” to which women refused to agree. The results of the study showed minimal differences between the respondents towards effectiveness of women legislators. The investigation made clear that except gender, other factors like size of home city, parent’s income, age and birth have no correlations for their dissimilar views on women related matters. Overall, it can be said that
except in matters of women in politics, respondents did not differ on the basis of gender. Regarding women in politics, existing differences are noticeable. Women respondents gave more positive rating to women national figures (Betty Ford and Bella Abzug) than men.¹¹

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

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

To explain the politics of gender Celinda C. Lake and Vincent J. Breglio in their article, “Different voices Different views The Politics of Gender” brought out the areas of divergence, differences in priorities and perspectives among men
and women. The authors expected gender differences for some reasons like men and women differ in their ideas about the direction of the country because of differences in their perspectives and priorities. The world is seen differently by men and women having similar agendas and making similar conclusions between sexes is possible but reasons behind them are different. About health care, education, helping the poor, homelessness and protecting American jobs, women showed lot of worry. But for men deficit, taxes, energy and defence policy were important issues to worry about. Thus they differed in giving priorities to areas while mentioning important national policy issues.

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

More than men, women preferred the government to use peaceful means than adopting war and other violent means to resolve international problems. Women viewed that government's interference should be more in resolving various social problems whereas men did not feel much for it. Government's
imposition of limits on individuals is supported by women for public safety purpose. As men appear to be more individualistic, they opposed government's interference on personal freedom of individuals.¹⁵

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

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

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

Significant gender differences in perceptions about economic, nuclear and social issues were found present in Canada also. 52% of men and 42% of women felt that future development of Canada should depend on mixture of private and public control. 75% of the male respondents and less than 50% of the female respondents preferred to have self business instead of being employees under
somebody else. More men than women thought that foreign investment should be encouraged. 8% more women than men supported government’s expansion of welfare programmes. Women are most likely to look to government for adequate retirement incomes whereas men are most likely (above 50%) to rely on the private sectors. Women and men divided in unarmed and armed camps over nuclear weapons and war. 57% of women opposed Canada testing nuclear missiles whereas 57% of men supported it.

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

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

Though women are integral components of party organisations, most of them are found to be in less powerful positions. Less number of women than men become presidents and vice-presidents at local level and very few of them assume executive roles at the provincial and federal level organisations. Women’s activities in political parties are mostly confined to housekeeping chores like controlling campaigning offices, serving at fund raising
dinner and march door to door with campaign literature. Thus, most of them occupy pink collar jobs and not decision making offices.

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

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

For many, the notion of the game of politics understandably evokes images of unremitting conflict where, the only object is victory. The prizes take the form of public offices gained; the players aim for personal glory; the style and language of play is harsh and the competition is tough. In a word, images are stereotypically ‘masculine’. But now politics is not a game of men alone. It became common place for both the sexes. And the motivational gap in gender has come down due to ‘females’ integration into larger community and their modernity with the blossoming of contemporary feminist movement. This study notes that the gender gap in political ambition is closed but the sexes want different things from political power. Men of the parties are tending to specialise in power dimension whereas women have strong concern for party programmes and principles. These results are drawn after interviewing 3000 Californian political activists and leaders on political motives over a period of twenty years.
Kim F. Kahn who examined the political advertisement of contestants observes that, male and female candidates in U.S. Senate Elections held during 1984-86 focused on policy matters with similar campaign strategies in their appeal to voters through TV. But men have tended to concentrate on economic issues, while women have been found much more likely to discuss social issues, education and health policy. These differences were evident in campaign but not present in media coverage.

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

Unlike in the U.S., party discipline is high in Canada. Therefore, more than gender, party philosophies’ and ideologies’ influence could be seen in the opinions of candidates on feminist demands. Male candidates of NDP are more
in favor to the demands of feminist groups than women of Liberal Party and Parti Quebecois.\textsuperscript{31}

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

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

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

Disparity among candidates in raising finances has been very insignificant, notes Burrell. Donors, political action committees and parties have not been found to be showing any prejudice to women. On occasions, women outdistanced their male counterparts in raising campaign finances. They got votes in proportion to their spending without loss. A slightly different result was drawn in another study. It is found that, on an average, a woman raises one dollar less for every six dollars raised by a male candidate. The reason is not that women are discriminated in having control over finances or raising funds, but they were nominated to least winning seats, they were less incumbents and chairpersons of various committees. Since donors wish to get something in return, obviously they donate to the candidate having more chances to win the elections, but do not see whether it is a male or a female. Since more men are incumbents and committee chairpersons, they are able to raise more finances than women. Thus, indirectly and unintentionally, women become victims of gender based discrimination.
Women legislators are remarkably similar to men in many aspects of their lives most relevant to politics. But they differ from male legislators, primarily with regard to economic role, occupational experience and age of entry into legislature. By studying a comparable group of male and female legislators, Kirkpatrick reveals that men are more educated, came with professional background (mostly lawyers) without interruptions in service and entered politics at an early age and were fathers of more children compared to female legislators. Most of the women legislators entered politics after 40 years, with less number of children.

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

Members of any legislature come to office with certain goals, aims and ambitions which could be realised through legislative power. It is possible for
them when they could influence others in this multi-member institution. Generally, seniority, political fame and other factors may enable a legislator to be an affective member. What other qualities are essential to the more influential persons? Pertaining to this question, perceptions of the representatives of Arkansas and Texas differed based on their gender. Males’ emphasis was on “tact and accommodation”, whereas females emphasis was on projection of force. Men suggested to renounce all smooth ways and moral approaches that saved world. To get along with everybody, women gave suggestions like ‘command respect’, ‘speak forcefully’, ‘show assurance’, ‘be aggressive’, ‘be assertive’ and ‘have a strong will’. Self-possession and composure of women is understandable, though some male legislators attributed ‘hyper-emotionalism’ and ‘weakness’ has problems of women.4-5

All legislators admitted that apart from ‘expertise’, ‘bonds of friendship’, ‘like’, ‘respect’ and ‘mutual' personal relations’ are some and easy ways to lead a successful legislative role. For that, all legislators have to be very intimate with their colleagues and the Speaker outside the business place. To form such personal relations, women however felt that they are disadvantaged due to their socialization and societal norms. They also viewed that they have to be very careful in dressing while dealing with male colleagues, especially in social events.4 However, women legislators felt that they cannot be effective legislators through personal relations, they can be so by attaining expert knowledge and hardworking where men do not have any special advantageous place.4-2

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

Reingold says that the general assumption among public is that, female legislators give importance to women's issues and are more likely to represent them. The women legislators of Arizona and California were found to be more likely to accept the link between descriptive and substantive representation, that IS, being a woman, actively representing women's issues. But the male colleagues rejected to agree such a link. The male and female legislators reacted contradictorily to represent groups. Women expressed a kind of commitment to represent women's concern which was rejected by men by saying that representing group IS against their duty, their job is working for the entire
constituency. (Out of 49 men 3 men gave support for representing women’s concern.) More than men, women legislators perceived strong support from female constituents as an essential need for reelection.\textsuperscript{4\textdegree5\textdegree}

Differences in party affiliations and presence of women's caucus in California caused differences between California and Arizona representatives in their perceptions about women’s representation. An important finding noted in this study is that, increase in the number of women in public offices may not increase attention to women’s issues. In Arizona state legislature, women's strength is two times more to that in California. But the women legislators of California showed strong support for women's representation than that of Arizona.\textsuperscript{4\textdegree6\textdegree}

On most objective measures, Congress women and men were similar in their behaviour but women consistently differed from men in opposing others' programmes. It is uncomfortable for them to oppose proposals of others due to their socialization.\textsuperscript{4\textdegree1\textdegree}

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

Sue Thomas and Susan Welch, before examining the twelve state legislators, predicted that male and female legislators do not differ in their legislative activities in general. But they differ in their priorities. Legislative activities include participating in discussion on the floor and in committees,
bargain, meet with lobbyists, introducing bills to realise their preferential objectives. There is scope for women's priorities tilt towards family, child and women welfare policy making. Their different priorities, make them to work as a block to influence policy. This became more or less true in their study. Both the sexes were equal in introducing bills and getting them passed by using various means. But differences are noted in their priorities. All these female legislators were socialised in two ways; as women and also as a political women. This made them to be more oriented towards other women welfare issues like health and education. Their priorities reflected on their legislative behaviour and also in occupying committees. Men introduced and get more number of bills passed than did women while women were slightly more successful than men in passing priority bills. In eight of the twelve states, priority lists of bills are those mostly relating to children and family and women. Men in all twelve states mentioned business bills in their priority lists. These differences are attributed to women's preferences rather than discrimination. However, discrimination cannot be ruled out, as men got appointed to prestigious committees like finance and revenue towards which they had greater tendency to occupy.4-8

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

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

Ruth Mandel and Debra Dodson in their, "Do Women Office Holders make a Difference?", based on the survey conducted by Centre for the American Woman and Politics in 1988 on national women and men lawmakers, brought out the gender differences in attitudes, priorities, policy issues and legislative actions, especially in their priority items getting passed.50 Women officials hold more liberal and feminist views than men of same political parties. Women are strong supporters of passing ERA and opponents of banning abortion than that of men with 18% and 13% difference. Even on non-women concerned issues, women lawmakers expressed liberal views than their male counterparts. On issues like the ability of private sector to solve economic problems with less central government control, increasing nuclear power plants, death penalty they expressed opposition with more percentage than men. This study also made similar conclusions about policy priorities (social and human) and actions. Women are having a significant effect on the extent to which legislative agendas address both the special concerns of females in society and broader human and family concerns.51
To Gluck Mezey, sex does not seem to be an important variable in determining attitudes towards women as equal participants in the political process. Male and female legislators of Hawaii shared similar views on the "feminist policy", position, but differed in their advocacy of "feminist" position.

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

One important activity of any legislator at the state or the central level is constituency service. Very little literature comparing the gender performance in this area is available. Devotion to this service is essential to develop public confidence in legislatures. It is also equally important for reelection prospects.
Gender comparison in this aspect, enables researchers to identify the fundamental differences in their approach, political ambition, orientation, time allotment and devotion in resolving grievances.

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

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

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

Based on her personal experience as a politician, Mrs. Audrey McLaughin (NDP) noticed certain gender differences. She says, "women tend to listen, men tend to talk. Women's style of listening before talking extended with the realm of decision-making." "Women are less comfortable with confrontation than men." Women’s ideas, perceptions and activities are mostly based on moral values than
men. When a difficult issue comes before women, their natural attitude is how to resolve it? But a man's attitude is how to win it? Power for women is a responsibility. They see it in positive and active terms which is not same for men.

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

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

The above discussion makes very clear that in political arena, gender differences are more prominent than in other areas of social activity. Women voters are more candidate oriented whereas men voters are issue oriented. There
is a general feeling among the citizens that male candidates are capable of handling tough issues whereas female candidates can do the soft issues well. Marked gender based difference is noted in issues like economic, social, nuclear energy, environment and women related matters. There is also a marked difference in respect of legislators' priority issues. In respect of legislation women are found to be more inclined to introduce women related bills. It is difficult to establish the fact that female representatives are less power oriented than male representatives, though women are found in less number in power positions.
FOOT NOTES


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.


17. Ibid.


19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.


25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.


29. Ibid.


31. Ibid.

32. Burrell C. Barbara

33. Ibid.


39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

42. Kirckpatrick. op.cit. p.34.


44. Ibid.


47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.


51. Ibid.


53. Poole K.T. Herman Zeigler H. op.cit. p.173

54. Vega Arturo and Firestone M. Jaunita. op.cit.


57. Ibid.