Chapter – II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Government of India is fully committed to the objective of enhancing the participation of women in key institutions and decision making structures at various levels. An increased presence of women in decision making structures is, in due course, expected to influence both the kind of issues that find a place on the policy agenda, as well as the allocation of resources. With the passing of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, and the reservation of one third of the seats in local government for women, an enabling framework has been put in place and over a million women have been elected to local level institutions (PRIs). However, the extent to which this has resulted in effective political participation, improvement in the overall status of women, and programmatic responses in the form of sartorial interventions, needs to be researched.

Implicit in the notion of effective political participation by women is the idea of leadership. The broad objective of the research is to identify the themes and issues on which greater research is needed, in order to understand better the nature of women’s leadership.

1. CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP:

Leadership as has been generally understood can be defined as a special kind of ‘soft power’ where essential in the concept of power is the role of ‘purpose’. That is, leaders exercise power for some purpose, and the purpose itself can vary widely according to context. Clarity of the purpose becomes important because it is a shared domain between leaders and others, and linked to questions of motivation. Several studies have appeared evaluating various leadership theories.
The role of the collective or ‘collective leadership’ is a concept that needs to be more clearly articulated to capture a unique feature of leadership by women. (from another context, 1000 women for peace)\(^2\) Collective leadership can also be identified with the feminist principles of leadership, which seek to enable all women to develop their leadership potential. \(^3\)

2. **CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN LEADERS:**

Some characteristics of women leaders that can be noted include:-

a. Individual character, and ability to respond positively to hardship
b. Empathy with others
c. Willingness to speak out
d. Honesty
e. Ability to get support from family and spouse
f. Strong belief in the power of the group or collective
g. Staying power and so on.

What needs to be noted is that it is character and confidence rather than knowledge or literacy that marks out these women. Literacy was one variable that did not emerge as one of the qualifying criteria for potential women leaders. Literacy and information are like tools which are wielded and used as necessary—not essential attributes of the role. The issue of class and caste did not come out so prominently as a mobilizing device. It is observed that issues relating to leadership were not linked in any simple manner to caste or class. Sensitivity to concerns of women seemed the single over riding characteristic of women leaders.

3. **LEADERSHIP STYLES:**

Leadership styles are often an extension of the personality of a leader and are shaped by the needs of the position. The position of leadership is not just limited to an office, a rank or a family. Leadership is a gift to influence the people positively towards a
direction which is for the common good. While there is not point in arguing about an all encompassing definition of leadership, for functionality let’s assume the above definition works. Let’s put in the old fashioned way "Leadership is the art of influencing fellow human beings towards a direction which is of common good."

As we have already established, there are no schools of leadership so you won’t find a particular style of leadership used by everyone. By default, most leaders would prefer to follow their own style rather than adapt a commonly accepted standard.

Let us take a look at some of the observations that have been carried out on the various leadership styles. No one will exhibit the same kind of behavior at all points of time and translation. Humans are very flexible and will respond differently to different situations. Some of the commonly recognized styles of leadership are: Autocratic leadership, Bureaucratic leadership, Charismatic leadership, Democratic leadership or Participative leadership, Servant leadership, Transactional leadership and Transformational leadership.

**A) AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP STYLE:**

Autocratic leadership can be roughly translated as "a person with unlimited power or authority". Autocracy is not a thing of past. You can still see it at work in many types of governments, organization, industries and of course the military. While many people may believe autocracy has no place in a modern day society which is envisioned to be moving towards a socialistic phase. There are certain functionalities in many organizations where autocracy is required. For example, it would be a lot better to have the Major in the army take the decision on whether or not to fire, than have a vote of hands of all those involved. Many corporate organizations and small time business run successfully due to an authoritarian and autocratic boss.

Another example would be a supervisor in an unskilled sector where he will have to dictate and get the work done. Else all the laborers might vote in for a day off and not turn up for work. Many management gurus oppose the idea of autocracy in corporate
sectors. When a leader has absolute power over his employees, there are chances for disturbances and disagreements which might be valid. Employees and team members have little opportunity for making suggestions, even if these would be in the team or organization’s best interest. List of autocratic leaders is pretty huge. Most of the dictators like Hitler, Stalin, Saddam Hussein and kings ruled with complete and unquestioned powers. Some of them were good and some were tyrannical and the power of tyranny came from their unlimited autocratic power.

B) BUREAUCRATIC LEADERSHIP STYLE:

Max Weber was one of the first to describe the Bureaucratic Leadership Styles in 1947 along with charismatic leadership and traditional leadership styles. The bureaucratic leadership style is based on following normative rules and adhering to lines of authority. The Characteristics of the Bureaucratic style are:

a. Leaders impose strict and systematic discipline on the followers and demand business-like conduct in the workplace
b. Leaders are empowered via the office they hold – position/power
c. Followers are promoted based on their ability to conform to the rules of the office.

Followers should obey leaders because authority is bestowed upon the leader as a part of their position in the company/organization. Bureaucratic leaders work “by the book”, ensuring that their staff follow procedures exactly. This is a very appropriate style for work involving serious safety risks or where large sums of money are involved (such as cash-handling). By word, it is not difficult to imagine the number of lousy and lazy public servants working for the federal or state governments. If you get to see one of these, especially in a developing nation, you will understand why “Bureaucratic” style is not well favored by many segments of business and commerce or for that matter by public in general.

C) CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP STYLE:
Charisma defined as "a rare personal quality attributed to leaders who arouse fervent popular devotion and enthusiasm." Former President of USA John F Kennedy and his look-alike Former President Bill Clinton have often been called “The most charismatic leaders of 20th century.” Another good example would be Adolf Hitler. While looking in retrospect, Hitler was a tyrant. But the primary reason for him to rise from a “Bohemian corporal” to “Herr Führer” was his ability to captivate people into following him. It is interesting to watch a Charismatic Leader work the room as they move from person to person. They pay much attention to the person they are talking to at the moment, making that person feel like they are, for that time, the most important person in the world. Charismatic leaders, who are building a group, be it is a political party, a cult or a business team, will often focus strongly on making the group very clear and distinct, separating it from other groups. They will then build the image of the group in the minds of their followers, as being far superior to all others. – This is exactly what Hitler and his Aryan Superiority Theory did. The Charismatic Leader will typically attach themselves firmly to the identity of the group, such that to join the group is to become one with the leader. In doing so, they create an unchallengeable position for themselves. Throughout history we can see examples of how some leaders have used the Charismatic leadership style to reach their objectives. Be it Hitler’s dream to be the leader of Germany or Martin Luther King Jr.

4. OUTCOMES OF WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP:

Successful women leaders show a transformational style of leadership, which in many cases has been nurtured through informal associations and collectives. The early writings on leadership have largely been conducted on business environment, with success being measured through competition, profit making and ethos of competition. This environment is very different from that of the women leaders interviewed, many of whom are in a rural environment where most of the activities are interdependent on each other, and also different from the environment in which politics is played out. During
the field visits it was observed that most of the women leaders who were interviewed did not hold formal positions of power. In some places it was seen that women associated with the informal structures were more capable in voicing women concerns than that of the ward members. This is an interesting distinction because it was seen that women do speak when the issues concern them. They do make efforts to attend meetings and create time out of their busy schedule, when the concerns can be identified with their day-to-day realities. Also participation of the women in the informal institutions provides a process for women to understand and engage with issues according to their long and short-term interests. The presidents of these informal associations therefore act, as Burns very rightly puts it, as transformational leaders.4 This is in contrast to transactional leadership, where commitment is more confined to the roles allotted to individuals. Spaces for women, therefore, in form of associations, Mahila Mandals, as it came out through the field observations were identified as necessary for enabling the women to perform in an effective manner, in contrast to processes which put an emphasis on implanting women into formal structures.

5. STYLE OF LEADERSHIP- CONCERN FOR OTHERS:

Many of the women leaders saw their role as essentially serving the needs of others. This trait, of a ‘servant leader’5 is especially seen in women who have experienced considerable hardships in their lives, and where this itself has become a motivation to help other women.

The leadership of women emphasizes reciprocity, mutuality, and responsibility toward others; is collective and participatory; focuses on relationships and empowerment; and highlights outcomes as a central goal of leadership. In contrast to men's style, they de-emphasize hierarchical relationships, individualism, and one-way power relationships.

6. THE ISSUES OF CONCERN:
The issues with which women leaders were seen to be concerned were set by the women themselves, not imposed by any external agent. The women leaders spoken to all deeply involved in the life of the community, and the issues raised are correspondingly different from place to place. Thus ‘security’ was paramount in local area politics. This means also that effective leadership appears to build upwards from the felt needs of women, rather than implementing a programme devised externally.

In looking at the issues that concern women, we find that they vary considerably from place to place, bringing out the importance of context in any study of women’s leadership. This aspect of leadership has been recognized in cultural, cognitive, contextual theories of leadership. Cognitive theories of leadership identify how leaders have different perspectives or lenses.

7. ‘LEADERSHIP’ AND ‘EMPOWERMENT’:

Being in a formal position of ‘power’ is not always equivalent to being a leader. The 73rd amendment has brought many women into Panchayati Raj institutions. Some of these have been termed as proxies of their respective husbands – ‘pati pradhans’.

‘Leadership’ implies ‘empowerment’. Empowerment has been generally understood as a process through which existing power relations can be challenged; as a way of gaining and controlling informational resources. At times, empowerment is confused with being in a formal position of power. Some authors have also seen empowerment of women in the form of expansion of spaces. Collective Space can be seen to play an important role in enabling the functioning of informal structures or women groups like the Mahila Mangal Dals, Mahila Mandals and the Meira Paibis, and the ability of women leaders to create their own individual space emerges as an important aspect of effective functioning. In all the states collectives have been an important mechanism for negotiation, both to bargain or at times threaten over issues. Collectives are seen as an effective tool for mobilizing women and also as an effective pressure group to push a women’s agenda. However it was seen that the issues
themselves vary from place to place, there are no similarities, and successful mobilization of women happens around issues that are the most crucial to them.

From interviews with individual women leaders, it became clear that effective women leaders have a sense of their space at both the private sphere and also the public sphere. The motivation for emergence of women leaders is the effort to advance both strategic and practical gender needs\textsuperscript{11}.

\section*{8. ROLE OF WOMEN’S GROUPS:}

The fact that many of the women leaders spoken to were associated with a group of one kind or another is, in our view not just coincidence. Women’s groups probably play an extremely important role in encouraging and enabling leadership. This kind of solidarity is inextricably linked with women’s leadership. We feel this has important implications for any further study. Also they act as a launch pad for the village women to speak out their views. They believe that training and information are important ingredients because it makes the women aware of their own rights and more receptive to the things happening around them.

Effective leadership can be debated in the context of governance structures. The main reason for this is the concept of individual agency vis-a-vis that of a structure. It is argued that leaders operate within structures and they both influence and are influenced by it. The extent to which a structure responds also depends on the extent to which it is free to respond. For example, if all the resources allocated to a Panchayat are tied up in pre specified schemes, the role of a leader in influencing allocations is severely curtailed. Governance has been defined as `the exercise of power, political, economic and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs’.\textsuperscript{12} The study of leadership by women in different situations could help to shift attention towards processes that allow the emergence of leadership qualities, and the manner in which ‘power’ can be used to strengthen democracy and social equity. During the field work it was seen that there is a continuity of structures, from the wholly formal to the wholly informal, which play a
role as structures through which women’s leadership is exercised. These include the Mahila Mandal and church groups; movement based groups such as the meira paibi; the Panchayat Raj Institutions; etc. ‘Structures of Opportunity’ can be defined as those channels, which enable women to come out of a purely personal realm into a space that allows them to address issues of livelihood, development, or state policy and action, in a direct or an indirect manner. The relevant structures of opportunity differ across states. Access to structures of opportunity, whether formal or informal, plays an important role in enabling leadership and mobilizing women. Situational or contingency scholars document idealized and universal personality traits and situations, and match the leader’s orientation with certain organizational contexts or situations. The "essential" leader's personality traits are task-oriented (formal structures) rather than relationship-oriented (informal structures). The task-motivated leader performs best in both high and low situational controls. Relationship motivated leaders perform best in situations in which control is moderate. We can differentiate, thus between a leadership type that seeks a clear problem definition, with a clear solution and implementation, so that the leader’s task becomes a technical one; and others that emphasize the fact that situations are rarely clear, problem definition itself requires learning, and any solution and implementation also requires learning, both on the part of the 'leader' and the 'follower'. (One of the reasons why even though everyone would agree that social reality is complex, messy and uncertain, some would argue that it is still possible to define areas of action with technocratic solutions is perhaps a belief in the ‘critical mass’ theory.)

9. SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION OF LEADERS WHO ARE WOMEN:

Do we need women leaders, what is the significance of gender as against caste, class and other societal divisions? How is the idea of leadership linked to that of participation? Participation is at the core of social and political life and the greater the inability to participate, the greater the feeling of separation; the greater the feeling of separation, the more likely is estrangement and alienation. Participation, therefore, is
that process which allows women to identify their interests and concerns and empathize with them, even motivating them to take action.

The study of women in leadership positions has to avoid exclusive focus on the women who are leaders, as this can risk the neglect of structural opportunities and obstacles to collective action (informal structures), while an emphasis on structures can risk under estimating the leaders per se. Also an emphasis on leaders can relegate the collectives to the category of followers.¹⁶

The gender of the person becomes important while discussing leadership qualities because women naturally respond to their lived realities. If women feel that their concerns can be addressed through their participation, they do mobilize and try to push their agendas. Raghabendra Chattopadhaya and Esther Dufflo write that men and women will prefer policies that are likely to affect their bargaining power, or, the price of the goods they consume will reflect their different policy preferences. Explaining further, they write that women will prefer programmes that increase women’s opportunity or their productivity on their tasks, while men will prefer programmes that improve men’s opportunity and productivity.¹⁷ However, these policy preferences will depend on the visibility which women are able to provide to their issues. Effective women leaders become necessary in this context and informal structures can play an indispensable role in providing this platform for women by providing transformational style of leadership.

The impact of gender on leadership style should emerge especially clearly on measures of style that reflect the agentic norms associated with the male gender role and the communal norms associated with the female gender role. Using such an approach, the classic work on leadership defined styles that are primarily agented or primarily communal (see Bass, 1990; Cann & Siegfried, 1990). Most common was a distinction between two approaches to leadership: task-oriented style, defined as a concern with accomplishing assigned tasks by organizing task-relevant activities, and interpersonally
oriented style, defined as a concern with maintaining interpersonal relationships by tending to others’ morale and welfare. This distinction was introduced by Bales (1950) and developed further in the Ohio State studies on leadership (e.g., Hemphill & Coons, 1957). In this research, task-oriented style, labeled initiation of structure, included behavior such as encouraging subordinates to follow rules and procedures, maintaining high standards for performance, and making leader and subordinate roles explicit. Interpersonally oriented style, labeled consideration, included behavior such as helping and doing favors for subordinates, looking out for their welfare, explaining procedures, and being friendly and available. Another aspect of leadership style that has been popular in research is the extent to which leaders (a) behave democratically and allow subordinates to participate in decision-making or (b) behave autocratically and discourage subordinates from participating in decision-making. This dimension of democratic versus autocratic leadership (or the similar dimension of participative versus directive leadership) follows from early experimental studies of leadership style (e.g., Lewin & Lippitt, 1938) and has been developed since that time by a number of researchers (e.g., Vroom & Yetton, 1973). Although democratic versus autocratic style is a narrower aspect of leader behavior than task-oriented and interpersonally oriented styles (Bass, 1990), the democratic-autocratic dimension also relates to gender roles because one component of the agentic norms associated with these roles is that men are relatively more dominant and controlling—in other words, more autocratic and directive than women are.

In the 1980s and 1990s, many researchers turned their attention to other types of leadership styles by distinguishing between leaders who are transformational and those who are transactional (Bass, 1998). This effort was initially inspired by Burns’s (1978) argument that existing analyses of leadership style left out some of the most important aspects of effective leadership. To capture these neglected aspects, he proposed that researchers study a type of leadership that he labeled transformational. Such leaders set especially high standards for behavior and establish themselves as role models by gaining
the trust and confidence of their followers. They state future goals and develop plans to achieve them. Transformational leaders innovate, even when the organization that they lead is generally successful. By mentoring and empowering followers, such leaders encourage them to develop their full potential and thereby contribute more capably to their organization. Burns contrasted leaders with these characteristics to transactional leaders, who establish exchange relationships with their subordinates. Such leaders manage by clarifying subordinate responsibilities, monitoring their work, and rewarding them for meeting objectives and correcting them for failing to meet objectives. Researchers also distinguished a laissez-faire leadership style that is marked by a general failure to take responsibility for managing.

Although transformational and transactional styles are not as obviously related to gender roles as the leadership styles investigated by earlier researchers, transformational leadership has communal aspects, especially the theme of individualized consideration whereby leaders focus on the mentoring and development of their subordinates and pay attention to their individual needs.

Consistent with the possibility that transformational leadership may be somewhat more aligned with the female than the male gender role are studies showing that subordinates perceive greater correspondence between leaders’ feminine personality attributes and their transformational style than their transactional style (Hackman, Furniss, Hills, & Paterson, 1992; Ross & Offermann, 1997).

In summary, to the extent that gender roles spill over to influence leadership behavior in organizational settings, the behavior of female leaders, compared with that of male leaders, may be more interpersonally oriented, democratic, and transformational. In contrast, the behavior of male leaders, compared with that of female leaders, may be more task-oriented and autocratic. In addition, the greater incongruence of the female than male gender role with typical leader roles may make it more difficult for women than men to manifest the more agentic leadership styles. However, because of the
constraining impact of leadership roles, any differences between women and men who occupy the same role are unlikely to be large in size.

**WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS IN INDIA:**

Any assessment of women’s participation in Indian politics and leadership roles requires a study of their roles during freedom movement and their part in political processes and organization. These roles, as is well known, are influenced by religion, customs, patriarchy and other factors. In this context some assessment are worth mentioning. Girija Khana & Mariyamma and A. Vergheese gave a picture of social customs and smites that shaped the behavior of women in India and narrate how their freedom was curtailed. Marcus. B. Fuller in her book ‘the Wrongs of Indian Womanhood’ explains how Hindu religious customs became obstacles to the emancipation of women. Malladi Subbamma author of several books in Telugu traces the causes for subjugation of women and stresses that religion is the basic factor for the backwardness of Indian women. thinking on similar lines Maria Mies in her ‘Indian Women and patriarchy’ deals with the conflicts and dilemmas of Indian women students and working women. Maria Mies mainly deals with women's biographical case studies which reveal the incapable roles and conflicting situations in the changing society.

In the opinion of Veena Manzudar no serious examination of the emergence of women’s questions in India and women's equality as an issue was taken as a study. To her, until women’s equality issue is taken as an ideology for nation building, a change is not to be expected. To the question ‘women have fallen behind', why? According to her, the answer is that women are not being accepted in the political deliberations. During the freedom movement thousands of women participated, but the details of women who participated and sacrificed for the nation have become nameless and faceless'. Moreover, about the role of women in other popular movements, nothing is brought out. There are popular movements, peasants' movements, workers' movements, in which women participated in considerable numbers and played important roles. The Status Committee
report finds that the role performed by women as a pressure group on the political process had become virtually nil.\textsuperscript{19}

**WOMEN IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT:**

With regard to participation of women in Freedom Struggle, India had a rich past, unlike western countries.\textsuperscript{20} During the freedom movement a few women belonging to the upper strata of the society were brought into the mainstream of politics.\textsuperscript{21} Gandhi's attempt to uplift women had less impact at the grass root level.\textsuperscript{22} Usha and Usha give an estimate of women's participation in the Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{23} After the setting up of Indian National Congress, ten women delegates from educated and progressive families, attended the Congress session in 1889 for the first time. In 1897, many women attended the Congress as delegates. Most of the women who attended the Congress worked as volunteers and very few participated in deliberations. However, there is no denying of the fact that their very presence at the Congress session was enough to take a qualitative difference in the nature of organisation. As Sarojini Naidu said when the air is full of the spirit of non-discrimination, I do not see why it is necessary that a woman must speak.\textsuperscript{24} Even though in large numbers, women's participation was a part of mass national movement, certain roles were performed by them during the Freedom Movement, in the Ashrams, Congress committees, leadership roles in Salt Satyagraha. And their part was not negligible in revolutionary, peasant, workers and such movements which were part of the national Freedom Movement.

Duvvuri Subbamma a dynamic woman from Andhra Pradesh served as a member of All India Congress Committee for 14 years from 1922 onwards.\textsuperscript{25} Eminent workers like Sarojini Naidu, Rukmini observed as member of All India Congress committee but in the provincial Congress Committees, as Durgabayyamma reported women members were negligible and the result was that women were not selected as candidates to contest for the provincial legislatures.\textsuperscript{26} But Kamala Nehru was a member of U.P. Congress Committee and participated in key decision making in 1931.\textsuperscript{27} Duvvuri Subbamma played a key role
in the Kakinada Congress in 1922 and was included as a member of All India Khaddar Board which was meant for propagating the need for production of Khaddar. Some women occupied the highest positions of the office of the president of All India Congress Committee. Annie Besant became the Congress President in 1917 and Nelli Sengupta in 1933. Annie Besant Stated the strength of the Home Rule Movement is rendered ten fold, greater by the adhesion to it of a larger number of women who bring to it uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self sacrifice of the feminine nature. The league’s best recruits and recruiters are among the women of India. Annie Besant along with Balagangadhar Tilak started the Home Rule Movement in India. Sarojini Naidu dedicated her life in the service of the mother India. At the memorable session of the Indian National Congress in 1915, she read a poem and inspired the delegates. She became the Congress President in 1825. Emphasizing on the unity of India, she gave the shortest and the sweetest presidential address. Sarojini Naidu asserted in her speech, “No sacrifice is too heavy, no suffering is too great, no martyrdom is too terrible that enables us to redeem our mother from the unspeakable dishonor of bondage”.

Though before independence, three women were given the roles as presidents of the Congress, after Independence, it was Indira Gandhi the only woman to occupy that position. Swarna Kumari Devi, sister of Rabindranath Tagore and K. Ganguli were the eminent participants during the first decades of 20th century. Since then women of proved eminence could reach the peak. Annie Besant organized the Theosophical Society, worked as a prominent leader of the Home Rule Movement and edited news papers for the purpose of educating the people. She brought new ideas, new talents, new outlook in the field of Congress. In the same way Sarojini Naidu also brilliantly played a variety of roles. Sarojini Naidu was the key person along with other prominent leaders for the arrangement of peace between the Congress and Government in 1931. Consequently Gandhiji was convinced to lead the Congress for talks.

**WOMEN IN ASHRAMS:**
Most of the prominent women during the freedom struggle either spent in the Ashrams or got political training in Ashrams while serving the Ashramities. For this purpose, Rajkumari Amrit Kour, Suseela Nayyar and Miraben served the ashramities in a big way. As per the observations of Prithvi Singh Azad, Rajkumari Amrit Kour spent for some time in Sabarmati learning from Gandhiji and serving the ashramities. Sushila Nayyar started her political career in Sabarmati, serving the poor patients as a young doctor. Prithvi Singh Azad wrote MIRA BEN continued to serve the cause of the Indians as if it was the cause of Bapu himself, with sincerity and devotion. By writing her book, the spirits pilgrimage, she did to India a great service.36

Along with Gandhi, Kasturiba Gandhi did notable service, especially by awakening women and propagating Khadi. All the women members of Nehru’s family actively participated in the Civil Disobedience movement. Kamala Nehru displayed a talent for organizations and became a strong willed women capable of leading people after her.37 Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Rameswari Nehru were also active in the nationalist movement. Vijayalakshmi Pandit also held the role of the president of the General Assembly of the U.N.O.38

WOMEN AND REVOLUTIONS:

Revolutionaries also took part in the Nationalist Movement, by adopting the extreme and violent methods for achieving the goals. Kalpana Dutt, inspired by Chittagong Armory, Joined the revolutionary organizations at an early age and she worked vigorously in the movement, led a group of seven in an attack on the European Club at Pahartali in the suburbs of Chittagong on 25th Sept, 1931. All other members of the group escaped but Prithi Latha has committed suicide. In her pocket, she carried a message to the women of India. It said, “Women today have taken the firm resolution that they will not remain in the background… I earnestly hope that our sisters would not nurse the feeling that they are weak. With this hope in my heart, I am proceeding today for self-immolation”. While expressing her will she wanted to show that women could also
sacrifice their lives for the country. Such was the dedication of women in the freedom
movement.\textsuperscript{39} Participation in trade unions and working in army upsurge were recognized
as part of patriotic activity. Ahilya Rangenker and Vimala Ranadive participated in
various strikes during freedom movement. They led the women and organized women
towards supporting historic struggles in 1946. When an Army upsurge was going on in
1946, it was women who performed services to the army people and were attacked by the
police. 32,000 army personnel in different posts were supported by the organized
leadership of Vimala Ranadive and Ahilya Rangenkar. According to Vimala Ranadive
women’s participation was very efficient during that struggle.\textsuperscript{40} Leela Sundarayya
dedicated her life for the working class and participated in Telengena peasants movement.
Subsequently, she worked tirelessly for the Communist Party of India. Ushatai Dange, an
eminent woman leader of the working class, fought against the social evils on the one
hand and on the other organized the working class women, poverty stricken peasants, and
also lower class women. Renu Chakravarthi from Bengal, Parin Ramesh Chandra from
Punjab, Suseela Gopalan from South India, Moturi Udayam from Andhra Pradesh
participated for the working class benefits. Bharathi Baibhore served for the working class
and women’s development.\textsuperscript{41} Suseela Gopalan devoted her life for the cause of the
women. Moturi Udhayam worked through Praja Natya Mandali. Aruna Ashaf Ali, a
militant congress leader, joined Congress as Sevak and dealt with women’s issues. She
participated in militant activities and went to underground during the Quit India
Movement.\textsuperscript{42} She hoisted the national flag with extraordinary courage and leadership
defying the rules according to the British. Same kind of courage, in a different way, was
shown by captain Lakshmi who joined Azad Hind Fouz as a Commanding Officer of
women’s regiment.\textsuperscript{43} She played the role of a soldier in serving the cause of Indian
Freedom Movement.\textsuperscript{44} The heroic role of women in the revolutionary movements during
the freedom struggle continued to inspire the people even today.\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{WOMEN IN WOMEN MOVEMENT:}

While participating in political movement, Indian women tried for their own
liberation. As pointed out by Arpana Basu, in India, feminism and nationalism were closely interlinked.\(^46\) Hence, Indian women’s movement had a unique nature. Between the two world wars, women had to play two roles and a variety of objectives were sought by women from time to time, through their leadership and organisational abilities. At the beginning of the century, women's movement was confined to campaign and education for women’s linked with social reform movement. The role played by Banduru Atchamamba was that of a silent campaigner of awakening women.\(^47\) In the path of reforming women, Panditha Rama Bai started Sarada Sadan. Such roles were taken over by Sarala Ray, Sunitha Devi, Nalini Datta\(^48\) and Rameswar. Nehru in Northern India and Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi, Subbalakshmi Arnnal, Sarojini Naidu and Durga Bai Deshmukh in South India.\(^49\) Durga Bai Deshmukh, popularly known as Bayamma, a social reformer and a leader of the nationalist movement carried on her reformer role and as a leader of the nationalist carried on her reformer and a leader of the development of women. Her most important achievement was that she established Andhra Mahila Sabha at Madras and Hyderabad for the conduct of these activities. Her dynamism and leadership were recognized by the Congress Party and she was nominated to the Constituent Assembly. Subsequently she served as the member of the Planning Commission and contributed to the development of the nation.\(^50\)

Mass women's movements and mass organizations grew among women in various parts of India. The most important among the organisations were the Mahila Atma Raksha Samithi of Bengal, Andhra Mahila Sangham and Mahila Sangham of Kerala.\(^51\) In the Indian women's movement, the first organisation was Women’s India Association formed by Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Muthu Lakshmi Reddy, Margaret Cousins, and Kamala Devi Chotopadhyaya in 1917. These women laid the real foundation for the women's movement in India and tried to promote women's political participation by giving prime importance to women's suffrage and the next objective was to secure nomination in the legislature.\(^52\)
Another women’s organization was the All India Women’s Conference, started in 1927. Its prominent leaders and presidents were Sarojini Naidu and Vijaylaxmi Pandit. Among the secretaries mention should be made of Hansa Mehatra, Kamala Devi Chatopadhyaya and Peddada Kameswaramma. They developed branches all over India and by the mid 1930s the association claimed a membership of over 10,000 women. While the women's organisations found it easy to take a firm and consistent stand as patriots, they found it difficult always to accept the priorities and tactics dictated by male dominated political parties. As far as the All India Women's Conference is concerned, there was a rift between participating in the freedom struggle and women members who claimed the association to be apolitical.

Among the active women of the association who reigned between 1939-43 were Hilla Rustomji, a Parsi from Hyderabad Muslim educationist Rahamathunnisa Begum and Yuvarani Saheba of Pithapuram. Begum Hamid Ali, President of the A.I.W.C. in 1940, was critical of the Central Legislative Assembly for passing one sided laws. The issues taken up by A.I.W.C. were pardah, legal equality and child marriages. Relentless efforts of Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, Charulatha Mukherjee, and Renuka Bay and many others resulted in the appointment of Narasingh Rao Committee to inquire into women's legal disabilities and to suggest reforms.

In conclusion, it could be said that women in the women's movement during the Freedom Movement worked for the emancipation of women to root out social evils and also worked as a pressure group on the assemblies to bring legal reforms towards uplifting the status of women. The need of bringing a social change through Hindu Law was supported by liberal thinkers like C.D.Deshmukh, V.V.Joshi and Hari Singh Gour before and after independence.

After independence the women's movement was passive till 1970s. But from 1975 women's prominence started slowly increasing either by organizing women or taking up women's issues and also through trying to enter legislatures. For instance ‘Saheli’ the Institute of Social Studies Trust in New Delhi, Uma in Bangalore, Priya in New Delhi,
Stree Atyachar Virodhi Parisad in Nagpur, Sahiyar in Baroda are working for women's local problems from 1970s and also doing participatory research about women's problems. Recently certain women's have taken the objectives of protecting environment and those movements include ‘Chipco Movement’, ‘Sarvar Bachao Andolan’ by Mamatha Benarji and ‘Narmadha Bachao Andolan’ by Medha Patkar.

During the 60s, specific women's issues did not surface prominently, yet women were mobilised in large numbers in general struggles of the rural poor, tribals, industrial workers and other mass movements. Participation of women in anti-price rise demonstrations, rural revolts in Dhule District in Maharashtra and the Anti-Arrack Movement in Andhra Pradesh are some of the struggles. During the International Women's Decade (1975-1985) women's autonomous organisations revitalized their activities. Another step forward was the organisation of women's conferences, towards exchanging the ideas, to discuss general problems of women and to draw possible solutions, certain women's conference have been organized by women’s study centers. Some Examples could be noted here. In 1975, Stree Sakti Sangharsh organised a conference of working class women at Pune. In February, 1988 a Conference of women’s Liberation Front was held. Thereby Indian Association of Women's Studies was born. To bring the women academics and women activists and women leaders of political parties on to a common platform, the Indian Association for Women's Studies has been playing an important role. Women's associations have been trying to exchange their views even with feminist organizations.56

WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURES:

In independent India, women entered the parliament and their participation has been extended to the legislative deliberations also. Women have been active participants in the voting process. In the 1952 general elections, Women’s participation was minimal as the percentage of voting was only37.1. But it had interestingly moved up to 58.17% in 1984, but declined to 47.30 in 1991. In 1952 women's membership in Lok Sabha was only 4.4 percent, but in 1984, it moved to 7.9 percent. Thus, the increase in the percent of
women members is not significant. In 1991, women membership in the Lok Sabha is only 6.6 percent. It declined in 1989 to 5.3 percent. The situation compelled women's organisations to agitate for the 30 percent reservation in the state legislatures and in parliament. This is also due to the reason that support from the political parties is not encouraging. Not only in the parliament, even in the central cabinet, very few positions are held by women. In Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet only one woman, other than her, was a cabinet minister during the entire period of her leadership. The absence of women in adequate numbers in the cabinet is a reflection of the strength of women members in the parliament. In spite of limited membership of women in parliament, they have duly participated in its proceedings. J.K. Chopra's Study makes clear that in the four decades during 1952-1989, women parliamentarians introduced in all about 150 bills. Out of these 110 were introduced in the Lok Sabha and 40 bills in the Rajya Sabha. In the Seventh Lok Sabha, the maximum number of bills introduced by women were 35. And in the Fourth Lok Sabha, women introduced only two bills. It is to be noted that women introduced bills specifically concerning women. General issues were not taken up by them, at the bills' introduction stage.

The prominent women, who took initiative in introducing the bills in parliament include Rajkumari Amritha Kour, Suchethra Kripalini, Durga Bai Deshmukh, Renu Chakravarthi, Indira Gandhi Parvathi Krishnan, Rukhmini Devi Arundale, Tarakeswari Sinha, Suseela Nayyar, Sarojini Mahishi, Nandhini Satpathy, Margaret Alva Geeta Mukherji, Prameela Dandavathy, Sheila Kaul, Nazma Heptulla and Mohishini Kidway. The women who introduced the bills, belong to the upper strata of the society. They had political affiliations of their families or association with the national movement. Most of them were elected to parliament again and again and got much experience as parliamentarians. During the said period, they represented on 126 parliamentary committees of different nature.

After independence, women joined the realm of politics in large numbers. Even the
younger generations started showing keen interest in politics. During first and second Lok Sabha women raised in the Lok Sabha issues mostly connected with the partition of the country. During that period, women who were dynamic and keen participants in discussion were Amritha Kour, Durgabai Deshmukh, Suchetra Kripalini and Parvathi Krishnan. In the Third Lok Sabha women from South and West Bengal were more active. In the Fourth Lok Sabha, participation of women was very difficult due to problems of strength of the majority party. In the Fifth Lok Sabha, national emergency had become a setback to women candidates. Again popularity of women legislators gained in the Seventh Lok Sabha and they have contributed considerably in discussions.

Women were under represented in the Upper House and key positions were rarely held by them. In each decade, a marginal number of key positions were occupied by women. After a long gap it is Jayalalitha, who is holding an important position at the state level, i.e. Chief Ministership in Tamil Nadu. Due to her initiative and charismatic leadership, she continues to hold the position. That is why, towards women's development, their voice is to be introduced in the larger decision making process.

WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES:

Women’s representation in the state legislatures in India emerged from 1935 onwards. By 1940 there were 80 women members in the state and provincial legislatures. Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy was identified as the first woman to secure nomination to Madras Legislative Assembly. Kamala Devi Chotopadhyaya contested for the Madras Legislature but lost. Ammana Raja was elected as Deputy Speaker in the Madras Legislative Assembly. She held the position with high dignity and proved her capabilities and subsequently got elected to Rajya Sabha after independence. In 1946 Rukhmini Lakshmipathi became not only a member of the legislature but was also inducted as minister in the Prakasham Ministry. After independence, women like Nandini Satpathy in Orissa; Suseela Gopalan and Gouri in Kerala; Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu; Roda Misthri, Sarojini Pulla Reddy, Sada Lakshmi in Andhra pradesh; Yasoda Devi, kamala Beniwall,
Girija Vyas and Sumitra Singh in Rajasthan emerged as powerful women in their respective legislative assemblies. They proved their abilities and among them Jayalalitha, Suchitra Kripalini and Nandini Satpathy could handle the highest power and authority of Chief Ministership at the state level.

The above are some of the examples to suggest that eminent women have been present in state legislatures. Women can contest and participate if 30 percent of reservation policy is properly implemented.

It is important to note that known and unknown roles are being played by women in India both at the central and at the state levels. Women's participation, especially in the election activity is most intensive. In Bihar they have proved their abilities in the parliamentary elections in the 1991. But it is observed that their political identification and political awareness are not as much present as they were thought to be. Attitudes and skills about politics could be developed through political training.

Women in the election process usually adopt moral and non-violent methods. In the opinion of Indiresan, who says, the important point is not how many elections have been held, but how well they were held. So in the election process women's participation is a healthy sign.

To conclude, women leaders and women with the support of 'political dynasty have played an important role in the Indian elections and women leaders supporting ideology, charisma and commitment participated in a big way for the success of elections. But how far the elections have empowered these women is a big question. Their services are usually better utilized for the success of elections.
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1. Leadership has been identified with the concept of power by James McGregor Burns in his work Leadership( New York: Harper and Row,1979). pp.18.

2. In 2005, 100 years after the first woman recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Bertha von Suttner, 1000 women have been proposed to be (jointly) the recipients of the prize. http://www.reddesalud.org/ english/ sitio /info. asp? Ob=1&Id=164.


4. One of the most influential works on leadership in the past century was written by James Mac Gregor Burns (1978). Burns puts forth the quintessential essentialist perspective within the power and influence tradition, reviewing hundreds of years of conceptualizations of leadership in order to ascertain key aspects. His goal is to develop a "general" theory of leadership that transcends time, context, and culture, which is itself the task of an essentialist.

5. Greenleaf's concept of the servant leader falls within the trait/behavioral approach to studying leadership (some refer to it as a reciprocal approach). Greenleaf identifies the essential features of the servant leader, providing a guide for behavior.

6. Social constructivism is the belief that reality is developed through people's interpretation of the world and a denial of essences. Reality is a social and cultural construction, not an idealized form beyond our immediate perception.

7. For example, Bo Iman's and Deal's research, Reframing Organization, 1991, demonstrated that leaders tend to examine situations through one or
more lens or cognitive orientations (e.g., political, symbolic, structural, or human resource).

8. According to Kumud Sharma, Empowerment is a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces which marginalize women and other disadvantaged section in a given context. Similarly S.K.Chandra defines empowerment as the manifestation of redistribution of power that challenges patriarchal ideology and male dominance. (Evelin Hust, Women’s Political Representation and Empowerment in India: A Million Indras Now, New Delhi: Manohar Publications,2004) Pp -45-46.


10.Devaki Jain, `Women’s Leadership and Ethics of Development, Gender and Development Monograph Series,UNDP,1996,pp12-18, says, collective struggles around which women mobilize are issues concerning livelihood, income, family security and so on.

11.Trying to bridge the division between mainstream feminists and the grass root development proponents many scholars have argued that, when women are organized into groups , it can by and large address both strategic(feminist ideology) and practical(grass root development ideology) needs of women. For instance. (Maitreyi Das,`Mahila Mandal and Gender Politics, Economic and Political Weekly, December 9,2000;Maithreyi Krisna Raj, `Women and the Public Domain: Critical Issues for Women Studies, Economic and Political Weekly February 21,1998;Archana Kalegaokar, `Pursuing Third World Women
Interests: Compatibility of Feminism with the Grass Root Development’, Economic and Political Weekly April 26, 1997).


13. Fiedler is one of the early writers on contingency theory, examining how a leader's personality or behavior affects leadership performance and situational theory, focusing on aspects of the organization or environment. Fiedler's conclusion is that leaders perform best in situations that match their leadership style.

14. The critical mass is a concept originally derived from nuclear physics and refers to the quantity needed to start an irreversible chain reaction. In context to the PRI it means that certain (30%) of women are needed in order to be able to effect change.


16. The ideas have been developed from, Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg, Leadership in Social Movements, November, 2002. Available at http://www.cas.northwestern.edu/sociology/faculty/files/leadershipessay.pdf.


34. Kanak Mukherji, Op Cit., P 32

35. Challa Hymavati, Op cit., pp 155-166


38. Ibid ., P 72.

39. Kannabhiran spoke on mahilalapai Himsa, Manava Hakkula Ullanghana, Asmita, Secenderabad, May 1993, p 62. (Asmita is a Feminist organization in Secnderabad, President Olga.)


42. J.K Chopra, Op Cit., pp 34-35.

43. Ibid., PP 35-36., 53 , & 107- 109, 174-180

44. Veena Majumdar, op cit., p 108.


47. Pranoy Ray, “ An Analysis of the 1984 Lok sabha Elections etel.,


49. Ibid., p 63.


52. Eenadu, 11-05-95.


57. India today, Nov. 6-20-1994, pp 18-36.

